
THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
LIBRARY

AUTHOR *J. VENS, WILLIAM*.....

TITLE *Canadian immigration*.....

Thesis *M. A. 1929*.....

Dep
C.P.C.
I.P.S.

Wm. Ivens
DEGREE CONFERRED
M.A.
1909

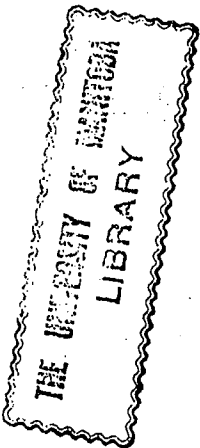
CANADIAN IMMIGRATION .

Introduction.

Never before in the history of the world has the peaceful migration of nations been as free, as unimpeded, and as universal as it is in our era. Never before have nations faced such tremendous political, economic, and other religious issues emanating from immigration as the American Continent is facing to-day. How vital the issue can be seen by the briefest glance at the civilization and swiftly changing political issues of the Occident as compared with the Orient of the present age. Moreover our very independence and existence as a Nation is hanging in the balance, and the destiny of the future lies more largely in the hands of present-day statesmen than it did with the "Fathers of Federation". Especially is this so because of the increasing tide of immigration to our shores.

To every patriotic Canadian, immigration is now the problem "par excellence". It strikes a note which vibrates through his very being since any increase in the number and quality of our population affects so materially the whole of our national life. It affects immediately our productive and consuming forces, our trade, our commerce, and our revenue. The mine, the forest, the fisheries, manufacture, and agriculture, respond spontaneously to any and every change in our body politic. Especially is this true of Canadian agriculture since her boundless resources and unlimited areas of arable land are her first and permanent source of wealth.

The subject of immigration is too vast to be exhausted in any single systematic thesis; it is impossible to dwell at any length on the vastness of our Dominion, of her natural resources, of her system of government, her religion, her schools, her commerce, her marvellous and rapid development, and the tremendous problems confronting her by reason of her heterogeneous mass of citizens. Nor can we more than hint at the subject of her future as influenced and indicated by



75655

present conditions, and at her place in the growing British Empire. Yet all of these affect very materially the problem that immigration creates. Nevertheless, while we cannot exhaust any of the topics that press in upon us, we must honestly attempt to deal with the subject and contingent problems in a way that will be both practical and profitable, though necessarily not final.

Perhaps the most advantageous treatment can be secured by searching first for the causes of immigration; next, its direction; then its assimilation. From this we may advance to the resultant of this assimilative process, the national spirit developed, our place in the Empire, our fitness to become an independent nation, and our future as presaged by past and present.

This will, of necessity, lead to a fairly thorough investigation of our foreign problem, our assimilating agencies of our educational institutions as the greatest of these, and of the place that religion ought and must play in bringing about desirable citizenship.

One thing that must be kept clearly in mind is, that we are almost entirely at a loss so far as Canadian Literature is concerned in this subject. All our work, therefore, must be pioneering, our hope is that we may at least blaze a way. In this we must be guided largely by the publications of the U. S. A. They have, fortunately for us, under circumstances strikingly analogous to ours, battled with similar conditions, and we have prepared to our hands, fairly good records of their work. We may, by carefully considering their failures and successes, be intelligently guided and permanently benefited. Hence, throughout our discussions, we shall feel free to quote from their experiences and draw inferences for the purpose in hand.

Causes of Emigration.

For practical use we may group all the causes of emigration under three general headings - Expulsive; impulsive - Attractive keeping clearly in mind that though the day for compulsory migration, when armies drove nations in captivity, has passed, and that all emigration is now nominally voluntary, still there exists a certain kind of compulsion in the form of political and religious persecution. Hence all emigration which results from oppression by authority of the ruling government may be classed as expulsive. The impulsive cause is the inherent restlessness in human nature for change or material advancement. The third consists in the efforts put forth by the countries desiring immigrants.

To be more specific however is more advantageous since an accurate and adequate conception of the forces working upon the various peoples and driving them to our shores will enable us to comprehend more clearly the diverse elements which go to make up the aggregate of our polyglot immigration. Let us then consider, in order, the causes of British, American, European, and Asiatic emigration, since these four divisions, roughly, may be made to embrace all the coming
(I)
seventy-five Nationalities.

British.

Our immigrants from the British Isles are impelled to other countries chiefly by their congestion and overpopulation. These have conduced to economic conditions advantageous only to the wealthier part of the community. The result has been the gradual growth of a rigid class system of wage-earners and aristocrats, and this has fostered general dissatisfaction. Rightly or wrongly a majority look upon British aristocracy as a parasite on labor, hence they desire to emigrate and shake off a, to them, intolerable yoke. Coupled with this is the natural longing for improvement in economic conditions. This latter is the primary cause with the more intelligent and fair-minded Britisher.

American

Our American immigrants are induced almost wholly by economic consideration. Politically, for all practical purposes, while one is a democracy and the other a monarchy, there is exactly the same liberty and autonomy in each country, so that this factor need scarcely to be mentioned.

European.

Coming to Europe, however, conditions are very different, and vary greatly in the different countries. In a broad way we may say that all the forces working in the British Isles and in America are present here, together with, in some instances, almost intolerable political and religious oppression, subjection, and race preferment. Take for example the Russian Jew, he is regarded as superior to the Russian peasant⁽²⁾ and for this very reason has been bitterly and jealously persecuted. The Russian could not compete with him, but he could persecute, as for instance by the iniquitous "May Laws"⁽³⁾ which drove so many Jews to the U. S. A.

Again there is the compulsory military service which prevails so largely in Europe: many utterly resent this and deliberately emigrate to evade service.

If we turn to Southern Italy we find the economic cause the chief factor. Here the excessive taxes and consequent poverty make the life of the Italian peasant little better than Slavery.

Asiatic.

Turning now to the Asiatic, we may say that the only weighty influence is the economic. If he has little political freedom in the East he feels the yoke of subjection but indifferently and so has little dissatisfaction on that score. Nor does he particularly desire Western civilization. His desire is not so much to escape the dense population of his home-land as to earn a fortune in America, and then with his hoarded competency return home.

(2). Warne. "The Russian Jew in the United States".

(3). Whelpley. "Problem of the Immigrant" p. 282.

Here then, we have the general causes: they may be condensed approximately to two fundamental ones, oppression and economic considerations.

To these may be added minor causes, the greatest and most baneful of which is the commercial avarice of transportation agencies. These, by their solicitation schemes, are causing dissatisfaction among untold numbers who previously were perfectly contented. Utterly unscrupulous in their methods, and absolutely indiscriminating - except as hindered by legislation -⁽⁴⁾ they take all and sundry, guided only by the capacity of their ships, instead of by the suitability of their cargo, with the natural result that our average immigrant is far less desirable than he would be if immigration were left to its ~~own~~ initiative. R. Mayo Smith⁽⁵⁾ well sums up this in the following, "When emigration is brought about by the free action of a man's own mind without extraneous aids and influence, it is naturally the men who have intelligence, some financial resources, energy, and ambition, who emigrate". Under natural conditions the citizen we need is hardest^{to} be reached for the reason that he is fairly prosperous in his own land, hence these companies are not likely to get him readily. The result is that now, influenced by this abnormal and artificial solicitation, "three great countries - Italy, Austria-Hungary and Russia, where the mass of the people are low in the social scale, and where the percentage of ~~the~~ illiteracy is discreditable to the twentieth century - are being drained of their human dregs through channels made easy by those seeking cargo for their ships." (6)

The prosperity of our continent, the letters of immigrants, the labor contractors, the government advertising bureaus, bad times abroad, the money sent back by settled immigrants, the organized efforts of charitable institutions, the difficulty of becoming a land-owner in the older lands and the cheap land here, the efforts of ~~XXXX~~ real estate men, easy transportation, the mission school, etc. these all have

influenced the millions to come to the land of freedom and of fortune.

- (4). American and Canadian.
- (5). Emigration and Immigration. p. 27.
- (6). Whelpley, The Problem of the Immigrant.

The Direction of Immigration.

No sooner has the emigrant decided on moving than he has decided the direction - it is Westward. Almost without qualification we may say he selects one of two places, the United States, or the British possessions. How large a proportion has gone to the former is sufficiently well known, but as an example, her immigration for the year 1907 alone totalled 1,285,349. 6.a.

Latterly, however, the claim of Canada has begun to be recognized. This is clearly seen by the statistics of the past five years .

Canadian immigration	1904	- - -	134,749.	
	1905	- - -	144,621.	
	1906	- - -	215,912	
	1907	- - -	277,376.	(7)

Not the least remarkable evidence of our growing claim is the steady increase in emigration from the U. S. A. to Canada. In 1901 we had but 127,899 Americans in our Dominion, while, since then, we have received from there no fewer than 322,583. (8)

The Mother-country herself is beginning to awaken to the greatness of her colony; her increasing immigration to Canada in preference to other countries proves this. In 1897 we received from there but 20,000 immigrants, while during the last seven years we have received no less than 900,000. (9) In 1906 we received about 36 per cent of her whole emigration. (10)

A very reasonable question would be, "why do they come to Canada"? Our answer would be threefold: because of our unlimited opportunities, because of our general prosperity, and because of our representative government. Some intending immigrant may ask, will these conditions last, and in answer we would enumerate a few of Canada's Big Things, they speak

for themselves.

- (6)a. Hazell's Annual, 1909.
- (7) Canada Year Book, 1907.
- (8) Census.
- (9) American Review of Reviews, 87: 250.
- (10) Whitaker's Almanac, 1909.

"Canada has an area of 3,619,813 square miles as compared with the U. S. A. which has but 3,500,000 square miles. Yet with our tremendous land area we had, in 1901, a population of only 5,317,315, and even now of less than 6,500,000, or less than 1.5 persons to the square mile, while the U. S. has about 27 to the square mile. (II) Say not that much of Canada's vastness is Arctic and uninviting, much of our North is rich in minerals or valuable for farming. For instance, "the future of Athabasca is more assured than that of Manitoba seemed to be to the doubters of thirty years ago. In a word, there is fruitful land there, and a bracing climate, fit for industrial man, and therefore its settlement is certain." (12)

"Canada is forty times as large as England, Wales and Scotland combined. It would make eleven countries the size of New South Wales. Three British Indias could be carved out of Canada, and still leave enough to make Queensland and a Victoria. It is sixteen times as large as the great German Empire. Her magnificent fresh water seas, together with the majestic St. Lawrence, form an unbroken water communication for 2,140 miles. Our fisheries are the richest in the world. Our magnificent forests are of immense value." (13)

"She owns the largest grain mills in the British Empire; her mines are wealthy beyond computation; her coal deposits cover more than 100,000 square miles; she has more than one-half of the fresh water area of the globe; her railways in length and equipment are second to none; her educational institutions would do credit to many an older nation. Few countries can boast of a coast line washed by three great oceans; of a million square miles of practically unexplored area; of two and a half million square miles of forest; of an national park 5,732 square miles in extent; and of a capacity to support a billion of people." (14).

"Canada is not very old, only 40 years have elapsed since Confederation, yet she can claim more than 80,000,000 acres occupied, growing about 400,000,000 bushels of grain. " (15) Her finance is on a sound basis; her cities are both populous and prosperous; her manufacturers are extensive; her trade and commerce on the increase; her government selfsupporting and representative; her citizens enterprising, successful, and thoroughly satisfied.

- (11) Whelpley • The Problem of the Immigrant. p.59.
- (12) Mair - Through the McKenzie Basin. p. 148.
- (13) Canadian Methodist Magazine. Dec. 1887.
- (14) 5000 facts about Canada. 1908.
- (15) Montreal Daily Herald. Jan. 29.07.

So far then as our resources and economic conditions are concerned we are confident of Canada's fitness, and of her claim being permanently recognized. Sir. Wilfred Laurier has well said, "The Twentieth century belongs to Canada." (16) He adds as a prophecy that from 1901 to 1911 about 2,300,000 immigrants will settle in Canada. Lord Strathcona goes a step further and predicts that " At the end of the twentieth century Canada will have a population twice as large as that of the British Isles". (17) J. Bruce Walker , Supt. of Immigration, Winnipeg, said recently "I could not quote figures , but certainly Canada's immigration for a number of years to come, whether it increases as fast as it has done or not, will certainly continue to flow in very large numbers. Our doors are no longer wide open , but we certainly cannot have too many of the right kind."

These things amply substantiate Canada's claim to recognition , also the place she is taking in world wide immigration. They also account for the optimism on the part of men whose knowledge and judgment are unquestionable. Howard A. Kennedy, (18) in two words, sums up Canada's greatest needs, "Men and Money."

Immigration is supplying the men; "like a mighty stream, it finds its source in a hundred rivulats. The huts of the mountain and the hovels of the Plain are the springs which feed; the fecundity of the races of the old world the

inexhaustable source . It is a march, the like of which the world has never seen, and the moving columns are animated by but one idea - that of escaping from evils which have made existence intolerable, and of reaching the free air of countries where conditions are better shaped to the welfare of the masses of the people. It is a vast procession of varied humanity, forever moving, and always in the same direction: a marching army whose vanguard disappears, absorbed where it finds a resting place." (19)

- (16) Massey Hall Speech. Toronto.
- (17) 5000 Facts of Canada. 1908.
- (18) New Canada and the New Canadians.

They are here, "the Hindoo with the common dish of currie and rice; the Chinese with his chopsticks; the Indian with his birchbark canoe; the Parthians and Medes and Elamites and the dwellers of Mesopotamia; Jews , Cretes and Arabians⁽²⁰⁾; Russians, Italians, and Japanese; plodding Germans and vivacious Frenchmen; brawny Galicians and non-resisting Doukhobors; men from every nation under heaven; all colors, all creeds, all castes, all temperaments; and the question of our future, their future, is one of paramount interest to every son of Canada. What shall we do with them? How shall we assimilate them? "Our safety demands the assimilation of these strange populations, and the process of assimilation becomes slower and more difficult as the proportion of foreigners increases. We may well ask whether this insymp insweeping immigration is to foreignize us or are we to Canadianize it." (1) Here then is our problem; how can we solve it?

