DOMINION GOVERNMENT POLICY
ON
IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION.
1867-1938.

by
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This dissertation gives a brief background of the development of Canada in the period preceding Confederation. In this is included a short account of the plans for acquiring, and the acquisition of the North-West Territories. Then follows an account of the development of Dominion policy regarding the disposition of the Crown lands and the attempts to attract settlers to farm those lands. The building of the first transcontinental railroad is also briefly treated. Some attention is given to the early settlements, both foreign and British, and the reasons for the failure of much of the government effort in that field. The study of the great period of development in the years following 1896, the work of Sifton in bringing about the expansion of settlement, increasing immigration, building additional railroads, stimulating the colonization companies, and the resulting increase in all branches of industry, is them made, in more detail. The decline of immigration as a result of depression and the disappearance of the free homestead is then studied, and finally the effect of World War I on immigration. The following section treats of the post-war period and its curtailed immigration and of the efforts of the governments to stimulate immigration through the British Empire Settlement Scheme, especially in the application of this scheme to Canada. This leads to a brief discussion of the gradual ending of immigration as a result of the depression of 1930 and the passing of the restrictive acts that were enacted to limit the entry of immigrants to those considered "desirable". The growth of industries besides as the basic one of agriculture is briefly studied.
The Oriental section deals briefly with the coming of the Chinese, the growth of opposition to them, the struggle between Ottawa and Victoria on the subject of the control of Chinese immigration. The immigration of the Japanese is next considered, with comment on the difference of attitude on the part of the Dominion government toward the Chinese and the Japanese and the reasons for this difference.

A brief study is made of the Indian problem and its special difficulty because of the fact that these East Indians were British subjects.
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DOMINION POLICY

ON IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN CANADA AFTER 1867.

For some years preceding Confederation there was a growing anxiety in the British North American provinces regarding their future political status. It was only too well known that Americans had spoken seriously of annexing the British provinces. It was partly to avoid such an event that Canadians united in 1867 with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to form the Dominion of Canada. Within four years the boundaries of the new dominion had been moved westward to include the lands which now make up the provinces of British Columbia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, as well as the Yukon and the present North-West Territories. From the point of view of land and other natural resources, Canada's future as a nation was assured if the Government could adequately develop it in the political and social fields.

These two events, the formation of the Dominion and the subsequent acquisition of a huge, fertile, almost empty, region presented a situation that was at once a challenge and an opportunity to Canadian statesmen. The challenge consisted in the need for devising a policy that would supply this enormous new territory with a population that would develop its vast agricultural resources and still keep it Canadian. The opportunity lay in the chance offered to create by wise statesmanship a great dominion, powerful, productive and above all, capable of self-government on established British principles. The response that was made to this challenge and the practical recognition of the opportunity presented is the subject of this study.
The British North America Act of 1867 gave to the new dominion control over most phases of its immigration. Although the provincial governments had certain concurrent rights in this regard, the chief and final powers were properly placed in the hands of the Dominion Government, immigration being a matter of national importance. W.P.M. Kennedy says of this situation:

A province can legislate for purposes of encouraging immigration into it; but such legislation will be invalid in so far as it does not conform to the general immigration laws of Canada. There are obvious reasons for this. The Dominion alone can supervise and grant citizenship. The right of entry into Canada of persons voluntarily seeking such entry is obviously a purely national matter, affecting as it does the relation of the Empire with foreign states.  

Under the terms of the British North America Act, the control of the natural resources of the four original provinces of the Dominion was left in the hands of their respective legislatures, but when, in 1869, Canada took over Rupert's Land, the Dominion assumed control of the natural resources there and the administration of this vast territory became one of the most important functions of the Canadian Government, involving as it did an extensive programme of expansion through settlement and railroad building.

(1) Sec. VI. cl. 95. "In each Province the Legislature may make Laws in relation to Agriculture in the Province and Immigration into the Province; and it is hereby declared that the Parliament of Canada may from Time to Time make Laws in relation to Agriculture in all or any of the Provinces; and any Law of the Legislature of a Province relative to Agriculture or to Immigration shall have effect in and for the Province so long as and as far only as it is not repugnant to any Act of the Parliament of Canada. 30-31 Vict. Ch. 3.

(2) W.P.M. Kennedy, Constitution of Canada, 1535-1957, Toronto, Oxford University Press. p. 677

(3) Sec. VIII. cl. 109. "All lands, Mines, Minerals and Royalties belonging to the several provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick a the Union, and all sums then due or payable for such Lands, Mines, Minerals or Royalties, shall belong to the several Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in which the same are situate or arise, subject to any Trusts existing in respect thereof, and to any Interest other than that of the Province in the same." 30-31 Vict. Ch. 3.
There were two main reasons why the Dominion Government should make a worthy effort to settle these lands. It was early made clear that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to hold the lands of the west if they were not settled, for American statesmen had for some years shown a desire to absorb them into the growing American empire. The Upper Canadian editor, George Brown, summed up the situation neatly when he said, "It is a question of fill up or give up! A growing, producing population having Canadian allegiance was urgently needed to occupy the old hunting land of the fur-traders if its destiny as a part of Canada was to be fulfilled. Moreover, the economic conditions of the older provinces made expansion necessary if the Canadas were to hold the people they had. For years there had been a heavy loss of native Canadians and of immigrants who left Canada to take advantage of the greater opportunity offered in the varied industries of the United States. Canadians were also aware that the new lands being opened for settlement in the American Middle West were attracting many who could not make a living under the existing economy on the land available for settlement in Canada. The need for wider opportunity in Canada was shown by the statistics of emigration from Canada at that time.

In 1850 it was estimated that there were about 148,000 Canadian-born in the United States, a number equal to 6.06 per cent of Canada's population at that time. Twenty years later, this number had jumped to 493,464 or 13.38 per cent of the population. These figures were enough to convince thoughtful Canadians that a vigorous policy of settlement in the west must be an important part of future Dominion policy. Although the consequent concentration of Dominion immigration policy on the development of the west

called forth perennial criticism from the easterners, who complained that they paid the bill for an expensive immigration policy and got no returns for their money, successive governments, whether Liberal or Conservative, made the settlement of the Prairie Provinces the main consideration of the department which dealt with immigration and colonization.

As there was no real break in method, it is desirable, before beginning the study of the immigration policy of the Dominion Government, to examine briefly the foundation on which this policy was built, namely the early immigration into Canada, the settlements made there, the problems posed, the solutions attempted, up to the year in which the new Dominion was formed, and in which it assumed control over most of its internal affairs and began its great programme of expansion.
Man is a restless creature and has always shown a tendency to move on toward the world's open spaces. The latest and probably the last of the great migrations with which history deals had its meagre beginnings in the seventeenth century, when the western nations of Europe began to establish strategic positions in the hitherto unknown Americas, and prepared to take possession of this sparsely-populated land. From the small beginnings made at that time developed the greatest mass migration in history. In response to some mysterious inner urge, and stimulated by growing economic stress, a great stream of widely diverse humanity began to move westward and southward, spreading out fan-wise, until it had provided a good part of the population of the Americas and the South Pacific lands of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. It is with the northern edge of that stream, the part which affected the regions which now make up Canada and the northern United States, that this study deals. In the early days when national boundaries were for officials to puzzle their heads over and for settlers to ignore, these two regions often exchanged their residents with a casualness that is the despair of the statistician who would estimate the extent of their migrations.

The early history of Canadian immigration and settlement, except for that of the Red River district, deals with the growth of the eastern section of what is now Canada. The history of this period falls into two parts, the periods of French and of British domination.

The French period began with the settlements made by Champlain at Quebec and by de Monts in Acadia. These were really establishments for trade rather than for agricultural settlement. Their progress was slow because France, fearing to depopulate the homeland, could spare few people of the kind that would be useful in a new country. Influences in New France were hardly more propitious to colonization. The demands of the fur-trade and the wars with the Indians took from the tiny villages many of their most vigorous members.
Moreover, two powerful monopolies, the fur-trading companies and the Jesuit missionaries, were opposed to settlement. The fur-traders naturally considered the increase of farming as inimical to their industry, the staple of Canadian economy in the seventeenth century; the Jesuits feared the bad moral influence that settlers might have on the Indians the priests were hoping to christianize. Yet, despite these limiting forces and the natural reluctance of most people to leave familiar surroundings for unknown lands, some eight thousand settlers came from France in the early days of French occupation. As the birth-rate was high, the population of New France had grown to about sixty-five thousand souls by the time of the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

Although the Treaty of Paris formally introduced the British régime, about twenty-five years passed before there was much change in the colony of New France. In this period, it is true, some two or three thousand settlers entered from the south, a number of them filling the places of the leading French merchants who had left Canada after the cession of New France to England. Some of these immigrants established the great commercial houses of Montreal and Quebec, others were merchants or inn-keepers on a more modest scale; but whatever their standing, they were absorbed into the life of New France and did little to change the characteristic culture of the land they had entered.

Owing to its strategic position on the Atlantic seaboard, Nova Scotia


(6) Canada Year Book, 1940, p. 72, gives 69,810 in 1765 with 10,000 in the present day Maritimes.

Sectia had a more chequered career than that of New France. Founded by the French at about the same time as New France, it remained in French hands only until 1713, when it was ceded to Britain. As a British possession, it received a small but important influx of New Englanders, who, by bringing new life to the fishing and farming industries, contributed much to the advancement of the province. After the expulsion of the Acadians, the descendants of the original French settlers in 1753, the English-speaking settlers were in the majority. By 1776, the year of the American Revolution, Nova Scotia had eighteen thousand inhabitants, chiefly New Englanders, with small groups of British, Acadian, Swiss and German settlers.

The year 1776 was of great importance in the history of Canada, for in that year there came the Loyalist immigration which founded the British system of government in the new colony, and established English as the national language in all Canada except Quebec. The Loyalists, fleeing the effects of the American Revolution, followed the natural routes to Canada and Nova Scotia. The larger group, about thirty thousand in number, took the established line of the coastal vessels from Boston and New York to find refuge in Nova Scotia. So great was their number that, on their petition, the British Government in 1783 created the province of New Brunswick to afford them the necessary lands. The smaller group, of perhaps six thousand, followed the route overland along the Hudson River and Lake Champlain into the Eastern Townships where they hoped to settle. Governor Haldimand, wishing to reserve these lands for the expansion of the French, persuaded the newcomers to move up the St. Lawrence to Frontenac's old outpost, Cataraqui.

(8) W.S. Wallace, United Empire Loyalists, Toronto, Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1914. p. 63.
Renamed Kingston, this outpost became the distributing centre for the Loyalists. The land set aside for these people was formed into the province of Upper Canada in 1791. With the exception of small groups of Mennonites and other Germans who had come in with the Loyalists, this population was British in origin.

After the Loyalists came the "late" Loyalists and these, in turn, were followed by a steady stream of other American settlers. These latter had no love of British institutions, but were attracted chiefly by the free grants of land that were obtainable in Canada until 1826. Of these groups of immigrants, Hansen wrote: "If their special hardships and unusual fortitude be forgotten, the Loyalists were just another group of American pioneers, engaged in the business of inheriting the earth. When their epic was finished every strategic point was in the possession of the European, and the conquest of the Interior could begin! Many who had entered to better their condition were disappointed and returned to the United States, but the majority stayed to make their own cultural impress on the new land.

In 1812, when war stopped this type of immigration, there were about eighty thousand people in Upper Canada, many of them Americans, who, as Hansen said, "changed their allegiance with apparent unconcern! Later, other Americans were allowed by Haldimand's successors to take up land in the Eastern Townships, a region which the French-Canadians had regarded as their heritage. The ill-feeling that arose as a result of this invasions of their "rights" produced in the French-Canadians an antagonism to immigration and to all that went with it.

From the American Revolution to the end of the Napoleonic Wars, several

(11) Ibid. p. 181.
planned settlements were made in Canada. They are worthy of note because, although small in themselves, they became the nuclei of later colonies, and afforded experience for future colonizers. The chief of these were the early Scottish settlements established by impoverished clansmen near Pictou, Nova Scotia and at Rivière au Raisin in Lower Canada. About twelve thousand of these Highlanders, forced and often smuggled out of Scotland, found new homes in Canada during the years 1783-1803.

Realizing the hopeless distress of some of the Scots in his district, Lord Selkirk secured the emigration of about eight hundred to Prince Edward Island in 1803. His experiment in colonization was a failure, but in 1812 he tried again. Buying an interest in the Hudson's Bay Company, he secured permission to establish a small colony of Scots in the Red River Valley. Each year a few more were added to the number of those who stayed, and, after enduring many hardships, these settlers prospered.

In 1809, Colonel Thomas Talbot began an amazing experiment at his "capital", St. Thomas, on Lake Erie. He sought settlers from the British Isles and the Atlantic seaboard, and established them on his grant of twenty-eight townships. About fifty thousand were attracted to this enterprise. The net result of all these activities gave Canada a population of half a million in 1812.

The Napoleonic Wars slowed Canadian progress for they interrupted emigration from Europe. After the War of 1812-14 in America there was some natural hesitation before American immigration into Canada was encouraged. These Wars, however, had shown to Britain the rather unexpected loyalty of the northern colonies, and British interest in colonies, which had flagged

(13) Canada Year Book, 1940, p. 72
after the American Revolution, was now revived. When the wars were over, and it became evident that there was a surplus population in Britain, it was natural that emigrants should be directed toward Canada, where already many people had friends. These new immigrants filled up the country behind lake-shore or river, and as a result the population rose. In 1840, Upper Canada had a population of 432,159; Lower Canada had nearly 700,000 in 1844; New Brunswick had 152,162 in 1840; Nova Scotia, 202,575 in 1838; and Prince Edward Island, 47,040 in 1841.

In numbers this immigration was gratifying, but in quality there was often much to be desired. The immigration was for the most part unorganized, and too often the newcomers had little knowledge of the land they were seeking, and many had little ability or desire to adapt themselves to the life there. As many were paupers, or at least poor, they took advantage of the cheap transport available on the lumber vessels returning to American ports. "Packed into wretched lumber vessels, miserably fitted up for that purpose [emigration] tending more to spread disease and mortality among the passengers than for their comfort", they often arrived in such a deplorable condition that even the most charitable Canadian could not approve their entry. Lord Durham reported of them in 1838: "The labourers whom the emigration introduced contained a number of very ignorant, turbulent or demoralized persons, whose conduct and manners alike revolted the well-ordered and courteous natives of the same class! Their poor moral character was not the only drawback of these newcomers; even more dangerous and unwelcome were the

(14) Canada Year Book, 1940, p. 72.
epidemics of disease that they introduced into Canada and carried to the farthest settlements. These were not the people that Canada wanted; they had neither the character nor the vigour that pioneer life demanded. Through the coming of such people, Canadians were brought to realize the need for control over their own immigration policy in order that they might make a careful selection of those who sought homes in Canada.

Fortunately, in general, these paupers, although the most noticeable, were only a small part of the new comers. The bulk of immigration was self-sufficient, travelling on their own or under the care of some organizer, and were spared some of the sufferings endured by the very poor who settle in a strange land.

The British Government was very reluctant to give any financial assistance to the emigration of its surplus population. It was influenced in its policy by the Benthamite theory that there was no value in the removal of surplus population because the space would soon be filled, and that to remove enough to do any good would be too costly. Moreover, after the disillusionment suffered through the revolt of the American Colonies, Britain had shown little interest in colonies, and saw no reason to tax the general public for the removal of their countrymen, who, once away, would be lost to British influence. There was, however, a slight variation on this *laisser-faire* policy. From 1822 to 1828, Britain had as Under-Secretary for the Colonies an enthusiastic young imperialist, R.J. Wilmot-Horton, whose unquenchable ambition was to remove the surplus population of Britain to Canada under properly organized schemes. His ideas of settlement were strongly opposed by the members of the Wakefield school of Colonial Reformers and he was unable to accomplish much, but it was as a result of his efforts that two settlements of Irish, financed by the British Government and guided by Peter Robinson, were made in 1821 and 1823 at Rice Lake in Upper
Canada and provided relief for some two thousand of those whom the Under-Secretary had wished to help. These settlements were successful as far as they went, but they did not do much to alleviate the main trouble. After his removal to Ceylon, Wilmot-Horton had the satisfaction of seeing some of his ideas used in the Poor Law of 1832, under which many assisted emigrants were sent to the Canadas under various schemes, some of which, notably the Petworth settlement, were wisely planned.

Several military groups were established at this time near the Rideau River, close to the old Scottish settlements, and attained a good measure of prosperity. Less successful were the grandiose experiments made in the same period by Alexander McNab and Donald Cameron.

James Buchanan, Canadian consul in New York, was able to direct to Canada about four thousand immigrants who had arrived in New York with no definite destination in mind. Knowing the requirements of his country, he was able to choose well, and his settlers were suited to Canadian life.

Although these efforts were interesting as experiments, they were neither big enough nor successful enough to provide Canada with the immigrants needed for her development; nor could they effectively relieve the distress in Britain. Several land companies were formed to assist in this work of settlement. The most important was the Canada Land Company, incorporated in 1825 under the vigorous leadership of John Galt. By means of advertising, this company stimulated immigration to Canada. Although some of the immigrants were assisted, the company appealed chiefly to settlers with means. The growth of the towns of Goderich, Galt and Guelph is a tribute to the efficiency of this concern. By 1833 it had sold 450,000 acres.

The second concern, the British America Land Company, established under A.T. Galt at about the same time, concentrated its efforts on the settlement of the Eastern Townships. Its success there was limited by the understandable antagonism of the French-Canadians and by the attractive offers of land extended to settlers who would go to the United States. A third company, the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company worked with some success in New Brunswick.

The Rebellion of 1857 interrupted this work of promoting immigration, not only by halting the coming of immigrants, but also by causing a considerable emigration of "beaten and angry farmers by the thousand" from Canada to the Middle West of the United States, where a generous land policy attracted both native and immigrant Canadians. This draining away of her people was a loss from which Canada has never fully recovered.

The Rebellion of 1837 brought Lord Durham to the Canadas. It was as a result of his observations which he made in Canada, and of the teachings of his friends, Gibbon Wakefield, Charles Buller, M.P., and other Colonial Reformers, "who alone stood for a positive faith in Empire in the midst of a general disillusionment," that a change of attitude could be noticed in public opinion regarding immigration. The Colonial Reformers urged that a systematic settlement of the Crown lands of the provinces be made under government supervision, and Lord Durham hoped to accomplish such work in Canada. Unfortunately so much of the Crown lands of the Canadas had been alienated or set aside as Clergy or other reserves, that the plans of the Colonial Reformers could not have full scope in Canada, but some of their spirit permeated the government departments, and although, for reasons already mentioned, the British Government refused to undertake any large-scale plan of emigration, it encouraged the work of others in passing the shipping laws to make the ocean crossing less of a menace to the health of
emigrant and Canadian alike.

The plans for bettering the conditions of travel came too late to avert the effects of the Irish famine. Before the plans proposed by Lord Durham for the control of immigration could be adopted, the need for such regulation was brought tragically before the people on both sides of the Atlantic. Canadians had complained about the quality of some of the people who were thrown upon her shores, without the means or the disposition to make themselves useful; but somehow they had been taken care of, although often with difficulty or with tragic consequences to the residents. In 1847, however, about a hundred thousand persons, many of them victims of the Irish famine, entered Canada. Diseased and poverty-stricken, these people were a burden too great for Canada's welfare services to bear, and Canadians began to demand more control over the quality of those persons allowed to pass through her gates. The report of the Governor-General, Lord Elgin, to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Grey, in October of 1847, gives some hint of Canadian reaction to this immigration which he so aptly terms a "visitation". He wrote:

I am compelled to make a considerable reduction from the favourable character of this report, on account of the distress and suffering which has been occasioned to the province by the immigration of the present year...The subject has been forced on my attention at every point in my progress, that I found a disposition, even among the most loyal of Her Majesty's subjects, to contrast the visitation to which Canada as a colony has been subjected with the comparative immunity enjoyed by the neighbouring states, who are able to take measures to defend themselves. 19

Fortunately, subsequent immigrants improved in quality. Stricter rules adopted after 1848 reduced their number. Under the new regulations of the Merchant Shipping Act, the number of passengers carried was limited to the accommodation of the ship; greater cleanliness was assured; and food and

water were more strictly supervised. The result was a great improvement in the health of the passengers. The improved transportation was rather more costly, and people of better class were encouraged to emigrate. An agent noted this improvement: "Our settlers this year are generally people of capital who have emigrated to Canada to join friends." On the Canadian side improved quarantine stations helped prevent the spread of disease. As time passed the social adjustments attending the Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions in Britain were made with less difficulty and no more ordeals such as the Irish famine came to test the social resources of Canada. In general, the export of capital that accompanies normal emigration was sufficient to provide employment in various industries until the new immigrant had established himself. There was then little further cause for complaint from Canadians about the quality of settlers coming to their shores.

The immigration resulting from the Irish famine stimulated Canadians to greater effort in obtaining responsible government and consequent control of their immigration policy. Some preparations to this end had already been made. In addition to appointing the usual officials for the admittance of travellers at the points of entry, the government of Lower Canada in 1828 appointed A.C. Buchanan as emigration agent at Quebec. He was an interested student of immigration and did good work. In 1831, A.B. Hawke was appointed to a similar position in Upper Canada. The growing organization was suitably placed under the Department of Agriculture where it remained until 1896. Agents were soon sent to positions overseas to direct emigrants to Canada: Dr. Thomas Rolfe in 1842, A.B. Hawke in 1859 and A.C. Buchanan in 1863 were sent to Britain and at about the same time, William Wagner to Germany, and other agents to Norway, France and Switzerland. These agents

(2) Innis and Lower, op. cit. p. 117.
were provided with propaganda leaflets, such as "Canada," printed in English, German, French and Norwegian, and Mrs. Traill's "Female Emigrant Guide," for the purpose of attracting emigrants. Indeed, most of the features of immigration policy which were to be so important later had their beginnings in this period: the attempt to attract settlers; the need for a firm control in selecting desirable immigrants; the chartering of land companies; attempts by the government to make group settlements; a system of placing settlers; and last but not least, the need for defining the word "desirable" as it was applied to future citizens of Canada. After Confederation, when the great lands of the west were added to Canada, the Dominion Government organized its plans for developing those lands on the foundations already laid.

The hope of westward expansion had filled the minds of thoughtful Canadians for some years before it was realized. This hope was built on a natural desire for territorial expansion, but even more on the realization that through lack of available farm lands in Canada, many Canadians were leaving for the fertile plains of the American Middle West. Canada had no lands corresponding to these inviting stretches of fertile soil. Instead the Canadian Shield extended to the American border. Clothed in deep forests, these rocky lands hid great wealth in minerals, but they had little attraction for the settler of that time. Beyond this stretch of wilderness, five hundred miles west of Fort William, lay another land of immense wealth,
the almost limitless prairies held, along with much of the intervening wilderness, by the Hudson's Bay Company as its trapping lands. Like the early French fur-trading companies, this company had been careful not to advertise the merits of its rolling lands. Only the isolated Red River settlement had been allowed to attempt farming there. Although fairly prosperous as far as it went, this colony had been stunted through lack of markets and had never offered a challenge to the supremacy of the fur-trade or served as a stimulus for further growth. Few people had therefore considered the agricultural possibilities of these distant lands.

Despite their remoteness, however, it was only a matter of time before someone should question the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company in the West. Two causes hastened this time of questioning; one was the increasing disfavour in which monopolies were regarded in the nineteenth century; the other and more urgent cause was the westward advance of American settlement south of the border. It required only ordinary acumen for a Canadian to say: "If American lands are fertile, why not those of the north?" In the 1850's Canadians realized uneasily that when the Americans had filled their own lands, they might overflow, unopposed, into the British territories. With the case of Oregon before them, Canadian statesmen were understandably anxious about the future ownership of the western lands. Theories that the lands were barren wastes, unfit for habitation by humans, were shaken by the reports of Robert Baldwin Sullivan, a writer in the Toronto Globe, and of Alexander Isbister, a half-breed teacher and lawyer, a graduate of an English university. Isbister presented to Lord Grey a petition from his people that the land should be taken over by the British Government. Both he and Sullivan gave evidence that the land was suitable for settlement. In 1847 Sullivan wrote in the Globe that Americans would occupy and become masters of the British western territory and outflank Canada unless steps
were taken to prevent them. From then on, George Brown, editor of the Globe, used his eloquence to spread the idea that Canada should annex the territory held by the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1852 he wrote:

It is a remarkable circumstance that so little attention has been paid in Canada to the immense tract of country lying to the north of our boundary line and known as the Hudson's Bay lands. There can be no question that the injurious and demoralizing sway of that Company over a region of four million square miles will, ere long, be brought to an end and that the destinies of this immense country will be united with our own. It is unpardonable that civilization should be excluded from half a continent, on at best but a doubtful right of ownership, for the benefit of two hundred and thirty-two shareholders.22

In 1856 the Toronto Board of Trade passed a resolution asking the legislature to ascertain the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company over the lands of the west. A few days later the Globe published a brilliant editorial which said in part that the time had come to act, and that henceforth a vigorous campaign would be carried on toward the opening of the territory to settlement and the establishing of communication with Canada. "This year," said the editorial, "has only seen the birth of this movement. Let us hope that 1857 will see it crowned with success."25

The government of Canada then sent to Downing Street a dispatch in which it stated: "Canada looks forward with interest to the day when the Valley of the Saskatchewan will become the back country of Canada, the land of hope for the hardy youth of the provinces when they seek new homes in the forest...when Canada will become the highway of immigration from Europe to those fertile valleys. Thus, in restrained diplomatic language was expressed the hope of most thoughtful Canadians.

Canadians, however, were not content with a mere statement of their hopes. John A. Macdonald and George Cartier went to London to press for the


(23) Loc. cit.

(24) D.L. Mackay, The honourable company, Toronto, Musson, 1938, p. 280
cession of the western lands. They emphasized two facts: the inevitable union of the British North American provinces and the inadequacy of the Hudson's Bay Company to deal with the spread of Americans from the western states into the Hudson's Bay lands. Knowing that there had been considerable talk by Americans of their intentions of annexing the lands, Macdonald used all his powers to impress upon the British Government the urgency of allowing Canada to forestall her southern neighbour.

In response to these representations made by Canada at Downing Street, the British Government appointed in 1857 a Select Committee to enquire into the future disposition of Rupert's Land, the land that had been held by the Hudson's Bay Company under its charter. Pending the results of the enquiry and the making of a complete survey of the lands, the British Government did not renew the licence for the fur-trade when it expired in 1857. Instead, Captain John Palliser was sent to Canada to make a complete survey of the western lands and report on the suitability of the country for settlement.

For about three years, Palliser and his botanist, Dr. Hector, studied the lands lying between 49 and 50 N. and between 100 and 115 W. and examined the approaches of the Rockies for a pass through which a railroad could be built. In his report, Palliser describes three prairie levels or steppes, and divides the country into two agricultural regions, a fertile belt, and a semi-arid plain, 'Palliser's Triangle, occupying the southwestern corner of what is now Saskatchewan. This latter area, because of its aridity and its lack of timber, Palliser regarded as unfit for settlement. The region northward to the edge of the forest belt, he considered as fit for farming and recommended it for cattle-raising and for the growth of such crops as flax, hemp and hops. Because of the short growing-season and the prevalence of frost, he considered wheat-growing impracticable. He recommended the construction of a railway to open these lands, but did not
advise that the road should necessarily be an all-Canadian one.\(^{25}\)

While Palliser was surveying for the British Government, H.Y. Hind, the Canadian geologist, and S.J. Dawson, an engineer, were sent out by the Canadian Government to make independent surveys. Hind’s report, though differing in many respects from Palliser’s, agreed with it on the main principle; that a vast land of great though varying fertility lay beyond the Great Lakes. Dawson reported favourably on the Valley of the Souris River and the country between the Lakes and the Manitoba escarpment. For immediate transportation into the country he recommended the construction of a route from Upper Canada into the west. This route later came into being as the Dawson Road and was made up of three hundred and sixty-seven miles of navigable water and one hundred and thirty-one miles of road, the first all-Canadian route into the prairies.\(^{26}\)

Meanwhile in London the members of the Select Committee of 1857 heard many diverse reports. The Hudson’s Bay Company officials, notably the governor, Sir George Simpson, in all good faith declared that they believed the settlement of the prairies to be impracticable. Within the limits of their experience, agriculture had not been really successful, as the uncertainty of the crops in the Red River settlement had often shown. Indeed, one of the great tasks of government later was to help the farmer to overcome the natural drawbacks of the country so that reasonable success in farming could be assured. Before the Select Committee in London, the Hudson’s Bay reports were countered, however, by weighty arguments—matters of imperial policy—and the conclusion reached was that the monopoly of the Company of Gentle-


men Adventurers had had its day. The Committee therefore recommended that: “The district on the Red River and the Saskatchewan should be ceded to Canada on equitable principles, and that, within the district thus annexed to Canada, the authority of the Hudson’s Bay Company should entirely cease.” The way was thus opened for the annexation of the lands by Canada, but the actual transfer had to wait until after Confederation.

In considering the progress of this period Canadian statesmen realized that a change was necessary for the efforts of the British North American provinces had largely failed. Although immigrants by the thousand had thronged the eastern ports, only one out of three had remained, the more enterprising ones having too often crossed to the United States. The offers of the free land grants and the opportunities in varied industries have been noted as a cause of this emigration from Canada, but there were local conditions which also contributed to the loss of people to the United States. “A local depression in 1857 marked the beginning of a period of heavy emigration and the rate of population expansion was greatly retarded during four decades, owing to the adverse economic conditions of the American Civil War, the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty and the world-wide depression following 1871.” In addition there were local conditions within each province which added to the economic distress, and encouraged people to emigrate. So great was the shift in population that it was estimated that there were eight hun-


(28) “The termination of the Reciprocity Treaty dealt a heavy blow to American-Canadian trade, which fell from $60,500,000 in 1865 to $50,200,000 in 1867, and then to $48,900,000 in 1868; and this in spite of the tremendous expansion then going on throughout the continent!” H.L. Keenleyside, *Canada and the United States*, New York, Knopf, 1939, pp. 300-1.

dred thousand Canadians living in the United States at the end of this period and that about four hundred thousand of these were French-Canadians, about half of whom were employed in the mills of New England. In passing, it is of interest to note that the French-Canadians showed themselves resistant to assimilation in the great American republic and that later, astute land agents were able to make capital of the French-Canadians' homesickness to persuade them to return to Canada and help in the opening of the North-West.

The Census figures of the period show how little success had attended the efforts of the various provinces to populate their lands:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Population Range</th>
<th>Percentage Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851-1861</td>
<td>2,436,297 to 3,229,633</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-1871</td>
<td>3,229,633 to 3,689,257</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-1881</td>
<td>3,689,257 to 4,324,810</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-1891</td>
<td>4,324,810 to 4,846,377</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It remained for the statesmen of the next period to build on the foundations laid in the years prior to Confederation.

(31) Census of Canada, 1931. p. 121.
(32) ibid., p. 109
(33) Canadian Statistical Record, 1886, p. 40
(34) Canadian Statistical Record, 1897, p. 398.
AFTER CONFEDERATION.

After the Select Committee of 1857 had made its recommendation that the Hudson’s Bay lands should be annexed to Canada, the official transfer had to be made. An address to Her Majesty the Queen was made by the Senate and the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada on December 17, 1867, setting forth the Canadian position regarding the transfer of the lands. The appropriate legislation followed. On July 31, 1868, the British parliament passed the Rupert’s Land Act which enabled Her Majesty the Queen to accept a "Surrender upon Terms of the Lands, Privileges, and Rights of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson’s Bay". An Order-in-Council of June 23, 1870 admitted these lands into the Dominion of Canada. The British Government at the same time transferred the North-West Territories, land which had not been held by the Hudson’s Bay Company.

Meanwhile, in March of 1869, the officials of the Hudson’s Bay Company presented the Deed of Surrender of their territories after Her Majesty had approved the terms of admission into the Dominion. These terms were briefly as follows:

a. The Dominion of Canada would pay to the Company £300,000 for

(1) "That it would promote the prosperity of the Canadian people and conduce to the advantage of the whole Empire if the Dominion of Canada constituted under the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, were extended westward to the Pacific and would materially enhance the welfare of the sparse and widely scattered population of British subjects of European origin inhabiting those regions!"

