

to make a living, wherever this might lead. As long as there are places where he may do so on more favourable terms than where he happens to be and, if the place is accessible, a little travel makes no difference. The new environment is a means to an end and means little to him. Most immigrants must find their own passage and make their own decision to migrate. A shorter or longer stay, even under normally difficult beginnings in Canada, mobilizes immigrants once more to seek what they might consider more favourable conditions in the United States. The history of planned colonization schemes and assisted passage schemes has, with some outstanding exceptions, been largely one of failures since the objectives of the individual migrants are usually at variance with the objectives of the organizer.

Immigrants to Canada, therefore, may for some time be undecided whether "to become a population". In the past it would seem that the decision has led many of them to the United States.

#### THE EMIGRATION OF CANADIAN-BORN

As previously noted, some students have held that Canadian emigrants to the United States were being displaced by immigrants, though this view has seemed to rest on mere assertion without specific documentation. It is also often said that the Canadian-born, as would any people living next door to another country whose standard of living is rising faster than its own, were bound to be drawn to the United States, especially in the absence of any restriction on movement. Whether a higher standard of living or higher salaries and wages are adequate explanations is questionable, since Canadian emigrants tend to go to cities where the cost of living is also higher than at home. It is held rather that Canada as a little-populated but relatively prosperous country with good educational institutions has not always been able to absorb the skills and energies it creates, and therefore has not been able to offer enough of the higher paid positions which the emigrants have sought in the United States.

It appears that Canadians may actually have prepared themselves for emigration. In a study made of six groups of university graduates of the period 1920-36, three groups showed an absolute increase in number—doctors, clergymen and engineers. Graduates in these groups were generally in demand also in the United States. The other three—"lawyers unfamiliar with American law, dentists confronting the home of modern dental science, and pharmacists facing a profession unnaturally inflated by Prohibition"—declined in number.

If the concept 'Canada' has been slow to assert itself against 'America' in the minds of overseas migrants, the Canadian-born on the other hand who left for the United States did not migrate to a 'foreign' country. He seems to have behaved rather like other North Americans. Historically, the emigrant going to the American Colonies before 1776 might be going to the Maritimes, Newfoundland, or what are now the American Atlantic States and continue to move between these areas. After the American Revolution, movement from British North America technically became emigration. While political conditions, of course, have not been without effect the evidence is abundant that both Americans and Canadians, until the most recent times, have tended to ignore the boundary when it stood in the way of their individual purposes. Their growing nationalisms have lacked the reinforcements of profound differences in history, ethos and language which exist elsewhere, and the open border has been evidence of their inconclusive character quite as much as it is symptomatic of the profound interrelationship of the labour markets of the two countries. The numerical imbalance of the exchange of population which has favoured the United States is, from this point perhaps, relatively unimportant. However, as Canada in its growth is beginning to match the powerful pull exerted by American industry,

\* Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (Yale University Press, 1941), p. 262. Cf. DBS, *Supply and Demand in the Professions in Canada*.