

SASKATCHEWAN OPINION ON
IMMIGRATION FROM 1920-1939

MORRISON FINLEY SMELTZER

1950

SASKATCHEWAN OPINION ON IMMIGRATION FROM 1920-1939

A Thesis submitted to the faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the

Degree of Master of Arts

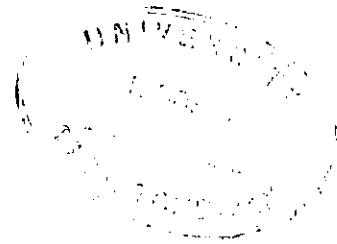
in the Department of History,

University of Saskatchewan

by Morrison Finley Smeltzer

Written under the supervision of Dr. Jean S. Murray.

103785



Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, March 27th, 1950.

DEC 23 1960

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction	-----	I-XVII.
2. Chapter I	Post-War Reconstruction -----	1-9.
3. Chapter II	Optimist and Pessimist Period 1921-1923 -----	10-34.
4. Chapter III	Relative Unanimity of Opinion 1924-1926 -----	34-59.
5. Chapter IV	Period of Scepticism 1927-1928 -----	60-87.
6. Chapter V	Disillusionment 1929-1930 -----	88-105.
7. Chapter VI	A Survey of Saskatchewan Opinion -----	106-113.
8. Chapter VII	New Immigration Policies in the 1930's -----	114-131.
9. Chapter VIII	Problem of Assimilation 1920-1939 -----	132-148.
10. Bibliography	-----	149-151.

INTRODUCTION

Within the comparatively short span of ^{two} ~~one~~ generations, Saskatchewan has emerged from its obscure status as a part of Canada's vast Rupert's Land to a position of economic and social significance as a Canadian province. Seventy years ago the territory was known only to the Indians and an insignificant number of traders and missionaries. ⁽¹⁾ Now Saskatchewan has a population of some 830,000, and produces grain on a scale of world-wide importance. The story behind the development of such vast and somewhat inaccessible country stems from one prime source—immigration. Into the western province came many diverse nationalities and religions, bringing with them as many equally diverse customs, traditions and standards of living.

To the newcomer the problems of adjustment were countless, for emigration had meant the uprooting of old world ways, and a transplanting into a distant, bewildering and strange environment which falls far short of the envisioned utopia. In many cases this transplanting had been made at a time in life when adjustment was extremely difficult, and the New Canadian clung with obstinate persistence to all things held dear. On the other hand, to those already settled, the task of assimilating such a large and cosmopolitan influx was enormous. Against the old country traditions and customs, the established pioneers wielded a steady, persistent pressure, tending to force one and all into the existing pattern of prairie life. Characteristic of such an era of immigration were the humanitarian groups, railroad issues, land speculations and scheming companies. An examination ~~outline~~ of Saskatchewan opinion on immigration must include these cross-currents of human behaviour and must relate them to the official policies of the dominion and provincial governments. Our aim will be to study in some detail the changes for the period 1920 to 1939.

(1) Canada Year Book, 1947, p. 100.

Saskatchewan opinion, especially during the first decade of this period, was formulated from the experiences and the theories developed prior to the first World War. The fundamental beliefs governing Canada's immigration policies, the legal and political responsibilities and the immigration machinery existing in the 1920's were all based on the pre-war system. Thus, before we enter the period of which we write we should examine briefly the early Canadian immigration story.

Prior to Confederation, the British North American provinces had done little to assist immigrants or to attract them to this continent. The provinces were content to accept the flow of people from the United States, England, Scotland, Ireland and Europe, movements that only too often were the result of adverse economic conditions, either agrarian or industrial.⁽¹⁾ But as soon as Confederation was consummated a startling reversal of this lethargic policy took place. George Brown, the eloquent editor of the Toronto Globe, placed the desire for immigrants squarely on the benefits that the Dominion of Canada would derive from them. In the Confederation debates he said:

On this question of immigration turns, in my opinion, the whole future success of this great scheme which we are now discussing. Why, sir, there is hardly a political or financial or social problem suggested by this union that does not find its best solution in a large influx of immigrants.⁽²⁾

But where was this large influx to settle? The arable lands of eastern Canada already had been largely taken up and Canada had become "a field of emigration, instead of one for immigration"⁽³⁾; but west of the Great Lakes was a large area loosely controlled by the Hudson's

- (1) D. C. Harvey, The Colonization of Canada, (Toronto, 1936), p. 135-36.
- (2) Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces, Quebec, 1865, p. 102-103.
- (3) Charles Tupper, as quoted in D. G. Creighton, British North America at Confederation, A Study on Dominion-Prov. Relations, Ottawa, 1939, p.47

Bay Company. In no small sense was Confederation designed to provide the machinery for the exploitation and development of Rupert's Land. George Brown's Globe expressed the ambitions and vision of the supporters of western expansion in these words:

If Canada acquires this territory it will rise in a few years from a position of a small and weak province to be the greatest colony any country has ever possessed, able to take its place among the empires of the earth. The wealth of four hundred square miles of territory will flow through our waters and be gathered by our merchants, manufacturers, and agriculturalists. Our sons will occupy the chief places of this vast territory, we will form its institutions, supply its rules, teach its schools, fill its stores, run its mills, navigate its streams, and we can beat the United States if we start at once. It is an empire we have in view and its whole export and import trade will be concentrated in the hands of Canadian merchants and manufacturers if we strike for it now.(1)

Canada, to George Brown meant of course, present day Ontario and also Quebec. It was not until almost sixty years later that Saskatchewan residents realized the full significance of these policies so boldly stated, and began to question their worth in respect to Saskatchewan's development.

On the 1st of July, 1867, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario formed the Dominion of Canada. Immediately the Fathers of Confederation turned their attention to gaining legal possession of Rupert's Land. In 1869 the negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company were pushed through and in return for £300,000, together with blocks of land adjoining each of its posts and a grant of one-twentieth of the fertile belt;
(2)
the Company surrendered its charter to the crown. On June 8th, 1870, Rupert's land and the Mackenzie River basin were transferred to the Dominion
(3)
of Canada. The Rupert's Land Act was, according to Chester Martin, not

(1) D. G. Creighton, Dominion of the North, (Boston, 1944) p. 291-92.

(2) W. P. M. Kennedy (ed.) Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution, (Toronto 1930), pp. 644-57.

(3) A. S. Morton, History of Prairie Settlement in series "Canadian Frontiers of Settlement," Vol. II (Toronto, 1938), p. 43.

only the first but in one sense the most important amendment to the B. N. A. act of 1867, for it provided for the transfer of subordinate territory⁽¹⁾ to the Dominion. The creation of the province of Manitoba followed but the new province was not given control of its own natural resources. These were retained for the purposes of the Dominion. These arrangements were perpetuated when Saskatchewan and Alberta became provinces in 1905.

By the arrangements of 1870, the territory now known as Saskatchewan and Alberta, was included within the North West Territories. There were but few whites in the districts of Saskatchewan and Assiniboia. Trappers and traders worked their way out from the seven forts scattered throughout the area. Mission settlements, ministering chiefly to wandering Indians, had been established at Fort Qu'Appelle, Fort à La Corne, the Touchwood Hills and at Prince Albert. The prairies were still a Great Lone Land, their solitudes occasionally broken by the passing of a wandering Indian tribe, the protesting creak of a Red River cart, or possibly by a grazing herd of buffalo or antelope.⁽²⁾

To fill this great void the federal officials moved rapidly in setting up the necessary machinery. The British North America~~x~~ Act had placed⁽³⁾ immigration under the joint control of dominion and provincial authorities. On the 13th of October, 1868, a dominion-provincial conference agreed that immigration should be placed under the control of the Department of Agriculture. At the same time it was decided that the dominion government should establish an efficient immigration office in England and at such other

(1) C. Martin, "The Colonial Policy of the Dominion," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd ser., Vol. XVI, 1922, Section II, p. 37.

(2) E. H. Oliver, "The Beginnings of White Settlement in Northern Saskatchewan," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. XIX, 1925 Section II, pp. 83-129.

(3) 30 Victoria c. 3, Section 95.

places on the continent as conditions should warrant. The provinces were to establish settlements and colonization^{ations} organized for the handling of immigrants within their territories. In 1871 these arrangements were reaffirmed and in 1874 the provinces agreed to withdraw their independent agents from the United Kingdom and the continent and thus avoid the unnecessary ~~delay in~~ duplication of effort and offices. (1)

Once the machinery had been established, it was necessary to ~~(profitably)~~ provide attraction to lure immigrants into the country. The only asset the new dominion possessed was its ~~vacant~~ vacant lands, so attention was turned there. It was decided to use them for the dual purpose of attracting settlers and financing the building of essential transportation systems. On April 14th, 1872, the Dominion Lands Act was passed, reserving the even-numbered sections as free homestead lands for intending settlers. ~~As their fifth of the land,~~ The Hudson's Bay Company was given section 8 and three-quarters of Section 26, except in the case of every fifth township when the whole of section 26 was reserved. The odd-numbered sections were withdrawn from sale or homestead privileges and were to be used as grants for the building of a railway. (2) By the C. P. R. charter of 1881 the railway~~s~~ was granted 25 million acres of land, "fairly fit for settlement." Thus was forged the very close connection between the railways, the Hudson's Bay Company and Canada's immigration policies.

The Dominion's early efforts at populating its new empire were not particularly successful. The first decade from 1871 to 1881 was marked by the granting of large land reservations to particular groups of immigrating settlers. The most interesting of these was a land reservation

(1) Canada Sessional Papers, 1875, #40, p 7; Ibid., 1893, #13, pp. XI, XXII.
 (2) 35 Victoria, c. 71.

of nine and one-third townships granted by Order-in-Council on March 3rd, 1873, to an organization of Mennonites. A later order increased this grant to seventeen townships, all located in south-west Manitoba. Three years later this colony had expanded until it contained 7,000 people.⁽¹⁾ Ten years later the offspring of these settlers, augmented by other groups, settled in villages near the present towns of Warman, Hague and Swift Current in Saskatchewan. Some of the descendants of these original settlers have clung tenaciously to the tenets of their religious faith which emphasize "renunciation of the vanities of the world, refusal to participate in civic duties, to bear arms, or to take oaths."⁽²⁾ ~~Unfortunately~~ They base their claims for special consideration on an agreement made between the Mennonite Leaders and the Canadian government, July 23rd, 1873. By order-in-Council the Mennonites were guaranteed entire exemption from military service. They are allowed also the fullest privilege in exercising their religious beliefs, without any kind of molestation or restriction, and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in Canadian schools.⁽³⁾

The Dominion policies during the first decade had little effect upon the area that is now Saskatchewan, though its population did increase. The largest influx consisted of discontented half-breeds who, fearful for their future in Manitoba, sold their lands, pushed west and settled in the St. Laurent and Willow Bunch areas. Probably the most progressive settlement was The Rev. James Nesbit's settlement at Prince Albert into which each year poured a stream of settlers. Battleford, as the centre for the

(1) Morton, *op. cit.* p. 54.

(2) R. England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada, (Toronto, 1929). p. 51.

(3) Ibid. x

N. W. M. P. and the capital of the N. W. Territories after 1878, threatened for a short time to surpass its rival but the decision to send the C. P. R. across the southern prairies effectively curtailed the growth of both. The settlements in the south, out on the prairie proper, made but slow progress. The census of 1881 gave Saskatchewan's population as consisting of 14,914 Indians, 2,009 French, 966 Scotch, 884 English, 202 Irish and 70⁽¹⁾ other nationalities.

The next decade was marked by an attempt to settle Manitoba and the North-West-Territories through the activities of large colonization companies. These companies were granted the odd-numbered sections in large blocks of land twenty-four miles^{or} more from the nearest railroad. The settler was to be induced to take up the land by offering it at cheap prices while the company was to receive rebates that would reduce their purchase price to \$1 per acre. In 1886 the companies were rescued from the brink of financial disaster by the federal government. Most of the companies had failed to bring any settlers while the remainder supplied only a handful to the prairies.

Of an entirely different nature were the large farming experiments carried out in Saskatchewan during this same period. In 1882 the Dominion parliament incorporated the Qu'Appelle Farming Company with a capital stock of three million dollars. By Order-in-Council, April 3rd, 1887, this company was granted roughly 100 sections in the Indian Head area. The scheme was designed to improve the land, build dwellings and sell improved farms to incoming immigrants. Unfortunately distant manage-⁽³⁾ment on too extravagant a scale wrecked the scheme and the project_{was} abandoned.

(1) Oliver, op. cit., p. 101.

(2) Morton, op. cit., p. 75-76.

In 1881 the dominion government attempted to obtain capital from Britain to aid in establishing settlers in the prairies. By an amendment to the Dominion Lands Act it was provided that a charge not to exceed \$500 could be levied against any homestead by a person advancing this money to a settler. The settler was prevented from getting a clear title to his land until this debt had been paid. Under this scheme Lady Cathcart settled successfully, a group of crofters near Benbecula, south-west of Moosomin. Baroness Burdett-Coutts and Lord de Winton were less successful with a number of London artisans who were brought to Saskatchewan under the same scheme.

It was during this decade that the federal government began to make tentative efforts to gain European settlers. Count Paul O. d'Esterhazy was unofficially retained as a dominion agent employed in the task of attracting and settling Hungarian settlers. The first party to be guided by the Count himself settled in 1886 at Esterhazy near Whitewood. A Scandinavian colony was begun north of Whitewood. A number of German settlements were established near Strasbourg and Langenburg. All of these people received assistance in the form of loans from the Canadian Pacific Railway. Thus a significant feature of this era of settlement was the appearance of group colonies formed on a nationalistic basis which, however, were still widely separated and still comparatively small.

On the whole the populating of Canada was proceeding very unsatisfactorily. The first census report of 1871 had given the population

(1) 44 Victoria, c. 16.

(2) Morton op. cit., p. 77.

(3) A. A. Marchant, "The origin of migration from South-Eastern Europe to Canada," Canadian Historical Association Report, 1934. p. 110-120.

(4) Morton op. cit., p. 81.

of the Dominion as 3,689,257. In 1881 this had increased to 4,324,810, an expansion of some 17%. The census report of 1891 gave Canada's population as 4,833,239, an expansion of only 12%.⁽¹⁾ These figures were entirely unsatisfactory to loyal Canadians for they showed that Canada was not even absorbing her own natural increase but had a net emigration in the decade of 1871-1881 of 505,000 and in the decade 1881-1891 of 1,064,000.⁽²⁾

Figures such as these demanded rapid change in federal policies. On March 14th, 1892, the control of matters relating to immigration was transferred from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of the Interior.⁽³⁾ A reorganization of the immigration machinery accompanied the transfer. Sir Charles Tupper, the Canadian High Commissioner in London, summarized in a very able report the rejuvenated activities of the immigration office.⁽⁴⁾ He pointed out the greater stress laid on advertisements and pamphlets presented in attractive style. Exhibits of Canadian products were gathered and shown at agricultural societies and fairs throughout the British Isles. Travelling lecturers made speeches in rural districts, used newspapers and handbills, showed magic lantern slides, all designed to explain the advantages and the great possibilities in Canada. Posters adorned the Post Offices in the United Kingdom and with the co-operation of English school masters the schools were flooded with propaganda. Letters from successful British emigrants were particularly sought and published in newspapers. Tours of farmers, who had made a success ⁱⁿ the new environment in Canada were financed by the dominion government, all in the interest of attracting more and ever more settlers.

(1) Canada Year Book, 1912, p. 3; Ibid., 1946, p. 94.

(2) 1912 Canada Year Book.

(3) Sessional Papers, 1893, #13, p.X.

(4) Ibid., Part VI, pp. 20-21 and 17. ~~(3-17)~~

Very slowly the intensified campaign began to have an appreciable effect. And then, in 1896 the long period of economic stagnation in Canada came to an end. Almost overnight, the vast Canadian prairie became attractive to settlers. The sudden increase in the world's supply of gold, the rising demand for natural products, the declining cost of ocean freight rates and the lowering of interest rates, all contributed to the Canadian development.⁽¹⁾ The dominion government, with full control of the unoccupied lands of the Northwest, concentrated on their rapid settlement. The energetic and dynamic Clifford Sifton was placed in charge of the Department of the Interior. He immediately initiated policies "to so change conditions in Western Canada that the settlers already there would be content to stay, and that the newcomers upon arrival would be satisfied."⁽²⁾ The Department of the Interior was reorganized and given the task of providing service to the settler. The hampering system of land grants to the railway companies was stopped and the companies were gradually compelled to make their land selections.

The only kind of immigration in which the Department was officially interested was that of men anxious to go on the land...other immigration, while welcome, could take care of itself.⁽³⁾

British immigration was preferred and all former methods of attracting settlers from this source were given new vitality. To Clifford Sifton must be given the credit for seeing the possibilities in rapidly expanding the number of settlers from the United States.⁽⁴⁾ The methods used in attracting people from this section of the world were very similar to

(1) Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion Provincial Relations, Vol. I, (Ottawa, 1940), p. 67.

(2) John W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to his Times, (Toronto, 1931) p. 132.

(3) Ibid., p. 138.

(4) Ibid., p. 140.

those adopted in Great Britain. But these two sources would not supply an agricultural population at the rate demanded by the new minister. He turned to central Europe. In his own words he described the needs of the prairies thus:

"I think a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children, is good quality.(1)

The work of recruiting and selecting^{Central} European immigrants was turned over to an organization of steamship and booking agents, The North Atlantic Trading Company. This was the only time the federal government farmed out the task of gathering immigrants to a commercial concern, and the experiment produced such a violent political reaction that it had to be abandoned in 1906. (2) However, this company was successful in obtaining settlers from Holland, Denmark, Germany, North and West Russia, Austria-Hungary, Luxembourg as well as Norway, Sweden and Finland, in fact it secured most of the 160,000 settlers of continental origin who were resident in Saskatchewan in 1911. In 1899 the migration of Doukhobors began. Three colonies were formed near Kamsack, two other settlements were situated north of Redberry Lake and west of Blaine Lake. (3) The Canadian cosmopolitan community was being rapidly filled with its polyglot assembly but the problems of assimilation were not to be considered especially when the problem of development loomed invitingly.

