

WHO WAS THE IDEAL IMMIGRANT? SETTLEMENT IN WESTERN CANADA, 1880-1914

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Abstract

This article explores the tensions inherent in contemporary evaluation of who constituted the ideal immigrant in Western Canada prior to World War One. From the perspective of employers there was often great advantage in overlooking any cultural or ethnic criteria and settling for those incomers who would provide the cheapest labour costs. However, in such a racially conscious society this attitude was bound to create conflicting cross-currents amongst various lobbies interested in maintaining a British ethnic dominance. Often these advocates encouraged female immigration from the British Isles as a means of attaining this objective. However, for those actually settled in the West this consideration of Britishness was often less important than gaining the skills, entrepreneurial outlook and acceptable ethnic characteristics of white American settlers. As for the immigrants themselves, the prospects of economic betterment made the cultural denigration which they suffered slightly easier to bear than otherwise might have been the case.

He's an indifferent chopper of wood; he has made next to no money here.... It isn't the hardness of the work, but the way he is treated, the way they are all treated by the Canadians in the camp: as second-class, second-rate.... Bohunk [is] the first English word he learns in Canada.

Janice Kulyk Keefer, *The Green Library*, (1996)

The Facts of Leaving

Statistics can act in the manner of inoculations against shock and pain. To say that over 22 million British emigrants left these shores between 1815 and 1914 ¹ is almost an invitation to accept the information in an emotionless way - as if it were no more than a necessary bit of demographic surgery for the better health of the Empire. One way of registering what was happening is to note that, had the Great War not occurred and thus halted the flow of population, Britain would have had, even after the grievous losses of the Western Front, fewer people than it did in 1918.² Yet, what we are concerned with was by no means a British phenomenon. The flow of people was to become even more marked. In the years between 1890 and 1914 24 million left Europe for destinations overseas. Nearly 60% of these emigrants made for the United States but significant proportions also travelled to Canada, Australia, Argentina and Brazil.³

Such a remarkable migration was not accomplished without a monumental investment in courage and hope, often cruelly repaid in little more than grief and disappointment. Yet the brunt of recent historical work on

migration downplays an earlier tendency to write 'victim history' and, instead, stresses the adaptability and resourcefulness of the immigrants. This is also true for women's part in the process. Often seen as playing an inhibiting role in the decision to emigrate in the homeland and subsequently deferring to patriarchy in the new society, recent research gives credibility to a more positive role in both situations. For the majority of emigrants of either gender it was the combination of the 'push' of economic depression and political tyranny with the 'pull' of free land and economic opportunity which were the major incentives to move.⁴ The desire to be independent was perhaps the dominant individual motive. Emigration was less the move of desperation by those on the lowest rung of society than it was the calculated move of a stratum of people more literate and ambitious than their neighbours. 'I do not pride myself on anything that I can do more than others [...] as I look upon it that no one [can] keep himself from falling unless God sustains him' said one Scottish emigrant in the 1860s whose words must bear the weight of explanation for millions more. 'But', he continued, 'I was ambitious to get on, to get independent and thank God I hope I am.'⁵ The lack of economic opportunities in the homeland rarely meant that emigrants left their native land with bitterness in their hearts. It was, for example, the recently arrived immigrants from Britain who helped the Governors and Family Compact repel the Reformers and Radicals of the 1830s in Upper Canada.

Arrival in North America's first destination beyond the port city did not, except for a distinct minority, lead to permanent settlement. Itineracy, especially for young males, was a way of life for many immigrants. In addition, drifting westwards was as effortless and inexorable as an ocean tide. In an extraordinary account Gerald McFarland has traced how the descendants of four New England families found their way, slowly but surely, generation by generation, across the vast continental expanses to the West Coast. When the author enquired into the explanation for this century-long process he found the usual motivation of the constant search for plenty. But he also located another impulse which holds true for many Canadian migrants as well. He refers to 'a second version of the American dream' which 'involved aspirations to purity - purity of conduct, purification of society through reform, and pure obedience to God's will'.⁶ The Canadian West proved to be attractive to utopians and idealists of various kinds. One immediately thinks of the Mormons, the Mennonites and the Doukhobors. For all of these sectarian movements there were strong 'restrictions on membership, powerful ideological commitment, asceticism and charismatic leadership'.⁷

