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DEMOCRACY AND ETHNIC FUSION

CORDAY MACKAY.

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It has often been asserted that Canada has no historical background--that it is much too young to have had any share in the history making of the world. What is said of Canada applies in degree to the whole of the Western Hemisphere. But in this age such assertions are being questioned. Our conception of history is changing. We no longer look on it as the record of the rise and fall of dynasties--the chronicle of court intrigues. We are being led to see through the medium of sociology that history is the account of population movements. It is the footsteps left by man in his wandering over the face of the globe in search of more food, more freedom, or more opportunity, to exploit his fellow creatures. The phenomenon is basic and fundamental; it is older than the pyramids of Egypt, older even than the material forms of this western continent, which is the latest part of old Mother Earth to feel the advancing tread of the marauder and the conqueror. Long before the command was given to one small section of the human race "Be fruitful and multiply," man was acting in obedience to the force which is summed up in that command. He increased and replenished the earth, moving from one habitat to another, impelled by the laws of growth which have become ever more and more complex as the years have rolled around. So immigration and emigration are but the ebb and flow of life analogous to the rhythm which we see all about us in the natural world. The tide advances encroaching on a farther shore--a land of greater promise--leaving the old shores often waste and dreary mud flats.

At present this movement is occupying the attention of what has so long been called the "Old" and "New" worlds that the phrase has become a platitudinism. The old is experiencing the ebb while the new is receiving the flow. But to the new, no doubt, some day the later experience will come. Still there is no need at present to cross bridges which are so far distant. There are more immediate bridges which need all the attention of their keepers and their passers-over.

If this then, is true, that population movements constitute history Canada has been producing that product for at least two full centuries and promises to have an ever increasing output as the decades pass. During the years when European nations vied with each other in the exploitation of American colonies--from Latin America to the New England States--it stood by a silent witness, hiding behind its snow-capped peaks and beneath the prairie grasses the unthought-of possibilities of the future. Its day was to come. Spain and Portugal with their highly intensive methods of extraction soon robbed the gold mines of the south and the conquerors rapidly sank to the servile status of their conquered slaves. That section of the continent and its inhabitants were destined to show for many years the imprints of the ruthless invaders' heel in its political turmoil and individual ignorance and degradation. The Atlantic seaboard developed in time the famous thirteen colonies which soon caught the flame of freedom from the torch kindled by the French Revolution. Provoked into rebellion by the stupidity of British Ministers they laid the foundations of democratic institutions in the New World.

But the loss of that time became in time Britian's gain, for never again did she persist blindly in opposing the efforts of her colonies to attain self-government.

At that time too Canada received her first influx of emigrants or of permanent land settlers. The majority of the French and British settlers up to this time had been those restless and adventurous spirits which seek new lands in order to bring home spoils. No thought had been given to Canada other than that of a land of bounteous crops of fur, of hordes of red Indians and a climate of perpetual winter. Agriculture there would be impossible, nothing was known of its mineral wealth in spite of the efforts of explorers to awaken the public interest in the vast region west of the Great Lakes. The aim of the "coureur de bois" and the big fur-trading companies was to keep the outside world in blissful ignorance of everything in Western Canada except the fur trade. And for years their policy was hugely successful. An epoch of migration was on but Canada remained untouched while the march of progress advanced in her sister country beyond the Alleghanies, beyond the Mississippi and the desert regions to the remote gold mines and orange groves of California. America had been fully and thoroughly advertised as the land of plenty, the nurse of democracy, the refuge for all oppressed and troubled peoples. And those classes from all countries came gladly in answer to the lure. Population pressure and the relentless competitive system were forcing thousands out of England and Scotland, famine drove the Irish from Ireland, compulsory military service drove herds

from Germany and Austria, while socialistic doctrines made exiles of innumerable Russians and Jews, With these, and of these as well, came the ambitious hardy people of Scandinavia, of Italy and of France.

Gradually, however, as opportunities in the United States became scarcer and the myth in regard to the Canadian climate was dispelled the tide was turned Northward. The United Empire Loyalists, plus a considerable number of the more loyal British immigrants, English, Scotch and Irish had succeeded in building up in Canada a splendid constitutional government and had achieved confederation. The construction of railways demanded labor and thousands of laborers the world over acted as supply to that demand. The railways were built--the west was discovered to be as it is, a land of unequalled agricultural possibilities and the Canadian boom was on.

In its initial stages the Canadian boom was aided by the depression in the United States following on the Civil War. Later too openings in that country became relatively scarce, especially in agriculture. The railroads in Canada had brought to view the immense unclaimed tracts of prairie sod awaiting the hand of the toiler to be made fruitful. About 1900--perhaps 1903 would be more accurate--the U. S. A. began to form restriction leagues. The character of the immigration had changed sufficiently by that time to clearly show them they had drained off the best the old land had to offer and the dregs alone remained. Southern Europe was sending her too many of its misfits, its dependents, its delinquents and defectives.

Not only were the thinkers of the nation waking up to the fact that they were taking into their social system an element which could never be raised nor absorbed, but the capitalists were surfeited with laborers. Thus do the motives of gross materialism and enlighten^{ed} thought interweave. Moreover the second generation were showing up the results of this strain of over-population.

Just when the United States was coming to a realization of her actual situation Canada began putting forth every effort to secure immigrants. The results were soon gratifying. In 1897 immigration from all sources had been but 21,716. In 1902 it rose to 67,379 and in 1903 it became 128,364. From that time it continued to mount steadily with only one decrease in 1907, until in 1913 the figures stood at 402,432. That Canada's problem of assimilation would be an even greater one than that of her southern neighbor was proved by the fact that in 1906 the latter's immigration was only 1.4% of her population while in 1908 Canada's was 4% of her population.

The United States had a slower and more natural increase on the whole which gave her opportunity to develop all her industries along more cohesive and constructive lines. Let none think that because Canada to-day can show but a paltry 8,000,000 to the American 100,000,000 there can be no comparison of their assimilative problems. Canada had a much smaller native population strata upon which to build when her foreign material was thrust upon her. From the years 1900 to 1919 she was called upon to absorb 3,311,498 peoples, $\frac{2}{3}$ of whom were from Europe with no knowledge of Canadian language^{or} laws.

