CHAPTER I

Common Elements of Population

AMERICANS of Anglo-Saxon origin and English-speaking Canadians are more alike than any other separate peoples. Not even among the associated nations of the British Commonwealth does there exist such a substantial community of ideals and manners. The estranging ocean has kept Australia and New Zealand from intimacy with Canada, and of South Africa even less is known in the northern Dominion. But the older American is a genuine neighbour to the Canadian. Without much effort each finds himself reasonably comfortable in the home of the other, though each has managed his own household in the way he deemed of most advantage to himself.

The term "American" is given to citizens of the United States on the assumption that there is a common national life within the borders of this vast Republic, that the people of all the states that constitute it respond to similar political and social ideals, and that they are devoted to the flag which is an emblem of their principles and their common security. In Canada or in Europe the American is known at once, whether he comes from Maine or

from California, from Wisconsin or from Georgia. So also the term "Canadian" is employed as expressive of a unified national sentiment among the provinces of the Dominion. That such a sentiment exists is obvious to any one who has lived long enough in the different provinces to understand the life of their several communities. Halifax is more like Victoria than the former is like Portland, Maine, or the latter like Portland, Oregon. Toronto resembles Winnipeg more than the former resembles Buffalo or the latter Minneapolis. And in spite of difference of language and social and religious institutions the province of Quebec is closer in spirit to the Maritime provinces or to Ontario than to any of the United States.

But within these two comprehensive national units there are well-defined groups or regions, with characteristics and interests of their own. Professor Turner[1] has recently stated that the Americans are in reality a federation of sections rather than of states, and that these sections fall geographically into such groups as New England, the middle-eastern Atlantic states, the north-central, the north-western, the south-eastern, the south-western and those on the Pacific coast, each pursuing a path of its own in industry, politics and culture. Within Canada

[1] Prof. F. J. Turner, "Sections and Nation," *Yale Review*, Oct. 1922.

also section is so definitely separated from section by natural barriers that groups are taking shape. The Maritime provinces lie far from the thickly settled parts of Quebec and Ontario; these again are cut off by a northern wilderness, hitherto but thinly occupied, from the provinces on the prairie, and British Columbia is withdrawn behind her mountains. Indeed, nothing but a powerful common purpose could have enabled Canadians to triumph over geography as they have done.

In considering the relationship between the United States and Canada it is necessary to restrict our view to the definite areas along the border where the people come into contact with one another. In a night the crossing is made from Nova Scotia to Boston; for many years a decision was in the balance which, if adverse, would have allowed New Brunswick no access to Quebec by the St John River except through the state of Maine; Quebec province lies athwart New England; Ontario looks at her neighbour on the further banks of navigable rivers or great lakes thronged by traffic; on the prairies an astronomical boundary separates the two countries; and the Rockies, the Selkirks and the Coast Range with their intervening valleys run north and south. In view of this easy passage and the similar geographical conditions, the reciprocal influences are chiefly felt in the northern states from the Atlantic to the

Pacific, reaching on that coast as far south as California. In many respects the people of these sections resemble Canadians in character more than their own nationals in the South-East or the South-West.

Furthermore, for our purpose a separation must be made between the Americans of Anglo-Saxon origin who have been in the country for some generations, and the more recent arrivals from central, south or south-eastern Europe. Among the former are to be found, according to the Americans themselves, the genuine and dominating ideals of the nation, which were asserted, for example, after much searching of heart, when it entered the Great War in April, 1917. In so far as the two countries are in sympathy it is in respect of the similarity between this portion of the American people and the English-speaking Canadians. It is necessary, therefore, to estimate the proportion of the older Americans to the whole population of the country. Fortunately, a record of the first census taken in the United States, that of 1790, is available. The loyalists had then left or had been absorbed. The people were predominantly agriculturalist and poor, but cities were rising; Philadelphia with a population of 42,000, New York with 33,000 and Boston with 18,000. Of the total population of 3,930,000, there were 3,172,000 white and 757,000 coloured, and as shown by the names recorded almost the whole white population, except

in sections of New York, Pennsylvania and North Carolina, was of English or Scottish origin. Immigration on a large scale began about 1810, and at the end of 1850 2,700,000 people had come in, but still nearly 86 per cent. of all the foreign-born were natives of either the British Isles or Germany. During the sixty years between 1790 and 1850, the most determining factor in the life of the country was the occupation of the West. Much of the best blood of the eastern states, together with immigrants from Britain and North Europe, was poured into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and to this day the people of these states retain many of the essential qualities of the oldest stratum of the nation. Thereafter during the four years of the Civil War this stock suffered severely, the flower of their youth being cut off.

When the census of 1890 was taken, General Walker observed that the enormous immigration of the preceding forty years had introduced a fundamental change into the character of the people; "It amounted not to a reinforcement of the population but to a replacement of native by foreign stock." During the first twenty years of this century 10,700,000 of the 16,000,000 who entered the country came from Russia, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Poland and the Balkans. Unlike those from northern Europe and Britain, they settled in blocks in the industrial

centres and have swollen the cities with elements hard to assimilate.