Quantity and Quality

Of obvious importance for any host colony or nation is the culture and character of the incomers. Philip Buckner has forcefully argued that it was

the overwhelmingly British nature of the intake of over a million people into British North America between 1815 and the 1860s that ensured that, outside Lower Canada, its cultural identity would be British. Even though, thanks to a very high birth rate, the francophone population trebled in numbers between those dates, the non-francophone population with a significantly lower rate increased tenfold.⁸ But if this flow from Britain seemingly set the seal upon the cultural character of Canada, the events of the next few decades represented a severe setback. Despite the winning of political unity in 1867 and the fashioning of the National Policy in the next two decades, the intake of immigrants could barely cope with the haemorrhaging of population southwards into the United States. This was so even though the National Policy gave equal emphasis to immigration in the nation-building process as it did to the building of a transcontinental railway and protective tariffs. What was worse was that in Ontario, in the very engine-room of industrialisation, there was a loss of a million people during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.⁹

In such a worrying climate of doubt and despair there was little room to consider the idea of quality of immigrant, itself an ideologically loaded phrase. It was even less appropriate in the pre-1914 world since the essence of immigration policy was less that of negative exclusion than that of positive discrimination. It is true that the open door was gradually closed against Asians. It was while Clifford Sifton was Minister of the Interior (1896-1905) that the fewest restrictions were placed against any category of immigrant. Acts such as the ones passed in 1906 and 1910, however, tightened up procedures and gave new powers of social regulation.¹⁰ But the more usual way of settling the new lands of the West was by giving bounties to shipping companies in Europe to attract immigrants. The peopling of the West became an urgent part of the policy of the new Liberal Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier after 1896. Sifton shook up the Ministry, centralised procedures and made an all-out bid to entice the right sort of people to settle in the 'last best West'. Of special interest was his welcome to 'the stalwart peasant in the sheep-skin coat'. Besides the availability of free Crown land, there was also the possibility of purchasing sometimes even more desirable and fertile lots from the Hudson's Bay Company, the CPR or from the Metis. This was available and sold for an average price of \$3.78 per acre during the period 1870 to 1899. This, of course, was only possible for the better-off since it raised the minimum costs of establishing oneself well beyond the necessary \$500 to \$600 for equipment and the \$1500 and upwards for a habitation.¹¹

Fears regarding the cultural complexion of Canada, due to immigration of non-Anglo-Saxon people, were heard then and have been heard continuously ever since. D.C. Harvey, the foremost historian of Nova Scotia in the pre-1939 period, gave a series of lectures on The Colonisation of

Canada for the Canadian Radio Commission in the early 1930s. In his talks he looked back to the population changes which had occurred during the course of his lifetime. He lamented the fact that in the late nineteenth century, in effect, the country had exchanged two million of Canadian-born to the United States in exchange for the same number of foreign-born. Thus it was alarming to register the fact that by 1931 the British portion of the population was only 51% while the European numbers had risen to 17.5%. After pointedly listing the numbers for each of 22 ethnic or national groups, he concluded with the warning that:

Numerically speaking, the growth of our population has been satisfactory especially when we realise that it has more than doubled in the last forty years; but from the social and political point of view the rapid increase of the last forty years has not been so satisfactory, as education of citizenship has not kept pace with economic expansion, and there is a grave danger that part of our Dominion will become Balkanised. It is this danger that warns us to hasten slowly henceforth, and to take care that the mere desire for numbers shall not induce us to jeopardize the future of Canadian national unity.¹²

The make-up of Canada's population, their attitudes and economic performance, were also of importance to British imperialists. The letters of Lord Minto while Governor General of Canada (1898-1904) show his concerns regarding the Canadian people. In particular, there was a constant fixation with the question of whether public opinion generally was too pacific to meet properly the challenges of a dangerous and bellicose world.¹³ Anxieties expressed at imperial conferences that formal trade with the Empire only constituted 35 per cent of British trade led to the setting up of a Royal Commission in 1911. Its roving team of investigators who toured Canada just before the outbreak of War produced a report in 1917 which incorporated a consideration of the importance of imperial migration.¹⁴ This episode represented an inchoate but insistent dream that the imperial project could become a reality. 'Men, money and markets' was an often incanted formula that belied the more ungainly reality. R.B. Bennett's claim that the Empire was an economic unit was, in Tim Rooth's words, 'manifest nonsense' and for no country was this more true than the one of which Bennett was Prime Minister.¹⁵ Still, H.V. Hodson, former editor of the imperial journal, *Round Table* and then editor of the *Sunday Times*, could write a book in 1948 in which under one heading entitled 'Populate or Perish' there was the injunction that 'the main object of the whole Commonwealth ... is more people of better quality.'¹⁶

Who was the Best Immigrant?