That the migration of millions of people is a phenomenon of tremendous sociological importance and one not to be considered at all lightly was apparently overlooked by the statesmen of the country. They appeared to be proud of the immigration statistics which pointed out such a marvelous growth. No doubt this advance was to them a good advertisement to increase Canada's reputation abroad. They overlooked the fact that mere numbers do not constitute a nation nor are bushels of wheat exported the only indication of national prosperity.

In their zeal for settlers to settle on the free homesteads of the west, for farm laborers, for mine and lumber hands, for railway construction gangs, they threw wide the ocean portals with prodigal hospitality. Some idea of the cosmopolitan character of the population which she thus received and settled may be gained by a glance through the special report on the foreign-born population of Canada as shown by the census statistics of June 1911. These give us, besides the origin, the distribution and voting strength of these "New Canadians". The total foreign born population is given as 752,732 with a percentage; of these 62.2 per cent were situated in the Western Provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. Of European countries, Austria-Hungary stood first with a total of 121,430 immigrants, Russia second with 89,984 Norway and Sweden third with 49,194 and Germany fourth with 39,577. Of the total foreign-born population 344,557 or 45.77 per cent had become naturalized Canadians prior to the taking of the census of 1911, leaving 408,175 or 54.23 still alien citizens. In 1911 also there were 1,987,512, (Over)

Males twenty-one years and over entitled to vote in the Dominion and of these 1,442,618 were Canadian born and 131,289 foreign born. Moreover of the 346,523 foreign-born males twenty-one years and over in the Dominion 131,289 were naturalized and 215,234 alien. Add to this some 37,000 Chinese, 6,000 Hindus and 20,000 Japanese who never become naturalized, and one begins to have a faint conception of the enormity of the task to be fulfilled before Canada could ever reach any state bordering on national unity. At first no heed seems to have been paid to this fact--it was an age of exploitation and little thinking. But all the time social, economic and political effects were accumulating which were bound to make themselves abnoxious enough to demand attention.

British Columbia was the scene of the first real protest versus the open door method. She felt herself menaced by the Orient. The American continent had for some time been unpleasantly conscious of the menace of the yellow people--the Pacific had narrowed terribly after the opening of Chinese and Japanese ports to world trade and Westernism. The first great migration of these people to our continent was made during the Californian gold rush in the early fifties. After that stage was over they found not only California, but many other parts as well, highly acceptable as an abiding place. Huge numbers decided to stay and sent for their wives and families. The absence of cheap labor at that time was in their favor and thus they got into a variety of occupations. Soon a real hold on the continent to the east of them was secured. They made themselves almost indis-

pensable to the country by doing all kinds of disagreeable work which white men refused to touch. Racial antipathy was aroused against the Chinese first--their numbers had increased sufficiently to make them a real problem and legislation restricted their numbers while allowing a larger number of Japanese to enter. It was believed at that time that the Japanese were more assimilative, more dependable and more progressive. Consequently these little people entered in ever increasing numbers until 1905 when popular opinion became insistent in its demands for their exclusion. Whole areas of California were in control of Japs and white people were moving out of district after district as the yellow element became too strong. Moreover that yellow element was showing up in its true colors under the searching light of familiarity. They retained their heathenism and their Oriental standards to a degree that optimistic capitalists would have thought impossible. Finally in 1907 an arrangement was arrived at between the two governments whereby thereafter the Japanese government could issue passports only to such members of the labouring class as had been resident in this country and were returning here--or were parents, wives or children of residents in the country. The granting of passports to the non-laborers remained as before. When restricted in U. S. A., Japanese, Chinese and Hindus turned in increasing numbers to Canada. In 1907 Chinese immigration was 92--in 1908, 1,884. Japanese increased from 354 in 1905 to 7601 in 1908. Hindus sprang from 45 to 2124 in less than two years. In 1907 it was reported that there were 13,000 Orientals at Canadian ports awaiting admission.

In the interests of British Columbia the Canadian government was forced to take hasty, if somewhat drastic, action. An agreement was made in 1908 with Japan by which the number of passports to be granted in any one year to Japanese emigrants to Canada was limited to 400. The Chinese head tax was raised from \$30.00 in 1885 to \$100.00 in 1901 and then to \$500.00 in 1904. In spite of that immigration from that country rose to a figure of 4,048 in 1914 and 1915, while Japanese increased to 856 in 1913 and 1914, and it was rumored that large numbers of Hindus were planning on coming in the same year. The question of Hindu exclusion aroused most interest at this time because these people came from a sister country. Opinion as to the policy to be adopted in regard to them was much divided. Some Imperialists were loud in their denunciation of any restriction of population movement within the confines of the Empire. Canada threw open her doors to the peoples of Southern Europe-- how then could she keep ~~them~~ back people of her own empire? The answer to such demands came clear and concise from those people who were thrown closest into contact with the Hindus. If they had continued coming at the past rate there would have been 100,000 of them in British Columbia in a year. In a very short time they would be able to control the province in Oriental interests had they been accorded citizenship rights, which should of course be the privilege in time of all those who make Canada their permanent home. Even the sewer digger, the street sweep or the laundry-man must become a Canadian citizen some-
time, else Canada is on the wrong track entirely.

The states to the south are a noteworthy example of the neglect of that truth. A nation introduces the seeds of decay as soon as she takes an element into her social life which she expects to retain only in a menial and servile capacity. Civil war was necessary to try and undo the mischief done by exploits of industry and humanity in the past. That alleviated the situation somewhat. It certainly did not eradicate it, else the question of her black citizens would not be still pressing for solution in the United States. British Columbia moreover could point to the effects of oriental immigration on her industrial life to substantiate her theories. Twenty years prior to this time all the hands in the B. C. saw-mills were white--to-day they were nearly all yellow. Fifteen years before there were 10,000 white fishermen on the Pacific coast--to-day there are 10,000 Japanese there. As more and more Orientals were used in unskilled labor it was speedily found that there were no young white fellows to train up to more skilled tasks. The avenue of apprenticeship to skilled labor was blocked by the yellow element. In answer to the plea of British citizenship on the part of the Hindus, the advocates of restriction replied that there were only about 16,000,000 of India's population which actually enjoyed British citizenship, and who have an elective form of government. Practically then there is no such thing as democratic government in India. The Hindu therefore has no right to come to Canada and demand the same rights as we are enjoying until he has proven himself capable of exercising those rights in his own home land.

