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Contextualising Canada West as a Regional Force, 1890s-1930s

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Abstract

Canada is one of the highly developed nations in the world. Historically, however, its characteristic depiction is of a regionalised nation. Regionalism flows quite naturally in Canadian history from varied geographical features, the vast environment and a highly diversified population. The Anglo – French biculturalism is a reflection of Canada’s regional entities, so is the adoption of the policy of multiculturalism that attempts to encompass patterns of socio – cultural differences in order to reveal the strength of Canada’s unity in diversity. In the late 19th and early decades of the 20th century as new immigrants were attempting to settle down on Canadian soil, dominant differences between Canadian regions were clearly evident. In particular, the Prairie West comprising of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta became one of the most restless and impatient regions in the late 19th and early decades of the 20th century. The West’s expression of regionalism varied in intensity from rest of Canada. This paper focuses on the changing character of Canada’s West in an attempt to argue that regionalism was manifested in forces that shaped Canada’s growth pattern and development as a nation.

Keywords – Canada, Canadian Prairies, Canada West, Eastern European Immigration, Temperance, Prohibition, Social Gospel, Social Credit Party, Progressive Party

Canada became a nation in 1867 with the signing of Confederation, an agreement between two races, the English and the French, to live together on the basis of equality and co-operation. The Confederation was initially signed by Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia as part of coming together of the colonies of British North America. The pact was broadened between 1870 and 1905 to include Prince Edward Island, Manitoba and British Columbia. Later two new provinces were created in the West in 1905 - Saskatchewan and Alberta. The Confederation of Canada was completed with the joining of Newfoundland in 1949. ¹ Vastly separated colonies had come together to fulfil the dream of a unified Canada focused on sustaining a distinct Canadian identity. However, each of the provinces that became part of Canada was distinguished by its geographical setting, economic role, history, culture and in having different ambitions for the same Canada to which they all belonged. ²

¹ John Douglas Belshaw, *Canadian History: Post Confederation*, 2nd edition, BC Campus Open Education, 2020; Archana B. Verma, ‘Rethinking Canada: Regionalism in Canada West’ in Chandra Mohan (ed.), *Regionalism in Canada: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers Ltd., 1995; Gerald Friesen, ‘History of Settlement in the Canadian Prairies’, *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 23 December 2019.

² Belshaw, *Canadian History*; Verma, ‘Rethinking Canada’.

The regional distinctiveness in Canada was reinforced by geographical barriers and great distances. The St. Lawrence Great Lakes system separated Ontario from Quebec. In fact, the Lake system provided a better linkage of the two regions with the United States than with other parts of Canada. The Maritimes provinces including Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland were detached from the Canadian mainland by sea while New Brunswick was isolated because of the existence of dense and thick forests. The Rocky Mountains on the Pacific coast posed almost an insurmountable barrier between British Columbia and central Canada. And the Prairie West or Canada West demarcated with three provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta was a vast expanse of vacant land, isolated from the rest of Canada. It was distanced from the more populous central and eastern Canada by 2000 miles of very thinly settled rocks and forests, and from the province of the Pacific coast's British Columbia, by a belt of mountain ranges 500 miles wide.³

In economic terms also, each province tended to evolve independently. The primary economic activity of New Brunswick centred around lumbering with fisheries as secondary activity. At the same time fishing industry predominated in Nova Scotia while Prince Edwards Island concentrated on agriculture. Quebec practised subsistence farming where the French Canadians supplemented their income from lumbering, while Ontario considered economically the most advanced among all the provinces, catered to agricultural and dairy products both at the international level and at the level of domestic market. In the province of British Columbia gold deposits were exploited initially, but these were soon exhausted and the economy was replaced by extensive lumbering and also agriculture. In terms of economic activities, the Prairie lands became agriculturally the rich wheat basket of Canada.⁴ However, the Canadian pattern of development was such that the wealth and population was concentrated heavily in the centre and eastern parts of the country while regions like the Prairie West were relegated to the status of resource supplying hinterlands.⁵ Unequal distribution of economic activities was a feature that would contribute to the rise of deeply felt political and economic grievances in the Prairies.

The Canadian government had purchased the Prairie lands from the Hudson Bay Company in 1869-70, and then a perceived threat of annexation of Canadian Prairies by the United States became an additional factor for the government to link the Prairies to other provinces of Canada, thus making the region a national imperative.⁶ As the Canadian government planned its National Policy to integrate the economies of the east with the west, it worked out a threefold strategy – a) promulgating protective tariffs, b) constructing transcontinental railway, and, c) promoting peopling of Canada, particularly the vacant Prairies, through immigration. The tariffs were regarded as a major step to promote transcontinental economy with a focus on promoting domestic manufacturing industries of Canada east and attracting capital towards them by establishing captive markets in the Prairie West. The construction of a transcontinental railway was meant to develop Canada's 'east – west axis' passing through the Prairie West and linking Canada 'coast to coast'.⁷ The railways were essentially designed to cement the national commercial system, and they were viewed as true expression of national development. The Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) was to fulfil this objective. CPR proved indispensable as a vital artery of national integration with the government floating bonds to help fund its construction and simultaneously making land grants to the railways to facilitate settlement along its routes, particularly the ones passing through the Prairies.⁸ In the later decades of the 19th century the Prairie province of Manitoba, and by 1905 the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, needed to be filled up with people who were expected to develop these provinces. As a result, the government of Canada consciously and actively began to promote immigration and settlement of the Prairie West, a task which nationwide transportation mode, the railways, fulfilled.

³ A.R.M. Lower, *From Colony to Nation: History of Canada*, Longmans, Green & Company, 1947; Belshaw, *Canadian History*; Verma, 'Rethinking Canada'.

⁴ W.A. MacIntosh, *The Economic Background of Dominion – Provincial Relations: A Study prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion – Provincial Relations*, Ottawa, J.O. Patnaude, 1939; Belshaw, *Canadian History*.

⁵ Friesen, 'Canadian Prairies'.