British North America Act and Selected Statutes, 1867-1943.
Ottawa, King's Printer, 1943. p. 144.

(2) 31-32 Vict.,Ch. 105.
the surrender of its rights.

b. The Company would retain its posts in the North-West territories and blocks of land adjoining each post in British North America other than Canada or British Columbia to a total not exceeding fifty thousand acres.
c. The Company, within fifty years after the surrender, may claim in any district within the Fertile Belt in which land is set out for settlement, one-twentieth part of the land so set out.
d. All titles to land up to the eighth day of March, 1869, conferred by the Company are to be confirmed.

The Fertile Belt was bounded as follows: On the south by the United States boundary; on the west by the Rocky Mountains; on the north by the northern branch of the Saskatchewan river; on the east by Lake Winnipeg and the Lake of the Woods, and the waters connecting them. One-twentieth of this land amounted to a grant of 6,639,059 acres. The alienation of such a large acreage from government authority was later to prove very embarrassing to those interested in rapid settlement. The guarantee of land titles, inserted for the protection of the Métis, was later confirmed in the Manitoba Act.

By an Order-in-Council of the British Government, the lands to the north were added to the western lands. Thus passed into the hands of the Canadian Government the great territory which, when joined a year later with British Columbia, gave Canada a dominion stretching from sea to sea.

The transfer was made none too soon. After the outbreak of the American Civil War, Canadians had been seriously disturbed by American talk of the annexation of Canada to the United States. Confederation effectively blocked any such move, but even before anxiety about the destiny of the eastern provinces had been allayed, fears that the west might share the fate of Oregon and fall into the hands of the Americans haunted the minds of Canadians.


(4) loc. cit. cl. 6.

(5) Martin, Chester, op. cit. p. 243
American railways were carrying to the Middle Western states thousands of settlers, many of whom moved across the boundary into the British territories as the lands to the south were filled. Even the completion of negotiations between the Hudson's Bay Company and the British and Canadian Governments did not end the danger. That Canadian statesmen were aware of the desires of their neighbours is shown in the correspondence of the Prime Minister:

"Early in 1870, C.J.Brydges, the general manager of the Grand Trunk Railway, reported to Macdonald a conversation with Governor Smith of Vermont, then president of the Northern Pacific. 'I am satisfied from the way Smith talks to me that there is some political action at the bottom of this...to prevent your getting control for Canada of the Hudson's Bay Territories.'

'It is quite evident to me, replied Macdonald, not only from this conversation, but from advices from Washington, that the U.S. Government are resolved to do all they can, short of war, to get possession of the western territories, and we must take immediate and vigorous steps to counteract them. One of the first things is to show unmistakeably our resolve to build the Pacific Railway.'"

From this it was evident that mere ownership was not enough; the land must be occupied and for that a railroad to open the lands was the prime need.

It was this resolve to build a railroad through the west that shaped the policy of the Dominion Government regarding the new lands. Macdonald hoped to finance the building of the railroad without taxing the eastern provinces. The alternative was to find revenue in the west. The Dominion Government therefore retained under its own control the natural resources of the west, "for the organization and development of British interests in North America," hoping that by the sale of lands, the most valuable of the natural resources, it would be able to finance the building of the railroad across the prairies to the Pacific.

It was thus that the Dominion Government entered the field of immigra-

ration and settlement as a great land-holder. From the beginning it laid down the basic policy that the natural resources of the prairies were to be used for the "historic purposes of the Dominion", which in ordinary terms meant the provision of a transcontinental railway, and the settlement of the western lands so that Canada might develop as a great Dominion. In practice, the policy provided for the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and a network of tributary lines, and the introduction of free homestead grants to encourage the rapid settlement of the prairies.

It was to be some time, however, before plans for the west could be carried out. Money was not available from the general treasury for the building of railroads, and land sales were too few to promise much help. Meanwhile the earnest pioneer had the choice of two routes to the west, the Dawson Road, begun in 1867, and the route via St. Paul to Winnipeg. Although the Dawson Road was travelled by some hundreds of passengers from 1871 to 1876, it was never popular, being both rough and expensive. The St. Paul route, much more comfortable, had the disadvantage of taking passengers through the rich mid-western states, where efficient American land-agents were often successful in diverting wealthy travellers to the American lands. The danger to Canadian settlement was increased in 1878 when a rail connection was completed between St. Paul and Winnipeg. It became increasingly evident that Canada must have a railroad to the west, and that, if it were to serve the purposes of the Dominion, it must be an all-Canadian road. When, in 1876, British Columbia entered Confederation, the Canadian Government had an added incentive to provide a road to the west. After various plans had been considered, the hopes for a railroad culminated in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1881, but as that act was contingent on the provisions of the Dominion Land Act of 1872, which must therefore be considered first.
The western lands that passed into the possession of Canada in 1870 were about 175,000,000 acres in extent. Whatever hesitation the Dominion Government may have had about the details of administration of those vast lands, there was no doubt on the basic principle: they were to be administered for the purposes of the Dominion, a Dominion which stretched from sea to sea, and which must be either occupied or lost. It was further believed that settlement could be best achieved if the lands were held under one central authority, of necessity, the Dominion Government. No alternative was considered; no objections were raised. Although the means of achieving settlement varied from time to time, successive governments kept to this plan in their efforts to settle the west and provide it with transportation, and these two objectives were the foundations of Dominion immigration policy. After Confederation, the aims were interdependent, even though the Government alienated much of the land in extensive grants to railways and to the Hudson's Bay Company. Until 1930, when the government had achieved its purpose, and the remaining lands passed into provincial control, the Crown lands of the prairies were controlled from Ottawa.

The basic plan having been adopted, the practical problems of administration were next considered. In general the plan of survey followed that of the United States. The first system established by Order-in-Council in 1869 took as the unit a section of eight hundred acres, a variation from the 640-acre section used in the south. The Canadian system varied also in providing a road allowance of 5% of the total acreage. [This was changed in 1871 to one and one-half chains, and in 1881, to one chain.] As the whole system of survey was planned at one time, and was built on a single base line, it was uniform throughout, a great advantage. In 1871, at the suggestion of Governor Adams Archibald of Manitoba, the section was made to conform to the 640-acre unit used in the United States. This unit was that on which the Dominion Land

\[1 \text{ chain} = 66 \text{ ft}\]
Act of 1872 was based. Only in the lands of the Metis, where the Government had confirmed the Hudson's Bay Company's grants of land, was there a variation. There the river-lot system was allowed. A similar concession for the Saskatchewan district was abandoned in 1884 as too awkward.

This general system of survey, made to suit the exigencies of a time that required rapid action, took no account of variations in topography, rainfall or soil conditions, but it found favour in the sight of the early settler, and no fundamental change has since been made in the unit of survey of the ordinary lands of the Prairies. Where necessary, the individual settler has made his own adjustments in the purchase of additional tracts of land.

The system of survey having been decided upon, the disposition of the land itself was next considered. The Dominion Government adopted a dual policy of land administration. It followed in general the plan of the United States in setting aside grants and reserves to provide for railway building. The remainder of the lands were to be opened for free homesteads which were intended to attract a pioneer population as quickly as possible, who in turn would create a demand that would enhance the value of other lands. This plan varied in one important particular from that of the United States. Whereas each American state provided the land reserves to pay for the railroad which passed through it, the Canadian Government took its railway reserves from any of the Crown lands, regardless of the location of the railroad, a system which bore particularly heavily on Saskatchewan.

The plan of sub-division settled, it was necessary to set aside the reserve lands. Each township of six miles was divided into thirty-six sections. To satisfy the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company to one-twentith of the fertile lands, sections 8 and three-fourths of section 26 were set aside. In every fifth township, the whole of section 26 was reserved to make
the required amount. For railway grants, the odd-numbered sections were reserved. Sections 11 and 29 were set aside as "School Lands" and were kept for sale by the Government which intended to provide not only a farm for the settler, but also an education for his children. These lands having been set aside, the remaining lands were opened for homesteading. The accompanying diagram shows the method of disposing of land.

In retrospect, it seems that the policy of alternating land for sale with land given free as homesteads has proved beneficial; for it allowed the successful farmer to expand his holdings until he had a farm of a size to be profitable, a size which varied, of course, with the position of the farm and the industry of the farmer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Size (acres)</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Size (acres)</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Size (acres)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>272.2</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>285.1</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>288.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>279.2</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>295.7</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>284.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>274.5</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>368.5</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>353.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>279.2</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>407.9</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>400.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>291.1</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>432.5</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>433.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By Order-in-Council in 1871, a five-year residence qualification was required before title to a homestead was issued. In the Dominion Land Act of 1872, the head of a family or any other settler over twenty-one years of age, and who was either British by birth or who wished to acquire British citizenship, could enter for a free homestead upon payment of a ten-dollar entry fee. The patent would be issued when the settler had given proof that he had resided for at least six months of each year for three years on his homestead, had erected a habitable house and had broken a certain amount [usually thirty acres] of his holding. That these rules were difficult to check was one of the weaknesses of the homestead system. Later, in order to encourage young men to stay in the country, the age of entry was lowered to eighteen years, and settlers were given the privilege of pre-empting the next quarter-section if they wished to increase their acreage. With these inducements, the Government might well hope to attract settlers; but they hoped in vain. Until a railroad had been provided, and until the lands to the south had been filled, the efforts of the government to encourage settlement were all but futile. There was, moreover, a second serious drawback to settlement. For some years, officials in several districts were slack in their methods of checking homesteaders, and granted patents to land without demanding the residence qualifications. Many who were not homesteaders took up land, held it until the patent was obtained, and then sold it to land speculators, who held it for advancing prices. Such land lay there, uncultivated, full of weeds, isolating real settlers, and being, in general, a nuisance to the neighbourhood. This abuse of the homestead defeated its purpose. The record of homestead entries and cancellations is in large part
a comment on the use of the free homestead system.

The functions of the free homestead, to stimulate immigration and to enhance the value of the lands held for sale, were re-stated in each of the Dominion Land Acts, but the wisdom of granting free homesteads has often been questioned. How far the plan succeeded in enhancing the value of other land, and how far it paid for itself in dollars is uncertain, but as a spearhead of pioneering, there is no doubt of its value; for it effectively brought Canada's western lands to the attention of the world, although the results were not apparent until a railroad had been built. In Canada, where a homestead could be used in conjunction with purchased lands to make a profitable unit, the free grant was undoubtedly a basis of the permanent economic prosperity of Canada's agricultural life; when it was abused, the system was discredited. As the drawbacks of the system were, however, far outweighed by its advantages in bringing to Canada the early settlers who helped in the progress of the country, in the long term view, the free homestead has been approved by both government and public.

The companies which received land grants adopted different methods of disposing of their land. It is sufficient to say at this point that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which earned most of the total railway grant, being primarily interested in traffic, sold its lands as quickly as possible. The Hudson's Bay Company, the third great landholder, having no direct interest in traffic, took its lands up by notification [the issue of title without patent] under the provisions of a land act of 1874, as they were surveyed, and held them for sale at the highest price obtainable. In a land which the Government was striving to open to settlement, blocks of land, totalling 6,639,059 acres in area and scattered over the whole cent-

(7) 37 Vict. c.19.s.5.
rai region, were to remain undeveloped until such time as the owners found
the market right for sale. The effect of this policy on the progress of the
country may well be imagined. It is true that small amounts of land were sold
from time to time, but in the main the settler had a real grievance when he
found himself blocked by Hudson's Bay lands, especially as these lands, being
held at a higher price than those of the railroad, were slower in selling.
Although the position of the lands was good, less than 4,000,000 acres had
been sold by 1930, the year of the transfer of the lands to the provinces.
The reason was easy to find, for the price of Hudson's Bay lands averaged
$12.10 per acre, whereas the average price of Canadian Pacific Railway lands
was $8.55 per acre."

There were various hostile forces at work preventing the early settle­
ment of the west, but a few pioneers, anticipating the railroad, found their
way into the west by one of the available routes. In 1875, the agent in
Winnipeg reported a probable 3635 immigrants; in 1876, an estimated 3000; in
1877, about 6,500. Of these, some 3500 were from Ontario, 389 from Quebec, and
186 from the Maritimes. From the United States came about 700 repatriated
French-Canadians, about 200 Mennonites and 52 Icelanders. The remainder were
Americans. As these proportions remained relatively constant for some years,
it can be seen that Manitoba was to develop a special individuality as a
 colony of Ontario, thus fulfilling one of the purposes of Government in
annexing the West—that of offering an outlet for over-population in the older
province.

While waiting for settlers, the Government had an opportunity to shape
its land policy to suit the changing plans for the building of a railroad to

(12) *Sectional Parks.
the west. The original plan in the Land Act of 1872 was that an area of 50,000,000 acres should be set aside as a railway reserve, the land to be taken up by the railway company in blocks alternating with similar blocks to be retained by the government. This plan was cancelled in 1879 and a new one evolved which provided for a railroad reserve of one million acres to be chosen from a belt of land two hundred and twenty miles wide, lying equally on either side of the railroad. This stretch of land was divided into nine zones as indicated in the diagram.

It was intended that the lands should be divided between the railroad and the government, and that the lands of the latter would be offered for sale at six dollars an acre. When it was found that immigration was very slow, the government decided to stimulate settlement by opening all its even-numbered sections for homesteading, and by offering for sale such odd-numbered sections as remained public lands. The price was to vary from two dollars to two dollars and fifty cents an acre. It was not, however, until the charter with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had been signed that all these plans culminated in a workable land policy. After that, Government and Company worked together with a common purpose—the settlement of the west.

(13) Chester Martin, op. cit. p. 264
(14) ibid. p. 398.
A contemporary report on the arrangement was given by A.M. Burgess, then deputy-minister of the Interior, who said:

When the system was inaugurated of assisting, by grants of land, the construction of colonial railways, with which Manitoba and the Territories are now so well supplied, and the policy was determined upon of reserving for this purpose, the odd-numbered sections, all hope of deriving any considerable revenue from the public lands had from that time forward to be abandoned. The abolition of the pre-emption system eventually took away from the department its last remaining source of revenue, except for the timber and minerals and fees for homestead entries, which must be looked to exclusively in that relation for the future. There is in this state of affairs no cause for regret...the construction of railways to open up and develop that new country is of far more consequence to Canada than any revenue that could be derived from the sale of land, and the country cannot under any circumstances have both railways and revenue. /15/

The need for building a railroad had long been foreseen. When George Brown advocated the annexation by Canada of the Hudson's Bay territories, he noted especially the necessity for a transportation system. The building of such a railway was implicit in the acceptance of the western lands by the Dominion Government. The Dawson road was recognized as being a makeshift. When British Columbia joined the Dominion in 1871, the completion of a coast-to-coast railroad was promised in the terms of union, and members of parliament from British Columbia allowed no one in Ottawa to forget this promise. The Riel Rebellion of 1869 showed the vulnerability of the west. From eastern businessmen there were also optimistic suggestions that the railroad might open profitable markets to the Orient, then being opened to western influence.

The actual building of the road followed years of planning, trials and disappointments, and years of bitter debate in parliament. In December of 1880, Sir Charles Tupper moved that the House go into committee of the whole

\( (15) \) Sessional Papers, 1894, No. 13, p. x.
to consider two resolutions calling for the appropriation of twenty-five million dollars and twenty-five million acres of land in the North-West territories, this money and land to be granted to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for the construction of a railroad through Canadian territory to the Pacific Ocean. It was stated that the land should be chosen along the direct route of the railroad in alternate blocks, from the western boundary of Manitoba to Jasper House. To complete the grants, it was agreed that lands might also be selected along projected branch lines. By selling the other lands on the prairies to provide the subsidy, the Government hoped to fulfil Macdonald's promise that the railroad would not cost the eastern provinces a farthing. It was not long before the Government saw the fallacy of that hope, but the officials were able to take comfort from the revenue from the import duties which increased as settlement expanded.

The statute which grew out of Sir Charles Tupper's resolutions was the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1881 which authorized the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to construct a railroad across the prairies to the Pacific Ocean. The company was headed by Donald A. Smith,—curiously enough a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company—, and by George Stephen, his cousin. Their agreement was to build the railroad in return for a payment of $25,000,000 and 25,000,000 acres of land of "fair average quality," to be chosen from the 48-mile belt. Land required for the road-bed and for stations was given as a free grant. Completed lines worth about $35,000,000 were also transferred to the company. To aid construction the government also made a loan of $30,000,000 with the land grants as security for the mortgage.

These enormous grants of land brought the Canadian Pacific Railway

Company into the field of land settlement, for its holdings were second only
to those of the government. As both were great land-holders in a common
territory it was fortunate that they worked closely together in their pol-
icies of settlement. Moreover, the railway company, being heavily subsidized
with public money, and being dependent from the first on the returns from
traffic, was anxious to promote the settlement of the west. So well did it
play its part in the great programme of western expansion that one of its
agents, Frank Russell, could say without fear of ridicule: "We built the
West."

From the point of view of the west there were several serious faults in
the Charter to be corrected before it won popular approval. Prairie lands
only were used to pay for a railroad which was of national value. Clause 15,
the "monopoly" clause, designed to safeguard the Company's traffic rights,
gave the Company the sole right over a period of twenty years to build lines
south-east of its main line; that is, in the most populated district. As the
early settlers had spread out fan-wise, their settlements required more than
the single line that the Company was prepared to build. When the settlers
tried to over-rule the "monopoly" clause and build the Red River line from
Winnipeg to Brandon, the Dominion Government was forced by the terms of the
charter to refuse passage over Crown lands, and the project ended there.
The Company was quick to take counsel from the event, and by 1891 had pro-
vided the necessary lines. In 1888 the offending clause was cancelled, the
government guaranteeing a bond issue for the company in return for the
valuable concession.

Section 16 of the charter exempted the Company for twenty years from
taxation on its lands and forever from taxation on its capital stock and
railway lands. It is easy to understand that this provision was more
unpopular than the "monopoly" clause, for it brought great hardship to the
early settlers who were forced to pay taxes on roads built past great blocks of unoccupied land, and maintain public services over a widely-scattered area. As the general policy of the Company was to sell its lands as quickly as possible, this condition was not so serious as it might have been, but even as it was, delay in locating lands and taking out patents resulted in an estimated loss of $2,500,000 in taxes for the province of Saskatchewan alone. Section 16, so deservedly unpopular, was cancelled in response to provincial pressure.

High freight rates constituted a third grievance. Rates on the prairies were high partly because the lines through western Ontario were unproductive and partly because the Company wished to accumulate funds to construct more branch lines. As these lines were completed and as traffic increased, rates were gradually lowered, and that grievance was removed.

The inconspicuous little phrase, "lands fairly fit for settlement" which had been written into the Canadian Pacific Railway charter was of great importance. The original plan of the Canadian Government in allocating lands for the railway had been changed in the final settlement because of the alteration in the route the railroad would follow. The Company was given alternate odd-numbered sections extending back twenty-eight miles from each side of the proposed route of the railway from Winnipeg to Jasper House. The path eventually followed by the railroad, however, was not the northern route, which would have opened the fertile park-lands of the Edmonton district, but a shorter way through Kicking Horse Pass which opened some of the arid lands of "Palliser's Triangle". Much of the land there could hardly be judged as "fairly fit for settlement" and the Company refused to accept it. Even had all the land been suitable, it would have taken a belt of land

(18) Chester Martin, op. cit., p. 274.
seventy-five miles wide to provide the necessary 25,000,000 acres. The Government therefore solved the difficulty by setting aside great reservations containing two or three times the acreage required. From these the Company could select its grant. Four such reservations were made: in 1882, the First Reserve of 6,800,000 acres; in 1895, the Dauphin Reserve in Manitoba; in 1896, the Second Northern Reserve near Edmonton; in 1901, the Irrigation Reserve in southern Alberta. These reservations locked up nearly one-half of the available agricultural lands in western Canada. It was not until August 22, 1903 that, by Order-in-Council, the Canadian Pacific Railway lands were finally chosen. As late as 1908 some other companies were dallying over the choice of their lands.

The original 25,000,000 acre grant for the main line was not the whole land grant of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Each branch line "earned" a further grant of 6,400 acres per mile of construction. When several little "colonization" railways became subsidiaries, their unalienated lands accrued to the Company. Although the Company returned to the Government 6,800,000 acres of the Northern Reserve to retire a government loan, its control over the remaining 26,055,462 acres left it second only to the Dominion as a land-holder.

The chief interest of the Canadian Pacific Railway was in the promotion of traffic, and, to serve this end, it followed a wise and aggressive policy in land sales and settlement. The "fairly fit for settlement" condition used in the selection of land, worked to unexpected advantage for the nation, because the Company, having chosen some of its land in remote places, was impelled by its policy of quick sale to open these areas by building branch lines. The low price at which the Company sold its lands recommended them to

the thrifty homesteader who found his quarter-section too small for his needs. Many Americans, too, appreciated the value of the Company lands and bought large amounts. In the year 1892 they bought 87,680 acres. Total land sales averaged $3,000,000 per year. This integration of homestead and sales policy was highly beneficial and the Company compares very favourably with the Government in the work of developing the west. Professor Martin says of the policy of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company: "To a degree approached by no other agency, it came to integrate itself with the free homestead system and immigration policy of the day and to subserve the interests of the nation in land settlement." In the Company's own publications were read: "The proceeds of these land sales have gone into the development of lands rather than for dividends for shareholders." The plans for colonization followed a varied pattern and changed as frequently as the conditions demanded. The biggest undertaking was the development of the Irrigation Reserve in southern Alberta. At a cost of $20,000,000, some four thousand miles of canals and ditches were built opening to cultivation 3,000,000 acres of arid or semi-arid land. To follow the intricacies of the whole settlement programme would be to make a book-length study. It is sufficient here to mention that farms of all kinds were offered to suit a variety of settlers - farms of prairie land and of wooded or park land, lands for cash and land on terms; raw lands and lands with some cultivation, or farms completely ready for occupation with some seeding finished and with houses and barns ready for use. The results of this ingenuity were such that it is small wonder that the agents felt that they had had a major share in building the west.

(20) Chester Martin, op. cit., p. 317
(21) ibid., p. 306
(22) ibid., p. 275.
(23) C.P.R. folder "Prairie Provinces of Canada, no date, issued 1939, p. 2.
After the provisions of the Canadian Pacific Railway Act became known, there was, as previously noted, some opposition to the "monopoly" clause which forbade the building of other railways south-east of the main line. Giving as reason that they wished to break this monopoly, several small railroads were begun, each company claiming the government land grant. This grant was at first fixed as the right to purchase land, 3,840 acres per mile of construction, at one dollar an acre; but, to encourage the building of branch lines, the land was later given, without any cost to the companies. Such was the desire for more railways, however, that in 1889, the grant was raised to a gift of 6,400 acres per mile of road. "The technique of the 'colonization' railroads became the most promising contrivance yet devised for getting lands cheap and in large quantities from the government", writes Professor Martin. Only one, the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company, can be said to have accomplished the purposes of colonization railways. Since the interested companies did not choose the greater part of their land until the Liberal government brought pressure to bear on them during the Sifton regime, they can hardly have been of much use as colonization companies. On the other hand, their dilatory methods in choosing their lands added immeasurably to the embarrassment of the Department of the Interior. The Department felt itself obliged to retain immense reserves of land to satisfy the claims of the railways. Until 1908, when these claims were finally liquidated, no taxes were paid on these reserves and the cost of maintaining public services where they existed was a great drain on the treasuries of the prairie provinces. Far from breaking the monopoly, six of these railroads fell into the hands of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company; three more were amalgamated.

(25) "In 1896, 1,823,423 acres had been patented of the 38,657,088 acres earned! Chester Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 330.
to form part of the Canadian Northern [later National Railway], and the tenth, the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railroad and Steamship Company, sold its lands to the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company.

Although their lands were chosen in most cases without any relation to the districts served by their railroads, these colonization railways, like the Canadian Pacific, afforded considerable work for the settler, and were thus indirectly responsible for settling some of the land through which they were built.

The main endeavours of the Dominion Government, the annexation of the western lands, the formulation of a land policy for that region, and the initiation of transportation systems have been briefly outlined. The house was ready; the guests were to be invited.

The basis of Dominion immigration policy was the sale of Crown lands in the west, and the settlement of those lands. The provision of transportation was tied in with plans for settlement. As yet the quality of the newcomer was not a main preoccupation with the government and the word "desirable" as applied to an immigrant was still to be defined. The aim of the government was to attract those who would open the prairie lands: the farmer, the farm-labourer, and the domestic servant. These were the "classes that Canada calls for". Others were welcome, but they were to make their own way, and stand on their own feet when they arrived. This policy did not in any way interfere with the general attempt to promote immigration to Canada. As the Dominion Government advertised its own lands, it encouraged the provinces to advertise theirs. When it was found that too many agencies abroad tended to confuse the prospective settler, the Dominion Government allowed a centralization of provincial programmes under its aegis, but without any relaxation of its own efforts for the west. At times the eastern provinces complained that their interests were sacrificed to those of the west; but
statistics show that each province received a good proportion of the immigrants. In any event, successive Dominion governments continued the policy laid down at Confederation. If the original hope that the railways would be financed by the sale of public lands failed, and it became clear that it was impossible to have both railroads and revenue from lands, this knowledge did not alter the basic policy of the Dominion. Until it turned over the remaining Crown lands to their appropriate provincial governments in 1929, the Dominion Government frankly acknowledged that its chief aim in this field of endeavour was the successful settlement of its Crown lands.

In passing from this consideration of general policy to that of the building of an immigration programme, it is worth pausing to consider one far-sighted element of Dominion policy: the reservation of "school" lands. These lands, intended to provide for the education of the settlers' children, were held for sale at a good price. In the period 1870-1898 they brought in $926,254,228.26, providing a generous endowment for schools and universities.

The Government began to build its immigration programme soon after Confederation had been achieved. In 1869, Sir John A. Macdonald called the first parliamentary committee on immigration. The delegates included the Prime Minister and his Minister of Agriculture, J.C. Chapais, and two members of each provincial government, except that of Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia expressed interest, but pleaded straitened circumstances.

The proposals of the Committee of 1869 were as follows:

As the Governor-General receives the emigration tax and is charged with the administration of the quarantine laws and the establishment and the maintenance of marine hospitals, and must of necessity be the means of communication with Her Majesty's Government in all matters concerning emigration, it is agreed:

i. The Governor-General shall maintain efficient emigration service in London and at such other United Kingdom points as he may think proper.

ii. That he shall also establish at least one agency on the Continent of Europe and as many more as he from time to time...

(26) Sessional Papers, 1894, No. 15, p. 347
time may deem expedient.

iii. That he shall defray the expenses of quarantine at Quebec, Halifax and St. John.

iv. That he shall establish immigration offices at Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, Halifax, Ottawa, St. John, Mirimachi, and other points contiguous to the proposed Inter-colonial Railway.

v. That he shall apply for annual grants in aid of immigration generally.

vi. The several provinces on their part shall establish efficient systems of emigration agencies within their respective territories and shall connect these as much as possible with a liberal policy for the settlement and colonization of the uncultivated lands.

vii. The Provinces may appoint their own agents in Europe or elsewhere and these shall be duly accredited by the Governor-General.

viii. The Provinces shall submit details of lands available and the system of colonization and settlement to be followed, as an aid to Government policy.

ix. Any changes shall be indicated to the Government to notify agents and intending immigrants. These changes should be indicated in the winter before the opening of the immigrant season.

x. That, in the interests of efficiency, there be a meeting of the delegates every quarter.

xi. That such legislation as might be required, be submitted to the various legislatures.‡

Other committees met in almost every year until 1874. In that year it was decided to vest the control of propaganda for immigration in the Dominion Government, as the individual efforts of the provinces had caused confusion in the minds of prospective immigrants. James Trow, who headed the committee, further advised that the provinces arrange for settlement and after-care on their own lands. This arrangement, of course, left the policy for the West in the hands of the Dominion Government, and left the way open for criticism from the east that it was taxed for the development of the west.

The work of the immigration department was divided into three parts: the provision of facilities for immigrants at the ports of entry and at the

various agencies established at strategic points inland; arrangements for the care of immigrants, especially those settling on lands belonging to any one of the governments; and the establishing of agencies overseas.

The Government now began to expand the immigration services, hoping to divert the stream of emigration to Canada. The overseas organization was enlarged until representatives of the Canadian Government were scattered over the British Isles, and in the "preferred" countries of northern Europe: Sweden, Norway, Denmark, France, Belgium, Holland, and Germany. A few agencies were also established in the United States. In Canada, agents for the reception and distribution of immigrants were placed, first at Winnipeg, and later at points ever farther westward, even to Victoria. From modest beginnings a large and expensive organization developed, which extended its activities into much of Europe and over most of the United States. The European and American parts of the organization tried to attract emigrants, while the Canadian agencies reported the needs of Canada, and made efforts to settle new arrivals to their satisfaction. All members of the immigration services felt themselves free to comment on the character of the people attracted to Canada, and to suggest changes in the organization. That the agents used this privilege wisely is shown in the growing efficiency of their work.

The methods used to attract immigrants to Canada were the traditional ones, the issuance of pamphlets, the use of exhibits, and the giving of illustrated lectures. These methods had been used by Thomas Talbot, Lord Selkirk, the provincial governments before Confederation, and by the big land companies. In this period, the difference lay in the quantity of

(28) Those countries of which the people had a similar cultural and ethnical background and a similar political outlook to those of Canadians.
material distributed, and in the ingenuity employed to impress upon the minds of possible emigrants the extent, richness, and variety of Canada's farm lands. It was to this end that the agents distributed hundreds of thousands of atlases, maps, pamphlets and newspaper articles. Exhibits were carried about the country in democrats; impressive displays appeared at state fairs in the United States, and in London and Paris. Canadian agents were instructed to exert themselves to counteract the "misrepresentations of American agencies," because of the "glowing but deceptial\textsuperscript{sic} accounts so ingeniously circulated by American agents in England" to lure the British immigrant to the United States. How a Canadian agent went about trying to lure Americans to Canada is related in L.O. Armstrong's account of a day's work:

We rise at 6:30 a.m. as we need a good deal of time to get the exhibition car ready, to write the name of the hall and the place where the car and lecture are to be on all the small bills, to look after the horses, etc. The car leaves for the next place wherever possible in the morning. The team and advertising van, of which I send you a photo enclosed, leaves about 8:30 A.M., to drive to the next place of showing. On the way, an envelope, of which I enclose a sample, is thrown out at every door after some occupant of the house has been brought to the window by the blowing of the horn. The team arrives at noon. After dinner, the horses are saddled in turn; one goes in one direction, the other in the opposite, so that we have reached the farmers in the four cardinal points. The result is a good attendance at the car and the lecture. The car advertises the lecture and the lecture, the car.

I have given the matter much thought, and I cannot imagine a more thorough or more economical way of making the country known.

The lecture begins at 8 P.M. and lasts about one and one-half hours. At 10:30 we are packed up and about 11 o'clock we begin the sleep of the just. All the American railway people who have happened to speak to us about it, pronounce it the best advertisement project that they have seen. The steel wagon is a drawing thing itself, and the van left in the roadway before the hotel proves to be a good advertisement with farmers.

\vspace*{1em}

(29) Sessional Papers, 1867, No. 3, p. 61.

(30) Sessional Papers, 1895, No. 13, p. 31.
It is disappointing to read in the same report a statement from Archer Baker of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company that even this ingenuity was not adequately rewarded. He wrote: "So far as last year's emigration is concerned, while the result has been confessedly unsatisfactory, it certainly cannot be attributed to any falling off in the efforts of the various parties interested in directing emigration to Canada...I do not know that I can suggest anything in the direction of augmentation...but I do not think there should be any reduction in the effort! Such men, working against the superior attractions of the United States, in a year of depression, were some of the unsung heroes in the work of settling the west; their ingenuity and optimism showed results in the next period.

One of the most satisfactory forms of "propaganda" was the sending to England and to the Continent of farmer delegates and "return men" who spread abroad the gospel of the successful farmer. Letters from those who had prospered were included in government pamphlets. Both of these devices brought excellent results in attracting immigrants. The agent at Aberdeen said: "When a bright young man or woman returns home from Canada with the marks of success, those who have not yet decided about emigration have placed before them a concrete fact that convinces more surely than lectures or pamphlets."