One of the outstanding results of this period was the great influx of American citizens. The American lands were either settled or had been reduced in fertility by "wheat mining" systems of farming. "Buy farm lands in Saskatchewan! You can leave home after Easter, sow your grain

(1) Ibid., p. 142.

(2) Report of Saskatchewan Royal Commission On Immigration and Settlement, (Regina, 1930), pp. 42-43.)

(3) Morton, op. cit., p. 112.

and take in the harvest and come home with your pockets full of money in time for Thanksgiving dinner," screamed one of the many popular propaganda pamphlets circulating in the North-west States. Sifton sold to the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company a quarter million acres of land and they contracted to buy another 450,000 acres from the railways. Part of the land was broken and experienced American farmers generously supplied with money poured into "The Last Best West." Immigration leaped from a low of 700 Americans in 1897 to 100,000 in 1911. They were attracted to the province at this time by the cheap and readily available land. Then too, Canadian laws were favorable to all religious and racial groups.

At the time the flow of British settlers was greatly accelerated. The Diamond Jubilee of 1897 and the Boer War brought Canada to the attention of thousands of British citizens in a most dramatic fashion. Britain was beginning to feel a real pride in this new-found empire of hers and it became patriotic to talk of empire development and even to emigrate to one of the various sections of the empire. Between 1897 and 1912 some 961,000 British citizens came to Canada as compared with 784,000 Americans.

Between 1896 and 1913, one million people moved into the three Prairie Provinces. Saskatchewan's population increased from 91,279 in 1901 to 492,432 in 1911 an increase of 530%. The population of Canada rose from 4,833,239 in 1891 to 7,206,643. The important fact concerning these increases was that most of the gain was in the Canadian Northwest. This

Ibid., p. 120. See also

- (1) Paul F. Sharp, "The American Farmer and the 'Last Best West', Agricultural History, April, 1947, abstract in Saskatchewan History, Vol. I, No. 1, Winter, 1948.
- (2) Report Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration, p. 42.
- (3) Ibid.,
- (4) Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Vol. I, p. 68.
- (5) Canada Year Book, 1941, p. 48.

very rapid influx brought prosperity and rapid expansion to the Canadian Economy. Canadian manufacturers protected by a rigidly maintained tariff, thrived on the needs of the western settler. The east west railway system was hard pressed to keep ahead of the demands placed upon it, with the result that not one, but two more transcontinental railway systems were constructed. The people of that period felt Canada had suddenly leaped into prominence, the flood of immigrants had made it all possible and no one knew what golden fields of opportunity and development lay ahead. A great and powerful nation was mushrooming across the width of a whole continent and Laurier proudly stated, "the twentieth century was to be Canada's."

But this program displayed many weaknesses certain to plague the people of Saskatchewan within the next decade.

There were no classifications of resources, no soil surveys, no climatic records to guide either the government or the unwary settler. The policies and methods of the Dominion were mainly designed to serve the national purpose of filling the Northwest at once with as many people as possible.(1)

The selection of land was left largely to chance and to the devices of colonization agents, railways and land companies, who looked primarily to their own immediate profits. Later adjustments had to be made by the individual settler to the vagaries of a wilful nature and disillusioning experiences.

Immigration policies of this period also left a legacy of foreign settlements which had made Saskatchewan the centre of a mixture of nationalities in Canada. From the census of 1911 we can trace this change.

Saskatchewan population	1901	1911	% change
British	40,094	251,010	620
French-Belgian	2,790	24,784	960
German	11,743	68,628	570

(1) Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations Vol. I, pp. 67-68.

Saskatchewan population	1901	1911	% change
Austro-Hungarian	4,753	41,651	870
Russian (includes Ukrainians)	11,675	18,413	150
Scandinavian	1,452	33,991(1)	2,340

The status of Saskatchewan's cosmopolitan population and their relationship to democratic institutions and British traditions was brought into grim relief on the outbreak of war in August, 1914.

One other aspect of Canada's immigration policies should be examined very briefly - the medical inspection and deportation system. Prior to 1903 Canadian authorities had been willing to admit practically anyone into the dominion. The law controlling this Immigration was progressively tightened in 1906-07-08, by which time Canada was excluding "idiots, insane, feeble-minded, deaf, dumb, blind or infirm, unless the immigrant belonged to a family accompanying him or already in Canada, who gave security for his permanent support----persons with loathsome, contagious or infectious diseases; paupers, destitutes, professional beggars, vagrants or those who were likely to become a public charge. (2) In 1910 the Canadian immigration laws were revised. The law stated clearly the classes who were to be prohibited from entry into Canada, adding ~~already~~ to the groups barred, persons convicted of moral crimes, prostitutes and assisted immigrants.

Immigration officers set up offices at the main ports of entry with power to enforce the regulations. The transportation companies were made responsible for the return of immigrants rejected at the port of entry, ~~with power to enforce the regulations.~~ The act also made legal provisions safe-guarding the incoming immigrants against exploitation on board ship, at the port of entry and while enroute to their final destinations. (3) The main provisions of this act, form the legal frame work for

(1) Canada Year Book, 1912, p. 25.

(2) W. G. Smith, A Study in Canadian Immigration, (Toronto, 1920), p. 93.

(3) 9-10 Edward VII, c. 27.

Canada's immigration policies in the next decade.

The outbreak of the war turned Canadian attention away from the theoretical discussions and practical problems involved in immigration. In numbers, immigration to Canada dropped to a mere trickle of its former quantity, averaging only some 81,000 each year for the five war years. A complete ban was imposed on all nationals of enemy countries as a war safety measure. Most of the flow that did continue, consisted of Americans and a few British. In Saskatchewan the problem of assimilation was brought forward with startling clarity for the European group settlements were suddenly called upon to express their loyalty in a positive fashion. Since the policies begun by the people of Saskatchewan to meet the problems were carried on into the post-war period, it would be more appropriate to leave their consideration for our chapter on assimilation.

With this brief introduction we have given the background for the chief ideas and opinions on immigration to be expressed by the people of Saskatchewan in the period 1920 to 1939. We have shown how the immigration machinery was established and have indicated some of its early successes and failures. We have traced the development of Saskatchewan in a very hurried fashion and how its polyglot nature originated. The story of how Saskatchewan public opinion was molded to follow these basic ideas, how it came to discard them and how it became instrumental in ^{developing} a new program with respect ^{to} immigration will be told in the following chapters.

The first ten year period from 1920 to 1930, has been divided into five artificial time divisions, in an attempt to clarify the ideas

which must be presented. Each of these sections has been included in a separate chapter. All of them follow a rather set pattern, in that we open each chapter by describing dominion governmental policy for this period and its basic philosophies. We have followed this with an outline of the provincial policies and the reasons for these activities, in so far as we were able to determine them. Finally each chapter is concluded by an outline of the arguments presented by the opponents to the official program. Throughout these we have tried to evaluate the public following each group was able to obtain. In Chapter VI we have presented an appraisal of the two commissions' reports, in so far as they have not been mentioned in the previous chapters. Chapter VII^{has} dealt with the decade 1930-39 inclusive, in a chronological fashion. Immigration activities during this period were very limited in extent and it was not practical to discuss the period under our former organization. Moreover, public opinion regarding immigration had changed considerably from what it was in the previous period and it was almost essential to deal with the decade in a slightly different fashion. Finally we have concluded our outline in Chapter VIII with a discussion of the difficult assimilation problem. While this problem overlapped many of the other discussions, yet it was definitely an outstanding question and since Saskatchewan residents met the problem in a very definite fashion it was deemed wise to devote a special chapter to it.

In order to evaluate Saskatchewan opinion during the two decades, 1920-1939 we have looked for opinions and activities of individuals, government officials and organized groups. To form a coherent basis for an evaluation of these opinions it was considered essential to

outline the dominion and provincial governmental policies. It was found that a number of organizations and individuals, such as the two railway companies, various religious groups, immigration societies and certain business and political figures were usually in favor of large scale immigration. On the other hand the Legion, farmers' organizations and labor groups were almost consistently opposed to immigration projects during this twenty year period. As economic conditions varied these latter groups tended to swing public opinion to the support of increased immigration during prosperous times and to opposition during the more difficult periods. However, the most elaborate contemporary surveys of public opinion are to be found in the reports of a committee formed by the Canadian Legion in 1927 and the Royal Commission established by the Saskatchewan provincial government in 1930. From these sources we have tried to trace the rise and fall of interest in immigration in the province of Saskatchewan during the years 1920-1939.

CHAPTER I

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

The end of the first World War found the people of Canada relatively prosperous and desirous of a return to peace and the well-tried policies of the period before the war. One of these policies was admirably summed up by Professor Lower in the following words:

... It being given to few to see that the previous age had ended, efforts were made to resume one of its most prominent features, mass immigration. ... Most thought that the war had only interrupted a flow that would eventually give Canada a much larger population. (1)

As was evidenced in newspaper comment, public speeches and the general tone of land settlement conventions, Canadians felt that the prosperity of Canada would be increased if the country absorbed many newcomers. They regarded the influx of 107,698 immigrants in 1919 ⁽²⁾ in that light. The dominion government had faith in this belief. However, struggling with a very large war debt and the tremendous problem of reabsorbing thousands of returned soldiers into a dislocated economy, the dominion government found it impractical to embark on an extensive immigration program. Provincial authorities, with little interest in federal difficulties, moved aggressively into the immigration field. The railways pressed for a relaxation of war-time restraints but the people in general seemed quite prepared to await governmental action. In this ~~widespread~~ ^{public} inertia there were exceptions. Private organizations such as the Western Canada Colonization Association and the Saskatchewan Land Settlement Association demanded more action in the sphere of immigration. On the other hand the Great War Veterans'

(1) Colony to Nation, A History of Canada, Toronto, 1946, p. 488.

(2) Canada Year Book, 1941, p. 111.

Associations and the labour organizations opposed large scale immigration.

In the light of these economic post-war problems the dominion government's policy concerning immigration was one of restraint. Although maintaining a high respect for former programs they rigidly enforced all existing restrictions. With respect to Europeans they found it politically expedient to retain the ban imposed on the nationals of enemy countries, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria. They also extended the period for (1) deportation from three to five years. Furthermore, they strictly enforced the medical provisions of the Immigration Act of 1911, with a consequent increase in both the number refused entry at debarkation ports and the number deported before being naturalized. In fact, to alleviate this condition the Immigration Department in September 1920 sharply warned the railway companies to give strict examinations before embarkation in (2) Europe. Feeling against this policy was voiced by D. W. Thomas, agent for the Cunard Line Steamship Company. He protested that ^{the} only European immigrants being allowed entry into Canada at this time were those who could obtain a prepaid passage. This involved possession of a through-passage ticket and was used by immigration officials to debar entry of undesirable European immigrants via the United States.

In the matter of British immigration the dominion government attempted at first, or so it appeared to the casual observer, to maintain the traditional welcoming attitude. The Minister, the Hon. J.A. Calder, explained Canada's policies to the English press in these terms:

Let me make it abundantly clear that Canada welcomes British settlers and that any restrictions which appear to be placed in their way are designed for their protection. It would be manifestly unfair to the settler himself to encourage him to go to Canada unless he is assured of employment there,

(1) Saskatoon Phoenix, January 31, 1920.

(2) Ibid., September 7, 1920.

at good wages. Such employment is assured to women household workers and to farm labourers. (1)

Again on the 30th of September the Minister said that the government hoped that during the coming year conditions in Canada would make it possible to (2)

accept other classes of British settlers. When the immigrant from Great Britain actually attempted to embark for Canada he was faced with rather formidable restrictions. On January 10th, 1920, Lt.-Col. J. Obed Smith, the Canadian Superintendent of Emigration in London, announced that

"all immigrants of the mechanical, artisan, or labouring classes, whether skilled or unskilled, must possess two hundred and fifty dollars landing money and if married an additional one hundred and twenty five dollars for the wife and fifty dollars for each child between the ages of fifteen and (3)

eighteen years. In his annual report the Deputy Minister of Immigration, Mr. Cory, explained that the department felt obliged to make certain that incoming immigrants had sufficient capital to maintain themselves until they were established. At the same time he stated that skilled workers would still be permitted to enter Canada without capital but the

Department had first to issue a special permit for the industrial concern requesting the workers. A permit would be granted only after the department was satisfied regarding wages and factory conditions, housing and social conditions and proof that such workers could not be obtained elsewhere in (4)

Canada. Unfortunately, due to the economic after-effects of the war, unemployment in Canada became widespread in the fall of 1920 and the

Federal Government moved by Order-in-Council to crystallize the above

(1) Canadian Annual Review, 1920, p. 242.

(2) The Daily News, Moose Jaw, September 30, 1920, as found in file #514, Newspaper Clippings, Saskatchewan Archives Office, Saskatoon.

(3) Can. Ann. Rev., 1920, p. 241.

(4) Ibid., p. 243.

restrictions into a definite Canadian immigration policy. Even in the case of imperial ex-service men and their dependents, Canada adopted an official policy of welcome but clamped on a two hundred pound deposit restriction. This deposit, the Soldiers' Settlement Board felt, was the minimum requirement (1) for an agricultural immigrant. Thus no matter which class of British immigrants we survey we find that the official attitude was most cordial, but the departmental restrictions were ~~most~~ severe.

Within Saskatchewan the provincial government was interested in securing British domestics. The Hon. C. A. Dunning, the Minister of Agriculture admitted that there had been a crying need for domestic help (2) in Saskatchewan for some years past, particularly on the farm. In February 1920, a Regina house was taken over by the government, decorated and put in condition to act as a hostel for British domestics. The Provincial Government (3) undertook to advance seventy-five percent of the girls' fare on a loan basis. To repay this loan the government accepted on deposit seventy-five dollars from the girl's employer. He, in turn, deducted ten dollars a month from the girl's wages until the loan was repaid. At the same time the provincial government contributed to the salary of a federal immigration (4) agent who was expected to recruit the girls for the province. By (5) November one hundred and thirty-two girls had been transported to Saskatchewan under this scheme and only one failed to live up to her agreement.

(1) Saskatoon Phoenix, July 23, 1920.

(2) Public Service Monthly, Regina, June 1920, p. 13.

(3) Mrs. R. N. Kelly served as chairman of a Regina Women's Committee responsible for the conduct of the hostel. Mrs. G. T. Bayne was appointed superintendent, while Mrs. Dredge Jones of the Saskatchewan ^{government} employment bureau was made responsible for the placement and after-care of the newcomers. Regina Leader, February 18, 1920.

(4) Saskatoon Phoenix, June 9, 1920.

(5) Public Service Monthly, November, 1920, p. 5. The agent was Miss Frances Bidden.

The railway companies were always among the strongest proponents of vigorous immigration policies. The President of the C.P.R., Sir Edward Beatty, declared;

... I consider it absolutely necessary to the immediate betterment of Canadian financial, commercial and traffic conditions, that the gates of Canada be once more opened, not only to the British, French and American immigrant but also to the Scandinavian and the more desirable type of Continental. (1)

The C.P.R. had advertised a quarter million acres of "park land" between Lloydminster and Battleford for sale in England but sold most of this land (2) to Americans. It was popularly expected the high price of farm lands in the United States would cause repercussions and a consequent influx of Americans into western Canada. The C.N.R. evidently looked to the United States for its greatest source of immigrants. In August, the C.N.R. carried a large party of American bankers, farmers and business men on a (3) three-thousand-mile trip through the prairies. Thus the railroads were in agreement when they advocated an increased number of immigrants.

In the spring of 1920 a number of western business men became active in ^{promoting} prairie immigration. Mayor H.A. Brown of Medicine Hat launched an organization known as the Western Canada Colonization Association. Throughout its checkered career this association succeeded in interesting many outstanding business men. At the first meetings in Calgary, Saskatchewan's representatives included Mayor James of Regina, who was also president of the Regina Board of Trade, J. B. Musselman, secretary of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, J. D. Millar, president of the Saskatoon Board of Trade, Alderman J. K. McInnis from Regina, T. F.

(1) Quoted by the Hon. J. A. Calder in House of Commons Debates, 1921, pp. 2570-71.

(2) Saskatoon Phoenix, February 7, 1920.

(3) Ibid., August 26, 1920.

(1)

Cairns, Saskatoon, and J. H. Kern and John Crawford from Moose Jaw. The aim of the association was to co-ordinate colonization efforts in the prairies and to promote the settlement as quickly as possible of vacant lands within easy reach of railway facilities. It was planned to raise a sum of five hundred thousand dollars a year for three years from all those interested in the settling of western lands, from individuals as well as business concerns such as the Hudson's Bay Company, the railways, banks, mortgage companies and western Canadian retailers. F. R. MacMillan of Saskatoon went to eastern Canada with the financial delegation and reported that they received excellent support from eastern financial interests. Eastern newspapers enthusiastically endorsed the scheme. They saw in the proposal a means of uniting eastern and western Canada behind a vitally important national movement which would increase the food supply, expand national exports, make the railways self-supporting and pay off the national debt. In fact the easterners were so encouraging that the directors of the Western Canada Colonization Association doubled their financial objective and raised a million dollars to promote prairie ^{immigration} ~~colonization~~. Thus the Colonization Association got off to a very encouraging start and its rapid growth indicated the desire of business interests to obtain more immigrants for Canada.

A somewhat similar though less ambitious organization was the Saskatchewan Land Settlement Association formed in 1919 at the instance of the Department of Immigration and Colonization. It was composed of owners of vacant lands and agents interested in the sale of land. The President, J. H. Haslam of Regina, in his address to a meeting held in June 1920 claimed that

(1) Ibid., March 25, 1920.

(2) Ibid., April 3, 1920.

(3) Ibid., May 20, 1920.

