

The Provincials by Albert J. Kennedy

Albert J. Kennedy and Alan A. Brookes

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Documents

The Provincials by Albert J. Kennedy

Five events between 1865 and 1873 combined to disrupt the prosperity of the Maritime Provinces. In 1865 the lucrative trade of supplying two American armies came to an end. In the following year, the 1854 Reciprocity Treaty was abrogated by the United States and tariff barriers grew up. In 1867 Confederation forced the region to look for leadership to the land and central Canada rather than to Britain and the sea. Six years later, financial panic hit Canada even more severely than the United States. In the same period, iron hulls and steam propulsion began to transform shipping; and with the end of the wooden sailing ship the collapse of the Maritimes' traditional economy was complete.¹ As a palliative, the National Policy, instituted in 1879 by the Canadian government, served only to subordinate the Maritimes to the Montreal and Toronto business communities, rather than to stimulate local industry and economic growth.²

Many Maritimers decided that out-migration was the best alternative to the lasting economic depression which ensued. First to leave, during the 1860's and often only on a seasonal basis, were restless young single people. They were followed, from the 70's, by older, more stable elements and whole families whose departure from the region was usually on a more permanent basis. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics has estimated that over 330,000 native-born Maritimers departed for the neighbouring republic between 1860 and 1910.³ The most attractive destination was Boston, an expanding city with varied employment opportunities, and one with which a communications network already existed. By migrating to Boston, Maritimers were

1 For more detail on all aspects of the migration from the Maritimes to Boston and its causes, see Alan A. Brookes, "Migration from the Maritime Provinces of Canada to Boston, Massachusetts, 1860-1900," M.A. thesis, University of Hull, 1974.

2 See T. William Acheson, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910," *Acadiensis*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring 1972), pp. 3-28.

3 Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *The Maritime Provinces Since Confederation* (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1927), p. 32.

in effect following their produce to the nearest large English-speaking city; and their movement was closely akin to the *internal* migration so characteristic of the nineteenth-century western world. To the people, politicians, and newspapers of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, "the exodus" came to be a household word, and participation in it a way of life. It can be justifiably argued that no single factor has played a more important role in the development of the Maritime Provinces since Confederation than out-migration — the lion's share of which beat a steady path to Massachusetts prior to World War I.

Although not politically included in the Maritime region, Boston was socially and economically an integral part of the unit. As early as 1880 the 'hub' city contained more New Brunswickers than Moncton and almost as many as Fredericton; more Nova Scotians than Yarmouth, Pictou, and Sydney (Cape Breton) combined; and more Prince Edward Islanders than any single island community with the exceptions of Charlottetown and Summerside. New York was not much further away than Boston and was a much greater attraction to most of the world's migrants, yet in 1880 Maritimers in the Massachusetts city outnumbered their compatriots in New York by 17,405 to 1,169, or almost fifteen to one.⁴

In Boston, Maritimers apparently adopted American customs with ease and joined American institutions; and it is this lack of ethnic desparateness that explains Canadian and American historians' considerable neglect of the movement.⁵ The easiest, if not the only, way of gaining information on such "invisible immigrants" — especially regarding their social characteristics and behaviour — is through the eyes of contemporary observers. "The Provincials" provides us with such an example.

Between 1905 and 1914 Albert J. Kennedy and several other social workers at Boston's South End Settlement House were engaged in a study which they entitled "The Zone of Emergence." Their aim was to examine the ways of life of the inhabitants of the lower-middle and upper-working-class districts of the city. Due to financial and other difficulties the findings of the study were never published by the South End House authorities. In 1958 "The Zone of Emer-

4 Canada: Census Office. *Fourth Census* (1901), Vol. III (Ottawa; S.E. Dawson, 1904), pp. 326-329, 332, 338; and U.S. Census Office. *Tenth Census* (1880), Vol. I (Washington; G.P.O., 1883), p. 538. The figures for Maritimers in Boston and New York are for New Brunswickers, Nova Scotians and Prince Edward Islanders. They *exclude* Newfoundlanders.

5 The only two substantial studies of migration from Canada to the United States are Marcus Lee Hansen and J.B. Brebner, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940); and Leon Edgar Truesdell, *The Canadian-born in the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943). While several more recent articles have also dealt with the problem, no study has adopted a sufficiently local and individual — or even regional — approach that is necessary if we are to gain an adequate understanding of the migration.

gence" manuscript was 'discovered' in a coal bin at the South End House by a Harvard student. This was eventually brought to the attention of Sam Bass Warner, Jr., who realized the significance of the manuscript's factual findings and of its authors' middle-class opinions. As a result, in 1962, Robert A. Woods⁶ and Albert J. Kennedy, *The Zone of Emergence: Observations of the Lower Middle and Upper Working Class Communities of Boston, 1905-1914*, edited and abridged by Sam Bass Warner, Jr., was published by the M.I.T. Press (Cambridge, Massachusetts).