In addition to sending out the invitations to immigrants, the government spent a great amount of money on facilities for their reception. In 1872, a new immigration hall was built at Quebec to afford temporary accommodation for hundreds of immigrants. Smaller halls were built at Montreal, Kingston and Toronto, and, a little later, one at Winnipeg. This western

(31) Sessional Papers 1913, No. 13. p. 94.
hall was the fore-runner of many others and of the tent-towns provided for immigrants across the prairies. Quarantine stations, so important in the days of the Irish Famine had for many years been an important adjunct of the immigration service. To provide for an increased number of immigrants, and to enforce stricter regulations, the Government built additional stations at important points.

From the early days in Canada assistance was granted to destitute persons thrown haphazard upon the shores of the British provinces. In years like 1849, the strain on Canadian resources was tremendous. Under these pressing circumstances, the Imperial Government reluctantly made small grants of money to help care for the needy. After Confederation when the type of immigrant needing assistance was comparatively rare, the help given by the Government was usually of two kinds, the payment of passage from the port of disembarkation to the desired destination, or for maintenance on the journey. Sometimes maintenance for a short time at the port was necessary, but stays there were not encouraged. The Minister of Agriculture, J.H. Pope, reported that in 1872, a fairly average year, the expenditure by the Dominion Government for this purpose was $22,112.31. Additional grants were also made by the provinces: $29,712.56 by Ontario; $18,291.00 by Quebec, and $360.61 by New Brunswick. In the case of the Dominion Government, these expenditures were covered by the Capitation Tax paid by emigrants to Canada. As the eastern governments paid only for their own settlers, there was no complaint about the cost. When the Capitation Tax was taken off in 1872 and the money for assistance had to be taken from general revenue, the number of those requiring assistance was not large enough to cause any great drain on the public treasury.

(32) Sessional Papers, 1872, No. 2A p. 8
With a view to encouraging immigration, the Government of the Dominion in 1872 sent to William Dixon, the agent in England, ten thousand warrants to give a reduced rate of travel on various steamship lines, to those classes of immigrants most needed. These warrants reduced the usual rate of £6.6 to £4.5 for general labourers, and to £2.5 for farm-labourers and female domestic workers. Children's fares were proportionally reduced.

Apart from these concessions, Canada refused to make any direct grants to settlers, although after 1883, the Government did make it possible for a settler to take out a mortgage of £100, with his homestead as collateral, if the money was to be spent on the actual needs of farming. The Government, however, refused to finance settlement schemes or to co-operate with the British Government in any such scheme which would involve the Canadian Government in the collection of money lent to settlers; the Government recognized "insuperable objections" to becoming directly or indirectly the creditor of settlers. It preferred that colonization should be done through a company which no government would expect to be paternal in its attitude to its clients.

However, while avoiding money grants as such, the Government entered the field of planned settlement in the west. That its efforts were not immediately successful was due to causes outside itself, the attractiveness of the United States, the need for more transportation, the resourcefulness of Australian agents and other minor drawbacks to Canadian success. One of the first attempts at colonization was the settling of a few indigent Norwegians at Gaspe. This was a failure. By Order-in-Council of 1872-72, the Government set aside blocks of land in Manitoba for groups of Scots, Swiss, Germans and Icelanders. Of these prospective settlements, only the Icelandic group made a successful attempt at establishing themselves. As this settlement is one of the most satisfactory of Canadian endeavours in immigration,
it deserves special study.

In 1875, because of volcanic eruptions which destroyed most of their property in Iceland, a group of about four hundred Icelanders came to Canada under the sponsorship of the Dominion Government, and were settled on a strip of land about eighty miles long on the west shore of Lake Winnipeg. The Government made them a loan of $80,000 for their establishments. So pleased were they to be delivered from their distress that they called their new home Gimli or Elysium. Their optimism was rudely checked, for misfortune had not finished with them. Their land had been badly chosen; the settlers found conditions very different from their previous experience; the weather exhibited unpleasant vagaries—heavy rains and frosts out of season. Moreover they had a serious visitation of small-pox, and were quarantined with unnecessary inhumanity by those who should have been anxious to help them. Kept in isolation from November to July, they were prevented from trading or getting help from outside. Even seed potatoes were not supplied through the quarantine lines. Lack of proper food brought on scurvy. Death from disease took about one hundred persons, one-seventh of the colony. As if this were not enough, the waters of Lake Winnipeg rose in 1880, washing away crops, fences and buildings. But most of the Icelanders were undaunted. Once freed from quarantine, the men sought work outside the colony, and the girls went out as housemaids, to the great satisfaction of those housewives who were lucky enough to get them. In 1877, Lord Dufferin visited the colony, and the following year the Minister of Agriculture paid an official visit; both commended the progress made. The Minister reported that the colonists had shown great industry, cutting roads and cultivating from two to ten acres of ground each. Two hundred "large and commodious houses had been built

and crops were doing well.

Partly through government grants advocated by the enthusiastic Icelandic agent, John Taylor, and partly with the help of remittances sent by their friends, more colonists were able to emigrate from Iceland. In 1876, 1156 entered; in 1877, 52; in 1880, 71; in 1881, 118; in 1882, 129; in 1883, 1413; and in 1884, 381. When, in 1885, about a hundred more entered, it was necessary to extend the reserves. Settlements were then made at Thingvalla in 1886, and at Qu'Appelle and Argyle in 1891. In the same year a settlement was opened at Quill Lake in Saskatchewan and, a little later, a smaller one at Foam Lake. A few went as far west as Alberta at about the same time.

In addition to the money that their friends in Canada were able to send them, the Icelanders were assisted by grants from both Dominion and Provincial treasuries, but so satisfactory were the settlers that the governments felt that their money was well spent. While retaining much of their characteristic culture, the Icelanders have been some of Canada's most adaptable settlers. In 1902, the Commissioner of Immigration reported that: "There have been this year 1063 entries from Iceland and 167 from the United States. ...They acquire the English language with ease, harmonize at once with our institutions and already their leading men take an active part, not only in public affairs, but in the field of letters as well!" Subsequent events have shown that, because of their interest in the welfare of Canada, their value is proportionately much greater than their number.

On a much larger scale was Canada's first planned settlement of Mennonites. In 1872, William Hespeler, the Canadian immigration agent in Germany, left a difficult task in Hamburg to embark on a more difficult one in the

(34) Robert England, op. cit., p. 252
(35) Sessional Papers, 1902, No. 25, pp. 116-117.
south of Russia. Some years before, a religious sect, the Mennonites, followers of a Dutch leader, Menno Simons, had migrated to East Prussia. There they had lived in comparative security until the middle of the eighteenth century, when persecution was imposed on them because, as uncompromising pacifists, they would not serve in the army. Seeking an opportunity to practise their religion in peace, in 1786, they accepted an invitation from Catherine the Great to settle in southern Russia and develop its rich lands. After the middle of the nineteenth century, Russia became involved once more in the affairs of western Europe. She therefore began to build up her army and mobilized her man-power. The Mennonites refused to give military service. In 1872 they were given an ultimatum: They must either change their minds or leave the country within ten years. Hespeler learned of this turn of events and determined to induce the Mennonites, who were renowned farmers, to migrate to Canada. He narrowly escaped arrest by Russian agents. They seized his immigration "literature", but they allowed him to see the Mennonites. He wrote: "I was successful in delivering my mission, by bringing before them exemption from military service, the advantages offered by the Canadian Government as regards free grants of land, and in giving all further information in my power, respecting the prosperity awaiting them in Canada!" The Mennonites then sent a deputation to Canada, Hespeler wrote: "If they return with a favourable account, there will be hundreds of the most wealthy families ready to leave next summer." He described the Mennonites as hardy, industrious, orderly and intelligent, their villages being models of order and industry. In short, the Mennonites would be a valuable acquisition to Canada.

In 1872, several Mennonite delegates arrived in Canada. Some of them

(36) Sessional Papers, 1873, No. 24 p. 155.
(37) Sessional Papers, 1875, No. 26 p. 855.
found conditions satisfactory, and entered into negotiations with the Government. By Order-in-Council of April 26, 1872, the Dominion Government granted the Mennonites exemption from military service and from the taking of ordinary oaths. An Order-in-Council of March 5, 1873, granted them eight townships at Rat River in south-east Manitoba, free on condition of settlement. They were also accorded the right to establish their own religious schools. As their land was granted in blocks instead of according to the usual homestead plan, their desire for communal settlement was assured.

In addition to land grants, the Mennonites were given passenger warrants of thirty dollars for each adult, and fifteen dollars for each child under eight and three dollars for each infant. Free provisions were given between Liverpool and Collingwood, Ontario. In 1875 the grant was increased by five dollars a head. Helped by a government loan secured by Mennonites in Ontario, others of the sect were able to emigrate, and a group settled west of the Red River in the Western Reserve. In 1876 there were 6147 Mennonites in Manitoba, and they were described as being in a flourishing condition and were giving evidence of very great and persistent industry.

When the Minister of Agriculture visited the settlements in 1876, he described the oldest colony, Rat River, as consisting of thirty-eight villages, each having from ten to fourteen houses, substantially built. Wheat crops were giving about twenty-five bushels to the acre. A steam-mill and three wind-mills were in use. The domestic animals were numerous and in good condition and gardens flourished around the houses. Trees had been planted. This settlement contained about seven hundred persons. Two other settlements, made in the West Reserve, the Pembina colony on the west side

(38) Sessional Papers, 1878, No. 9, p. xiii.
(39) Sessional Papers, 1878, No. 9, p. xxi.
of the Red River and the Scratching River colony gave similar evidence of the
prosperity always associated with these people. Moreover, their reputation
for honesty was soon substantiated by their prompt repayment of the money
lent to them by the government.

The immigration grant to the Mennonites was raised in 1878 to forty
dollars, but few entered because wars in Russia made difficult the sale of
their lands. In 1882, however, although the ten-year permit had expired,
others began to come in small numbers. In 1891, three hundred persons
entered, bringing from three hundred to four thousand dollars per family.
After that the immigration was small.

The settlement of Mennonites was unique in Canadian experience, in that
it was a homogeneous mass movement, the settlements themselves being originally established on a theocratic communal or co-operative basis. At first
they were arranged like medieval villages but in the course of time, the
three-field system and the three-crop cycle have been replaced by the Can­
adian method of land-holding and crop cultivation. The villages have contin­
ued to prosper. As they have become overcrowded, further settlements have
been made notably at Rosthern in Saskatchewan. In recent years many Mennon­
ites have moved to British Columbia.

The economic value of the Mennonite has never been questioned. From the
social and political angle there has been more room for debate, for the
Mennonites carried with them the main elements of their traditional organ­
ization: the communal ownership of land; undemocratic practices; a religion
that isolated them from others outside their sect; a determined opposition
to authority imposed from outside their organization. Time has helped to

(40) Sessional Papers, 1877, No. 8, p.42.
(41) Sessional Papers, 1873, p.155; and 1874, No. 7, p.9; 1892, No. 18, p.3
(42) C.A. Dawson, Group Settlement in the Prairie Provinces, Canadian Frontiers
assimilate the more moderate groups, and these Mennonites are forming some of the finest members of our community. The more conservative group, the Old Colony, has proved an indigestible morsel for Canada, and Canadians have seen without too much regret, two emigrations of Old Colonists, one in 1922-25 when five thousand Mennonites left for Mexico, and one a few years ago when a large party of malcontents made an unhappy venture into Paraguay.

Unlike many other immigrants to Canada, the Mennonites have shown a decided preference for rural life as the following tables show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West Reserve</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rosthern</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
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<td>3052</td>
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In 1880 the Canadian Government called the attention of its immigration officials in Europe to the extensive migration of people from Austria-Hungary to the United States. Three years later, John Dyke, adviser to the Dominion Government on European affairs, left for continental points to study the possibilities of securing immigrants for Canada. In Vienna he made arrangements with shipping interests which informed him that they had a clandestine organization of about six hundred agents throughout Austria-Hungary to control the emigration from south-eastern Europe. Dyke proposed that the Government pay these agents a bonus of five dollars for each emigrant directed to Canada. The scheme had little success and brought Canadian immigration activities into disrepute. Shortly afterwards the Canadian Pacific Railway Company interested Count Paul d'Esterhazy, a philanthropic Hungarian nobleman, in the settlement of his countrymen in the Canadian

(43) C.A.Dawson, *op.cit.* p. 106
(44) C.A.Dawson, *ibid.* p. 121.
North-West, and his efforts greatly stimulated the emigration of Hungarians to Canada's fertile prairies.

For some years Hungarians had been emigrating to the industrial districts of the United States. They were unsuited to work in mines and factories and were often in distress. Count d’Esterhazy therefore resolved to remove them to more suitable conditions. He spent some days in examining the lands of the Qu’Appelle Valley with a view to settling his people there. He sought a block of land rather than scattered homesteads, in order that his colony should not be encroached upon by others. To his prospective settlers he wrote that:

Not very far from the centre of continental British North America and west of the Red River lies one of the most fertile and fortunate countries of the world. It consists of immense plains, lying at different elevations...The soil of this country though varied in character is everywhere very deep and rich; its prairies are composed of alluvial deposits from thirty to forty feet thick, in places so rich as to bear crops of wheat for successive years without manure. Others of nearly equal value are found resting on red sandstone, serpentine, limestone and other strata favourable to agriculture; its bottom lands bordering its rivers find their parallels only in the Hungarian valleys of our own country.

In a land of such fertility and beauty, husbandry is a recreation rather than a toil.

Of his people in recommending them to the Canadian Government, he said:

The Magyar's sentiments are of the highest order. He is too proud to be dishonest or mean. As a master, he is careful, kind and generous. As a subject, he is fixed, resolute, unyielding to what is wrong. In all the relations of domestic life, he is unimpeachable in his conduct and follows every aberration with the most dignified regret. His hospitality is unbounded.

For some time the Canadian Government worked with Count d’Esterhazy in helping the Hungarians to come to Canada. The first groups came from the

United States, where, as has already been said, they were unhappy. They were aided in their settlement by George Stephen of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Under the direction of Geza de Dory, the well-trained agent of Count d'Esterhazy, thirty-eight families of mixed nationalities were located on homesteads at Whitewood and Hun Valley near Minnedosa. Two groups of twelve and ninety-five families respectively followed, settling on lands where the town of Esterhazy now stands. As most of the people were poor, they were given food by the Government, and free transportation and credits for stock by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Many of the men worked on the railroad until spring, when they took up homesteads. Some were swindled and left in disgust, but most were prosperous and happy. In the following years, Esterhazy and his agent, Zboray, directed a steady stream of Hungarians, Bohemians, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Germans and Croatians to the Canadian west, chiefly to the districts near Esterhazy and Neepawa. The German-Slavic group was estimated at 38,000 in 1896.

Attempts were made by the Government to induce other groups, particularly those from the "preferred" countries of northern Europe. Naturally the Continental governments were opposed to such efforts. For reasons of defence as well as for their economic value, men suitable for emigration are the real life blood of their country. The Scandinavian agent tersely expressed public opinion when he said in 1875, "Nor does the government or the public look friendly on any immigration scheme! In Belgium, agents were given comparative freedom if licensed by the Belgian government. The German government withdrew the privilege of recruiting immigrants in Alsace-Lorraine., France, even more anxious than the other European countries to maintain her effective man-power, opposed all emigration except that to her own colonies.

As early as 1873, J.E. Klotz, the agent in Germany said that, "The work of recruiting immigrants is a very onerous one for the German agent; he must work very carefully so as not to fall into the hands of the authorities." During the Franco-Prussian War naturally, emigration was arrested. On its resumption, efforts were made to divert some of the stream to Canada. The agent in Germany, Walter S. Abel, strongly favoured such a movement, but reported that the German government preferred that emigrants should go to the South American countries where Germany could maintain a protective control over her nationals. The agent said in his report that:

The only way which would lead to a wholesale German emigration to Canada is to give Germany some sort of compensation for our loss. Germany wants a market for her goods; and if Canada would take her goods under easy conditions, the German Government will be ready to let our emigration go to Canada. This may develop an emigration which Canada has never witnessed before.  

Canada, however, had a limited population and could provide no great market for the products of German industry; therefore she was not likely to obtain a heavy immigration of Germans. A few came, making settlements at New Tulscha, near Balgonie, and at Hohenlohe. From 1891 to 1894, they made several settlements along the newly-opened Calgary-Edmonton line. Canada's efforts to get settlers from Germany coincided with the period of industrial expansion which followed the rise of Bismarck. The emigration which had been greatest between 1856-1860 declined rapidly as more men were needed for industry or for Bismarck's wars, and the German government opposed any large scale emigration, unless it could, as the agent stated, show signs of producing substantial revenue for German industries. This situation accounted in large

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(49) Sessional Papers. 1886. No. 10. p. 133
(50) A.S. Morton, op. cit. p. 98.
part for the small emigration of Germans to Canada in the period under discussion.

George Stephen meanwhile, had been aiding the settlement of two groups of Scandinavians, one at New Scandinavia, near Minnedosa, and the other of two hundred and eighty at Whitewood. Others, notably one group at New Sweden numbering six hundred and twenty, and one at Estevan of over two hundred, were scattered over a large area. In the years 1892-1896, six Scandinavian settlements were made near the Calgary-Edmonton Line. These Scandinavians, being from the "preferred" countries were all well received.

Two other minor colonies are perhaps worth mentioning: a settlement of Roumanians, made near the German settlement at Balgonie; and a Jewish colony, named for its founder, Baron Hirsch. The Jewish people were not skilled as farmers and their colony struggled for some years before it prospered. Previous Jewish settlements at Moosomin and Wapella had been abandoned.

As a forerunner of the greater movement which was to bring to Canada her fourth largest racial group, the first Ukrainian settlement was made at Limestone Lake in 1895.

Whatever gains Canada might make from her immigration were offset by the drain away of her people to the United States. Try as she might to hold her people, the Dominion found that the balance of emigration versus emigration was against her. The time was to come when some of the "borrowings" were to be paid back. Meanwhile she was glad to receive a group of Mormons, who, to escape the effects of the Edmund's Act, left Utah for Canada in 1886, and made settlements in the arid lands of southern Alberta. Their centre was

(52) Arthur Morton, op. cit., p. 98.
(53) loc.cit.
Cardston, a town named after their leader, Charles Ora Card. The Mormons are good settlers. Even those who deplored the "peculiar" religion of the Mormons, could not deny them credit for their general good qualities. The Royal North-West Mounted Police, who kept a kind and watchful eye on the settlement of the west, spoke well of them. In his report of 1895, Superintendent S.B. Steele wrote: "These people possess wonderful thrift with unceasing perseverance and skill in agricultural pursuits. They are increasing in numbers every month...They are law-abiding and put themselves in harmony with their surroundings! Although many had ample means, and did not suffer from poverty, they had to endure the effects of bad weather and of isolation, but showed their grit and determination through several severe set-backs. The land on which they settled was arid. It was on the skill and experience gained by the Mormons in irrigating those barren lands that the engineers of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company depended when they opened in southern Alberta the largest irrigation project of Canada.

The lands of the Mormons were divided into "stakes", a kind of lay-ecclesiastical division of land, and each stake was administered by a president, with a lay-bishop to administer each sub-division. There were three stakes in Alberta: the Alberta Stake with its centre at Cardston; the Taylor Stake centring on Raymond, and the Lethbridge Stake of Zion. To add to the original grants, the Church of Latter Day Saints bought an additional 65,000 acres, of which 36,000 acres was put under irrigation. The Church also bought 500,000 acres of the great Cochrane Ranch Company lands at $6.25 an acre. This land trebled in value in the next few years and town after town

(54) Robert England, op. cit., p. 270
(55) Sessional Papers, 1895. No. 25. p. 44.
(57) Chester Martin, op. cit., p. [138]
grew up, all prosperous and progressive. Further extensions were made later, when, under the auspices of the Alberta Railway and Coal Company, Mormon settlers were recruited in Utah to help in the development of the company's lands in the "Magrath" irrigation project of 1899, in the course of which the company acquired 500,000 acres of land from the government.

The Mormons were a group of which the Government could be proud. Coating little or nothing for settlement, they brought, on the other hand, a wealth of experience which made them a valuable economic asset. In language and in their attitude toward civic responsibility, the Mormons have offered no difficulty in assimilation. Although they suffered hardships, there have been no paupers among them, for their migration was accompanied by ample money supplied from either community or private sources. They willingly worked out on cattle ranches near Cochrane to increase their experience and money, and to make the outside contacts necessary for success. Their record, both individual and communal has shown a high standard of achievement. The progress of their settlements is indicated in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>2063</td>
<td>1412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>3656</td>
<td>4181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>5546</td>
<td>4369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>7643</td>
<td>5121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These three groups are the most important of the foreign settlers who brought to the plains of Canada such a variety of creeds, cultures and tongues.

The Canadian Government also sponsored some British settlement. Anxious to obtain more settlers from the United Kingdom, the Government in 1883 amended the Dominion Land Act so as to permit individuals to settle their

(58) Chester Martinh, op. cit. p. 283
(59) A.S. Morton, op. cit. p. 76.
proteges in groups on Dominion lands, the understanding being that such settlement should not be an expense to the Government. The amendment permitted each family to take out a mortgage of £100, with the land as collateral, the money to be used to meet the expenses of actual settlement. The patent was to be withheld until the mortgage was paid. This amendment brought varied results. One venture was Lady Gordon Cathcart's settlement of 1883-4 of Highland crofters at Benbecula and Wapella in Manitoba. These people applied their experience to mixed-farming and were finally successful. Less happy was the settlement of East London artisans made on lands south of Moosomin by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. This enterprise failed because it was an attempt to make artisans into farmers without any intermediate training. Other settlements that failed were those of the Church Colonization Land Society, sponsored by Sir Francis de Winton, and various crofter colonies. These enterprises failed partly because of lack of farming experience on the part of both organizer and settler, an over-expenditure of money for expensive equipment, and the unsuitability of the "home-bred" immigrant to the isolated and self-dependent life of the prairies. Lands left vacant by those most easily discouraged were taken up by more practical farmers, and their knowledge was spread, benefitting their neighbours. Canadian experience came to condemn philanthropic schemes of settlement, and to prefer the unaided type, where the settler knew he must rely on his own resources or suffer the consequences of failure.

In its efforts to open the western lands, and to pay the railway subsidy, the Dominion Government embarked upon a series of schemes to sell its Class D lands to companies which would develop them by introducing a specified number of bona fide settlers. The lands were to be sold for a

(60) A.S. Morten, op. cit. p. 76.
price less that the usual dollar an acre. The plan of 1878 offered companies the right to acquire a half-section of land in return for placing a settler on a quarter-section. The understanding was that the settler would homestead the first quarter-section and then buy an additional eighty acres at a dollar an acre. This plan had some success. A considerable settlement was made at Minnedosa and at Rapid City. In the period 1881-1885, the sales of land there amounted to $857,455.80. During 1886-1891, over $30,000 more was received in scrip. After 1882, there were many contracts made with land companies for the sale of prairie lands, especially in Saskatchewan. Notable among them were the Temperance Colonization Company which founded Saskatoon, the Primitive Methodist Colonization Company which acquired 35,600 acres in the Qu'Appelle Valley, the Saskatchewan Land and Homestead Company which placed two hundred and forty-five settlers on a reserve of 491,746 acres, and the Bell Farms, known as the Qu'Appelle Valley Farming Company, incorporated in 1882. This Company bought from the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, the Government, and the Hudson's Bay Company about a hundred square miles of land near Indian Head and other points in southern Saskatchewan. Planned on an elaborate and expensive scale, this enterprise tried to include everything necessary for comfortable settlement. The expenses were too high for the revenue and the plan failed.

Another great system of farms, nobly planned by Sir John Lister-Kaye was given official blessing under an Order-in-Council of May 27, 1889. Sir John planned the settlement of fourteen hundred families throughout the North-West, on farms of 10,000 acres placed at intervals of eighteen to thirty-six miles along the Canadian Pacific Railway from Balgonie to Calgary.

(61) A.S. Morton, op. cit. p. 56.
(63) A.S. Morton, op. cit. p. 75.
The enterprise was hailed with joy by the agents, one of whom wrote that: "It is hard to estimate the good that this enterprise will do towards the settlement of this portion of the North-West!" Unfortunately the scanty rainfall brought disappointment to those who tried to use on Canada's arid lands methods of cultivation suited to the damp soils of England. J.W. Hedges says of the result that: "The undertaking was a comparative failure and marked the end of large-scale attempts to utilize the semi-arid region in its natural state for any form of farming except stock-raising!" Yet, from its very failure the scheme contributed much valuable experience for the guidance of future settlers, and during the time of its operation, the introduction of pure-bred stock did a great deal to raise the level of the grades of cattle on the prairies.

In 1843 a small settlement of French and half-breeds was begun at St. Albert, north-west of Edmonton, and in 1875 a similar one was started at Ste. Rose, a mission station. In the years 1885-1890, these backward little settlements were greatly stimulated by the coming of the railroads. Aided by the government, their priests sought new settlers from the United States, eastern Canada and France. New blood and the provision of communications helped them progress. In 1931, although new racial elements had been added, their religious unity had been preserved. The population of St. Albert was then 8741 and that of Ste. Rose, 1538. These are interesting as examples of settlements based on religious homogeneity rather than on racial ties.

The settlements discussed are only the more conspicuous of many efforts on the part of private interests having the support of the Dominion Govern-

(63) Sessional Papers, 1889. No. 5. p. 58.
(64) J.W. Hedges, Building the Canadian West. Toronto, Macmillan and Co., 1939, p. 50.
ment, to assist in the development of the West.

It was a source of great satisfaction to the immigration officials that many of the most valuable immigrants came into the west unsponsored. In the early years, the greatest number of these were Canadians. For example, of an estimated 32,301 who entered in 1885, 22,266 were Canadians. Having a fairly good understanding of conditions, they adjusted themselves without much difficulty and gave very little trouble to the government officials. After a few years, Canada received an influx of Americans. As the Canadians migrating from the east had made Manitoba a "colony" of Ontario, so the Americans were to make "colonies" of Saskatchewan and Alberta. The immigration of Americans had been taking place for many years, but except for the mass movement of Mormons, the numbers were small. In 1893, however, the Canadian exhibit at the World's Fair in Chicago attracted the attention of many American farmers, and the work of the agents, both Government and Canadian Pacific Railway, was persistent. Gradually the numbers of those entering the western lands increased to a size gratifying to the hardworking agents. In 1895 the Report North-West Mounted Police reports note the entry of four thousand into the Edmonton district, and of four thousand five hundred into the Red Deer lands. Inspector A.H. Griesbach wrote: "Quite a lot of settlers have gone into the Vermilion District east of here and such of them as I have talked to are pleased and thankful that they found such a home after suffering all kinds of drawbacks in the United States." This remark indicated the trend that was to be so evident in the next period. Although their numbers were comparatively small, these immigrants arrived with settlers' effects and suitable sums of money to establish themselves, and,

(66) Sessional Papers. 1886, No. 69. p. xxxviii
(68) ibid. p. 105. A.H. Griesbach
what was more important, an understanding of the nature of the land upon which they were to settle. Moreover, as many were the children of Canadian parents, their entry was more in the nature of a home-com ing than an immigration, and they were doubly welcome because their allegiance was seldom in doubt. In 1885, immigrants from the United States brought in $4,142,366 as well as their cattle and other effects. This wealth was a truly welcome addition to the advancement of a young country.

There were many difficulties to be overcome in the North-West before success could be assured. Agents of the Dominion Government, and others interested in the process of settlement of the prairies, endeavoured to assist the settlers as much as possible in combating forces difficult for the individual to control. The nightmares of the pioneer farmer in Manitoba were late and early frosts, drought, hail and grasshoppers, and even the most experienced farmer could do little to prevent them. Alexander Kindred, a pioneer of Moffat, wrote of the tragedy that lies in hostile forces of nature. He said:

In 1886 we had eighty acres under crop. Not a drop of rain fell from seeding to harvest. I sowed 124 bushels and harvested 54. In 1888, we began to think we could grow grain in this country... We went to work and ploughed the land again. The next year wheat headed out two inches high... We summer-fallowed that year [1889] for the first time, and to show optimism, in 1890, we put in every acre we could. We had wheat standing to the chin, but on the 8th July, a hailstorm destroyed everything. My hair turned grey that night. 70

In an endeavour to mitigate these evils, which attacked veteran and immigrant alike, the Government inaugurated in 1886 the Dominion Experimental Farm system, with farms at Ottawa, Nappan, N.S., Brandon, Indian Head and

(70) Sessional Papers, 1886, No. 25, p. xxxvii.
(71) A.S. Morton, op. cit., p. 86.
Agassiz. It was only through the unremitting efforts of Angus McKay and his co-workers at the Indian Head experimental farm that progress was made and that life in many parts of the prairie was maintained. McKay, going the rounds of the country, preached the gospel of summer-fallowing, the basis of his efforts to encourage dry-farming. His work and the consistent efforts of other government workers to perfect suitable varieties of plants for prairie farms saved the day for the west. Until they were able to discover the best farming methods and then to educate the newcomers to these methods, the loss of physical effort, of time, and the waste of tools and land on the part of the pioneer farmer are dreadful to contemplate. The work of the experimental farms was one of the most successful agencies in building the prosperity of the west.

In any discussion of the development of agriculture on the prairies, one piece of experimental work requires special attention. Late spring and early fall frosts were defeated to a great extent by the introduction of marquis wheat which matured early without loss of its good milling qualities. The development of this wheat was begun in 1888 by Dr. William Saunders at

The following table for 1886 shows the wastage of human effort that results from ignorance or discouragement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homesteads</th>
<th>Pre-emptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souris</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dufferin</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu'Appelle</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In better areas the figures were as follows:

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birtle</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Sask</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turtle Mountain</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. S. Morton, *op. cit.* p. 64
Sessional Papers, 1896, No. pp. 28-29
the Dominion Experimental Farm at Brandon and was completed by his son, Charles E. Saunders, in 1904. By reducing the growing period without reducing the yield or impairing the milling qualities, the scientists produced a wheat which became the standard for the west. Later research by Charles Saunders and his brother, A.F. Saunders, produced even more desirable varieties, Garnet and Reward, officially tested in 1923. These wheats not only gave security and prosperity to the farmers in the south, but also permitted the northward expansion of settlement into regions where the short growing season had hitherto precluded the production of wheat.

The research on wheat-growing was only one phase of the work of the experimental farms. At Brandon, Indian Head and at Ottawa, as well as at similar testing stations maintained by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the provincial governments, men worked continuously to assure the prosperity of the prairie farmer. Their activities included the production of new varieties of plants and new methods of seeding; the demonstration of the value of manures, crop-rotations and falls in preserving the fertility of the soil; and the encouragement of mixed-farming by the introduction of hardy breeds of poultry and livestock. The results of these experiments were free to whoever asked for them. In co-operation with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company the Government offered excursions, so that farmers might visit the stations and examine the methods used there. Trained lecturers sought out farmers in the more remote districts. Working with the Provincial Governments, the Dominion Government sought to improve livestock and to establish creameries. The Government was increasingly conscious of its responsibilities in the North-West and encouraged the work of its agents on the experimental farms. The work of these men saved endless years of disappointment as well as heavy financial loss to farmers both veteran and novice.

Emergency conditions, such as extraordinary losses due to frost or
drought were also met by the Government with gifts or loans of seed or money. Interest-free extensions of time for land payment were also granted in times of hardship. In the bad year 1886, about $130,000 in cash was spent on seed and other supplies for the relief of farmers in the west.

Despite all this encouragement, settlement was still slow. The agents, however, with characteristic optimism noted the steady advance of settlement. The agent at Winnipeg wrote in his report that:

It may be imagined by many that our progress is slow, but to those who have not seen our country since 1881, an amazing change awaits them. In 1881 the different townships were dotted with white canvas tents in clusters like seagulls resting on the bosom of the mighty ocean, and the settlers' little tent or sod shack were to be seen at long distances from each other as you rode or drove over the great prairie waste. But in 1890, the scene was changed. Tents have been replaced by thriving villages, towns and cities, with fine stores warehouses, mammoth elevators, mills, shops, schools, churches and comfortable dwellings; substantial houses replace the settlers' shack, and in close proximity, commodious stables, granaries, etc.; meet the eye, while the wild and lonely prairie is transformed into well-cultivated farms and immense wheat fields, or is covered here and there with large herds of fine stock.