"All those in our land who use other tongues than English are classed together in an indiscriminate mass as foregnors. We know that such people are here; casual observation and current periodicals inform us that their number is increasing; but, cut off from them as most of us are, by language, residence, and employment, we know little of who they are or how many, of whence they come, and whither they settle. We fail to note any distinctions which may exist

among them in speech, in intelligence, in social customs, in morality, or in religion"⁽²⁾ In order, however, that we may have an accurate and comprehensive grasp of the colossal problem confronting us, and so be enabled to grapple with its solution, we much necessarily spend some time in acquainting ourselves with these diversified strangers within our gates. We shall deal then, first with the peoples themselves, studying their dispositions, tendencies, and national characteristics, and in doing this shall, for the sake of system and thoroughness, combined with brevity, follow more or less the race grouping adopted by Samuel McLenahan in "Our People of Foreign Speech". Then, when we know the material we have at hand, we shall be in a position to deal intelligently with the problem of assimilation.

(19) Whelpley. The Problem of the Immigrant. P. 2.

(20) Salter - Our Country and its inhabitants. Tract.

(1) Strong. The Challenge of the City.

(2) McLenahan - Our People of Foreign Speech. Preface.

Strangers within our gates.

1. British Immigration.

All of these may be taken together, as, generally, speaking, they are our most desirable immigrants. Mr. J. Bruce Walker says, "The British Agriculturists are the finest class of immigrants we have. But we do not want the riffraf from the City slums. They may be all right as men, but they are useless from our standpoint. The charitable and benevolent societies are sending us many men of the right class, but unfortunately they also send us too many of the wrong class. I would suggest that they send to us the country laborer, then drain the cities to fill their places at home; then, when these city people have become accustomed to farm and country life they too would be desirable settlers." On this I pass no comment, the implications would take us too far for present uses. Sufficient to say that the British are our own blood, speak our own language, have the same ideals, religion, sentiment, and patriotism. Consequently they will be welcomed in ever-increasing numbers. Our one care should be not restriction, but inducement with selection.

2. American Immigration.

The above applies almost equally to the American, as we have very much in common. As a nation we welcome them to our Provinces, especially so since they have for the most part the settled purpose of farming and the necessary experience and capital to do so successfully. Generally they are of a desirable class, but there is one grave exception, that is the Mormon element.

Mormons. Our objection to them is based not on prejudice but on principle, it is threefold: we object to

1. Their commⁿistic life.
2. Their polygamous practices.
3. Their surrender of personal liberty to the absolutism of the priest.

The priest makes them slow of assimilation and renders them a too ready prey to the political heeler. Already in Southern Alberta they are nearly strong enough to hold the balance of power; the danger is seen in the following statement by one of their leaders, "Our vote is solid, and will remain so. It will be thrown were the most good will be done for the Church."⁽³⁾

The other two are violations against our national law and temper. Their presence is a serious menace to our Western civilization, our only hope lies in a thoughtful effort to assimilate them.

In fairness to the U. S. A. we are forced to admit that though they are part of our American Immigration they are in no true ~~Sense~~ American.

3. The T^utonis Group.

1. Germans.
2. Scandinavians - Danes.
- Norwegians
- Swedes.
3. Hollanders.

Of these, very little indeed may be said. They are universally recognized as preeminently desirable. The German and his beer, is from time to time a moral force that is not always uplifting, but on the whole he measures up well. Prof.

Ed. Steiner⁽⁴⁾ says " I have always found him industrious , intelligent, honest, frugal, patriotic, and God-fearing - noble qualities for American citizenship. "

The Scandinavians surpass the Germans when considered as a whole: next to British and American they are our best class. In everything which makes a strong people and a great nation they take an active and enthusiastic part. They are strong in their support of school, Church, and state, and are among the most relentless foes of the liquor traffic.

4. The Finns and Magyars (Hungarians)

For historic reasons McLenahan separates these from the Slav family. Many other writers include them among the Slavs, as for instance, Howard B. Grose.⁽⁵⁾ Our aim is not classification, but national fitness and characteristics, hence we may follow McLenahan's division without prejudice.

(3) Woodsworth - Strangers within our Gates. manuscript.

(4) Steiner - On the Trail of the Immigrants . p. 109.

(5) Grose - The incoming Millions. p. 68.

The Finns. These people are almost entirely classed as Lutherians by religion. They are mostly laborers, very few being classed as skilled or professional . Their illiteracy is remarkably low, being only 2 per cent.⁽⁶⁾ They come to settle permanently.

The Magyars, or Hungarians.

"The Magyar is intensely patriotic and emigrates only under economic or political compulsion; hence he often returns to Hungary at the first opportunity".⁽⁷⁾ "About 86 per cent of them are literate. Their moral and industrial status is higher than that of the Slav. They are high-strung and nervous and less adaptable than the Slovaks. They do not readily assimilate or adopt our citizenship."⁽⁸⁾ In fact, Marcus Braun,⁽⁹⁾ late Inspector of immigration, claims to have discovered a deliberate policy of Hungarian authorities to prevent permanent residence on this continent. They are reputed to be honest and intelligent, but not strikingly industrious. Perhaps 25 per cent of them are Protestants, and it is claimed that these are "morally and intellectually superior to their Catholic compatriots."⁽¹⁰⁾ "Intensely social

fond of conviviality and gaiety, bright, polished, graceful, quick to learn English, and adapt himself to his new surroundings - pride, independence, fertility of resource, lack of perseverance - these are his qualities."^(II) His proportion of pauperism ^{is} low. ⁽¹²⁾ His physical fitness, as shown by Canadian statistics, ⁽¹³⁾ very fair. Many are addicted to drink and are quarrelsome.

- (6) U. S. A. Immigration statistics, 1902.
- (7) Dr. Allan McLaughlan - Pop. Sc. Mo. L x v:432.
- (8) Hall - Immigration and its effects upon the U. S.
- (9) Document 348. H.R. 59th Congress.
- (10) McLenahan. Our People of Foreign Speech. P. 32.
- (II) Aliens and Americans. P. 178.
- (12) Facts on Immigration. P. 45.
- (13) Table XI. Immigration report. Part 2, 1907.

5. The Slavic Group.

"Nowhere is descrimination based on knowledge more necessary than in d ealing with this Slavic Race division. Least known, least liked, and least assimilable of all the alien races immigrating to America are the Slavs. That expresses the general opinion based on ignorance and dislike. To the common view they seem to combine all the undesirable elements - low living, low intelligence, low morality, low capacity, low everything, including wages. We are now to submit this common opinion to the test of investigation and see whether it is warranted in fact.⁽¹⁴⁾"

The following nationalities are generally classed as Slavs.

1. Bohemians.
2. Slovaks .
3. Poles.
4. Lithuanians.
5. Russians.
6. Ruthenians.
7. Croatians, and Slovenians.
8. Dalmations, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians.
9. Bulgarians, Servians, and Montenegrins.

Space forbids us to take up these individually, and their anologous character lessens the need, hence we shall deal with them mostly as a whole.

Opinion varies to every shade as to the desirability of these peoples as immigrants, so that our most profitable course is to briefly ^{review} some of their distinguishing features.

(15) Howard B. Grosse says, "They are ignorant, squalid, and brutal to a degree, - - - but they can be uplifted."

"They have the virtues and faults of their primitive world. They come to America to make money, then go back.

Unenterprising, and unlettered, they are at the same time hardy, thrifty, and shrewd, honest and pious. They are undoubtedly highly endowed with gifts of imagination and artistic expression." (16)

(14) Aliens and Americans. p. 159.

(15) The Incoming Millions. P. 68.

(16) Aliens and Americans. P. 184.

J. Bruce Walker says "The people from the South West of Europe are the most easily assimilable of all races for the reason that they come to us with nothing very fixed. They have no great grip on religion, no definite and set modes of thought or ways of living, hence they readily adapt themselves to their environment. He has three great advantages over the Northerners; he is very imitative, has great power of adaptation, and has a genius for assimilation." (17) Edward A. Steiner (18) expresses the same sentiment "If I were sent out to-day to find the people best fitted to replenish our physical stock, to help in winning the wealth of forest and mine - - - I should go to these very villages - - - from which our recent immigration comes." The same author adds "The Slovak and the Pole are among the most industrious and patient people who come to our shores." This statement is backed up by a careful perusal of statistics based on a comparison of the states which have a preponderance of this so-called objectionable ^{the} class. It seems to imply that these states have per capita 60 per cent of the average wealth of the U. S. A. , while the states without this element have but 40 per cent per capita.

Mr. O. P. Austin, (19) in an excellent magazine article sums up the situation as follows:-

1. They are capable of easy assimilation.

2. They are not filling our jails out of proportion.
3. They are much alive to education for their children even though illiterate themselves.
4. They are not particularly dangerous in politics.
5. They are an important factor from the wealth producing standpoint.

"In general it may be said that the Slavic immigrant furnishes probably the most difficult problem with which we have to deal, For while, like other immigrants he has large possibilities of development, provided his environment is favorable, his pasts, his customs, and his inherited traditions make change very slow,

(17) Personal interview.

(18) Steiner, The Trail of the Immigrant. p. 317.

(19) N. Amer, Review, 178: 559.

especially in view of his temporary residence, and the persistence with which his love for his native country and language survive. In the second and third generations, indeed, many of the Slavs desire the concentration of advantages, and consequently their birth rate is falling, and their standard of living rising". (20) "It must not be forgotten that the Slav immigrants, and especially their descendants, are impressionable and adaptable; that forces are at work that have already done much for them, and will do more. The results of the public school are sure though slow. The full grown individual must be brought under the influence of a yet more powerful agency, one which makes also for civilization and for Americanism in the best sense". (1)

Abundance of figures are at hand the shew his too prevailing illiteracy, his poverty, urban tendency, religious persuasions, characteristics, integrity, criminality, physical status, etc, but the above estimates of their character and desirability, recorded by well-informed and unprejudiced men, give us a better understanding of the Slav than any mere compilation of statistics.

4. The Jews.

About five sixths of the Jewish immigration is from Russia,⁽²⁾ to describe these will be sufficient.

Already mention has been made of the iniquitous "May Laws" enforced by Russia against the Jews. This intolerable oppression drives them to seek a land of peace and liberty. They are a large part of our recent foreign immigration. That they stand the medical test after admittance to Canada is seen by the fact that only three were deported after landing for the three fiscal years 1904-5-6-7, or an average of 1 in 6,021. "The strong good quality^{ies} of the Jews are, absence of the drink evil, love of home, the desire to preserve its purity, and remarkable eagerness for self-improvement. They easily adapt themselves to the new environment and assimilate the language and customs of the new country".⁽³⁾ He has a great

(20) Hall, Immigration and its effects upon the U. S. p.65.

(1) Warne, The Invasion of the Slavs.

(2) Govt. Reports, 1907.

(3) Grose, Aliens and Americans. p/ 190.

love for orthodoxy, and a desire for education equalled only by his avarice for wealth. Considering his condition in Russia it is a remarkable fact that not more than 18 per cent are illiterate.⁽⁴⁾ Their health is demonstrated by their continuously low death rate under even the most disadvantageous conditions of slum life. Moreover, his benevolent disposition has induced him to care, almost exclusively, for his own dependants, hence there is little needed from public charity. Politically he is intelligent and in recent years "so important has the Russian vote become that all parties have made a bid for its support",⁽⁵⁾ and all alike have found that their vote is neither controllable nor purchasable. He is an excellent example of new citizenship. "As his children attend the public school almost invariably, we are convinced that the generation which will succeed the Russian Jew of to-day will prove to be good citizens, morally, physically, and mentally".⁽⁶⁾ While he is perhaps somewhat abnormally litigious he has a very low criminal record, and subscribes only a minimum to the vagrant

classes.

Apparently his greatest defect is his inevitable drift towards the populous cities. There he festers in the Ghetto, his morals, his living, his integrity, soul and all sinks in this sweltering heap, while his children swell the ranks of criminality and shame in undue proportion. Give him manual training, teach him the mechanical trades and the professions, drain him from the Ghetto and sweat shops, and "we have no doubt but that the new day about to break will shew the Russian American Jew as a man of power, with mind well-stocked, and judgment well trained, with sympathies well ~~trained~~ refined for all that is good, true and noble; with loyalty most intense for the best that American calls her own; a citizen well worthy of the prerogative of the sovereignty which American citizenship confers." (8)

They are of Slavic stock closely akin to the Poles and Slovaks. He is taller, often of lighter complexion, and is usually in a more prosperous condition than his brother from the South. He is intelligent, literate, skilled, and converses fluently with the German or Scandinavian.

- (4) Immigration Report, U. S. A. 1902.
- (5) Bernheimer, The Russian Jew in the U. S. A.
- (6) do. into two distinct classes, Northern and Southern.
- (7) Baron Hersch - Russia at the Bar of the American People, p. 415.

They are of Slavic stock closely akin to the Poles and Slovaks. He is taller, often of lighter complexion, and is usually in a more prosperous condition than his brother from the South. He is intelligent, literate, skilled, and converses fluently with the German or Scandinavian.

The Southerners occupy the provinces North of the Gulf, and the Island of Sicily. He is poor, ignorant, and too often the tool of the padroni. However he is a good laborer, is quick to learn, and has a dexterity of hand which adapts him to trades requiring manual skill.

Perhaps no nation is so readily recognized, in our minds, with crime as is the Italian. Instinctively we think of the "Mafia" and the menacing threat of the "Mafia" or "Black Hand".

(8) Dr. Allan McLaughlin, Exp. Co. No. LIV. Vol.

7. The Romance Tongues.

1. Roumanians.
2. French.
3. Spanish.
4. Portuguese.
5. Italians.

A few paragraphs will suffice for the first four of these, but the Italians must be dealt with more fully because of their probable large future immigration.

Most of the Roumanians who come are Jews. The actual Roumanians might advantageously be classed with the Slavs. Both of which have been described above.

French immigration is small, and tends to be of the better class, largely artisans and professionals. While the Spanish and Portuguese immigration is so small we may pass it in silence.

Italian immigration.

The Italian question, however, is a large one, and probably will soon become even larger. This nationality must be divided into two distinct classes, Northern and Southern.

The Northerners hail from Piedmont, Lombardy, and Venezia. They are of Keltic stock closely akin to the French and Swiss. He is taller, often of lighter complexion, and is usually in a more prosperous condition than his brother from the South. "He is intelligent, literate, skilled, and compares favorably with the German or Scandinavian". (8)

The Southerners occupy the provinces South of Rome, and the Island of Sicily. He is poor, ignorant, and too often the tool of the padroni. However he is a good farmer, is quick to learn, and has a deftness of hand which adapts him to trades requiring manual skill.

Perhaps no nation is so readily associated, in our minds, with crime as is the Italian. Instinctively we think of the "Stiletto" and the ominous threat of the "Mafia" or "Black Hand".