Canada had many needs but the most insistent and imperative of all was an increased population. He was unable to forecast any great influx from the United States or Great Britain but urged the delegates to advocate the

(1)
resumption of European immigration. Premier Martin extended the province's official welcome and noted that a great many of the American settlers had been brought in by colonization companies. He stressed the developmental possibilities in Saskatchewan, not only in the agricultural field but also
(2)
in the realm of mineral resources. Mr. M. A. MacPherson of the Soldier's Settlement Board, Regina, brought a message from the returned men to the congress. He claimed that the veterans would welcome settlers from agricultural districts in Great Britain and the United States but were opposed to European immigrants with political ideals opposed to those held in this country. He declared that nationals from Germany or Austria would not be welcomed in this province when so many mothers were still mourning the loss of their sons. On the other hand, he said that the veterans'

(3)
associations would welcome nationals from Czecho-Slovakia as comrades in arms.

The congress passed three resolutions in its final session pointing out:

... that whereas the future welfare and prosperity of Canada depended upon the development of the natural resources of the Western Prairies ... particularly ... prairie lands ... therefore they urged the Dominion Government to adopt an aggressive immigration policy. Also since the contentment and happiness of new settlers depends largely on the spirit ... shown by the residents of the district in which they reside; therefore they recommend that each rural municipality and board of trade form a committee to meet and welcome new settlers.

Finally they expressed approval of the Dominion Government's policy of compiling lists of unoccupied and vacant lands with the names of the owners.

They hoped that these lists and maps might soon be made available to them and

(1) Ibid., June 9, 1920.

(2) The Saskatoon Daily Star, June 8, 1920.

(3) Saskatoon Phoenix, June 10, 1920.

(1)
and to similar organizations. On the whole there was a frank expression of opinion at the ~~convention~~^{congress} on the immigration question by a group of interested Saskatchewan business men.

To these relatively tentative programs there could be little active opposition. Most groups would have agreed with the Hon. J. G. Gairner that possessed as she was of bounteous natural resources, Saskatchewan's possibility^{ies} ~~potential~~ for the next thirty years ~~were~~^{were} inestimable. (2)
Most groups would have accepted without question Mr. R. W. E. Loucks' statement that Saskatchewan resources included 94,000,000 acres of arable land, of which only 20,000,000 acres thus far had been utilized. This of course did not take into account the provinces's timber, mineral wealth, coal and clay deposits, sodium and magnesium salts and her vast fisheries. (3)
Mr. J. R. Wilson, M.P. for Saskatoon, summed up the opinion of the majority of the people in the province when he claimed that immigration was the lifeblood of Canada, infusing new life and progress into our country. One of the solutions, he stated, for the problems which face us, is a strong (4)
immigration policy to settle these vast but immensely productive lands.

Only in the case of the provincial convention of the Great War Veterans' Association was there a note of questioning. A spirited debate occurred when a resolution was proposed to debar from entry into Canada the subjects of those countries with which Canada had recently been at war, or of those countries which composed the late Russian Empire. The wayburn

(1) Ibid., June 11, 1920.

(2) Ibid., January 8, 1920.

(3) Ibid., July 16, 1920.

(4) House of Commons Debates, 1921, p. 1374.

delegate felt that enemy aliens should be permanently excluded because of their criminal proclivities. He claimed that over seventy percent of the crime, litigation and immorality in Canada was caused by subjects of the (1) countries which had been lately at war with the British Empire. The resolution, however, was amended and passed, to debar enemy aliens for a period of five years and then if the restrictions were relaxed that an (2) educational test should be applied.

But in spite of this exception the majority of Saskatchewan citizens would have agreed in 1920 that an influx of immigrants was required. The Weyburn Board of Trade was even prepared to advocate the importation of Chinese laborers for railway construction in the province. The Saskatoon Board of Trade objected to this proposal on the grounds that laboring groups would be violently opposed, that it would bring another foreign element into Saskatchewan and that there was not enough railway work in sight to warrant (3) such a radical step. The actions of these two Boards tend to further emphasize the prevailing sentiment within the province for all immigration schemes. In this fashion Saskatchewan residents hoped to hasten the return of the boom of pre-war days. Few indeed were aware that they were about to be faced with a three year depression which would automatically alter their interest in immigrants.

(1) Saskatoon Phoenix, March 11, 1920.

(2) Ibid., March 13, 1920.

(3) Ibid., April 14, 1920.

CHAPTER II

OPTIMIST AND PESSIMIST PERIOD 1921-1923.

The opening of this period was accompanied by a comfortable and common belief that the prosperous conditions of the previous five years would continue. Unfortunately, however, the economic cycle took a sharp downward trend. Wheat prices dropped by more than Half in three years. ⁽¹⁾ The Canadian index number for wholesale prices also indicated a decline but it was not as severe as the drop in price of wheat. ⁽²⁾ Thus Saskatchewan residents were particularly affected since their products had decreased more than 50% in value while the commodities they had to buy had come down only about 39.6%. Probably of greater significance than these figures was the fact that many farmers in the province had borrowed heavily in the earlier period and were now forced to pay off their mortgages and loans in a "dear" money market. Thus we find Saskatchewan opinion on immigration beginning to diverge quite definitely from that expressed by the eastern provinces. In the House of Commons the Saskatchewan members became known as "blue ruin artists" because of their determined opposition to the expansionist ideas expressed by other members. The railways and the Canadian Colonization Association circulated optimistic propaganda within the province, but the veterans and labor ~~and~~ organizations exhibited definite signs of hostility to these efforts. Many professional men within the province joined the ranks of the optimists but the farmers of Saskatchewan, feeling the brunt of the depression, opposed through their organizations, every aggressive utterance and all expansionist

(1) Canada Year Book, 1922-23, p. 250. Average price per bushel in 1920 was 1.55; it was .76 cents in 1922; it was .85 cents in 1923.

(2) Ibid., 1924, p. 215. Average price for 1923 was .65 cents.

(2) Ibid., 1924, p. 386. Wholesale index figure for 1920 was 248.2, for 1921 177.3 and for 1922 it was 152.0

(2) Ibid., 1925, p. 402. Index figure for 1923 was 153.0.

programs. Differences of opinion became increasingly apparent as the period progressed.

The year 1921 was a federal election year. This fact coupled with widespread unemployment, deterred the Dominion authorities from embarking on any extensive relaxation of immigration restrictions. On April 27th, 1921 the Acting Minister of Immigration, the Hon. J. A. Calder, expressed his feelings on the matter in this fashion:

In my view the policy of total exclusion of immigrants from Canada ... is impracticable ... and ... it would be suicidal to the interests of Canada as a whole if we attempted such a policy. My own view is that we should endeavour to get people just as rapidly as we possibly can. (1)

But later on in the debate he mentioned the difficulties under which his department was laboring. On the one hand the railways were agitating strongly for the lowering of continental immigration bars. On the other hand western Canada's attitude was, "Do not bring these people in in such numbers that they will be out of proportion to the people in these provinces now". Thus the department was not certain just how to proceed or what policy to adopt. (2)

Immigration was of secondary importance in the election campaign of 1921 but Prime Minister Meighen stressed the need for an "energetic promotion of the immigration of desirable classes of persons." As in the past, encouragement would be confined to prospective land seekers, agricultural laborers and household workers. The Hon. T. A. Crerar, the Progressive leader stressed the close relationship between the financial stability of the railways and a larger population. (3)

Bound up with a solution of the railway problem, [he said], as well as finding a way of overcoming our financial difficulties, is the question of immigration. But to make immigration successful the country must be prosperous. (4)

(1) House of Commons Debates, 1921, p. 2572.

(2) Ibid., p. 2578.

(3) Saskatoon Phoenix, October 13, 1921.

(4) Ibid., October 18, 1921.

The Hon. Mackenzie King carefully refrained from committing himself in regard to immigration but the Hon. W. R. Motherwell, seeking a federal seat in Regina advocated "the inauguration of a vigorous, sane, rural, well-safeguarded immigration propaganda, accompanied by a fiscal policy that encourages greater production and export".⁽¹⁾ Mr. John Evans, Progressive candidate for Saskatoon, used official figures to show that in the past thirty years Canada's emigration had been as great as her natural increase. Moreover, he pointed out that three-quarters of a million immigrants in the period 1911 to 1918 had come from the "seething centres of unrest and ignorance" in Central Europe.⁽²⁾ He maintained that past immigration policy had been ostensibly for the purpose of settling these western provinces:

But we know and the laboring class knows too, that it was carried on for the purpose of furnishing cheap labor in our factories and on our railroads.⁽³⁾

Mr. Evans' views were far in advance of those held by most of the residents of Saskatchewan at this time. However, they serve to illustrate, along with the others quoted, the wide divergence of opinion regarding immigration which was definitely making itself felt, even in the most influential quarters.

The Department of Immigration and Colonization took only two positive steps during the year 1921. The first was to reduce the expense account of the women's branch of the department since only one hundred domestic servants⁽⁴⁾ had been brought out in the previous year. The other step was to obtain a first hand picture of overseas conditions in order to formulate a definite Canadian immigration plan. The newly appointed Deputy Minister, Dr. W. J. Black, was sent on a tour of the British Isles and northern Europe and on his

(1) Ibid., October 1, 1921.

(2) Ibid., December 5, 1921.

(3) Ibid., November 17, 1921.

(4) Ibid., March 15, 1921.

return he issued a statement which received wide publicity:

The British people recognize that they face a problem of over-population on the British Isles. The amount is freely estimated at from ten to fifteen million and the question of finding for these people a means of livelihood and independence in other countries, preferably within the British empire, is one which is engaging the best British attention. Canada can be assured of hearty and effective co-operation in any policy which will help to meet this situation. (1)

Perhaps the Department was moving slowly and cautiously towards a relaxation of immigration restrictions.

The election of December 1921 resulted in the formation of a new Liberal government under Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King with the Hon. Charles Stewart as Minister of the Interior and acting Minister of Immigration and Colonization. Mr. Stewart applied himself diligently to the duties of his department and before long requested an increased appropriation. He stated:

There is a desire for increased immigration, but that immigration requires careful inspection as to quality rather than quantity. We are more or less hampered by the fact that ... there is little or no employment to be found for outside people as mechanics, artisans, or in the professional walks of life, so we are confined pretty much to agriculturalists, household workers, and agricultural labour. ... It is our intention to put on propaganda work and to do considerable advertising both in Great Britain and in the United States. (2)

On March 6th, 1922, in Winnipeg the Minister said that Canada wanted immigrants who were able to go upon the land. ... "Our country places need filling up

(3)

not our cities! The purpose of the government was to lay down the

groundwork for a continuous policy of activity and propaganda, concerned solely with bringing in people of agricultural tendencies and household

(4)

workers. On September 7th he reiterated the view that "Immigration and the

(1) Ibid., December 9, 1921.

(2) House of Commons Debates, 1922, p. 3052.

(3) Can. Ann. Rev., 1922, p. 270.

(4) Saskatoon Phoenix, June 2, 1922.

development of our natural resources are essential to the progress of Canada
 (1)
 and the solution of our many problems". Finally on November 16th the Minister
 announced that he was prepared to recommend a very comprehensive immigration
 policy and he stated emphatically "I know that Canada needs between three and
 (2)
 four million more citizens. I am anxious to bring in people". Apparently the
 government was preparing to advocate a new immigration policy for the
 Dominion and this policy must have been based on their interpretation of
 public opinion across the country.

The actual changes made in immigration policy were most interesting.
 On May 15th, 1922, the Department of Immigration and Colonization announced
 that instead of a money test there would be an occupation test for
 immigrants. Under the new regulation all classes were prohibited except bona-
 fide agriculturalists, farm laborers and domestic servants. The only
 exceptions were British subjects with sufficient money to maintain themselves,
 American citizens whose labor or service was required in Canada, the
 nationals of a country with which Canada had a special treaty arrangement and
 (3)
 the wives and families of persons legally resident in Canada. On October 31st
 the department announced that it would work in conjunction with the provinces
 (4)
 to supply the number and types of immigrants desired by the provinces. The
 propaganda campaign already mentioned was begun in November of the same year.
 Col. J. Obed Smith was sent to Britain to organize meetings which would
 completely cover the British Isles. At the same time, an extensive
 advertising campaign was begun in both Great Britain and the United States,
 designed to secure annual drafts of children from the British Isles and to

(1) Ibid., ^{Sept 7.} June 2, 1922.

(2) Can. Ann. Rev. 1922, p. 281.

(3) Saskatoon Phoenix, May 16, 1922.

(4) Ibid., November 1, 1922.

(5) Ibid., -

(1)
induce Canadians who had migrated to the United States to return to Canada.

These activities were expected to produce immediate results and the
Soldiers' Settlement Board was ordered to be ready to assist in this

(2)
settlement. The department demonstrated in this fashion that the
pronouncements of its minister were not empty phrases uttered with the fond
hope of appealing to the ardent proponents of immigration but a studied policy
to be carried out in a determined fashion.

The reaction of Saskatchewan opinion to these plans and programs is
indicated in the speeches of its representatives in the House of Commons. Mr.
N. M. Campbell from Mackenzie questioned the wisdom of bringing in immigrants
and he read to the House a letter from a member of his constituency stating
that his constituents were not in favor of voting money to bring in immigrants,
as it was almost impossible for the people already in the constituency to make
(3)
a living. Mr. John Evans declared that he "would certainly protest against
letting down the gates and admitting, without any restrictions, foreigners in
(4)
large numbers to settle in colonies amongst us". Mr. C. Wallace Stewart of
Humboldt, after stating that he personally believed the immigration program
could be the salvation of this country had to admit that he had asked the
people at about sixty meetings:

If they would feel justified under present conditions in inviting their
friends to come to this country ... and on all those occasions, I did not
find one man who felt he would be justified in inviting his friends to come
and share his prosperity or lack of prosperity.(5)

Mr. Stewart's summary of the situation, especially in view of the reaction in
the following year, was probably closer to the true opinion within the province
than the Dominion's program would suggest.

(1) Ibid., December 2, 1922.

(2) Ibid., December 5, 1922.

(3) House of Commons Debates, 1922, p. 2145.

(4) Ibid., p. 3062.

(5) Ibid., p. 2603.

The year 1923 witnessed the greatest relaxation of immigration restrictions since the war. Evidently federal officials felt that the post-war reconstruction period was over and it was time to lower the rigid qualifications that had been enforced. On the 3rd of January, 1923, it was announced that immigration offices were to be opened or re-opened at Paris, Antwerp, Danzig, Warsaw and Bucharest. Simultaneously a strenuous advertising campaign was to be initiated in the Scandinavian countries. Immigration was no longer to be restricted to the agricultural classes and domestic servants only, though they were to be given preference. On March 26th the Federal Government increased the Department's allowance by \$700,000. One portion, \$200,000 was to go to the assistance of child emigration from Britain; another \$200,000 was to secure British domestics; another \$200,000 was to assist British settlers already in Canada to bring out dependents willing to go on the land and \$100,000 to assist the Canada Colonization Association. On April 12th, 1923, the ban on former enemy aliens was lifted. Germans, Hungarians, Austrians, Bulgarians and Turks could now enter Canada if they conformed to the general standard. On the 18th of August the importance of immigration in Canada's development was recognized by the creation of a separate Department of Immigration and Colonization. The Hon. J. A. Robb was appointed Minister. The new minister promised to carry on the energetic policies of his predecessor and "to extend operations with a view to encouraging the migration of the largest possible number of those classes that Canada can now absorb."

(1) Saskatoon Daily Star, January 3, 1923.

(2) Can. Ann. Rev., 1923, p. 265.

(3) Ibid., p. 265.

(4) Saskatoon Daily Star, September 12, 1923.

But these energetic policies did not go unchallenged. Many of the western members, and in particular those from Saskatchewan, protested violently. They adopted a policy of presenting through Hansard the grim economic condition of agriculturalists in their region. The westerners were bitterly scored by many eastern members who felt that members of Parliament should have a "booster" attitude regarding Canada rather than a "knocker" complex. The Yorkton Enterprise described the situation in this fashion:

Those western members, who dared to portray the exact conditions as they existed among the farming population of western Canada, have been denounced in the House and in the Press from one end of Canada to the other as blue-ruin prophets, pessimists and knockers. Every effort has been made to prejudice and belittle them in the eyes of their own constituents. (1)

Mr. John Evans was of the opinion that it was useless waste at present to spend money on immigration. "The present immigration policy is nothing more than the inveigling of the uninformed into taking the places of men who, through hard times, have had to leave their farms every year". (2) Mr. M. N. Campbell pointed out that conditions had changed from those of the period 1900-1913. He added that no railway construction was being undertaken and that free land was not obtainable close to railway facilities. He questioned the correctness of the argument that the presence of large numbers of immigrants would tend to decrease the national debt. Instead he believed that until the new settler was established the net debt per person would likely be increased because roads, schools, municipal buildings etc. had to be provided. The argument that Canada required a greater population to provide her with a home market was ridiculous. The province of Saskatchewan alone, he asserted, produced in the preceding year enough wheat to feed the whole population of

(1) The Yorkton Enterprise, May 1, 1923. File #50, Newspaper Clippings, S. A. O., Saskatoon.

(2) House of Commons Debates, 1923, p. 1133.

Canada six times over. He therefore warned that if a policy of immigration on a vigorous scale were prosecuted we might very easily have headlines in this country. Mr. O. R. Gould from Assiniboia claimed that he was in favor of immigration but he was opposed to "the principle of patrimony or patronage" to incoming settlers in the form of assisted passage grants. He recommended that immigration officials send copies of Hansard to prospective immigrants rather than the beautifully lithographed booklets of the department or the illustrated pamphlets of the Canada Colonization Association. Thus would the immigrant receive a true picture of conditions on the prairies. He claimed that hundreds of schools in Saskatchewan were closed because the farmers were unable to pay their taxes and in nearly all judicial districts in the province there were from 1,000 to 4,000 judgments in sheriffs' offices. (2) Certainly the picture painted by the people's representatives in the House of Commons was not a bright one.