It was in Manitoba naturally that the greatest change took place in this period. The population increased from 25,228 in 1871 to 193,423 in 1896. The North-West showed a consistent growth from 45,000 in 1871 to 98,967 in 1891 and to 164,301 in 1901. Many of those settlers who entered Manitoba were either from Ontario or were re-patriated French Canadians. Of the many settlers who entered the province, some left, in the early years because conditions were not favourable to their prosperity. Professor England wrote that: "In the period of stagnation of the early nineties, when profits from

(74) W.A.Mackintosh, Economic problems of the Prairie Provinces. Toronto,
(774) Macmillans. 1935, p. 281. Table 1. Appendix. A.
(75) Canada Year Book. 1940. p. 94
production had not successfully replaced work on the Canadian Pacific Railway as a source of revenue, the trails from Manitoba to the United States were worn bare and barren with the foot-prints of departing settlers. The land put under cultivation increased from 17,335,818 acres in 1871 to 28,538,242 acres in 1891; and the gross value of production grew from $221,617,773 in 1870 to 469,847,886 in 1890, rising to $481,053,373 in 1900. Although these are not great increases as compared with modern figures, they mark a steady advance which indicated the growing stability of the west. The changing value of the land itself was further proof of the sound prosperity slowly being established on the plains of Canada. In 1893, the price of land averaged $2.93 an acre; in 1896, $3.34; in 1906, $6.01 and in 1914, it had reached a value of $14.75 an acre. Although the heavy freight rates and the fluctuating prices of wheat contributed to the difficulties of prairie farmers, the steady increase in acreage sown to wheat, oats and barley was a further indication of the farmers' confidence in their grains, particularly No. I. Northern, the excellent milling wheat which held an enviable position on world markets. As production increased freight rates

(76) Robert England, op. cit., p. 64.
(78) W.A. Mackintosh, op. cit., p. 235.
(79) Canadian Statistical Record, 1896, p. 68.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
<th>Production in Bushels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>13,051</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>260,842</td>
<td>5,686,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>384,411</td>
<td>5,895,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>916,664</td>
<td>22,191,599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1,140,276</td>
<td>31,775,028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>999,598</td>
<td>14,371,806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>215,431</td>
<td>9,478,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>305,644</td>
<td>14,762,605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>442,445</td>
<td>12,502,318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>60,281</td>
<td>1,898,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>127,885</td>
<td>3,177,747</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
were gradually lowered, and although prices of wheat continued to fluctuate, the difficulty was off-set by changes in methods of production and the use of co-operative action to control distribution. That all was not easy, however, is shown by Professor England's quotation, and even more by the study of the homestead entries and subsequent cancellations. In the general advance there were many failures, but as the table shows, the proportion of failures decreased rapidly as the problems of the country were solved.

The industrial development was closely integrated with the rise of the west. Most industries made steady if unspectacular progress during this period. The railways showed a high rate of growth as might be expected, for they were keyed to the government's programme of settlement. In 1867, Canada had 2,270 miles of road; in 1896, there were 16,270 miles. The advance of trade was less impressive, for Canada's trade was in transition. In 1868, the total imports were valued at $75,459,644 and the exports at $59,567,888;

(30) W.A. Mackintosh, op. cit. p. 284.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Winnipeg to Liverpool</th>
<th>Regina to Montreal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>35.2 cents per bushel of wheat.</td>
<td>19.8 cents a bushel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(31) W.A. Mackintosh, op. cit. p. 283

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Winnipeg</th>
<th>Liverpool</th>
<th>Minneapolis</th>
<th>Winnipeg</th>
<th>Liverpool</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(32) W.A. Mackintosh, op. cit. p. 282

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Homesteads entered</th>
<th>Cancelled</th>
<th>Pre-emptions entered</th>
<th>Cancelled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>1376</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>4008</td>
<td>1501</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>6003</td>
<td>1001</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>2657</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>1046</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(33) Canada Year Book, 1940. pp. 70-71.
in 1896, the imports were valued at $113,011,508 and the exports at $121,013,852. The products of the fishing industry meanwhile rose from $4,376,526 in 1869 to $20,407,424 in 1896. The exploitation of minerals was also increasing: in the decade from 1886 to 1896 mineral production rose in value from $10,221,255 to $22,474,256. The returns from manufacturing in Canada in 1870 was, about $100,000,000; twenty years later it was about $220,000,000.

This steady progress in industry was accompanied by a certain progress in population, but it was a disappointingly small increase. For the emigrants leaving Britain, Canada had to wage an unequal battle with the United States and with Australia and New Zealand. The growth of the population of the United States from 40,000,000 in 1867 to 75,000,000 in 1900 partly explains why Canada fell short in her wishes for settlers. Australia and New Zealand offered a great advantage to emigrants in the way of assisted passage. This help attracted 53,958 settlers to Australia in 1874, whereas Canada received only 25,450. The census figures for Canada show the results of these greater attractions, and the tables from the United States show the effect of this power of attraction on Canada’s native-born, because of their growing indus-

(84) Canada Year Book. 1940. pp. 530-531
(85) Ibid. p. 290
(86) Ibid. p. 316
(87) Ibid. p. 397.
(89) Canada Year Book. 1940. pp. 70-71

Census Records
1871 3,689,257
1881 4,324,810
1891 4,853,239
1901 5,371,315

Percentage Increase:
17.25
11.76
11.13


Canadian-born in the United States. Percentage of Canada’s People.
1871 493,464 13.38
1881 717,157 16.58
1891 980,339 20.30.
trialization, and the constant fear of war, European countries were very reluctant to permit emigration of their nationals except to their own colonies, or to places where they could still be controlled in some measure by the homeland.

Many immigrants came to Canada, however, but of those who arrived before 1891, only one in four remained until 1901. Allowing for a probable death rate of 372,000 over the period, one immigrant stayed for two who left. Many of these were general labourers rather than farmers and either drifted away themselves, or, by undercutting him on the labour market, drove out the Canadian, who then went to join his compatriots in the United States. The entry of unsuitable immigrants is shown in the growing urbanization of Canada. This change from rural to urban pre-eminence in population was due to the steady growth of industry on the one hand, and, on the other, to the growing mechanization of farming which did away with the need for the "hired" man. Men thrown out of work joined the unskilled labourers who had invaded the country in large numbers, often in the guise of farm-labourers, and they crowded the poorer part of cities, having to be content with a meagre subsistence, and contributing little to the advancement of the country.

The end of this period saw a slight change in the racial balance in Canada, although the British and French races remained predominant. The entrance of some thousands of Germans put that race in third position in number. The coming of the Mennonites, Icelanders, Scandinavians and others

(91) H.A. Innis, op. cit., p. 121.
(92) Canada Year Book. 1940. p. 94

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rural population</th>
<th>Urban population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>2,966,914</td>
<td>722,343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>3,215,303</td>
<td>1,109,507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>3,296,141</td>
<td>1,537,098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>3,357,093</td>
<td>2,014,222</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
brought a proportionally large increase of foreign blood to the prairies. The change in racial balance is shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>British</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Cent-Eur</th>
<th>Scand.</th>
<th>Russ.</th>
<th>Ital.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As will be seen, in the next period, the change in ethnic origin of the people of Canada was very much greater than in the years before 1896.

The progress of Canada in these formative years reflected the general economic trend of the world. Immigration increased with the good years, and fell off in times of depression. Although there had been a slow but steady advance, the condition of world markets and the high cost of internal expansion in Canada had adversely affected her efforts to attract immigrants. The officials of the Department of Agriculture were not adequately rewarded for the generosity and ingenuity with which they had approached their task of settling the west. They had to take what satisfaction they could from the knowledge that they were building well. It was on their well-laid foundations that the great structure of national growth was to rise in the next era.

(93) Canada Year Book. 1943-45. p. 123.
The year 1896 marks a new era in Canadian history. The accession to office of the Liberal party under Wilfred Laurier was coincident with the recovery of the world from a severe depression which had begun in 1893. As in the case of the Conservatives in 1873, the Liberals were able to use the economic recovery to their advantage. The Liberal era in which Laurier proclaimed that "The Twentieth Century belongs to Canada", is associated with a wide policy of national development, characterized by expansion rather than by stabilization. This process of building included an immigration policy, which, in bringing to Canada some three million new immigrants, initiated many new social problems, produced an unstable balance of cultures in the west, and drove a reluctant government into the expensive field of railway ownership.

Closely associated with this period of expansion was Laurier's Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton. He is credited with doing more than anyone else to justify his chief's prophecy of the destiny of Canada; so much so that Dominion policy on Interior affairs is identified with "Sifton" policy. Although Sifton's efforts were concentrated to a great extent on the opening of the western lands, his chief jurisdiction, the effects of his work could be recognized in every branch of Canadian industry and in the growth of the industrial towns of the east. To his admirers, he "made" the west. His friend and biographer, J.W. Dafoe, wrote: "The western Canada that we know was largely the product of his courage and imagination. Well might it have been said when he laid down the powers and responsibilities of office: 'If
you would seek my monument, look around!" For himself, Sifton said: "I shall be content when the history of this century is written to have the history of the last eight years, as far as western administration is concerned, entered opposite my name."

Sifton was favoured in his period. It was at the beginning of his term of office that the frontier of settlement was ready to cross the Canadian border; that prices were beginning to recover after the depression of 1893; that the cost of transport was lowered, allowing economical haulage of grains from the prairies to world markets; that Canada was becoming known abroad for her high-grade wheat; and that great quantities of money were being released from British industries for investment overseas. Sifton was able to take advantage of these circumstances and use them for Canada's benefit, to the end of greater production in all her major industries, notably that of agriculture.

Clifford Sifton who so identified himself with western expansion was himself a westerner, member of parliament for Winnipeg. As a brilliant young lawyer, he had already drawn attention to himself by coming out strongly in favour of non-denominational schools for Manitoba. In 1891, he was appointed attorney-general for his province. When the Liberal party came into power in 1896, he was offered the post of Minister of the Interior.

(1) J.W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in relation to his times. Toronto, Macmillan, 1931, p. 150. 353
(2) House of Commons Debates (Canada), 1906, p. 4325.
(3) At this time there was a great expansion of credit. Great Britain lent Canada $2,500,000,000 (1900-1914), adding one-third to Canada's basic capital Foreign investments (1900-1915) added $162,715,000; American (1900-1913), $829,794,000 chiefly invested in farming, lumbering and mining.
From 1901-1911, agricultural production increased 40%; mining, 65%; manufacturing doubled; transportation systems trebled; and the urban population increased from 37% to 45.5% of the country's total.

an honour indeed for one who was only thirty-five years of age. In accepting
the portfolio Sifton stipulated that he be given a free hand in the develop­
ment of the west. The request was granted and he began at once to infuse his
department with his amazing energy. This department, whose enthusiasm had
withered as its efforts were frustrated during the trying times of the
depression, was given new life, aided, it may be noted by an almost unlim­
ited purse.

Sifton's policies were sometimes unwise; they were often expensive, and
as such were frequently assailed by his Conservative opponents, and even by
his Liberal friends; but they at no time lacked energy and they were always
inspired by his deep faith in the destiny of the prairies. In 1906 Sifton
broke with his chief, Sir Wilfred Laurier, who wished the establishment of
separate schools in the North-West[just created Alberta and Saskatchewan].
As Sifton could not agree to this plan, he resigned his office. His successor,
Frank Oliver of Edmonton, carried on Sifton's policy with little change,
partly because he agreed with the ideas of Sifton, and partly because he
was powerless to change the system that had already taken such a large part
in Canada's economic life.

By the time Sifton left office, western Canada had been changed beyond
recognition. From the North-West Territories two new provinces had been
created. An ever-increasing acreage had been put under the plough, and as a
result agricultural production had grown enormously. Great irrigation pro­
jects had been undertaken in Alberta; new railroads, elevators, villages
and towns, and with them new social and economic organizations, had all
become integrated with the prosperity of the west. The pattern of western
Canadian life seemed cast in gold, the ever-widening wheat-fields, with
their steady flow of grain, its chief motif. If there were an reverse side
to the picture, few would have wished to regard it, for there was nothing
to indicate that by 1930 the stream of wheat would have caused a glut on the market, and have become an embarrassment to the Canadian Government.

To summarize the structure on which Sifton built it is necessary only to outline briefly the accomplishments of the previous period in the two main departments—railway-building and immigration and settlement, the spheres in which Sifton achieved his greatest success.

On coming to office, Sifton found the south-eastern part of Manitoba well supplied with railroads, the main line to the Pacific, completed in 1885 having been supplemented by several branch lines serving large areas of good farm-land. Enough railroad had been built to permit the economical transportation of wheat to world markets. It was on this trade that the prosperity of the west was built.

Several group settlements had been made and were proving relatively prosperous. They had been successful enough to warrant the establishment of others in the period after 1896. Of future significance was the fact that the Americans, with their skill and experience, their cattle and their other "settlers' effects" were already crossing the border in appreciable numbers. In 1881 there were 1868 of these settlers, and in 1891, there were 5024. In some cases they took advantage of the free homesteads offered, but more often, they bought the better grades of land held by the companies, the ownership of which did not require that the settlers take out naturalization papers.

By 1896, assisted by the Dominion Experimental farms, the prairie farmers had learned to cope with drought and frost. Although wheat-farming was still the favourite branch of agriculture, mixed-farming had made useful beginnings.

In the organization for immigration, there were many efficient agents throughout the British Isles, in France, Belgium and in many states of the
United States. There were also agents for the repatriation of French-Canadian Canadians, working in the New England industrial districts. An elaborate system for the distribution of immigrant information had been established for many years. The tone of settlers' letters had, in the last few years, become hopeful. A great bombardment of "literature" had taught both American and Continental about Canada's lands. In Canada, agents at the sea-ports and scattered throughout the Prairies, travelling with settlers on the trains, or working on settlement and the placing of labour in the eastern provinces, were stationed at strategic points. At the ports of entry and at necessary points on the Prairies, there were halls for the accommodation of settlers on route to their lands. Land guides were also provided.

In 1891, there were 8,138,000 acres occupied, an increase of 202% over the holdings in 1881, and of these 1,429,000 acres were improved. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company had already sold over a quarter of a million acres of land, and the Hudson's Bay Company had made a small start in the sale of some twenty thousand acres of their land grant.

This was the foundation on which Sifton built, and which, without any real break in continuity, of policy, he extended in the great era of progress which was opening before him.

When Sifton took over the Department of the Interior, he said that he found it in a state of disorder. He described it as a "department of delay, and a department of circumlocution". He found it particularly undesirable that seekers after land had to wait while land agents in the west and officials in Ottawa "played battledore and shuttlecock" with applications for land. He therefore abolished the Winnipeg Land Board as being too bureau-

\[\text{(4) Mackintosh, Prairie Settlement-The geographical setting. Toronto, 1934,}\]
\[\text{(5) W.A. Mackintosh, loc. cit.}\]
\[\text{(6) Chester Martin, op. cit. p. 242.}\]
ocratic and centralized the work within his own office, making it a practice that "To any man who was willing to try honestly to settle on the lands of the West, the resources of the Department of the Interior were open". His biographer amplified that remark when he said: "His motto was 'Settle'!" He believed that the first thing to do was to settle the empty West with producing farmers. This was the second and third and fourth thing to do. Solve the question of how to get people of the right sort into the West and keep them there, and the problem of national development would be solved. If the West remained empty, every expedient to restore prosperity would be futile! In the official records of the Department of the Interior, we read that: "The policy of the Department has been based on the assumption that it is highly desirable that at the earliest possible moment all the fertile lands of the West should be located and the country enriched by the general productivity which will be sure to follow the settlement of a hardy class of settlers." It was in line with this established policy of land settlement that the Department concentrated its immigration efforts on securing farmers, farm-labourers and female domestic servants.

Following his conviction that the Government should use all its resources to stimulate the settlement of the west, Sifton decided to concentrate the efforts of his Department of two major activities, an extension of railroad services to meet the needs of the expanding frontiers, and a costly programme of propaganda which would attract to Canada the immigrants from Europe or the United States to open western farm-lands.

The Canadian High Commissioner to London said in 1896: "If we ever expect to get a large immigration, we must keep Canada continually before the world,

(7) House of Commons Debates (Canada), 1906, Vol. 3, p. 4270
(9) House of Commons Journals (Canada) 1900, Appendix I, p. 309.
especially before those sections of the population that we desire to reach? Sifton took this advice to heart and left nothing undone that could further the work of bringing Canada's advantages to the eyes of the world.

Sifton's methods of advertising Canada abroad had little that was new except their aggressiveness and their expense. Every division of his department was stimulated to new life, and new agents were engaged to go abroad. Where his predecessors had sent abroad about a dozen "return men", Sifton sent fifty; where immigration pamphlets had been scattered by the hundred thousand, he scattered them by the million. Under such alluring titles as "Canada, the Country of the Twentieth Century", "Canadian Farmlands" or "The Last, Best West", and printed in the most important European languages, they reached the homes of many thousands of potential immigrants. The most popular of these pamphlets went into several reprints. Soon the democrat with its cases of exhibits was replaced by a car, and then by a fleet of cars. Where a few delegates from the United States or Europe had made the grand tour of Canada as guests of the government, they now came by the trainload. Where small offices in London had sufficed, Sifton now engaged new and larger offices near Charing Cross, at the very heart of traffic, and their windows became an "ever-changing panorama of Canadian views and products!" The building itself, to quote its sponsor, "was finished inside with Canadian materials; by Canadian workmen and was a standing advertisement of this country and the way we do business". Probably the most spectacular piece of propaganda that Sifton used was the Coronation Arch, erected in 1902 for the coronation of Edward VII. It was covered with sheaves of Canadian wheat and was so attractive to visitors and Londoners alike, that Lord Strathcona,

the Canadian High Commissioner to London, said that its attractiveness was second only to that of the King! He added that it had great value in bringing more clearly than ever before the vast resources of the Dominion to the minds of the British public.

Many lectures were given throughout Britain, the preferred countries of Europe, and to some extent in the United States. They were usually illustrated by beautiful lantern-slides (often too beautiful to be convincing) and were attended by large numbers of people in the country districts. Thousands of coloured and illustrated atlases of Canada were distributed to do their silent work on the plastic minds of the rising generation.

After a few years of experience, the agents learned that it is often the woman of the family who must be convinced before a family can be persuaded to migrate. Special pamphlets were prepared to appeal to women, and women lecturers went about ready to discuss the feminine side of life in a new land. In many cases this work was very effective.

The agents, under Sifton's instructions, combed the farming districts. The Minister said of his efforts there:

In Great Britain, we confined our efforts very largely to the north of England and Scotland, for the purpose of sifting the settlers. We doubled the bonuses to the [Steamship] agents in those districts and cut them as much as possible in the south. The result was that we got a fairly steady stream of people from the North of England and from Scotland—and they were the very best settlers in the world.

Probably the most effective agents were the "return men", and the letters of immigrants. The "return men" as their name suggests were immigrants who had succeeded in farming in the North-West, and who, at government expense, returned to the districts whence they had come to tell their

(13) J.W.Dafoe, op. cit., p. 140.
fellow-countrymen of the prosperity awaiting them in Canada's western lands. The letters of immigrants were more economical and often very satisfactory methods of attracting settlers. In his report for 1898, the Scandinavian agent wrote:

One thing an agent ought to do is to make use of a contented settler by calling upon him and getting him to write letters for publication... These letters should be sent out while they are fresh... They should be short and to the point... I do not believe in the exhibition of magic lantern views. People who really mean business and will emigrate to better themselves want to know something else than to look at views. They think these views are got up on purpose and are not the real thing... The best thing is to send these people a letter from some person of their own province or town.  

Such a letter as the following proved to be a good immigration agent:

Alameda, N.W.T.,
Aug. I, 1897.

Dear Friends of Saginaw,

Those desiring to secure a good and sure home will do well to take our advice and examine the land in the neighbourhood of Alameda, as we know that everyone who sees this land will be agreeably surprised. Before seeing this land, we were partly in doubt as to moving here, but after looking it over, we at once decided to make our home here, and we beg those of our friends who are desirous of securing farms not to let this chance slip by, as the soil is of the best and the water cannot be excelled. The finest wheat we ever saw is raised here.

We shall return home in haste, straighten out our affairs, and move here at once.

Yours truly,
William Gattowski,
Albert Mai
William Riedel, of Saginaw.

Characteristically, perhaps, the agents in the United States made most use of advertising. In about seven thousand agricultural papers the agents published a small advertisement during the two or three months when a farmer has leisure to read. Many agents thought that such advertisements

(15) Sessional Papers, 1898, No. 18, p. 73
brought good results.

Equally useful and more spectacular were the elaborate exhibits of Canadian products that appeared at state and county fairs. They were so effective that some states, notably New York and Washington, forbade them, and other states made the rents for show space so exorbitant that the exclusion of the exhibits was assured.

The Oklahoma lands were opened in 1901. Knowing that there would not be enough lands in this territory to satisfy all who wanted them, Sifton sent his agents to attract those who would be disappointed in their hopes. The Canadian agent in Kansas organized parties totalling about a hundred families.

Figures showing the entry of immigrants in this period show how effective was the work of the agents and the attractiveness of Canadian lands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1899</th>
<th>1900 (6 months)</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1902</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>10,660</td>
<td>5,141</td>
<td>11,810</td>
<td>17,259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continental</td>
<td>21,938</td>
<td>10,211</td>
<td>19,353</td>
<td>23,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>11,945</td>
<td>8,543</td>
<td>17,987</td>
<td>26,388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>44,543</strong></td>
<td><strong>23,895</strong></td>
<td><strong>49,149</strong></td>
<td><strong>67,579</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1902 the agent at Winnipeg reported that 13,205 immigrants had crossed the border from the United States, and that 10,768 from Britain and 12,530 from the eastern provinces had entered the prairies. Of the 19,700 harvest hands, about 3,800 remained. About 1,500 French and French-Canadians had also come west, many of the latter being repatriates, recalled by the opening of the North-West from the industrial centres of New England.

Of the success of this activity, and of the related activities of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, considered by many as the real backbone of the work of attraction and settlement, T.A. Coghlan, Agent-General for New

(16) *Sessional Papers*, 1902, No. 25, p. 5.
South Wales. While endeavouring to attract settlers to his country, he made a study of the methods used by the government of Canada. He believed that, "The greatest of all influences that help to build up the great immigration system of Canada is the vigorous propaganda maintained by the immigration agents employed to canvass for eligible persons with or without capital. Nor can anyone deny that this work has been crowned with success, an ever-increasing success; this great western territory being filled up with a fine class of settlers! Canadians did not always look with such approval on the work of their government. E.N. Rhodes, member of parliament for Nova Scotia, complained that nothing was done for his province by the Department of the Interior, but paid an indirect compliment to the success of its efforts in reaching its objective. He quoted from an address by Beckles Wilson, a contemporary lecturer: "Go down into Kent or Wiltshire and you will find villagers talking glibly of Saskatchewan or Alberta. The ale-house wiseacre can give you off-hand all the salient peculiarities of the Far West...to hear him, one would suppose that he had already made his entry into those occidental regions of the Empire...but it was only in prospect, when he had saved enough money."

Many of these eager listeners did not fulfil their dreams, and many who did come to Canada did not come to the west; but from her small supply of farm-workers, Britain in 1905 spared some thirty thousand to Canada. Of these about eleven thousand declared themselves of the farming class, and about ten thousand of those hoped to settle in Manitoba. The majority were single men.

(19) House of Commons Debates (Canada) 1911-12, p. 2079.
Two tables are of interest at this point. The first one shows that, despite the remarks of E.N. Rhodes, the eastern provinces did receive a fair share of the immigrants to Canada:

**Intended Destinations of Immigrants to Canada.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>British Isles</th>
<th>Continental Europe</th>
<th>United States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maritimes</td>
<td>58,157</td>
<td>44,503</td>
<td>27,593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>145,321</td>
<td>177,785</td>
<td>74,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>430,630</td>
<td>170,970</td>
<td>94,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>148,108</td>
<td>118,661</td>
<td>54,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>68,685</td>
<td>47,594</td>
<td>166,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>70,957</td>
<td>38,282</td>
<td>203,272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>93,249</td>
<td>78,257</td>
<td>138,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>995,107</strong></td>
<td><strong>676,052</strong></td>
<td><strong>758,301</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other table shows that many entered who were not sought under the Sifton plan of encouraging only farmers and domestic servants:

**Intended Occupation of Adult Workers entering Canada.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>British Isles</th>
<th>Continental Europe</th>
<th>United States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>182,439</td>
<td>129,650</td>
<td>221,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>91,478</td>
<td>258,757</td>
<td>151,561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners</td>
<td>14,775</td>
<td>8,511</td>
<td>12,432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanics</td>
<td>158,702</td>
<td>39,201</td>
<td>62,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>41,356</td>
<td>30,040</td>
<td>18,543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestics</td>
<td>90,023</td>
<td>27,630</td>
<td>10,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>28,618</td>
<td>10,458</td>
<td>16,884</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the figures given for a sample year, 1906, of the 29,077 males entering from the United Kingdom, 11,226 were of the farming class, 5044 were general labourers, 9086 were of the merchant class and 2135 were classed as traders. These figures are interesting for at no time was it part of Canada's immigration policy to give encouragement to any classes except agricultural


workers, domestic servants, and in times of special need, general labourers.

Although the numbers of those entering Canada seem large, there were not nearly enough to satisfy Sifton's plans for the west. As he was unable to obtain enough of the farming class from Britain and the United States, he directed his efforts to the continent of Europe. Here he met difficulties. Foreign governments, for reasons previously noted, had a great objection to the emigration of their nationals, and therefore to the activities of Canadian immigration agents within their boundaries. Sifton, to evade the objections, made an engagement with the North Atlantic Trading Company, a group of transportation agents with headquarters in Amsterdam. The company agreed to spend $15,000 a year in advertising Canada through its agencies. In return, the company was to receive for each passenger of the approved classes directed to Canada, five dollars for each adult, and half that for each child. Emigrants from the Slavic countries were considered as less desirable than those from the "preferred" countries, and it was agreed that they must be in possession of $100 each, with $25 extra for each child in the family. Under this agreement, Canada obtained many settlers from Russia, Germany, Austria, Scandinavia and Switzerland.

The contract with the North Atlantic Trading Company, one of the most controversial agreements made in the history of Canada, lasted for three years, during which time the immigration from the Continent to Canada reached its peak. For most of this time, the contract was subject to fairly continuous attack from the opposition in the House of Commons. In his use of subtle methods to obtain settlers, Sifton played into the hands of his opponents who lost no time in attacking him on ethical grounds. They said: "This government is condoning the infraction or violation by these gentlemen

the agents of the North Atlantic Trading Company) of the laws of their country. The opposition also contended that the contract was unnecessarily costly since it agreed to pay bonuses on people who would probably have come to Canada without any direction from the Company; that it left itself open to abuse in guaranteeing payments when there could be no proof that they had been earned; that it brought in the wrong type of settler. The pressure of these arguments was strong and often irrefutable. In 1906 the contract was cancelled, Sifton holding to the last that it had been really useful in securing the right kind of settler, and that, once the influence of the company was removed, Canada had no means of checking the type of person emigrating to her shores. But a flood of immigration had been started, it was soon found necessary to take legal measures to check it.

Having cancelled the charter with the North Atlantic Trading Company, the government decided to substitute a system of paying to booking-agents a bonus of one pound sterling for each adult and ten shillings for each child directed to Canada. Ten dollars and five dollars was also paid as a bonus to those homesteading within six months of entering Canada. At first given only to those who settled on the prairies, this bonus was later extended to immigrants homesteading in the east or in British Columbia. These measures were taken to induce booking-agents to send people to Canada rather than to the other Dominions. The bonus system also gave Canada a better chance to control the class of people entering and to encourage their entry at the most suitable seasons.

One of the best methods of encouraging settlement was to make homesteads readily available. In order to make land more accessible to settlers, Sifton gave assistance in the building of additional railroads. He refused,
however, to make land grants to railways, because such grants, taken up at
the pleasure of the railroad companies, had been a detriment to settlement.
Moreover, as the Minister said, "In the case of every land grant, the govern-
ment set aside a tract of land perhaps two or three times greater than the
amount of the grant, and the railway company selects the number of odd-
umbered sections they are entitled to. In order to overcome this land-lock
which had been a serious drawback to settlement, Sifton gave help henceforth
in the form of guaranteed bonds. He also brought pressure to bear on the
existing railway companies to choose their lands, so that the government
could dispose of the remaining lands in the reserves. The Canadian Pacific
Railway Company, the concern most affected, had patented only 1,825,423 ac
acres by 1896. On August 22, 1903 the complete choice of lands had been made,
and three years later 22,478,013 acres had been patented, over half of which
had been sold. The Company chose 2,990,000 acres in the semi-arid lands of
Alberta, where it developed first a large irrigation project and later a very
extensive programme of settlement, thereby adding two more services to its
long list of activities in the colonization of the North-West. The Company
chose the remainder of its lands from the reserve which the government had
set aside for the Manitoba and North-Western Railway. By 1908, the other out-
standing railway grants had finally been liquidated.

A second railway that had delayed the choice of its lands, striving for
the best possible bargain, was the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan
Railroad and Steamship Company, which, by building a twenty-mile stretch of
railroad from Regina to Long Lake and later on to Battleford, had "earned"
a land grant of 1,625,344 acres. The company was not satisfied, however,
with the quality of the land considered by the government as "fairly fit for

settlement". A law suit was imminent when the land was purchased by the
Saskatchewan Valley Land Company. It was in the course of this dispute that
Sifton defined the phrase "fairly fit for settlement" which had brought so
much controversy into land grant contracts. The Minister said that "Land fairly fit for settlement shall be held to mean that each quarter-section
shall, as respects soil and climate, be of such a nature that a man can make
a reasonable living for himself and his family off such quarter-section
without the use of adjoining lands, by ordinary work and industry." Although
the definition was as full of possible controversy as the original phrase
had been, it provided a working basis for the settling of land grants. The
Saskatchewan Valley Land Company was able to accept the definition in the
Siftonian sense and in May, 1902 it purchased 845,900 acres of the Qu'Appelle
Company's grant at $1.53 an acre.

The Saskatchewan Valley Land Company undertook one of the most interesting experiments in colonization in the history of the west. The scheme has been referred to as the "flowering of the colonization companies." Headed by Colonel A.D. Davidson, the members of the company were eight real-estate men, experienced in the work of settlement in the United States. To consolidate their lands in Canada, they bought from the government an additional 250,000 acres at one dollar an acre. The conditions of sale included the agreement that the purchasers should place twenty settlers on free homesteads in each township, and twelve settlers on lands purchased from the company. When these had been fulfilled, the company was entitled to the remaining even-numbered sections. The contract was to extend over five years, but at least two-thirds of the conditions were to be performed in two years and one-fifth in each

year thereafter. When the settlement was complete, the purchasers were to receive the remainder of the lands at one dollar an acre, with interest at four per cent after two years. Payment could be made in cash or scrip as the purchasers wished. The rights of any previous holders of land were to be respected. A deposit of $50,000 was made with the government, to be applied to the purchase price which the conditions had been fulfilled. The government began the survey as soon as the deposit had been made.

The contract was signed and the company began its campaign. It brought in land guides and furnished free accommodation at hotels for prospective buyers. Public speakers were engaged to advertise the lands. The agents of the company were most active in the United States. A train brought bankers, editors, and grain men on a complimentary trip from Chicago to Prince Albert with the result that a great deal of desirable publicity was given throughout the United States to Canadian lands. Two notable settlements were effected by these activities, the establishment of about eight hundred German families at Quill Lake and a Mennonite colony of some three hundred families situated north-east of Long Lake in Assiniboia.

Needless to say this enterprise was so much in the vein of Sifton that it was sure to win his approval. He enthusiastically reported of the undertaking that what had been "despised waste land" was, in a few years, beyond recognition. He said that:

The whole territory became in a few years completely settled and is sending out thousands of bushels of wheat...In going through that tract a year ago this month, I saw on that land which in the spring of the year was an absolute desert, without anyone on it, without the means of sustenance for man or beast, I saw on that tract last year [1906] villages, elevators, stores, hotels, and the largest wheat field I ever saw in my life. That is the result of the operations of this company.