In 1908 W. L. McKenzie King, then Deputy Minister of Labor was sent on a mission to England to confer with the British authorities on the subject of immigration to Canada from the Orient and from India in particular. This commission evidently succeeded in making the position of the Canadian government in the matter of Indian immigration at least plausible, if not wholly acceptable, to the British Ministers. They pointed out in a gentle and conciliatory manner for fear of hurting the honorable Hindu gentleman's feelings, that immigrants from India having been accustomed to the conditions of a tropical climate are wholly unsuited to this country. Their inability to readily adapt themselves brings them a great measure of privation and suffering. They were discreet enough not to mention the counter effect upon the Canadians themselves! They did venture to claim though, that Canada should remain a white man's country if possible. If unrestricted immigration of Orientals were to continue their presence would be likely to occasion considerable unrest among working-men whose standards of comfort were of a higher order, and who as citizens with family and civic obligations, had expenditures to meet and a status to maintain which the coolie immigrant could ignore with no loss. It was therefore necessary to look into the cause for their migration to Canada and an effort made to remove them. The causes as outlined in the Report are as follows:

1. The distribution throughout certain of the rural districts of India of glowing accounts of the opportunities of fortune making in the Province of British Columbia, visions of fields of fortune so brightly hued that many an India peasant farmer to raise money for the journey had mortgaged to the lender of the village his homestead and all that it contained at a rate

of interest varying from 15 to 20%.

2. The activity of certain steamship agents who were desirous of selling transportation in the interest of the companies with which they were connected and of themselves profiting by the commissions reaped.

3. The activity of certain individuals in the province of British Columbia, among the number one or two Brahmens who were desirous of exploiting their fellow subjects; and certain industrial concerns which, with the object of obtaining a class of unskilled labour at a price below the current rate, assisted in inducing a number of the natives to leave under actual or virtual agreements to work for hire.

The report goes on to line up some of the methods by which this immigration was to be restricted, but nothing definite was actually done. Apparently it merely suggested that the publication of literature in India such as would induce natives to emigrate should be stopped; steamship companies should be given to understand that the government of Great Britain and of Canada, and of India as well, would not view with favor any action calculated to foster further emigration from India to Canada. The Indian Emigration Act of 1883 had been framed with a view of affording protection to the natives of India. By this the emigration out of British India of a native of that country under an agreement to labor for life in some country beyond the limits of India, other than Ceylon or the Straits Settlements, is not lawful. According to this then, emigration to Canada was practically unlawful for the majority of immigrants who were coming.

Larger numbers of Chinese came in during the next few years and labor circles became alarmed over the rumors of a regular Oriental invasion in the next few years.

The crisis came in 1913 and 1914 when British Columbia officials decided to put some calibre into the half-hearted stand which the Canadian government had taken on the subject. By this time labor protests and racial prejudice waxed so eloquent there was no gainsaying them and a special order-In-Council was put through hastily on December 8th, 1913 which was extended to September 30th, 1914 prohibiting the landing at any of the B. C. ports of artisans or unskilled labourers. The incident of the "Komagata Maru", which developed in the April following the issuance of the Order-In-Council, was particularly unpleasant from several standpoints. It came at a time when the British government was extremely anxious to avoid any kind of friction within the Empire or causes for sedition in India. Prevalent reports pointed to German engineering of the whole scheme. At any rate the ship itself was chartered by a German firm in Hong-Kong and the information as to the dispatch of the ship came first from German newspapers. These stated that Gurdit Singh intended to bring his 316 Hindus to Canada in order to test the Canadian law in regard to Oriental immigration. A whirlwind of criticism was at once aroused when they were refused admittance by the Minister of the Interior. British papers expressed frankly their dislike of the whole situation. To many, Canada was showing a narrow and Un-Imperialistic spirit. Prominent Hindus of Vancouver and Victoria supported by many Socialists throughout the

country openly counselled a return to India to spread there the doctrine of revolt and sedition. The unwelcome visitors on board the Komagata Maru refused to leave the Canadian coast waters and the problem arose as to how to compel them to do so. Vancouver was becoming weary of acting as general provider in the line of food-stuffs and decided to take action by July 18th. After a skirmish or two between the local police in a tug, and the Hindus in the ship the latter decided to accept the Canadian government terms. On July 21 they steamed out of the harbour for Hong-Kong.

Opinion in Canada was very much divided as to the wisdom of the action which had been taken. Some claimed ^{that} the people of India being ostensibly British citizens had a right to enter Canada--that any discrimination which was made in regard to Asiatic immigration should be made only in favor of British subjects. But after all it should be the voice of those people most directly affected by such a movement that should carry the day. And B. C. popular opinion was rigid. It found the labor market swamped with Oriental hands. It saw the resources of the province gradually coming into the hands of a low-culture people who might be British subjects but most of them were far from being British citizens in the full British sense of that term. A tropical social system of caste, polygamy and Mohammedanism repelled them. They stood out for an arrangement with the Indian and Chinese governments similar to the one which had been reached with Japan in 1907 for restriction. There is no

question of the service which they rendered to the whole of Canada by their determined stand at that time when the result might so conceivably have been otherwise. At the rate at which the Hindus were coming it would have been only a few short years before the whole of Canada would have begun to feel the vitiating effects of Orientalism. As it is British Columbia still has a sufficiently large problem of assimilation on her hands. Lucky it is for Canada that the Hindu invasion was averted in time. 46,000 Orientals are more than enough for a country of with a population of 8,000,000⁰⁰⁰ was to attempt to de-orientalize.

The war coming on top of this fuss not only turned the attention of the Hindus from ideas of discontent and sedition but showed up to Canada in a clearer light some other results of her over-zealous immigration policy of the past. Those who had for years preached restriction or better and more systematic means of assimilation, soon found their theories popular. As the struggle progressed the question of enemy aliens and conscription brought into still further prominence the foreign-born problem. This stimulated in turn investigations into the immigration policy of the past and a pitiless scrutiny of "whys" and "wherefores" of that policy. This scrutiny was to bear greater results after the war was over in a more moderate and sane immigration and colonization policy.