Without any doubt there was a pecking order in the popular imagination regarding the ideal immigrant. It will cause little surprise to learn that it was the Anglo-Saxon who was seen as the culmination of the human evolutionary process. Beyond that, according to one authority:

Generally speaking, northerners were to be preferred to southerners (and the role of old European ideas about the sexually passionate nature of southerners and easterners cannot be underestimated in this context); lighter-skinned people were to be preferred to dark-skinned people; and Protestants were far preferable to Catholics, with Christians in general being preferable to non-Christians.¹⁷

Among potential British immigrants it was individuals with experience on the land, ideally also with some capital, who were most highly regarded. This remained true throughout the period. A survey of the advertisements placed in the *Norfolk Weekly Standard and Argus* in 1905 and 1908 showed, for example, that the direction of such advertising was for the seasoned agriculturalist. That such a newspaper was chosen as a vehicle for advertisement is itself revealing;¹⁸ yet, it was but one example of a very widespread phenomenon in the British provincial press. If, on the other hand, people intended to go to Canada without the advantages of a modicum of capital or some experience then they would have to be prepared to work very, very hard. One Canadian immigration agent, addressing an audience in Cambridgeshire, said there were those who should not go to Canada - those whom he characterised as 'born grumblers and people with an indisposition to work'.¹⁹

If British immigration was, generally speaking, so favourably viewed why then, the question confronts us, did Canadian policy not always follow the inclinations of such an outlook? After all, if conformity to the ideal Anglo-Saxon type was of the greatest significance, then it would only have been necessary to continue with pre-existing policies. How did it come about that Eastern and Southern Europeans and Catholics were given the green light to enter the country? Why was it not just British people who came?

(1) The Government

To approach a satisfactory response to these questions it is necessary first of all to separate opinion into recognisable categories. This is so because attitudes were not uniform. It is necessary to look, in turn, at government, capital and labour and what we call here 'opinion leaders'. None of these categories was, of course, a water-tight compartment. There was often congruency, or at least overlapping interests, between government and capital. Nevertheless, as we will see, it was sometimes necessary for government to

respond to a public opinion which was shaped by a different set of priorities from the holders of capital. In the same manner it is important to note that the priorities of the government could change over a period of time. When Sifton took office in 1896 the most urgent necessity was to get people on the land. Agriculturalists, people with rural experience, represented the chief target. But, once this task was within sight of being achieved, the agenda of the government changed again.

The government in this new phase began to pay more attention to the kind of society which was taking shape in the West. The new priorities, however, were masked for a time. It has been suggested that criticism of the eastern European immigrants, especially the Doukhobors, took longer to be heard in the East since such groups were largely invisible to influential opinion there.²⁰ The man who was most alarmed was Alberta MP and eventual successor to Sifton, Frank Oliver. He accused Eastern Canadians of not caring whether the West was swamped by Galicians and Doukhobors. If ever, he intoned, it was intended to prevent a 'deterioration in morality and intelligence',²¹ then in his view restrictions would be necessary. In other words, the point of view was beginning to be formed that an aptitude for assimilation into the mainstream of Anglo-Saxon society on the part of the newcomer was what characterised the ideal immigrant. Such an attitude also represented a degree of disillusionment with the efficacy of the idea of 'the melting pot'. It had been assumed that the agencies of acculturation, such as schools and churches, would work in the same manner as they were popularly assumed to have done in the United States.²² Anxieties on this score increased with the outbreak of War. When certain immigrant groups showed a hostility towards the expectations of the assimilationists, especially the Galicians whose homeland was within the Austria-Hungarian Empire, the demands for the ending of bilingual schools in the West became too insistent to be disregarded or repelled.