(8) Dr. Allan McLaughlin. Pop. Sc. Mo. LXV. 341.

Involuntarily and almost unconsciously we have condemned the whole race. Have we been just in hasty judgment? Facts must answer.

Mr. Bradenburgh, a man who has spent years among them, living as one of themselves in order to ascertain the truth, says "I repeat, the Mafia in America is nothing but a bugaboo. Men who belong to small criminal gangs used the word as a means of extortion, and the mysterious murders which frequently happen- always with the Italians as ^{the} victims, are private vendettas".⁽⁹⁾ The Italian has lived for ages where he could get no justice by legal means, hence he took the law into his own hands; this characteristic combined with his natural hot-headed disposition lies at the bottom of these murderous attacks. The heart of the Italian nation is as much shocked at these inhuman outrages as is the community of which we form part.

Conclusive proof of these things is furnished by the U. S. criminal records. But first, listen to the opinion of an expert in criminology who has travelled extensively in Italy and knows these people on both sides of the sea. "There are, no doubt", says Dr. J. S. Barrows,⁽¹⁰⁾ "murders of sheer brutality, or those committed in the course of robbery. There are know instances also of blackmail and dastardly assassination by individuals or bands of ruffians. But such outrages are utterly at variance with the known disposition of the great mass of the Italians in this country. There are vile men in every nationality, and it does not appear by any substantial evidence that the Italian is peculiarly burdened, though it has been unwarrantably reproached through ignorance or prejudice".

By far the greatest amount of crime is caused by intemperance, and here the Italians are at a decided advantage for they are among the least intemperate of our foreign peoples, and far less so than the average native-born".⁽¹¹⁾ These murderous attacks stand out "but in the aggregate of crime, the Italian, by reason of his sobriety,

(9) Bradenburgh, Imprted Americans. p/ 148.

(10) The Italians in America. 215, and 216.

(11) Grose., Aliens and Americans. P. 141.

presents a better record in this country than many of the races called desirable". (12)

The U. S. Census, 1900, presents a table shewing the number of persons in each million who were in that year either prisoners juvenile offenders, paupers, or inmates of benevolent institutions. A study of these tables reveals the following facts

English 7,160.

Scotch 7,288

Italians 9,877

French 10,864.

Irish 16,624. (13)

Grose refers to the Mass^{achusetts} figures and remarks "The Irish averaged 27.1 per 1000, then came Welsh, English, Scotch, Norwegian, then the Italians with only 12.9 per 1000." (14)

Statistics and quotations re crime could be multiplied but they all substantiate those already given.

Their illiteracy is, North 12 per cent. South 49 per cent (15)
Their pauperism is remarkably low. The same is true of their rate of insanity. Here again the Irish lead, having in ward 5,943 inmates, then come Germans, English, Scandinavianians, and Italians with but 718 if the 1900 reports are correct.

It is said that figures can be made to prove anything, be that as it may, the foregoing is conclusive as to the real character of the Italianx as we find him in America. True he is at first largely a "bird of passage" but he does assimilate, he is hot-headed and rash but presently he becomes law-abiding and more rational. He is not afraid of work and quickly adapts himself to his surroundings. "He has great capacities for development. He comes of a great race. - - Italy has produced a brilliant succession of artists, poets, musicians, and scientists A people that gave birth to a Savmarola, martyr for religious freedom; and to a Garibaldi, champion of human liberty, cannot be very far out of sympathy with our ideals". (16)

(12) Pop. Sc. Mo. LXV: 345.

(13) N. Amer. Review, 178:559.

(14) The Incoming Millions. p. 60.

(15) U. S. Chart. 1902.

(16) The Incoming Millions. p. 67.

8. Tongues of the Levant.

1. Turks.
2. Syrians.
3. Armenians.
4. Greeks.

Of these, McLaughlin⁽¹⁷⁾ says, "The Greeks are the best, but they are the worst of all our immigrants. The Syrians do not like work. The Armenians are traders, few workers. Their physique is poor, and the percentage of contagious and loathsome diseases very high. - - - Centuries ~~of~~ subjection, where existence was possible only through intrigue, deceit, and servility, have left their mark, and, through force of habit they lie most naturally and by preference, and tell the truth only when it will serve their purpose best". Their illiteracy is very high. Syrians and Turks 54 per cent. Greeks 28 per cent.⁽¹⁸⁾ Armenians 21.9 per cent.⁽¹⁹⁾ It is rather remarkable that according to the 1903 U. S. A. reports, of the Syrians 1 in 29 were reported as having disabilities grave enough to make them become public charges, and of the Greeks 1 in 30 were sent back for the same reason. Many of the lower class are regarded as extremely objectionable. From every standpoint, they are, on the whole, our most undesirable immigrants.

9. The Orientals.

1. Hindoos
2. Chinese.
3. Japanese.

There remain now but the nations of the far East. These have been forced upon our attention during the last year in a way by no means favorable to our Western Province through the unseemly demonstrations in the City of Vancouver. True there was dissatisfaction, but surely a nominally christian nation has passed the stage where communities should use mob violence against undesirables. The problemx

(17) Pop. Sc. Mo. LXV.432.

(18) U. S. A. Immigration Report. 1903.

(19) Hall, Immigration and its effect upon the U. S. p. 41.

becomes more vexed since one nationality, the Hindus, are citizens of our own great empire. Our aim, the tabulation of their characteristics favorable or unfavorable, forbids us at this stage from dealing fully with the whole complex question. But we are bound to dwell here awhile.

The Hindoo.

"The classes that have been coming to Canada are largely Sikhs, with some Hindus. The Sikhs are the lower class, the coolie entirely dependant on their physical capabilities."⁽²⁰⁾ Perhaps their greatest disability is their system of four rigid castes. It will be difficult for them to benefit us if they retain their Indian exclusiveness in this respect. Again there is the climate consideration, the Southern skies have enervated them, they cannot stand the strain and severity of climate with any degree of success. That they are clean, honest, and willing so far as they are able seems fairly well established.

Saint M. Sing,⁽¹⁾ one of their fellow countrymen, a scholar, and traveller, wrote - during the disturbances spoken of above - several trenchant articles in the Canadian magazines and newspapers, setting forth their side of the question. He says, "They emigrate because of economic conditions, - - As for personal cleanliness, the Hindus have been basely slandered. - - In his abstemiousness from intoxicating drinks the average Indian can set a very timely lesson to his fellow working men of all nationalities. - - As regards the inhumanity of their treatment on arrival and since, on that score, shame must forever rest upon this City, and especially upon those who have engineered the present great public scandal. - - As long as the empire exists surely every member is entitled to be received at least as well as such foreign races as Galicians, Doukhebers, Chinese and Japanese. - - - What is going to be the upshot of this deplorable agitation? Where is this unfortunate and misguided hostility directed against men of the same origin and Empire fated to end."

These things the fairminded Canadian must squarely face; and when we do so, our attitude may well be tinged with humility..

(20) Can. Magazine 28: 286.

(1) Magazine articles.

Numerous efforts have been made to expatriate them, so far without success. For the present the Federal Government has acted wisely in arranging for a discontinuance of this immigration, Chinese and Japanese.

These nationalities may advantageously be treated together.

Their ability to labor and propper is abundantly manifested. Their oriminal record is extremely favorable, so also is their lack of dependance on public charity. On the other hand numerous objections have been raised against them, as for instance, "their labor deprives white labor of employment, it lowers wages, lowers also the standard of living, they tend to keep white immigrants away: they are loathsome in their habits, filthy in their dwellings, vile in their morals, and so tend to spread prostitution; their opium habits and gambling tendencies are dangerous to our country; then, most important of all, they do not assimilate with the whites and so can never become an integral part of the population."⁽²⁾ It is also objected that he sends home his money, and having no intention of becoming a permanent resident has no interest in our public institutions. And, they add, to change this condition of things is practically impossible, for "to adapt the Chinaman to our institutions, we should be obliged to begin by eradicating his religion, superstitions, traditions, ideals, and customs - all of which have been so welded to his mind after 4000 years of inheritance as to have become part of himself."⁽³⁾

McLaughlan⁽⁴⁾ follows in the same strain and adds "they bring more ~~dases~~ absolutely and relatively of contagious disease than any other nationality coming here".

But there is another side to all this: let us place ourselves unreservedly in their position, then ask should we, with race prejudice and preferential legislation against us, be over-anxious to throw in our allegiance with a nation which did not desire, but rather spurned us? "Admit them, laborers as well as merchants and students, give them citizenship and qualified suffrage, open the schools to their children - and assimilation will be rapid and complete".⁽⁵⁾

" The laws

(2) Emigration and Immigration. p. 243.

(3) The Forum. 33: 57.

(4) Pop. Sc. Mo. LXVI: 121.

(5) Prof. Hutchinson. Pop. Sc. Mo. LXVI: 61.

should be uniform - - - if they be debarred why not debar the illiterate and unskilled laborers that comes from Italy and Austria-Hungary? - - - There are no healthier immigrants coming to this country. It is with difficulty, and only under pressure of necessity, that they are induced to leave China, so that the bugbear of millions of coolies overrunning American is absurd. (6)

It is unfair for us to regard these Orientals as inferior nations, rather they are undeveloped and mediaeval. But how soon they can wake and demonstrate their superiority is proven by the remarkable advancement of Japan during the last three decades. China had had a high form of civilization for over 4000 years: think what we have received from her. There is a time coming when China's tread will make the whole world shake. She has the population, she has the power; her old religions are slipping away, and in their stead she is putting on the robe of Christ's righteousness, and, just so far as she is adopting Christianity and Western civilization, just so far is she demonstrating her fitness as a nation to survive. Are we wise then, in tantalizing her on the one hand with our riots and almost prohibitive legislation, and on the other spending our dollars for her evangelization?

Give them fair play, encourage them to bring their women, let their children mix with ours - set an example to California, and Canada will prove even with the Asiatics, immiscible as they heretofore have seemed, that there is in humanity everywhere a definite substratum, a residuum, which we can and will assimilate into one common body politic.

Here, then, briefly though apparently in bulk, we have presented the various aggregate massed within our borders; and what have we found? Assuredly it is a conglomerate, a poly-glot in language, nationality, and character. Our problem now commences. Can we assimilate them? We have spoken of them separately, now, in order that we may get a working perspective of the whole, let us mass them so that we may know what we have collectively.

Taking them first as to criminality and what do we find?

"The foreign born show actually a lower rate of criminality than the total native born" (7) "But this analysis brings out a fact far

(6) Mrs L. S. Baldwin in the Incoming Millions. p. 187.
(7) Commons. Races and Immigrants in American. p. 168.

more significant than any yet adverted to, and e. g. that the native-born children of immigrants show a proportion of criminality greater than that of the foreign-born themselves, and 70% greater than that of the children of native parents." (8) This lamentable condition is amply verified from many sources, but, be it said, it is largely the result of City life; here the parents seem to lose control over their children, the parent cannot speak English, and the result too often is a loss of respect for the parent. The outcome of rural life is far more beneficial and far less criminal. A pertinent question to ask here would be, how would compulsory education affect criminality? My own opinion is that it would do much to better the condition; now the children are unrestricted, they run wild, and are free to pick up the education of the street, being uncoupled, they have time for the unhindered indulgence of their depraved inclinations. In school much of this would be remedied, the surrounding influences would tend to elevate instead of debase, and would at the same time fit them to occupy advantageous positions in life, whereas now they are doomed to the gutter and to the penitentiary.

Next comes the question of pauperism. Many of them care for their own poor, but many others become a public charge more or less. Here, on the whole, we find the figures for criminality entirely reversed, and we have less than one-half as much poverty among the children of foreigners as among the foreigners themselves. In fact the U. S. A. statistics shew that the children of foreigners and the native-born furnish about equal percentages of paupers. In education we have great numbers of indifferently literate and many illiterates. It is however gratifying to see the foreigners as a whole much interested in the educational welfare of his children. For instance, the interest manifested by foreigners in Winnipeg night schools is (9) a reasonable index of what we might expect with satisfactory educational facilities.

(8) Commons. Races and Immigrants in America. p. 168.

(9) D. McIntyre M. A. , Report of Education. Wpg. 1907.

(10) Wanderer of Strangers within our Gates. Manuscript.

(11) Extract from letter.

Politically they are largely unacquainted with responsible government, and as a result, while not wholly, yet too largely, they are at the mercy of unscrupulous politicians. This would be largely remedied by a policy of selective nationalization and qualitative enfranchisement. Their loyalty to their native land is a feature strongly in their favor, and indicates excellent material for true Canadian citizenship.

Coming to the problem of assimilation from the standpoint of our ratio of foreigners to the total population we find that "during the past seven and a half years over 28 per cent of our total immigration was non-English speaking. Most numerous of these are the Galicians, then the Italians, third the Hebrews, and fourth those from Russia. During the six months ending Dec. 31st, '07. we find 33.3 per cent foreigners, in order as follows Japanese, Hebrews, Russians, Italians, Galicians." (IO) During the year ending Dec. 31st '08., however, owing to the practical cessation of Japanese and Hindoo immigration, and the increase from the British Isles, the proportion of English-speaking has again largely increased.

That this condition of affairs is likely to continue, is probable judging from the discriminative and selective tendency displayed by the Minister of the Interior, and his colleagues. Since 1902, when the Canadian Government enacted a bill prohibiting the landing of diseased immigrants either for Canada or in transit to other countries, their policy has become steadily more restrictive. Our capable commissioner W. G. Scott, in a letter to U. S. A. commissioner Wathorn wrote "It is quite true, however, that our examination so far as money standard is concerned, is not particularly strict, but aside from that, on all other points, I do not know that there is very much difference between the general reasons for deportation taken into consideration by the Canadian and U. S. Officials". (II)

This legislation, and that now pending, to extend the time of deportation for these becoming a public

(IO) Woodsworth? Strangers within our Gates. Manuscript.

(II) Extract from letter.

charge from two years to three, will make our laws compare very favorably with those of the U. S. A. It will also tend ^{to} lower the immigration of foreigners. While the added ~~and~~ endeavor on the part of the Government to induce British Emigrants to choose Canada as their future home has been, and will continue to become increasingly effective. Mr. J. Obed Smith, our former Winnipeg commissioner of immigration says, "It is confidently expected that a steady ratio of increase in immigration from the British Isles will be the good fortune of Canada for several years to come". The opinion of the present commissioner has already been quoted. Hence, even though we granted that foreigners were undesirable, our present immigration is not largely made up of their numbers.