Under conditions such as these provincial government leaders were not likely to advocate positive policies. They carried on the policy of bringing out British domestics, but did so rather reluctantly. A statement issued by Mrs. Dredge Jones in March 1922 admitted that the scheme was costing the province \$26.16 per girl. Twenty thousand dollars had to be appropriated each year from the provincial treasury. Fifteen thousand of this helped to pay the girls' transportation expenses; \$2,000 went for the upkeep of the women's hostel in Regina and \$3,000 to pay Miss Biden's salary and travelling expenses. One hundred and thirty-four girls were brought out in 1920 and two hundred and eight in 1921. Of these 90% had proved satisfactory. Mrs. Dredge Jones indicated that the chief complaint against the girls was their lack of

(1) Ibid., p. 1405.

(2) Ibid., p. 1359 and p. 1389.

of adaptability to Canadian ways of cooking and laundry work and that the beginning wage (\$30 per month) was too high. The girls complained that the scheme granted them too few holidays, imposed too long hours, and made no provision for regularity in the payment of wages. (1)

On January 10th, 1923, the Dominion Government called a dominion-provincial conference to deal with immigration affairs. Saskatchewan was conspicuously absent from the preliminary meeting of the conference. Premier Dunning took the stand that until such time as the natural resources were returned to the province, immigration was a purely federal affair. But when the Hon. J. A. Robb held another conference on November 16th, 1923, Premier Dunning attended in person. He stated that he was strongly in favor of encouraging immigration but felt that the selection principle should be applied. He urged that preference be shown to settlers from the British Isles and Northern Europe. Settlers from Central Europe should be chosen with care. A week later the Hon. J. G. Gardiner, Saskatchewan Minister of Highways, claimed that Canada was capable of holding a population of six hundred million. He felt that Canada should come to the aid of Great Britain and once again save her by finding places for every one willing to come to this country. The provincial government was in a rather difficult position. Conditions within the province did not warrant an open-door immigration policy and yet, conditions in other parts of Canada called for further expansion. Thus the provincial authorities compromised by stressing the need for selected British and Northern European immigrants. (2) (3) (4) (5)

It was during these three years, 1921 to 1923, that the Canadian

- (1) Saskatoon Phoenix, March 2, 1922.
- (2) Saskatoon Daily Star, January 11, 1923.
- (3) Ibid., January 11, 1923.
- (4) Ibid., November 16, 1923.
- (5) Ibid., November 24, 1923.



railways began to press their campaign for the entry of more immigrants. In September, 1921, President E. W. Beatty of the C. P. R. expressed the opinion that there was nothing in the economic situation which should cause pessimism.

... There has been nothing in the nature of an acute depression ... It is I think, a fact, that the two great necessities for this country's advancement, namely the obtaining of suitable settlers in as large numbers as possible and the attraction of capital for the extension of Canadian enterprise should be given the most serious consideration now and not later. (1)

With the change in government the railways' campaign was intensified. Col. J. S. Dennis, head of the C. P. R. Colonization and Development Department, stated publicly that he wanted ten million more people for Canada in the next ten years.

President Beatty echoed his subordinate's statement and urged that:

The gates of Canada should be opened once more, not only to the British, French and Americans but also to the Scandinavian and the more desirable type of continental. (2)

On the 2nd of July, 1922, he warned that immigration was not a "tap that could be turned off and on with absolute freedom", we should be careful not to frame our policies on the principle that temporary depression and temporary
(3)

unemployment are justification for barriers. On the 8th of January, 1923, Sir Henry Thornton, President of the C. N. R., urged that a cry from one end of
(4)
Canada ^{to} ~~for~~ the other should go up for more immigration. In May he called for a more capable Immigration Minister, an effective propaganda campaign abroad, an officially organized settlement body in Canada to assist emigrants after

their arrival and the establishments of inducements to attract foreign capital
(5)
to this country. Col. J. S. Dennis re-echoed the constructive idea before the dominion-provincial conference in November, 1923, when he stressed the five-

(1) Saskatoon Phoenix, September 9, 1921.

(2) Can. Ann. Rev., 1922, p. ~~407~~ 270

(3) Ibid., p. 408.

(4) Saskatoon Daily Star, January 8, 1923.

(5) Ibid., May 16, 1923. Speech to the C.M.A., Quebec City.

sided aspect of any immigration policy - invitation, selection, transportation, distribution and consolidation. He felt the provinces could be blamed for falling down on their part of the program, namely distribution and (1) consolidation. The campaign waged by the railways was definitely a determined and persistent affair. It even attacked publicly those in high positions who opposed their ideas.

Local agents of both railway lines gave bits of information and hazarded opinions during this period but they adhered fairly closely to the dicta of their chiefs. Thus John Wardrop, general agent for the C. N. R. Natural Resources Department, stated in 1921 that there were not as many settlers as some might desire, but the quality of those coming was higher. He (2) went on to say that most of them were taking up land in northern Saskatchewan. In April he urged the formation of local bodies of capable citizens prepared to (3) assist the immigrant over the rough spots. In November, Mr. H. F. Komor, a special colonization agent for the C. P. R. at Saskatoon, stated that:

Canada will make history in the next two years if we consider immigration from the right angle ... Here, (in Saskatchewan) we need rough people, who can live the primitive life in the northern parts of this rich country. ... If we bring people from western Europe, who were born and have lived their life in the fields ... (then we will have) the strong arms and the will to make the land of Canada produce. (4)

The relaxation of restrictions in 1922 brought an increased activity on the part of local railway immigration branches and on January 9th, 1923, the officials in Saskatoon announced jubilantly:

Day by day in every way Saskatchewan is growing bigger and bigger. A constant stream of Americans are on their way to the Prairies and Saskatchewan attracts at least 60% of them. (5)

(1) Ibid., November 16, 1923.

(2) Ibid., January 29, 1921.

(3) Saskatoon Phoenix, April 7, 1921.

(4) Saskatoon Daily Star, ~~January 9, 1923~~, Nov. 17, 1923.

(5) Ibid., January 9, 1923.

Probably the next most active immigration agency in Canada during this period was the Western Canada Colonization Association. Towards the end of March, (1) 1921, the association received its letters patent from the Dominion Government.

Mr. Robert Hobson of Hamilton, Ontario, was elected president; Mr. M. A. Brown of Medicine Hat was named vice-president and Major-General A. D. McCrae, (2) Vancouver, was elected director. On the 28rd of April, Maj.-Gen. McCrae and Mr.

M. A. Brown presented a memorial to the provincial governments requesting the formation of provincial land boards which would furnish the association with a (3) sales list of unoccupied lands. The Hon. T. A. Crerar, national Progressive

leader, endorsed the idea and Premier T. C. Norris of Manitoba replied (4) favorably to a request from the United Farmers of Manitoba that the project be (5) implemented quickly. However, the Saskatchewan Government refused to commit

itself until December and then Premier Martin stated:

while anxious to do everything reasonable to help to bring about settlement in Saskatchewan and in the west generally, I do not think that we should go so far as to pass legislation that will interfere with the ordinary property rights of the individual. (6)

Thus did the Association receive its first major setback.

This setback produced a reorganization of the W. C. C. A. and a gigantic new settlement plan. Sir John Willison of Toronto was persuaded to act as chairman of a new organization to be known as the Canada Colonization Association. The proposal to compel the listing of vacant lands was dropped. Instead the society planned to settle ten million acres of land anywhere in Canada within the next five to ten years at an expenditure of thirty to forty

(1) Saskatoon Phoenix, March 21, 1921.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., April 23, 1921.

(4) Ibid., May 9, 1921.

(5) Ibid., April 30, 1921.

(6) Ibid., December 2, 1921.

million dollars. Owners of vacant lands were to be invited to list their lands and the Association would sell them on a 32 year amortized plan. The Dominion Government and the railways were expected to finance the scheme. Of this plan (1)

the Hon. Charles Dunning approved stating that the "principle of selling western land on a 32 year payment basis at a low rate of interest is, in my judgement, sound and should prove very attractive in inducing settlement". (2)

The Yorkton Enterprise believed that "so far as can be judged the whole scheme seems to be a masterpiece of planning and organization and precautions seem to have been taken to secure the co-operation of every department of the national life necessary to its success". In October a plan was finally launched, whereby (3)

the C. C. A. was to be financed by a grant of \$100,000 a year from each of the railroads for five years and \$100,000 a year from the Dominion Government. But when the Hon. Charles Stewart attempted to get the appropriation from Parliament he met with a determined filibuster from prairie members. The biggest criticism was that it was another land settlement company, only this time it was to be financed by the Dominion Government. Mr. O. H. Gould said: (4)

There are individuals back of the Canada Colonization scheme who desire to have more people located on the lands throughout the west in order that they may climb upon their backs. Apparently they are on the backs of the people at the present time and we ask them to get off, rather than bring in more people so that they may continue their present operation. (5)

But in spite of this opposition the appropriation was approved on April 17th, 1925, after it was agreed that the government would pay the Association on a monthly basis, such payments being subject to immediate cancellation if the company failed to carry out any of its obligations. The plan was not a success

(1) Ibid., September 12, 1922.

(2) Ibid.

(3) October 6, 1922.

(4) Can. Ann. Rev., 1923, p. 275.

(5) House of Commons Debates, 1923, p. 1359.

and by November, 1923, the directors themselves admitted that their plan to ~~be~~ bring farmers from the United States was a failure. In January, 1924, the Dominion Government ended its monthly grants and toward the end of the same year the C. N. R. withdrew from the enterprise. The C. P. R. took over the remnants of the Association and added it as a subsidiary to its own system. Henceforth, the C. C. A. was to act as a settlement and welfare branch of the (1) Immigration Department of the C. P. R. Thus ended rather aismally the lofty programs planned by the organizers of the W. C. C. A. Probably the depression of the preceding three years had much to do with their failure.

Other business organizations in the west adopted a cautious attitude towards immigration. Sir Robert Kindersley, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company claimed:

It is considered useless to push sales of land when there is little or no demand. ... Canada's real prosperity has always depended and must depend on the well-being of her agricultural communities ... but there are no grounds to suppose that the recent check to the prosperity of Canada is anything but temporary. (2)

The Kindersley Board of Trade in March, 1923, held that while farmers might have grievances, better conditions were in sight and that no country offered (3) better opportunities to settlers than northern and southern Saskatchewan. The Saskatoon organization was a bit more reticent, stressing through their secretary, Charles F. Stacey, the importance of truthful propaganda and the (4) need for financial assistance to immigrants until they were well established. Thus business organizations whether of the type of the Hudson's Bay Company or boards of Trade were not too enthusiastic concerning the immediate and rapid development of immigration into the province.

(1) Can. Ann. Rev., 1923, p. 275 and 1924-25, p. 198.

(2) Saskatoon Phoenix, July 3, 1923.

(3) Saskatoon Daily Star, March 6, 1923.

(4) Ibid., October 12, 1923.

It should prove of interest to examine the views expressed to Saskatchewan audiences by Canadian leaders and professional men. Sir Clifford Sifton early in 1922 made a number of provocative statements. In March he told a reporter:

I believe conditions abroad to-day are more favorable for Canada to secure good farmer-type immigrants than at any time in her history. ... From Central Europe, I believe a veritable flood to Canadian vacant lands could be arranged. (1)

In April he urged the government to force the railways to place on the market
(2)

all their arable vacant lands. Later he criticized the British artisan who would, for example, only work an eight-hour day, whereas the Galicians,
(3)

Bohemians and Hungarians were accustomed to a hard climate and hard work. The economics professors from the University of Saskatchewan were not prepared to endorse as wide open a policy as Sir Clifford Sifton but they insisted that more immigrants were necessary. Professor W. A. Carrothers claimed that greater settlement was essential if Canada was to maintain her national status.

However, these settlers should come from Britain where we could obtain settlers
(4)

fully trained in democratic ideals. Dr. W. W. Swanson, even in the spring of 1923, claimed:

The worst days are over. ... British capitalism, immigration and energy are needed. ... we must keep this country British at all costs. ... The basic factors to be considered in the recovery from present conditions are immigration both for the land and elsewhere. (5)

Provincial political leaders were even more reluctant to endorse Sifton's "accept everyone" policy. The hon. George Langley felt that outright subsidies to incoming settlers would be considered as outright assistance to the west by the eastern provinces but he felt that it would bring no relief to the present farming

(1) Saskatoon Phoenix, March 28, 1922.

(2) Ibid., April 4, 1922.

(3) Ibid., June 2, 1922.

(4) Ibid., April 27, 1922.

(5) Ibid., April 6, 1923. Dr. Swanson was then head of the Economics Department University of Saskatchewan.

(1)
community. The Hon. "A. R. Motherwell stressed the importance of telling the truth about the country if settlers were to be brought here in the expectation that they would make good. He felt that Canada had suffered in the past from (2)
the overzealousness of her immigration officials and land agents. Thus the public speakers of this period were generally in favor of immigration ~~and~~ ^{and} the political leaders prepared to criticize details of the program rather than the program itself.

Of the church organizations concerned with immigration the Salvation Army was the most active. The Hon. Charles Stewart was rather keen on (3)
securing for Canada all the child immigration that it was possible to obtain. The Army fitted well into this idea and formulated a scheme whereby the Imperial Government would pay the cost of transportation to Canada and the Dominion Government would pay the cost within the country. They suggested bringing some 25,000 young women, youths and children to Canada, with the Army taking responsibility for locating jobs and for the after-care of the immigrants.⁽⁴⁾

On the whole the Protestant churches adopted a favorable attitude towards immigration but they had very definite ideas on how immigration matters should be handled. A delegation representing the official boards of the Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian communities in Canada presented a memorial to Prime Minister King. This plan envisaged the formulation by a Royal Commission of a "well considered constructive immigration policy on a scientific and patriotic basis". Immigration affairs were to be taken out of the hands of politicians and placed with a wide degree of freedom in the hands of a permanent board of immigration. This board would

(1) Ibid., April 29, 1921.

(2) Ibid., December 16, 1922.

(3) House of Commons Debates, 1922, p. 2144.

(4) Saskatoon Daily Star, March 10, 1922.

co-ordinate the activities of all organizations, federal, provincial, municipal and voluntary; it would regulate the amount of permissible immigration and would have a general concern for the instruction and care of all newcomers. They did not wish to see the Dominion Government relinquish all control and they were definitely opposed to the commissioning of any private agency in this field. They also stressed their belief that the admittance of large numbers of any one foreign-speaking nationality should be avoided and hoped the Dominion Government would assist in some assimilation program for those already resident (1) within the country. This program was never officially adopted by any political party or acted upon but had it been taken more seriously, it would almost certainly have kept the politicians out of some of the pitfalls into which they stumbled during the next decade.

In this period a number of women's organizations were particularly interested and active in the immigration field. A report by Mrs. John McNaughton to the Women's Section of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association convention in 1921, labelled as a success the provincial (2) Government's policy regarding domestic workers. Mrs. G. E. McCraney, speaking to the Saskatoon Local Council of Women, drew attention to the good work (3) being done by the "Fellowship of the Maple Leaf". This latter organization, affiliated with the Church of England, was engaged in bringing out teachers to take over rural schools in the province, particularly in foreign settlements. These specific cases indicate the interest taken in immigration by some of the women of the province.

As the western grain crop of 1923 ripened the immigration question

(1) Saskatoon Phoenix, March 11, 1922.

(2) Ibid., February 3, 1921.

(3) Ibid., February 11, 1921.

was brought into new and sudden relief. In July representatives of the railways and the federal and provincial governments met in Winnipeg to discuss the labor situation. They decided that 50,000 additional men would be required to harvest the 1923 crop. Since this number could not be provided from Eastern Canada it was planned to bring in 12,000 harvesters from Britain at the Dominion
(1)
Government's expense. This was accomplished chiefly by the railways with commendable speed. Toward the end of August, persistent reports began to fill the newspaper columns of a surplus of laborers, of farmers refusing to hire inexperienced British farm hands, of gross misrepresentations by transportation officials concerning harvesting wages and of poor living conditions on Canadian farms. Railway officials, immigration agents and loyal newspaper editors rushed to the defense of the British and the Canadian Governments' latest immigration venture. Nevertheless conditions could not have been entirely satisfactory for the Saskatchewan Government on August 30th had to offer to take all men stranded in Winnipeg (at that time some 200) and place them in
(2)
harvesting jobs at \$4 a day.

Coupled with this, the gigantic problem of providing winter employment for 12,000 extra labourers suddenly thrust itself forward. The Canada Colonization Association called a hurried meeting in Saskatoon, of provincial officials, railway representatives, boards of trade representatives,
(3)
representatives from the S. G. G. A., and university professors. It was unanimously resolved that all bodies would co-operate in obtaining positions
(4)
on farms for these newcomers. By the middle of October, chiefly through the efforts of the Soldiers' Settlement Board, 15,074 listed openings had been

(1) Saskatoon Daily Star, August 25, 1923.

(2) Ibid., August 30, 1923.

(3) Ibid., September 21, 1923.

(4) Ibid.

(1)

obtained. The S. S. B. felt justly proud of its achievement and looked forward to a considerable expansion of its activities in future ventures of this nature

(2)

by the Department of Immigration. But the whole statistical story of the British harvesters of 1923 was not to be told until early in the following year. A near catastrophe had only just been avoided and as it was, a number of years elapsed before the Department ventured to repeat the performance.