(While it cannot be blamed for all the draw-backs,)*

* Economically it had some effect upon the financial situation in which Canada found herself during the war. (and disadvantages that came to light during that crucial period, yet immigration had.

no small weight in all of them) * Sir Edmund Walker pointed out in 1913 the effect of the huge influx of immigrants as follows: (Canadian Annual Review 1913)

"Our financial requirements are mainly determined by the volume of immigration. It is because of this that we must build so largely and this also is the main cause of the excess of our imports over our exports. In order to house, settle, and arrange transportation for these people we must borrow very largely, and as long as such streams of newcomers continue we are likely to be borrowers on a large scale, at least for many decades to come. In the excess of imports over exports, and in the volume of our securities sold abroad in order to settle the difference, one can clearly see the strain put upon Canada by this enormous accession of new people."

The Annual Review for 1913 states that the Canadian expenditure on immigration for 1913 was \$1,399,954 and for 1913-14 (the year of the heaviest tide) it was \$1,859,671. The total expenditures for 16 years had been \$12,554,734. That it was a good investment from a certain point of view is clear from the fact that people from U. S. A. brought into the country between \$500 and \$1,000 each on an average--other countries about \$200. Thus \$125,000,000 was added to our monetary wealth. Also each contributed \$14.00 to the country's revenue through increased imports and customs duties. But it was never-the-less an investment which had not begun to make any measurable returns by 1914. At that time Canada was borrowing at the rate of \$30,000,000 a month, chiefly from Great Britain. The expansion of the past

had been built upon credit. Now the source of that credit was withdrawn and Canadian industries had to stand or fall alone. On top of that she would have to finance a war which might cost her \$100,000,000 a year. The national debt leapt up by \$73,000,000 in the year of 1914, while the total revenue of the country dropped \$44,621,299 in the same year. The task of the Minister of Finance then was to restore public confidence in order to finance the war and maintain Canada's financial status abroad--especially in the United States. The wonder ^{is} (now) that the finance department won through as creditably as it did. In spite of fearful odds the farmers increased production immensely in the next few years--with depleted labor forces and soaring prices in machinery. Manufacturers soon benefited by the cutting-off of German goods and the increasing demand for war munitions. This with the growing consumption of Canadian articles in preference to foreign goods put the process of recuperation in movement and the unfavorable trade balance gradually became better adjusted.

Speculation is, I suppose, idle and fit only for the unpractical day dreamer. Moreover it is unwise to spend too much time ruminating on "Might-have-beens" unless such glances over the back water will be profitable later as beacons at the prow. Yet one cannot help thinking that it is in the life of a nation even as it is in that of an individual. One cannot profitably entertain above one's means nor welcome too many visitors who cannot be categorized as "paying". Just how much better off Canada would be financially to-day had restriction been used in 1900 instead of 1920 must remain one of the ^{favorite} speculations of the speculator.

That our immigrants were also a drain upon the country in another than an economic way was evident by the attitude of the enemy aliens. As the war progressed group consciousness was heightened. At the commencement of the struggle the popular view was that the aliens were all indifferent to the war. It was thought they hated militarism and looked on Canada as their refuge from a life of servility and degradation under the militaristic régime. But those optimists who reasoned thus fooled themselves. They over-looked the fact that in the show-downs of life nature proves stronger than nurture. Also the 160,000 Germans and Austrians in Canada were native Europeans and thus had little Canadian nurture to offset nature. As the Canadians and British laboring ranks were diminished by enlistment the various industries of the country were forced to depend upon foreign labor. Naturally as the war tension grew friction developed. Rumors were soon rife as to the number of these enemy aliens and often it is true, the reports were far from reliable. These accounted for any feelings of panic which occasionally arose in certain sections of the country. As a matter of fact there were altogether 522,423 people of German or Austrian origin in Canada at that time. Enough certainly to constitute a menace. As the Canadian Annual Review of 1918 states "The problem was largely a Western one but it also affected the rest of Canada in its greater centres--especially Toronto and Montreal, with the further complication that the most troublesome element very often was Russian or some racial unit which was not classed as enemy alien--Of Russians alone, over 16 years of age, there were about 11,000 in Montreal, 10,000 in

Toronto, 10,000 in Manitoba, 16,000 in Saskatchewan and 6,500 in Alberta". On the whole it was a colossal task to try and develop a common sentiment and concerted action for the successful prosecution of all war activities. Among thousands of all these foreigners-German, Austrian, Russian, Italian and Polish, there was little understanding of, or sympathy with, the principles and ideals of Canadian democracy. They were isolated by barriers of language, religion and racial segregation. The only press which reached them was controlled by interests which were naturally inclined to favor the German-Austrian alliance. Many of the publications such as "Der Courier" of Regina, the "Alberta Herald" of Edmonton, and "Der Nordwesten" of Winnipeg vigorously denounced Canadian prejudices and kept the German population of those provinces in a constant state of unrest. Finally definite action had to be taken in order to suppress them.

Difficulties at once arose too, over the hundreds of reservists attempting to get out of Canada to rejoin their respective Austria or German armies. Calls came to these reservists before war was declared for them to return immediately to the defence of their Fatherlands. Steps were taken at once to put a stop to this movement. A government proclamation in November demanded registration on the part of aliens--reports were to be made each month by all those registered.. No alien could leave Canada without a special permit from the Registrar of his district. On the other hand all persons of these nationalities who pursued their work quietly were to enjoy the full protection of the law.

They were allowed to hold their property and carry on their business as usual. However many succeeded in evading the registration regulations and plots were unearthed for the destruction of canals, bridges and plants throughout the country. Internment camps had to be established. Everywhere there were demands for the compulsory work of enemy-aliens for Government purposes at \$1,10 a day or internment. In 1915 there were 2000 interned. In 1917 the estimated cost of upkeep for these camps containing a few thousand prisoners was \$1,172,082 while their families too had to be fed and clothed. Compulsory labor was impossible as it was opposed to the Hague Convention which only provided for Compulsory labor of war prisoners. Various Orders-In-Council were passed restricting the movements of aliens, forbidding the holding of ammunition and explosives, prohibiting the publication or distribution of any kind of seditious literature, and banning the I.W.W. and similar organizations. Thus quietly and with no ostentation whatsoever the Canadian government coped with a situation at once grave and delicate. Her wise and just treatment of enemy aliens at a most trying time in national life did much to redress the wrongs of the past and paved the way in no small measure for a more enlightened policy of assimilation for the future.

Nowhere were the evils of racial segregation more evidenced during this same period, than among the French-Canadians and the Mennonites. The Quebec situation does not properly belong to a discussion of Canada's immigration problem. But it is an illuminating example of racial non-fusion. The French-Canadians are in a way the native stock of Canada.