Just a word as to the actual ratio of our foreigners to our population may be of advantage here. For a moment let us compare the populations of Canada and the U. S. A.

"Population	1790 U.S.A.	3,929,214.
"	1891 Canada	4,833,239.
"	1800 U.S.A.	5,308,483.
"	1901 Canada	5,371,315.

It will be seen that the U. S. A. stood a century ago, with regard to numbers where we stand to-day, But what a difference in immigration. Last year (1907) our immigration was over a quarter of a million, a mark not reached in the U. S. A. till 1849. That is, when the U. S. A. contained our population she received one settler - we received thirty-six . What about our task to assimilate them? " (12)

Even to-day our task as compared with theirs is stupendous. They have a population of say 80,000,000, and a total immigration of about 1,280,000 annually, or about 1.7 per 100. While Canada with a population of about 6,250,000 received in 1907, a total of 277,376 immigrants or about 4.3 per 100. Truly the outlook is more than serious unless our churches and our Statesmen prove themselves to be giants in heart and intellect.

Can we assimilate them?

At last, then, we are face to face with the real issue.

Can we assimilate our incoming immigrants? In passing we may ask has the U. S. A. assimilated her masses? Let her speak for herself: take New York as an extreme example; "by crossing the Bowery you enter first the vast Jewish colony; and then, walking on find yourself in Italy; going North East you enter into Germany; circling around to the South you pass through a Negro settlement and a section of Ireland until you come to Syria: if you continue your tour you may visit Bohemia, China, and Greece. Nor have you exhausted the list. Jacob Riis says, "the only colony you cannot find is a distinctively American colony". (13) Then think of "Tammany Hall" and politics; let "Graft" cross your path; pause, and consider Municipal administration, or mal-administration; sigh over a continental Sabbath: bemoan her empty churches and manifest irreligion; then, in spite of her splendid statesmen, capable educational leaders, and eloquent preachers, let us ask ourselves frankly the question, has she Americanized them or have they foreignized her? Our answer will assuredly be involved, and necessarily cannot be clear-cut. In all sincerity I ask will Canada be satisfied with

if her assimilation is analogous to that over the border; or do we desire something different, something higher, something more truly democratic, something more distinctly Christian? America's problem, largely, is ours: but she has had a long practical application of the teaching of Christ, our national religion must be preponderantly Protestant. are satisfied with the result of her process of nation-making, then let us emulate her; but if not, then let us define to ourselves clearly and concisely what we desire our national spirit, the ethos of our people, our future distinctive character to be, and when this is known let us set in motion those forces which will inevitably bring about the desired result.

Following a definite policy with a given end in view. What is this policy, and

if her economic well-being of the nation must also be carefully guarded. Conditions must be such that the few shall not monopolize the wealth of the nation at the expense of the general populace.

Finally, it must be a righteous nation, founded upon the solid rock of Christianity. "As a man thinketh in his heart so is he" the same is equally true of nations. And since Protection has given to us the highest recognition and practical application of the teaching of Christ, our national religion must be preponderantly Protestant.

are satisfied with the result of her process of nation-making, then let us emulate her; but if not, then let us define to ourselves clearly and concisely what we desire our national spirit, the ethos of our people, our future distinctive character to be, and when this is known let us set in motion those forces which will inevitably bring about the desired result.

Following a definite policy with a given end in view. What is this policy, and

What does Canada desire as the dominant national spirit of her people?

Primarily it must be a unit, we must become one unified and indivisible people. Composed of many elements as we shall be, yet there must be one fundamental national temperament of which we shall all equally partake.

Then there must be a recognized standard of moral and social ethics. This, we grant, will not be the prevailing spirit of present day Canadianism, but it must not be of a lower order. Therefore, we must be very careful that it shall contain all the best characteristics of all the nations, with the inferior traits of none.

Again it must be highly intelligent, well informed, proportionally developed in all that pertains to an intellectually superior people.

The principle of democracy must be basal; we must have universal representation and equality in the government and administration of the commonwealth.

The economic well-being of the nation must also be carefully guarded. Conditions must be such that the few shall not monopolize the wealth of the nation at the ~~loss~~^{expense} of the general populace.

Lastly, it must be a righteous nation, founded upon the solid rock of Christianity. "As a man thinketh in his heart so is he" ⁽¹⁴⁾, the same is equally true of nations. And since Protestantism has given to us the highest exposition and practical application of the teaching of Christ, our national religion must be preponderatengly Protestant.

That the desired result will not be brought about by the working of blind chance is an aphorism. We must employ rational means to achieve our purpose. That we believe ourselves capable of assimilating them is amply attested by the fact that we are still anxious for their continued inflow. We are, moreover, following a definite policy with a given end in view. What is this policy, and

(14) Bible.

what is the end aimed at? To discover these we must carefully investigate our methods of assimilation, and in doing this we shall see whether they are suitable and sufficient to achieve the desired result.

Assimilating Agencies.

Distribution.

One of the greatest factors in assimilation is the systematic distribution of the newcomers. Clannishness is human, but not necessarily is it rational, hence the question of segregation or colonization becomes one of vital importance. If the foreign population now in our Dominion were scattered throughout the whole country so that every foreigner was surrounded by several Canadian citizens the problem would largely solve itself. But such is not the case, for in almost all of our large cities we find the counterpart of Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia. Not only in our cities, but in the country also we find communities of English and Welsh, Mormons and Mennonites, Dutch, French, and Icelanders, Hebrews and Ruthenians, Douk⁴obers, Swedes, Germans, etc. We seem to forget that "when immigrants segregate themselves in various quarters of our great cities, our language ceases to be a necessity to them. Ideas and customs remain foreign. The essential elements of their environment they have brought with them". (14a)

This system makes assimilation difficult and almost impossible. In addition it also creates a disadvantageous political problem; too often it places the balance of power in the hands of a people indiscriminating and incapable because of their natural disadvantages. This renders them a ready prey to corrupt partisan politicians.

The following extract from U. S. A. Commissioner Sargents report speaks volumes from a country where segregation has gone to seed, "such colonies are a menace to the physical, social, moral, and political purity of the country. They are hot-beds for the

propagation and growth of these false ideas of political and personal freedom whose germs have been vitalized by ages of oppression under unequal and partial laws, which find their first concrete expression in resistance to constituted authority, even occasionally in the assassination of the of the lawful agents of that authority. They are the breeding grounds ^{also} of moral depravity; the centres of propagation of physical disease. Above all, they are the congested places in the industrial body which check the free circulation of labor to those parts where it is most needed, and where it can be most benefited. Do away with them, and the greatest peril of immigration will be removed⁽¹⁵⁾.

The same problem is presented on every hand. "The question of the alien immigrant is a serious enough one even when he scatters himself in larger or smaller communities throughout the rural sections, but when he crowds by the thousands into our cities he creates a situation extremely dangerous and extremely difficult to deal with".⁽¹⁶⁾ Rev. S. P. Rose, D.D. in an article in the same issue of the Guardian, draws our attention to the housing menace in Winnipeg. This condition of things is the direct result of city segregation. Bad housing means bad-health, bad morals, bad government, bad citizenship, bad everything. The pernicious results can scarcely be over-drawn.

Walter F. Wilcox⁽¹⁷⁾ says the system is "disadvantageous to the immigrants, and a menace to the country".

That the problem confronting Canada is serious is seen from the facts already given, but the outlook is even more serious, for our population is tending more and more to *urbanity* as the last two census reports conclusively prove. For instance in 1891 only 32 per cent of our population dwelt in cities, while in 1901 the percentage had risen to thirty-eight, in the hundred. Personal observation demonstrates that much of this increase is due to the foreigner.

(15) Immigration Report. U. S. A. 1903.

(16) The Christian Guardian. Aug. 19.1908.

(17) Facts on Immigration. p. 116.

A reasonable question would be, why are these colonies formed and perpetuated? Our answer would be threefold:-

1. It is a natural tendency in humanity.
2. There is the possibility that the system is conducive to the interests of party politics.
3. Grose ⁽¹⁸⁾ does not hesitate to suggest that it is part of the settled policy of the Roman Catholic Church.

A difficulty quite different from any of the preceding ones, and applying only to the rural colonies is the one pertaining to teachers for the public schools. School reports show that it is very difficult to get teachers for schools in these settlements because they object to living in the comfortless and not over-clean homes of Galicians, Russians, etc.

Apart from these colonies the Canadian system of distribution has been decidedly beneficial. A careful perusal of the immigration reports for the years 1900 to 1907 inclusive shows that our immigrants were distributed remarkably well throughout the several provinces. The total for each province for the whole seven years was as follows:-

Maritime Provinces	32.744.
Quebec	123.492
Ontario	173.337
Manitoba	194.430
Sask. and Alta.	274.714
British Columbia	50.819
Not known shewn	<u>12.984</u>
Total immigration for period	835.220

This speaks well for the efforts of our officials, and shows vividly the superiority of our system over that in vogue in the U. S. A.

Language.

A second essential factor in assimilation is a common language. Canada already has some knowledge of the relative disadvantage of two national languages; while they may be endured they are not indicative of an ^{undivided} ~~individual~~ national temperament. Hence the greater necessity of oneness of speech.

I would not curtail in any degree, newspapers, etc., in the mother-tongue of our immigrants, but aside from that

(18) Aliens or Americans. p. 256.

every effort should be put forth to make the newcomers thoroughly acquainted with our national language. By this means, as by no other can they become conversant with our ideals, form of government, and individual responsibility. To this end we do well when we insist upon no other language than English being spoken in the public school. All legal documents should be drawn up exclusively in the same language. Moreover, in the same interest, the day has come when all public debates in every legislature should be carried on exclusively in the English language. This would inevitably work temporarily to the disadvantage of some, but eventually it would prove an inestimable boon to our country.

"To be a great nation we need not be of one blood, but we must be of one mind. If we think together we can act together, and the origin of common thought and action is common language. (19)
Common language cannot be too strongly emphasized".

Trades and Labor Unions.

By no means insignificant is the part played by ^{these} unions in the work of assimilation. Their influence is not all of a piece it is both good and bad. Some of the worst features of our citizenship are there learned all too readily, such for instance as a too great readiness to strike at the dictation of an agitating president; and an arrogant independence born of industrial monopoly. Still these are incidental to the greater work of human brotherhood. Once in the union, the foreigner assumes the same responsibilities, is subject to the same liabilities, and in return shares the same advantages as the native-born Canadian. Moreover, here he gets at once at the heart of our great industrial question ~~as~~ the relation of capital and labor, and this more or less unconsciously leads him into the arena of politics. He begins to ^{see} the potential power behind an intelligent franchise, and as a result is solicitous in this direction for his own especial benefit. John R. Commons (20) maintains that "to the foreign-born the labor union is.

(19) Commons. Races and Immigrants in America. p. 20.

(20) Commons " " " p. 220.

at present the strongest Americanizing force. - - It is a frequently observed fact that when immigrants join a labor-union they almost insolently warn the Priest to keep his advice to himself. " The great mass of our people is of the laboring class; in the union committees, etc., they freely intermingle and converse, and in this way, our own citizens get thoroughly acquainted with them, and they in return are brought face to face with our every-day practical business affairs.

The Press.

A mighty power is wielded by the press in this matter of assimilation. Almost every nationality has its own paper or papers; these deal mainly with two themes, their old home, and the affairs of the land of their adoption. We would not have them forget the former, for in spite of the fact that a man may become a most zealous patriot for a new nation, yet, if he lack in loyalty and devotion to the land of his birth, he deserves to "go down to the vile dust from whence he sprung, unwept, unhonored, and unsung".

Mr. J. J. Golden has suggested the danger of mentioning to them their former nationality: I would not suggest rather, the danger of not mentioning it. But why? you may ask. And in answer I would ask have we anything to fear from the a comparison of our civilization and economic condition with theirs? In the same newspaper which tells of the continuous and insolent persecution, oppression, and, too often, tyranny of their governments, they have also a full account and running comment on our own representative system. While their papers tell of poverty at home they also speak of the growing prosperity of our Dominion. On the same page with the exorbitant and prohibited prices of land, and uncertain tenure, there is the offer of a farm free for ever for three years of homestead duties. In a single column they see in vivid contrast the discriminating law of the old land in favor of the plutocrat and the equality for all in the new. Nor can they overlook the fact that while their relatives are the victims of ~~the~~ religious bigotry, here every one is free to worship his God in whatever way it seemeth best.

Besides these, there are the publications in

the English language; newspapers, periodicals, magazines, and books, dealing freely with every phase of our public life. It is an encouraging sign that there is a growing desire and ability on the part of our foreigners to read these.

Political Clubs.

The politics of our country are of a piece with ourselves; Every man must of necessity have some influence in this connection. How dire is this at times is all too well known. Because of its universal interest, men at least spasmodically take more or less active part in politics. It is then that the political clubs, come in and exert their influence. On the whole, while prejudice is the most distinguishing feature of these clubs, they give to the newcomer some insight into the true state of affairs. But since they are without exception partizan their disinterested influence is almost of a nonentity. Why cannot we have a political club wholly political instead of partizan? An organization where all our people could meet on a common basis and discuss without prejudice the issues that are vital to our communities? The time

The time has come when partizanship has become a curse: when its influence is almost diabolical. Outside a party caucus the partizan ~~does~~^{dare} scarcely call his soul his own, he must bury conscience and eat dirt if he desire to rise in his party. ~~For~~ If he dares to oppose his party ~~and~~^{or} his leader, he is doomed to obloquy, contumely, and odium, notwithstanding the fact that by his stand he proves himself the friend of his country. Nor does the other party desire his company, for such a man must in time cause them also inconvenience or worse. Is it not time that Canada awakened to the fact that two parties, hating each other, opposing each other, fighting each other, plotting and intriguing against each other, is barbarism not civilization? How infinitely much more could be accomplished if all were planning for the welfare of the State instead of for ever having an eagle eye ~~on~~^{on} the popularity of their own party and disadvantage or overthrow of their opponents.

Who is to blame for the foreigners, yes and the natives, purchased, bribed, and debauched votes ~~by~~^{by} the foreigner himself, or the civilized, Christianized (?) partizan who - not because he realizes that his country's welfare ~~is~~^{is} at stake, but because

he expects a promised preferment from his party's success at the poll - degrades himself to the level of the traitor and becomes a menace and a peril to his country? Such a man is no patriot, no citizen, he lacks even the lowest elements of ordinary manhood. Yet this is the direct result of part ^{translits} and its insistence and affirming prevalence suggest not connivance only, but actual encouragement on the part of the political leaders themselves.