⁶ John Boyko, 'Intercolonial Railway', *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 7 February 2006; Pierre Berton, *The National Dream: The Great Railway, 1871-1881*, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1970.

⁷ Omer Lavallé, 'Canadian Pacific Railway', *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 6 March 2008 also in *Historica Canada*, 4 March 2015; The Atlas of Alberta Railways, 'The Canadian Pacific Railway in Western Canada'; Berton, *The National Dream*; Verma, 'Rethinking Canada'.

⁸ Tom Murray, *Rails Across Canada: The History of Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways*, Stillwater, United States, Voyageur Press, 2011.

Initially built as sections, by 1870s the CPR had successfully linked Winnipeg, the city treated as the capital city of the Canada West, to Lake Superior bordering on Ontario. By the early 1880s the CPR had linked Canada east to the Prairie West passing through the Pallisers' Triangle in Saskatchewan via the Kicking Horse Pass at the border of Alberta – British Columbia in the Canadian Rockies. By 1896 the CPR had constructed another line from Lethbridge, Alberta through the Crow's Nest Pass, and linked it to British Columbia.⁹ With such a rail network, the CPR began to provide an all the year - round cargo and passenger services across the Prairies, and as a transcontinental railway, throughout Canada. The building of railways provided commercial outlets along its routes that were to see rapid rise of markets for producer goods and commodities. The Prairies were favourably placed in this context once the region began to be peopled, though the boom years of immigration would really begin post 1896. By that time, the manufacturing centres at Montreal, Kingston and Toronto were linked to the 'east - west axis'.¹⁰

The Prairies already had established communities of the English and the French Canadians but these were found sparsely settled across the region. Up to 1874 Ontario was the primary supplier of English immigrants to the Prairies and the English formed an important component of the Prairie population preceding the great waves of foreign immigration. Some scholars view their entry into Prairie West as an extension of English Canada's "imperial traditions".¹¹ By the 1900s English Canadians had established the basic institutional pattern and culture of the Prairie West which meant "essentially Anglo- Celtic in origin, Protestant in religion, and British in their political, legal and social institutions".¹² In this vision Canada's progress was identified with the preservation of Anglo – Saxon civilization which broadly defined loyalty to the country in terms of loyalty to Great Britain and her Dominions like Canada. Such a vision set the tone for a tradition that not only emphasised differences between the English and the French in Canada but it also served as a kind of litmus test for non – English speaking immigrants entering the Prairies during the immigration boom years at the turn of the 20th century.

The French Canadians, compared to the English Canadians, had little enthusiasm for expansion westward from Quebec as the French believed that large scale emigration to the Prairie West would threaten Quebec's ability to survive in Canada with its unique institutions, the French language and Catholic religion. Until 1881 the French immigrants mainly moved into Manitoba by following either the Dawson route or they came via the Red River from the United States.¹³ The French Canadians, however, remained connected to the Prairies through the Métis people, half breeds of the French and the native Indians. The Métis formed the most important French element in the Prairie region till its complexion changed with the entry of hundreds and thousands of non – French and non – English speaking immigrants. However, even before vastly numbered newcomers entered Canada West, the Métis lifestyle dependent as it was on fur trade and buffalo hunt was being threatened because non – French people had begun to settle in the Prairies once Confederation became a reality. As a result, Métis made attempts to preserve their land, their economic roots, their language and a separate denominational school system by raising a political demand for establishing self – government, and, prevent the Canadian government from taking over the Prairie land. To achieve this, Métis led by Louis Riel rose in armed rebellion against Canada in 1885.¹⁴ The Prairie English Canadians facing the growing danger of an armed outbreak demanded military retaliation by the Canadian government. The demand was acceded to. The federal government responded by military action, suppressed Louis Riel's rebellion, made him a prisoner and hanged him.¹⁵

The hanging of Louis Riel had serious repercussions for Canada as a whole and for the Prairies in particular. In French Canada, Louis Riel was considered a hero and was portrayed a martyr, punished for his faith and his race.¹⁶ The French Canadians supported the Métis demand for the maintenance of French language and separate Catholic schools outside Quebec. However, the Métis Uprising was not followed by any large -scale migration of the French Canadians to the Prairie West. Majority French Canadians were not

⁹ Lavallé, 'Canadian Pacific Railway'; Alberta Railways, 'The Canadian Pacific Railway'.

¹⁰ Jonathan Hanna, 'Colonist Cars Help Build the West', *Momentum*, Fall 2008; Robert F. Legett, *Railways of Canada*, Vancouver, Douglas and McIntyre, 1987; Lavallé, 'Canadian Pacific Railway'.

¹¹ Friesen, 'Canadian Prairies'; Verma, 'Rethinking Canada'.

¹² Gerald Tulchinsky, 'The Jewish Experience in Ontario' in Roger Hall, et al. (eds.), *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History*, Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1988.

¹³ Verma, 'Rethinking Canada'.

¹⁴ David J. Bercuson, et al., 'The Inter-War Years: Canada', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 7 September, 2021; Friesen, 'Canadian Prairies'; Verma, 'Rethinking Canada'.

¹⁵ Bercuson, 'The Inter-War Years'; Friesen, 'Canadian Prairies'; Verma, 'Rethinking Canada'.