In view of this immigration it is difficult to estimate exactly what proportion of the present population is descended from the original American stock, but "at the twelfth census (1890) the total white population of the continental United States appears to have been divided between descendants of persons enumerated at the second census and of persons who became inhabitants of the United States in the proportion of 35 to 32." As we have seen, the immigration up to 1850 had probably a sufficiently large British infusion to give a long lead to those who maintained Anglo-Saxon ideals and civilization. In 1920 native whites of original stock probably numbered over 47,000,000 or about 50 per cent. of the total white population. Estimating from the last two census reports the proportion of British and Canadian born of British origin living in the United States to the whole number of foreign-born whites at one-sixth, it is not hazardous to conjecture that at present over 56 per cent. of the white American people inherit and promote the Anglo-Saxon tradition[1].

This being, then, the proportion of their neighbours with whom English-speaking Canadians may regard themselves as having affinity, we may con-

[1] W. S. Rossiter, *Increase of Population in the United States, 1910–20*, chapters IX and X, and Appendix A.

sider the movements of population that have affected them both and severally. While it is true that there would probably have been at this day no British North American colonies had it not been for the immigration of the loyalists into Canada, there were, of course, before the Revolution, action and reaction between the old colonies and Quebec. Enmity had always existed. So well known are the untoward incidents both before and after the conquest of Quebec that it is needless to recall them. They were due to antagonisms of antipathetic types, and milder though they have become they still persist. No part of Canada would oppose more vehemently than Quebec any suggestion of absorption into the United States. Recently a Quebec Judge has written a charming series of sketches of peasant life in his province, and in one of these a boy asks his old uncle what he means by *La Patrie*. In answer he refers to the life and traditions of his people rooted in the soil, and afterwards as he knelt at prayer he glanced at his gun on the wall and murmured: "Oui! Je voudrais voir l'Américain qui viendrait prendre ma terre!—Au nom du Père, et du Fils et du Saint Esprit. Ainsi soit-il. Mettons nous en la presence de Dieu[1]." . . "Il faut savoir que, pour l'oncle Jean, l'ennemi, quel qu'il fût, c'était l'Américain."

The province is out of sympathy with American

[1] Judge Adjutor Rivard, *Chez Nous*, pp. 143, 141.

democracy. Even American Catholicism is too liberal for the Quebec ecclesiastic. Nor does the sentimental affinity of the educated American for modern France win over the French Canadian, for he disapproves the very ideals of France which America admires. The American glories in his progressiveness, the French-Canadian lives on the authority of tradition. The latter holds the former at arm's length as a menace to his security; to the former Quebec is a picturesque corner of medieval Europe in a bleak northland, delightful merely for a summer tour.

And yet for nearly a century Quebec has seen her sons drawn without ceasing by the lure of the United States, and the stream still flows across the border though in smaller volume. Emigration began as long ago as 1834, and from that time until the present the movement has been so great that there are now said to be, on good authority, not less than 1,750,000 people of French-Canadian origin in the United States, and according to the United States census 307,800 of them Canadian born. Nearly 75 per cent. are to be found in New England settled in solid blocks in the industrial towns such as Fall River, Lawrence, Lowell, New Bedford, Haverhill, Worcester, where they are employed especially in cotton and shoe factories. True to type, they have large families and they now constitute one-seventh of the population of New England; they have acquired

great influence in some localities as they are naturally hard-working, thrifty, peaceful, and opposed to labour strikes. Though they are law-abiding citizens and all but a small percentage have become naturalized, the French-Canadians have been so far like an unassimilable deposit upon the soil of New England. They are the most conservative of all new-comers. Race, language, the mystical bonds of religion and tradition attach them to one another and to their kinsfolk on the banks of the St Lawrence, where lies their homeland spiritualized by the song, legend and labours of their fathers, consecrated by their piety and tradition. Even in New England the French-Canadian desires to keep not only his church, but his school and if possible his language. Will he be able to wrest these concessions from the politicians? If so, Quebec may reach down into New England and impose upon portions of that region a culture older than her own, as she has already done in the English-speaking eastern townships of the province and is now doing in some of the counties of New Brunswick and Ontario. There is, however, a counteractive influence at work in the efforts that are being put forth by many of the ecclesiastical and nationalist leaders to divert the tide of emigration into northern Ontario, and even to bring back home some of those who have crossed into New England. That these efforts have met with no little success may be inferred

from the decided decrease during the last decade in the number of French Canadian-born residents of the United States, as shown by the census.

Notwithstanding this extension of Quebec into New England, the reciprocal influence of New England upon Quebec is almost negligible, apart from such transmission due to commercial establishments as is found in Montreal and in the shrinking English-speaking portions of the eastern townships.

If the wedge of Quebec were withdrawn, the Maritime provinces and Ontario would easily coalesce into a remarkably homogeneous population. Their origins are very similar; in the main a loyalist substratum with a superstructure of immigration from Great Britain. In Nova Scotia, however, there had been settlements from New England, the north of Ireland and Scotland before the American Revolution. Even the Canadian is apt to forget that within his own borders there is one community of white men which has existed for a longer time than any in the original English-speaking colonies. Port Royal, now the charming little town of Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia, was founded in 1605, three years before Champlain first came to Quebec. Round its old fort were waged many battles between the French and the English, and long drawn out was the resistance of the Acadians. Francis Parkman has invested their history with romance, though he has also told it wit