(29) Information on this undertaking may be found in House of Commons Journals, 1902. pp. 679-80.
I venture to say that, presented to the business man, he would say that this is a pretty fair transaction on the part of the Interior Department. 30

On another occasion, Sifton wrote that, "The coming of this company was the beginning of the great success of our immigration work in the West." 31

It is true that by reason of its personal contacts in the United States, this company and its imitators were able to accomplish more than even the best of government agents, restricted by departmentalism, were able to do. On their own, the government men were able to dispose of about one hundred thousand acres to farmers during 1899-1900, but the very fact that they were responsible to the dictates of Standing Committees on Immigration limited their activities. Colonel Davidson himself admitted the difficulties that even a private company encountered when he said in his report of his work that his company would not wish to take the contract a second time. His experience, however, did not prevent a Davidson-McRae partnership, the Saskatchewan and Manitoba Land Company undertaking the sale of the Canadian Northern lands until the railroad was absorbed by the government in 1917.

A second interesting experiment was the Barr Colony, established near the present town of Saskatoon. Approximately two thousand persons under the leadership of the Reverend I.M. Barr left England to make a settlement in the west. The members were inexperienced in farming and their leader was entirely inadequate to deal with the problems of pioneer life. For the first year the colonists suffered many hardships. The government supplied land, hay, tents, food, horses, even money where necessary, but these aids were not enough to guarantee success. The difficulty was that the settlers were organized to work as a unit, under a democratic system, rather than in

(30) House of Commons Debates [Canada], 1906, p. 4299.
response to individual initiative. Their leader was soon discredited and left the colony. Under the direction of Archdeacon George E. Lloyd, the settlers achieved a greater measure of success, but not before more than half of them had left the district. Canadian and American farmers took up the land left vacant, and supplied a much-needed leaven of experience to the three hundred who remained. Left to their own devices, these worked hard and did fairly well. The present cities of Saskatoon and Lloydminster symbolize the success as farmers of a most "unlikely" group in a land which had been considered equally unlikely.  

This colony had cost the government between seven and eight thousand dollars. The Royal North-West Mounted police had distributed five thousand dollars' worth of provisions. The expense of the enterprise and the struggles of the colonists revealed only too well the danger of placing large groups of new settlers especially under pioneer conditions, and without experienced people to help them. Government agents resolved to avoid future colonies of more than about two hundred persons.

Sifton, unlike some of his predecessors, early realized that he could not get enough settlers from the British Isles or from northern Europe. He therefore undertook the settlement of groups of Central Europeans. This enterprise was one of the more controversial parts of his work. A generation afterwards, there is still a difference of opinion as to whether or not he sacrificed the social and cultural side of Canadian life to its economic side.

The most famous of the settlements sponsored by Sifton was that of the Doukhobors. These Doukhobors or Doukhoborski, spirit-wrestlers, members of

(33) W.A. Carrothers, Emigration from the British Isles, London, King, 1929, p. 247
(35) 1537, loc. cit.
the Universal Brotherhood, seem to have developed as a separate sect in a village in southern Russia in the middle of the eighteenth century. The "brothers" are mainly peasants. Their religious doctrines resemble those of the Quakers. For religious and social reasons they encountered in Russia the lively hostility of both church and state. The former objected to their unorthodox beliefs; the latter, to their refusal to render military service and to follow the usual conventions of the country.

In Russia, the Doukhobors were organized on a tract of land near the Sea of Azov, under the leadership of Kapustin, an ex-sergeant of the Russian army. His rule was exceptionally wise. For about fifty years the sect was undisturbed in its isolation. Then, because the Doukhobor doctrines were beginning to infect others, the Orthodox church protested and a persecution set in. Kapustin was arrested and exiled to Siberia; the colony was then banished to Trans-Caucasia, and their homes were broken up. Until 1887, their lives as agricultural labourers were comparatively secure, but after that they came into conflict with the Russian government which was compelled to enforce military regulations, to which, for religious reasons, the sect objected. A persecution, more bitter than before, began; finally the Dowager Empress Irene interceded for them and obtained permission for the Doukhobors to emigrate. The assistance of several influential persons was secured, including Prince Leo Tolstoi, Vladimir Tchertkoff, Aylmer Maude, and an Englishman who had been a merchant in Moscow, Professor James Mavor of the University of Toronto, and the Society of Friends in England. On the strength of Tolstoi's recommendation that the Doukhobors were the best farmers in Russia, chaste in their family life, adaptable to any climate, steady and hardworking, thrifty and possessed of means, the Canadian government became interested in these people. Prince D. A. Hilkoff, an exiled Russian and a nephew of the Russian Minister of Railways, together with Aylmer Maude, found
suitable sites for their protégés near Fort Pelly in Assiniboia. The government of Canada promised to pay into a central agency one pound sterling for each settler who registered with the Commissioner at Winnipeg. Accommodation for the settlers was provided for several months at the Immigration Halls, and about five thousand Doukhobors applied for monetary assistance. Bonuses to the amount of £35,832.78 were also paid, with a further grant in 1901 of £20,000. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company assisted the immigration by reducing the fare across country from sixteen to six dollars.

In January, 1899 four thousand Doukhobors entered Halifax and everyone was impressed with their physical appearance. About three thousand four hundred more arrived the following year. Five thousand were settled in Assiniboia and half that number in Saskatchewan. The chief settlements were the North Colony of six townships, at Thunder Hill, Swan Lake and Verigin; and the South Colony at Blaine Lake and Devil's Lake covering fifteen townships. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company exchanged some of its land so that the Doukhobors might have a solid block, because the settlers wished to form communal villages. Altogether they occupied from 1,500 to 2,000 homesteads.

Some members, to be known as the Independents, later broke from the group and filed their own claims. In general, however, they remained communal, refusing to take the oath that was necessary to obtain patent for an individually held homestead. Further lands were held in reserve for the Doukhobors, but were later taken up by independent members or by other settlers.

For some years the Doukhobors were regarded with approval, as, true to their "advance publicity", they were good and thrifty farmers. Their settlements in general prospered. Some of the men went out to work on the railroads,

(36) Sessional Papers, pp.ix-x.
making contacts outside the group, but in the main, the community tended to keep to itself. When the leader, Peter Verigin, was released from Siberia, he, too, came to Canada. His presence had a stabilizing influence on his followers, some of whom, demonstrating the fanatical side of the Doukhobor religion, had created disturbances in the various settlements, and, through their destruction of property, had brought the Doukhobors a considerable amount of adverse criticism.

In the course of time changes have taken place within the organization. Some, forced from the colony, either by overpopulation or by their change in attitude toward communal ownership, sought land in other districts and adapted themselves to conditions there. Whereas Independent Doukhobors have fitted themselves into the general life of Canada, most of the sect have remained Community Doukhobors, looking to the town of Verigin as their "capital."

In 1908, because reserve lands were withdrawn when the Doukhobors refused to qualify for the patents on their homesteads, about six thousand of them migrated to the Grand Forks-Nelson district of British Columbia, where they established themselves on good farm lands. There some of them, as Sons of Freedom, became notorious for their religious parades, for their fanatical opposition to government educational systems, and, despite their vaunted humanitarianism, for their tendency to destroy property. In 1916, two new colonies derived from those in British Columbia were established at Cowley and at Lundbreck in Alberta.

Whatever may be said of the religious fanaticism of the Doukhobors, no one has questioned their value as farmers. In the agent's report of their immigration he wrote:

The Thunder Hill, Good Spirit Lake and Sand River colonies may be grouped as possessing traits in common and identical opinion.
Thunder Hill, one hundred and fifty souls, made marked progress during the year. The people are earning money in many ways and in a short time will be rich. They have bought many horses, cattle and implements, having eight hundred acres under crop, and are preparing to double the quantity next year. The health of the colony as a whole is good.

Good Spirit Lake people have a large crop, have gone extensively into the raising of cattle and horses, and are entirely self-supporting. Many of them have already separated from the communal principle and are now doing for themselves on their own homesteads. The Sand River colony is the more advanced of the two, having a large area under cultivation and owning much machinery.  

A further measure of their industry is given in the agents's report in 1905 that they had at Yorkton, their first big centre, 20,000 acres under crop, ten miles of road graded, a brick-yard, several saw-mills and grist-mills. They had purchased 370 head of horses, four portable engines, two traction engines, and a proportionate supply of other modern agricultural machinery. To a great extent, this material progress has continued, both in British Columbia and on the Prairies.

In building this prosperity, the Doukhobors have undoubtedly contributed to the agricultural advance of Canada, and their farms have become models for others; but their refusal to accept Canadian political, social and educational standards, and their non-conformity in such matters as recording vital statistics, has made them a thorn in the flesh of the government, and has brought grave doubts to the public mind as to the wisdom of having let them enter.

The numbers in the chief settlements on the Prairies are as follows.

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(38) Sessional Papers, 1902, No. 25, pp. 120-121.
(39) Sessional Papers, 1905, No. 25, p. 107
SECTION OF SOUTHERN ALBERTA
SHOWING THE APPROXIMATE BOUNDARIES OF
THE THREE MORMON STAKES

LINES BETWEEN TOWNS ARE
AUTUM ROADS.

CALGARY

SECTION OF SOUTHERN ALBERTA
SHOWING THE APPROXIMATE BOUNDARIES OF
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AUTUM ROADS.

CALGARY
It was in 1894-5 that a small group of Galicians made a colony at Limestone Lake near Edmonton. These people were the forerunners of a very large immigration of Ukrainians, a Slavic group which comprises Bohemians, Ruthenians, Galicians, Bukowinians and related groups. Like the Doukhobors and the Mennonites, they suffered as minority groups in Russia, as well as Austria-Hungary and Poland, having few rights and often enduring religious persecution. For the most part they were peasants, speaking a language allied to Russian. By the end of the nineteenth century, life in their homeland had become very difficult as they tried to maintain themselves on tiny farms that offered little hope of an improved standard of living for themselves and no future for their children. Poverty kept them from emigration, and in most cases illiteracy prevented them from considering a possible destination had they been able to leave Galicia. The adventurous journey of one of their countrymen provided the information and the incentive necessary for a beginning of what later turned out to be a very large migration.

The leader was Dr. Osip Oleskow who spent August and September of 1895 in studying Canada. On his recommendation, six hundred and thirty persons, under the leadership of Ivan Pillipiw and Vassil Eleniak, came from the Carpathian Mountains to Canada. They settled chiefly in Manitoba and Alberta, some at Dominion City, where they were helped by the Mennonites, and some at points near Edmonton. Others went to the wet, undrained lands near Lake Winnipeg, at Gonor, Tyndall and Beausejour; to Lake Dauphin and Grenfell.

They brought very little money, the two leaders having only 910 rinski.

The government agent, John Wendelbo, who helped in making the settle-
reported that, "The land they settled on cannot be considered first class wheat land, but it is well suited to mixed-farming." To the Galicians, inured as they were to poverty, and accustomed to rigid economy, a land supplied with wood and water seemed a paradise. They built their characteristic small sod houses and stables and settled down to seek prosperity from submarginal lands that previous settlers had refused to consider. That the agents were conscious of taking advantage of these "stalwart settlers in their sheep-skin jackets" is indicated in the report of the general agent, C.W. Speers who wrote that: "We can put a Galician upon a class of land that the English people would not go on. If a Galician gets a homestead with anywhere from forty to fifty acres of arable land, he is perfectly satisfied. Take east of Winnipeg, that country which we look upon as useless, they are turning it into a garden." The Galicians were not always as satisfied as they appeared. From the writings of one of their members it is clear that the Galicians resented the fact that they were given inferior land: "On some of these so-called farms, the land was stubborn, rock-bound, overrun by flood and heaving with muskeg, bristling with bush and treacherous with quagmire. The men in sheep-skin jackets tackled it with nothing but bare hands, and in a few short decades had accomplished a miracle of transformation of the wilderness such as has scarcely had its parallel anywhere in the world." When the Galicians realized the discrimination to which they had been subjected, they were inclined to feel a bitterness against the government agents who had treated them with so little kindness.

Although the Galicians got short shrift in the matter of land, they were given other considerations of value. The railways, eyes as always on future

(44) Vera Lysenkö, op. cit. p. 33.
traffic, provided transportation either free or at a reduced rate. The government lent the newcomers about six thousand dollars and helped them to buy a cow or two. Accommodation was provided for families until they were settled, and food was supplied to the poorer immigrants.

These Galicians, swarthy people, ill-trained, often illiterate, clad in their characteristic sheep-skin jackets and heavy hand-made boots, at first appeared strange and unattractive to Canadians. One Royal North-West Mounted policeman described them in 1900 as undesirable, ignorant, several centuries behind the times. A few years later he gave ungrudging praise of their willingness and capacity to learn. An agent of the period wrote that:

"Prejudice exists in some minds against the Galicians on account of their peculiar garb and foreign language, but the same objections were raised against the Mennonites when they arrived and now they are considered to be among our most successful and law-abiding citizens! He further pointed out that there was a significant and desirable difference, for whereas the Mennonites wished to remain in isolated communities, untouched by any Canadianizing influence, the Galicians were anxious to learn, to associate with others, and to become a part of Canada.

Sifton was severely criticized for allowing the admission of backward people to Canada, but he stoutly defended "the man in the sheep-skin jacket and his sturdy wife" as good value in Canada's immigration scheme. There was little of altruism in his attitude, however, for the Galicians were permitted to enter to supply the need for more farm-labourers, and for more unskilled and docile workers for the railroads, where "they formed part of the extra 'gangs' walking, with bare feet and shoes tied around their necks, hundreds

(45) Sessional Papers. 1898, No. 15, p. 16.
of miles across the west, from Fort William to the Rockies to get work on the 'gangs'! They were sufficiently pleased with their prospects, in the early days at least, to write home of their situation. The result was that a great flood of their countrymen, many so poor as to be travelling on borrowed money, came to Canada in such numbers that the immigration department was severely criticized for permitting their entry.

As time passed and the boundaries of Europe changed, it became difficult to distinguish between national allegiances, and the general name of Ukrainian took the place of the others. It is as Ukrainians that these Slavic people are penetrating British Columbia, where they are farmers, business-men or skilled mechanics, self-respecting, generally prosperous, anxious to be assimilated, showing their natural gregariousness in their ceremonies, and taking what part they may in the life of their district. As the prairies know them, many are still peasants, struggling on sub-marginal lands, or as labour crowding such cities as Winnipeg, Brandon or Edmonton. Some are making outstanding contributions to Canadian life.

In 1898 the chief settlements were Stuartburn, Whitewood and Saltcoats, comprising about four hundred families; Yorkton with one hundred and eighty; and Saskatchewan with one hundred and five. The most populous centre today is Vegreville in Alberta.

Beginning in 1897 the Ukrainians entered Canada in great numbers. In 1897, 4363 entered. In 1904 at the peak of Canada's immigration, the Ukrainians contributed 10,141. It is estimated that in 1917, there were 160,000 in the Prairie Provinces. Unfortunately, owing to the poverty of the people,

(49) Cooper Young, The Ukrainian-Canadians, Toronto, Nelson, 1931, p. 13.
(46) Vera Lysenko, op. cit. p. 52.
(47) Sessional Papers, 1898. No. 13, p. 171
(48) loc. cit.
it often happened that only the men of the family could emigrate, a condition that tended to break up families and create an undesirable social problem lending itself to increase of crime.

The Ukrainian immigration has provided Canada with a great racial group, fourth in size, made up of people with an ethnical background very different from that considered desirable in Canada. In 1904, an agent wrote optimistically that "It is gratifying to know that the machinery at the disposal of the Government for controlling the movements of immigrants into Canada is such that no heterogeneous elements that may be brought in can ever alter the national character which was developed among the people at a time when the country was ignored! Ten years later, looking over the growing proportion of this Slavic people, with its low standard of living and its high birth-rate, he might well have doubted his own words, especially as no effort was made to make these people a real part of Canada except by the granting of land. It was a great relief to many Canadians when the bars were put up to prevent wholesale and indiscriminate immigration of foreign people.

The undesirable condition resulting from the entry of the Ukrainians was in part at least the fault of a government which had regarded the immigrant from the economic rather than the social angle and had not provided any follow-up policy which would help the newcomers to adjust themselves to a full citizenship in the country they had adopted. One Ukrainian countering the criticism made of his people wrote:

The Ukrainians get the worst deal of all other nationalities inhabiting Manitoba under party government...Parties have never tried to enlighten them in political matters, but rather demoralized them during elections by lavishing money rewards,

(50) Sessional Papers, 1904, No. 25, p. x.
by offering strong drink, and by promising to build roads, etc....They were granted naturalization papers without being educated to the real value and importance of those papers.

It was with some of the same ideas in mind that Vera Lysenko wrote *Men in Sheep-skin Jackets*, to show some of the long and honourable history, and the present merits of these widely-scattered and numerous people. The need for some direct action toward the real assimilation of these groups whose political background differs widely from that of most other Canadians was realized some years ago, and an experiment toward a true Canadianization of some of the members of the foreign "blocs" is described in Professor Robert England's *The Central European in Canada*.

Part of the difficulty in assimilation lies in the schemes of group settlement which formed a familiar pattern in Canadian colonization projects from the earliest times. It has always been considered only humanitarian to prevent the nostalgia which is often death to settlement, by allowing immigrants to form groups of their own people. This idea is desirable within limits, but the settlements should be small and the members mixed with people of other races. Unfortunately, this was not always done, notably in the case of the Doukhobors and the Mennonites. Often where care was taken to prevent "blocs", the immigrants took it upon themselves to adjust the matter to their own satisfaction by buying out "foreign" settlers. The result has been the creation of districts in which the cultural attitudes, and methods, the ideals, the hates and suspicions of the old world have been maintained intact in the new lands. The barrier of language must be overcome before this can be changed. Until the "bloc" settlements and the barriers imposed by language and different cultural backgrounds can be broken down,

(51) *House of Commons Debates* [Canada], 1922, May 22, p. Quoted by M. Beaubien from an editorial in "The Ukrainian."
there can be no real assimilation, and the settlement is a failure except from the purely economic point of view. Recent developments, and the broadening of education have done a great service in helping to assimilate the various national groups. The other causes for disquiet, the high-birth-rate and the low standard of living characteristic of the Central Europeans, will almost certainly adjust themselves. It is the experience of history that as the standard of living rises the birth-rate falls; and it is equally true that most people eagerly avail themselves of a high standard of living when they can. There seems little danger that the next generation will be "swamped" by the numbers of Ukrainians in Canada. Rather will they be an indistinguishable part of the whole.

There is one respect in which the Ukrainians are more assimilable than many other immigrants. Their religions, the Greek Orthodox and Uniate, do not prevent them from taking part in the defence of their country or in its political life. That barrier does not exist to cut them off from the other citizens of Canada, and judging from the names that have appeared in the Canadian Scottish regiments in recent years, and noting the recurrence of Ukrainian names in artistic and educational circles, it seems reasonable to suppose that one stage of assimilation has already been covered.

There were many other settlers who either came on their own or formed part of smaller groups. They usually found their own level, and did not appear in government records except as part of a total in the statistics. Settlers of this kind, who entered in small groups were French-Canadians, many repatriated from New England, who went to make up the colonies of Ste. Rose and St. Albert, already discussed. There were also small colonies of Germans, such as those at St. Peter's and St. Joseph's in Saskatchewan. These were German Catholics previously scattered throughout the United States. They were joined by others direct from Germany. St. Joseph's, lying
west of Tramping Lake, was founded for those who preferred the open prairie; while St. Peter's, established for those who liked more sheltered country, occupies six townships with Humboldt as the centre. Begun in 1902 this settlement was soon equipped with abbey, convent, college and schools. The great influx came between 1908 and 1910. In 1906, St. Peter's contained 3397 persons and St. Joseph's 1481. As English is taught in the schools there is little danger of a "bloc" problem.

The settlement of German-Americans is only one small part of a much larger movement, for which Sifton worked very hard. This was the immigration of Americans. Although this migration did not begin in this period, being a part of a general process of expansion that began in the early American colonies, it reached its greatest proportions in the Sifton régime.

The various methods by which ingenious Canadian immigration agents advertised the value of their country throughout the United States, and the obstacles placed in the way of those agents by American officials, have been briefly noted. As, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, American agents had been almost unchallenged in the field of immigration, Canadians felt that the gaining of American settlers for the North-West was an achievement to be prized. At the turn of the century, Canadian agents felt that the tide had set in their favour, for many Americans were then crossing the border to take up or buy western Canada's farmlands. M.L. Hansen says of the movement of Americans across the border into Canada:

At the turn of the century, the rural homes of the Middle West found themselves filled with young people who knew no occupation but farming, and whose chief ambition was to acquire a quarter-section of virgin soil. The American West had no undeveloped area to match the prairie provinces of Canada, and since the world offered a market for every bushel of wheat that could be grown, the last great agrarian trek began. By train and by prairie schooner, the Americans moved in and occupied

great stretches of Alberta and Saskatchewan. During the fifteen years before the Great War, one million souls participated. The stock and equipment they carried averaged one thousand dollars per family, but no value could be put on the experience and skill which every able-bodied person contributed.

This statement could be corroborated in the annual reports of government agents during any year after the turn of the century, one of whom wrote:

"Many Americans have come in with large means and have purchased for practical purposes farms running from two thousand to four thousand acres. Lands which three years ago were unsaleable now sell readily at fair prices with an upward tendency." Another agent wrote that: "It is well known that of the large areas of land sold by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and other colonization companies, American settlers have been the chief purchasers!"

In 1908, the agent reported that 58,312 persons had entered bringing an estimated wealth of $52,000,000. Every agent liked to record with quiet triumph the entry of \( x \) cars of effects, \( y \) head of cattle, and \( z \) dollars in cash. Although later quarantine regulations often prevented the entry of cattle, the money still came. The agent was assisted by letters of these satisfied farmers. Such a letter as the following showed the appreciation of the American for what he found in Canada, and it no doubt acted as an excellent stimulus to this desirable immigration, and substantiated the agent's report that, "every settler in the North-West becomes an agent in the neighborhood he has left!"

Alameda, Canada.
Sept. 12, 1897.

Friend Keller:

We are here and find everything as you said. We will go
with Mr. McCarven in the morning and select our land. I wrote my
brother to come and bring his tools as we will have our hands
full this winter getting up houses. I wrote my wife to let
you have the double parlour to hold meetings in, as we are not
using it anyway, and you can save hall rent. I also wrote to
Beideler; go for him and I will help you all I can. The whole
St. Clemens crowd depends on him; if you can get him to go, you
will get them all—they are all good farmers and we want them
here. Tell Albert to talk to Beideler, for he is coming and his
wife and Beideler's are great friends. Will write you more in
a few days.

Best regards from all the boys,

Your friend,

Charley Knebush.

Although the agents' reports emphasize the material value of the new-
comers, this immigration was particularly valuable for its ethnic compos­
ition. In origin it was about one-third northern European, about one-third
Yankee, and the remainder was eastern Canadian. The adaptability of these
settlers to the cultural and political life of the country could be taken
for granted, and they were usually both loyal and efficient citizens of
Canada.

The following table shows the growth of population resulting from this
highly valued movement:

The American-born in Canada—1901 to 1951.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>6922</td>
<td>16,328</td>
<td>21,644</td>
<td>17,903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>2705</td>
<td>69,628</td>
<td>87,617</td>
<td>73,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>11,172</td>
<td>81,357</td>
<td>99,879</td>
<td>78,959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>127,899</td>
<td>503,680</td>
<td>374,022</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these came from the neighbouring states of Minnesota, North Dakota,

(58) *Sessional Papers, 1898. No. 18. p. 72.*
(60) *R. H. Coats and M. C. Maclean, op. cit. p. 56.*
Sifton's immigration policy was closely correlated with his programme of railroad building, and, as in the previous period, the railroads served the double purpose of opening land to settlement and affording temporary employment to the newcomers. Soon after coming to office, Laurier approved the ambitious programme that fitted in well with Sifton's settlement policies but which did much to wreck the Liberal party. In the years 1896 to 1915, the mileage grew from 16,270 miles to 34,882 miles. This expansion seemed justified by the important price recovery which accompanied the accession of Laurier's government to power. The rising market value of farm-products, especially wheat, Canada's principal agricultural export, encouraged the opening of a wider acreage to farming. The government therefore authorized an enormous expenditure on the building of railroads believed essential to the development of the west. The Canadian Pacific Railway being considered inadequate, a second transcontinental railway, the Grand Trunk Pacific, a subsidiary of the Grand Trunk Railway, was pushed westward from Winnipeg to Prince Rupert. Sifton avoided the making of land grants, but gave assistance instead in the form of guaranteed bonds. In the case of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, the government guaranteed seventy-five per cent of the cost of construction up to $13,000 a mile across the prairies, and $30,000 per mile through the mountains. The actual cost of construction was, however, much greater than that, owing to several unforeseen events, chiefly the sudden rise in the cost of labour and materials. An estimated cost of $61,415,000 became $159,881,197 before the work was finished. The traffic on this line was not sufficient to pay the interest and other set charges, and in 1915, the railroad was "surrendered into the hands of the people of

(62) Canada Year Book, 1940, p. 638
(63) Ibid. p. 637. L
(65) H.A. Innis, Problems of staple production, Toronto Ryerson, 1933, p. 44.
Laurier's faith in the rapid development of Canada led him to believe that three transcontinental railways could be profitable. Two shrewd railroad builders, William Mackenzie and Donald Mann, who had constructed the Lake Manitoba Railway, incorporated three colonization railways as the Canadian Northern Railroad. With the assistance of Laurier, they then pushed their railroad east to Montreal, via Port Arthur and west to Vancouver, via Edmonton, following the route originally planned for the Canadian Pacific Railway. It soon became obvious that Canada had built too many railways. After 1914, the Canadian Northern Railroad was in a financially unsound condition and it asked for help in the form of a Dominion government guarantee of $45,000,000 in bonds. Finances did not improve, and as in the case of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, the Canadian Northern Railroads was taken over by the Dominion Government in 1917. As the Canadian National Railways, these lines are still an expense to the Canadian tax-payer.

While the cost of these railroads was high, it is hard to imagine what development could have taken place without them. As a means of transport and of opening remote areas, the railroad was essential. Less obvious, but often equally important, was the railroad as a source of revenue without which the pioneer farmer could not have succeeded. If they are a great expense today, they must be regarded as a public utility, costly, but essential to our type of civilization.

Sifton's method of subsidizing the railroads by bond issues instead of by making land grants is in part responsible for the failure of the last two transcontinental railways. In times of decreasing revenue, interest on the

(64) H.A.Innis. op. cit. p. 44.
(65) ibid. p. 46.
bonds had to be met. Land grants of the old style would have required no such current expense, and the land would probably have increased in value. The government had a means of reimbursing itself for outlays on railroads in the increasing revenue from customs, and from the rising value of such lands as remained in its control. Moreover, the interest of capitalists in the railroads was extended toward the general development of the west, and the financial circle was completed.

It is hardly necessary to say that a policy as aggressive as Sifton's would meet opposition from many angles. The French-Canadians, for instance, maintained their traditional objection to immigration and all connected with it, excepting the repatriation of their compatriots from the United States. The Labour groups, while applauding the immigration of farmers, voiced their disapproval of the admittance of labourers. Dr. A.M.Carr-Saunders comments on this disregard of one worker for another's welfare: "Under the unrestricted immigration system, the pioneer farmer did not appear as a competitor, but rather as a fellow pioneer, taking his share of the hard task of the clearance and improvement of the land! That one farmer could be admitted to the harm of those already there did not appear to be important or possible.

During the Sifton régime, many labourers of all kinds entered Canadian industry. Because their standard of living was often very low, they were able to undercut resident Canadian workers. That this undercutting happened all too often is shown by the extensive emigration of Canadians to the United States, and by the return movement of British workers to the United Kingdom. It was against the immigration of the class of people who prejudiced the security of the Canadian worker that the Labour groups used their strongest weapons, often to good effect.

(66) A.M.Carr-Saunders, op. cit. p. 208.
Sifton replied that the attraction of labour had never been a part of his policy. "The policy of the Department has been based on the assumption that it is highly desirable that at the earliest possible moment all the fertile lands of the West should be located and the country enriched by the general production which will be sure to follow the settlement of a hardy class of settlers." Government policy, therefore, was to encourage only those persons desirous of going on the land, and who were equipped by training and health to do so. From the number of non-farmers who entered, it is clear that other forces were at work, or else that the general attractiveness of government propaganda reached far beyond farming circles, for many who came were urban dwellers, having no contact with the land.

In the early part of Sifton's administration, there was no accepted definition of "desirable" as it was applied to an immigrant. The Minister was likely to interpret it as indicating a settler's ability to produce agricultural commodities, rather than as showing his social value. But with the growth of social consciousness that increased as the days of the "frontier" receded, came the realization that the immigrant is something more than an animal capable of so many hours of hard work. The problem was not a new one, but it assumed greater urgency as the ease of transport and the careless granting of passenger warrants brought in many who were in some way undesirable. Many unskilled labourers, brought in to satisfy the temporary needs of railroad builders, remained as unwanted members of the labour groups of cities. One Canadian expressed his opposition to such indiscriminate immigration:

The major portion of the huge tide of annual immigration is crowding into our cities... The cities are being packed with human beings who do not know where the next meal is coming

from, who are giving birth to a degenerate race, who are filling the hospitals and asylums with 'brain fidgets' and nervous breakdowns...putting an endless burden on the state. Is it not time to call a halt? 4.

Robert L. Borden, member of the opposition in the House of Commons, expressed his disapproval of the admission of the worker who undercut the Canadian. "As a result of careful questioning for manifest purposes, in many cases the claim is made that native workers are being replaced by those brought into Canada by the Government's immigration policy." Another member of parliament asserted that the government was responsible for the draining away of young men to the West, to the detriment of the value of eastern property.

There were many other types of opposition, but not all of them were well-reasoned. Everyone was convinced that Canada needed more people to help her bear the cost of the elaborate transportation and governmental systems. The various optimums of population varied from 25,000,000 to 150,000,000, but everyone who approved a greater population demanded blithely that these new citizens be above reproach in the matter of health, morals, political attitudes and wealth. Those who made of immigration a political football affected to believe that it was only a matter of correct procedure on the

(70) Griffith Taylor, *Canadian Geographical Journal*, Vol. XII. March 1936, p. 170. wrote: "Canadian resources are equal to those of Germany and Poland which support 100,000,000! He did not define a reasonable standard of living."
G.G. McGeer, *Vancouver Daily Province*, Sept. 18, 1936, p. 12, said that British Columbia and Alberta have room for 100,000,000. Professor Aleis Fischer wrote that Canada could support 150,000,000 He based his ideas on Canada's total area, disregarding the fact that Canada has a great area of waste land. Dr. A.M. Carr-Saunders, *World Migration*, wrote that Canada is greatly under-populated. There have been many other ideas as widely divergent as the interests of the writers.
part of the immigration authorities, and Canada could be filled with the most desirable persons of impeccable character and ethnical extraction. At the other extreme were those whose interest lay in obtaining cheap labour, and who were willing to waive restrictions regarding desirability if profit was to result. Without any positive definition of "desirable" the government tried to steer a path through all the theories of those who wished their interests served.

Of all the foreign immigrants, the Central Europeans received the most criticism. Sifton defended his "men in the sheep-skin jackets," but he had few supporters. The Mennonites, also had fallen from the original grace in which they had been held. In 1873, an agent wrote: "It is in the interest of the whole community that the large immigration...from the Mennonite exodus should be directed hither." Ten years later an agent wrote: "The Mennonites, though not of the pauper class, have not proved a great boon to the country. They are a community by themselves...They are not likely to assimilate with the rest of the country." The Doukhobors have been frequently assailed for their lack of the elements of citizenship. But the Ukrainians came in for a different type of criticism; that directed at their moral character, a fault that the Mennonite and Doukhobors have never exhibited to any extent. J.S. Woodsworth who met the Galicians during his work as a minister in Winnipeg wrote of them: "In so low an estimation are they held that the term Galician is almost a term of reproach...They figure so frequently in crimes of violence that they have created anything but a favourable impression."