Of the nine "Zone of Emergence" chapters found at the South End House, seven were included in the M.I.T. edition, each pertaining to a specific district within the city. Two ethnic chapters, one on the Swedes and one on "The Provincials," were omitted by Warner, no doubt because his interests lay in geographic areas⁷ rather than in immigrant groups.

"The Provincials" begins by 'summing-up' the history of the Maritime-Boston migration. This first part is undoubtedly the weakest, due to Kennedy's lack of training as an historian. However, when he takes on the role of contemporary observer and judge in describing the economic, social, and political activities of Maritime Canadians in Boston (making references to earlier decades as well as to the period 1905-1914), his experience as a sociologist shines through. At every turn he offers up his own impressions, opinions, prejudices, and concerns. He even has a short section on the morals of Canadians in the city in which he tells us that they "are often accused of parsimony and stinginess with the moral implications thereof"! Constantly, Kennedy tries to evaluate the benefits and advantages Provincial immigrants brought to the city of Boston and to American life.

Although Maritimers are initially characterized as "bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh," an impression develops of a distinct 'Maritime' or Canadian culture and way of life in Boston. We are told that there was little intermarriage in the first generation "because their social life is largely among themselves." Maritimers are accused of being "hypernationals," and of coaxing their children into asking embarrassing questions of American history teachers. Canadian workers did not join the local unions and were not overly active in politics. They frequently held their own parties and dances. A clear picture of a distinctive 'Provincial experience' in Boston emerges, despite the many similarities between Maritimers and Bostonians.

If some of Kennedy's remarks seem inaccurate, unsound, or dated, they are invaluable to us precisely because of such qualities. Today there are few residents of the Maritime Provinces who do not have at least one relative

6 Robert A. Woods was director of the South End House during the period in which the "Zone of the Emergence" study was undertaken, and supervised the writing of the manuscript.

7 Such an interest is indicated by the title of Warner's doctoral thesis, "The residential Development of Roxbury, West Roxbury and Dorchester, Mass., 1870-1900," Harvard University, 1959.

in the Boston area. It will be of interest to more than historians to gain insight into the experiences of those “not-so-distant cousins” over in the “Boston States.”

ALAN A. BROOKES

The Zone of Emergence has a decidedly national character. A cross section shows the population divided into two important and evenly distributed strata made up of immigrants from English speaking nations, and a thin streak of non-English speaking adventurers. In 1905 there were approximately 70,000 persons of Canadian birth or descent in Boston. They made up per cent of the population. The Irish alone outnumbered them. One would expect such a body of immigrants to play a considerable part in the civic and institutional life of the community; would look for some characteristic and plainly evident forms of national self expression. Yet even the most diligent search will not discover a dozen institutions of specific Canadian complexion, and the city is forced with no Canadian problem as such. For our neighbors from over the border are not spoken of as “foreigners”; they are not referred to generically, as happens with the Italians, the Swedes and the Russians. They are in fact “bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh” — both directly and by adoption.¹ Both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were settled in part by people from the United States. After the Arcadian Expulsion in 1755 a considerable number of persons from Cape Cod and other parts of New England settled near the Bay of Fundy, and in Southern Nova Scotia. Again in 1785 thousands of Loyalists emigrated to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Ontario; some of them the cream of the colonial life. Their descendents make up 30.5 per cent. of that of Nova Scotia.

Scotch immigration to the maritime provinces began about 1790 and lasted until well after 1830. The immigrants were largely farmers from the Highlands who took up land. They settled close together kept many of their customs, and have retained that peculiar aloofness which is characteristic of the Highlander. The result has been that many Canadians resemble the direct Scotch immigrant of the forties, and mingle easily in the local Scottish life.

1 A recent Dominion report (1905) lists the origins of the population of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia as follows.

	Eng.	Scotch	Ir.	F.	U. S.	Other
N. B.	18%	16%	29%	3%	30.5%	6%
N. S.	20%	16%	8%	26%	18%	5%

What composition of population could be more characteristically American?

The Canadian Irish come to the United States the better prepared for citizenship for their sojourn across the border. Having lived largely on farms, and having been forced to take a minor place in political affairs, they have developed far more normally than in this country where political activity is so often forced by economic interest. The Provincial Irishman is better trained both in making a living and ruling himself than the immigrant from Ireland.