(2) Capital and Labour

The ideas of capital and labour regarding the ideal immigrant were almost always opposed to one another. Canada was a country wedded to a form of extreme *laissez-faire* capitalism. It was the expectation not only of public opinion but also of public policy that each person 'would stand on his own two feet'. In Ontario, for example, there had always been strenuous application of the Poor Law. From this perspective it is possible to see how criticism could be levelled against certain types of British immigrant. There was, for example, criticism at one end of the social scale of the supercilious and superior upper-class Englishman. That he became the object of resentment was due in part to his manner but also to his dislike of anything resembling hard work. As Patrick Dunae has put it:

No longer were these gentlemen regarded as energetic, innovative pioneers; rather, they were viewed as disreputable, languid fops. In fact, attitudes had changed to such an extent that by 1900 the term 'gentleman emigrant' had virtually disappeared and been replaced by a new, derogatory term - 'remittance man'.²³

If that was the feeling regarding the upper classes, then there were also grave misgivings concerning the suitability as immigrants of those lower down the social scale. Whatever one might now think of the work of Dr Barnardo the fact was that during his lifetime he was regarded as undertaking very valuable work of child rescue. One of his early biographers, however, was led to complain that over a period of nearly 60 years the system which Barnardo had set up was constantly criticised in Canada. This was so despite the fact that Barnardo made considerable effort to send, in his words, 'the flower of the flock'.²⁴ There were also echoes heard of the view that filtered across the ocean from Britain itself that the British 'race' was becoming 'soft'. There was grave danger that British society was in a state of degeneration, both physically and morally. For example, the principal of Bradfield College, a Dr. Gray, was quoted in an Edmonton newspaper to the effect that:

Canada is calling to us to send her some of our best sons, and in many cases, we have sent our worst. When sons have been failures in the home or at school, parents have imagined that they will find a happy hunting ground, or at any rate a refuge, in a land where there is more elbow room. Never was a mistake more prodigious, never more hurtful to the reputation of England. Wastrels, loafers, and remittance men - they are the eyesores in a land that wants men.²⁵

Others worried that welfare legislation being passed by the Liberal government would render people work-shy. Was there a connection between such attitudes and the sightings of the signs in the West of 'No English Need Apply'?²⁶ Whether the incidence of such notices was exaggerated or not, they did appear.

The tenets of the capitalist system of individualistic land-holding also led to difficulties being created for the Doukhobors. Not that they could be faulted on the grounds of failing to be self-sufficient. Where the trouble occurred was on the latter's insistence that the original agreement with the federal government was that they would be granted land in communal blocks. Despite efforts to compromise, the Government was forced to take action against the settlers. Hostility was further fuelled by public reaction to the eccentric behaviour of a minority of the sect; the Doukhobors thus lost much of their original acreage. As had been the case with the Indians and the Metis, the

landholding system could not compromise with the primacy of individual ownership.²⁷

Whatever Canadians might have thought to the contrary, the fact was that by the end of the nineteenth century there was a fully-fledged class society in being. As David Gagan has said, by 1900 class conflict was no longer 'un-Canadian'. In Ontario there were 421 strikes in the years between 1900 and 1914.²⁸ Industrial relations thus were obviously conflictual. Nevertheless there was in the East at least a greater disposition on the part of the employers to recognise the legitimacy of Unions. Reciprocally, workers joined moderate international trade unions, eschewed violence and stayed clear of politics. But west of the Lakehead all was different. Resource-extracting industries and the railways made the cheapness of labour costs their main aim. Skin colour, religion or ethnicity were usually irrelevant. During the frequent labour disputes in the Lakehead, for example, both in the Canadian Northern and especially in the CPR yards, the management played off one ethnic group against another. Just as the Irish had been used as strike-breakers in Victorian Britain, Ukrainians and Italian workers were often fitted out for this role by managers.²⁹ It was also taken for granted that such workers would be paid less than the going rate. Given this kind of outlook on the part of employers, how likely was it that British workers, with their reputation for Union activism, would be taken on by, say, the CPR? At times employer desperation to attract skilled labour, as in the coal mines of Vancouver Island, led to employers making arrangements to bring in miners from Britain (as a glance at many of the street names in Nanaimo would reveal). Recently, John Belshaw has investigated the bases of the reputation of British workers for militancy. His view is that it would be a mistake to exaggerate the degree to which labour activism was something which the miners brought with them from Britain as opposed to being the product of the muscular capitalism practised by such individuals as coal-mine owner, James Dunsmuir.³⁰