Truly our political clubs and parties are great assimilating agencies, but in what direction? Shall we be satisfied for the foreigners to become such as we are? Yet the stream cannot rise higher than its source. Unless I mistake, when by and by we see them playing our own game to our disadvantage, we shall rue the day wherein we planted the deadly schism and taught the party expedient.

The Franchise.

Next there is the franchise. We say in theory that all men are equal; in practice we deny this; for we have a whole race, the Indian, that we consider inferior, hence he can have no vote. Possibly for the present we are right in this. Does it not follow, then, that there may be among our newcomers some nationalities or individuals incapable of the intelligent use of the same franchise? Mere time does not necessarily fit any man to have an equal voice in human affairs. The real qualifications of citizenship are generally inherent, and these the immigrant may have the moment he touches our shores, or he may never acquire them. But, it is objected, we must not thus discriminate; if this be true then indeed is our task a hopeless one and we must give to all without reserve what of right belongs only to the worthy.

I would strongly urge a graduated or qualitative suffrage. Educational standard might be considered to some extent; the ability to speak in the English tongue should be a prime requisite. A knowledge of our form of government should also be required. The necessity of time limit should not be too exacting, though I think to some extent it should be retained in order to ensure additional knowledge on our part of the fitness of the applicant for citizenship. I am not sure that Canada is under any obligation to confer citizenship upon

- and so make part of herself - men who deliberately sacrifice the State to personal gratification or avarice, hence it is wholly within our right should we impose a moral or ethical test. Other conditions might be considered, but my point is that we ought to use discrimination ; and while we should make it very easy for the worthy to obtain naturalization, our selective process ought to make it next to impossible for the unworthy to get this privilege.

Even as things are, the franchise has a far-reaching effect in making heterogeneous nations part of ourselves. Under its influence they lose many of their old marks and take on others distinctively Canadian. But we must not forget that the assimilation is not all on the one side, for while we are moulding them they are bringing all sorts of notions from monarchical governments different from our own, nor are they free from the Nihilist's ideas of government, and the communistic ideas of property. Under these influences even our own national life must change. And, in order that the change may be in the right direction I maintain that the next reform should look to restriction rather than extension of the franchise.

True we must say as a nation what Gladstone in one of his last conversations with John Morley is reported to have said, "in my 60 years of public life, I have found no principle so safe to trust as that of an ever-enlarging social liberty."⁽¹⁾ We are confident that Canada will never err on the side of despotism, but she needs to have a care that her liberality does not become prodigality and result in license insinuatingly taking the place of liberty.

There is, and must increasingly be, an indisputable dignity in Canadian citizenship. It is our sacred duty to so carefully guard this that it shall become the increasing desire of our immigrants to secure it, rather than by throwing down all the barriers make it so cheap and insignificant that none will prize its possession.

(1) Century Magazine. 73: 638.

The Power of Industries.

Who can fully estimate the influence of common work and contact? Here the Englishman rubs elbows ^{with} the Jap and Chinaman; the suave Frenchman labors with the stolid German, the Galician competes with the Pole, the Russian takes shifts with the Italian; all jostle together in the one great race for life, every where they come into closest contact. This is one of the greatest agencies in assimilation because it is universal, and all-embracing. Every-man must work for his living, and this always in contact and competition with others. Especially true is this in our City life; there are our great railway centres, and with increased facility for travelling, men from all parts constantly meet and mutually influence each other. ~~They~~ ^{There} too are the great industrial concerns employing thousands of men and women of all classes. These meet on a common plane, race counts for little, and ability is at a premium. Every capable man stands equal chances for advancement. The result is a steady fusion of the diverse nationalities into one distinctive whole.

As industrial conditions improve the assimilation becomes more rapid. Forced to comply with civic regulations, and inspired by success to emulate the fellow citizens in the matters of dress, living, and housing, the foreigner is carried forward by the wave of prosperity and becomes merged into the greater whole.

In the earlier days the frontier life of Canada was perhaps the most powerful assimilating force, and even to-day its influence is a mighty one. Schools, churches, and social institutions are scarce, hence all share readily in the things at hand.

To-day our farming communities furnish possibly our largest and richest field. It is estimated that about 75 per cent of our annual immigration goes to the farming community. (2) Here, under normal condition, economically and nationally, he has the brightest outlook. We can assimilate, yes we can absorb

(2) Government Reports.

our foreigners when they settle in our midst. They at once become part and parcel of ourselves, and furnish scarcely a thought in the problem of assimilation.

Perhaps no other agency can do as much as the industrial in demonstrating to our immigrants the inherent superiority of our country over theirs. The economic consideration has brought the bulk of them here; let them see, let them compare, and there is but little danger on the whole but they will be perfectly satisfied to become permanent residents and loyal citizens. In fact, unless we can unquestionably prove to them the desirability of our governmental and economic advantages, I very much doubt our permanent ability to induce them to cast off all allegiance to their mother-country in favor of our own. That this superiority is being proven is amply verified by the steadily increasing stream of immigrants from the ports beyond the sea.

Intermarriage.

It will be well at this juncture to spend a few moments on amalgamation. Some writers use this word when related to immigration as meaning the fusion by blood of the different races, rather than a similitude in ideas, temperament and constitution. For my purpose, I shall assume throughout the assimilation includes this blood amalgamation. Still for the moment we may technically divide the ideas. This intermingling of blood relationship is a much slower process than that of assimilation in the narrower sense. "It must be remembered that amalgamation requires centuries. The English nation is probably as good an example of a mixed race as can be found in modern history; yet the race, though a mixture of the closely related primitive Celt, the conquering Teuton, and the Latinized Scandinavian, did not reach a common language and homogeneity until three hundred years after the last admixture".⁽³⁾ Here then we see that "the term amalgamation may be used for that mixture of blood which unites races in a common stock, while assimilation is that union of their minds and wills

(3) Commons. Races and Immigrants in America. p. 17.

which enables them to think and act together. Amalgamation is a process of centuries, but assimilation is a matter of individual training. Amalgamation is a blending of races, assimilation is a blending of civilization. Amalgamation is beyond the ordinary efforts of government, but assimilation can be promoted by social institutions and laws. Amalgamation cannot therefore attract our practical interest except as its presence or absence sets limits to our efforts toward assimilation". (4)

"It is said that , taking history as a whole, the nations which have left the greatest mark in religion, in art, and in literature, such as Judaea, Greece, Rome, France, Germany, and England, were, at the time of their greatness, essentially homogeneous ; and that decadence has in general followed the dispersion of races". (5) If this be so "is there not danger that in becoming a cosmopolitan people we shall not merely change, but shall cease to have any distinctive type at all". (6)

Many opinions might be quoted supporting the belief that this blood mixture will prove disadvantageous to our future greatness. However I fail to see that such result must necessarily follow. Even the countries mentioned above were not wholly of one strain at any period of their history. The United States is decidedly of mixed blood yet it does not appear that physically they are inferior or that mentally they lack in greatness. If, moreover, our authorities become more and more selective the result from a fusion of the best of all the nations ought to result in even a higher type. The fundamental things are character, temperament, and aptitude, and these are things of race far older than nationality, hence we believe they can be blended to advantage in the formation of a new nation.

True the national temperament must be changed since this land will be the receptacle destined to receive the clay from every quarry under heaven; we shall have the industry and the practical spirit of the Baltic, coupled with the vivid imagination and leisurely disposition of the Mediterranean; we shall have the

(4) Commons. Races and Immigrants in America. p. 209.

(5) Hall. Immigration and its effects upon the U. D. p. 172.

(6) do. do. p. 173.

Mysticism of the East, and the lack of meditation of the West. What the future spirit will be could be at the present but uncertainly predicted.

The following prognosis by Gustave Michaud is interesting from the physical standpoint of amalgamation. "There will be a physical change: ~~xxx~~ a widening and shortening of the skull; a decrease in the stature; and a general tendency toward the brunette."⁽⁷⁾ He suggests a carefully selected immigration - on the other side of the ocean - then if one is talented but poor, see that he gets here, even if you have to pay his passage. For the talented, poor or rich, are the real wealth of the nation.

The Church.

There remain for our discussion the two greatest forces now operating in the assimilation of our immigrants, namely the Church and the school. Each is large, and must be dealt with fully. They are, according to my own judgment, the keys to the whole situation. Overlook them and our civilization, magnificent as it is, inevitably must totter to its ruin.

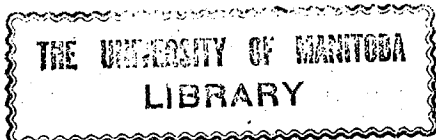
The masses of foreigners pouring into our midst bring not only responsibility to the Church, but they bring also a glorious opportunity for evangelization. The immigrant, "breaking away from the old associations leaves room and necessity for new ones. Upon the character of these the future of the immigrant will largely depend. Here is the Christian opportunity. See that the new associations make for righteousness and patriotism. If the immigrant is evangelized, assimilation is easy and sure."⁽⁸⁾

Rev. J. W. Sparling, M.A.D.D.⁽⁹⁾ says "Perhaps the largest and most important problem that the North American Continent has before it to-day for solution is to show how the incoming tides of immigrants may be assimilated and made worthy citizens of the great commonwealth - - - I fear that the Canadian churches have

7) Century Magazine. 73:630.

8) Aliens and Americans. p. 256.

9) Our people of foreign Speech. Manuscript Introduction.



not yet been seized of the magnitude and import of this ever-growing problem".

When we consider that in Canada in 1901 only 165,718 persons were foreigners, while in the last six years no fewer than 211,489 non-English speaking immigrants have arrived, it is time for our Churches to awake to the gravity of the situation. That they are beginning to realize the importance of the question is seen by the increasing prominence given to it in their various publications. The following is an example: "With the exception of a few thousands of Scandinavians and Germans, the foreign immigrants from Central and Southern Europe all belong to the Latin or Slavonic races, and in religion are Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, or nothing. If judged by our standards of intelligence and morality they are ignorant and immoral, and form a class that will readily become criminal. They are unacquainted with anything like a popular form of government, and are incapable of appreciating or valuing our representative institutions. . . . They have already helped very materially to create a slum problem in some of our cities. They are, as a rule, hard working, industrious, and frugal, and if they can be assimilated into our national life, may, under wise management, become lawabiding and patriotic citizens; but if not, their presence will become a menace to our social, religious, and national life". (10)

It seems to me that this is preeminently the day of opportunity for the Church. We are to-day where our American friends where, say thirty years ago, Communities sprang up with mushroom growth, they went ahead of the gospel, it failed to follow them, and the result was lamentable. We ask, for instance, will they ever regain their Puritan Sabbath, will they ever even desire to have it again? Let us take warning and see that in Canada the message of the Christ keeps pace with settlement. True we are short of ministers, but the demand must be met; let us concentrate our

(10) The Christian Guardian. Jan. 15.1908.

forces, combine our energies, and let it be the care of the laity to see that sufficient funds are forthcoming.

"This is certain, that only as the world's Christ and His Christianity predominate, mould, and ornament the motley life of this country can there be safety for the nation and a homogeneous civilization for its fast increasing millions". (11)

These sentiments find an echo in every true human heart. We realize that "the religious man is not only a better subject, he is also a better citizen, a better friend, a better man, in short, in all the relations of life, than the agnostic. The restraint of religion, the sense of responsibility it inspires, the belief in a future state in which there shall be rewards and punishments, find practical expression in the religious man's daily life. Time and again they help him to resist the temptation to do a wrong thing, and he and the community in which he lives are both better for the successful resistance. The agnostic, it is alleged, knows no such restraint". (12)

That the Church should play her part in assimilation every Christian citizen is agreed. But what church shall do this? or what branch of the Christian body? We have as a matter of fact some 157 different sects in Canada, each with its "isms" and doctrines. And with the cries of rival sects sounding so loudly in our ears as they do to-day, it may well seem presumptuous even to dream of a solution of the religious problem. But religious men must hope and believe that the problem can and will be solved". (13)

A review of the latest religious statistics to hand, *namely* viz. U. S. A. 1900, gives the proportions belonging to the various leading religions of the immigrants of that year as follows:- Protestants 18.54 per cent. Roman Catholic 52.14 per cent. Greek Catholics 4.03 per cent. Jews 10.39 per cent, and miscellaneous 13.09 per cent.

Our own immigration is much more largely British than is theirs, so that our proportion of Roman Catholic immigrants

(11) W. H. G. Temple, D.D. in *The Incoming Millions* . p. 176.

(12) M. Maltham Barrie. *Nineteenth Century*. 59: 1052.

(13) *id* *id* 59: 1053.

is not so large as theirs. Still it is sufficiently large to make Protestants do some hard thinking. Certainly the large majority coming from the European countries are Catholics, and the future of Canadian Protestantism depends largely on her present policy.

A recent issue of the Christian Guardian Feb. 3, 1909, reports that according to the Canadian 1901 Census the proportion of the different religious bodies to the total population was as follows:- Roman Catholic about 42 per cent.

Methodists	"	17	"	"
Presbyterians	"	16	"	"
Anglicans	"	13	"	"
Baptists	"	6	"	"
Others	"	6	"	"

Last year our immigration decreased for the eleven months ending Nov. 30th 1908 about 46 per cent, or 124,583 persons as compared with the 1907, influx. Much of this decrease was due to a falling off in the number of foreign immigrants. Nevertheless our foreign immigration will continue to be vast, and no part of the subject should receive more careful scrutiny than the effect of this immigration upon our Protestant Dominion.

Should our sources^{of} supply change to the East as rapidly as has that of the U. S. A. during the last eight years, we too may find as she has found during the past two years, that not 52 per cent but well nigh 80 per cent of her new immigrants are Catholic, Roman, or Greek.

"During the transition period the Protestant Churches of America have begun to awaken to the serious problem confronting them. The three New England States which have given their religion and political character to the Northern and Western States are themselves now predominately Catholic. In all of the Northern manufacturing and industrial States and in their great cities, the marvellous organization and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church have carefully provided every precinct, ward, and district, with chapels, cathedrals, and priests, even in advance of the inflow of

population; while the scattered forces of Protestantism overlap in some places and overlook other places." (14)

Howard B. Grose firmly asserts that "whatever would make this country less distinctively Protestant in religion tends to destroy all the other social and civil characteristics, which, it is well said, we wish to preserve." (15)

It is certainly an ^{illuminating} ~~enumerating~~ fact that according to the report of the Minister of Justice for Canadian Penitentiaries for the year ending March 31st, 1908, that while the three denominations, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist, composed thirty-nine per cent of our total population their professed adherents composed but 24 per cent of the inmates of penitentiaries; while ^{the Roman Catholics with 42% of population furnish} no less than 47 per cent, or in the one case a ratio of .6 per cent of the population as compared with 1.12 per cent, a trifle less than double the amount.