¹⁶ Bercuson, 'The Inter-War Years'.

inclined to settle in the Prairies. On the other hand, in Ontario, as in the Prairie West, the English Canadian sentiment demanded Louis Riel's execution and also attempted to ensure that Canada West was settled by a population, liberal in outlook, conforming to the cultural traditions of the Anglo – Saxon Protestant Ontario.¹⁷ By late 19th century the balance between the English and the French in the Prairie West remained uneasy. In fact, the gap between the two races tended to widen after Canada opened its doors for European immigrants to settle in the Prairies, their entry vastly outnumbered the French Canadians, and, Métis population reduced to negligible numbers. Therefore, Métis Uprising was consequential in the opening of the Prairie West to new immigrants. In fact, the region began to be seen as an eastern Canadian frontier – an attractive resource base designed to provide profit, land and power to Ontario's businessmen and farmers.¹⁸

The Prairies were meant to attract people once CPR successfully linked isolated communities scattered in the countryside and in remote areas of Canada West. The region had caught federal government's attention as Canada emerged from economic depression lasting since 1873. In 1890s prices of Prairie staple products like wheat were rising in response to demand from the markets of rapidly urbanising Europe. The CPR too was clamouring for freight of goods and increased customer traffic.¹⁹ In the 1890s, however, the established communities of Prairie farmers were not happy with the freight rates charged for their produce by the CPR, they were complaining about higher freight rates to transport their grain out of the Prairie West. The farmers' complaints were indicative of the fact that federal governments' assistance to the CPR in any form would be unpopular in the Prairies. This resulted in the signing of the Crow's Nest Pass Agreement between the federal government and the CPR in 1897 which was to affect the survival and flourishing of the Prairie region and its settlers. The Agreement effectively reduced 'in perpetuity' the eastbound freight rates on grain, and, based the westbound railway rates on "settlers' effect" at 1897 level. The Agreement was temporarily suspended during the First World War but remained enforced till the 1980s.²⁰ In 1890s reduced CPR freight rates became a key aspect of Canada's National Policy and these coincided with the beginning of the settlement boom years in the Prairies.

The federal government had granted Prairie land for settlement to CPR that measured millions of acres. The Railways quickly became profitable as it concentrated on providing economic access to both, the freight and the passengers. On the one hand this meant assuring incoming supplies to the region and outgoing crops and animals from the region. On the other hand, this involved finding and bringing settlers to the Prairies. Both the processes generated revenue. The liberal government of Canada under Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier (1896 – 1911) recognised, and, realised the importance of CPR traffic for the development of the Prairies and so began to actively, and, intensively promote immigration to Canada with a concerted focus on settling the 'vacant' Prairies. To promote this, the government gave bonuses to those immigration promoters and agents who were keen to bring in people to the Canadian Prairies. The government also began to extend incentives to steamship companies and their agents to secure immigrants for Canada. This was followed up by aggressive publicising efforts that promoted Canadian immigration in Europe and the United States through promotional magazines, brochures, tracts, pamphlets and newspapers. One of the most popular of such material was the promotional magazine titled "Canada West: The Last, Best, West" that aggressively beat the Canadian drums for immigrants in Great Britain, the United States and central, eastern and southern Europe while advertising the Prairie region as a land where "living is cheap, climate is good, education and land are free".²¹

The Canadian government intended to make the Prairies an agriculturally rich region, though urban centres like Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Calgary also existed with immigration opportunities.²² But Canada primarily looked to having desirable 'farmers' for the Prairie West and such immigrants were eagerly sought from the grainlands of continental Europe, and also from western United States where conditions similar to

¹⁷ David Gagan, 'The Relevance of Canada First', in Bruce Hodgins and Robert Page (eds.), *Canadian History Since Confederation: Essays and Interpretations*, Georgetown, Irwin & Dorsey Ltd., 1979; Verma, 'Rethinking Canada'.

¹⁸ Donald Swainson, 'Canada Annexes the West: Colonial Status Confirmed', in R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith (eds.), *Readings in Canadian History: Post Confederation*, 3rd edition, Toronto, Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd., 1992; Graham Chandler, 'Settling the Prairie Good Life: Canada's History', *The Beaver*, August-September, 2006; Bercuson, 'The Inter-War Years'.

¹⁹ Erica Gagnon, 'Settling the West: Immigration to the Prairies from 1867-1914', *Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21*, Collections Researcher; Alberta Railways, 'The Canadian Pacific Railway'.

²⁰ Ken Norrie and T.D. Regehr, 'Crow's Nest Pass Agreement', *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 6 February 2006; Levalle, 'Canadian Pacific Railway'.

²¹ Chandler, 'Settling the Prairie Good Life'; Gagnon, 'Settling the Prairie West'; Verma, 'Rethinking Canada'; Alberta Railways, 'The Canadian Pacific Railways'.

²² Chandler, 'Settling the Prairie Good Life'.

Canadian Prairies existed. It is stated that in 1867 a mere 8 % of Canada's population was other than English and French. However, the balance of population changed tremendously by late 1890s and early twentieth century as the three Prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta became the most sought - after destinations by the immigrants. The region witnessed its population figures grow from 75,000 to 419,000 between 1871 and 1901 with majority newcomers entering Canada speaking neither English nor French. This marked the beginning of ethnic immigration in Canada.²³

Between 1896 and 1914, a whooping three million immigrants entered Canada with large numbers hailing from Great Britain, United States, Scandinavian countries, Italy, Germany, including France among other European countries, but, the largest arrivals were recorded from central, eastern and southern Europe. The Minister of Interior Sir Clifford Sifton's (1896 – 1905) immigration policy under the liberal government concentrated on bringing non – traditional immigrants, the sturdy “stalwart peasant in sheep skin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and half a dozen children is a good quality...”²⁴ However, after 1905 as new minister Frank Oliver took power, the desire to preserve Canada's main contours of society based on acquiring immigrants from traditional sources like Great Britain re - emerged.²⁵ But by that time boom years of immigration (1901 – 1911) had already led to population increase in Canada to 1,800, 000. By 1911 the population in the Prairies had exceeded 1,300,000 with Alberta recording 190,000 in 1906 rising to 400,000 by 1913. Manitoba and Saskatchewan recorded similar pattern of population growth. In the next two decades or by 1931 the population of Canada rose five-fold as immigrants kept coming. The Prairies showed a corresponding increase.²⁶