Dunsmuir also happened to be the capitalist most prone to employing Chinese labour in the mines. By adopting this practice, he was hardly alone. The consequence was that the issue of Asian labour divided capital and labour down the middle. It was something of a defining moment in the mid-1880s when the moderate Knights of Labour made a stand against the further introduction of Chinese workers into Canada. As they saw it, the use of Chinese labour, as on the CPR, in the West was the result of a cosy arrangement between Macdonald and the employers at the expense of what they took to be the moral right to a living wage.³¹ With regard to Eastern European workers, employers initially took them on because this category of men were likely to regard their meagre wages as an improvement over what they had been used to receiving in their homeland. If conditions proved intolerable for the new immigrants, then as with so many of their proletarian brethren, they simply moved on. Mobility replaced militancy. From time to

time a stand would be taken, sometimes in partnership with other ethnic groups, but too often what took shape in the mines, railways yards, and logging camps was 'an ethnic caste system'.³² When Ukrainians formed organisations to defend their interests, sometimes of a social democratic nature, then they were branded as 'dangerous foreigners'.³³ It is possible to sense the shaping of the Anglophone mentality that led to the perception of the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919 as a Bolshevik conspiracy.

(3) Opinion Leaders

Within any society there are individuals and groups with greater knowledge, interest and experience who thus have more public prominence and power than others. We use the term 'opinion leaders' to describe that minority of the population.³⁴ By far the most influential within this group were newspaper editors such as J.W. Dafoe of the Manitoba Free Press. This paper was in the forefront of the campaign to end bilingual schools in the West. Of importance too were the adherents of Protestant mission work as well as the upholders of the Social Gospel movement. However much this latter group advocated social uplift and a more caring capitalism, its supporters were convinced of the necessity of terminating foreign immigration and bringing about the Canadianisation of the existing immigrant population.³⁵ Angus McLaren has identified professional groups such as doctors and social workers as another powerful group. In order to make their point regarding the undesirability of certain immigrant groups more forcefully, they resorted as a matter of course to the language of exclusivity and eugenics.³⁶

Majoritarian opinion in Britain and Eastern Canada was much more prone than in the West itself to regard the British immigrant as the ideal type. Those who saw Canada's place within the Empire as the most important statement about its international significance were most likely to hold this opinion. One recent writer who has studied the publicity in Shropshire concerning Canada in these years shows the way in which the Dominion's Britishness was emphasised at the expense often of truth; the intending immigrant could be forgiven for not knowing that French Canadians, Native Peoples or non-Anglo-Saxons were numerous present in the country. Or, if British opinion did take cognisance of the 'foreign element', then it was confidently expected, in the words of Stephen Leacock, that given time, 'the Ukrainian immigrants would soon be boasting of their victory at Trafalgar'.³⁷ It is notable too the way in which Canadian governmental officers in Britain were ever ready to pounce on unfavourable newspaper comments about prospects in Canada. In 1908 there was considerable effort expended in order to gather enough personal testimonies to put together a pamphlet to be entitled *Canada Through Scottish Eyes*. This was thought necessary in the aftermath of adverse comments by certain Scottish agricultural leaders.³⁸ Such sources of opinion were also highly in favour of female British immigration to Canada.

There were a significant number of female emigration societies in Britain all of which stressed the important role women could perform in holding together the bonds of Empire by the all-important duty of imperial motherhood. The flowery and gendered rhetoric in magazines such as *The Imperial Colonist*, however, barely concealed the fact that domestic service was in the final analysis the most likely avenue of occupation open to women.³⁹ It is observable that Canadian immigration agents in Britain tried to divert potential female emigration northwards and away from the United States.⁴⁰

So far as the suitability of Eastern European immigration is concerned it is possible that opinion was more favourable in Ontario than was true in the West. Mary Blackstock, of an old Toronto family and friend of John A. Macdonald, welcomed the idea of them coming to Canada.⁴¹ But in the West there had been as early as the 1870s opposition to the settlement of Icelanders and Mennonites because of their professed wish to maintain cultural and spatial separateness. But, as one historian has stated, such objections were 'met with bland indifference at the federal level'. That the desire for exclusivity, however, was not the sticking point is highlighted by the fact that the Mormons were able to establish themselves and to maintain their identity without arousing similar antagonism.⁴²

That this was so should alert us to the fact that in the West it was the Americans, assuming that their skin colour was white, who were regarded as the ideal immigrants. In 1905 the *Lethbridge Herald* editorialised in a rhapsodic, stream-of-consciousness style about new arrivals from south of the border:

Thus shall our vast tracts of God's bountifulness ... be peopled by an intelligent, progressive race of our kind, who will readily be developed into permanent, patriotic citizens, who will adhere to our flag... whose posterity will be educated in our schools, become part of our commonwealth and eventually assume their logical positions as important factors in our commercial and political life - in fact become by natural evolution a part and parcel of and inseparable from our proud standards of Canadianism.⁴³