But the aforementioned policies and projects did not pass without criticism and some opposition. The Great War Veterans' Association voiced critical views on several occasions. They had no objection to the influx of British immigrants but they were ever jealously on the lookout for any attempt to bring in masses of Europeans. Thus, in the fall of 1921, the Dominion Command detected, what they felt, was an unwarranted influx of continental European women. They promptly pointed out that this movement should be curtailed

(3)

and that more unmarried British women be brought out. When Sir Clifford Sifton, early in 1922, began to ring the praises of European settlers, the Saskatoon branch of the G. W. V. A. answered him caustically:

Resolved that we notice with some sorrow that one, Clifford Sifton, has still available the occasional opportunity to express his perverted imagination even to the extent of decrying the character and ability of our British comrades, while at the same time he takes pains to extol the much questioned desirability of the diseased and uncleanly off-scourings of Central Europe and we trust that no disinterested observer will jump at the conclusion that the typically Siftonian expressions credited to him, express the feelings of any respectable body of Canadian opinion. (4)

In not quite such violent language a mass meeting of Great War Veterans held in Saskatoon a month later passed a resolution calling upon the Provincial and Dominion commands, the Premier of Saskatchewan and the Saskatoon representative at Ottawa, to protest and take immediate steps to prevent the crimes of bringing

(1) Ibid., October 22, 1923.

(2) Ibid., December 31, 1923.

(3) Saskatoon Phoenix, September 1, 1921.

(4) Ibid., April 29, 1922.

in a million immigrants per year from Central Europe and allowing one thousand Poles from Chicago to take over the vacant Mennonite lands. The Rt. Rev. G. (1) Exton Lloyd, Anglican Bishop of Saskatchewan addressed this meeting. This attitude of the veterans indicated that the war was still far from forgotten, but it also laid the foundation for an anti-immigration movement in the province.

The farmers' organizations, in general, agreed with the veterans though their opposition to immigration was placed on a more material basis. For instance, Miss Mary P. MacCallum, a strong Progressive speaker in 1921 and affectionately known as the "Prizemierette of the Prairies", felt that "if (2) Canada were healthy we would have many immigrants come here to stay, industries developing, fair profits to all engaged in work and an ability to meet our national obligations". In 1922 the S. G. G. A. in convention passed a resolution opposed to immigration "unless economic conditions for the man on the land were (3) made tolerable". But a year later they toned down their qualification to (4) "provided every possible effort be made to bring about better economic conditions". At the convention opinions were expressed which indicated the farmers' distrust of large colonization schemes financed by big business. They also echoed the idea that past immigration propaganda had only too often presented a very untruthful picture of western Canadian conditions. Their opinions came very close to that expressed by laboring groups. Any open-door policy would tend to lower the (5) standard of living of the residents within the province. But farmers reserved their strongest opposition for those policies which were actually in operation. The relaxation of restrictions on European immigrants was followed on November

(1) Ibid., May 6, 1922. .

(2) Ibid., October 27, 1921.

(3) Saskatoon Daily Star, January 30, 1923.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid., January 31, 1923.

21, 1922, by the formation of the Mennonite Colonization Association. ~~Previously~~
 S. U. G. A. locals at Plymouth and Watrous ^{had} forwarded protests to the central
 office in Regina. They stated bluntly that German Mennonites were controlled
 by a clerical hierarchy, were opposed to higher educational standards and that
 (2)
 "they have quite a reputation as dirty farmers". The Watrous local passed a resol-
 (3)
 ution requesting the re-imposition of the federal restriction on Europeans. The
 central secretary of the S. U. G. A. promptly wrote to the federal immigration
 department and asked for information regarding any special understandings such
 as exemption from military service or relief from citizenship duties promised
 to the Mennonites. The Department replied that, "No concessions of any kind
 either with regard to admission or to residence in Canada have been made in the
 case of the Mennonites". (4)
 These protests of the farmers carried little weight,
 for Mennonites arrived in Saskatchewan in considerable numbers during the year
 1923. They were largely financed by people of the same faith within Canada and
 the United States and their colonization organization left little to be desired.
 The C. P. R., acting through the C. U. A. organization, handled most of their
 transportation and settlement problems. The opposition of the farmers' groups was
 at this time spasmodic and localized. However, ineffective as it was it served
 to lay the foundations for the second large section of public opinion opposed to
 immigration.

The groups most violently opposed to immigration were, of course, the
 laboring classes. Even in 1921, the president of the Trades and Labor Congress,
 Tom Moore, felt that though immigration was not so heavy as before the war its
 volume was still unwarranted. He pointed out that too many of those who were

(1) Saskatoon Phoenix, November 22, 1922.

(2) File #58, S.U.G.A., U.F.C., S.A.O., Saskatoon, November 20, 1922. Letter
 written by Thos. J. Broadfoot, Sec. of Plymouth local to the S.U.G.A.
 sec., Regina.

(3) Saskatoon Phoenix, November 25, 1922.

(4) File #58, S.U.G.A., U.F.C., S.A.O., Saskatoon, January 22, 1923.

(1)

ostensibly farm hands drifted into the cities to swell the labor market there.

In 1922 Mr. Moore again expressed the view that:

The present immigration policy is only an aid to those desiring to get rich quick through the method of labor exploitation and is detrimental to the interests of both the workers in Canada and those being falsely led to believe that prosperity and opportunity for all abound in this country. (2)

The Canadian Congress Journal, the official organ of the Trades and Labor

Congress, rapped the British harvester policy rather severely:

A large number of these disillusioned harvest laborers have returned to the old country ... wiser but poorer for reasons yet unexplained. Many of them were unable to secure employment and others were compelled to accept employment below promised wages and conditions ... We do know that sufficient of them have returned to Britain to do considerable harm to future British immigration work and to give Canada much adverse advertising. (3)

These opinions probably were similar to those held by labor groups in the province. However, at this time the labor organizations were extremely weak and disorganized in Saskatchewan and they did not represent any great body of public opinion within the province.

Besides these groups, various individuals in Saskatchewan, expressed their criticism of government immigration policies. In October 1922, Bishop W. E. Lloyd outlined what he felt should be Canada's immigration policy. He proposed a complete ban for ten years on "alien immigrants", with special effort being made during the period to induce British settlers to emigrate. In the meantime the Dominion Government should concentrate on the "Canadianization" of "foreigners" already in the country and inaugurate a fully-organized naturalization drive. At the end of ten years only such immigrants should be admitted as would conform to Canadian customs and ideals. A Saskatoon

(4)

(1) Ibid., August 20, 1921.

(2) Can. Ann. Rev., 1922, p. 275.

(3) Saskatoon Daily Star, November 28, 1925.

(4) Saskatoon Phoenix, October 18, 1922.

farmer who signed himself, "Canadian west as She Is", wrote a rather bitter letter to the 'Salisbury Times':

I myself, homesteaded on arriving here from England in 1906 and worked my hardest till 1915, when I enlisted for overseas. The mortgage company have my land now! ... This is no 'promised land' The chances are 100 to 1 that (if my friends emigrated they) never would benefit. ... I have every confidence (these conditions) are only temporary but it will take time and some very drastic legislation before farming will be a very paying business here. (1)

One of the disillusioned harvesters complained to the Daily Mail that the new arrivals from Britain found work only at very low wages.

The farmers are cursing our authorities, [he said], because the latter told them only experienced men were coming from England. Some of the men had never seen a farm previous to landing in Canada, so you see the farmers have been 'had' as well as us. (2)

Probably the best letter of this nature appeared in a leading Amsterdam daily written by C. Smith Sr., a Saskatoon business man. He was definitely out to portray Saskatchewan in its true light, as he saw it, and to correct the many misconceptions perpetrated by advertising pamphlets. He claimed that too often people got the impression that Canada was a land of milk and honey, where gold practically lay in the streets and roads, and where, at last, the ideal of humanity might be found. Any person with these ideas was likely to be sadly disillusioned. He pointed out that the government's free land was too far distant from the railroads to be suitable for family settlement. The Canadian Government, he warned, paid little attention to the immigrant once he arrived in the country. He illustrated this point by referring to the unfortunate British harvester. Furthermore, it was far from the truth that a man could start farming in western Canada with only \$500. He recommended at least \$2,000, and the incoming immigrant should work out for one year as a farm labourer before investing his money, for conditions were far different from those in the home

(1) Ibid., December 29, 1922.

(2) Saskatoon Daily Star, August 24, 1923.

land. He concluded his remarks with the opinion that Canada was a good country
(1)
for the person with energy who was capable of hard work.

Public opinion on immigration during the period 1921-1923 had been very closely related to the economic conditions existing in the province of Saskatchewan. The propaganda from outside business and political sources probably was accepted by those residents who were inveterate optimists. On the other hand, the more cautious of the province looked with disfavor on any plan to bring in more immigrants at a time when a large percentage of the established farmers were not able to meet their obligations. Most of the prairie politicians and the farmers' organizations adopted this latter stand, at least until the latter part of 1923. Leading professional men and the business organizations followed the opposite course. The veterans' organizations and the Protestant churches laid considerable stress on the patriotic approach in their propaganda for a more active immigration program. With the possible exception of the labor group, all other groups still believed in the fundamental necessity for immigration in raising the national prosperity of Canadians, but they disagreed on just when the opportune moment would arrive to begin advocating a repetition of the 1912-1913 era. During the span from 1921-1923, the immigration question evoked considerable controversy among the thinking populace of Saskatchewan, more so than at any time since the war. A pronounced divergence of opinion characterized the period.

(1). Ibid., Nov. 24. 1923.

CHAPTER III

RELATIVE UNANIMITY OF OPINION 1924-26.

The period 1924-26 was a rather unique one with regard to Saskatchewan opinion on immigration for it marked an interval of time when nearly all groups were more or less agreed in their viewpoints. They even concurred, for the most part with the policies of the dominion government. Indeed many of them would have supported more activity on the part of the federal authorities. The period was marked, too, by a growing faith in the possibilities of this province. Newcomers were needed to help production and increase the provincial wealth. The whole province, to a very surprising extent, organized itself behind religious, business and philanthropic organizations for the purpose of welcoming and assisting the immigrants. Probably the chief reason for this new optimism was the changed economic picture. The prairie crop yield was much improved and (1) wheat prices had almost doubled. These conditions were considerably more effective in silencing the pessimists of the previous period than any flow of oratory or inspired writings. Saskatchewan's hour had struck and the need for immigrants was voiced in increasingly loud tones.

The dominion government was particularly anxious to extend inducements to British settlers. Various arrangements, designed to make the 1923 agreements more attractive, were negotiated early in 1924. Advances up to 100% of the cost of the passage were now made to families and single men nominated for agricultural work. Household workers staying on farms for at least a year were entitled to a rebate of £6. Children travelling under the auspices of an (2) approved society received similar consideration. Another arrangement provided

(1) Canada Year Book, 1926 and 1927, p. 214 and p. 241 respectively. In 1924 the farmers of Saskatchewan produced 132,918,000 bushels of wheat, while the average price per bushel rose to \$1.21. In 1925 the wheat crop amounted to 240,551,000 bushels - average price \$1.10, while in 1926 they raised 218,643,000 bushels - average price \$1.08.

(2) J.F. Culliton, Assisted Migration and Land Settlement, (McGill University, Montreal, 1928) p. 56.

for individual loans to British immigrants resident in Canada to pay the transportation costs of relatives. The person applying for the loan deposited 25% of the cost and guaranteed to pay off the remaining 75%. However this scheme was soon dropped for lack of applicants. Specially approved families (1) were to receive a grant of eighty dollars. On February 5th, 1924, the Hon. Mr. Robb announced that the machinery of the Soldier Settlement Board was to (2) be utilized as a Land Settlement Branch of the department. This Branch was to be assisted in each district by an advisory settlement board composed of outstanding mortgage and loan men and agriculturalists, who were to pass on the (3) suitability of the land and the fairness of the purchase price. Such thorough organization and generous schemes pointed significantly to the importance attached during this period to the immigration question.

One of the first ventures was announced on August 22, 1924, and (4) became known as the "3000 British Family Scheme". The new Land Settlement branch of the department was to function as a settlement body for these British settlers. Loans up to £300 were to be made to selected families by the British government while the Canadian government undertook to provide suitable farms and houses at a cost of between £500 and £700. No family was allowed to assume a debt of more than \$7500 and these loans were to be repayable over a period (5) of twenty-five years on an amortized basis with interest at 5%. The Hon. J. A. Robb expected 1200 families in the first year of operation of this scheme. (6) In March 1925 the first five hundred families arrived in Canada. By the fall (7)

- (1) Saskatoon Daily Star, January 30, 1924.
- (2) Can. Ann. Rev., 1924-25, p. 186.
- (3) Canada Year Book, 1925, p. 186.
- (4) Can. Ann. Rev. 1924-25, p. 187.
- (5) Wulliton, op. cit., p. 60.
- (6) Saskatoon Daily Star, December 22, 1924.
- (7) Ibid., October 29, 1925.

1926 British observers were declaring the scheme a complete success. They pointed out that 1504 families had been settled in Canada, 359 in Saskatchewan. Only about 2% had failed outright, 10% appeared to be below the general average but it was estimated that 80 to 90 percent of the families settled under the scheme (1) would make good and remain permanently. However, by the end of 1925 the Canadian government was finding difficulty in collecting passage loans. As a result these were dropped and in their stead, the government inaugurated a new cheap transportation arrangement. Under this plan immigrants were able to travel from any United Kingdom port to Regina, Moose Jaw or Saskatoon for £6 - a sum sufficiently small that government assistance in paying it was no longer required. Instead, the extra cost was shared by the British government, the Canadian government, and the transportation companies. (2) In the fall of 1926 the fare under this arrangement was reduced by £1. (3) A modified form of the loaning program was continued but these loans were to be made available only to agricultural families and household workers. These were two groups from whom the Canadian government felt it would be able to obtain repayments. In addition the Canadian government undertook to be responsible for the incoming British immigrant for a period of five years. (4) Again we cannot help but be impressed by the generous and widespread nature of the dominion's plans for obtaining British settlers. Outright loans for the purchase of a ticket were available throughout the period. Three thousand families were to receive very generous assistance, if they would only come to Canada. And finally the transatlantic fares were reduced to a point where an immigrant could not claim that he was held back through lack of sufficient money to pay his passage. Canada was

(1) Can. Ann. Rev., 1926-27, p. 176.

(2) Canada Year Book, 1927, p. 183.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Saskatoon Daily Star, December 16, 1925.

most definitely out to obtain British settlers.

In the field of European immigrants we can also trace this same general tendency. The unsatisfactory flow of immigrants in 1924 (only 124,450 (1) as compared to 137,320 in 1923) caused the dominion government to relax its restrictions on Europeans and to make an effort to attract some of the masses which were popularly thought to be straining at Canada's gates. On December 22, 1924, the minister announced that the immigration of Northern Europeans was to be the chief objective of a new policy since there appeared to be considerable interest and a number of potential immigrants in Holland and Germany. With this in mind restrictions were relaxed concerning newcomers from the Scandinavian countries, Holland, Denmark, Germany and Switzerland. It was known that there were many prospective immigrants in Hungary, the Slovak countries and in Galicia. This group were under the control of the general restrictions which (2) excluded all except farming classes. However, the department simplified the (3) method of making nominations and substituted an occupational test for the (4) money test. When it saw that these changes did not arouse much opposition the government arranged an agreement between the U. P. R. and the C. N. R. which came into force in September, 1925. Under its provisions the railways were permitted to bring in immigrants from central Europe who were classed as agricultural workers or domestic servants or who belonged to an agricultural family with some capital. The latter group was without restriction as to numbers but the other two groups were admitted under a quota system, determined by the federal department. Domestic servants coming to the prairie provinces

(1) Canada Year Book, 1925, p. 192.

(2) Saskatoon Daily Star, December 22, 1924.

(3) Ibid., April 9, 1924.

(4) Can. Ann. Rev., 1924-25, p. 186.

were to be brought out under the nomination system or the bulk system.

Individual nominations were made by farmers but were limited to relatives. The bulk system applied to approved societies which had the right to bring out groups of girls providing they guaranteed them employment. It must be kept in mind that this Railways Agreement concerned only the non-preferred countries; the movement from preferred countries was subject only to normal immigration (1) controls. Thus after three years of continuous striving the railway companies had gained a contract permitting more independent action in the immigration field. More than this their efforts had convinced the government that Canada needed immigrants from Europe both from the preferred and the non-preferred countries.

In parliament during these three years, 1924, 1925, and 1926, there was surprisingly little debate concerning immigration. Even the federal minister, the hon. J. A. Robb, in 1924 found it difficult to assess public opinion. He hesitantly announced to the members that, "I believe the people of the dominion do want immigration and it should be our policy to encourage immigration. Just (2) now we are trying to attract to Canada only agriculturalists". A year later the minister was more convinced of the correctness of his observation in 1924, but the very poor showing of his department in that year, put him on the defensive to account for the failure of Canada to attract immigrants. The policy of the government, he stated, was to secure quality rather than quantity. "We are careful in the admission of citizens and try to bring in such people as we (3) believe will remain in Canada." He went on to complain of the lack of free land in Canada, the limited number of immigrants with capital and the reluctance of

(1) Saskatchewan Royal Commission Report on Immigration and Settlement, (Regina, 1930) pp. 50-51.

(2) House of Commons Debates, 1924, ~~1924~~, p. 4370.

(3) Ibid., 1925, p. 4157.

foreign countries to part with agriculturalists. Finally he stated:

I am bound to say there has been a good deal of adverse criticism of this country disseminated by the press of other countries ... We are doing all we can to counteract such criticism ... Every member who gets up in this House and puts on the records of parliament criticism adverse to this country is helping to injure Canada. ... I believe there is less of this sort of thing now than two years ago. (1)

Certainly the federal members from Saskatchewan no longer sang their pessimistic songs. In 1924 Mr. C. W. Stewart from Humboldt hastened to make it clear that he was not opposed to an immigration program but he warned against the expansion of C. N. R. immigration facilities. "The C. N. R. is handled closely in connection with various departments of government ... We have a very extensive immigration department ... there is no need for the duplication of services". (2) Mr. C. E. Bothwell from Swift Current emphasized the need for bettering (3) the agricultural industry before bringing more settlers into the country. Mr. John Evans from Rosetown stressed the connection between increased immigration and a lowered standard of living for the working class. He went on to point out: "It is not borne out by facts that a country to be prosperous must have (4) a large population. England today wants to get rid of a number of her men". But these were discordant voices in the popular chorus of this period. Mr. C. R. McIntosh from North Battleford presented a more widely accepted picture of the feelings of the majority of Saskatchewan residents:

what we need is a greater population with more real producers on the farms, in the forests, in the mines and in all the basic industries of Canada to develop more wealth. ... This problem can be solved, not alone by political co-operation, but by the co-operation of all the Canadian people. (5)

The Hon. W. H. Motherwell from Regina felt that :

- (1) Ibid., 1925, p. 4158.
- (2) Ibid., 1924, p. 4138.
- (3) Ibid., 1926, p. 618.
- (4) Ibid., 1926, p. 491.
- (5) Ibid., 1926, p. 472-473.