Immigration from Canada has been a young people's movement; made up of the sons and daughters of the farmer-fisher folk of the maritime provinces and Ontario. Looked at in the large it is but the extension over an imaginary border of that tendency which has called cityward so many thousands from Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont; Boston is the logical "big city" for Eastern Canada. This attraction based on transportation has been enormously reinforced by American intellectual leadership. Our papers, books, and magazines circulate freely there, and the Provincial turns instinctively to American colleges and professional schools for higher education.

The call of the city has been greatly reinforced by Canadian financial stringency and the call of American opulence. Money has always been scarce in the provinces. The tariff has made it hard to dispose of produce in its logical market: the young people have longed for the easier method of life they have heard of in the "States". To the Canadian farmer's son (often brought up under a regime of barter) the possession of fifteen dollars a week in cash seemed like opulence. The Provincial school teacher working for \$5.00 or \$6.00 a week, out of which she had to pay board interpreted the stipend of the bookkeeper, the stenographer, or the clerk, to mean opportunity.

Industrially this immigration has been pretty much of a class, that is, semi-skilled or unskilled. Yet while the farm-bred boy may know no trade, he has been trained to handle tools and meet the thousand and one situations which arise as a normal part of farm and woods life. He knows how to hew wood, he has assisted at raising barns, and has shingled the farm roofs. He has built boats, has made his own dock at the farm's edge, and he knows how to fish. It was this native skill that the first comers put into use, and the Nova Scotian in Boston still stands synonymous for carpenter, pile driver, fisherman, or out-of-doors wood worker. The Canadian girl has had even less training except in housekeeping to which numbers have had to turn for a livelihood, or to tide over the period while some form of office work was being mastered.

History of Canadian Immigration

Immigration from the Provinces began very early: by 1855 there were 5,850 Canadians in Boston. The increase during the next decade was small,

due to the turmoil of the Civil War. Immediately thereafter, however, immigration recommenced, and the census for 1875 lists approximately 20,000 persons, 7,800 of whom are males and 11,600 females. Then as now the more adventurous men sought our Western States, as within the last twenty-five years they have gone into their own north-west. Young women, necessarily less capable of pioneering and more attracted by city life, have found Boston the most available field for conquest.

The census of 1885 for the first time gives the province from which immigrants come, and the figures for the three decades 1885, 1895, 1905 are shown in Table 1. Here also is a comparison of sexes which shows preponderance of females over males, except in the case of the French Canadians with whom the order is reversed. This, however, is a peculiarly local condition, due to the attraction of Boston for young men who desire to do machine shop or clerical work. In 1885 Nova Scotia led the list with 13,500 persons, New Brunswick followed with 7,500, Ontario had 4,000, Prince Edward Island 2,700, and New Foundland 1,500. At the end of the following decade there had been hardly any increase in population from the Maritime Provinces, the country having apparently been exhausted of its available immigrants. In this decade, however, immigration from Ontario increased from 4,000 to 14,500, that province apparently just feeling the call cityward, stimulated additionally by a series of poor crops. During the decade 1895-1905 there was once more an enormous increase in immigration from the Maritime provinces — almost 50 per cent. and only a normal increase from Ontario.

Distribution of Population

The immigrants of 1855 were largely centered in East Boston: — 1,288 out of 5,850 to be exact. The North, West, and South Ends, and South Boston, cared for colonies of varying sizes, mostly from 300 to 600 people. By 1865 the East Boston colony had increased to 1600, and South Boston had increased from 444 to 1,109 due to

During the next decade the East Boston colony increased to 5,012; South Boston to 2,254; Charlestown to 1,834 (engaged in the shipping, lumber and especially in the ice business and the North, West, and South Ends, and the Back Bay proportionately. Roxbury and Dorchester have very small colonies.

By 1905 the number of Canadians had more than trebled over the population of 1875 and the tide of Canadian movement was outward to the Roxburys and Dorchester. The East Boston colony numbered 9,540; that in Charlestown 4,249; South Boston 6,463; the West End 1,325; the Back Bay

2,075; the South End, 9,367; the Roxburys, 17,726; and Dorchester 13,324.²

Industrial Life

It is very difficult briefly to characterize the industrial life and efficiency of so large and so widely varied body of people. The Provinces has sent some highly capable young people, men and women who left the farms because they desired larger, wider, and more useful life than was possible to them there, and who have put energy and brains into their work. There have also been young people from worn out and degenerate stock, who were attracted to the fancied ease, gaiety, and irresponsibility of city life. The early immigration was, among the men, much better than that of the last years, for the virile and venturesome now go west. This does not hold among the women, who are far and away more capable than the average present-day male immigrant. It is usually a venture-some and progressive type of girl who leaves her home to come here. But on the whole immigration from Canada has been made up of those from the lower middle class with only average or less than average efficiency. They have entered occupations requiring only a nominal training, or have become clerk and office assistants.