Another observer comments that, "By the unfortunate policy of filling up the

(71) Weekly Manitoban, June 7, 1873.
(72) Manitoba Free Press, January, 1883.
country with a hungry, poverty-stricken, skin-clad population of wild-eyed Asians and Eastern Europeans, we are adopting the surest method of keeping out people of real enterprise. It is regrettable that the cream of Ontario youth goes to the United States. The Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario wrote that: "Our province is in a crucial stage at present. The influx of new people who have strange ideas about liberty and religion is endangering our state. These people come here believing that liberty means licence, and as such are a menace to our institutions. It is a most serious condition... You must have noticed how crime is on the increase in Canada."

It is true that crime was increasing in Canada. It is also true that Slavic people often appeared in police courts and were convicted, but they ranked lowest of foreign groups in serious crime. The incidence of crime among foreigners was due to a variety of causes apart from the usual ones. In many cases, especially among the Slavs, only the men could afford to emigrate; lack of family life was conducive to crime. In many cases the release from the restraint of tradition was a cause of misbehaviour, especially among the younger people, who threw off the discipline of family life and the controls of the old land before they had learned those of the new. As no effort was made in most cases to instruct the new-comers in the law of the land, many broke laws without intention. Tribunals, moreover, often tended to be especially severe with foreigners.

Crime was most common in the cities. Rural districts contributed only 6.6 per cent of the offenders in 1918 and 5.8 per cent in 1917. This fact revealed one of the weaknesses of the immigration policy. Regardless of the changing farming methods, the government continued to seek out great numbers

74a (75) Sessional Papers, 1920. No. 10 d. p, viii
75a (76) ibid. p. 5, 1876, 714/100,000: 1914, 2369/100,000.
of farm-labourers long after the need for them was over. The increasing mechanization of the farm in many cases made the "hired" man unnecessary, or at best gave him only seasonal employment. A natural drift to the city followed, and a potential farmer was lost. Once familiar with city life, men were reluctant to return to the farm, and were contented with a day-to-day occupation that supported only a low standard of living in crowded sections of a town. In these surroundings, crime and disease flourished.

Medical authorities complained for years that the government was introducing to Canada many people who were soon over-crowding the hospitals, notably the tuberculosis sanatoria and the mental asylums. As many of the patients were poor, the cost of their maintenance fell on the public purse. This situation drew so much public criticism that in 1902 the Immigration Act was amended to provide that all steerage passengers be given medical examination before landing. Those who passed the first examination were then given a civil test. Any found to be medically defective were sent to hospital if not seriously ill, or deported if likely to become a public charge. Similarly those failing the civil test were rejected at the port. The usual causes for deportation under medical inspection were tuberculosis and trachoma. Other causes of deportation could be heart disease, hernia, lameness, ear or eye defects, in fact anything that could incapacitate a man for physical work. At first there were many deportations, but as the knowledge of the medical examination spread, the number of defective persons presenting themselves became very small. In 1916, a psychiatrist was added to the examining staff. For some years the patients entering insane asylums had been studied, and it was found that many persons of inferior intelligence had been admitted to Canada simply because the examiners had been unable to

(76) Canada Year-Book 1943-44, p. 182 gives 138 for the years 1932-42.
understand their language, while English-speaking persons of low mental ability had been detected easily, and rejected at the ports. Dr. Peter Bryce, head of the eastern medical service, and a very interested student of immigration, in noting the rising number of immigrants being treated for physical and mental illnesses throughout Canada, pointed out the need for greater care in selection. It was realized that the best plan would have been to inspect the emigrant before he prepared to leave his country. Although England adopted that policy in 1904, foreign governments for many years opposed the plan. Many foreign emigrants therefore had to face the disappointment of being refused entrance to Canada. As the table of deportations shows, there were many deported after having been admitted. Medical inspection was often only perfunctory except in cases of obvious diseases, and many were admitted who were afterwards found to be medically undesirable and, before they had acquired Canadian domicile, they were deported. In many cases, the deportation of one meant the deportation of a whole family. From the humanitarian point of view, this method of examination was a serious weakness in immigration policy.

The growing consciousness of the welfare of the community was reflected in the immigration acts. The meaning of the word "desirable" was beginning to take shape in the public mind, and the government agents were impressed with the need for greater care in the selection of its immigrants. The Act of 1910 showed that efforts were to be made to avoid the mistakes of the past. Before much could be done, the economic depression of 1912 and the Great War raised effective barriers to large-scale immigration. Canada then had four years in which to study the changing scene and consider her needs for the future.

(77) 9-10 Edw. VII. c. 27.
Sifton's policy was open to criticism from many angles, but no one could deny that his was an era of accomplishment. Although, on his own admission he worked chiefly for the settlement of the west, the vast changes that took place there of necessity brought corresponding changes to the east, especially to Ontario and Quebec.

In the years 1891-1911, the population of Canada increased from 4,833,239 to 7,206,643. Immigrants alone had numbered 1,800,000 during the decade 1900-1910, an influx which gave Canada a greater proportional growth than any other country of the world. It was natural that the western provinces should show the greatest comparative growth in this period. The figures of population are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Manitoba</th>
<th>Saskatchewan</th>
<th>Alberta</th>
<th>British Columbia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>152,506</td>
<td>91,279</td>
<td>73,022</td>
<td>98,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>255,211</td>
<td>449,2432</td>
<td>374,295</td>
<td>178,657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>461,394</td>
<td>588,454</td>
<td>392,480</td>
<td>524,582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>610,118</td>
<td>757,510</td>
<td>588,454</td>
<td>524,582</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To the regret of those who continued to regard Canada as essentially agricultural, there was a great increase in urbanization, as the tables on page 72 show. Most of the western towns made steady growth, but the greatest concentration occurred in the east in the industrial towns of Ontario and Quebec. The following table of the growing manufacturing cities of the east shows the effect of the opening of the west:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>181,215</td>
<td>381,833</td>
<td>521,893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>254,278</td>
<td>490,504</td>
<td>618,506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort William</td>
<td>2,176</td>
<td>16,499</td>
<td>20,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>2,427</td>
<td>17,723</td>
<td>22,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westmount</td>
<td>3,076</td>
<td>14,579</td>
<td>17,593</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(78) Canada Year Book, 1943-44, p. 79.
(79) Ibid. p. 78.
(80) Ibid. p. 79.
(81) Ibid. p. 125.
There were reasons beyond those already mentioned for the apparently abnormal urbanization. One was the extreme loneliness of farm-life on the prairies. Because of their feeling of isolation many left a good living on their farms for a pittance in a town. A student of social problems wrote of this phase of farm life: "Farming, in fact, was not generally popular, and many who tried it spoke of it with a certain horror. People who came to the West deliberately intending to farm, some of them good hardy country-men, had given up their land or left it. Various causes were stated, besides the mere unattractiveness of town life, principally the loneliness of the prairies and the impossibility of making farming pay...The loneliness of many parts is extreme! It was this loneliness that filled mental hospitals with the wives of prairie farmers, for the houses of the homesteaders were too far apart to permit of the companionship that most humans require. Another reason why people left their farms has already been mentioned. This was the coming of the machine age, which at once did away with the need for "hired" men and attracted the young people away from the farm. The machine age and its devices cut into one of the foundations of Government policy. One of the great "Classes that Canada calls for" was the farm labourer or "hired" man, who, although entering to work for others was considered as a potential homesteader. In far too many cases now he was a day-to-day labourer in the poor part of a city, and a farmer in training was lost. The land they might have cultivated was taken up by farmers with machines. This in itself was often bad, for the over-purchase of machinery and land led to financial difficulties when prices fell. These set-backs to farming, however, while regrettable, did not affect the general progress of the west, and the

(82) S.D. Clark, Social development of Canada, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1942, pp. 448-449
consequent progress of the industries of the Dominion.

The growth of the various industries was impressive. In agriculture, the progress was extensive. Sifton's policy had been to make homesteads readily available, and the response to the offer of land, was very gratifying to the Minister and his agents. The accompanying table shows the rise and decline of the homestead period of our history:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Homesteads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1,857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>2,384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>4,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>6,689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>7,426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>8,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>14,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>31,383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>26,975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>30,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>41,869</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the prairie provinces the growth in acreage under production during 1901 and 1911 and the corresponding rural population were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popn.</td>
<td>91,279</td>
<td>492,432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent rural</td>
<td>84.4</td>
<td>73.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>improved land</td>
<td>1,122,602 acres</td>
<td>11,871,907 acres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popn.</td>
<td>152,506</td>
<td>461,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% rural</td>
<td>73.1</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>improved land</td>
<td>1,232,111 acres</td>
<td>3,995,305 acres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popn.</td>
<td>733,022</td>
<td>374,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% rural</td>
<td>74.6</td>
<td>63.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>improved land</td>
<td>474,694 acres</td>
<td>4,351,698 acres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Put into another form, in 1871 the average farm contained 97.9 acres. In

(84) Census of Canada, (So-v. p. 4)
1921 improved methods of farming, wider markets and better machinery had made possible the cultivation of 197.97 acres on the average farm. This was much higher in the west. In 1871 the value of field crops averaged $302 per farm, whereas in 1921 they averaged $1312. In 1920, agriculture contributed 41.3 per cent of the national wealth. The production of wheat, the principal crop, rose from 38,000,000 bushels in 1896 to 263,000,000 bushels in 1916. In terms of world production, the increase was from 1.5 per cent in 1896 to 8 per cent in 1916. Similar gains were made in other crops.

There were also notable advances in other industries as the following figures show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>British Empire</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imports</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>$35,213,152</td>
<td>$70,146,009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>$105,229,977</td>
<td>$402,971,157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exports</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>$66,766,139</td>
<td>$42,941,666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>$482,529,733</td>
<td>$259,080,905</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manufacturing</th>
<th>Capital Investment</th>
<th>Net Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>$353,213,000</td>
<td>$219,988,594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>$2,335,991,229</td>
<td>$1,218,131,980</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mining</th>
<th>1895</th>
<th>1915</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$20,505,917</td>
<td>$137,109,171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fisheries</th>
<th>1896</th>
<th>1916</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$20,199,538</td>
<td>$39,208,378</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Lumbering</th>
<th>1896</th>
<th>1916</th>
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<tr>
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<td>$34,000,000</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Customs</th>
<th>1896</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$20,219,037</td>
<td>$103,490,101</td>
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(86) Canada Year Book. 1921. p.
(87) ibid. p.
(89) Canada Year Book, 1943-44 pp. 464-5
(90) ibid. p. 363
(91) ibid. p. 291
(92) ibid. p. 280
(93) ibid. p. and Canada Year Book, 1933,p.xxvii.
(94) Canada Year Book. 1940, p. 529
This was also a period of great increase in investments. During the years 1900-1913 wealth flowed in from Great Britain to the extent of about $1,753,118,000 and from the United States there came about $29,794,000 while from other sources outside Canada there had been investments totalling some $162,715,000.95

It is not suggested that all this growth of industry resulted entirely from the settlement of the west, but it was geared to that settlement; so much so that the officials of the Department of the Interior were reluctant to do anything to arrest the process of immigration and settlement. The Minister of the Interior drew attention to this relationship in 1914 when he said that:

It was that increase of cultivation in the West that made Canada, that built the railroads, that started the factories and that gave dividends to the banks; that started the great commercial houses; that did whatever has been done that amounts to anything in these years. It was the foundation of it all. The homesteader on the prairie with his yoke of oxen or his team of horses and his plough, who has been held up to obloquy as the "miner of wheat", ... this was the man who made Canada.96

Allowing for the Minister's natural enthusiasm for the work of his own department, there was a foundation of truth in the statement. The manufacturers of the east had prospered from the demand for farm implements and furniture and other products required in a newly-opened country. Protective tariffs had been given their industries at the expense of the farmer. The urbanization of the east had made necessary the expenditure of large sums of money on public utilities with consequent outlay of huge amounts of capital, an outlay that brought profit to big financial concerns. The commercial houses of the east had been able to extend their activities and resources almost indefinitely in the real estate and insurance businesses, and in the

(95) M.Q. Innis, op. cit., p. 290.
(96) House of Commons Debates[Canada], 1914, Vol. 1. pp.84-85. Frank Oliver.
wheat trade of the prairies.

To this extent at least, the Minister's words were true: that increase of cultivation in the west had made Canada. There were other factors, of course, but it is certain that the great stimulus to expansion came from the opening of the west.

A generation after the close of the period it is possible to look back on Sifton's work and make some estimate of its present value. Sifton worked for the opening of the west, rather than for the whole of Canada. To attain his end he sought a population of the size and quality to control the prairie provinces and, by demanding citizenship of the homesteaders, to guarantee a continuance of its British character. The weakness here lies in the fact that the taking out of naturalization papers does not necessarily imply an appreciation of "British character". The great mosaic of foreign settlements that make up a good part of Saskatchewan and, to a considerable extent, of the other western provinces has not shown as much appreciation of British ideals and the traditions of democracy as Canadians wish. Rather late in the day, Canada is realizing the need for acquainting these people with their rights and responsibilities as citizens. The lack of effort to make his settlers into citizens was one great weakness of the Sifton policy.

If he failed in this respect, in economic matters he was on surer ground. In the opening of the western lands, he was able to take the long-range view, and realized that it was a great advantage to Canada to have the west opened to production as soon as possible regardless of direct outlay or of loss of revenue from land sales. To a criticism that he had not made revenue from the Crown Lands of the west, Sifton replied that:

The interest of the Dominion in the lands is in the revenue that it can derive from the settler who can make that land productive... This Dominion can make millions out of the North-West and never sell an acre. It has made millions... The increase in our customs returns, the increase in our trade and commerce; the increase in
our manufactures is to a very large extent due to the settlement on the free lands of the North-West Territories. The interest of the Dominion is to secure the settlement of the lands and whether with a price of without a price makes little or no difference. 97

To the extent that Sifton saw a producing population as essential to the progress of Canada, the Dominion was very fortunate in its Minister of the Interior. His enthusiasm for settlement, however, induced him to open lands to farming which should have been left uncultivated or used for stock-raising. The opening to homesteads of arid or semi-arid lands or the sub-marginal lands to the north made for difficulties, heavy expense and heart-breaking discouragement in a later period. It is easy to be wise after the event however; in general, Sifton's policy was built on his long-range view of Canadian expansion and was the justification of his faith in the worth of the western lands.

When Sifton resigned in 1906, after disagreeing with his chief on the question of instituting separate schools in the newly-formed provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, he was succeeded by Frank Oliver, member of parliament for Edmonton. Although Oliver at times had criticized the policy of Sifton, he now followed it, partly because he saw its merits, partly because the system had become so closely articulated in the nation's business that it would have been disastrous to make any radical change. Oliver furthered Sifton's ideas by bringing pressure to bear on the railways to choose their land grants, thus allowing the remaining lands to be opened for settlement. By introducing the "purchased homestead", permitting the homesteader to buy a quarter-section adjoining his homestead at a cost of three dollars an acre, Oliver allowed the farmer to have a unit of 320-acres instead of the customary 160-acres. This was a very desirable change in a day of mechanized farming, for it had been found that in many cases 160-acres made a good farm,

(97) House of Commons Debates (Canada), 1905, pp.3157–8, Clifford Sifton.
but 320-acres makes a better one! This was the change in the basic Sifton policy that indicated the end of an era: the passing of the pioneer days and the coming of the machine age; and with that change the very decided shift in the composition of the "Classes that Canada calls for!"

The definition of what constituted a desirable immigrant began to take shape in the early part of the twentieth century as thousands of people of many nations, occupations and ideals thronged the ports of Canada and tried to cross her borders. It was increasingly felt that the Sifton policy had allowed immigration to get out of control and that it was necessary to apply some brakes. The Act of 1908 was a practical recognition of the need for more discrimination in choosing Canada's future citizens. This act made provision for the medical examination of newcomers who did not meet Canadian standards, and for the rejection and deportation of those who were not desired. As thousands of persons crowded into Canada, however, the working of the act was ineffective. Several amendments were made to try to make examinations more valuable, but in 1910 the whole act was recast in the interests of greater efficiency. The Act of 1910 was notable for its flexibility, a quality specially designed to allow the Minister of the Interior to act quickly in emergencies. Oliver said of it:

We want to be in a position, should occasion arise, when public policy seems to demand it, we may have the power, on our responsibility as a government to exclude people whom we consider undesirable... We cannot tell at what time, or under what circumstances, there may be a sudden movement of people from one part of the world or another, and we want to be able to check it, should public policy demand it.

The quality of flexibility in this act was considered by students of immigration a most admirable feature. That such a measure was needed was shown

(98) 1-6 Edw. VII. 6.'9
(99) 9-10 Edw. VII. 26. 27.
(100) House of Commons Debates [Canada], 1910, p.573, Hon. Frank Oliver.
by the large number of persons rejected at the ports and border stations, but that it was not adequately carried out is shown in the numbers of those deported before they had acquired Canadian domicile. In 1916, Miss Mateer of Vineland was appointed to the staff. She was trained in psychiatry and her work was to assist in the recognition of mental incompetence on the part of immigrants. By 1916, however, the tide of immigration had passed its peak and the problems of dealing with immigrants by the hundreds of thousands have not recurred.

The Act of 1910, the ancestor of the Act of 1923, was designed to "sift the wheat from the chaff", the chaff in this case including anyone who, by reason of mental or physical illness, was likely to become a public charge; anyone of immoral character; or those wishing to destroy established government in Canada. The act allowed for deportation on cause being shown before a board of immigration officers, within the term of three years after legal entry. The Act of 1923 and its successors strengthened the clauses of the act to exclude undesirables and to provide for the safety and comfort of immigrants when travelling from their home ports to their place of settlement in the new world.

The coming of World War I. ended the greatest period of Canadian expansion, a period from which Canada emerged with added prestige and great material development and with such a sense of nationhood and feeling of maturity that she could play an important part in the war which burst upon her just at the time she was beginning to appreciate the seriousness of her domestic problems. The war solved some of these and complicated others, but Canada emerged from the war with a different idea of what makes a citizen and with plans to choose more carefully in the future.

(101) Five years' residence after legal admittance. Previously three years.
Chart showing the Rise and Decline of Immigration, 1900-14.
Maps showing result of the horizontal distribution policy of railway building.
Chart Showing
(a) Sales of land by the great Company land-holders
(b) -(in red) Selling price
The period between the two great wars was a time of transition in which the government tried to consolidate the immigration of the past by encouraging the settlement of those people already here rather than inviting more. The Great War had revealed a serious weakness in Sifton's immigration policy. He had allowed, even encouraged, the settlement of thousands of foreigners in "blocs" which had isolated them from Canadianizing influences and had permitted them to retain their original allegiance instead of developing an attachment for Canada. The result was that many of these immigrants showed themselves hostile to Canada's war efforts, while others, such as the Mennonites and the Doukhobors, stood upon the rights granted them at the time of their immigration and declined to bear arms for Canada. The War Measures Act of 1916, designed to keep out such people in future, was repealed soon after the war when passions had cooled, but the feeling that Canada must be more discriminating in the coming years was expressed in the Immigration Act of 1923, the first important measure for restriction passed after the war.

Immigration was naturally much smaller during the war than in the Sifton régime. Whereas in 1913 some 400,870 persons had entered, about 150,000 of whom were British, in 1917 there were 72,910, the greatest number during war years. Continental Europe, which had provided some 135,000 in 1914 sent only 3000 in 1916. This decline, which had already begun before the war, was sharply accentuated by the difficulty and danger of travelling during

(1) Canada Year Book, 1943-44, p. 177.
(2) loc. cit.
(3) Canada Year Book, 1933, p. 185.
the war, and to the fact that the usual sources of immigrants were dried up as men were called to service. It was not until the early 'twenties that the number of immigrants entering Canada was great enough to require government attention. The Immigration Act of 1923 was then passed to control the stream of immigrants which threatened to become too great for Canada's power of absorption, and to prevent the admission of those people, now defined as "undesirable" who were likely to become a public charge.

While the Government was legislating for restriction, other forces were working to the same end. The chief of these was the disappearance of the homestead, which for a generation had been the bait for immigrant farmers. Even before the war, homesteads had become scarce - hence Oliver's pressure on the railroads to choose their land grants and free the other reserve lands. Free lands were now available only in marginal areas or in remote settlements. Such farms were particularly unsuitable for new settlers with small means. The price of purchased lands was steadily advancing, putting them beyond the reach of many new settlers. Another factor which deterred immigration was the high cost of transportation both by sea and by land, which made travel and the marketing of goods expensive. The rising cost of equipment and of interest on loans for farms also held back expansion in agriculture. On the other hand, the loss of markets in Europe and the consequent fall in prices tended to bankrupt even established farmers who had relied on high prices in expanding their acreage and buying more equipment. Depressions, both before and after the war, stemmed the flow of capital from abroad and slowed the migration of people across the Atlantic. Because of the war, many American residents of Canada had returned to the United States, and immigration had been very much reduced. The combined effects of these influences is shown in the following table:
The falling off in immigration which characterized the years after 1914 gave Canada a chance to plan an immigration programme.

Legislation was difficult to shape even when public opinion had had an opportunity to form and express itself. Ideas on immigration were as diverse as ever. As usual, financial concerns such as banks and land companies, wanted the "open door". Railways, which valued settlers at about four hundred dollars a year each in traffic value, as well as possible purchasers of company lands, sought immigrants as sources of revenue. When in 1917, the Government acquired the capital stock of the Canadian Northern Railroads and later incorporated it with that of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, government officials found themselves in the difficult position of wishing to encourage immigration to help carry the burden of expensive public utilities, and of discouraging any immigration which did not conform to the high standard demanded by the Canadian public. Manufacturers had also a lively interest in a free flow of immigration which would bring them cheap and docile workers to do the type of work that Canadians were unwilling to perform. The general argument here was that a greater immigration would mean a greater population [not always true] which would reduce the burden of the national debt and help to keep the railroads solvent. Parliament heard many arguments to support these theories. An eastern member said in 1922: "The West was not built on dollar wheat...Toronto, Brantford, Hamilton - all the cities of Eastern Canada, in fact, were stung into life by the immigration policy of Sir Clifford Sifton

(4) Canada Year Book, 1940, p. 147.
Sir Edward Beatty was quoted as saying that "Without immigration, prospects for the success of the Canadian National lines are hopeless; a wise and vigorous policy would help solve the problem. He further recommended a fair proportion of skilled mechanics as desirable for Canadian industry. Looking to the future, J.J. Denis, member for Joliette, considered that: "The door should be open for all those who are physically and morally sound. Unemployment is a phase. We must not pursue a narrow policy."

Organized labour had increased greatly in strength during the War and spoke with greater assurance. Members of labour groups regarded assisted immigration as a kind of government subsidy helping immigrants to enter, only to jeopardize the security of those who had paid their own way. Labour also opposed the introduction of contract labour except in cases of emergency and believed that all such workers should be secured through the Empire Service Council of Canada, formed in 1918 to co-ordinate government employment agencies and to guide immigration. The voice of these groups was powerful enough to bring about the passage of P.C.1418 of August 7, 1919 which provided that "the Minister of Mines and Resources may admit contract labourers if satisfied that his labour or service is required in Canada."

While Labour thus protected its own position, it continued to hold the traditional view that it was good to extend land settlement, even if it were necessary for the government to expropriate land for the purpose. P.C.1418 specifies that its provisions shall not apply to the entry of farmers, farm-labourers and household workers. The fact that the country was already producing more farm products than it could sell was ignored in the cry for m

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(6) House of Commons Debates Canada, 1921, p.3580, Quoted by J.J. Denis.
(8) Canada Year Book, 1943-44. p. 718.
more farmers who would increase the demand for factory goods. Only those who knew the conditions at first hand pleaded for the exclusion of more farmers until a recovery of markets made farming profitable for those who were already here. The Honourable Arthur Meighen presented the case for the farmers when he said:

The Minister says that the only people the Boards of Trade want are the men who will go on the land. It is a funny thing to me that everyone on earth wants to keep out competition except the farmer. We are all ready to give him all the competition possible at his own expense. Now, if I were a farmer, I would want competition among the people to whom I sell my produce. And as I am a farmer, that is what I want. The best way to get immigrants is to bring about healthful industrial conditions. We shall get in that way immigration for the land just as well as for the town, and artificial stimulants are not going to conduce to anything like wholesome continuous immigration.

The member stated what has become recognized as the basic truth when he said that when farming became profitable, immigration would no longer be a problem. The Minister, J.A. Calder, stated another truth which indicated the change in the times. He said: "In future, if we are to have people go on the land, ... and I am speaking largely of western Canada, it is necessary that they should have some capital!" This warning was soon to be translated into law. The Minister recognized that farming had in many ways become a capitalistic industry, requiring a large outlay of money for land and equipment, and that the farm-labourer of old, who would be willing to earn experience and then take up a homestead was obsolescent. In the depression of 1921, when prices fell, it was realized that, unless there was a good reserve of capital to take the strain of fluctuating prices and rising costs, the farmer would lose his land.

(11) Wheat Prices:  
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Price</th>
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<tr>
<td>1920-1</td>
<td>$1.62 a bushel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>.80</td>
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The Labour groups who advocated more immigration of farmers did not always realize the connection between the dispossessed farmer or farm-labourer and the "cheap" labourer undermining the economic security of the town dwellers. It later became a part of Government policy to re-establish many of these people when times became more prosperous.

While certain interested groups approved the immigration of the unskilled labourer who has traditionally done the lowly work of farm or factory, those most concerned with social welfare opposed the admittance of persons from a lower economic level—the class from which most immigrants come—than that of Canadians. These socially-conscious groups demanded that future immigrants be readily assimilable both politically and socially. As such people are seldom docile, it was difficult for the government to frame a policy to please both employer and social worker. It was therefore announced that Government policy would be an attempt to steer a middle course between the demands of those who wanted an "open door" policy and those who would have prosperity in the land before admitting more immigrants. These resolutions resulted in the Act of 1923 already mentioned. This Act, which not only defines a "desirable" immigrant, but also provides the means whereby only such persons shall pass the gates of Canada. Reinforced by the Acts of 1924 and 1927, the Act of 1923 was the forerunner of the Act of 1937 which was the final word for this period, defining what Canadians consider the ideal immigrant. The Act of 1923 was a restrictive measure, its terms being dictated to a great extent by the passage of the American Quota Laws of 1922, which, by allowing the entry of Canadians to the United States while excluding many foreigners, complicated

(13) 17-18 Geo.V. c.93.
(14) I Geo.VI. c.34.
Canada's problem enormously. Canadians emigrated to the United States, and their places were filled by Central Europeans in many cases. Many Europeans came to Canada and used it as a stopping-place while they waited for their quota number to come up. Canada had to try to prevent the entry of such people who temporarily flooded the labour market without giving Canada any permanent benefit, and forced her to keep up a costly immigration service to deal with their inspection at the ports of entry.

The laws of Canada were repeatedly revised to the end of excluding undesirables. The laws of 1902 and 1910 made closer inspection at the ports a part of the routine in the admission of all immigrants, so that those mentally or physically incapable of supporting themselves could be rejected. Until Canadian domicile had been established, any immigrant becoming a public charge was deportable. Under R.S.C. 1927 c.93 already mentioned, the list of deportable classes was extensive. They included persons mentally or physically defective; those affected by tuberculosis, trachoma, or any infectious, contagious, or loathsome disease, unless such disease could be cured within a reasonably short time; those dumb, blind or otherwise handicapped unless sure of support; persons of immoral character; beggars or vagrants; persons entering on assisted passage unless approved by the Minister; chronic alcoholics; anarchists of any kind; spies and conspirators; illiterates over fifteen and under fifty-five unless dependent females of acceptable settlers; usually, the families of persons rejected. The tables of persons rejected or deported show that the system of inspection was not very efficient. At first there was no way of preventing people coming to Canada, but after the War, the inhumanity of allowing people to break up their homes in Europe, proceed to Canada and there be rejected, appealed to the European governments, and they were at last willing to allow medical and civil inspection before the immigrants broke up their way of life. Again, a study of the tables of
deportations show how casual much of this inspection must have been. It was only after the passage of the Act of 1937 that the situation was well in hand. From 1903 to 1938 there were 21,914 derejections, mainly on civil grounds, and 53,967 deportations. The latter class was made up largely of persons who had become public charges. The number rejected and deported for medical reasons was still very high, during 1932-1942.

The Acts mentioned legislated against the admission of undesirables in general. Canadians also disapproved of certain national groups, chiefly the Galicians who, because of the immigration activities of the railways, were entering in large numbers. These people, ignorant of the languages of Canada and often without money, were in a very difficult position. Many entered as single men, as the Chinese had in British Columbia, and like them gathered in camps, forming national groups instead of becoming assimilated. Having no family ties to steady them, they were often in trouble with the police on such charges as drunkenness or fighting, and fell into general disfavour. They were often needing assistance. When, therefore, during the depression of 1930, there was little hope of employment for these people, the Government passed an Order-in-Council on August 14, 1930, excluding from Canada all immigrants except Britishers coming from the United Kingdom or from the self-governing dominions, or Americans from the United States. On humanitarian grounds, exceptions were made in allowing the admission of wives and minor, unmarried children, and of fiancées of those residents who were in a position to support their dependents. This applied to European immigrants. Agriculturists with sufficient money to begin farming were also admitted.

(15) Canada Year Book, 1933, p. 196 and 1943-44, p. 182.
(16) ibid. loc. cit.
(17) ibid. loc. cit.
The traditional idea of Canada as an agricultural nation, with lands enough for unlimited settlement and a secure market for wheat, led the Canadian and British Governments to embark on a plan of settlement called the Empire Settlement Scheme. The Canadian experiment was part of a much larger venture in systematic settlement intended to relieve over-population in Britain and to supply the Dominions with needed settlers.

The British Government had always been unwilling to give financial help to emigration and the Canadian Government had been equally unwilling to make itself responsible for collecting money lent to farmers. Governments are always at a disadvantage at such times. It therefore appeared that the Governments were departing from their traditional custom when they became associated in a plan of assisted settlement. Actually the Empire Settlement Scheme was an effort at establishing many, who, but for the War, would have emigrated at their own expense. The assistance given was really a recognition of the increased cost of transport, land and equipment, and the changing economy of the post-War world. The cost was an investment in the interest of wider commerce.

The scheme was planned in 1919 by the Oversea Settlement Committee of Britain. It took shape in the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 of the Imperial parliament as a result of the sanction given the plan by the Conference of Prime Ministers in 1921. The plan was endorsed by the Imperial Economic Council of 1923. At first it was looked upon in Canada with suspicion, as a plan subsidized by the Government of Great Britain; but when it was realized that some such measure was necessary to maintain a wholesome proportion of AngleSaxons in Canada, the plan gained favour.

Briefly, the scheme was as follows:

The Empire Settlement Act gave the British Government power to cooperate with other Dominion Governments or with private organizations to
assist suitable persons to settle on land in the Dominions of the British Commonwealth. The British Government was prepared to contribute one-half of the cost of such settlement to a maximum of £5,000,000 per annum for five years. In the case of private organizations, Britain contributed three-quarters of the expense. The repayment of the loan was to be made over a period of twenty-five years, with interest at five per cent, on an amortization basis. The money could be spent on actual settlement, on the training for such settlement, or on the cost of transportation in immigration.

As far as Canada was concerned, the most important agreement was the Three Thousand Family Scheme, under which 3033 families were settled, of whom two-thirds were still on their lands when the scheme ended in 1930. Of the total of 302,325 persons assisted to emigrate under the Empire Settlement Act, 99,849 came to Canada. Some of these were young boys who, in accordance with the provisions of the Act were given training on a farm at Vermilion, Alberta, or on farms in Ontario in co-operation with the provincial Departments of Agriculture. Approved societies were assisted in settling their proteges, who were given free transportation by the Oversea Settlement Agreement. Such help was withdrawn in 1931, when depression made extensive immigration inadvisable. Juvenile immigration had reached a maximum of 4281 in 1950.

The success of any scheme of this sort is hard to estimate. The immigration and training of juveniles was probably the most successful part of the scheme. That two-thirds were still on their lands after a period of about eight years is a tribute to the success of the older settlers. The scheme

(20) *Canada Year Book*, 1933, p. 196.
died in the depression of 1930 which defeated far more than the new settlers under the Empire Settlement Scheme.