Yet during all the years the incoming settlers have never inter-mixed with them. Under governmental protection they have entrenched themselves safely behind their barriers of race and religion, and have multiplied exceedingly. They have been their own source of population increase. The spirit of narrow provincial nationalism which they have fostered was manifested in their attitude towards the war. They still constitute one of the biggest racial problems of the world--for they are secure in their position and not even the constant pressure of years it seems can dislodge them. But at least they can serve Canada as an object lesson of what can be done by prevention of the repetition of such an awkward, unlikeable situation.

The Mennonites are a smaller, though none the less actual, example of the evils of segregation. They illustrate also the blind optimism which must have characterized the wise heads of affairs in the days of their advent into Canada. Dr. Anderson in his book on "The Education of the New Canadians" gives an interesting account of the history of these people. In order to understand their peculiar beliefs and practices it is necessary to know something of their religion. For they are a religious sect who maintain a form of Christianity "which owns no authority outside of the Bible and the enlightened conscience, limits baptism to the believer, and lays stress on those precepts which vindicate the sanctity of human life and a man's word". The original community was begun at Zúrich in 1523 under the headship of one Menno Simons. They were persecuted with severity but their numbers continued to increase. In different countries, Holland, Germany and France they gained exemption from

military service and oath-taking on account of their religion. Catharine II of Russia allowed many of them to settle in Southern Russia from Germany and granted them full religious liberty in 1789. The first to come to Canada came about 1786. In 1873 in order to induce more of them to emigrate to Canada the Dominion government granted them certain liberties and privileges;

1. Entire exemption from military service.
2. Fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever, and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools.

It was over these rights and privileges that so much trouble arose later in connection with bi-lingualism and conscription. Many of the Mennonites of Ontario are extremely thrifty and prosperous.

Most of them came into the country from Pennsylvania over a century ago. But those who came later and settled in the western Provinces for the most part came from Southern Russia. Though some have grown away from the primitive village communities and advanced in education, large numbers of them in western districts have not. They were allowed to retain their own private schools with inefficient teachers of native stock. As a result of this hundreds of our so-called New-Canadians have been reared in total ignorance of the English language or of our ideals and customs. The most backward settlements are found near Hague and Swift Current. Here the old-world architecture still prevails--cow-barns and houses all under one roof. The schools are unsanitary and uncongenial, being poorly lighted and with little black-board accommodation. All

All the pupils pass through four grades.

1. A. B. C.
2. Catechism.
3. New Testament.
4. Old Testament.

"So through seven years they go, from October 15th to seeding, again for one month in summer, ignorant of the facts of Canadian history, untouched by the loftiness of Canadian ideals and taught that the English language will only make it easier to lapse into the great world of sin outside the Mennonite Communities" #

(# Dr. Anderson "Education of New Canadians.")

Small wonder then that they added greatly to the Dominion racial question in the war period. They were doubly troublesome for they were extreme pacifists and of alien origin as well. For though many hundreds of them are of Canadian birth still their strict segregation is such that they have been practically untouched by Westernism. So far as the majority are concerned they are still living on some European back-plain. The principle of communism which prevails among the Mennonites, as well as among the Doukhobors, is not compatible either with Canadian ideals. The autocratic rule of a man who forbids a common school education to children of his community is entirely at variance with ^{the} enlightened ~~the~~ democracy which ~~we~~ we profess to have attained. Canada has made a serious mistake in allowing such a condition to govern her citizens or future citizens. They are industrious, persevering and faithful some say--granted.

But a nation can never be built on ignorance. In a country where any future citizen is purposely and deliberately forbidden his spiritual heritage the use of the word democracy is mockery.

Bi-lingualism goes hand in hand with racial and religious separatism. A lengthy and wordy contest has been waged over this school system for years. Ontario and Quebec waged war over that and separate schools for years. The contest between French and English in bi-lingualism has certain peculiar characteristics. Both languages are in a way the native language of Canada. Hence the greater difficulty in adjusting all the factors. A compromise had to be reached which would insure that ~~the~~ English was thoroughly taught in all schools as the practical language of the land, as well as to provide opportunity for French pupils to acquire French as a secondary language for the sake of the maintenance of French nationalism and culture.

In Manitoba the education act had a clause which clearly sanctioned bi-lingualism. This clause reads.

"When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language or any language other than English as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French or such other language and English upon the bi-lingual system."

No clause of this nature can be found in any of the school acts of the other provinces. All teaching of another language is to be considered as a primary course. In Manitoba alone was equal standing given to a second language. When the Act first went into operation French was practically the only other language which claimed this standing.

But there soon arrived large numbers of Galicians, Ruthenians, Germans or Russians. These people were prevailed upon by agents of various interests to demand bi-lingualism. Matters went from bad to worse until finally in 1915 there were 126 French bilingual schools employing 234 teachers, 61 German bilingual schools employing 73 teachers and 111 Ruthenian and Polish schools employing 114 teachers. These constituted exactly one-fourth of all the rural schools in the Province with a total enrolment of 16,720 which was one-sixth of all the children of school age in the Province. Thus thousands of boys and girls were growing up with a fearful language handicap. For some time too there had been a steady movement towards the elimination of teachers who had been teaching English at all. In numerous schools teachers of foreign nationalities were engaged who could not have taught English even if they would. Further complications soon arose in districts where there were several nationalities represented. In a room in Brandon there were at one time 12 Germans, 7 English, 5 Galicians, 4 Hebrews, 3 Poles and 3 Russians. In this case had the Germans demanded a bilingual system they could have got it. The others could have submitted or--got out. Cases similar to that arose all over the province. One teacher who went to a district was successively asked to teach in Polish, Ruthenian and Swedish. Situations of this nature however led to vigorous protests and methods were speedily adopted to remedy them. Under Doctor Thornton's able administration bilingualism was abolished in Manitoba. Since then rapid progress has been made in the teaching--and learning--of English in the foreign schools.

Bi-lingualism has been conclusively shown to be a dead failure in spite of the plausible theories put forward in its favor by its advocates. Thoughtful educators in Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Alberta hold that the best results are obtained where English is the only medium of instruction. Nor is it entirely a matter of a thorough knowledge of English. When a Canadian teacher--of Anglo-Saxon origin if you like--goes into a "New Canadian" school to teach there is bound to be action and interaction. She influences and modifies the tendencies and prejudices of her people and in turn is influenced by theirs. There is a fusion of interests and ideals which is of all things most essential to the smooth working of the social process in a nation.