Boston has been spoken of as the intellectual centre of the Provinces, and this is nowhere more plainly seen than in the number of Canadian born professional men in the city. While Canada has had a good graded school system, the opportunities for higher education have not been comparable to those in our own country. There have been a number of young men who have come to the city, and while working at such occupation as they could engage in, have taken night training and put them selves through colleges and technical schools. There are many men thus graduated into professional life, who have attained a good place in their calling, and whose families are not to be distinguished from our own educated classes. Boston Scotch and English-Canadian doctors, dentists, lawyers, teachers, and ministers might be counted by the score, and they make a body of professional men of whom

2 The distribution by provinces is interesting.

There are 7,462 Nova Scotians in Roxbury and Dorchester, 2,894 in the South End, and 731 in South Boston. Prince Edward Islanders and New Brunswickers number 1,660, and 2,582 respectively in the Roxburys and Dorchester, and 490 and 864 in the South End. There are 810 Prince Edward Islanders in East Boston. The New Foundlanders thinly scattered in the outer suburbs, are 1,165 strong in East Boston, and number 720 in South Boston. As they make up the least skilled, and industrially least efficient, portion of Canadian immigration, their location is suggestive. The Roxburys and Dorchester have the largest portion of the second generation Canadians followed by East Boston, South Boston, and Charlestown. The South and West Ends and the Back Bay region show only a small number of American born Canadians, being given over largely to persons working in the shops, and those women who do housework. There are over 6,000 Canadians among the lodging-houses in the South End, which shows how large a portion of unmarried persons there must be among them still.

the city may well be proud. In the same way Boston has also a fair sized body of successful business men. There are Canadian owners and managers of large firms, the names of which if given would be familiar to every local reader. Builders, dry goods men, contractors, printers, lumber dealers, and railway managers, are among some of the highly successful examples of Dominion industry, ability and efficiency.

This double class of successful professional and business men are, as a rule, rather thoroughly Americanized. They have usually allied themselves with the life of the community, and their connections and friends are quite as American as Canadian. One finds them and their children in local churches and social organizations; for there is no amalgam like that of commercial or professional success. This class, however is a very small one, and forms but a limited portion of the community.

Following the group just mentioned, is a large body of men on the borders of the business world, commercial travellers, insurance agents, and the shop-keeping and office assistant class. Many Boston department stores employ Canadian clerks, and floor walkers; they are found in wholesale and retail grocery and provision stores; and in short wherever goods are passed over the counter. In such positions they give satisfaction, averaging up to the level of the native and Irish stock which furnishes so large a percentage of this form of labor. A few merchants employ Canadians in preference to the native-born young men. "They are seemingly more decent fellows" said one large employer. "They are more tractable, easier to manage, far more ready to obey orders and anxious to advance. I have picked a large share of my force from them." This expresses all that can be said for this large section of the men. They are docile workers under direction. But they bring no particular skill, and they contribute no new power to enrich our life.

Another large class of workers is made up of the craftsmen and semi-craftsmen. Of these carpenters form the largest share. The farmer's son learns to use a saw and an axe; every Provincial is a potential carpenter. The newcomer often seeks a job with surprisingly small knowledge of the craft, and holds it through pure native grit. In the Carpenter's Union 85 per cent, of its members are Provincial, twenty-four per cent, of the Cabinet Makers and Millmen's Union come from Canada; the lumber firms all employ large numbers of Canadians. In fact wherever wood is used for any purpose short of fine work demanding skill and delicacy, the Canadians are supreme. One also finds Canadians in machine shops where they are occasionally employed as foremen. Men of Scotch Canadian descent often make excellent machinists, but the majority of employers regard the Provincial as an average or inferior mechanic.

There is a floating class of seasonal laborers which alternates between Boston and the Provinces. Pile driving employs such men during the summer; and there are other gangs which come to Boston in April and work through October in casting foundries; both of these groups return and live on their earnings through the winter. There is a further class of Canadians who work on the fishing fleet, many of these craft being altogether manned by them. The ice business is also one in which skill and endurance is called into play. Lastly the Canadians make up a large share of the employees on the Boston Elevated System. It has come to be a workman's tradition that the Nova Scotian is a carpenter or a motorman, and their numbers are variously estimated at from 1,000 to 3,000. There are other occupations in which they engage, but not to the extent of giving a national trend to the industry as in those noted. It has always to be remembered that the capable Nova Scotian has every chance here that the native American has, and his lack of success cannot be attributed to any of the disadvantages which beset the immigrant from Europe.