The Canadian Government undertook other settlement projects. In order to encourage the sale of its land, the Canadian Government in 1921 associated itself with the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways in the Canada Colonization Association. This venture was not very successful, and first one and then the other withdrew, the Canadian National lands being administered by the Land Settlement Branch of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, after the amalgamation of the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific Railways. There was then a steady record of land sales. The Government later embarked on a policy in co-ordination with the two great railway companies to rehabilitate families who had been on farms previously and who were willing to return if given some help. The three interests carried on an active programme of settlement. There was no financial assistance, but there was dependable and disinterested advice. It is estimated that more than 68,000 persons were thus re-established on farms in the two years from October 1930 to September 1932.

At the time of the launching of the Empire Settlement Scheme, the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways both made contracts with the Canadian Government to bring in families from the Continent, and later to bring in single men, four thousand to each company. These schemes were very successful from the point of view of quantity, but Canadians took objection to the quality, and the Government imposed its restrictions to prevent such wholesale immigration of foreigners.

Canada also adopted from Australia the idea of nomination, a system

(21) See p. 126 - Chart preceding
whereby a farmer in Canada could get a government loan to pay the passage of
a farm labourer to assist him in farm work. Direct nomination, by which a
farmer could choose a man of whom he knew, proved the most successful method.
Bulk nominations, to fill the expressed needs of certain farmers were also
used, but, of course, with less success. These nominations worked well when
carried on in good faith. In 1929 nearly eight thousand men had so entered.

For the rest, the government concerned itself chiefly with the after­
care of settlers. The period was one of consolidation and the settler was
now considered rather as an individual than as a member of a mass migration.
In addition to gaining the right to have the immigrant examined in his home­
land, the Canadian government concerned itself with laws for the protection
of the migrant. Members of the Red Cross and Victorian Order of Nurses were
enlisted to care for women and children in passage, and matrons on trains
and special conductors were provided to ensure the passengers as smooth a
journey as possible. Transportation companies were required to "provide,
equip and maintain suitable buildings for the examination and detention of
passengers for any purpose under the Immigration Act at every port of entry."
In most respects, the welfare of the immigrant assumed greater importance.
This, of course, was in line with the new conception of the immigrant in his
role of citizen, an asset in a democratic country.

Thus by the expenditure of vast sums of money and much energy and
ingenuity, Canada had striven to provide herself with a population to carry
out the ideals of the Fathers of Confederation, a nation stretching from
sea to sea with a culture based on the British and French traditions of the
early settlers. To what extent had the plan succeeded?

(22) P.C. 289 of February 1911. The Immigration Act of June 1937, I Geo.VI.
c. 34 contains about twenty-five clauses intended to provide for the
protection of the immigrant in transit.
Canada in 1938, standing on the verge of the greatest war in history, had attained a maturity which would have astonished the statesmen who had created her. In some ways they would have recognized the Canada of their dreams: she was a nation stretching from sea to sea and moreover, she had maintained a personality which, partaking of both British and American influences, was still an individual, distinctively Canadian. In other ways the changes in Canada would have amazed Sir John and his friends. Not one transcontinental railway, but three, threaded their ways across prairie and mountain; and towns, unborn in 1867, held populations of hundreds of thousands. New industries, new products, new methods, new economic thought would have bewildered the man of the 1860's. In 1938, a Prime Minister wishing to discuss current topics with his supporters might well be an expert linguist, for the population of the plains, somewhat mixed, even at Confederation, was now a mosaic of many racial groups, each contributing in its way some threads of its traditional culture to be woven into the rich pattern of Canada's national fabric. In 1871 British and French constituted about 92% of the total population, the remainder being from the preferred countries of northern Europe except for a Slavic representation of about five hundred, and a few Orientals. In 1941, of the total population of 11,500,000 only 80% were of the basic stocks. Teutonic races contributed 8.4% and Slavs totalled about 5.6%. The concentration of these people varied greatly across Canada. The eastern provinces remained predominantly British and French, but Saskatchewan had more than one half of its population of foreign stock, while Alberta and Manitoba had respectively 55% and 57% of the old racial stocks. As a result of Sifton's policy, foreign-born population, other than that from the United States, rose

(23) Canada Year Book, 1943-44. p. 103.
(24) ibid. p. 105.
from 1.5% in 1891 to 6.23% in 1911 and to 7.5% in 1931. When the restrictive Immigration Acts of 1923 and 1937, and the Order-in-Council of August 24, 1930 took effect, the foreign-born population fell to 6.1% although the number of people in Canada was steadily increasing. At the end of the period, Germans were the third in size in the racial groups, and the Ukrainians, because of their high birth-rate, had risen to fourth place. Population was no longer receiving additions in the form of streams of immigrants. Canada was not soliciting immigrants either from the United States or from Europe. Most of the offices overseas were closed, and the restrictive acts had caused immigration to drop to 16,994 in 1939 and from that point it fell gradually to 8,504 in 1945. Because of the Great War II. and the Order-in-Council of 1930, almost all of these immigrants were either from the British Isles or from the United States. The introduction of these immigrants of Anglo-Saxon stock tended to restore the British racial balance, but as the birth-rate among Anglo-Saxons is low there was less gain than was hoped for, especially as the tendency toward emigration was high.

If population gains were slow and not always what statesmen would have chosen for Canada's citizens, the gains in industry were more rewarding. Where the fur-trapper held sway in 1867, twenty-five million acres of spring wheat, eight and a half million acres of oats, and about four million acres of barley provided a golden stream of grain worth $252,000,000 in 1938. The growing industrialization of Canada was drawing increasing numbers of people to the cities. The ideal of Canada as an agricultural nation was giving place.

(27) Canada Year Book, 1940, p. 165. gives the exodus as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Exodus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>10,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>18,083</td>
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<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>14,128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>9,861</td>
</tr>
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<td>1935</td>
<td>7,537</td>
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<td>1936</td>
<td>7,826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>6,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>8,974</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(28) Canada Year Book, 1943-44, p. 113.
to the realization that Canada might well become one of the great industrial countries of the world. Whereas in 1871 the population of Canada was 19.58% urban, in 1941 it was 54.34% urban. The greatest change, as might well be expected was in the industrial east. Quebec and Ontario, both about one-fifth urban in 1871, were well over the three-fifths mark in 1941. The industries of the east were attractive to immigrants. After 1905 when the homesteading period had had its day, Ontario received the largest number of immigrants, and except for 1929 and 1930 when Manitoba proved very attractive, Quebec took the second largest number of immigrants. The Industrial Revolution had arrived in Canada. It is an interesting matter for speculation to consider the relationship between the immigration from the non-preferred countries of Europe and the growth of Canadian industry. The growth in any case was impressive. Manufacturing with a gross value of $221,617,773 in 1871, recorded a gross value of $4,529,175,516 in 1941. Agriculture worth about $134,123,197 in 1871, in 1940 showed a gross value of $1,265,112,000. Mines yielded $10,221,255 worth of materials in 1886 ($2.23 per capita) and in 1958 gave $441,823,237 worth of products ($59.42 per capita). Other growing industries were gradually luring people away from the farms, and machinery replaced them. Thus a further stimulus was given to eastern industry.

Population gains were not gratifying. Between 1888 and 1935 over $80,000,000 was spent on immigration for propaganda and assistance in transportation and settlement. When Sir Wilfred Laurier said that the "Twentieth Century belongs to Canada" he spoke the ambitions of most Canadians who saw in a great population a great nation. Optimum populations ranged anywhere

(29) Canada Year Book. 1943-44. p. 12.
(30) Ibid. p. 181.
(31) Ibid. p. 188.
(33) Ibid. p. 291.
(34) Ibid. 1936. p. 199.
from 25,000,000 to 150,000,000. The Dominion Statistician predicted in 1931 a modest total. He said: "An increase of 200,000 a year would ensure prosperity. Projecting the curves which best fit the observed growth of the various provinces, from the earliest times, the total population for 1950 approaches 16,000,000." Even this modest figure has not been attained. The statistician had not foreseen the effects of the greatest war and the greatest depression in the history of the country. But the replacement of persons by machines in most industries has allowed those industries to go forward at an unprecedented rate while the population lags, the demand for consumer goods being kept up by the rising standard of living. Nor is there any active interest to encourage further large scale immigration. Canadians have accustomed themselves to the idea of shouldering the cost of unprofitable railways as public utilities as being preferable to the admission of large numbers of immigrants difficult to adjust to the Canadian way of life. Foreign governments have meanwhile made plans to keep their nationals at home or to direct them to countries where the home government may control them and derive benefit from their work abroad. Whatever plans are made for the future, they must be made in a spirit of international co-operation if they are to succeed.

It is also realized that definite steps must be taken toward assimilation if the immigrants are to be kept in Canada. A plan of Canadianization must be a part of any settlement scheme if British ideals are to persist. After years of trials and failures it is now recognized that the immigrant is a person, a part of Canada's future, and that Canada's future for better or worse will to a great extent be determined by the type of immigrant admitted and the treatment given him after he has arrived.

Canadian Mosaic - The chief foreign settlements of the Prairie Provinces - 1929. Adapted from "Prairie Settlement".

W.A. Mackinosh - Page 51.
While the eastern and central portions of Canada were engaged in their work of attracting and settling immigrants, British Columbia, cut off from the rest of Canada by the Rocky Mountains, was struggling with a problem peculiar to itself, the immigration of Orientals. These people entered, unasked and unwelcomed, in numbers too large to be easily absorbed by the scanty white population of the Pacific Coast. Had the Orientals spread throughout Canada there might have been no problem, but as it was, the concentration of Chinese, Japanese and East Indians in British Columbia produced a situation that taxed the patience of the white residents and strained diplomatic relations between Canada and friendly nations.

As these three groups of Orientals received different treatment, they must be considered separately.

The earliest Chinese who can be called settlers arrived on this continent in 1849, entering California to participate in the gold rush of that period. Supplies for miners were often conveniently imported from Hongkong, and it was quite natural that soon some Chinese should form part of the eastbound cargoes. A Chinese student of immigration, Cheng Tien-fang, tells the story of the Chinese who is said to have led the northward movement of his countrymen in 1858. He found work as a cook at good wages, and sent news of his good fortune to his friends. Soon a small stream of Chinese entered British Columbia, adding one more race and language to the already polyglot population on the Pacific Coast. In 1864 there were between two and three thousand Chinese in British Columbia.

The earliest Chinese were given a welcome in British Columbia, for they were willing to do much of the less pleasant pioneering work necessary in a new land. They engaged chiefly in working over old placer claims abandoned by more ambitious white men, and they undertook domestic work to the great relief of many a housewife. In the evidence given before the Royal Commission on the Chinese in 1885, the Honourable H.P. Crease said of them:

When the Chinese first came to this place, they supplied a felt want, one which had become almost intolerable in the way of labour and domestic service. The white settlers who first came to the country were very few in number and had their own work to attend to... Everybody had a great and natural objection to them [the Chinese]; but necessity has no law, it was Chinese labour or none at all... It is not too much to say that without Chinese servants, the privations of family life, extreme and of wearying monotony, would have been intolerable, and a general exodus of families would have been the result. The high prices the Chinese obtained [fifteen to thirty-five dollars a month and their board and lodging] are a very fair test of the necessity for their employment... The relief given by Chinese aid to the overworked households created a good feeling toward them. This feeling lasted some time. Their number was limited and no serious fears had yet been entertained of their competition on the labour market.

It was when the Chinese left the meagre pickings of placer mines, and entered the more productive fields of employment that feeling rose against him. As an unskilled worker employed "to dig a ditch, shovel earth, cut wood, or wash clothes which white men who can get anything else to do will not do" he had seldom come into competition with any but the lowest kind of labourer. But that phase of employment came to an end. In his evidence given before the Royal Commission of 1885, Sir Matthew Begbie said that although the Chinese were employed only in the more laborious work of the coal mines, they also formed about three-fourths of the cannery hands, the majority of the gold-miners, were model market-gardeners, and were indispensable to the railroads and in most branches of manufacturing. It was when they developed actively

(2) Sessional Papers. 1885, No. 54a pp. 140-143. The Hon. H.P. Crease;
(3) ibid. p. 75. Sir Matthew Begbie.
within these industries that politicians, in trying to control the labour vote, made use of the evident friction which was growing between Chinese and white groups of workers. It was not until after Confederation, however, that anti-Chinese feeling was directed into making repeated demands for laws to restrict their entry, and then began the struggle between the governments in Victoria and Ottawa that was to continue until the passage of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1883.

The growing feeling against the Chinese was brought to a head by the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The Honourable H.P. Crease said:

The good feeling toward the Chinese continued more or less until about the time of the commencement of the Canadian Pacific Railway works in the province. Then a very laudable feeling arose that, if possible, such vast expenditures of public money should be utilized by bringing in white settlers, who should be heads of families, take root in the soil, and add greatly to the substantial strength of the Dominion...White labour in quantity and quality was unobtainable, and nothing is more certain than that in the absence of Chinese labour, the enormous railway works which are now progressing to completion would have been indefinitely prolonged if not postponed to the Greek Kalends for sheer want of hands.

The speaker knew whereof he spoke, for he had tried at considerable expense to bring white labour by the long and expensive route around Cape Horn, and when that attempt failed he had made an effort to import Kanakas from the East Indies, an effort equally unsuccessful. He knew also that the American railroads were competing with Canada for whatever white labour was available, and, having more funds, were attracting most of it.

This recognition of the difficulties in the position of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company with regard to labour did nothing to lessen the agitation that was growing against the Chinese. He was accused of all kinds of objectionable traits—he was dirty; he lived in overcrowded conditions; he brought in disease, especially leprosy; he was non-assimilable; he was
immoral; he evaded taxation; he showed no inclination toward being a good citizen; he was a criminal in mind; he was difficult to christianize; he was a "single" man and kept out families.

Some of these allegations could not be sustained, especially those having to do with disease and crime, in which respects the Chinese was found to be rather better than white people of similar status. The real objections were two, social and economic. On the economic side the Chinese jeopardized the standard of living of the white man. As a "single" man, he could live on a mere pittance and consequently could work for much less money than would be required for a white man with a family, and therefore was more likely to get employment. Besides the fact that he displaced white families he was also criticized for sending his money to China. Noah Shakespeare, mayor of Victoria and later a member of the Dominion parliament, was the most vocal antagonist of the Chinese. He said in 1878 that of the $1,800,000 earned by the Chinese, $1,440,000 was sent to China, in addition to the money spent on rice. Chinese returning to China were also said to have drawn drafts of Canadian banks for about 45,000 every few years. As many Chinese registered out each year, the drain on the slender resources of the province must have seemed large to those who did not consider the productive value of the work done by the Orientals. The export of capital was necessary, of course, for the Chinese had their families to keep in China, and the repayments to make to the trading companies which had sent them to Canada. However, this matter of the export of money was a source of grievance to the anti-Chinese for many years.

The second major objection to the Chinese was on social grounds. That he was non-assimilable was generally agreed. The suggestion of intermarriage of the races was everywhere condemned. Many asserted that the Chinese was a

slave. This was a debatable point. That the Chinese were in many cases sent to Canada through the activities of a company which paid for their passage and equipment was generally conceded. Laurier even described this immigration as a "brisk trade in live flesh". But whether this arrangement made the Chinese slaves is a moot point. Some Chinese said not. However, the fact that the coolie came on a kind of "assisted passage" made political ammunition. The charge that the Chinese were more immoral than white people was not proved by the cases brought into the ordinary courts. Magistrates in Victoria found that the Chinese were more likely than "whites" or Indians to respect the law. The chief offences were the breaking of by-laws. That they seldom brought cases between Chinese only to the courts of British Columbia, but settled them in their own tribunals, seems to have been generally true. This use of their own courts was held against them by their opponents. These objections to the Chinese, and other minor ones, such as dislike of their dress, their thrift, and their religion, increased after Confederation rising to great volume when the Canadian Pacific Railway contracts were let. Although it was then shown that Chinese labour was necessary for the construction of the railroad, the anti-Chinese element in British Columbia used all its resources to oppose the entry of more Chinese, urging that contracts financed by public money should be let to white people and the work should be done by white labour.

The clamour for preventing more immigration of Orientals was carried to Ottawa. In 1879, Arthur Bunster, member of parliament for Victoria, moved a resolution that: "The Government insert a clause in each and every contract let for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway that no man

(7) Sessional Papers. 1885. no. 54a. p. 72. Sir Matthew Begbie.
wearing his hair longer than five and one half inches shall be deemed eligible for employment on said work. Naturally in a parliament of the 1870s such a motion was treated lightly, but to more serious representations of public feeling in British Columbia, the Government replied that it had no means at its disposal to induce the contractors of the Canadian Pacific Railway to employ white labour in place of Chinese. Sir John A. Macdonald stated that as soon as labour was available to the railway, action would be taken to restrict the immigration of Chinese, but that at present, enough helpers could not be obtained otherwise, and that the immigration was needed for the completion of the railway and the advancement of British Columbia's industries. In this view he was supported by J.A.R. Homer, member of parliament for New Westminster, who said: "To place restriction on Chinese labour before making provision to replace it by white labour would be, in my opinion a serious mistake, for it would cripple the industries for years to come!"

Andrew Onderdonk, contractor for the Pacific section of the Canadian Pacific Railway, made use of many Chinese. In evidence given in 1885, he said that he had employed some six thousand, and that before completing his work, would need two thousand more. One of his sub-contractors, Michael Haney, stated that he had intended to employ only white people, but found that he could not get enough who were suitable. He said that he had, "by himself, through his experience of them the Chinese at work, come to employ them because as good patient workers, as peaceful men, they were important to bring to success such an enterprise as building these roads through the

(9) ibid. 1879 Mar. 18, p. 1207. J.A. Macdonald.
wilderness. In the face of such expressions of the need of Chinese for labour it was not to be expected that the Government at Ottawa would yield to the demands of the labour groups of British Columbia for restriction or expulsion of the Orientals.

There was another side to the question, that of the influence of any restriction on the possible growth of trade with China. When in 1880, Amor de Cosmos, member of parliament for Victoria, presented a request from British Columbia that an act on the principle of the Queensland Act, [an act passed in Queensland to restrict the entry of Chinese to that state], should be passed to control Chinese immigration, he was refused on the ground that such an act would prejudice trade and commerce between Canada and the Orient. A report of the Executive Council of Victoria, on August 19, 1882, setting forth a list of objections to the Chinese and reinforcing these objections with records of the experience of other Dominions in similar matters, was quickly disposed of. Two years later when the subject was again brought forward, Sir John A. Macdonald countered it with the information that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company planned to establish an Orient line of steamers from Vancouver, and added that "It might seriously impede the success of that line if we legislate in a manner to offend the Chinese government!" This statement was supported by Huang Su Chen, Chinese consul at San Francisco, who, in evidence before the Royal Commission of 1885 said; "I have been told that one of the main inducements offered by the local legislature to the Dominion Government to build the Canadian Pacific Railway was the certainty of getting the Chinese trade from San Francisco to Esquimalt to cross the transcontinental railway to

(13) Canadian House of Commons Debates. 1885. p. 3307, Haney quoted by
Canada, I am curious to know how this can be done, if, by hostile and restrictive enactments, and an apparent innocent absence of all moral and international obligations, the people of this province are determined to drive it away!

Talk of restriction or expulsion was also met with objections on a high moral plane. The Honourable Alexander Mackenzie said in 1879 that he "could not see how it was possible to accede to the proposal to expel the Chinese without giving up all they..." The British Columbians held sacred as to the rights of man in their own as in other countries. Samuel MacDonnell, member for Inverness, said that, "It would be an unprecedented act on the part of the Dominion and at variance with the policy of other nations, to pass a law to prevent the immigration of people from any portion of the world... We should rather suppress the peculiarities of immigrants by legislation than legislate for the exclusion of such people," a suggestion that might have been a little difficult to follow in the case in question. The British Columbians were not convinced of their error. In reply, F.J.Barnard, member for Yale, warned that, "These Chinese will creep across your borders before you are aware. They will take advantage of the Canadian Pacific Railway... and when they come to your province of Ontario, you will understand something about Chinamen!" A voice from the prairie echoed the anxiety of the people of British Columbia when the editor of the Manitoba Free Press wrote on July the second 1885, as follows:

If something is not done speedily, it will be too late to consider whether the Pacific Provinces shall be given up to the Chinese or not. They will have solved the question by taking complete possession of it. Then the Celestial wave may be expected to roll eastward. The channel for it will have been cut by the Canadian Pacific Railway through the Rockies. Ten times more people

(15) Sessional Papers, 1885. No. 54a, p. 162, Huang Su Chen.
(17) Ibid.
(18) Ibid.
than Canada now holds could be poured in on us from the teeming soil of China without being missed from that land.

To all these voices which expressed the conflicting interests between east and west, between nation and province, and between capital and labour, Sir John A. Macdonald turned a deaf ear until his project was finished. The Canadian Pacific Railway once completed, the Prime Minister was ready to listen, with reservations, to the representations from British Columbia. In 1884 he called a Royal Commission "to study trade relations, social relations and all those moral considerations which make Chinese immigration inadvisable."

The members of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration were the Honourable J.A. Chapleau, LL.D., Secretary of State for Canada, and the Honourable John H. Gray, D.C.L., Judge of the Supreme Court of British Columbia. These Commissioners interviewed men of almost all occupations; every type of objection to the Chinese was therefore aired, and most were contradicted by other witnesses. When the evidence had been gathered, each Commissioner presented an individual report.

The Honourable J.H. Gray found that there were three bodies of opinion on the Oriental question:

There is a well-meaning but strongly prejudiced minority whom nothing but absolute exclusion will satisfy; an intelligent minority who conceive that no legislation whatever is necessary, that, as in all business transactions, the rule of supply and demand will apply, and the matter regulate itself in the ordinary course of events; and a large majority who think there should be moderate restrictions based upon police, financial and sanitary principles, with strict local regulations to enforce them.

He suggested the imposition of a tax of ten dollars to be collected as customs duty on each Chinese entering. This tax was to be charged to the ship-owner who would be responsible for its collection. The money so raised should be used to pay a proper health inspector to examine newcomers and to
prevent the landing of undesirables. The Commissioner also recommended that
a Chinese consul be appointed to have jurisdiction on civil suits involving
Chinese only.

Chapleau stated his belief that the Chinese were a most efficient aid
to the country and were a means of bringing it great wealth, but that they
were non-assimilable, and that they lowered the rate of wages of labour to
an undesirable level. He found, however, that their moral character was
reasonably good, and that they were not a burden on charity. He found it
difficult to assess public opinion in British Columbia on the Chinese
question, but he said: "The very best friends of the Chinese think their
immigration should be regulated." The Commissioner saw no injustice in such
regulation for: "It is unfair on the one hand to complain after they have
given value that they take the money out of the country, it would be equally
illogical on the part of the Chinese who professedly have never come to
stay, to complain if the door is shut against newcomers." He believed that
no settlements of Chinese were likely to be made, but that if the Chinese
retained their Asiatic way of life and their members ocontinued to increase,
Parliament should deal with the situation by legislation, and that, lest it
be a shock to the vested interests of the province, this legislation should
be of a regulating rather than excluding nature.

In making his report to Parliament, the Commissioner recommended the
imposition of a poll-tax on all Chinese of the labouring class entering
Canada. He said: "The conclusions I have come to are those of the Government,
and I hope the House will accept the measure which is thoroughly in accord
with the sentiments of the people, not only in British Columbia, but in all
British North America."

On the basis of these reports the Dominion Government enacted a law** imposing a head tax of fifty dollars on Chinese of the labouring classes entering British Columbia and limited their number to one to each fifty tons capacity of the vessel bringing them. Members of the consular corps, professional men, and their families were exempt from these rulings. The Act of 1885 reduced the number of immigrants to seven hundred a year until the shock of the head-tax was over, when they began to come again in larger numbers than ever, and once more British Columbians became alarmed about their future. The entry of Chinese after 1892 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>3276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>2244</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1899</td>
<td>4385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>4231</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These numbers are large when the resident population of Chinese in British Columbia is considered. In 1880-1, the Chinese estimate of their own number was about 4,350. The census of 1891 gave 8,040. The influx of two or three thousand at a time was therefore alarming, even though this increase was an indirect reflection of increased trade with the Orient.

The irritation of the British Columbians was aggravated by the immigration of Japanese - who were beginning to enter at this time. Although their numbers were small until after the Russo-Japanese War, their natural aggressiveness quickly brought them to the notice of the public. The combination of the two immigrations caused British Columbians to renew their attacks on Ottawa for restriction of entry of Orientals. Meanwhile they took what measures they could in their own legislature to convey their objections to their unwelcome guests.

Previous attempts of the Provincial Government at legislating against

(22) 48-49 Vict.c.71
(23) Canada Year Book, 1930, p.175
(24) Census of Canada, 1941, Vol.1, p.162
Orientals had been systematically disallowed by the Dominion Government as unconstitutional or inexpedient. The British Columbians therefore took what other action they could to further their ends. At Confederation, British Columbia had retained control of her Crown lands. She now forbade the sale of these lands to Orientals. The political status of the Chinese was made difficult. Deprived of the franchise he was thus excluded from occupations that use the voters' list as the basis of qualification. He could not buy Crown timber, hold public office, enter the trade of hand-logging, engage in the practice of law or pharmacy. He could be arrested without warrant. A poll-tax was imposed, for the payment of which property could be distrained if necessary. A licence of residence was required, to be produced on demand. Even in death he could not escape restrictions, for his dead body could not be returned to the land of its ancestors without government sanction. In 1906, the British Columbia Election Act withheld municipal rights from Orientals. The Provincial Government asked that a ten years' residence be a qualification needed for naturalization; this was refused by the Dominion Government, as contrary to the treaties existing between China and Canada. British Columbia then passed an act on the principle of the Natal Act which required that an immigrant make application for admission in a European language. This Act was disallowed as being opposed to national interests, particularly because of its application to the Japanese.

It was the passage by the British Columbian legislature of some amendments to the Coal Mines Regulations Acts to exclude all Orientals from the mining industry that again brought the whole matter forcibly before the Federal Government in 1899. The Japanese, through their consuls, Kato and Shimizu, appealed to the British Government against the amendments. The Honourable Joseph Chamberlain discussed the matter with the Canadian Government and the offending clauses were disallowed. Chamberlain wrote: "Her
Majesty's Government strongly deprecates the passing of exceptional legislation affecting the Japanese already in the Province. "As Canada had been told a few years previously that her immigration policy was her own affair, it is interesting to find out the cause of the change of attitude on the part of the British Government. After the opening of Japan in 1864, the Japanese had made a rapid adjustment to western civilization. One phase of this adjustment was the signing in 1896 of an Anglo-Japanese Treaty of friendship and trade. Although Canada was not a party to the treaty at that time, it is easy to see that Britain, already troubled by Russian unrest, should be anxious for the treaty to continue, that she might have a friend in the Orient. No similar treaty existed in the case of China, and, as no strong government ruled there, the case of the Chinese had never assumed much importance in international affairs.

British Columbians were defeated on the Mines issue, but the struggle continued. As the situation produced difficulties locally and was a growing embarrassment in international relations, it became necessary that some serious statesmanship be brought to bear on the Oriental problem. In 1900 Sir Wilfred Laurier was so far influenced by the representations of British Columbians that he moved a resolution that the head-tax on Chinese be increased to one hundred dollars. A law to that effect was enacted in 1901, but was at once considered inadequate, and at best a stop-gap. Under pressure from British Columbia, Sir Wilfred then appointed a second Royal Commission on Oriental Immigration.

The members of the Commission were the chairman, R.C. Clute, of Ontario, and two British Columbians, Ralph Smith and D.J. Munn. Ralph Smith was later

\(\text{(25) Sessional Papers, 1900, No. 87, p. 3. Hon. J. Chamberlain.} \)

\(\text{(26) 63-64 Vict.c.32.}\)
replaced by Christopher Foley also a British Columbian. They considered the Chinese and the Japanese separately.

As in the commission of 1885, the Commissioners gathered evidence from people in all walks of life. It is an interesting comparison that in the second report a stronger anti-oriental feeling is shown among professional classes than was recorded in the earlier report. Moreover, many heads of industries, while employing Orientals, often in considerable numbers, stated that they could do without them or could find a sufficient supply already in British Columbia.[The Chinese coolies, in building the railway, had sown the dragon's teeth] Medical men interviewed by the Commission said that they considered the Chinese as a menace to health. "Their habits, surroundings and food all conduce to spread disease, especially as Chinese servants live in dirty crowded surroundings and go out to work as domestics."

As before, the moral record of the Chinese continued good, except for breaches of the by-laws, but it was still held against them that they used their own courts for cases involving Chinese only.

Ministers of the various churches said little in their favour and tended to approve exclusion. The chairman of the Commission reported that "As far as we could judge, people generally opposed any further immigration of Japanese or Chinese...Curiously enough, when a witness was found in favour of further immigration, it was put, not on the ground of equality or of affording an opportunity for the Chinese to rise by reason of new conditions, but that they were a servile race and a servile race is necessary for the development of the Anglo-Saxon race."

In the summary of the evidence, it was stated that the entry of the Chinese should be restricted by treaty; that they had no interest in real

(27) Sessional Papers, 1902, No. 34v. p. 19.
citizenship; that a minimum wage should be established as that would prevent their employment, and hence discourage immigration; that they took the place of white people and hence of families with bad results for the population of the province; that they were difficult to convert to Christianity; that they were unassimilable. For these reasons they should be prevented from entering with the idea of working.

The Commission heard two voices in defence of the Chinese. T.G. Shaughnessy of the Canadian Pacific Railway pointed to their value to his company because of the revenue their immigration brought to the steamship lines, and because of the trade which was the result of such immigration. He also found that they were valuable servants, "the best ship-servant in the world...in the engine-room, only they can stand the heat!" He further stated that "As the largest employer of labour in Canada, this Company most positively asserts that there is nothing in existing conditions calling for such unreasonable legislation against the Chinese as is demanded in some quarters and there is nothing on the horizon to indicate that these conditions are likely to be changed in the near future by reason of the undue importation of Chinese labour."

The other voice was that of a Chinese missionary, Tom Cheu Tom, who pointed out that, for small pay the Chinese had done much of the spade work for the future prosperity of British Columbia. This was an opinion concurred in by many who have been in a position to look with an unbiased eye on the Chinese.

In their resume of the report, the Commissioners drew attention to the efforts of British Columbia to restrict Oriental immigration, efforts which included numerous acts of the local legislature and over seventy petitions

(29) Sessional Papers. 1902. No. 74, p. 201
to the Dominion Government as well as appeals to Ottawa made through the Lieutenant-Governor. The Commissioners pointed out that desirable immigrants are those who bring in wealth, new industries or superior knowledge and who apply their energies to the gain of society in general, becoming assimilated, and, by reason of their increase to the population, giving a stimulus to other industries. They found the Chinese deficient in these respects. They also believed that the presence of Chinese excluded white labour from some industries, and that others could either dispense with Chinese or make do with those available. Evidence showed that although the Chinese gave very little trouble and seldom asked for charity, their habits of life were bad, conducing to tuberculosis. The Commissioners continued:

Labour in effect says 'You guard this country against being made a slaughter market for cheap goods...yet you ask me to accept conditions where the supply is unlimited and the prices are not fixed. You admit this competitor is not my equal; is not and never will become a citizen'.

This province situated on the seaboard, should possess a stalwart, homogeneous and united population, capable and willing to defend the country in case of attack. In this regard, the Chinese are a great source of weakness.

Your Commissioners believe that it is impossible for the province of British Columbia to take its place and part in the Dominion as it ought to do unless its population is free from the taint of servile labour and is imbued with a sense of the duties and responsibilities pertaining to citizenship.

Your Commissioners are of the opinion that the further immigration of Chinese labourers ought to be prohibited.

That the most desirable and effective means of attaining this end is by treaty supported by suitable legislation.

That in the meantime, and until this can be obtained the Capitation tax should be raised to five hundred dollars.  

The result of the findings of this Commission on Chinese affairs was the Act of 1903, which became effective on January 1, 1904, and which raised the head-tax to five hundred dollars for all except the exempted classes.