Is it not then a vital thing that at all costs we maintain and extend the Protestant faith which forms the basis of our colonial and national life? What William of Orange and his noble compatriots staked their all for is not to be sapped by stealth from the colonies of the Empire.

Immigration, at the best, puts a tremendous load upon our shoulders. But when we deal with it as it is we see how absolutely insurmountable is the obstacle unless our very best forces are employed to overcome it. They come to us morally degenerate, intellectually undeveloped, religiously prejudiced, misguided, and dwarfed, financially poor, politically untutored, and I ask, what will be the result unless the Christian conscience of this whole Dominion rises to its responsibility. "Where shall we find the zealous and consistent Christians who by sympathetic contact will prerepresent the true spirit of Christianity, and make the

(14) Commons. Races and Immigrants in America. p. 217.

(15) Aliens and Americans. p. 240.

elevations of the aliens possible? The supreme truth to be realized is that nothing but Christianity, as incarnated in American Protestantism can preserve America's free institutions.⁽¹⁶⁾

In reality, the question confronting the church and the nation is not, will these diverse races and nationalities blend? Assuredly they will blend. All to some extent concede this; but the all-absorbing question is, what will be the quality of the product? And the answer lies, very very largely if not wholly in the hands of the Church. How then may the Church and the State best work together for the accomplishment of this common purpose? How can we best compel the nations of the world to acknowledge Canadian greatness?

It is a thought full of meaning that heretofore the Christian nations have but played at the Evangelization of the world. Christ indeed gave an imperative command "Go and teach all nations", but we heeded not. Now he has taken the only alternative for a world's salvation, he is sending them to the Christian lands. And, so far, what has been our attitude to this second Divine Plan? Yet is it not patent to all that the "Open Sesame" to world wide missions has through immigration been simply thrust into our hands? Shall we blind our eyes for ever to the facts? The connection between home and foreign missions cannot be made too clear. They are here from under every sky. When they return shall it be to crown our efforts to Christianize their home lands, or to undermine the very foundations we are endeavoring so diligently to lay?

The conversion of the world is bound up in the national character of professedly Christian lands. Our country here is ^{the} ~~our~~ base for our operations abroad. Is our base impregnable? And have our missionaries who are part of ourselves the true metallic ring? Yes they have: but they have not all the ringing qualities, and if we cannot see the

(16) Crose, Aliens and Americans. p. 255.

work we have to do at home, and if we do not adequately plan for its successful accomplishment, of what use is it for us to urge for wider fields? If we cannot or will not evangelize the few who sit at our very doors amid all our favoring circumstances how can we hope for the ultimate success of foreign missions under every conceivable disadvantage?

Truly the church is a mighty agent in breaking down the past and building for the future, and here is a task full worthy of her grandest effort. Her task is colossal: shall she become enervated by inaction and finally crushed by overwhelming numbers; or will she rise to the occasion, put on her harness and carry forward the blessed evangel of life and liberty to the surging motley throngs on every hand? We believe she will prove herself equal to the opportunity, will grapple with the problem, will overcome the difficulties confronting her and will, with her clarion call of "Canada for Christ", eventually, through Christ her head, build up in our glorious Dominion a religious and righteous civilization that will merit the Master's "Well done".

Education.

The relation of education to assimilation is so vital and inseparable that every student of the subject recognizes at once its importance. The future of our nation depends very largely on the education of our children. The greatest factor, - apart from the church - in the assimilation of our foreigners is the public school. Our ideal must be to make of ^{the} our various elements one new, strong, and superior nation, and "the greatest single agency directly at work to-day to unify the diverse nationalities among us is the public school." (17) "Despite many adverse influences in the home, the public school in the course of a few years gives to the foreign children the American spirit, ^a respectable education, a good measure of general intelligence, and a fair intellectual equipment". (18)

(17) McLanahan. Our people of Foreign Speech. p. 14.

(18) Strong. The Challenge of the City. p. 109.

"The fact is" says Mr. R. H. Hughes "the school is a political institution maintained by the State for the cultivation and propagation of National ideas. - - Every school is a machine ~~unintentionally~~ deliberately contrived for the manufacture of citizens". (19) On every hand it is generally recognized that "the school is the most potent agency for the unifying the diverse elements of the population". (2) We form a system and draw up a curriculum, then we predicate that if our ideal be ~~unusually~~ realized "the student becomes not only a better pleader, doctor, journalist, public official, or whatever his future career may be, but he becomes also a finer specimen of man, and a truer citizen, exercising a healthy influence on his environment". (1) We fail to see how children - though from environments vastly different and endlessly varying - can spend from eight to ten years together, studying the same curricula, drawing from history the same lessons, having before them the same ideals, being taught by the same teachers, without becoming largely impressed with the same general characteristics, hopes, and aspirations.

Childhood is impressionistic, it is optimistic, and it is unprejudiced; Let our national school be continually permeated by the same spirit of tolerance and democracy as it is to-day, and her influence ~~and~~ in breaking down the barriers of national prejudice cannot be measured in advance.

The very heterogeneity of our population^{etc} will inevitably tend also in this same direction. We can easily imagine that in many cases the difference between the various races is as distinct as between us and them; hence it is not one peculiarity as against some other one, but one amongst many others, and the result is that prejudice is lessened and the differences minimized, with the still further result that all the differences begin early to disappear.

The relation of education to government is not haphazard, but constant and dependable. As is the individual so also is the nation. This fact the U.S. government clearly recognized, hence

her Declaration which reads, "Religion, morality, and knowledge, ~~(19) The making of citizens is the primary duty of education being~~
~~the primary duty of education being~~

- (19) The making of a Citizen. A study in comparative education. Introduction
 (20) W. A. McIntyre, B. A. Encyclopaedia. Americana.
 (1) Forum. 38: 245.

being necessary to good government, and the happiness of mankind, schools, and means of education shall forever be encouraged." Luther says, "the prosperity of a city does not depend solely on its natural riches, on the elegance of its mansions, and on the abundance of arms in its arsenals; but the safety and strength of a city reside above all in a good education, which furnishes it with instructed, reasonable, honorable, and well trained citizens".

"The education of a democracy determines its duration. We are engaged upon the greatest experiment in popular government the world has ever seen. - - To bring common sense within the reach of the masses is the vital problem of a democracy. There is only one machinery that can effectually do this - continuous and extensive drill on the rational principles of political and social economics, during the formative period of the minds of our future citizens. It is the only inoculant to protect our public body" (2)

Enough has now been said to show the opinion of the majority of thinking men as to the influence of the school in assimilation, and as to the general relation of education to government. And since this close relationship has been so amply demonstrated, it is incumbent upon us to consider what we desire the product of our educational process to be; and then ask ourselves whether the forces and methods we are employing are the best possible to achieve the end we have in view.

What then do we desire as the product of our educational process? To answer this question it will be profitable for us to endeavor to find out what education really is, so that we may clearly comprehend the whole problem.

Education is an almost all-embracing term, *but* generally we may say that it consists essentially in the development of the various latent powers and faculties of the student; a drawing out process as opposed to a tacking on from the outside.

- (2) Howard J. Rogers. Encyclopaedia. Americana.

It is the outcome of the spirit, temperament, and tradition of a people; it is the embodiment of their compromises, aspirations, and genius. It is a development of the faculties, a training of humanity for the functions for which the individuals are destined. It ~~shall~~^{must} then embrace and meet the needs of his threefold nature, physical, mental, and spiritual. In a broad sense it comprehends all that disciplines and enlightens the understanding, corrects the temper, cultivates the taste, and forms the manner and habits; in a narrower sense it is a special course of training to secure one or all of these ends. It means in short, a drawing out of the faculties, and an evolving of the powers so that the students will become the very best men and women.

Our task, then, is, - keeping our own system in mind - to see what system of education will best serve the end in view, e.g. the development of the best of-and highest in each and every individual. We want at the same time to inculcate a respect for law, a true sense of Canadian citizenship and patriotism, and a passion for Christian morality. This will lead us into a close scrutiny of our prevailing systems and we must watch for their effects in the desired or opposite direction.

If we are to have one prevailing and predominate spirit, it seems necessary that we should attempt to create it by a universal method consistently applied. That is, it seems reasonable to suppose that one central body should evolve one general system in order that we might have unity and harmony. This can be perfectly accomplished only by a system of public instruction in national schools.

To this proposition we doubt not but all would agree save for certain issues which are raised incidentally by such process. If no party came between the individual child and the State no difficulty could arise, but two mighty forces intervene, the parent, and the church, each claiming a definite right to have a voice in the child's disposition.

To the rights of the parent we can offer no objection provided the parent be competent, unprejudiced, and have truly at heart the welfare of the child and the commonwealth. But we do most assuredly object to the assumption that the child is the puppet, the plaything, the mechanical possession, of any parent. The child is a human soul and as such has interests which the State must protect. All agree that the parent cannot starve or maim ^{it} his physical being with impunity; but is the body of more value and importance than the mind? The Venerable Archdeacon Fortin has presented this strongly in a recent sermon, Feb. 7th, 1909. "What irony it is to speak of the rights of parents who are so low in the scale of being as to send their children through the streets begging or stealing. To what strange shifts are people sometimes driven who are determined to support an untenable position. Rights of parent, forsooth! What right have drunkards and brawlers, and thieves and murderers over their children? Have they the right to manufacture criminals wholesale, and endanger our social fabric? Has it come to this that the country is to be kept back and become the laughing stock of the rest of the world at the dictum of a handful of reactionaries, whose views of education are mediæval and absolutely unsuited to this advanced age?" The child is the nation in miniature hence the nation has the a right to use the chisel and the mallet in order to develop the raw ~~xxxxxx~~ material into a symmetrical and desired finished product.

Yet while we grant ~~us~~ a measure of liberty to the parent, where is our ground for extending this indefinitely to the church. True the church may justly say his spiritual nature must be fed and nurtured, but it has no right to say that the State must have no voice in what the food shall be, and that it is not capable of imparting this food.

The result of this churchly, but unchristian insistence has been one long educational struggle between church and State, each battling for the ~~xxxxxx~~ school as its source of proselytism. How disastrous has been the outcome

is seen on every hand in the absolute ~~xxxxxxxx~~ separation of education and religion in the public school. Such a condition is undesirable, lamentable, and suicidal for both parties.

The absolute irrationality of the issue is seen when the proposition is put in a logical form. The church says, Religion is an absolute essential of education. The State is entirely incapable of teaching religion. Therefore the State is incapable of educating her children. In a word, it says that the education of the commonwealth should be entirely in the hands of the church. A position from every standpoint false and untenable.

Let us trace an outline the growth of the idea of education and draw our silent inference as to the source of authority in its impartation.

To the Greek came the first glash of light. He made education a necessary acquisition to the higher class of citizens. But neither among them, nor among the Romans, was the education of the masses considered. To the Reformation is due the introduction of this latter idea.

As early as 1696 the Scottish government took up the matter and ordained that a school, supported by taxes, should be opened in every parish. Since 1815 the distinguishing feature of government administration may be said to be the necessity of the education of all the people.

During the last seventy-five years the principle has been generally conceded, until to-day there is almost universally some attempt at a system of national education. A brief review of a few countries in this respect will be helpful.

National systems of Education.

Japan.

The adoption of national schools by Japan has, in 40 years, changed her chaotic elementary education to one of system and order. In 1902 - 3, about 90 per cent of her boys and girls were attending school. She is a unit in aim and method.

Great Britain.

Here there is an approximation towards national schools, but the "Isms" have played too large a part in her educational history to admit of any definite system whereby every child could pass continuously and advantageously through both primary and secondary schools. The result has been a lack of thoroughness in her general body of education.

France.

The educational system of France has been marked by exactness, and the work it does it characterized by completeness. The State controls all. They have private schools, but these are subject to government inspection and direction. Their educational expenditure is large, and the work is generally excellent.

The Netherlands.

Here we have a government with compulsory state education, supported by Federal and State grants. The instruction is undenominational. The result is good.

Sweden.

There is practically no illiteracy in Sweden. Schools are national, education compulsory. Their system is ancient, substantial, and comprehensive.

Germany.

"For the long established, territorially extended, philosophically organized, capably directed, thoroughly accepted, and notably efficient, national system of education in Europe, we must go to Germany".⁽³⁾ Schools are national. Primary schools are everywhere. They are supported by taxes and the State. Education is compulsory. The government assumes entire responsibility for the education of her citizens, and so inspects all private schools.

Patriotism is fostered by every available means. Religious instruction is a vital part of the primary school curriculum.

(3) Americans Encly. The gist of above resume is from various Encyclopaedias, Chambers, Britannica, Americana, etc., and from various education acts of our own dominion.

The State demands religious instructions both in private and in public schools. If the school be one of Protestants, Roman Catholics, or Jews, the master must see that religious instruction conforms to the religious preferences, and whoever gives any instruction, including even the religious instructors, must have the authority of the government behind him. If the schools are mixed religiously the teaching must accord with the beliefs of the greatest number: perhaps the dogma and doctrine are somewhat mixed, too; more likely the religion is not so theological as some would make it.

The United States.

The claim put forth here is that a truly democratic education should:

1. Be free to all.

2. Extend over all stages of education.

3. Have the educational ladder, i.e. a system of advancement from primary to secondary schools available for all;

4. Be patronized by all.

This they claim to have largely attained. Each State legislates for its own education. The national system alone has general State support. Religion is conspicuous by its absence. The results of their system, good and bad, being continuously before our eyes call for no comment.

Canada.

Under the provisions of the British North American Act, each Province legislates at pleasure, or political expediency - to meet the educational demands of its people. The result is an absolute lack of unanimity in our system, and a general lack of satisfaction. It is here the old time cry of church versus State, and Catholic vs Protestant.

The 1901 census showed a fairly satisfactory elementary educational condition for the whole dominion. Of the population over five years of age only 14.4 per cent was illiterate. In Ontario it was but 8 per cent illiterate. What the next report will show may well give us cause for fear if the condition of Manitoba two years ago be

any criterion . In the year 1906 alone there were in Winnipeg along 7,320 children not in attendance at any school . While for the province as a whole out of 114,049 children of school age there were no fewer than 49,926 who were not enrolled as pupils of any school. That is nearly 44 per cent runx chances of illiteracy. What is the condition to-day? The probability is that it is worse. Certainly the city of Winnipeg lacks school accomodation even where the children minded to attend. Throughout the Dominion education is free, but the above proves how incredibly far it is from being compulsory.