It is very difficult to aptly characterize the status of the Canadian as a workman because of the varied classes among them. There is a good number of very able persons among them, but there is also a large proportion of slack, careless, and little-to-be trusted workmen in their ranks. The great middle mass of them do fairly good work in the less skilled employments, making from \$9.00 to \$35.00 a week, and averaging from \$15.00 to \$18.00. They are not liked by their fellow workmen chiefly for personal reasons. The Swede, the Russian, the German, and other European immigrants hate them bitterly, because of their extreme British sentiments. Irish and American workers criticise them as "bumphous and opinionated." Where there are several of them in a shop they tend to be very clannish, and they frequently are accused of being sneaking and behindhand. There is little doubt that they often assume a self righteousness that is particularly galling and which seems like a species of cant. They are slow to get that feeling of class solidarity which is now so demanded. This probably accounts for much of the poor opinion expressed of them. As might well be imagined they are not good unionists, despite the fact that they compose so large a part of certain unions. The struggle to organize and secure a carpenters' union was hindered for years by the flow of newcomers who acted as strike breakers; and the unions still dread this body of Canadian labor force ready to be tapped on the slightest provocation. The Unions have now carried organization into the provinces, and conditions are improved, though the attitude of the Canadian toward this country makes it very difficult to get him into a union for any other reason than one of immediate profit. He doesn't like to spend money for dues and he is convinced that it is useless to join organizations in his passage through America.

The immigration among women for the past years has been of better grade than that among the men, and they are found in all the occupations open to their sex. The field of nursing they have almost completely captured. It is said that 75 per cent. of the nurses of the state and over forty per cent. of those in the hospital come from the Provinces. They are physically strong, mentally alert and do excellently well in their professions. They are also teachers, masseuses, hairdressers, dressmakers, and houseworkers.

They have a large share in the office and shop work in the city. There are a great many stenographers, bookkeepers and typewriters among them, and innumerable clerks. In the field of domestic help they are in demand at hotels, and in restaurants where women waitresses are employed. They are found in service scattered all over the city, where they range from low grade to the very highest and most skilled of domestic help. Boston is also a kind of radiating point from which the more venturesome start over the country to try their fortunes in new fields. An appreciable proportion of these women remain in industry permanently. Their incomes are equal or better than those of men whom they know, and they refuse to exchange single competence for the double poverty that must result in marriage. For this reason many never marry at all, but live out their lives in singleness; women, too, whose children might be expected to pass on their mother's alertness and capacity.

When Canadian young people marry they make their home in one of the outer wards or in a suburb, often in the neighborhood of other provincial families, who thus form a little colony. They generally rent an apartment and acquire the restless habit of moving from one flat to another. There is little tendency to buy a house, for most Canadians hope some day to "go back home." This results in the habit of lightly regarding all local duties and refusing to assume religious or civic bonds. Thus they live on with no definite ties except those in the fanciful home in the Provinces to which the majority of them never return.

Often the women are good housekeepers and the home is kept well; often, to those who have the best opportunity for observation the housekeeping is slack and the manner of living is not equal to that of American people of the same grade. Expenditures on clothing are unusually large; for appearance comes to count for much. On the whole the manner of life is uneven, unequal, Provincial, often oscillating between penury and extravagance, moulded largely by the early habits of the country, yet frequently torn out of proportion by the tendencies of the new environment.

They have the popular reputation of being "close and ungenerous and thrifty." Often they save surprisingly well, lay up money in the Provincial or American bank or invest it in mortgages. Some of it goes to acquire property back in the Provinces. Yet the great mass of working class have to spend the major section of their income to keep themselves alive as do others of their indus-

rial type, and it is not unsafe to say that the volume of Canadian thrift is not very much, if any, larger than that among the Irish.

Social Life.

Canadians social life at first seems curiously monotonous and uninteresting. There are few national organizations and no modes of living that are distinctive and picturesque. The Canadian is commonplace American in everything but the accident of his political affiliations. His language, ideals, and industrial habits are our own. He enters easily into membership in our institutional life. Libraries, schools, theatres, and other public amusements he uses freely. He joins American societies of every kind from the Mayflower descendents to the last club; and there is practically nothing we withhold from him. But once within American organizations, he tends to be clanish and to group by himself, almost always markedly enough to form a small national clique.