Evidently, Canada showed an increased ability to receive and absorb immigrants however, the country made deliberate choices about the people it wanted. Thousands were allowed entry as ‘desirable’ and ‘preferred’ immigrants. In this category were placed the English and the Americans, followed by the Dutch, Germans, Belgians, Icelanders, Scandinavians and the French. They dispersed all over Canada including the Prairies. Among these immigrants, the English were counted as the most numerous and ethnically the ‘most’ desirable cohort. Though the English would make limited contribution to skilled agriculture in the Prairies yet they remained the most favoured of all the immigrant groups. Their entry in Canada meant maintaining the already predominant white Anglo – Saxon presence in the Prairie region, as in the rest of Canada.²⁷ The French also entered the West during the immigration boom years particularly from New England and Western United States but in proportion to the English their presence was marginal.²⁸ Among other immigrants, the Asians too were allowed entry but only as alien and inferior immigrant labourers to work in Canada and not as settlers for the Prairie West. The Chinese, Japanese and East Indians were brought in to help build the transcontinental CPR but they became targets of exclusionary and discriminatory immigration policies.²⁹ The Asian labour remained confined to British Columbia. On the other hand, the Prairies accommodated hundreds and thousands of non – English and non – French speaking Europeans which included Ukrainians, Slavs, Roumanians, Hungarians, Poles, Slovaks, Chechs and the Russians.³⁰ The immigrants belonging to pacifist religious groups, the German speaking Hutterites, the Russian speaking Mennonites and Doukhobors and the Jews too came to settle in Canada West. They worked hard to open up the vast empty areas of the Prairie West.³¹

Canadian government had adopted a Dominion Land Policy which created fertile and free homesteads on the Prairies to be taken up.³² Handy material containing detailed statistics on homesteading, farm yields, cattle prices, information on access to railways, rivers, and lakes including freight rates were easily made available to prospective settlers believing that information provided contained everything what a settler needed to know about Canada West.³³ The Prairie land had been surveyed in numbered squares, with odd numbered sections sold at moderate prices to individuals and companies and even numbered sections given

²³ Verma, ‘Rethinking Canada’; Belshaw, *Canadian History*; Alberta Railways, ‘The Canadian Pacific Railway’.

²⁴ Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’; Belshaw, *Canadian History*; Chandler, ‘Settling the Prairie Good Life’.

²⁵ Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

²⁶ Verma, ‘Rethinking Canada’; Belshaw, *Canadian History*; Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

²⁷ Chandler, ‘Settling the Prairie Good Life’; Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’; Belshaw, *Canadian History*.

²⁸ Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’; Howard Palmer and Leo Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’, *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 10 February 2011.

²⁹ Palmer and Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’.

³⁰ Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’; Belshaw, *Canadian History*; World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, ‘Eastern European Canadians’.

³¹ Palmer and Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’; Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’; Belshaw, *Canadian History*.

³² Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

³³ Chandler, ‘Settling the Prairie Good Life’.

as homestead with 160 acres free, made obtainable by any male settler subject to the fulfilment of minimal obligations. The government believed that such a way to open the agricultural frontier in the Prairie West offered ready options to land hungry immigrants.³⁴ So great was the demand for land among immigrants' that thousands of Europeans chose to take up farm land on the Prairies even though the settlement pattern tended to disperse immigrant settler population in isolated farms.³⁵ Eventually, the government opened up more land as free homesteads from what was left of the odd numbered sections.

160 acres farmland became the basic unit of the Prairie homestead society. The region was expected to be built up with family farms upholding Canadian values. The region was also meant to be integrated with the rapidly growing manufacturing and industrial sector in central and eastern Canada. It was apparent that Canada West presented infinite possibilities even as immigrants settled to face the challenging Prairies with dry grassland, harsh winters, and heavy snow.³⁶ Their arrival gave a distinct flavour to the Prairies but, within that settlers' expectations and desires fostered the creation of distinct ethno – cultural pockets in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.³⁷ While English speaking newcomers felt almost immediately at home on the Prairies, the Germans, Dutch, Swedes, Icelanders, Scandinavians who all took to farming chose to establish group settlements but these did not develop large concentrated blocs unlike the central and eastern and southern European settlements. The Ukrainians, Roumanians, Hungarians, Poles, Slavs, Slovaks, Chechs and the Russians valued as hardy agriculturists, they all practically chose to settle in Bloc settlements, first in the immigration sheds on arrival and subsequently on land, regardless of its quality, which they acquired as homestead.³⁸ Their settlements on the Prairies came to be distinguished as close – knit unlike other ethnic Prairie settlements. As was the case with Mennonites, Doukhobors and the Jews.³⁹ Such settlement patterns tended to exasperate Canadian land commissioners -- “you cannot get them by persuasion or argument to go to a new colony, except by force. They all want to go where others have gone.”⁴⁰ Other commissioners despaired in particular reference to Ukrainians, “they are apparently an obstreperous, obstinate, rebellious lot, I am sick of these people. They are worse than cattle to handle”.⁴¹ Anti – Ukrainian sentiment, in particular, was strong, “...the dumping of these filthy, penniless and ignorant foreigners into progressive and intelligent communities is a serious hardship to such a community”.⁴² What the land commissioners did not approve, however, gave strength to majority newcomers in their ability to fabricate communities based on familiar practices and institutions.⁴³ The French immigrants were also known for this tendency. They too chose settlements where French communities were already established i.e. Manitoba.⁴⁴ As a result, there emerged compact settlements of specific ethnic groups in the Prairies which made the region look like a mosaic or a patchwork of cultural zones in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. These communities tended to fill up continually by chain migration.⁴⁵ Thus by the turn of the twentieth century, Canada West, predominated by the English and the French Canadians had acquired a complexion that made it look like a different region.

Opening up the West meant that the Prairies joined the rest of Canada to witness the period of economic boom even as many Canadians questioned the possibility of Prairie development. The European settlers worked hard to open up the vast empty areas of the Prairie West, diversified the land and built a solid agricultural resource base assisted in time by new inventions in farm machinery such as mechanical grain elevators that made it possible to cultivate and harvest long stretches of land with comparable speed and market the grain.⁴⁶ Their hard efforts to make Prairie agriculture a successful enterprise bore fruit as wheat production jumped from 56 million bushels in 1901 to 231 million bushels by 1911. They also did much of coal mining, hard manual labour and railway building as branch lines opened in the Prairies.⁴⁷ This resulted

³⁴ Friesen, ‘Canadian Prairies’.