Ontario. Ontario has separate schools, all supported by the State. attendance is supposed to be compulsory for all children between the ages of 8 and 14 years who are not attending separate schools and not under efficient instruction at home.

The public schools are strictly non-sectarian. Practically the only separate schools are those of the Roman Catholic, ^{Church} The course of instruction in these latter schools is claimed to be almost identical with that of the public school, with the addition of special religious training.

Quebec. The head of the educational system in Quebec is a Superintendent of Public Instruction with a council of 35 members, both Roman Catholics and Protestants being represented. Within this council each has a separate committee which controls the schools of their respective denominations. Each has its elementary , model, and normal schools, and academies. Education is nominally compulsory. Both kinds of schools are publicly maintained.

Maritime Provinces.

In each of the three maritime provinces the system closely resembles that of Ontario. The schools are free, coeducational non-denominational. Nominal compulsion , public support. New Brunswick has separate schools.

Manitoba. The Manitoba Executive Council is at the head of public education. There is one Provincial system, publicly supported. No separate schools since 1890 have had

government support. Though, since 1896, the compromise entitles the Catholics to a teacher of their own denomination where there are 25 Catholic children in the school district.

British Columbia. Here again the schools are non-denominational. They are publicly supported.

The North West.

Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Separate schools are in vogue in these provinces. However the instructions ^{in the separate schools} must be the same as that of the public school. Teachers must have the same qualifications for all schools, and all the schools are subject to government inspection. Both have provincial support.

Wherever we go then, we find varying conditions in our provincial legislation. But the work to be accomplished is one, hence variation in the provinces is unsatisfactory. Why could Canada not have a Bureau of education similar to that of the U. S. A. in structure, that is, composed of members from all parts of the Dominion, but in this case to be more than a clearing house for information or an advisory body. Let them have in hand a national system of education, and let their wishes find expression in federal legislation. Other nations are doing it, so too can we if we will but bury our petty jealousies and face the vexed question rationally and with mind unprejudiced. That such a central and authoritative body is urgently needed is seen by the lackadaisical attitude of Manitoba present Minister of Education on the matter of compulsory education for this Province. It is reported (4) that the Honourable gentleman takes "strong ground against the proposition that a compulsory education law should be enacted, contending that the Province's powers in the matter were doubtful, and that if such legislation were attempted, it would inevitably⁵⁰ open the school question". Surely if any man in the province knows the powers of the province in education, he should be that man, and since he maintains that it is doubtful this is pretty good evidence

(4) Manitoba Free Press. Feb. 8th, 1909.

that we need an authoritative educational fountain head whose powers will be beyond the realm of doubt. As to reopening the school question, the suggestion alone demonstrates the smouldering unrest.

Why have we not such a national system? And why have we so many differences in the various provinces? In general, our answer may be summed up in one sentence: Because of Roman Catholic influence. Whether they are right or wrong in their attitude, it is practically undeniable that the cause lies very largely at their door.

My contention is, that in the interest of Canadian Nationality, in view of the tremendous problem of the assimilation of our foreigners; we ought to have one national system of education uniformly enforced under absolute compulsion. There can be no question as to the right of every child to a working education; but many objections have been raised to compulsory education. Are these objections valid?

Compulsory Education. Let us inquire first as to what gives rise to these objections. And our *arsenal* lies ready to hand.

As soon as the State says, you must send your child to school, the church says, your school must conform to our ideal; but it does not, therefore, our children cannot attend. Then if the school is made conformable to their ideal it conflicts with the ideal of some other sect, and so on ad infinitum.

What, then, is the State to do in this dilemma? One thing is certain, she cannot in justice to herself evade the issue; she must work out a compromise. If we insist on compulsory education then the Roman Catholic Church says, in that case we must have our own private and parochial schools.

A glance at their putting of the question will be advantageous here. "Reason and experience are forcing all Christian denominations to recognize that the only practical way to secure a Christian people is to give the youth a Christian education. The avowed enemies of Christianity

in some European countries are banishing religion from their schools, in order to eliminate it gradually from among the people. In this they are logical, and we may well profit by the lesson. Hence the cry for Christian education is going up from all religious bodies throughout the land. And this is no narrowness or sectarianism on their part: it is an honest and logical endeavor to preserve Christian truth and morality among the people by fostering it in the young. Nor is it any antagonism to the State; on the contrary it is an honest endeavor to give the State better citizens by making them better Christians. The friends of Christian education do not condemn the State for not imparting religious instruction in the public schools as they are now organized, because they will know it does not lie within the province of the State to teach religion. They simply follow their conscience by sending their children to denominational schools, where religion can have its rightful place and influence." (4.a)

To most of this we firmly adhere. Yet it is true that there is in many minds a question as to whether the Roman Catholic Church has in view the good of the State ^{much as} she has the advancement of her own Church interests, and so is wisely fearful of the influence of the public school. But in the assertion that the inculcation of religious principles makes better men and therefore better citizens we heartily concur. What we do say, is that no church has any right on principle to deny the advantageousness of compulsory education, and therefore has no right to oppose it simply because a satisfactory religious basis has not been reached. Our present attitude seems to be that since we cannot have an ideal system of religious instruction in the public school we will not have any.

Sometimes we say that laws should not be passed until there is a public sentiment strong enough to enforce them, but we are apt to overlook the fact that very often it is the

law, that creates and fosters public sentiment. If our legislators believe that a national compulsory system would be most advantageous to our Dominion they should enact it, even though an opposition government should repeal it within a year.

The relation between illiteracy and crime alone should be a strong political incentive. "The jails of the country show pretty generally a ratio of 8 to 1 as the quota of delinquents furnished from a given number of illiterates as compared with an equal number of those who could read and write." (5) The percentage in Canada of penitentiary convicts according to the 1908 report shows that no less than 18 per cent of the convicts themselves are illiterate. This should not be so large when only 14 per cent of our population over five years of age were illiterate if illiteracy did not tend to criminality.

The relation between compulsory education and illiteracy is just as telling. "In Italy with no law in force the percentage of illiterates over 20 years of age is 52, while in France with an effective law it is less than 5. In Russia with no law it is 61 per cent, while in Holland with a good law it is 2 per cent, and in Sweden and Denmark it is less than 1 per cent. In Spain it is 68 per cent with no law, and in England with a stringent law the percentage almost disappears." (6)

Undoubtedly this ~~injustice~~ is partly due to other factors besides compulsory education, but the evidence is overwhelming as to the advisability of a compulsory law. Hence even though it should compel some religious sects to form separate schools, the principle must needs be rigidly enforced. However since the national system is conceded to be, in principle, the only rational system, all such separate schools should invariably be carried on exclusively at the expense of the dissenting body. And Canadian patriotism should steadily and resolutely resist every attack open or covert on the public school, since this is for our immigrants the open sluiceway into citizenship.

(5) W. I. Harris U. S. Commissioner of Education.

(6) Ency. Britannica.

Eliot Lord says, "Already we are beginning to feel the good effect of our schools upon our foreign-born population. Take the Italians for instance. They are being assimilated very swiftly. The number of them who take out citizenship papers increases every year. They make good citizens. So I find other nationalities. The schools are gradually turning all the elements that come to this great clearing port of the American continent (New York) into a common and admirable civic type, American to the core."

Though "compulsory education in American schools is as yet in its earliest stages, yet a good start has been made, public sentiment is ripening, and the movement must advance till it covers the land with very considerable uniformity, and is enforced with general effectiveness." (7)

Mr. J. Bruce Walker says, "The two greatest assimilative agents are the church and the school. The church is the hand-maiden of the school, but the school comes first. Here the children meet, mingle, and imbue patriotism."

Some others, recognizing the great influence of education and the school, say we must have compulsory education, and have it rigidly enforced, or it will not be long before we have a condition here similar to that in New York, Chicago, etc., where the foreign mob can dictate to the whole community and turn down compulsory education, and where things are ruled largely by the political boss rather than by sober judgment.

Must we have attendance at school optional because a religious sect objects on the ground that its children cannot be placed under an incompetent teacher at the most impressionable period of their lives? Surely the standard demanded by a national body of instructors should be sufficiently high to recommend it to even the most fastidious body of religionists. At any rate the standard of teaching will in all probability suffer by a private system unless the latter be supervised by the same public examiners. This standard should be compulsory, and should be taught to every child in some school. If a church, in these private schools, elects to add religious teaching of its own, or even

in addition to that provided by the state, that need not in any way affect the national system or its application.

We readily grant the right of any body to educate its children in a private school, but we are not so ready to grant that this aim is altogether altruistic and centres either in the student or in the nation. There is much to suggest that the system is nothing more or less than the essence of selfishness; unless indeed it be supercilious arrogance and egotism.

Dr. Warne (8) maintains that in the parochial schools for Slav children in Pennsylvania English is not taught, and that the children are growing up as thoroughly foreign and under priestly control as though they were in Bohemia or Galicia.

Rena M. Atcheson caustically remarks, "the supine bowing of the native element in our political parties to this foreign domineering, un-American, and denationalizing opposition to State control of the education of the child, is in itself a menace." (9)

"More evil in results than this, and most insidious of all the attempts of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to undermine American principles, is the system of so-called compromise by which some of the public schools are taught by nuns, sisters and priests, who wear their school garb, and use the school buildings during certain hours for sectarian instructions." (10) Does not the Manitoba system especially lend itself to this last abuse?

To say the least, these separate schools are dangerous to the individuality of the people since the paternal relationship of the priest tends to undermine individual responsibility. And, apart from this, while children educated in parochial schools do get a definite religious instruction, too often they fail to get the necessary instructions in the essentials of secular education. They almost wholly undermine the very foundations of civil and religious liberty. Moreover they tend to perpetuate foreign ideas and race

(8) Warne. The Slav Invasion. p. 103.

(9) Un-American Immigration. p. 82.

(10) Grose. Aliens and Americans.

olannishness, and be they among Catholics, Protestants, or Jews, they are unequivocally the reverse of democrats.

Can we better sum up the difference between public and private schools than by quoting the following extract; "The motive of the Church School, Parochial School, is almost directly opposite to that which sustains the schools of the State. One is to instruct the child for the benefit of the individual, it is true, but also, and perhaps chiefly, for the purpose of the Church. The other is to teach him for himself, but as an integral and inseparable part of the state; to cause his duties as a citizen to be exercised with ~~such~~ care and independence which comes of intelligence and to make sure of the permanence, independence, and the general happiness of the Commonwealth through the ballot that is cast with knowledge, with definite intention, and that is not easily deceived, misled, or mistaken." (II)

Here then we can leave the subject of separate schools and pass to the alleged reason for their existence. The teaching of religion in the school.

Religion in the School.

"The hardest problem to solve in connection with the public schools in the United States will be that referred to, the teaching of morals and religion. If moral or religious instruction is to be given in the schools, the kind and quality of such instruction will immediately excite the apprehension of the sects. Yet the cry of all the sects is that such instruction must be given. If such instruction be brief, indefinite, and general, it will be too small to give general satisfaction. Each citizen, incorrigible in his personal convictions about doctrines and sects, will think the moral training of his offspring is wrong. In these later times, and notwithstanding the logic of the situation and the evident facts of the case, the old traditional idea that the church has the right to direct education is still widely extant, and is the moving

force in this grave issue." (12) Exactly the same is true of our own Dominion.

The education of the United States has not been a thorough success. They have a decidedly American if not a Continental Sabbath. Their democracy is neither an unalloyed blessing nor an unqualified success. How far is this due to a purely secular and non-religious education? The Skeptic says no religion in the school, and the others submit. We are treading in their steps; are we satisfied so to do? No, we are not satisfied, but governments are afraid of the question and continually shelve it or make compromises satisfactory to none.

Religion, rationally considered, is the basis of every nation's greatness. What that religion is determines our relation to God, to nature, and to each other. Everywhere we find men instinctively working out the same ideals and purposes, and this must surely be attributed to the fact that there is in human nature an inherent religious substratum common to all. Hence there is not on principle any ground for denying that we should have a religious basis in education, and that, moreover, it should permeate religion throughout.

Washington, in his Farewell Address said, "Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in the exclusion of religious principle".

Whatever may be the remedy, it must be admitted, that the most serious defect in our public school system is the absence of religious teaching. We are training the intellectual at the expense of the moral and religious. From the standpoint of assimilation and citizenship our system is fatal.

What are the facts as to religion in the public schools of our Dominion? "In British Columbia, schools must be conducted on strictly secular and non-sectarian principles. No religious creed or dogma may be taught. The Lord's Prayer

(12) Americanized Ency. Britannica.

may be used in opening or closing school. No clergyman of any denomination shall be eligible to the position of superintendent, trustee, or teacher. In the North West Territories, no religious instruction shall be given until half an hour previous to school closing in the afternoon, after which time any such instructions permitted or desired by the board may be given. It is not compulsory on any pupil to attend during this period. Any school may be opened with the recitation of the Lord's Prayer. In Manitoba, schools may be closed with the reading of the Bible without comment, and the recitation of the Lord's prayer. And it is possible for clergymen or their appointees during the last half hour of school to give instruction to those of their own denomination. In Ontario, every school shall be opened with the Lord's Prayer and closed with the reading of the Scriptures and the Lord's Prayer, or the prayer authorized by the Department of Education. Teachers who have conscientious scruples in this matter may be relieved. Attendance during religious exercises is not compulsory. Religious teaching may be given by the Clergy or their representatives after the regular hours of school. In Quebec, in the Roman Catholic Schools there is daily prayer and systematic daily instruction in the catechism. In Protestant schools the first half hour is devoted to prayer, scripture reading, instructions in morals, and scripture history. No denominational teaching may be given. A conscience clause is operative. In New Brunswick, the teacher may open and close the school by the reading of scripture and the offering of the Lord's Prayer. In Prince Edward Island, the school is opened with scripture reading, but no comment or explanation is given permitted. In Nova Scotia, the law is practically the same as for the last two provinces, local option being permitted." (13)

Here then we see the principle of religious instruction plainly admitted, the duty indifferently attempted, and the great problem suggested.