The Act also provided that one-half of the tax money should go to the

(30) *Sessional Papers, 1904*, No. 74b, p. 277-279
(31) 3Edw.VII.c.8.
province admitting the immigrants. The act had a serious weakness; the
minor children of exempt classes were admitted free of tax. The result was
that "many Chinese were admitted as merchants, or as the children of mer-
chants when they were neither," and again British Columbians had to protest.

The Chinese were not pleased. Their consul, Loh Feng Huh, regarded the
act as "an aggravation of the grievances which Chinese to these colonies
have long suffered."

This act had a curious and unexpected result. Traffic in Chinese coolies
as such ended but the Chinese in Canada now became rather rare birds and
their value rose accordingly. W.L. Mackenzie King wrote in his report of 1907:
"Then monopoly began its work. The Chinese, discovering his protected
position, sought the advance in wages which comes from an increasing demand
and a diminishing supply. Within a couple of years the wages doubled, and in
some cases, more particularly in the case of servants of a better class, the
wages were trebled, and even beyond that point. The Chinese were soon able
to save enough money to send for their friends to share their good fortune,
and the stream of immigration was larger than ever."

Between 1901 and 1920 there were about 56,000 Chinese immigrants. The
effect of the act is shown in the following table:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>2518</td>
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<td>6083</td>
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<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>7078</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The character of the immigration was changed, however. No longer were these
immigrants "serfs" of a trading company; they were now free labour, assisted
by their friends, and their value rose accordingly.

(32) Sessional Papers. 1909, No. 74 b. p. 30
(33) Sessional Papers. 1908. No. 74 f, p.
It was partly as a result of this Chinese immigration and partly as a result of the great increase in the number of Japanese entering, that the anti-Asiatic riots occurred in Vancouver in 1907. Led by the members of an anti-Asiatic League active on the Pacific Coast ["galvanized Yankees", as Sir Sam Hughes called them], some Vancouver people attacked the Oriental section of Vancouver and did considerable damage. W.L. Mackenzie King, then Deputy Minister of Labour, was sent by the Dominion Government to investigate the claims of the victims. He was so much impressed with the honesty of the Chinese that he agreed without hesitation to the payment of their claim of $25,990, with $1,000 for legal expenses, and received the thanks of the Chinese consul for his fairness.

Although no further riots occurred, British Columbians still protested to Ottawa the increasing immigration of Chinese. As it was felt by most people that a further increase of the head-tax was out of the question, the situation was met for the time by the enactment on December 8, 1913, of an Order-in-Council prohibiting the landing in British Columbia of either skilled or unskilled labour or artisans. This Order-in-Council was renewed every six months until replaced by another on June 9, 1919. These orders filled the need until after the War of 1914-1918.

During the War the question was dropped. The Government extended the period of leave from one to three years for the Chinese who had registered out for leave. The absence of shipping prevented much traffic between China and Canada. In Canada there was such a need for labour that there was even a suggestion that fifty thousand Chinese coolies be imported for the duration of the war, a suggestion that British Columbians did not approve.

When the War was over, the immigration began again and again the

problem arose, threatening to become an international issue. Once more the representatives from British Columbia pointed out, less picturesquely than had their predecessors but not less forcefully, the dangers involved in admitting large numbers of Orientals to British Columbia. It became increasingly evident that the exempted classes were being stretched to include many who, once safely here, forgot their professional or mercantile classifications and entered the ranks of unskilled labour. We read that "The entry of alleged Chinese merchants has assumed alarming proportions. The 'wives' frequently turn out to be restaurant workers."

It was this unsatisfactory state of Chinese labour in Canada that led to a protest from the Chinese consul that the Canadian Government should be more careful in the admission of his people. "Your Government", he said, "should be more rigid in examining these alleged students, and more lenient in dealing with the exempted. Once admitted, he should be entitled to every right and protection as any subject from other countries, enjoying the most favoured agreement." For the protection of his people, therefore, Kohliang Yih asked the Dominion Government that "no more Chinese labourers be allowed to come at present, unless they are returning Chinese or bona fide exempted classes, pending a Gentlemen's Agreement between the governments concerned to abolish the head-tax and limit the number of immigrants."

In his opinion, Kohliang Yih had the support of W.L. Mackenzie King whose remarks show the changing public opinion on this vexed question:

I could never see how Canada, from any self-respecting point of view could impose a poll-tax on working people coming from another country, and at the same time have its population subscribe funds for missionary purposes to teach the most elementary principles of Christianity. The Government has shared that view, and has felt that any indignity of the character of

(37) Canadian House of Commons Debates, 1923, p. 433 Quoted by W.G. McQuarrie
the imposition of a poll-tax upon a people in another part of the world was something to which we, as a Christian community, should not lend our approval. So we have decided to abolish the poll-tax for that reason, if for no other.

The expression of such opinions and the constant pressure from the British Columbian members of parliament resulted in the passage of the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923. This Act restricts the entry of Chinese to those of the exempt classes. It also gave the Minister of Immigration the power to define the word "merchant" as applied to Chinese immigrants. Students were also classified to include only those who came to Canada to study at any Canadian university authorized to confer degrees. To ensure that such immigrants were bona fide, they were to present passports issued by the government of China and endorsed by a Canadian immigration official.

This Act was variously received. Except for the cost of its operation, about a thousand dollars a person, it had the support of many interested persons. A.W. Neill, member for Comox-Alberni, and one of the staunchest fighters against Oriental immigration said that "It has worked well, cured a long-standing sore and there has been no ill-will or dissension or discontent among the Chinese so excluded, with one exception: they resent the fact that we have discriminated against them in favour of the Japanese. The Chinese have their pride and do not like it." Chinese both in China and in Canada felt the sting of the discrimination. They had the sympathy of students of international affairs, such as Professor H.F. Angus, who called the Act "a contribution to international ill-will" and urged that China should be put on an equality with Japan in the matter of immigration, and that the change should be made while China was still weak, for "To act now,

(39) 13-14 Geo. V. c. 38
without coercion, while China is still weak and beset with perils would be to act gracefully, for we should avoid creating an embittered minority of Canadians of Chinese race. To allow free immigration of Chinese, however, seemed out of the question and as Canada's trade agreements with Japan were involved, an exclusion bill against Japanese would risk the loss of profitable markets. The Act of 1923 however, reduced the immigration of Chinese to a point where there could be little further objection. The table in the Appendix shows the decline from 1916 to the end of the period under discussion.

In absolute numbers Chinese immigration has never been heavy. During the years 1886-1930 some 90,000 entered, 82,361 having paid a head-tax, bringing a revenue of $22,960,666 to Canada. Yet the census of 1941 shows only 34,829 Chinese in Canada. This discrepancy between census figures and immigration returns is due in part to the wide difference in numbers of the sexes, and in part to the fact that most Chinese wish to return to China to die. As only the exempt classes brought their wives with them, the birth-rate did not compensate for the death-rate. Had this situation been foreseen in the early days, there might have been no Chinese problem. After many years of anxiety the question seems to have been solved. Most of the Chinese in British Columbia are either of the class hoping to return to China or are Canadians by birth. So little does the problem touch the emotions of British Columbians today that the enfranchising acts of the legislature went through in 1946 almost without comment and the entrance of families of Chinese residents attracts very little attention.

(41) H.F. Angus, A contribution to international ill-will.
(42) Census of Canada, 1941, p. 162
Objection in British Columbia to Japanese immigration began later than opposition to the Chinese, but it developed more quickly, partly because of the number entering, and partly because of the natural aggressiveness of the Japanese who soon entered a varied number of occupations, meeting the white worker in more fields than the Chinese had entered. The feeling against the Japanese was correspondingly bitter, and the problem of how to deal with him was complicated by the fact that imperial relations were involved as well as the social and economic objections heard in the case of the Chinese.

The Japanese had a beginning as a colonizing power in the sixteenth century when they visited Mexico and upper North America, but in 1638 they were prohibited by imperial edict from leaving their country lest they be contaminated by the spread of western customs and religion. Until the "Open Door" Treaty of 1858, therefore, they continued their feudal life in their own remote islands, untouched by outside life. Once the door to the world was opened, however, they lost no time in making their presence felt, and soon embarked on a well-planned policy of world-wide expansion. The first group to leave the country went to the sugar-plantations of the Hawaiian Islands. From 1869 to 1884 they spent their efforts in colonizing their own islands. After 1885 they sent many emigrants to other parts of the globe, to Canada, to the United States, to Australia, to South America, especially to Brazil. By the end of the century, Japan's plan of expansion was well under way. In 1896 Canada had about one thousand Japanese. Five years later, there were five thousand, most of whom were in British Columbia.

At first Japanese immigration tended to be seasonal in nature, but it

(2) *Canada Year Book*, 1940. p. 163
soon showed indications of permanence. To the people of British Columbia, there seemed little difference between the two groups of Orientals in the matter of desirability. In fact there was, if anything, a preference for the more familiar Chinese. Feeling against the alert, aggressive Japanese grew and British Columbians were soon trying by legal or other means to show their objections to this new menace to their social and economic security.

In 1898 the legislature of British Columbia petitioned the Dominion government for the restriction of Orientals. This petition having failed, in February of 1899 the legislature prepared to pass fourteen clauses prohibiting the employment of Chinese or Japanese in connection with certain industries, notably mining.

Immediately there was a reaction from the Japanese. There was a sudden flurry of letters and telegrams, beginning with a telegram from the Japanese consul at Vancouver, Shimizu, to the governor-general, protesting the restriction laid upon his countrymen. A letter followed, dealing with the same subject. A further letter from Kato, at the Japanese Legation, to the Marquis of Salisbury on February 18, 1899, asked that "Her Majesty's Government extend to the present instance the same enlightened policy... that such a policy cannot fail in augmenting the friendly relations existing between Japan and the Dominion of Canada." Then followed a brisk correspondence among the statesmen involved. Finally the Minister of Justice was consulted and he recommended that, in the offending clauses, reference to the Japanese be deleted. In June 1899 Sir Wilfred Laurier wired the Premier of British Columbia that the clauses must be brought into line with Dominion policy or they would be disallowed. The Premier replied that he regretted his inability to revise the clauses; they were then disallowed. Sir Wilfred explained his action as follows: "Speaking on..."

(3) Sessional Papers, 1900. No. 87, p. 2
Speaking on behalf of the Canadian Government...we are not prepared to extend the same treatment to Japanese immigration as to Chinese immigration. We are not prepared to come into conflict with the Japanese Government when perhaps there may be complications in the Orient which might involve England in a war, and when, possibly the best ally she would have in the Orient might be put in jeopardy...But I think we owe it to our fellow-citizens in British Columbia that they should have an opportunity of putting their views on record...so that their views upon the question may be placed before the Imperial authorities for their consideration.

The Honourable Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary and Britain's representative in the dispute, expressed the desire that the coast of British Columbia should remain British, but also hoped it would be possible to avoid offending a friendly power. He therefore recommended the application of a "Natal" Act which would require that any immigrant wishing to enter Canada should make application for entry in a European language. Realizing how easy it would be to learn enough English to answer the simple questions on the application form, British Columbians did not hesitate to express their dissatisfaction with Chamberlain's suggestion.

In order that justice should be done to all interested, Sir Wilfred then appointed the Royal Commission of 1900.

The Royal Commission, as has been previously noted, made separate studies of the Chinese and the Japanese problems. Evidence was given by a wide variety of witnesses of many occupations. These witnesses included several Indian chiefs of the coast and island regions. The objections made were much the same as those offered to the Chinese, but with the difference that, as more occupations were affected in the case of the Japanese, the range of opposition was wider. The Indian chiefs particularly resented the invasion of their fishing grounds by large numbers of Japanese.

(4) House of Commons Debates Canada, 1900, June 14, p. 7409.
The Commissioners reported that, since August 1, 1900 the Japanese Government had stopped issuing passports to all immigrants except previous residents of Canada and their families, and to students and merchants. The Commissioners believed that, unless the Japanese Government revoked these orders, Canada need not take any action to restrict the immigration of Japanese. They recommended that, if action should be necessary, it should take the form of the passage of a "Natal" Act, by the Dominion Government, as Mr. Chamberlain had recommended. The passage of such an act was, however, beyond the power of the provincial legislature. The decision given in 1884 by Sir Alexander Campbell, Minister of Justice, in disallowing British Columbia's legislation on Chinese affairs was followed in 1903 by David Mills, the Minister of Justice of Laurier's régime. This decision was that:

The authority given by the ninety-fifth section of the British North America Act is an authority to regulate and promote immigration into the province and not an authority to prohibit immigration.

A law which prevents the people of any country from coming into a province cannot be said to be of a local or private nature. On the contrary, it is involving Dominion and possibly Imperial interests.

The Minister of Justice therefore stated that a "Natal" Act could not be passed for local use. To be valid it would have to apply to the whole Dominion. Therefore, no "Natal" Act was possible for British Columbia.

Sir Wilfred Laurier was looking to international relations and, as far as Canada was concerned, to trade relations. Eastern industry and transportation companies were behind him in his policy for in 1902 Japanese trade


(6) An opposing voice came from Quebec: "It seems to me that we have been sacrificing Canadian interests for the Imperial policy of Great Britain, for the sake of an ally which may appear in the future as a most dangerous enemy, a nation which has its eyes upon Australia as well as a great desire to colonize British Columbia."

House of Commons Debates [Canada], 1907-8. pp. 2026-2159, Armand Lavergne.
had improved greatly? Already the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had indicated its interest in Oriental trade by building steamships for the North Pacific routes and the Dominion Government was subsidizing these ships. Laurier had sent exhibition commissioners to Japan to promote trade. In the matter of immigration, therefore, he was treading very delicately. All these developments came to a climax in 1906 when Canada became a signatory to the Anglo-Japanese Treaty for Trade and Navigation of 1894.

It is hardly a matter of surprise that this treaty was not pleasing to British Columbians. One part of the agreement was especially irritating. It said:

The subjects of each of the two high contracting parties shall have full liberty to enter, travel or reside in any part of the dominions and possessions of the other contracting party and shall enjoy full and perfect protection for their persons and property.

Although these privileges were not accorded to British Columbians resident in Japan, the Japanese interpreted the agreement as the British Columbians had expected: an open invitation to Japanese emigrants to enter Canada. The Russo-Japanese War had given pause to Japanese immigration, but, the War once over, these enterprising Orientals began to make use of the terms of the treaty with the confidence, even aggressiveness, born of their new prestige as a world power. Whereas in 1905 about 800 had entered, in 1906 there were 2,996, and in 1907, 8,196. These large numbers considered in connection with

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Imports from Japan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>$1,572,937</td>
<td>$10,307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1,751,415</td>
<td>110,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1,928,886</td>
<td>508,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1,673,542</td>
<td>659,118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(8) House of Commons Debates Canada.
(9) Ibid. 1907, p. 1548, J.B. Kennedy.
(10) *Canada Year Book*. 1943-44. pp. 182-3
the fact that the Chinese, having recovered from the shock of the five hundred dollar capitation tax, were coming in again in large numbers [70 in 1906 and 1524 in 1907] \^{10} were the immediate cause of the anti-Asiatic riots in Vancouver in 1907, for most of these immigrants had remained in British Columbia.

The riots of 1907, as has been noted, brought W.L. Mackenzie King west to investigate the causes. He discovered that the great influx of Japanese to Canada was due to the fact that many who had received passports from the Japanese Government to go to the United States via Hawaii had been diverted to Canada because the United States had closed its doors in 1907 against the entry of Japanese. The Deputy Minister of Labour found no evidence of bad faith on the part of the Japanese Government. He continued that: "In coming to Canada, it seems reasonable to assume that they [the Japanese immigrants] went beyond the wishes of the authorities by whose permission they had been allowed to emigrate at all!" He therefore recommended the passage of a measure which would avoid a repetition of such an influx. His suggestion was incorporated in an Order-in-Council later to be known as the "Continuous Passage" Clause of the Immigration Act.

As a result of the riots of 1907, the people of British Columbia again petitioned the Dominion Government for effective restriction of Oriental immigration. Ralph Smith, member of parliament of Nanaimo, in supporting the petition said that:

Today the commercial men of British Columbia fear the Japanese

(11) Canada Year Book, 1943-44, p. 182.
(13) P.C. No. 920 of May 9, 1910, superseded on January 7, 1914 by P.C. 23, which says: "From and after the date hereof the landing in Canada shall be and the same is hereby prohibited of any immigrant who has come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which he is a native or naturalized citizen and upon a through ticket purchased in that country or prepaid in Canada."
as the industrial classed ten years ago feared the Chinaman. The Chinese coolie entered into industrial competition with the man who had to work with the pick and shovel; but the Japanee- and this accounts for the extraordinary excitement and the position of antagonism against the Oriental in British Columbia at the present time- the Japanee enters into competition with the commercial classes in British Columbia...Every businessman in British Columbia today is just as ready to sign the petition as the industrial classes themselves.

It was as a result of this petition that Sir Wilfred Laurier sent his Minister of Labour, Rudolphe Lemieux, to Japan that he might investigate the report of the entry of "some eight thousand immigrants into British Columbia during the summer" following the signing of the trade treaty with Japan. Lemieux was commissioned to find how this large emigration had been given permission to enter Canada, and how a recurrence of such an immigration could be avoided. The Government was undoubtedly stimulated to action by a statement made by members of the Opposition that "Japan should be shown that public opinion is unanimous against that most regretful surrender of our rights...We have abandoned control of our immigration which this Government conceded to Japan in 1906!"

Laurier did not follow this forthright counsel; he was too cautious and too sensitive to the trend of international affairs. He preferred that measures of restriction should come from Japan. "Japan," he said, "is no longer a nation that we can treat with indifference." He did, however, concede that Canada had a right to send a diplomatic mission to Japan.

Fortunately, the Japanese Government was willing and able to co-operate with Canada. Assisted by the British Ambassador, and by Joseph Pope, the Under-Secretary of State for Canada, Lemieux succeeded in arranging with the

(15) ibid. p. 859-70, Sir Wilfred Laurier.
(16) ibid. p. 873, F.D. Monk.
(17) ibid. p. 58, Sir Wilfred Laurier.
Japanese Government a "Gentleman's Agreement" which was duly presented to the Canadian people in 1908. In 1896 the Japanese government had passed a law forbidding Japanese nationals to leave the country without the consent of the government. As this law was still on the statutes, it was possible for the Japanese representative, Count Tadosu Hayashi to say:

Although the existing treaty between Japan and Canada absolutely guarantees to Japanese subjects full liberty to enter, travel and reside in any part of the Dominion of Canada, yet it is not the intention of the Imperial Government to insist upon the complete enjoyment of those rights and privileges.

Acting in this spirit and having particular regard to circumstances of recent occurrence in British Columbia, the Imperial Government have decided to take efficient means to restrict immigration to Canada...giving careful consideration to local conditions prevailing in Canada.

The agreement entered into between Canada and Japan, called the Lemieux Agreement, was as follows:

A. The Japanese Government would grant permission to the following classes to emigrate,
   i. Those emigrants having previous residence in Canada and holding certificates of such residence issued by Japanese consular authorities in the Dominion; the wives and children of such.
   ii. Emigrants specially engaged by Japanese residents of Canada for bona fide personal or domestic service upon written evidence of such engagement attested by competent Japanese consular authorities.
   iii. Contract emigrants when the terms of the contract are specified and the contracts approved by Japanese consuls.

B. Consular authorities would not issue certificates unless they first received the permission of the Canadian Government, except in the case of contract labour for farms held by Japanese landholders who may apply for labourers at the rate of five to ten labourers per hundred acres of land.

Japanese authorities were instructed to ascertain the bona fides of applications and to take into consideration the condition of the labour market in Canada.

The Japanese Government did not anticipate that, for the domestic and labour classes the number would exceed four hundred per annum.

As might well be expected, this agreement did not please the British Columbians. The number of the "labouring" classes did not exceed three hundred, but the annual average was well over four hundred, and the cry of "unfair" was repeatedly heard, both in and out of parliament. Japan was accused of not respecting the agreement, and an agitation again developed, directed toward having the control of immigration centred in Canada rather than in Japan. Feeling became inflamed when it was realized that more than half the newcomers were women; this was an indication of the permanence of the movement.

The coming of World War I. put a stop at once to large scale immigration and to agitation against Orientals, who were now allies of Canada, and, as such, to be respected. When the War was over, the numbers of Orientals increased once more, and the agitation began again. When the revised Chinese Immigration Act came into effect in 1923, an agreement was reached with the Japanese Government that the number of immigrants should be limited to one hundred and fifty per annum. This agreement was re-stated in an exchange of notes between Japanese and Canadian officials in 1928, and its provisions held until the outbreak of World War II. brought an end to Japanese immigration and a dispersal of those already here to the various provinces of Canada, away from the danger points on the Pacific Coast. The agreement of 1928 definitely brought to an end the "Picture Brides", a system whereby an unmarried Japanese in Canada could "order" a bride from a series of pictures issued by the home government. The two were married by proxy, and the woman was then admitted to Canada as a wife. Although the agreement of 1928 limited the number of immigrants, it also recognized the fact that the Japanese were here to stay. With this knowledge the British Columbians had

(18) Canada Year Book, 1943-44, pp.182-3, 1918, Chinese, 2,988, Japanese, 1,039.
to be content, although their most enthusiastic member of parliament, A.W. Neill, they continued to fight the issue to the outbreak of the War in 1939.

In the control of immigration from India, Canada has been faced by one of the most difficult problems of her experience, for the Indians were British subjects, and the exclusion of the members of one part of the Commonwealth from the lands of another part called for more diplomacy than Canadians had often been called upon to exercise. As British subjects, the East Indians claimed the right to settle in any part of the British Empire, and were both hurt and aggrieved to realize that, although they were considered as British in India and in England, they were British in the same sense when they entered Canada as immigrants with the intention of staying.

The entry of the first East Indians into British Columbia was prompted by accounts of Canada taken home by East Indians returning home for Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1897. The immigration was planned by certain Indian leaders whom by using glowing reports of British Columbia, intended to exploit their fellow-countrymen as cheap labour. The Indians mortgaged their homes at great rates of interest in order to reach Canada. In 1906 and again in 1907 over two thousand Indians arrived in British Columbia with the idea of settling. About a year later, many of them were destitute, were unable to obtain work, and had to seek city relief. Their requests for help brought them to the notice of the government. Investigation disclosed that many of these immigrants did not meet the requirements of British Columbia either from the physical or the social point of view. As unskilled labour, they had found some work in saw-mills, clearing land, or had taken up small farms.

Their religion set them apart from most social activities, and excluded them from many occupations. The wages they were able to earn in their restricted environment were not sufficient for their needs and they were often in distress. 20

A suggestion was made to the Laurier Government that the Indians should emigrate to the West Indies, where the climate would be more suitable for them. Lord Crewe proposed to Lord Grey that the Indians should go to British Honduras. The Indians refused to go unless so advised by their leaders. A delegation consisting of Sikhs, Hindus and Dominion Government officials was sent to British Honduras. The Indian leaders returned with a very adverse report chiefly as regards low wages and insufficient food. Their followers then refused to leave Canada.

As this mission failed, it then became the object of the Dominion Government to prevent any further immigration of East Indians. While the Government of India issued warnings both to its people and to steamship companies that Indians were not welcome in Canada, Sir Wilfred Laurier invoked the "Continuous Passage" Clause of the Immigration Act. This Clause used against the Japanese as well as in cases of European immigration, was effective in the case of the East Indians because there was no direct steamship route from India to Canada; therefore no Indians could legally enter.

Some Indians decided to test the strength of the "Continuous Passage" Clause. In 1908, a ship carrying 185 Hindus docked in Vancouver. Except for about twenty who had previous-residence qualifications, the Indians were refused admittance by Dr. A.S. Munro, who rejected them on the ground that they had trachoma, a disease of the eyes for which many on the east coast were also rejected. Thirty-five of the travellers were returned to India by

the Canadian Pacific Steamships. The remainder were left in Vancouver. A
meeting of protest was held by five hundred Sikhs in their Vancouver temple.
They argued that the deportation of their countrymen would be a strong
weapon in the hands of the secessionists in India. They also insisted that,
as British subjects, they had the right to reside anywhere within the Empire.
The protests of the Indians were carried to John Morley, Secretary of State
for India. The delegate, Uday Ram said: "If our interests are overlooked by
others, those in India must necessarily resent your government's negligence".
Laurier's reply was that the Continuous Passage Clause must apply to all
persons immigrating to Canada. "To Hindus, to British subjects, and to for­
eigners of all nationalities...It is essential to control the character of
the immigration to this country."

As it was realized that the interest in the question of East Indian
immigration went beyond the bounds of Canada, Laurier sent his Deputy Minis­
ter of Labour, W.L. Mackenzie King, to study and report on the subject of
the immigration of East Indians to Canada. This report is found in the
Sessional Papers for 1908, Number 36a. The commissioner found that the East
Indians were unsuitable for the climate of Canada, and that their low standard
of living made them an undesirable competitor in the labour market. Mackenzie
King's investigations took him to London where he conferred with Lord Elgin,
Secretary of State for the Colonies; John Morley, Secretary of State for
India; and Lord Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The agreement
reached included the following statement:

That Canada should desire to restrict immigration from the
Orient is regarded as natural; that Canada should remain a
white man's country is believed desirable for economic and social
reasons, but highly desirable on political and national grounds.
Canada as a self-governing Dominion can legislate as discreet.

As a corollary to this right of self-government is the understanding that British international alliances place no restrictions on Canada's right to legislate.

While Canada's autonomy is conceded and respected, Canada's position as part of the Empire is regarded as sufficient guarantee that the exercise of her plenary powers will not be without regard to the obligations of citizenship within the Empire.

Canada was clearly in a difficult position: that of choosing the immigrants she wanted without offending those she rejected.

As the matter was allowed to rest for some time, the United India League and the Khalsa Divan Society of Vancouver in December of 1911 sent a delegation to the Honourable R. Rogers, the Minister of the Interior, asking that their fellow countrymen be allowed entry to Canada. The Minister promised to give the matter his immediate consideration, but when a year and a quarter had passed and nothing had been heard from him, the Indians once more expressed their indignation against a "crooked regulation" which it was impossible to obey. The following year, several East Indians sent for their wives and families. At first these were declared deportable, but after some litigation, and as an act of grace, they were finally allowed to stay. Shortly after another group of forty were refused entry. The case for their admittance was brought before Chief Justice Hunter who declared the law refusing entry to these immigrants was *ultra vires*. They were allowed to enter, but the Immigration Act was soon amended to prevent any recurrence.

The amendment was P.C.23 which replaced P.C.No. 920 of May, 1910, and which has already been quoted as the "Continuous Passage Clause" on page 6.

The Minister of the Interior had previously ruled that unless an immigrant is actually admitted as a "desirable," he cannot claim "habeas corpus!" He said:

(22) *Sessional Papers, 1908; No.156a. p. 7."
There is no question that comes before the Government of Canada for its consideration that is so important in regard to the present and ultimate future well-being of Canada as the subject of immigration. There is no feature of that question which constitutes such a serious menace to the present and future welfare of Canada as the subject of Asiatic immigration. This ruling made it difficult if not impossible for Indians to reach a hearing in Canadian courts if they managed to present themselves at Canada's gateways.

The Indians were persistent, however, and in 1914 caused the Canadian government a serious embarrassment through one of the most unpleasant episodes in the history of its immigration, the "Komagata Maru Affair." In 1914, Gurdit Singh, an agitator against the British Government in India, hired from its Japanese owners the "Komagata Maru," a small passenger ship. Gathering 376 of his fellow Sikhs, Gurdit Singh crossed the Pacific by way of Shanghai, where he added to his passengers, he presented himself in Vancouver harbour demanding admittance. Not having completed a "Continuous Passage," the travellers were refused entry. Gurdit Singh then declared his mission: "The main object of our coming is to let the British Government know that they cannot maintain their rule in India as the Indian Government is in danger nowadays." He further implied that if he and his friends were not admitted to Canada, there would be trouble; if they were admitted, all would be well in India.

The threat was not taken as serious, and the entry of the Indians was not allowed. Only the leader, his secretary and twenty passengers were permitted to land, and a board of enquiry was called. Meanwhile the passengers on the ship went on a supposed hunger strike. Food, chiefly two tons of flour, three hundred pounds of rice and a quantity of fruit, was offered by

(23) Information on the "Komagata Maru" Affair from the article of that name in the B.C. Historical Quarterly, January, 1941, p.6 by Judge Robie Reid.

(22) House of Commons Debates [Canada], 1913, p.122. Frank Oliver.
the Government was refused unless supplemented by a wide variety of other foods, including fifty live sheep or goats, one hundred fowls and cigarettes. Gurdit Singh also tried to obstruct the findings of the board of enquiry. The board upheld the provisions of P.C.23 and ordered that the immigrants be rejected. The Indians were advised to return home, but this they refused to do, defeating all the efforts of the police to make them obey. It was then that H.M.C.S."Rainbow", recently prepared at Esquimalt for service, was taken to Vancouver harbour, with orders to "stand by" and "if necessary, to fire on the vessel. Only then did the "Komagata Maru" leave, being escorted out of the harbour by the warship, after having been provisioned by the Dominion Government with food for the return journey to India.

This incident did much to injure the prestige of both Canada and Great Britain in India, to which some of the passengers returned with tales of their "ill-treatment" at the hands of the Canadians, tales which were carried even up into the Punjab. Judging from Gurdit Singh's avowed intention, that was what they intended to do.

Except for minor incidents there was no further trouble with the East Indians. When feeling had died down a little many people expressed the belief that the wives and children of resident East Indians should, in all humanity, be allowed to enter. At the Imperial War Conference of 1917 this matter came up for discussion. Canada, while maintaining her objection to the admission of more East Indians, did concede the admission of "one wife and the children of that wife", in the case of those males already in the country. Under this agreement a number of women and children entered.

The immigration of East Indians to Canada has never been extensive, as the following tables show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>2,326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>2,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>309</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>1916</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>30</td>
</tr>
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<td>.56</td>
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<td>1929</td>
<td>.49</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1931</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since 1924 the majority of the immigrants have been wives and families of resident East Indians who had entered Canada previous to World War I. That there is little feeling against them now was shown in the passage of the citizenship acts through the local legislature in 1946. Although the East Indians have not been assimilated to any extent, partly because of their racial characteristics, but chiefly because of their religion, those who have remained in Canada have found occupations suitable to their abilities, which in many cases are considerable. Many have prospered greatly; few, if any, now require charity. While their religious beliefs and language difficulties isolate the older immigrants, the younger ones, and the native-born show a great tendency to fit themselves to Canadian ways and to develop into desirable citizens. There seems to be little fear of a future "Indian problem."
Chart showing relative Immigration of Orientals into Canada 1876 - 1936

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Collections</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>East Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886-1900</td>
<td>4, 854,220</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1910</td>
<td>6, 197,260</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912-1922</td>
<td>15, 877,579</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Acts governing Oriental Immigration:
- Act 1882 (C. 49 Vict. c. 71) 500 tax
- Act 1900 (19 and 20 Vict. c. 15) 100 tax
- Act 1908 (21 and 22 Vict. c. 5) 200 tax
- Act 1909 (23 and 24 Vict. c. 37) "Exclusion Act"
- Act 1910 Sec. 38 "Continuous Passage" Chinese.

Scale: 1 cm = 500
## APPENDIX.

Table showing immigration of Chinese into Canada 1885-1938.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1886–1891</th>
<th>1892</th>
<th>1893</th>
<th>1894</th>
<th>1895</th>
<th>1896</th>
<th>1897</th>
<th>1898</th>
<th>1899</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1902</th>
<th>1903</th>
<th>1904</th>
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<th>1908</th>
<th>1909</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>1913</th>
<th>1914</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4812</td>
<td>3282</td>
<td>2238</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>1462</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>2671</td>
<td>2192</td>
<td>4402</td>
<td>4257</td>
<td>2544</td>
<td>3597</td>
<td>5329</td>
<td>4747</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>2234</td>
<td>2106</td>
<td>2502</td>
<td>5320</td>
<td>6181</td>
<td>7445</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>89</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>4133</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>2435</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Delegation to Canada. Cmd.2285
Oversea Settlement Committee. Cmd.3209
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Gives the picturesque story of foreign settlements.


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