³⁵ Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

³⁶ J.B. Hedges, ‘A.S. Morton, *History of Prairie Settlement* and Chester Martin, *Dominion Lands Policy*’ (Review), *American Historical Review*, Vol. 45, Issue 2, January 1940, pp. 434-435; Verma, ‘Rethinking Canada’; World Directory of Minorities, ‘Eastern European Canadians’; Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

³⁷ Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

³⁸ Belshaw, *Canadian History*; Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

³⁹ Belshaw, *Canadian History*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² World Directory of Minorities, ‘Eastern European Canadians’.

⁴³ Belshaw, *Canadian History*; Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

⁴⁴ Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

⁴⁵ Belshaw, *Canadian History*; Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

⁴⁶ Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’; Verma, ‘Rethinking Canada’.

⁴⁷ Lavallé, ‘Canadian Pacific Railway’.

in the growth of Prairie links with the commercial requirements of industrialising east, through a revival in trade and a return to prosperity in Canada.

However, economic prosperity was not easily translated at the socio – cultural level. The Prairie West evolved distinct characteristics of a society, overwhelmingly made up of foreign immigrants. The Canadian federal government tried to engineer a society through surveyed townships yet in actual practice the process depicted formation of a social order where ethnic hierarchies were bound to exist even as majority immigrants worked hard to build a solid agricultural resource base in the Prairie West. An “ethnic pecking order” emerged which made societal acceptance of certain immigrant groups an uphill struggle.⁴⁸ Creation of an ethnic pecking order was intrinsic to Canada’s immigration promotional campaigns. Though schemes may have been floated having immigrant assimilation in mind, but the context varied sharply impacting the Prairies. The British and Americans remained the most ‘desirable’, followed by a preference for northern and western Europeans and then came the central, eastern and southern Europeans. The Mennonites, Doukhobors and the Jews, termed as pacifist religious sects, were placed at the lowest level of the social ladder.⁴⁹

The British, specifically the English among them, were treated as the most viable of all immigrants. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries Canada was wanting to promote its British Imperial connections and to preserve Anglo – Saxon British institutions as the most cherished Canadian ideals. During the immigration boom years, white Europeans constituted 96% of all immigrants entering Canada and within this proportion, immigrants from British Isles figured at 57%.⁵⁰ English were found to be most numerous among the Prairie settlers too, though most among them drifted towards the Prairie urban centres joining the unskilled labour force in cities, rather than choosing to remain on land, still they remained the chosen lot among the immigration agents, backed by Canadian immigration officials. This bent of the government made the French – Canadians, particularly the French speaking nationalists in Quebec, very conscious and restive. They charged that English Canadians were plotting to undermine the status of French Canada by promoting large – scale non – French immigration.⁵¹

Among other immigrant groups, the Americans consistently remained popular with immigration agents and the Canadian government. They were believed to be experienced agriculturists as they mostly moved to Canada from the western prairies of America. However, majority Americans took to farming unlike the English but were not viewed as a challenge to cultural assimilation. They did not favour block settlements.⁵² As Canada continued to further its agenda to populate the Prairie West with prosperous white families, Northern Europeans were placed at the level of most preferred ones to establish homesteads after the English and Americans. The Dutch, Belgians, Germans, Scandinavians were slotted in culturally acceptable categories. It was believed that they did not practice “communal living” and kept the flame of individualism alive.⁵³ Majority of these immigrants became successful farming settlers, especially Germans, Scandinavians and the Dutch. Many Dutch spoke English language and they predominantly settled in Alberta. The “clean and sober” Dutch were believed to assimilate gracefully. Similarly, cultural identities of Scandinavians remained uncontested even though they preferred block settlements choosing to preserve their distinct languages and cultures. But they and the Germans, who turned out to be the most successful of the Prairie agriculturists, remained desirable because they were similar to the English in physical appearance.⁵⁴

The treatment meted out to the central, eastern and southern Europeans was however different. Canada had packed them with advices about idyllic Prairie life “with blue skies, golden crops, happy families, friendly neighbours, sunshine and independence”⁵⁵ and supported this impression by distributing detailed coloured maps about Prairie provinces, however, in many cases such imagery proved to be empty advertising spins in the eagerness to promote the settlement of Canada West. Many roadblocks existed under difficult conditions of pioneering agriculture, including such hazards as hail, early frost, rust grasshoppers, recurrent droughts and even floods in provinces like Manitoba.⁵⁶ The Ukrainians, Roumanians, Hungarians, Slavs, Russians, Poles and the Slovaks endured hardships and made resolute efforts to expand the area of agricultural settlements.

⁴⁸ Palmer and Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’; Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Chandler, ‘Settling the Prairie Good Life’; Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

⁵¹ Palmer and Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’; Belshaw, *Canadian History*.

⁵² Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

⁵³ Palmer and Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’; Belshaw, *Canadian History*; Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

⁵⁴ Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

⁵⁵ Chandler, ‘Settling the Prairie Good Life’.

⁵⁶ Chandler, ‘Settling the Prairie Good Life’; D. A. MacGibbon, ‘A. S. Morton, *History of Prairie Settlement* and Chester Martin, *Dominion Lands Policy*’ (Review), *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 20, No. 1, March 1939, pp. 71-72.