Practically every social and industrial division of Canadian society finds its counterpart here, either completely or in large part; and the Provincial can ally himself with Boston life to just the extent he wills to do so. The Irish and Scotch Canadians enter into a vigorous social life; the Irishman especially comes at once into his own. He is cultivated politically, socially, religiously; he can hardly escape being at once drawn into organizations, and that so successfully that there is always a goodly number of him on "the Force" and in "City Hall". There are a number of Scotch organizations which help uphold the traditions of people from that country and the person of Scotch descent usually has easy entrance into them.

The recently arrived Canadian immigrant turns first of all to his church as the most familiar social institution. Loneliness, the hope of meeting people, and ingrained habit sends him there. The small Canadian village of today is still very much like a New England town of fifty years ago, and attendance at service is a necessary badge of respectability. The Provincial tends to join the strongly evangelical churches. He is accustomed to highly evangelistic preaching and at first he attends the churches which supply this type of service. The Roman Catholics are absorbed in the churches of the diocese in which they happen to settle and one loses track of them as Canadians. The most distinctive Canadian organization in Boston is the Presbyterian church, which is almost entirely given Provincial. Certain churches of the Baptist and Methodists are also largely attended by Canadians. The center

A report of 1905 gives the religious make-up of two provinces as follows:

	Ang.	Bap.	Meth.	Pres.	R.C.
N.B.	21%	24%	10%	11%	37%
N.S.	14	18	12	25	28

of Presbyterianism is in the South End, where there are a half dozen churches of this faith, all of them of good age and successful. The morning service is attended by families (Scotch as well as Canadian) and the evening congregation is largely composed of Canadian young people. One very large church substitutes an afternoon for the morning service, frankly adapting itself to the habits of maids and young people in the lodging house district. These churches probably minister to 5,000 people; they are well attended and well supported; and what is truly remarkable this support comes very largely from working people. It has to be confessed, however, that the Presbyterian church is the only one which has proved able to secure support; in all other denominations the story is reversed. Methodist Churches such as the Union Church, and Baptist Churches of the type of Tremont Temple and the Ruggles Street Church, are well attended by Nova Scotians. The Presbyterians complain that their people are constantly proselyted into the Baptist and Methodist churches on doctrinal grounds and there is no doubt that the doctrinal training and susceptibility of the Provincial makes him easily influenced by appeals of this kind.

These churches not only minister to the religious needs, but they are distinctly social forces. Young people go to them to see and to be seen, to meet their friends. The church is a rendezvous; certain cliques are identified with certain churches; and there is considerable visiting from church to church to meet certain sets and exchange gossip. Large numbers of young people become religious peripatetics, local ties are lost and they finally fall away from the church altogether. Indeed the change in residence from a rigid church going community to the looser rule of the city results in an enormous falling off in church attendance. Thousands of persons who are regular church goers in Canada never go to church in Boston. When they return to the Provinces they slip into the old habit, which, however, is dropped the moment they return to the city.

When young people from the Provinces marry the Church once more tends to lose them. They do not join the church in the district in which they go to live and they find it hard and expensive to return to the centre of the city to the denomination of their choice. After a little church going ceases, and they confine themselves to sending the children to a neighborhood Sunday school. The tendency to move frequently results in an early falling off in church attendance among the second generation, who is also lost to organized religion.

Of purely social organizations among Canadians there are few. The Canadian Club and the Intercolonial Club are high grade social clubs. This is especially true of the first organization which confines itself to dinner debates and good fellowship. It is made up of the more successful professional and business men and is conducted much like one of the American state clubs. The intercolonial club is of later origin and frankly endeavors to promote

an interest in American affairs. It demands citizenship or a declaration of intention as a perquisite to membership, and it plans to become a headquarters for the growing Provincial political awakening. Both of these clubs date since 1900, and they are the harbingers of the newer Canadian spirit.

Canadians join American lodges, benefit societies, and insurance companies. The Order of Scottish Clans is a benefit society of Scottish origin, but has many Canadians of Scottish descent belonging to it. There are a few other sporadic organizations of this type which are too small to be worth mentioning.

One of the most spontaneous and perhaps the most characteristic features of Provincial life is what is known as the Nova Scotian Parade. The grouping of a great many of the Canadian churches within a short distance of one another has resulted in bringing large numbers of people together on Sunday afternoons and evenings. It is now a custom to take several turns up and down Berkeley and Tremont Streets in order to meet friends, exchange letters and gossip, and sometimes indulge in less innocent pastimes. Lewd fellows of the baser sort attend these walks and mingle with the crowd and there is at times an undertone of rudeness that makes the social benefit of the custom doubtful.