Only those familiar with the great voids in the west, the immense tracts that are waiting to be developed by the hand of man, can appreciate the importance of the subject. No other way can develop Canada to the tonnage and passenger capacity of our two great railway companies. (1)

On the 2nd of January he stated:

This is the psychological time for new settlers to come to Canada, especially when one considers the healthiness of the agricultural industry in the Dominion and the general high prices prevailing for agricultural products. (2)

This reversal of opinion expressed by Saskatchewan federal members was most pronounced during these three years and may in part be attributed to a changing public opinion. Members now sang the praises of the province and if they were critical they had reference to detail and management and not to the fundamental policies.

Late in 1926 the federal government took a step which indicated their firm belief in the correctness of their policies with respect to immigration. In September, the Hon Robert Forke, took over the portfolio of Immigration and Colonization. For the first time since before the war the department had a full-time minister at its head. Moreover, Mr. Forke was a westerner and a farmer with a personal knowledge of life on the prairies. The Saskatoon Phoenix argued that this change augured well for the future development of Saskatchewan. Mr. Forke brought a new enthusiasm to the department as he announced that Canada was capable of accommodating double its present population. (3)

I will endeavour to bring (immigrants) at least in much larger numbers than has been the case in the last few years. ... We will have to put some human feeling into our policy of immigration ... and see to it that, when the immigrants come, they come with a fair chance to make good. (4)

Public opinion must have passed through a decided change in order to justify this statement from the politicians' viewpoint.

(1) Saskatoon Daily Star, September 18, 1925.

(2) Ibid., January 2, 1926.

(3) October 4, 1926.

(4) Can. Ann. Rev., 1926-27, p. 177.

If the federal members were the least reluctant during this period to sing the praises of Saskatchewan, provincial leaders and progressive business men were definitely afflicted the other way. Mr. J. M. Uhrich, minister of Public Health, launched an attack upon the federal pessimists in these words:

In the session of the federal house of Commons of 1923, we heard a great deal from certain blue-ruin artists, certain crepe-hangers, that Saskatchewan was slowly going to the dogs. We were told that immigration was not desirable, since the present farming population could not make a living. In this province we have about 525,000 people on the land who produced in 1922, \$505,000,000 worth of wealth. No other place in the world exists where that can be duplicated. Surely a province that can do that is not going to ruin. (1)

Later he pointed out there were 93 million acres of arable land within the province of which only 25 million were under cultivation. Surely, Mr. Uhrich contended, there was no justification for disparaging talk which did a great deal of harm in that it not only induced people to leave the province but also frightened people and capital from coming in. In a similar vein the Hon. Sam Latta claimed that Saskatchewan could easily support 30 million people.

In Saskatchewan lakes there is enough fish to feed that many and still have plenty for export. There is enough Saskatchewan coal to keep them warm, enough timber in northern forests to house them, enough wheat and other produce grown annually to feed thirty million and still leave a substantial amount for export. (3)

Premier Manning on a visit to Great Britain told the British people that one of the world's epochal migrations from east to west was even now gathering strength and magnitude and unless the British assisted Canada in filling the vacant areas with British stock, non-British peoples would enforce possession by sheer weight of numbers. At another meeting in London he told his audience that Saskatchewan apart from agriculture, was developing slowly. However, there was increased evidence of expansion in the field of clay, coal and minerals. His main regret

(1) Saskatoon Daily Star, May 26, 1924.

(2) Ibid., July 22, 1924.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., July 5, 1924.

was that too few British settlers and capital were coming into the province to help in the development. The Premier added rather bluntly that, "If any man or woman contemplates going to western Canada to lean upon the state or province, I am very pleased to invite him or her to stay at home". On his return Premier Manning told the Saskatoon Canadian Club that he had not pictured the west in glowing terms but as a country of hardships and difficulties. He cautioned against anyone selling his possessions and moving to Canada, advising instead, as the soundest policy, that he come to this country for a period of 12 to 18 months and then send for his possessions. Later he admitted that the old time English spirit of pioneering was gone. He blamed it on the dole system, claiming that it lowered men's morale and took away their keenness for work. Obviously the British immigration picture was not inspiring, no matter from which side of the Atlantic it was viewed.

Early in 1925 the Hon. J. G. Gardiner, before the first convention of the Local Immigration Boards, stated in effect that early Saskatchewan residents had prepared for a much larger population. They had built schools, trained teachers and established municipal facilities far in excess of their means. The taxes were what a population three times as large would normally carry. This state of affairs was bound to continue until the province was obtaining immigrants, if necessary, from European countries. The province should not be afraid to accept these people because as he pointed out: "The English race is great today because it has adopted the best characteristics of the races that settled amongst them".

The year 1926 witnessed the peak of this optimistic attitude.

- (1) File #514, Newspaper Clippings, (Opportunities in Saskatchewan), June 21, 1924, S.A.O., Saskatoon.
- (2) Ibid., Moose Jaw Times, July 25, 1924.
- (3) Saskatoon Daily Star, September 20, 1924.
- (4) Saskatoon Phoenix, February 13, 1925.

Premier Dunning, in his budget address in January, said:

Surely we as members can stand together before the world to say we are proud of the position our province occupies compared with the other provinces of Canada. It is in the interests of the province that all this blue-ruin nonsense and bunkum should be dropped ... Saskatchewan is a great land, a great people and the present is a great opportunity psychologically and we can go forward if we stand together. (1)

Mr. Charles McIntosh, echoed the Premier's statements in these words:

It is easy to find optimists nowadays. Confidence, which is the basis of business and of credit, has been restored and even the banks are ready to announce that ample funds are now available for development enterprises. (2)

Provincial political leaders were satisfied that they were guiding the destinies of a great province and that Saskatchewan needed many people to quickly fill in her vacant arable lands.

That this attitude was widespread is evident from the enthusiasm with which many small towns began what can best be described as an advertisement competition. Many of them prepared attractive booklets which they made available for distribution by immigration authorities. Generally these booklets told something of the development of the town, its prospects and its latest progressive features. Thus the town of Langham produced a Pocket Directory and Business Guide which described the area as a sure crop district (3) an area where livestock thrived and water was plentiful. Foam Lake claimed that it was situated in an area which had never known a crop failure. The town was noted for its neat appearance and in 1925 had scored the highest points in a (4) provincial sanitation and health competition. Other towns in the province undertook similar projects, all designed for the purpose of attracting people and capital to their particular district.

(1) Saskatoon Daily Star, January 19, 1926.

(2) Ibid., January 16, 1926.

(3) Ibid., January 16, 1926.

(4) Ibid., April 26, 1926.

during this period both railways were busy completing the organization of their machinery for attracting and settling immigrants. In 1923 the C.P.R. announced a scheme under which land was sold on an amortized basis over a period of thirty-five years. The plan called for no payments for the first two years and then payment of $\frac{2}{3}$ of the cost of the farm per year for 34

(1)

years. Mr. H. F. Komor, a special colonizing agent for the C.P.R., opened an organization campaign for the formation of local colonization boards.

It is not enough to bring settlers here and leave them to do the best they can after that. We must help them to adapt themselves to their new surroundings. I expect there will be from 15 to 20 thousand immigrants coming to Saskatchewan this year. Many will come to Canada with false impressions which condition would not occur if they got their information from local colonization boards. (2)

Mr. Komor, speaking to a newly-formed board in Kipling, stated that the functions of a local colonization board would be 1. to invite immigrants to the district, 2. to assist immigrants to obtain employment, 3. to obtain help for farmers, 4. to serve as an information bureau to incoming settlers, 5. to meet settlers at the train on arrival, 6. to organize educational courses and to

(3)

assist the newcomers in learning the English language. He probably added too, that the board was expected to make surveys of its local district, listing the vacant lands, locating farm labor positions, noting the wages, working conditions and nationalities preferred and finally to send in a complete report to the C.P.R.'s Department of Colonization and Development. The railway undertook to satisfy the demand for settlers and the local board was completely

(4)

responsible for establishment and after-care. In this fashion the C. P. R. laid the groundwork for its colonization drive of this period and Col. J.

(1) Culliton, op. cit., p. 67.

(2) Saskatoon Daily Star, May 29, 1924.

(3) Ibid., May 28, 1924.

(4) Culliton, op. cit., p. 72.

S. Dennis could claim with some justification that the new policy of the railway was to place the interests of the settler first, by putting him in a position to take an effective and thoroughly healthy part in building up the community.⁽¹⁾

Looking at the railways' policy from the national level, President E. W. Beatty expressed satisfaction with the Railways Agreement concluded with the Canadian government, "whereby they had become partners in the collecting, transporting and distribution of immigrants."⁽²⁾ This contracting had been made, he pointed out, with a view to the removal of technical obstacles thus facilitating the movement from England and the Continent. Mr. T. O. F. Herzer, in the fall of 1926, was pleased with the accomplishments of the Canada Colonization Association. He claimed that since it had become a subsidiary of the railways, the Association had settled 1,503 families,⁽³⁾ 30% of which had settled in Saskatchewan. Of these, 98½% were successful, a fact of which the C. C. A. was justly proud. Mr. Herzer said that this high percentage of successful immigrants was largely due to the system of welfare work and moral supervision carried out by the Mennonite Colonization Board,⁽⁴⁾ the Catholic Association and other public-spirited groups or persons. The C. P. R. was quick to take advantage of the changed public policy and organized a widespread program for the recruitment, transportation and after-care of newcomers. Hundreds of Saskatchewan residents became personally involved in this plan.

The C. N. R. was a little slower in organizing its system for handling immigrants. On October 10th, 1923, Dr. W. J. Black was successfully lured away from the post of Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization and on January 1st 1924, he was made European Manager of the C. N. R. 's department of Colonization

(1) Saskatoon Daily Star, October 15, 1924.

(2) Ibid., September 16, 1925.

(3) Ibid., November 9, 1926.

(4) Ibid., November 28, 1925.

(1)
and Development. Early in March an agreement was negotiated with the Empire Settlement Committee whereby loans up to £300 were to be advanced to selected British agricultural families. (2)
Sir Henry Thornton in April 1925 commented on the establishment of C. N. R. agents in Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland. Educational courses for intending agriculturalists, printed matter and moving pictures outlining Canadian opportunities were being prepared for exhibition in these countries. Sir Henry felt that the whole future of Canada and the railways system depended on the success of these railway immigration efforts. (3)
In November Dr. Hoffman, who had been doing excellent missionary work for the United Church among Hungarian settlers in northern Saskatchewan was appointed issuing agent for the C. N. R. in Budapest. He was made responsible for the issuing of permits to prospective immigrants and was chosen for the job because of his knowledge of western Canadian conditions. (4)
A new C. N. R. colonization office was opened in Saskatoon in December, 1925, to handle the expected influx into northern Saskatchewan. (5)
Within the province the C. N. R. agents were induced to become active immigration proponents. Mr. A. J. Hansen, manager of the Saskatoon office, in speaking to the Prince Albert Board of Trade, stressed the need for advertisement of local areas in order to secure immigrants particularly suited to the Prince Albert district. He made it clear that he was not in favor of unloading continentals in large groups in old settled communities. He added, however, that more ratepayers were needed in this country and urged that the conditions of the sale of land be taken out of speculators' hands. (6)
Mr. W. E. Watson, from the local C. N. R. offices, in an address to the Saskatoon Eclectic

(1) Canadian Ann. Rev., 1923, p. 352, 353.

(2) Saskatoon Daily Star, March 18, 1924.

(3) Ibid., April 18, 1925.

(4) Ibid., November 6, 1925.

(5) Ibid., December 2, 1925.

(6) Ibid., May 26, 1926.

Club, said that colonization was one of the most widely-discussed Canadian problems. He emphasized the importance of a suitable welcome by the older settlers. (1)
 To the Rotary Club a month later he urged that everyone should assist in solving this most vital problem. (2)
 The C. N. R. immigration enthusiasm, though off to a slow start, was gradually gaining momentum chiefly through the efforts of officials in every sphere of the railway's organization.

Saskatchewan residents were quick to respond to the appeal from the railways. Local Boards of Trade, special colonization boards and various men's clubs all moved to play their part in developing this Saskatchewan. In 1924 the Lloydminster Board of Trade arranged a reception for a group of young Danish settlers. (3)
 The Prince Albert Board of Trade practically entered the real-estate field when they invited listings of property close to the city and undertook to obtain purchasers. (4)
 The Saskatoon Board of Trade made an arrangement with the C. N. R. whereby they would assist in the placement of German immigrants, providing they were agriculturalists who had arrived prior to the 15th day of May (5)
 and were prepared to accept the current wages and obey the laws of the dominion. (6)
 The Melfort and the Star City Boards were particularly anxious to obtain more of the newcomers and felt that an advertisement campaign would assist their districts. (7)
 The secretary of the Saskatoon Board was able to report in January 1926 that the campaign of "spreading the gospel truth of Saskatoon," had been aggressively pushed through publicity articles which found their way into many periodicals in the

(1) Ibid., August 10, 1926.

(2) Ibid., September 14, 1926.

(3) Ibid., April 1, 1924.

(4) Ibid., May 17, 1924.

(5) Saskatoon Phoenix, February 21, 1925.

(6) Saskatoon Daily Star, September 22, 1925.

(7) Ibid., July 31, 1925.

(1)
United States, Great Britain and Europe. A delegation representing various boards of trade waited upon Premier Gardiner in May, 1926, and asked that the provincial government give consideration to some scheme whereby families migrating from the British Isles might be given better information concerning Saskatchewan. (2)

The local colonization boards also assumed their responsibilities wholeheartedly. These boards were of two kinds, -those representing a special racial or religious group and those representing a particular area. The Holland Colonization board, for instance, began to function on October 17, 1924. It was chiefly interested in the welfare of Netherlands' settlers and felt that they had been left too much to themselves. The board complained of the false propaganda and misinformation spread in the Old Country and decided to ask only for experienced farmers from Holland who might "work out" for a period before settling permanently. (3)
The Ukrainian Aid Society in Western Canada was formed on November 17, 1924, and planned to work in conjunction with a similar society formed in Lemburg, Galicia. It intended to see that suitable land was found for Ukrainians and that proper aid was extended to them on arrival. (4)
The Swiss Settlement Society was composed of outstanding Canadian citizens including Sir Robert Falconer, President of the University of Toronto, A. B. Calder, of the C. P. R. Colonization Department and Sir John Willison. This society felt that the quota law passed recently by the United States would tend to force approximately four thousand Swiss immigrants to come to Canada. (5)
It at once busied itself with preparations for the influx. In the spring of 1926, largely due to the personal interest of two Saskatoon teachers, Mrs. Knowles and Miss Frances Heritage, The Women's British Immigration League, was

(1) Ibid., January 22, 1926.

(2) Ibid., May 1, 1926.

(3) Ibid., October 18, 1924.

(4) Ibid., November 18, 1924.

(5) Ibid., November 24, 1924.

(1)
 formed. Its purpose was to invite British immigrants, particularly families or domestics, to become permanent residents in the province. The organization expected to be able to assist in the placement of these immigrants and, by personal interest, to encourage them to remain on the land. (2)
 By August the League had spread to some twenty-two different places and arrangements had been made whereby it became responsible for the care of fifty agricultural students from Wye Agricultural College in England. (3)

The regional colonization boards were generally organized and sponsored by either Mr. H. F. Komor, special C. P. R. Colonization agent, or Mr. A. J. Hansen from the C. N. R. These boards, were sufficiently well-organized by February, 1925 to hold their first convention in Saskatoon. At this convention, Mr. Hooff, president of the Holland Colonization board and convention organizer, stressed the importance of not misrepresenting the country to the newcomers and after their arrival, "Give immigrants to your community the glad hand of friendship and you will stop emigration from your district." (4)
 Mr. Komor claimed that the local colonization board movement was designed to secure the co-operation of communities and individual farmers in helping the country assimilate the newcomers. He answered one serious criticism of the movement when he pointed out that the boards were not intended to take the place of local real-estate men but were to assist the settler in finding suitable land. (5)
 By September 1926, the movement had so mushroomed that a second convention with fifty delegates representing various boards was held in Saskatoon. This convention established a central committee designed to bring the separate boards into closer co-operation and called for the establishment of a monthly paper to act as a further bond between

(1) Ibid., May 13, 1926, Miss Frances Heritage was colonization representative, Mrs. David Crowe was president, Mrs. J. H. Holmes was vice-president and Mrs. Marion Knowles was secretary.

(2) Ibid., August 2, 1926.

(3) Ibid., August 2, 1926.

(4) Ibid., February 11, 1925.

(5) Ibid.

(1) (2)
 local boards. It was clear that the number of people interested in immigration had increased. No better illustration of the changing public opinion in the province could be given than this widespread development of provincial and local groups all contributing a great deal of voluntary labor to assist the immigration movement.

The Mennonite Board of Colonization was the oldest and the most active group during this period. In 1923 it brought 3000 settlers to Canada, (3) 4000 in 1924, and 5000 in 1925. Generally speaking it bought large blocks of improved land, complete with stock and equipment, on a no-cash but a one-half crop payment plan. It offered comparatively high prices for the land and thus attracted sales rather easily. Throughout the period a steady stream of propaganda was sent to the newspapers to convince the public that the new Mennonite arrivals were very suitable immigrants for Saskatchewan. Mr. J. H. Speers, a real-estate agent, said that the incoming Mennonites were not Communists, that they supported the laws and institutions of Canada, that they desired (4) to learn the English language and would uphold our educational system. Mr. W. M. Badger, manager of the C. C. A., maintained that these people were far different from the Old Colony Mennonites of whom such a large percentage had emigrated from Saskatchewan to Mexico in the early 20's. These new immigrants had refused to go to Mexico and turned to Canada where there was a stable (5) government willing and able to protect life and property. In 1925, Bishop

(1) Ibid., September 30, 1926.