The real periods of abundant harvests helped them overcome setbacks of difficult times. As these settlers adjusted to new circumstances, their cultural resilience was made subject to intense examination particularly because they were a diversified lot both ethnically and denominationally. For example, orthodox Christianity of Ukrainians was in sharp contrast to Catholicism of Polish Ukrainians. Russian speaking Doukhobors and Mennonites and the Jews presented a completely different spectrum. Roumanians, Hungarians, Slavs, Chechs and Slovaks shared differences in dialects which were important for them. Not only linguistic differences, their distinct churches too sustained diversity among the central, eastern and southern Europeans. Of all these immigrants, Ukrainians were most visible numerically and as a result formed the most prominent settler community. Although their choice of bloc settlement patterns increased chances of agricultural success, the cultural integrity so assumed was considered antithetical and a challenge to their cultural assimilation, being non – English and non – French in origin.⁵⁷

While Germans, Dutch, Scandinavians were praised for their agricultural prowess and hearty work, general Canadian opinion was negative to the influx of Ukrainians, Roumanians, Hungarians, Slavs, Chechs, Russians, Poles and Slovaks as they were believed to be people of different ways. They faced difficulty in settling down particularly the Ukrainians who were singled out because of their large numbers. Canadians viewed their bloc settlements with concern, and even anxiety, and very much disliked what was called their insanitary living conditions. Very soon images about them began to be stereotyped.⁵⁸ These Prairie settlers were alleged to be more prone to crime, violence, indulging in prostitution and many a times faced hostility in the Prairies. They were talked about as people inclined to family breakdown and more susceptible to political corruption than rest of the population in the Prairies.⁵⁹ The central and eastern Europeans were primarily agriculturists but there were those among them who had drifted to the cities where they were seen as slum dwellers and were made targets for bringing diseases to Canada in every immigrant consignment.⁶⁰ Their poverty generated the fear of their becoming a burden on the exchequer. The Canadians became alarmed as they believed that separated ethnic groups could not be allowed to live in ‘homogenous’ communities because the concentrated settlements would indefinitely impede the process of assimilation. Thus, the very presence of Ukrainians, Roumanians, Hungarians, Slavs, Chechs, Russians, Poles and Slovaks was perceived as threatening the social order so much as diminishing the ‘national sense of identity’.⁶¹ (Fn)

After reaching a peak on the eve of the First World War, there was a pause in the immigration and settlement process between 1914 and 1922, during and after the First World War when immigration from Europe was curtailed.⁶² It was a period when feelings and sentiments of intense nationalism were generated in Canada. As a result, Canadians treated Germans in their midst as enemy aliens belonging as they did to a belligerent nation. Immigrants and settlers like the Ukrainians were treated in a similar manner as they were believed to have links with Austro – Hungarian empire. The Ukrainians in particular were not trusted as many of them had entered Canada on Austrian passport, a country with which Canada was at war. The widespread anti – Ukrainian sentiment reached unprecedented proportions.⁶³ These eastern Europeans were denied equitable and fair treatment in the Prairies as in rest of Canada. Slavs too began to be looked upon as dangerous revolutionaries, no more as solid peasants. Opposition to pacifist religious sects also intensified.⁶⁴ New immigrants and settlers began to be persecuted in many different ways, for example many as enemy aliens were placed under police surveillance, some were dismissed from jobs or put in internment camps, their churches and schools were closed, community newspapers were censored and even suppressed from circulation.⁶⁵ By the time the War ended, in early 1920s the central and eastern Europeans had been placed in the category of ‘non – preferred’ immigrants although it is argued that under public pressure, and as a way of promoting post – war economy, the federal government loosened restrictions in late 1920s and allowed entry to more than 185,000 central and eastern Europeans as farmers, farm labourers and as domestics.⁶⁶

⁵⁷ Belshaw, *Canadian History*; World Directory of Minorities, ‘Eastern European Canadians’.

⁵⁸ Belshaw, *Canadian History*.

⁵⁹ Palmer and Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’; Belshaw, *Canadian History*; World Directory of Minorities, ‘Eastern European Canadians’.

⁶⁰ World Directory of Minorities, ‘Eastern European Canadians’.

⁶¹ Donald H. Avery, *Reluctant Hosts: Canada’s Response to Immigrant Workers 1896-1994*, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1995; Belshaw *Canadian History*; Verma, ‘Rethinking Canada’.

⁶² Palmer and Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’; Belshaw, *Canadian History*; Gagnon, ‘Settling the West’.

⁶³ World Directory of Minorities, ‘Eastern European Canadians’; Palmer and Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’.

⁶⁴ Palmer and Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’.

⁶⁵ World Directory of Minorities, ‘Eastern European Canadians’; Palmer and Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’.

⁶⁶ World Directory of Minorities, ‘Eastern European Canadians’.

By the end of the First World War the times changed, and, Canada's focus shifted to building an 'ideal' society. In this vision, white Europeans began to be viewed as socially and culturally important. This feature gave a unique identity to Canada West as the underlying theme now came to rest on how new immigrants could be 'Canadianised' rather than raising concerns whether they should be allowed to enter Canada at all. Such an emphasis was in complete contrast to how Asians were treated. Asians had been excluded and they were forbidden to enter Canada through the promulgation of discriminatory immigration policies. However, post – First World War Canadians showed an inclination to accept 'white' European foreigners in the Prairie West but by making them conform to predominant Anglo – Saxon societal values and institutions. Determined efforts and attempts were made to shape the region into a kind of 'homogenous order based on British ideals of government and Protestantism'.⁶⁷ Three closely related reform movements -- Social Gospel, Temperance and Women's Rights Movement – sweeping the English - speaking world in Canada as part of the broader 'Progressive Movement' made an impact in the Prairie West in the second decade of the twentieth century. These were aimed to initiate and institute reforms among the immigrants like prohibition, eliminating prostitution and bolstering franchise for women and promote their 'Canadianisation'.⁶⁸