The result of the laxity on the part of the Provincial educational departments over the matter of the education of the foreign population is shown by the amount of illiteracy prevailing. The Dominion census returns for 1911 state that 10½ % of our total population could neither read nor write--a total of 663,453 illiterates in the country. In Nova Scotia 24.89 per cent of foreign-born males were illiterate, in Manitoba 22.25 per cent, in British Columbia 19.12 per cent, in Ontario 17.82 per cent and in Quebec 17.32 per cent. Saskatchewan though having the largest number of foreign-born males of any province (96,781) had only 13.51 per cent of illiterates, and Alberta with 87,780 had only 11.23 per cent.

These two provinces as well as Manitoba had even before 1911 seriously tried to reduce illiteracy and had met with quite an appreciable amount of success as a comparison of the statistics of 1901 with 1911 proves.

The census of the three western provinces in 1916 shows a further decrease in illiteracy--7½% of all persons 10 years and over being unable to read or write. But of these 67½% were foreign born while 8.3% were unable even to speak English.

Ukrainians were the chief offenders in this:

Ukrainians-39.8%

Austro-Hungarians-35%

Poles-27.2%

Russians-27.1

This deplorable condition was of course largely due to the lack of sufficient night schools for adult foreigners. Most of them are anxious to acquire a good working knowledge of English. Little or nothing had been done in any organized way to meet this need. Only now the provincial governments are realizing that substantial financial assistance in the form of government grants must be given to this work. At the Canadian National Conference of Education held in Winnipeg in 1919 Dr. Anderson stated that illiteracy meant a yearly loss of \$75,000,000 in production. Also that 85 separate languages were spoken in the three Western Provinces. A situation like this shows a great lack of national unity and foresight.

If one so desired the accusations against the past immigration and assimilation policy of the Dominion could be carried still farther. There has been a great deal of talk for decades about ^{the} corruption of Canadian politics. Possibly that corruption was never quite as bad as the exponents of the opposing parties painted it. Nor can it all be attributed to the foreign vote.

But it is quite impossible to have a truly wise democracy with an illiterate and ignorant electorate. Political exploiters and agitators were able to influence the foreigner in the interests of any party or movement. Many of them came from lands where government spelled only tyranny and taxation. In Canada few of them had been afforded opportunity to find that here it is supposed to be slightly different. This sentiment was fostered by the foreign-language press in Canada which tried to persuade their subscribers that authority is their enemy. With the period of general unrest following the armistice doctrines of the Bolsheviks, communists, and anarchists were spread broadcast through the United States and Canada by agents of revolutionary socialism. Much of the literature of this type openly advocated co-operation for the purpose of precipitating a revolution through violence or by unlawful and unconstitutional means. The Soviet system in Russia was lauded by Labour organizations the world over which leaned to extreme socialism. Large bodies of workmen refused to believe the reports of horrors and terrors in Russia under Sovietism. Raids in 1919 upon centres from which emanated this stream of poisonous influence brought to light many documents which urged the capture of all products and means of production; the liberation of all political prisoners and blowing up of all barracks; the murder of law-enforcing officials and the burning of public records; destruction of fences and all property lines, and of all instruments of indebtedness. Mr. F. A. Blossom, Editor of "The Labour Defender", an I. W. W. organ, stated on January 5th 1919 that Bolshevik elements were forming Soviets secretly in cities all

through the United States and that there were 68,000 members in Canada. All the disciples of revolutionary socialism combined to gain the desired ends for labour through a general strike. Though the leadership in the propaganda was not confined to the labouring class by any means still the movement found the majority of its recruits among those of foreign extraction or low-class workmen. The efforts of a few instigators such as Dr. Bland, R. B. Russell and Mr. Ivens of Winnipeg precipitated the strike in that city of May and June 1919. The Winnipeg strike was to be preliminary to a general strike for the whole of Canada. As it progressed there was little room for doubt but that it was something more than an ordinary labour dispute for shorter hours or better wages. It was plainly an organized and deliberate attempt on the part of extremists to win over Labour organizations and the foreign element in order to overthrow existing authorities and set up a Soviet system of government in the Dominion. Fighting and rioting eventually developed and there was no doubt as to its leadership by aliens or those employed in the interests of Bolshevism. The strike was defeated chiefly because the great body of public sentiment in Canada as represented by that class which fills up the gulf between the laborer and the capitalists and which socialists reckoned without, stood solidly for the support of established order and authority and for reform by constitutional means. Such a dangerous menace to the life of society as this points to some radical ill in the life of the society-- or it may be due to an accumulation of ills! The foreign element of North Winnipeg cannot be blamed entirely for the more serious

aspects of the trouble. Such times of industrial unrest are bound to rise in any country. They have never been known to fall after a war. Also such protagonists of violence and revolution as Mr. Ivens, J. S. Woodsworth and J. A. Dixon are found in all climates. They are a menace to the social organism in themselves when they preach ^{In their} milder moments they are a necessary offset to the too conservative tendencies of the majority. But when they become the demagogues of a large element of society; not only alien by birth but alien in standards and sentiments, they can be, and have amply proven themselves to be, a most serious danger to society. Hence it cannot be in the best interests of any country to receive too large a number of immigrants of the ignorant and obviously low-class type.

Such a review of the situation in Canada as the foregoing established beyond a doubt the fact that Canada has a problem of assimilation and racial fusion on her hands which will furnish her food for thought for several decades to come. There may be no such thing as reconstruction periods in a nation's history. But ^{it} this is certain there are those times which are ripe for certain actions and which if passed carelessly by become veritable golden moments wasted. The country is bound to pay. A nation has a reckoning time as well as an individual. That reckoning time for Canada over her racial problem came at the close of the war. It was precipitated by the war which, if nothing else could be said in its favor, could be credited with bringing many lurking evils out of ambush into the open. There has been a change in our attitude towards world problems.