Distinctively Canadian parties and dances take place occasionally in the South End where the majority of new comers congregate; and most of the distinctively national events are among young people of this class. There are also a half dozen dancing academies and halls on Tremont Street and Columbus Avenue which are patronized by Canadians of certain sets and localities. Naturally enough young people gather together in "sets" on acquaintance in Provincial villages, persons of one locality holding together in a semi-exclusive group.

When it comes to marriage the Canadian of either sex turns to a fellow countryman. There are few mixed marriages among the first generation, because their social life is largely among themselves. More still perhaps because the roots of national religious and domestic sympathies are chiefly to be found in persons of Canadian birth. Once married the young people begin that tenement house movement that breaks up the large share of their former social life. And thereafter the struggle for existence confines them to a narrow round of duties illuminated perhaps by the hope of return that is never to come true, and which yet keeps them always as pilgrims and strangers in the land of their unwilling adoption.

To sum up: the institutionalism of Canadian Social life is as our own; there is no variety of Canadian social attitude which cannot find its opportunity for self expression in our local life. Because of the national bias and a feeling of local strangeness the Canadian immigrant usually fails to see this. First generation young people meet the problem of seeking out their

fellows from over the border and trying to reproduce the home life. This results in strengthening the nationalistic attitude and often loses to them much of the advantage which growing familiar with our locality ought to supply. After marriage the nationalistic group is changed for a nationalistic domesticity; which tends to be finally broken down by time, neighbors, and the new interests of children.

Politics

As we have indicated, Canadians are notoriously slow in taking citizenship in this country. The Canadian Irishman, because of natural tendency, vocational necessities, and the social life into which he comes, is the exception. But the average Canadian has all the British conservatism combined with that hypernationalism which is so distinguishing a characteristic of the Provincial. If he happens to be a United States loyalist (that is one of the descendants of the expelled Tories) his bitterness is likely to be ten-fold increased by the memory of confiscated property. He has a feeling of outraged poverty that effectually cuts him off from all sympathy with our institutions. In addition there is the general Canadian hope of an ultimate return "back home." A practical politician said, "when I go over the police lists to get a line on the men who haven't registered, and go to look them up, in eight cases out of ten they are Canadians."

Within the last few years there has been an awakening among the younger people of the second generation which will probably lead to a gradual breaking down of old attitudes altogether, although the breaking down will be very gradual. This change in attitude is a result of the aspirations of young lawyers who are keenly conscious of the enormous voting strength inherent in their compatriots, and some of them would like to direct its power. A full Canadian vote would control certain of the many issues of city life, and would insure political rewards of no mean value to the leaders. Whether the majority of the Canadians can be persuaded to be naturalized is doubtful, and whether they could be influenced nationally if they were citizens is still more doubtful.

The most hopeful sign of awakening political activity is found in the Inter-colonial Club organized in 1903, whose constitution among other things says "To foster in the minds of its members a spirit of loyalty to the flag of the United States, a willing compliance with the requirements of the constitution, and sentiments of undivided allegiance to the government of their adopted country . . . To stand at all times for good citizenship, and to take both as an organization and in its individual membership, its full share in the civic life and progress of the commonwealth." The organization has over 400 members and looks for a rapid increase. It is a most hopeful sign of what may yet come to pass and it is quite possible to take it as an earnest of the increasing growth of Canadian good will.

Morals

The average Canadian has been brought up in the strict atmosphere of the small country town. As a boy he went to Sunday School and to church and lived the fairly clean life characteristic of the country. This strict religious training has made Provincials strong in the "fundamental moralities." Still the police lists show a considerable number of Canadian arrests for drunkenness, for assault, and for disturbing the peace, which are characteristic of crimes. The crime against the family is desertion, of which there are many instances noted by police and charity workers.

Canadians are often accused of parsimony and stinginess with the moral implications thereof, but this is partly explained by the extreme scarcity of money in the Provinces. The habit bred of this condition often affects the total character, and explains the tendency of many observers to characterize Canadians as "personally selfish." This personal selfishness is without doubt the moral sore spot of the great average run of Canadians.

This average clean record of the Canadian redounds very greatly to their credit. Both young men and young women come here from small country places; often without knowledge of conditions to be faced and with no friends. Such persons must needs seek lodgings and settle themselves the day of their arrival. This is a perilous thing for young women and attended by temptation for young men. The casting off of all the old social and domestic restraints, and the ability to lose oneself wholly in the mazes of our lodging house district also create strong temptations. A certain proportion of girls do go astray. In a number of cases the actual harm seems to come when the girl returns to her home on a vacation; with lessened moral vigor than when she left. That temptations are so generally withstood is strong testimony to the inherent worth of these young people. But taken all in all the general level of Canadian morality compares very favourably with that in the United States, and the total result of Provincial immigration is in the direction of an upward lift in morality.