The Temperance Movement came to the Prairies through Alberta when efforts of women's organisations and a coalition of churches determined to eradicate alcohol from the map of Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan. The reformers believed that prohibition would solve most social ills as liquor lay at the root of all social problems. In Canada West, rural women shared the desire for prohibition as social concern because they believed that alcoholism was a problem presented by large number of immigrants. As farmers' wives living on the political periphery in the Prairie West, rural women did not share the concerns predominant in Canada east at the time i.e. need for municipal and factory reforms to initiate and control alcoholism. Many members of women's associations, part of Farmer's Associations of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta distrusted middle class reform groups in the Prairies because they believed these to be mere appendages of the political and industrial interests of Canada east.⁶⁹ They were joined by Social Gospel reformers whose underlying religious ideology focused on initiating strenuous moral reforms involving government legislation, to eradicate social ills and establish a truly Christian society. Protestant Christian clergymen considered it their duty to bring 'civilising' influences upon the new immigrants in attempts to sweep the Prairies clean of social and moral defects.⁷⁰ The Prairie Women's movement in struggle to achieve suffrage for women was equally energised by the commitment of Social Gospel to reforming the society. However, it is stated that Canadian suffragists were strongly puritanical and feared the social impact of non – English non – French central and eastern Europeans cultures that had sprouted in the Prairies. From the viewpoint of some women suffragists, they were "not Protestants, they were not sympathetic to either prohibition or feminism", and that new immigrants were among the principal offenders in the abuse of both alcohol and women.⁷¹ Such anti – immigrant expressions and sentiments by the advocates of women's rights would not result in any magical transformation of the immigrant settlers' culture but it signified that the dominant culture in the Prairies in the post - War years remained British Canadian.

It is argued that the Social Gospel movement in Canada provided the fuel to social and political movements like Evangelicalism. In the Canadian Prairies it focused on new immigrants and 'foreign' settlers with a view to change their lives in Canada. Evangelicals took the view that personal and direct salvation of immigrants and 'other' settlers was a possibility and that everyone in the society could be saved. They despaired that ethnic churches had grown in popularity in the Prairies.⁷² The emergence of new Christian denominations made Evangelicals feel impossible how Mennonites, Doukhobors and the Jews could exist outside 'high' Anglican, or even French Catholic, churches. The Prairies supported the Social Gospel through such institutions as the Wesley College in Winnipeg that concentrated on the culture of outreach and spreading the redemption message.⁷³ Activists in the Social Gospel also felt that enforced schooling could contribute to improve the quality of moral lives. Education was seen as an essential answer to all the social problems of new immigrants with Prairie settlers majorly belonging to central, eastern and southern Europe. This was the ideal to be achieved through a reformed education system, understood to be necessary for social integration

⁶⁷ Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta*, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1982; Verma, 'Rethinking Canada'; Belshaw, *Canadian History*.

⁶⁸ Graeme Decarie, 'Temperance Movement in Canada', *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 23 July 2013; Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*; Peter A. Russell, 'Progressive Party', *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2 February 2006.

⁶⁹ Decarie, 'Temperance Movement'; Belshaw, *Canadian History*.

⁷⁰ Belshaw, *Canadian History*; Verma, 'Rethinking Canada'.

⁷¹ Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*; Belshaw, *Canadian History*; Digital Multimedia History of Canada, 'The Roaring Twenties'.

⁷² Belshaw, *Canadian History*.

⁷³ Ibid.

and preservation of democracy in Canada that presupposed a literate electorate. However, a reformed education system meant inculcating values of English – Canadian nationalism, individualism, citizenship and Protestant work ethics. Assumptions of Anglo conformity became evident in the Prairie schools not only in school curriculum but also in the virtual exclusion from schools of languages other than English.⁷⁴ Though French Canadians reacted by defending the cause of their nationalism and condemning the introduction of such a school system as defiance of French – Canadian nationality and the French cause in Canada West, but their defensive instinct made the French - Canadian community to withdraw within Quebec. Such a tendency, termed as French Canadian isolationism, characteristic of Quebec’s resistance in Canada, allowed the Prairie West to develop along the lines envisaged by the English Canadians. But Canada West region moved in a direction that allowed it to grow with a “polygot community landscape” characteristic.⁷⁵

Attempts to ‘Canadianise’ Prairie immigrants witnessed different processes at work, much against the anticipated assimilation drives. Return of the war veterans at the end of the First World War, and, setting in of the economic depression in 1930s, brought more hostility against Ukrainians and the like, as the new wave of immigration reawakened discrimination and prejudice. New organisations like the Native Sons of Canada, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) as also the Orange Order began to see immigrants and foreign settlers as posing a threat to Anglo – Saxon character of Canada. These groups, particularly the KKK acquired large following in Saskatchewan and Manitoba and opposed even white immigration, targeting Catholic organisations such as schools and churches.⁷⁶ By early 1930 prejudice and discrimination were deeply entrenched against central and eastern immigrants and popular prejudice was at its peak against Russian speaking Doukhobors and Mennonites.⁷⁷ Anti – Semitism against Jews also influenced Canada’s immigration policy.⁷⁸

The setting in of economic depression in 1930s furthered discrimination and prejudice. The non – English and the non – French were deprived of economic power and were denied opportunities to make any significant contribution to education or even politics. It was the time when difficult conditions of peasant life, and racism directed at them, had radicalised many central and eastern Europeans, most notably Ukrainians and they lent support to Communism.⁷⁹ Canadian government under Prime Minister R. B. Bennett attempted to thwart such political movements by deporting communists, or their supporters, among the central and eastern Europeans even as labour conflicts spread in Canada West during which large non – Anglo -Saxon workforce remained pitted against Anglo – Saxon management.⁸⁰ Many labour strikes took place and the Canadian authorities found different ways to discredit workers of foreign origins. Hostility against Ukrainians, Slavs was widespread and sustained, and underscored the creation of social barriers in the Prairie West thereby strengthening the notions of strong relationship between ethnicity and class.⁸¹ The new settlers had developed community organisations dedicated to improve their living conditions and were taking lead in joining political parties and forming trade unions.⁸² As workers resistance emerged, cities like Winnipeg, Rooster Town, North End also the resource towns such as Cadomin and Lovettville and the frontier construction camps in Alberta, resonated with workers militancy – a new phenomenon in the West.⁸³

Such developments were channelled into political expressions as central and eastern Europeans like Ukrainians, Slavs joined political parties like the Progressives, the emerging third force in Canada in 1920s, increasingly seen as the channel of rural protest pitted against the metropolitan interests in Canada east. The Progressive Party sharpened the bent of the Prairie West towards regionalism as it successfully captured the provincial governments in Manitoba and Alberta and even in Saskatchewan where the Liberals were reduced to the status of minority.⁸⁴ The rise of Progressives sharpened regional discontent in 1920s as the West demanded lowering of tariff rates and its eventual elimination and providing flexible bank credit facilities. Bank loans in Canada West carried higher rates of interest than elsewhere in the country and farmers were

⁷⁴ Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*.