The allied and conflicting nations in the world war had revealed to each other many racial characteristics unthought of before. It should tend towards a better understanding between them, especially in those countries where they must live side by side under a common flag, and co-operate not only to further their own interests, but the interests of those around them. Immigration is not longer regarded as a political problem, but as a social, racial and cultural one. Never again we hope, will Canada endeavor to reach the status of nationhood by the mere acquisition of numbers. The people have realized for all time their responsibility in the meaning of the term, "Canadian" among the future generations of the world. Communities are now awakened to the presence of serious dangers to their well-being. They have reached the conviction that an economic interest in the country on the part of immigrants is not enough. They must have the desire to adopt and put to the best use (possible) Canadian civilization. The community on the other hand must be willing to understand the newcomers and to endeavour to effect a fusion between the native and alien cultures.

This is the point of view which seems to have been adopted in the framing up of a new policy of immigration. Canadian nationality and Canadian welfare are to be considered first. We want able workers of course, to develop our national resources. But we are not going to grant them special exemptions or privileges by way of persuading them to come. Canada does not hope to solve the problems of population in European countries by allowing them to send to her all their surplus. Those who come and

are admitted must be able to contribute something real to the social and economic life of our nation.

Sane regulations and control of immigration are about to become actual. A greater measure of discrimination is being used by which the undesirable class will be reduced to a negligible quantity. But the desirable class also must be controlled in the interests of labor. It is the height of foolishness to allow great numbers to come pouring into the country when the labour markets here are overstocked and unemployment general. The special Order-In-Council of last November was passed with the idea of alleviating the unemployment by restricting the entrance of certain classes of workers, particularly mechanics, artisans, and unskilled labourers. According to the amendment to the previous Order-In-Council of May 1910 (p.c.-924) no immigrant of the said classes may land in Canada unless he possesses money to the amount of \$250.00 and in addition transportation to his destination in Canada. Moreover if accompanied by his family he must have in addition to transportation for all of them a further sum of money equivalent to \$125.00 for every member of the family of the age of 18 years and upwards, and \$50.00 for each child of the age of 5 years and under the age of 18 years. This amendment unless otherwise ordered was to remain in effect until the 31 st. day of March 1921, when the previous provision would be reverted to again.

The Ontario commission on unemployment recommended the setting up of an Imperial Emigration Board which would act in London in the interests of the whole Empire.

It could be of great benefit to all the Dominion by collecting complete information as to labour conditions the world over, and then working in harmony with the immigration authorities of all countries. A bill introduced into the Imperial House of Parliament for the purpose of setting up such a board was unfortunately side-tracked but it may some day be remembered and brought to completion. In the meantime an interdepartmental committee is at work in England which is working in co-operation with the Canadian Departments of Immigration and Labour. This department should do a great deal in co-ordinating and directing the flow of immigration between Great Britain and Canada at least. In Canada also there is beginning a closer co-operation between the Departments of Labour and Immigration which already is having beneficial results. The Western Canada colonization Association is also rendering valuable service in the matter of better distribution of immigrants and in locating first class settlers on the best available lands in the provinces. In this way large areas of unoccupied land are being brought under cultivation. Much of this land is at present in the hands of speculators and they should be induced to sell on good terms or else be forced to pay as heavy tax as the owners of developed lands. This policy of land settlement is at present under vigorous discussion in the House of Commons. The Minister of Immigration and Colonization, Mr. Calder claims that these large land-holders or speculators, who hold thousands of uncultivated acres in otherwise settled districts near railways, would be willing to sell on moderate terms were sufficient buyers available. In order to get in touch with these prospective buyers and get them in touch

with the prospective sellers the Western Canada Colonization Association was formed. The days of free homesteads in Canada are practically gone. There is still land available, it is true, but it is far from railroads and is, moreover, of a much more inferior quality and would take a large outlay of capital to get any appreciable returns. This land which is at present available (from 15 to 20 million acres) and within reasonable reach of transportation facilities cannot be bought for less than from \$12.00 to \$30.00 per acre. Therefore a man intending to buy a quarter section of land could not do so without a capital expenditure of \$3,200. Besides this there must be taken into account the cost of buildings, horses and implements. This land should, and could, be worked by agricultural settlers of the right type. Thousands of miles of railway have been built in the past for thousands of "potential" immigrants. All of these did not materialize. For that reason the people to-day, (of Western Canada especially) are paying extremely high freight rates and taxation. Traffic will be the only solution of that problem. Traffic can only be got by an increase of population, which increase will develop the natural resources of field, of mine, of forest, and of the fisheries.

At present it is felt that the biggest necessity is for land-settlers. There has been too much unemployment in the cities for any doubt to remain as to the wisdom of allowing any further influx of city dwellers. As Mr. Calder pointed out there will never be any real solution of the land settlement question in Canada until the federal and provincial authorities are prepared to step in and assist settlers financially.

This has been done in connection with the soldier settlement plans and about \$75,000,000 has been devoted to that scheme.

Opinions as to the wisdom of such a step are divided. Evidently it will be some time before definite steps are taken in the matter. There are those who advocate a return to the old open-door method. There are thousands of people in all the European countries who are looking with longing eyes towards Canada. Why not let them come? Most of them have lost all in the recent war. They want a fresh field in which to build up homes of happiness and prosperity. Then let them enter--drop even the money qualification of last November's Order-In-Council. If all classes of immigrants are allowed in they will work at reasonable wages and our unemployment will be solved. Our own workmen would thus be forced to lower their demands and labor would once more be reduced to its proper status.

Men who reason thus have surely forgotten the example of one who "sold his birthright for a mess of pottage". They have speedily forgotten the lessons which the war should have taught them. They spend their time planning for only economic welfare and overlook the more pressing social and political needs of their nation. They forget too, that Rome was not built in a day and neither can Canada hope to be developed in a year.

The \$250.00 regulation in the much-debated Order-In-Council may have its weak points. Certainly unless it is backed up by severe tests as to physical, mental and moral qualities it is a weak thing at best.

But at the present time it has served to keep from the country large numbers of undesirable city-dwellers from South Eastern Europe and from Russia. These same tests however should be just as stringently applied in the case of land seekers, farm labourers and domestic workers. If these classes prove to be undesirable on the farm they will soon drift into the cities to swell the ranks of the penniless and the unemployed. We need farm workers in large numbers. But where they are all to come from is a question. The northern countries of Europe are at present much averse to allowing their people to emigrate. In face of their opposition it will be impossible to carry on any extensive propaganda for inducing immigrants to come. Moreover those who are most willing to come as a rule are least prepared financially to do so. The past should have taught us that nothing really lasting can be accomplished by the "boom" methods. The weight of public opinion at the present time ought to be in favor of wise and careful restriction--of orientals, of low-status workers, of all who socially, politically or economically might prove detrimental to the best interests of Canada's present and future. It is very noticeable that no time is given in the House of Commons controversies to the weightier problems of assimilation. At the end of several days of jousting the worthy knights uttered no word in favor or disfavor of the present un-assimilated, un-naturalized, un-Canadianized foreigner. It is all too plain that public opinion, that wonderful weapon of democracy, ^{must be} educated and moulded on this question. That must yet be done before the long arm of the said public opinion will reach and influence, the country's legislation.

