

In 1791 the United States had a population of 4,000,000 while the British colonies had about 220,000. As a group the British colonies had little economic or political integration, being divided in language and purpose and cut off from one another by geographical barriers. The territories west of Lake Ontario were unsettled and were left to the fur traders and the Indians. A small and scattered population had no prospect of economic self-sufficiency.

In 1839 Lord Durham contrasted conditions on both sides of the line. "By describing one side", he said, "and reversing the picture the other would also be described. On the American side all is activity and bustle . . . On the British side of the line . . . all seems waste and desolate . . ."* Thousands of arrivals as they gained familiarity with conditions left again for the United States. Lord Durham placed the figure at 60 p.c.

From 1851 onward there are more exact measures of these out movements and their relation to population growth. Table 2 shows that while many immigrants continued to come to Canada between 1861 and 1901, a good number of them re-emigrated. It appears also that the natural increase of the Canadian population was partly offset by emigration of native-born.

Many reasons have been offered to account for this outflow. The Canadian Shield which extends throughout northern Ontario continued to be a barrier in Canada to the westward movement so characteristic of American settlement. The growth of industry was much inhibited by the small domestic market and the dominance of Great Britain in this area. The railway and land booms in the United States drew settlers westward from every part of the United States as well as from Canada and especially from Ontario. French-Canadians, who had begun to leave even before 1850, migrated in increasing numbers after 1873 for the textile mills in the New England States. New arrivals from overseas caught the prevailing spirit and joined the trek to that country. The industrial development of the eastern States, made possible by the western expansion, created a heavy demand for general labourers as well as for those with technical skills.

This earlier emigration was primarily in response to the attraction of new and cheap lands, but the movement of more recent times has been primarily urban. Even before 1914 various types of skilled and professional persons had begun to leave. Canadian railroadmen, engineers, artisans, nurses, teachers, clergymen, writers, doctors and actors had been locating in the United States and were being actively recruited by American employers.

World War I created special demands for labour. After the War the imposition of quotas on immigration by the United States cut the supply of immigrant labour on which American industry had come to depend but these restrictions did not apply to Canadians. During 1921-31 Canadians made up the largest group of immigrants into the United States from all sources, representing nearly one-quarter of the total. This trend was sharply reversed during 1931-41 when, it is estimated, there was a considerable excess of Canadians returning to Canada over the numbers who left for the United States.†

In the United States Census of 1950 the Canadian-born were the second largest group of foreign-born, constituting about 10 p.c. of their number. As for occupational distribution in 1950, both male and female Canadian immigrants to the United States were more fully represented in the professional, managerial and craftsmen groups than the United States labour force as a whole.

* Sir Charles Lucas, *Lord Durham's Report* (Oxford 1912), Vol. 2, p. 212.

† According to an estimate based on the United States Census, there was a net loss of 123,000 among the Canadian-born residing in the United States during the 1931-41 decade. Nathan Keyfitz, *The Growth of Canadian Population Studies*, Vol. IV, No. 1, June 1950, p. 60.