Assuredly we all agree that the ideal is compulsory state education with religion as an inalienable and inseparable part of the curriculum. But some say that until all are willing for this, it cannot in the Spirit of Protestantism be achieved. The reason given being that even though all religious bodies were unanimous upon a curriculum of religious instruction, still the agnostic would not agree to this and his wishes must be considered. They add, that even if his children were not compelled to attend it would not be just to them since they would be under a stigma. There is truth in this. But I would ask, has any agnostic a rational and defensible right to deny to his child that which is the common heritage of the commonwealth and so bring such stigma upon them? And, on the other hand, should the great mass of the populace suffer because of his peculiar lack of belief? They say yes: I say no. We cannot force his children to accept Christian truth even though this be regarded on every hand as a fundamental in education and in human nature, but should he persistently and deliberately maintain his antagonism to this, then the ban should fall on him and his rather than on the whole nation. But further, I believe that a national system, after a few years of successful working would break down the very barriers that now confront it, and men's judgment would be formed largely by the prevailing system and its results.

The religious condition as related to Canada's educational system is to-day practically a mild form of anarchism. Factions have fancies, and these, by their political power, they force upon the government, the result is that fads become embodied in law.

Surely we ought to have a national principle in education instead of a sectarian policy. And in a national system lies the only possible satisfactory solution to the problems of education and assimilation. Let there be a National Educational Commission composed of representatives from the whole Dominion. Place in their hands the formation

of the curricula for all primary and secondary schools. When these have been completed let the Dominion Government legislate without prejudice and in the interest of the achievement of the ideal, rather than of satisfying any sectarian spirit.

It is my conviction that such commission could do more than evolve simply a system of ethical instruction. This could undoubtedly be done to great advantage and general satisfaction. But since beneath every difference of nationality there is a fundamental principle of manhood, since in this common element there is a basis for assimilation, and since there is a religious ethos, sentiment or spirit, common to all, there is undeniably a possibility of agreement upon at least a minimum of religious instruction.

The idea of a religious basis in education is rational, hence it is desirable, consequently we believe it to be practical to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem.

Let every religious body worthy of consideration present in written form a complete statement of the religious instruction desirable to them. Then with these before them, let the Educational Commission evolve a religious code, meeting as far as reasonable the various requests, and at the same time advantageous to the nation. Composed as this commission would be of the sanest minds, and most interested citizens of our Dominion, we should be willing to accept a decision at their hands.

If, however, some sect should still desire separate private schools, then they shall be at liberty to establish them. Nevertheless, since the Commission has already drafted a secular curriculum, the best possible for the production of true citizenship, this curriculum should be obligatory in the ^{private} ~~public~~ school. In religion along they should have control. They should also have the same inspectors, and the teachers should be of necessity instructed in the educational institutions of the State. Moreover since the State believes that its system throughout is the best for the production of the

national ideal, all such private schools should be privately maintained. The goods of the commonwealth demands the existence of the commission and also of the public schools, hence the nation as a whole should support *them*.

This might work to the disadvantage of sectarianism, but it would just as surely work to the best interest of the native and of true Christian citizenship. To say the least, since the existing system and effort is so manifestly inadequate to the task assigned, we are more than ready for some change that suggests even the possibility of betterment.

Additional hindrances to assimilation.

We have dealt with the laxity on the part of the church in work among the foreigners, and of our educational deficiencies. These are great hindrances to the process of assimilation; but they are negative.

A positive hindrance is that of European opposition, ^{*we see this*} on the part of the Hungarian government. It is but natural that they should do their level best to maintain the allegiance of their population. *citizens to their home land.*

Again there is our unpardonable race discrimination and legislation. A history of the Chinese and Japanese question is impossible here, and already some mention has been made of the subject. But in a word I would say that, economically, I cannot see that the problem they create is particularly different from that created by other foreigners. We at least get a quid pro quo for the wages paid them. Then as to assimilation, we are by our attitude and treatment of them, doing all we can to prevent it, Hence we need not for a moment blame them for their lack of conformity to our ideals. For the present, our international relationship with Japan will be safeguarded by Ottawa and London, but the day of the Oriental is at hand; then through force or policy we shall bend. Even now, in the power of the boycott, she has a forceful ally. Where is our wisdom in this color discrimination?

Illiterate immigration also hinders our work. Much agitation has been in evidence under this head in the U. S. A., but in spite of repeated legislation, so far, they have never been able to get a measure preventing the landing of illiterate immigrants through both houses and supported by their President. However we see the force of their many arguments. It is useless to hold up the educational ideal unless we protect it in every reasonable way. The immigrants will come, and if we prevent the illiterates, they will gain enough education to pass the tests. This indirectly, would be of great benefit to Europe. But many arguments are also given in favor of noⁿ restriction in this direction. Perhaps Canada is wise at present in keeping open her gates to the illiterates provided they meet satisfactorily the other required standards.

Promiscuous immigrants also raise an undesirable wall of opposition to assimilation. This our government has fully recognized and we welcome with gratitude the efforts at careful selection and greater restriction.

This selection should invariably be on the other side of the ocean rather than on this side. It seems heartless to accept a whole family except perhaps the invalid child; this compels the family, at the port of landing, either to part with their little one and send it back home, very probably to "nobody", or it compels the whole family to return. But often they have not enough to take them back, and even if they had, their little all has been swallowed by transportation companies. There must always be hardship, while the selection is largely at the port of debarkation.

The most promising suggestion in this direction is that of Mr. Brandonburgh. (14) This is the selection of immigrants before "Itinerant Boards" of two or three of our citizens who speak fluently the language of the foreigners. These boards should be on a civil service basis. Their different sittings throughout the country should be advertized a sufficient length of time in advance to allow all persons contemplating emigration to prepare to appear for examination. We suggest that the Board photograph and describe in detail the immigrant so as to allow of no deception.

There are many objections to such an ~~an~~ itinerant Board, but it suggests itself as being decidedly advantageous. There might be other and preferable methods of examination, but at any rate, it should take place prior to their purchasing tickets for sailing, and if possible before they have left their homes.

We have now finished ^{the discussion of} with assimilation. We have considered the material, and the method, *What of the product?* Let us consider in a word the National Spirit produced.

If our plans have not miscarried, we ought to have an intelligent, religious, patriotic, and homogeneous nation. Our people should be moral and law-abiding, free from vice and crime, healthy, cleanly, social, thrifty, prosperous, and happy. Ideals we expect to find high, and family life everywhere above reproach, and the government should be absolutely a political institution "of the people, by the people, for the people". (15) That we have not yet this Utopia is all too sadly apparent. No, much has been accomplished, but it is still a case of "So much to do, so little done." Immigration has given rise to problems, many, varied, and difficult, of these we will enumerate a few.

Problems resulting from immigration:-

1. The international problem of the regulation of immigration.
We ought to be in sympathetic touch with the world nations, if migration is to be permanently and mutually beneficial.
2. Illiteracy is greatly increased by the inflow.
3. Pauperism becomes more prevalent.
4. Crime is undoubtedly accentuated.
5. The child problem re crime is alarming.
6. City problems, housing, slum life, etc., are made very acute and far reaching.
7. Compulsory education becomes more necessary.

8. Taxes to maintain schools, etc., etc., are unduly increased by the sudden inrush.
9. The problem of the unemployed is aggravated.
10. The industrial problem becomes more complicated.
11. Assimilation becomes a vital necessity.
12. Our relation to the Empire has to be constantly more carefully guarded.
13. The political situation becomes permanently changed, and the foreign vote has to be reckoned with.
14. The religious problem becomes more intensified. ~~Others~~ *Others* might be named, but enough have been cited to show the gravity of the situation.

Canada's place in the British Empire.

How will immigration affect this colonial relationship?

It is interesting to speculate as to the future relationship of our colony to our sister colonies and to the Mother-land. Is it a fond dream to suppose that in a century our population will vastly outnumber that of the British Isles? Scarcely is it a dream; provided no unforeseen calamity overtakes us, it is an assured fact. It is not a very far cry to the time when we shall have twice forty millions of people.

When that time shall have come it is fairly safe to predict that Canada will not brook the veto of an Imperial parliament. Nor will she be willing to receive the appointee of the crown as a Governor General. Already we see her manifesting a laudable independence in providing her own military and naval defence. The end is not yet.

There is, ^{not} of course, in this the faintest idea of insubordination or arrogance, it is simply the spirit of worthy self-consciousness. We recognize clearly our dependence on Great Britain and the Empire, but we also recognize their dependence on us. We are ready to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in peace and war, but we must stand as equals, for already we feel the throbbings of nationhood.

Will the end be an Empire of equal and self-growing States, with a central representative body to legislate on matters concerning the whole Empire? Or will there be a world empire of all the nations, with a great peace conference to settle all disputes, and a representative council to arrange for the economic well-being of the world? Or will there be further separation, and shall we be forced to become not only a self-governing but also an independent nation? Of one thing we are sure, our ^{loyalty} to the British Empire is undying, and should disruption ever come it will be contrary to our best wishes.

Let us hope our policy towards our immigrants will attach them as firmly to our side as we are to the old Land. No greater temple of fame in honor of a magnanimous spirit toward the stranger was ever erected than the greatness of the British Empire; nobler terraces to support the central structure were ever raised than her many and thriving colonies. All the nations have contributed to her strength, and she by her spirit of liberality and freedom has marvellously ennobled and enriched herself. She has given us a worthy example, ^{Let us} by emulating her magnanimity lay deep and immovable the foundation stones of Canada's matchless Commonwealth.

A passing word must also be spoken of Canada's fitness to become an independent nation.

We need not here dig deep into our inner fitness, nor need we philosophize on our psychological aptitude and ability, practical conclusions will suffice. Our country is unequalled in area and resources; our financial credit is good; our political system democratic; our religion the highest revealed to men; our population continually on the increase; our educational system while far from being perfect is intensely practical from the materialistic standpoint. Hence we have the prime requisite of independence.

We have a lack, however, which we shall do well steadily to keep before us: that lack is experience. Great Britain sets us a worthy pattern in diplomacy, but the diplomatic statesman is not produced to order, he seems rather to be the growth of centuries. Our national prosperity tends to produce national

arrogance, and this might very easily lead to very complicated and difficult international controversies. Nor are we free from internal dangers, social, economic, educational, and religious. For the present these are large enough and pressing enough to occupy our full time and to call for the fullest exercise of all our intellectual insight and sagacity.

When these problems are solved we may be ready to cut loose ~~and~~ become an independent unit; but the necessity and advisability are, in my judgment, both things of the indefinite future.

Canada's future as Presaged by Past and Present.

There is room for unbounded optimism in regard to our future when we consider the remarkable past growth and present development of our Dominion.

Canada is but 149 years old dating from the British Conquest in 1759, yet her place in the British Empire is second to none. In 1763 her population was but 70,000, now it numbers upwards of 6,500,000. But a few years ago there was no railway west of the great lakes, now we have one transcontinental and a second well on towards completion. In 1870 there was practically no Winnipeg, now we have a magnificent city. Twenty-five years ago Vancouver was a mere Village, now it is a flourishing seaport. Forty years ago we were a handful of struggling provinces, now we are a formidable confederacy. In commerce Canada bids fair to become one of the great industrial storehouses of the world. Our revenue has in four decades increased over 500 per cent. Our budget has doubled within the past ten years. Our mines have had a wonderful development. Our immigration has been steadily on the increase and is predominately of the desirable class. We have shown a truly wonderful development in our school system and equipment. Our churches have tried to keep pace with the times.

The present day is one of unprecedented activity along every line. Railways are reaching out, and everywhere new villages and towns are springing into existence with surprising rapidity. Where but yesterday there was silence, now is heard the whir of

a thousand wheels; where all was virgin prairie now we have flourishing business centres with all the inventions and appliances of modern life. Nor is this an unhealthy or fungus growth, it is stable, dependable, and permanent.

What then shall we say of our future? Truly we are fast becoming a vast depository for the teeming millions of the nations of the world. Other nations now deemed undesirable may soon throw off their shackles. We touch the Atlantic and the Pacific and their peoples and their commerce will assuredly mingle on our shores. Our railways are great arteries of commerce, and these will pulsate with the throbbing life of a hundred millions of Canadians. Great cities will dot our provinces and dictate our national policies. Politics will more and more become part of the very life of the populace, and, unless some purifying agency is timely applied to free us from the cringing serfdom of partyism, it threatens to become more and more a menace instead of blessing to our nation. Education, we hope, will of necessity be for all without reserve.

The late Dr. Withrow (16) says "Now is the hour of destiny; now is the opportunity to mould the future of this vast domain". Canada seems to have realized this to some extent, and we see in the future the present indications grown big.

What, in detail, shall be the future of Canada no man can with absolute assurance predict; but within the heart of every enthusiastic Canadian there is a feeling of inevitableness and of potential national greatness. We realize our noble heritage and yearn to make it yield its very best. We feel the blood of the mightiest of empires throbbing in our veins. Our hearts pulsate with the same magnanimous spirit towards our incoming aliens that has ever characterized the true Briton: we shall assimilate them: they will become part of us: we shall take on their excellencies: and the result will be a new and superior race.

(16) Withrow. Our own Country. p. 500.

We do not blindly grope for an ideal ethereal, intangible, and undefined, but, having a clear conception of our powers and of our limitations, we confidently look forward to the time when we, Young Canada, shall stand side by side with the most populous, prosperous, intellectual, rational, and religious, nations of the world. With them we shall take our full share in the world's great work of uplifting humanity from poverty, and ignorance, and serfdom, and sin, towards the ideal laid down for us in Christ's great kingdom of God on earth.

O Nation, young and fair, and strong: Arise

To the full stature of thy greatness now!

Thy glorious destiny doth thee endow
With high prerogative. Before thee lies
A future full of promise. Oh, be wise!

Be great in all things, good, And haste to sow
The present with rich germs from which may grow
Sublime results and noble, high emprise.

Oh! be it hence thy mission to advance

the destinies of man, exalt the race,
And teach down-trodden nations through the expanse
of the round earth to rise above their base
And low estate, love Freedom's holy cause,
And give to all men just and equal laws.

Oh, let us plant in the fresh virgin earth

Of this New World, a scion of that tree
Beneath whose shades our father's dwelt, a free
And noble nation - of heroic birth.

Let the Penates of our Father's hearth

Be hither born; and let us bow the knee
Still at our father's altars. O'er the sea
Our hearts yearn fondly and rever their worth,
And though forth-faring from our father's house,

Not forth in anger, but in love we go;
It lessens not our reverence, but doth rouse
To deeper love than ever we did know.
Not alien and estranged, but sons are we
Of that great Fatherland beyond the sea.

- Withrow -