As has been pointed out Canada has taken few decisive steps towards the actual systematized Canadianization of her foreign element. Juxta position and a commonalty of interests has brought about a certain amount of racial fusion it is true, but the amount of racial segregation is still very much in the ascendant. The United States has recently begun to agitate for the Americanization of her newcomers. We could well benefit by a study of their methods and an adoption of their best principles.

True ethnic fusion, or even Canadianization, is much more than the mere teaching of the English language and the casting-off of the picturesque old-world clothing. Its purpose as has been pointed out by one Canadian writer# on the subject is "to secure on the part of Canada's total population such an attitude to this country as would prompt every citizen to live and, if necessary, die for its welfare. It is assumed that such an attitude would lead us to our highest possible development as individuals and as a nation." A large order which is perhaps too idealistic for the work-a-day world, but "a man's reach should exceed his grasp" we are told. Next in importance to having such a big ideal comes the question of ways of attainment. With such a heterogeneity of population as Canada has, the ways are apt to be complex. Still we have one wonderful key which will unlock many of the barriers. That key is our splendid system of public school education in Canada. In the western provinces especially, the foreign population is being brought under the beneficent influences of our Canadian schools.

#Hugh Dobson--Social Welfare. "Canadianization and our Immigration"

Dr. Jt. T. M. Anderson, Inspector of Foreign Schools in Saskatchewan, has achieved wonders in that province. Mr. Ira Strattan, Official Trustee for foreign Schools in Manitoba, has rendered equally valuable service there. Their plan is to build schools, modern and well-equipped, in every foreign school district, provide teachers' residences which act as community centres and living examples of Canadian ways of living, and above all, Canadian teachers. They are interesting hundreds of efficient Canadian teachers in this foreign settlement work and it will not be many years until splendid results will be apparent. These teachers are not only imbued with the spirit of service, with the desire of bringing to our "New Canadians" all the best of our Canadian heritage, but they are anxious to discover in these foreign communities aspirations and characteristics which might enrich and increase that heritage. In this way they are proving true agents of that desired ethnic fusion out of which should evolve a higher Canadian type—the true man of the "fair far North".

Other plans for assimilation outside the public schools deal more especially with the adult immigrant. There are night schools for them though so far a very insufficient number. In many cases the little rural school, its teacherage and its lonely teacher must act in this capacity as well. Besides giving these night pupils a practical working knowledge of English, there is the further task of training them in the principles of Canadian citizenship. This work has only just begun but it is full of wonderful possibilities. The franchise and full citizenship rights have been too easily won in the past.

Out of this has grown a large opportunity for political corruption. Excessive immigration of the past brought into the electorate great numbers of illiterate peasants who had no notion whatsoever of the principles or workings of democratic government. Politicians and their "whips" were not long in taking them in hand and influencing their votes for purely partisan purposes. The result was that large sections of our foreign population have the idea firmly established that a political party is a sort of mutual benefit society. That impression will not be easily eradicated. Doubtless it will never leave the minds of some of the older immigrants.

The policy of teaching Canadian civics in the public schools will do much to develop in our younger "New Canadians" the proper conception of Canadian government. Some educators advocate that this policy be carried farther into the night schools for foreign adults. Still others are demanding a thorough course, besides the gaining of a knowledge of English, in Canadian history and Canadian civics as preparatory for application for Canadian citizenship. All immigrants over the age of 21 years are to take this course. When it is completed they apply for citizenship papers and if their application is received favorably they are granted Canadian citizenship rights at a public ceremony--preferably held each year on July the 1st.

This plan is commendable in many ways but there are a few drawbacks. In the first place it seems unwise in the light of very recent European history to make citizenship compulsory.

Austria's attempts in Serbia, Germany's attempts in Alsace-Lorraine, Russia's in Poland, all met with failure. On the other hand if there is not some form of compulsion, or at least a large measure of persuasion, the classes for the purpose of education in citizenship fail to attract pupils. The truth is that such classes so far have had few attractive features about them. After a few trials the would-be citizens invariably drop off. The biggest obstacles though are the industrial conditions under which the masses of our immigrants are constrained to live. They have no leisure time to devote to education. Until conditions become such that this leisure can be provided while at the same time the foreigners are certain of economic comfort, all attempts to raise them ~~to~~ culturally are doomed to failure. There must be too, attempts on the part of Canadian citizens to interest our foreign population in the advantages accruing to Canadian citizenship and a thorough knowledge of English. If they cannot go into the work themselves at least they could help to support efficient and well-trained teachers for the work or to provide club-rooms for the foreigners where they could (not only) meet to master the rudiments of English grammar but to mingle in a democratic way with their fellow-foreigners and fellow-citizens in a real Canadian atmosphere.

The big danger however, if a thorough-going campaign for Americanization or Canadianization be undertaken, is that it will be a one-sided process. It tends also to become too mechanical. It asks the immigrant to shed automatically all his former heritage of social and moral ideas and adopt one of a brand-new pattern.

It assumes too often that he has nothing to contribute to the development of American democracy or Canadian culture. Thus it encourages imitation rather than originality. Any attempt then to mould the coming Canadian nationality or type, whether it be by intermarriage between racial units, by education, or by the inculcation of high ideals of citizenship must be spontaneous and co-operative in the highest sense of those words. It must guard strictly against an over-perfection of the machinery of the process rather than a constant development of its spirit and its principles.

The guiding thought in the newer ideal for Americanization, and it is just as true of the sister movement, Canadianization, should be, "the thought of a democracy broad enough to embrace full political equality, human enough to make room for industrial self-realization, generous enough to welcome all culture-groups dwelling in the midst of America to join, as perpetually creative forces, in the building of a synthetic civilization that shall bear the lasting imprints of the genius of many peoples." #

Julius Drachsler

"Democracy and Assimilation."