The estimate has been made that perhaps as many as a half million Americans entered Canada in the period before 1914.⁴⁴ John W. Bennett's and Seena Kohl's recent book on the settlement of the Canadian and American West recounts in great detail the trials and tribulations experienced by the settlers who often criss-crossed a very porous border. What the authors found among their sample of earliest settlers was an over-riding search, first of all, for a livelihood but followed closely by the need for a sense of local community. These values transcended any concern for the expression of ethnic or national identity. The authors admit, however, that ethnicity assumed

greater importance as time went on, especially in Canada, where the means to effect a common identity were weaker than in the United States.⁴⁵

And what of the voice of the immigrants themselves? Were they listened to? Were they opinion leaders? If we confine ourselves to the chronological limits of this paper the answer must be a definite 'No'. Take the Ukrainian people as an example. It is true that the Canadian government appointed a Ukrainian official to help them in the initial stage of settling in. In addition, they were able to take advantage of existing legislation to set up bilingual schools. But in time, as they saw it, their way of life was threatened at a number of key points. For the majority who belonged to the Catholic church there were the pretensions and dominance of the French Canadian hierarchy to contend against. Just as important was the threat posed to the continuation of bilingual schools. Of course Ukrainian newspapers defended their views on such matters but how to contend against the Manitoba Free Press? But struggle they did. When told that they lived in an English province and that they must conform, they countered with the fact that it was their impression that they were living in Canada and not England. One verse of a published poem took comfort from the fact;

We are not Irish or Scots
We are sons of sacred Rus'.
You killed the language
Of those people
But you did not make them English.⁴⁶

The loss of such schools was felt by the next generation. One recounted that:

... we were never taught anything about our own province or the people in it. History was still about the kings and queens of England and the Spanish Armada and stuff about Sir John A. and Confederation. I was always dying to know something about my own people and the province of Saskatchewan.⁴⁷

A recent reconsideration of the early Ukrainian experience is perhaps more forgiving. Myron Momryk contents himself with saying that it was unfortunate that the arrival of the 170,000 original Ukrainians coincided 'with one of the major on-going debates - the future of Canadian society'. Furthermore, the great majority of their people did not suffer detention during the First War; in fact, for many, there was considerable prosperity. He defends the wisdom of the original bloc settlements because it led to the conditions which allowed for the emergence of a middle class whose offspring,

closer to our own time, did much to articulate the need for multiculturalism and bring it about in 1971.⁴⁸

Conclusion

As we have seen, views about the ideal immigrant were deeply embedded within a society prone to gendered thinking, racial stereotyping, class division and religious elitism. A sizeable portion of the Canadian population, those who saw Canada's place in the Empire as of primary importance, ranked the British immigrant, especially females, as most desirable. However, in the West itself and at the level of the congruity of language, culture and values it was the American immigrant who was the most highly prized and ranked. For a time agriculturalists of whatever type were seen as most desirable but this was soon overlaid by views about assimilation which took precedence. For the owners of capital, ethnicity was of little concern whereas for trade unionists it assumed great importance. In short, the ideal immigrant changed appearance depending on who was looking for him or her.

Endnotes

- 1.A.N. Porter (ed.) *Atlas of British Overseas Expansion* (London, 1991) p. 84
2. John Stevenson, *British Society 1914-45* (London, 1984) pp. 146-47
- 3.Orest Martynowich, *Ukrainians in Canada. The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton, 1991) p. 3
- 4.John W. Bennett and Seena B. Kohl, *Settling the Canadian and American West, 1890-1915* (Lincoln and London, 1995) p. 41, 53; Joy Parr, 'The Skilled Emigrant and Her Kin: Gender, Culture, and Labour recruitment', *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 68 (1987) pp. 529-551; Royden K. Loewen, "'The Children, the Cows, My Dear Man and My Sister': The Transplanted Lives of Mennonite Farm Women 1874-1900", *Canadian Historical Review*, 73 (1992) pp. 315-373.
- 5.Alexander Ross to Hugh Davidson, 23 April 1863. One of the authors (JS) saw the original letter, which is in the possession of the family of the late Malcolm Davidson near Stratford Ontario, and made a copy of it.
- 6.Gerald McFarland, *A Scattered People. An American Family Moves West* (New York, 1985) p. 238.
- 7.Antony Rasporich, 'The Vanishing West: Utopian Settlements in Western Canada 1885-1914', Canada House Lecture Series, No. 7, p. 19
8. Phillip Buckner, 'Making British North America British, 1815-1860' in C.C. Eldridge (ed.) *Kith and Kin. Canada, Britain and the United States from the Revolution to the Cold War* (Cardiff, 1997) pp. 17-18.
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- 12.D.C. Harvey, *The Colonization of Canada* (Toronto, 1936) pp. 142-48.