The Back Flow

Since the opening of the Canadian Northwest, as we have noted, the quality of male immigration has deteriorated. Within the last decade there has been a very vigorous industrial awakening in the Provinces. Natural resources are being developed and the call for craftsmen and operatives of all sorts is increasing. This growth is expected to continue and it will call for many young men and women who would have come to this country. It is also quite certain that the coming decade will show a considerable falling off in immigration, due to the recent growth of industry in the Provinces as well as to the increased movement toward the Northwest.

Since 1904 the movement to the Northwest has been making vigorous progress among Boston Canadians. In January 1905 the Dominion Government established a local bureau and a salaried commissioner who gives all his time to stimulating the flow backward. The Bureau in 1905 sent out 432 persons with \$135,995 worth of property; 1,000 in 1906 with \$607,710, mostly in cash; 884 in 1907 with \$490,315. These persons were largely Canadian though there were a few Americans and Swedes. These figures are though to represent about 1/3 to 1/2 of the back flow.

At the present time immigration is growing constantly smaller and since 1904 female immigration has been affected. There are some observers who feel confident that at present the back flow more than equals the inflow — which is probably an over estimate. But it cannot be far out of the way to state that the great bulk of Canadian immigration has stopped though it is hardly to be expected that it will cease altogether. Boston is too much of a centre for that, and centres will always have their attraction. But the type of immigrant is likely to turn from middle level to extreme good and extreme bad; and at present Canada is having her revenge by taking from us a great deal better than she gives.

The Second Generation

The majority of Canadians who come to this country, despite the dream of returning, remain here. In 1905 there were 29,451 Americans of Canadian parentage. As a rule the second generation is thoroughly Americanized; but there is a proportion of parents who take great pains to teach the children their own Anti-Americanism. One frequently comes upon sons of such families who pride themselves upon their Britishness, and who scorn to have any part or lot, other than industrial, in our life. The average American-born child, after he has passed through the school system, emerges American to the core; often to the extent of making family life miserable during certain periods in the study of American History. Canadian children are not generally known as such in the school; they are so like the native stock that the question of parentage never comes up. Where they are known they have the reputation of doing average work; and the exceptional child is found among all people. When the parents are rabidly Canadian, the children are sometimes prompted to ask distrsssing historical questions; and schoolmen confessed to a very great dislike of that large type of parent which manifests a tendency to stand on his or her "rights."

The second generation is taking advantage of the high school. Such advanced training is much easier of possessi in this country than it is in the provinces, and the means are easier in hand to make it possible. Canadians have a feeling for the value of educators, and it is certain that second generation educational acquirements are very much better than among the first generation. Many young people are also entering the colleges, and all the nearby

universities have good sized quotas. From the colleges they go into dentistry (a favourite profession) medicine, law and the church; which last institution among certain denominations, is getting a good share of its divinity students from persons of Canadian parentage.

The working people enter the same forms of work as average American children of their class. The boys become errand, office, and messenger boys, and later graduate into clerkships. As a rule they seek positions in offices and stores, doing the same kind of work as their fathers did before them. Some of them enter factories and shops, or become carpenters, cabinet makers, or machinists. Often they have a natural aptitude for tools and machine work, and the community would benefit by encouraging this latent ability. When they become craftswomen they turn out to be more skilled than their fathers and they are better workmen, due to their more skilled instruction. They make good unionists, and have all the characteristics of the American and Irish-American worker. The women of the second generation do practically the same things as those of the first; except that they are less likely to enter housework. They are teachers, nurses, office help, dressmakers, milliners and shop help. A few enter the factories, although the Canadian generally shuns it. In these positions they furnish the average help.

The social life of the second generation is American. They marry largely among other peoples of their own class, and the second generation Canadian-American family is American but for tradition of over border ancestry.

Canadian immigration has been made up of a large body of persons who have duplicated our own population in everything but the accident of political affiliation. Their extreme nationalism, combined with their almost universal hope of the "return home" has caused them to regard their stay here in the nature of a pilgrimage, and to insist upon their alien character. They have not interested themselves with the ones already established. They have been in the community while not of it. The second generation, however, has grown up vitally American, enters heart and spirit into our social and industrial life, and amalgamates thoroughly with the native and immigrant stock.