(2) Ibid., September 29, 1926. It was at this meeting that Mr. Komor, the "father" of the Local Colonization Board Movement announced his resignation from the C.P.R. and the establishment of his own Central Colonization, Board for northern Saskatchewan.

(3) ~~Second Year Book~~ Ibid., April 30, 1926

(4) Saskatoon Daily Star, April 23, 1924

(5) Ibid.

(1)
David Toews pointed out that not one of the new arrivals had made an appeal for aid to the government or to the general public. The majority were working within one week of arrival and there was a remarkably small percentage of failures or misfits as compared with other nationalities. (2) The Saskatoon Daily Star, summarized the campaign in these words; "These people make good farmers (3) and are very welcome to the country."

Various church organizations also took an active interest in immigration during this period. The Baptist Church of Saskatchewan associated itself with the British Baptist Church in placing immigrants from Britain. (4) The Salvation Army early in 1924, announced a program whereby boy-immigrants would be given practical training in agriculture before being sent to their Brandon farm (5) for allocation to western farmers. Bishop Lloyd, in his charge to the 26th meeting of the Synod, stated that both the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics had strong organizations already functioning. He urged the formation of local welcoming committees amongst Church of England members and a more active immigration organization for British settlers. He argued;

We want our own British blood settled in large numbers throughout the diocese, for if we have the land filled with little Asias, and little Russias and little Balkans, it is going to make our church work ten times harder and in many cases, impossible.(6)

By 1926 the Social Service Committee of the Diocese could report that many "Welcome and Welfare Committees" had been formed amongst Anglican communities. They had also received an offer from Mr. F. C. Dawson, Melfort, of the use of .

- (1) Bishop David Toews was the spiritual leader of the Mennonites in the province and also headed the Mennonite Board of Colonization.
- (2) Saskatoon Daily Star, October 22, 1925.
- (3) Ibid., October 24, 1925.
- (4) Saskatoon Phoenix, June 5, 1924.
- (5) Saskatoon Daily Star, October 23, 1924.
- (6) Journal of Proceedings, Diocese of Saskatchewan, 26th Meeting of the Synod, June 15-19, 1924, p. 25-26.

his home, rent free, for diocesan purposes. The Bishop suggested that it be used as a hostel for immigrant British boys between the ages of 14 and 17 years. This suggestion was accepted and the diocese also authorized the appointment of a church emigration agent to select and bring settlers into the Prince Albert district. (1)

It would have been difficult for Saskatchewan leaders to say anything contrary to the general sentiment. The Mayor of North Battleford in addressing the Kiwanis Club in October, 1924, said with feeling that the worst depression in the world's history was over. He predicted a return to Canada of the thousands who had swarmed across the American border in search of better conditions. (2) Mayor Clare of Saskatoon, at the first convention of the local colonization boards, joined the optimists when he claimed that the solution of the immigration problem would mean the solution of Canada's unhealthy railway and taxation situation. He added:

I believe in bringing people not from the slums of the large cities, but from the land. If we can establish them on the land and teach them English we need have no fear whatsoever,---but when we get the people here, they should be looked after and protected and welcomed.(3)

Mr. Russell Wilson, Mayor of Saskatoon in 1926, was the most enthusiastic of all. He claimed that on every hand there were indications of prosperity, and he believed that it was safe to predict that Saskatoon would have a population of between 75,000 and 100,000 within the next twenty years." He had just returned from a tour of the Goose Lake Line country, a trip organized as a publicity venture by the Saskatoon Board of Trade. Professor W. P. Thompson of the Department of Biology at the University told Saskatchewan residents that (4)

(1) Ibid., June 13-17, 1926, pp. 31-32.

(2) Saskatoon Daily Star, October 31, 1924.

(3) Ibid., February 13, 1925.

(4) Ibid., May 21, 1926.

in his opinion intermarriage between the races would ultimately produce a citizenship with a fair percentage of outstanding individuals, "that will surpass (1) the best in any of the races from which they originated." Dr. W. W. Swanson in 1926 stated that a greater expansion lay before the people of the West than (2) had existed in the period prior to 1913. Dr. W. C. Murray thought that the factor which was drawing many immigrants to Canada was the opportunity afforded their children. However, he stressed that as important as the material factor was the spirit of kindness and friendliness so widespread among the western (3) people. Thus swelled the chorus of optimism which many prominent Saskatchewan citizens supported. There was, however, a body of opinion opposed to flowing enthusiasm.

Now we turn to a survey of opinions opposed to these immigration policies in whole or in part. Early in January 1924, a report was circulated that three thousand German families were to come to Saskatchewan during the coming year. The St. Catherine's Board of Trade sharply opposed this policy when so many British settlers were available, and asked other boards for support. (4) (5) The Regina and Saskatoon Boards of Trade refused but the Regina Branch of the G. W. V. A. decided to investigate the rumor. On finding that there was good reason to believe the report it went on record, in very mild terms, as opposing the immigration of German Mennonites or any other people likely to settle in close colonies. It stated in effect that the future interests of our dominion (6) required the Canadianization of our citizens. Opinions amongst veterans were slightly different from those held a year or two previously. In 1925 their

(1) Ibid., February 8, 1926.

(2) Ibid., June 10, 1926.

(3) Ibid., September 30, 1926.

(4) Ibid., January 11, 1924.

(5) Ibid., January 12, 1924.

(6) Ibid., January 23, 1924.

bitterest complaint had been against the displacement of returned soldiers by S. S. B. officials who tended to turn the lands over to inexperienced British immigrants. They now passed a resolution recommending a selective immigration policy which would exclude Asiatics and southern Europeans. One delegate claimed that Saskatchewan residents were not able to compete with foreign immigrants and that returned men were being gradually forced from their land. Another delegate suggested that our penitentiaries were flooded with criminals originating in foreign lands but he agreed that we needed more settlers and asked that they be chosen by some selective policy.⁽¹⁾ Thus the veterans viewed with considerable uneasiness the new trends in immigration.

The same cautious and conditional approval of dominion immigration policies is seen in the resolutions passed by the farmers' organizations. At the convention of the S. G. G. A. in Regina, January 29, 1925, a resolution was introduced disapproving of the current immigration system, and urging that the railways and the Canadian government be compelled to contribute to the support of newcomers, but it had to be withdrawn and reworded. The convention finally ~~passed~~ ^{considered} a resolution voicing objection to the settlement of foreign elements in colonies and requesting that immigration propaganda truthfully represent conditions in this country.⁽²⁾ During the debate the Hon. George Langley objected strongly to any resolution which advocated the acceptance of experienced farmers only as immigrants. He claimed that many successful farmers in the country had not been engaged in that occupation in Europe.⁽³⁾ A year later a resolution opposing the formation of foreign colonies was ~~rejected~~ ^{considered} by the S. G. G. A. Again Mr. Langley strongly objected saying that he had started in a district

(1) Ibid., March 19, 1925.

(2) Ibid., January 29, 1925.

(3) Ibid., January 30, 1925.

where he was the first Anglo-Saxon. Mr. A. J. Hindley, ex M. L. A. from Willowbunch wanted to tone down the resolution on the grounds that segregated communities were actually of considerable assistance to the new arrivals from foreign countries. ⁽¹⁾ The resolution was finally voted out but the Farmers' Union, one of the other farmers' organizations in the province, passed in convention, a biting condemnation of federal policies. They claimed that past immigration schemes had only resulted in a heavy emigration to the United States. Current economic conditions were such that many farmers were even then leaving the country and a heavy influx of settlers would only serve to aggravate the situation. Therefore they were definitely opposed to the expenditure of a single dollar for immigration until the financial security of those already farming was assured. ⁽²⁾ However, when the S. G. G. A. and the United Farmers affiliated on January 28, 1926, they passed a resolution on immigration which expressed only mild criticism of government policy. Thus the farmers' organizations indulged in considerable adverse talk but took very little direct action against the immigration policy.

Bishop Lloyd was probably the most outspoken Saskatchewan critic of federal policies. And yet his complaints were not against increased immigration as a policy but only against the admission of non-British settlers. At the Dominion Social Service Council in 1924 he read a forceful protest against what he contended was the wholesale admission of foreigners. The Reverend W. H. Adcock (Regina) supported the Bishop and pointed out that three thousand German families were being brought to Saskatchewan which he believed was against the wishes of the province. ⁽³⁾ The Bishop believed that Canada must become an

(1) Ibid., January 28, 1926.

(2) Ibid., July 28, 1925.

(3) Ibid., January 30, 1924.

area with a homogeneous people, a unity of language and loyalty. The government was committing a crime against this western country if they did not extract a pledge from all foreign immigrants to learn our language, to adopt British loyalties and to become good citizens. Deputy Minister W. Egan denied the charges but even the Saskatoon Daily Star voiced the opinion that possibly the immigration officials in England were placing too strict an interpretation on the regulations. By 1926, Bishop Lloyd declared, "We have no longer an Anglo-Saxon majority in these three Prairie Provinces. As far as this diocese is concerned we are rapidly approaching the time when the question is---whether we can maintain many Anglo-Saxon communities outside the cities and towns." Bishop Lloyd's opinions were indicative of the direction which criticisms were to take in the next two years, but they were not widely held by any group of citizens in the province up to the end of 1926.

Two other prominent individuals voiced opposition to the immigration program of these years, namely Dr. W. A. Carrothers and Mr. Justice H. F. Bigelow. Dr. Carrothers tended, basically at least, to agree with Bishop Lloyd. He felt that the day was gone when we could throw our doors wide open to any immigrant. To a Trades and Labor Congress meeting he stated:

The long term results of immigration would be beneficial but the short term results in Canada would mean a lowering of the standard of living---a restrictive policy should be designed to choose only those who would fit in with the inhabitants here."(5)

To the Kiwanis Club he explained how the colonization problem would settle itself if only the people of Canada could put their economic life on a sound

(1) Ibid., April 28, 1924.

(2) Ibid., July 13, 1925. In the summer of 1925 the Bishop visited England and on his return he complained bitterly of the artificial restrictions which were being placed in the path of British immigrants by Canadian officials.

(3) Ibid., July 15, 1925.

(4) Journal of Proceedings, Diocese of Saskatchewan, June 13-17, 1926, p. 31.

(5) Saskatoon Daily Star, April 23, 1925.

basis. Bishop Lloyd believed that letters from discontented soldiers who had returned to England after the war, had done a great deal to slow down the flow

(1)
of British settlers. Mr. Justice Bigelow agreed with the opinion that foreigners tended to have criminal proclivities. In sentencing Stanley Conjylka for common assault he remarked:

It is a matter of regret to me and to other people engaged in the enforcement of law that the people of your nationality-Ruthenians, Galicians or whatever you call yourselves, are getting a very unenviable reputation in this province, both as to keeping the laws---and further of coming into our courts and per-juring themselves.(2)

Later at Yorkton in the case of Joe Kurchkovski he stated:

During the few years I have been on the bench, I have noticed in some parts of this province that there is a tendency among certain elements of the people to commit this offence.(perjury) I refer particularly to the people who come from foreign countries,---If you cannot learn to respect our laws and appreciate the importance of telling the truth there must be means provided to deport you.(3)

We have noted the growth of a comprehensive immigration organization both in the dominion and provincial fields during the years 1924-26. The dominion had decided to try various schemes designed to attract British emigrants to Canada either through outright loans or assisted passage schemes. The federal government had also made an agreement with the railways, whereby European settlers would be brought into the country in greater numbers. Saskatchewan residents demonstrated their faith in this program by organizing themselves behind various religious, welfare and special colonization societies with wide plans to receive and care for the new arrivals. Provincial government leaders, business men and interested individuals forecast the rapid development of the province and expounded its need for new settlers. A few persons had some doubts as to the wisdom of these preparations. Mr. John Evans and Dr. Carrothers warned that they might result in a lowered living standard for the laboring class.

(1) Ibid., June 17, 1925.

(2) Ibid., October 22, 1924.

(3) Ibid., November 28, 1924.

Bishop Lloyd demanded more British settlers but did not attack the fundamental philosophy behind the cry for more immigrants. Even the farmers' organizations and the Legion branches gave qualified approval to the plan. Some individuals like Judge Bigelow warned of the difficulties of assimilation. But the opposition was relatively mild and the period can be well characterized as one of general unanimity on the question of immigration. So the year 1926 closed with little warning that in the next two years widespread opposition to these policies would make its appearance.

PERIOD OF SCEPTICISM 1927-28.

The two years 1927 and 1928 were significant in that a serious questioning of the basic theories of dominion immigration policies became evident. (1) It is difficult to account for this attitude, for these were prosperous years. Saskatchewan conditions were definitely encouraging. In the immigration sphere the dominion government had so relaxed its restrictions that there was almost an "open-door" policy in existence. Immigration totals were rising to new highs, (2) - 143,991 persons arrived in 1927 and 151,597 in 1928. And yet, there was an increasing clamor from some groups in Saskatchewan against this large influx despite the fact that the province, compared with other provinces, was well-organized to receive the new arrivals. Public opinion was challenging the fundamental thesis that immigrants were needed on Canadian farm lands in order to build up and develop the nation as a whole. Rarely, since the time of George Brown's statement in the Toronto Globe had this program been so directly attacked. Nevertheless, there were many people who were reluctant to accept the new arguments and facts. For these reasons the period might well be called one of scepticism.

At the outset the Minister of Immigration seemed unaware that public opinion in Canada was about to turn the spotlight of its attention upon his department. Furthermore its changing tone resulted in definite repercussions in the immigration office. This can be best illustrated in the gradual realignment of opinions and actions by the minister himself, the Hon. Robert Forke. Early in 1927 he explained Canada's immigration policies to English reporters in this fashion:

(1) Canada Year Book, 1929, p. 234. --Saskatchewan, ~~in 1927 produced~~ ~~bushels of wheat and~~ in 1928 ~~they~~ had a bumper crop of 321,215,000 bushels all of which sold for an average price of 78¢.

(2) Ibid., 1929, p. 185

Canada has adopted the policy of encouraging farm labourers and household workers...Special emphasis is laid upon immigration from the British Isles...The fact that only a limited number from the classes mentioned are available from the British Isles necessarily broadens the field of the United States and European countries...The importance of applying policies, providing Canada with man-power, without introducing unemployment, but rather increasing the demand for labour, must be emphasized.(1)

This question of the relationship between unemployment and immigration had loomed rather importantly in the 1927 session of parliament. Mr. Forke had answered his critics then by saying that the closest co-operation existed between the Department of Labor and the Department of Immigration. He admitted there had been some unemployment but he was perfectly confident that the percentage of unemployment was less in this year of 1927 than it had been for a number of

(2)

years past. Later on he stated:

...If we get the right class of people in Canada, people who are physically fit and are not afraid of work, the whole question of unemployment will solve itself.... There will be always a certain number of misfits, but is that any reason why we should not want people in our great wide open country, which indeed is waiting for people to take advantage of the opportunities offered to them when they come here.(3)

On the matter of admitting people from continental Europe, Mr. Forke defended his policies on April 14, 1927, in these words.

...We sometimes speak rather slightly of foreign-born immigration, but this country would take a long time to develop if we had not foreign-born immigrants. Many of them are honest people, willing to do the hard physical labor that our own people will not undertake....I agree that we should be careful that they are not allowed to come into this country in too great numbers so that the British-born element will ~~not~~ be almost absorbed by a foreign population.(4)

But by September 1927 the Minister felt it necessary to announce a definite change in his policy regarding foreign immigrants. The department was planning to maintain a mathematical majority of Scandinavian and British immigrants over

(5)

all others. On October 1st the department announced the renewal of the Railway Agreement of 1925 for three years but the Minister reserved the right to suspend the agreement upon evidence that the railways were not carrying out the provi-

(1) Can. Ann. Rev., 1926-27, p. 179.

(2) House of Commons Debates, 1926-27, p. 2013.

(3) Ibid., 1926-27, p. 2013.

(4) Ibid., 1926-27, p. 2526.

(5) Saskatoon Daily Star, September 17, 1927.

(1)

sions or that labour conditions demanded such action. In the Toronto Globe of January 3, 1928, the Minister summed up the activities of 1927. He said that "The reasons against a wide-open policy, allowing the entry of all races and classes, are convincing. Mere numbers of themselves would contribute nothing to Canada's prosperity." (2)

The federal government, sensing a changing public opinion, was shifting ground on immigration matters. More evidence of this is to be found in the announcement in August, 1928, by the prime minister himself, that the railway agreement would not be renewed when it expired in 1930. (3)

At the same time the prime minister agreed it was advisable to maintain a preponderance of British immigration and stated flatly that the federal government was not and would not assist continental European immigrants either financially or by special inducements. The Canadian authorities had definitely come a long way in revising their policies. That their basic philosophies were also about to come under criticism can best be seen in the opinions expressed by Saskatchewan residents. By this time public opinion had already brought sufficient pressure to bear on the actual policies in operation that an "about-face" in immigration theories was well under way.

But before dealing with Saskatchewan opinion we should examine the dominion policies of the day with respect to British immigrants. The minister, as we have already pointed out, felt that his department's policy should be to obtain British immigrants in as large numbers as possible. All former inducements in the form of assisted passages and outright loans were continued. In addition the British and Canadian governments concluded an agreement whereby youths from 14 to 20 years of age would come to Canada to assist Canadian farmers. (4)

~~mers, of their own.~~ Mr. Forke hoped that the provincial governments would sup-

(1) Can. Ann. Rev., 1927-28, p. 177.