13. Paul Stevens and J Saywell (ed.), *Lord Minto's Canadian Papers, 1898-1904* vol. 1, (Toronto, 1981) pp. 58, 206.
14. S. Constantine (ed.) *Dominions Diary. The Letters of E.J. Harding 1913-1916* (Halifax, 1992) pp. 17, 31-35.
15. Tim Rooth 'The Political Economy of the North Atlantic Triangle in the 1930s' in Eldridge, *Kith and Kin*, p. 150.
16. H.V. Hodson, *Twentieth-Century Empire* (London, 1948) p. 126.
17. Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water* (Toronto, 1991) pp. 109-10.
18. *Norfolk Weekly Standard and Argus*, 1905 and 1908. See also: *Lincoln Gazette and Lincolnshire Times*, 1 September 1906 where the stress was very much on men of experience and capital as ideal immigrants. The same views were expressed also in the *Beverley Guardian*, 26 June 1909.
19. *Hertfordshire and Essex Observer and General Advertiser* 28 October 1905. This was contained in a lecture by Dr. John Robbins who had been resident 25 years in Canada.
20. D.J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton* vol.1, (Vancouver, 1981) p. 263.
21. Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race. Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto, 1990) p. 48.
22. See James Sturgis 'Learning about Oneself: The Making of Canadian Nationalism, 1867-1914' in Eldridge, *Kith and Kin*, pp. 113-14.
23. Patrick A. Dunae, *Gentleman Emigrants. From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier* (Vancouver, 1981)
24. J.W. Bready, *Doctor Barnardo* (London, 1930) pp. 218-21.
25. *Edmonton Capital*, 22 January 1910
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31. Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, *Dreaming of What Might Be. The Knights of Labour in Ontario, 1880-1900* (Toronto, 1987). pp. 150-51.
32. Martynowych, *Ukrainians*, ch. 5.
33. This was, of course, the title of Donald Avery's very perceptive book on the theme of attitudes towards non-Anglo-Saxons in Canada.
34. Paul F. Lazarfield, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, *The People's Choice* (New York, 1944) p. 146.
35. Valverde, *Age of Light*, ch. 5.
36. McLaren, *Our Own Master Race* p. 66.
37. Donald F. Harris, 'The Presentation of a British Canada in Shropshire c. 1890-1914' in: Colin M. Coates (ed.) *Imperial Canada 1867-1917* (Edinburgh, 1997) pp. 196-205. The quotation is on p. 197.
38. National Archives of Canada. RG76 C10633 vol. 548 file 805711.
39. Very helpful in the writing of this section has been an unpublished paper by Julia Bush entitled 'Mixed Messages: The Propaganda for Female Emigration, 1860-1914', given at the Anglo-American Conference on Gender and History, 3 July 1993.
40. See *Retford and Gainsborough Times*, 12 July 1873.

41. C.M. Blackstock, *All the Journey Through* (Toronto, 1997) p. 258.
42. Patrick Dunae (ed.) *Rancher's Legacy: Alberta Essays by Lewis G. Thomas* (Edmonton, 1986) pp. 70-72. Thomas would appear to have been oblivious of the contradictions in his own text.
43. *Lethbridge Herald*, 15 Nov., 1905. As quoted in: A. A. den Otter, *Civilizing the West. The Galt's and the development of western Canada* (Edmonton, 1982) pp. 264-65. For more detail on this point see: Barry Broadfoot, *Next Year Country. Voices of Prairie People* (Toronto, 1988) pp. 29-32
44. Brown and Cook, *Canada* p. 61.
45. Bennett and Kohl, *Settling* pp. 35-39.
46. William A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada* (Edmonton, 1981) pp. 107, 118
47. Broadfoot, *Next Year* p. 35.
48. Myron Momryk, 'Ukrainian Canadians, 100 Years Later', *Labour/Le Travail* vol. 31 (1993) pp. 355-64.