⁷⁵ Verma, ‘Rethinking Canada’; Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*; Palmer and Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’.

⁷⁶ Palmer and Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’; Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*; Belshaw, *Canadian History*.

⁷⁷ Palmer and Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’.

⁷⁸ Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1948*, Toronto, Key Porter Books, 2002.

⁷⁹ Palmer and Driedger, ‘Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada’.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Friesen, ‘History of Settlement in the Canadian Prairies’; Belshaw, *Canadian History*; World Directory of Minorities, ‘Eastern European Canadians’.

⁸² World Directory of Minorities, ‘Eastern European Canadians’.

⁸³ Friesen, ‘History of Settlement in the Canadian Prairies’.

⁸⁴ Carl Berger, ‘Regionalism and Federalism: The Case of Western Canada’ in Aparna Basu (ed.), *Imperialism, Nationalism and Regionalism in Canadian and Modern Indian History*, New Delhi, Manohar, 1989; Belshaw, *Canadian History*.

required to repay these in a shorter time period.⁸⁵ As homesteading farmer got caught in a web of high railway freight rates, marketing insecurities for their produce with external demand dropping from European markets for wheat supply, elevator charges, low prices combined with poor harvests, alienation in the Prairie West began to be expressed as a powerful political force.⁸⁶ The protective tariffs began to be seen as part of federal government's design to provide a hinge and save industrialising Canada east while making the Prairies to go on buying higher priced manufactured goods supplied from Canada east. Clearly Prairie West came to be envisioned as a dependent economy of Canada east's economic imperialism.⁸⁷

As drought took over much of Canada West in 1930s, the Prairies became much more vulnerable and large number of settlers as well as new immigrants began to join two successive political movements that arose in 1930s -- the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and Alberta's version of the Social Credit Movement with Conservatives as well as the Liberals ignoring their demands in changed times.⁸⁸ Under the aegis of the Social Credit Party Canada West looked for support from the Federal government to the unemployed, getting relief from rising prices, to initiate financial reforms and create social equity while Social Gospelers made populist appeals for fair treatment of immigrant labour organisations.⁸⁹ The Prairies also found a channel of political expression through the Socialist Party of Canada, and bulk of its members could be found in the Prairie's labour unions.⁹⁰ Ukrainians, Slavs joined these in large numbers to vent their protest, particularly the coal miners of Alberta among whom large numbers came from new immigrants holding captivating dreams of establishing a socialist paradise.⁹¹ This included British and American immigrants too, most of whom provided leadership in labour unions. The Ukrainians, Slavs, Russians, Poles too carried leftist traditions and brought them to the fore. Majority members in the Communist Party of Canada from the Prairies claimed Ukrainian and Finnish ancestry.⁹² Socialist and Communist organisations were highly suspicious of Social Gospel and its assimilationist thrust, believing it to be a delusioning thrust.

During the Great Depression, many settlers in the Prairie West were unwilling to put up with difficulties and hardships of homesteading and had drifted towards the cities joining the rising work force and giving rise to the phenomenon of class consciousness rooted in ethnicity. As farm production continued to drop, it was apparent that central and eastern Europeans would be hard to come by as agriculturists. They chose to find alternate sources of income and many became mobile -- "in one year an immigrant might find himself cast in many roles -- in February a lumber worker in Iroquois Falls, Ontario; in June a railroad navy along the National Transcontinental; in August a harvester in Grentell, Saskatchewan; in November a coal miner in Fernie, British Columbia".⁹³ Evidently, immigrant workforce could no longer be categorised in simple terms as agriculturists or non -- agriculturists as federal immigration policy originally intended. Moreover, after the First World War social tensions had spread far and wide in Canada. Canadians despised Germans and had no difficulty in showing disgust, even hatred, towards 'Bolsheviks' from eastern Europe settling in Canada. The growing red scare in Canada in late 1920s and the "Dirty Thirties" meant that central and eastern Europeans, in particular the Ukrainians and Russians, including Finns, as Scandinavians seemed comfortable with politics of communism, would be viewed as "Dangerous Foreigners".⁹⁴

Thus, regionalism of and in the Prairies of Canada West varied in intensity and it changed its character from 1890s to the 1930s. Government policies were one indicator of the process and another index was the arrival of hundreds and thousands of immigrants who became new settlers in the Prairie West. Their settlement patterns gave rise to racial, religious and ethnic tensions. The nativist response towards newcomers in Canada West came to rest on the assumption that diversity was a potentially divisive force and therefore groups and individuals who failed to assimilate were undesirable citizens. There also existed a more general assumption that any immigrant or settler who failed to assimilate was disloyal to Canada. Such a response was a recognition of Canadian reality rooted in the importance of regionalism as a force.

⁸⁵ Bercuson, 'The Inter-War Years'; Belshaw, *Canadian History*; Verma, 'Rethinking Canada'.

⁸⁶ Verma, 'Rethinking Canada'.

⁸⁷ Tamara Jeppson Palmer and Howard Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, Edmonton, Hurtig Publishers, 1990.

⁸⁸ Bercuson, 'The Inter-War Years'; Belshaw, *Canadian History*.

⁸⁹ Belshaw, *Canadian History*.

⁹⁰ Verma, 'Rethinking Canada'; J. L. Granatstein, et al., *Twentieth Century Canada*, Toronto, McGraw Hill & Ryerson Ltd., 1986.

⁹¹ Granatstein, *Twentieth Century Canada*.

⁹² Bercuson, 'The Inter-War Years'; Friesen, 'History of Settlement in the Canadian Prairies'; Belshaw, *Canadian History*; Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada 1896-1932*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1979.

⁹³ Verma, 'Rethinking Canada'.

⁹⁴ Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*; James Struthers, 'The Great Depression in Canada', *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 11 July 2013.

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