(2) Ibid., p. 187.

(3) Saskatoon Daily Star, August 7, 1928.

(4) Can. Ann. Rev., 1927-28, p. 180. If these boys saved \$500 by the time they were 21 years of age, they could obtain loans not exceeding \$2500 to help them start on farms of their own.

(1)
port the scheme and take over the task of placing the young men on suitable farms.

In November 1927, in answer to the many criticisms of the medical inspection system, the minister announced the establishment of an overseas immigration medical service for the British Isles only. Twenty-five specially-trained Canadian doctors were to be established in the United Kingdom, and all immigrants were to be examined there before embarking for Canada. It was hoped in this fashion to eliminate the large number of "refused entries" from Canadian ports. But this new system proved far from satisfactory. It meant that many prospective immigrants had to travel long distances in order to get an official examination. At the same time many British doctors took it as a personal insult that Canadian officials felt they had not been competently fulfilling their obligations. Late in the fall of 1928 the medical system was again changed with a roster of several hundred British doctors being re-established, while twenty Canadian doctors were retained in an advisory capacity.

In 1928 the British government made an agreement with British steamship lines whereby any British subject, regardless of occupation, could receive a special reduced fare of £10. In line with this program the British and Canadian governments co-operated to obtain for subjects resident in Canada and regardless of occupation a special rate for their families of £3 15s for all adults and free passage for children under seventeen.

Thus by the close of 1928 the dominion officials had a very comprehensive system for attracting British immigrants. The Hon. Robert Forke summarized the various schemes in operation as 1. a continuation of the £2 ocean rate for

- (1) Can. Ann. Rev., 1926-27, p 180.
- (2) Saskatoon Daily Star, November 12, 1927.
- (3) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, December 17, 1928.
- (4) Can. Ann. Rev., 1928-29, p. 158.
- (5) Public service Monthly, 1928, p.3.

agriculturalists; 2. free passage for children under 17 years of age; 3. free passage provided for boys between ages of 14-19 years of age; 4. free passage provided for boys between ages of 14-19 years of age coming to provincial reception centres; 5. provision for the training of women household workers in the united kingdom; 6. extension of the 3,000 Family Scheme with an additional 350 families provided for; 7. a further reduction of the general third class colonist rate to £10 with no formality excepting a medical examination by any one of approximately 500 British doctors or by one of the Official Canadian doctors; 8. loans by the British government for agricultural purposes. (1)

The Saskatchewan federal members had little to say in the session of 1928 regarding the department of immigration and colonization but what they did say ranged from the most extravagant praises to the blackest condemnation. Mr. G. W. McPhee of Yorkton wound up an eloquent plea for an open-door policy in this wise:

Let us build up in this God-given heritage of ours on the northern half of the North American continent, a race combining all the best traditions of the races from which we spring, establishing here what we hope to see above--a house of many mansions where there is room enough for all. (2)

Mr. C. R. McIntosh from North Battleford claimed that Canada needed millions more people. His answers to the criticism that too many foreigners were coming to Canada was, "Saskatchewan feels proud of those who came to that province from other lands; they have done a great work; we thoroughly trust them." (3) The Hon. Charles Dunning, proud as he was of his British background, freely admitted that the European peoples had done a great deal to build up the province of Saskatchewan. He felt that it would be a mistake to limit readily-assimilated European types because of the failure to get all the British immigrants desired. (4)

(1) Star-Phoenix, December 19, 1928.

(2) House of Commons Debates, 1928, p. 131.

(3) Ibid., 1928, p. 805.

(4) Ibid., 1928, p. 3882-3884.

But Mr. John Evans from Rosetown, with his pointed criticisms, upset the opinions of many an average citizen. He showed that after years of the most energetic efforts, Canadian farmers in 1921 were 20,000 fewer than in 1911. He claimed that immigration literature which promised year-round employment was portraying a situation which did not exist. Thousands of our immigrants were thus forced into the United States to obtain work. Mr. Evans did not care from what country immigrants actually came provided they were not allowed to settle in small colonies and turn the western province into a replica of the Balkan states. ⁽¹⁾ The stand of the Conservative party on this question is rather interesting. In October, 1927, they chose a new leader and at the same time put a rather strong immigration plank into their platform. They advocated an aggressive immigration program, based on securing repatriated French Canadians and British settlers from the United States. They charged the Liberal party with not co-operating enthusiastically with the Overseas Emigration Committee and with not paying sufficient attention to the settlement of the immigrant after his arrival in Canada. ⁽²⁾ In March, 1928 General A. D. McRae, Conservative from Vancouver North, startled members of parliament and the country in general with an immense colonization program. He proposed to bring two million immigrants into the west in the next ten years. The government was to clear off the northern scrub lands belonging to the crown, build a log house and a barn on each 160 acres and grant these farms with no initial charge to the incoming settler. ⁽³⁾ The cost of clearing and putting up the buildings was to be charged against the land and repaid after the first five tax-free years, on a twenty-five year amortized plan. General McRae estimated

(1) Ibid., 1928, p. 3974.

(2) Saskatoon Daily Star, October 12, 1927.

(3) Ibid., March 10, 1928.

that the scheme might cost the dominion government some three hundred million dollars a year which he claimed the country could well afford to borrow for such a development. (1) When asked where two million settlers were to be obtained, the conservative members were rather vague. They implied that most of them would be drawn from Great Britain but they refused to commit themselves as being strongly in favor of continental European immigrants. Indeed their ex-leader Mr. Meighen went so far as to suggest, in a speech in Toronto, something very like a quota law to prevent further dilution of the dominion's population. (2) If it had been adopted General McRae's scheme would have been certain to collapse for lack of settlers. All of which revealed that another political party was finding the immigration question a difficult one upon which to gain unanimity of opinion.

At this time Saskatchewan residents were full of optimism regarding future development of the province and certain that Saskatchewan required many immigrants. The growth of the province from now on depended on an industrial expansion as well as an agricultural development, was the opinion of the Hon. J. G. Gardiner. (3) Articles in the newspapers announced the development of Saskatchewan's coal deposits, the filing of gold claims north of North Battleford, the erection of a new sodium sulphate plant at Palo, Saskatchewan, and finally (4) the establishment of a commercial briquetting plant at Estevan. It was common for Saskatchewan citizens to claim, as the Rev. J. A. Doyle did to a United Church conference, (5) that Saskatchewan would be the greatest province in Canada. Even Bishop Lloyd felt that the province offered "unlimited opportunity" for development, especially in the line of minerals in the northern part. (6) When

(1) House of Commons Debates, 1928, p. 1216-17.

(2) Saskatoon Daily Star, April 25, 1928.

(3) Ibid., April 14, 1927.

(4) Taken from a series of articles in the Saskatoon Daily Star and Phoenix, 1927-28

(5) Star-Phoenix, June 2, 1928.

(6) Saskatoon Daily Star, April 2, 1929.

Dean C. J. Mackenzie, of the College of Engineering at the University, estimated for the Saskatoon town planning board that the city's population in 1975 would only be 125,000,⁽¹⁾ he was immediately challenged by Clarence Graham of the Saskatoon Board of Trade and dubbed a pessimist. Graham was convinced that within fifteen years Saskatoon's population would be at least 100,000.⁽²⁾ Indeed this was the period when it was popular to be a booster in one's attitude towards Saskatchewan potentialities.

The Hon. J. M. Uhrich was probably the most eloquent proponent of a wide - open immigration policy as the means to develop Saskatchewan resources. He maintained that "A substantial healthy immigration was necessary if Canada was to achieve what the United States had achieved, in this, 'Canada's Century'.⁽³⁾" Even Howard McConnell, a prominent barrister and Conservative, made a plea to the Rotary club for the "continuance of the policy of admitting continental people of other than British extraction into Canada."⁽⁴⁾ Dr. J. T. M. Anderson in the provincial session of 1928 charged the Liberal government with failing to develop Saskatchewan industries rapidly enough, with not bringing in sufficient numbers of British settlers, and with inadequately advertising Saskatchewan's possibilities in the rest of the British Empire.⁽⁵⁾ Mr. F. H. Auld, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, felt that British immigration should not be restricted to the farming classes, and he pointed to the conspicuous successes of William Darnborough, J. C. Mitchell and C. E. Thomas. These men had not been farmers in England.⁽⁶⁾ Thus officials and political leaders in the province were wholeheartedly in favor of a more wide-open immigration policy than was in existence

(1) Ibid., February 4, 1928.

(2) Ibid., February 4, 1928.

(3) Ibid., February 4, 1928.

(4) Ibid., January 11, 1927.

(5) Ibid., February 14, 1928.

(6) Ibid., January 13, 1928.

during these years. They expected to witness a very pronounced expansion of the province's resources and industries which would mean a greatly expanded population.

Of the two political parties the Liberals were more favorably disposed toward immigration from continental Europe than were the Conservatives. Premier Gardiner proudly claimed that Saskatchewan was the most cosmopolitan area to be found anywhere. "We try to see in all peoples the best characteristics of the races they represent," he said. According to Dr. Uhrich, "The immigrant Canada needs is the kind that will step off into rough country and clear it and win a living from it." To Bishop Lloyd's charge that Saskatchewan was a lost province, lost to British ideals and British traditions, Dr. Uhrich countered that the British Empire had solved this problem by teaching Briton, Boer, French and Anglo-Saxon and scores of other races to live together in peace and harmony for their common good. These speeches were typical of the provincial Liberal stand.

If speeches of this nature meant anything then it could be expected that the provincial authorities would develop definite immigration policies. The first opportunity to take active steps presented itself in November, 1927, when the Federal Minister of Immigration called a dominion-provincial conference. At this conference, Premier Gardiner stated definitely that the "foreign" people in Saskatchewan were among the very best settlers. He felt that the British race had sufficient assimilative power to absorb those races in the numbers that the federal government was bringing into Saskatchewan. Saskatchewan still maintained officially that immigration was largely a matter for the jurisdiction of federal authorities but the province was prepared to take

(1) Ibid., August 29, 1927.

(2) Ibid., February 4, 1928.

some part in the establishment of settlers. Mr. Gardiner admitted that there was a strong body of opinion in favor of British immigration to the exclusion of all other and suggested that he felt the federal government should make greater efforts on behalf of the British. In February 1928, the provincial government organized a Department of Railways, Labor and Industries and placed the Hon. George Spence at its head. One of Mr. Spence's duties was to assist in colonization projects. Thus the provincial authorities took definite action, first in urging the dominion government to continue its program to attract continental European immigrants and secondly in making provision to establish newcomers.

This new provincial department and the provincial immigration policy received a severe testing in the case of the British harvester movement in 1928. In July of that year, ~~1928~~, railway, agricultural and federal immigration officials estimated that there would be a shortage of 10,000 harvest hands in prairie fields. The dominion authorities, recalling the 1923 experience, were reluctant to accept responsibility for bringing out such large numbers of British harvesters without a guarantee from somewhere that winter employment would be provided for the men. The railways promised the fullest co-operation but refused to give any guarantee. The Hon. Mr. Spence felt certain that the western provinces needed these 10,000 harvesters but he was doubtful if so many could find employment during the winter months. He suggested that some arrangement should be made whereby those who could not find a suitable winter job would be returned to Great Britain. This plan was finally adopted with the dominion and imperial governments guaranteeing cheap return fares for those so desiring. Final results showed that 8,449 British harvesters made the trip.

(1) File #108, Immigration, Vol. IV, U.F.C., Sask. Section, ~~Sask.~~ S.A.O. undated clipping, without title.

(2) Star-Phoenix, August 3, 1928.

(3) Ibid., December 20, 1928.

Dr. J. T. M. Anderson was one of the strongest critics of the provincial government's handling of the scheme. He claimed that the harvesters were seriously misled regarding Saskatchewan conditions; that government labor officials had ^{not} made adequate provision for obtaining work for the men and that they were systematically fleeced while enroute to Saskatchewan. (1) The Hon. George Spence hurriedly called a meeting of all bodies interested in the winter placement of the newcomers. It was decided that the U. F. C., Saskatchewan Section, and the field service men of the S. S. B. would canvass the farmers for winter jobs. In addition the railways promised to absorb as many men as possible. Posters were to be prominently displayed telling the men where and how to obtain employment. The provincial labor authorities were to co-ordinate all activities. (2) By December 20th figures on the movement were announced in the British House of Commons, according to which 6,876 harvesters took advantage of the return trip offer, while only 1,573 remained in the Dominion. (3) Even the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix which strongly supported Liberal immigration policies had to admit reluctantly that the 1928 British harvester scheme was not a "thumping success." (4)

However, the difficulties encountered in this scheme did not deter the Saskatchewan government from entering into other aggressive British immigration programs. In October, 1928, it announced that in response to an appeal from the Hon. Robert Forke and Lord Lovat, the provincial government was prepared to co-operate in an undertaking whereby others than agriculturalists might take advantage of a passage-assistance plan. The city worker could apply through provincial authorities and if his application was approved his family

(1) Ibid., August 29, 1928.

(2) S.A.O., U.F.C.Sask~~Section~~ Immigration; Vol. IV, File #108, Minutes of meeting held in Parliament Buildings Regina, September 12, 1928.

(3) Ibid., December 29, 1928.

(4) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, December 29, 1928.

would be moved at the nominal fare of £3 15s for adults and free fare for children under seventeen. The provincial government was to act only as a clearing-house and assumed no financial obligation in these cases, but during the next month Saskatchewan entered into schemes involving definite financial commitments. British boys were to be brought to Saskatchewan, maintained at a hostel and then redistributed to various farmers. Saskatchewan was to share with the Dominion half the cost of transportation and other expenses and take full responsibility for the reception, distribution and after-care of the boy immigrants. The plan was also to be made available to Canadian boys on equal terms. At the same time the provincial department began a project which planned to train British domestics for Canadian homes. A farmer applying for a British domestic had to contribute \$10 towards the cost-of-training program. In this fashion it was hoped to maintain an annual flow to the province of from 150 to 200 British domestics. These two major programs in addition to the British domestics scheme of the early 20's, were the only positive steps taken by the provincial government during the period 1920-39.

Of all the non-political groups in favor of "open-door" immigration policies, the railways and their subsidiary colonization groups were the most consistent and whole-hearted propagandists. Early in 1927 Mr. D. M. Johnson announced that the C. N. R. "confidently expected the biggest movement since pre-war days." Mr. J. A. Williams, Saskatoon, Superintendent of Colonization for the C. P. R., claimed that his organization was expecting a wholesale migration of American farmers. In the fall of the year the railways ~~announced~~

(1) Public Service Monthly, October 1928, p. 3.

(2) Ibid., November 1928, p. 1.

(3) Ibid., November 1928, p. 2.

(4) Saskatoon Daily Star, March 14, 1927.

(5) Ibid., March 25, 1927.

summarized their accomplishments. Dr. W. J. Black announced that 190,6000 acres of new land in the vicinity of the C. N. R. had been broken in 1927, and forty to fifty percent of this land, all bush covered, had been cleared by settlers who arrived in the past two or three years. The C. C. A. reported that its most successful year, 1927, had resulted in the settlement of 238 families in Saskatchewan.

The year 1928 witnessed the railways' defence of their past policies and their vigorous attempts to bring their program in line with a changing public opinion. In February, 1928, the C. P. R. announced a new plan to obtain settlers for the land. They would be willing to accept a man on one of their farms after he had gained one year's experience in practical farming. His payments for the farm would not begin until the fifth year and then if he wished, he could take advantage of the C. P. R. 's long-term payment plan. It was hoped that in these four years he would be able to bring out his family and become a permanent Canadian citizen. The C. N. R. acted similarly and announced a program whereby they would concentrate on bringing out women. The previous concentration on men alone had proven useless in so far as permanent settlement was concerned.

Early in 1927 the C. C. A. at its conference of local agents had faced a barrage of serious charges. Mr. Van Scoy felt called upon to defend the railways' policies by exclaiming that "Canadians should get it out of their heads that it was European riff-raff that came to Canada." On the contrary thousands were experienced agriculturalists possessed of a pioneer spirit. Mr. J. A. Williams denied charges brought by Mr. C. A. Needham that the railway policy was flooding the municipalities with people demanding relief. He

(1) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, January 20, 1928.
 (2) Can. Ann. Rev., 1927-28, p. 182.
 (3) Saskatoon Daily Star, January 6, 1928.
 (4) Ibid., February 1, 1928.
 (5) Ibid., January 29, 1927. Mr. Van Scoy - Supt. of Colonization for the C.P.R.

promised that if any refused to work he would see to it that they would be de-
 (1)
 ported. However, by the end of this period the C. C. A. recognized the pres-
 sure of public opinion and its propaganda began to stress their settlement ac-
 tivities. They claimed the prospects of obtaining British and American farmers
 looked very bright; they offered to extend their facilities to Canadian-born
 young men-and, they said very little concerning their activities with the Ger-
 (2)
 man Mennonites. This same change in sentiment can be seen in the speeches of
 other colonization officials from both railways. Mr. T. P. Devlin rang the
 praises of the quality of British settlers arriving in 1928, though as a foot-
 (3)
 note he added that the Ukrainians were of a superior type as well. Dr. Black,
 head of the C. N. R. colonization branch, recognized the public demand for more
 Britishers but he complained rather bitterly of the difficulties involved in
 obtaining settlers from this source. "The British race does not display the
 (4)
 genius for pioneering that it did in the old days," he said. Remarks of this
 nature indicated that the railways were slowly being forced into a defensive
 position with respect to their European immigration policies.

As might be expected, the latter part of this period demanded of the
 people of Saskatchewan further expansion and organization for the reception and
 after-care of settlers. The groups sponsoring British immigration became parti-
 cularly numerous. The Hudson's Bay Company entered this field early in 1927
 (5)
 and contacted the U. F. C. hoping they might interest the farmers' locals in

(1) Ibid., January 27, 1927.

(2) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, November 8, 1928. Speech by R.L. Christopherson,
 Sask. Supt. of C.C.A.

(3) Saskatoon Daily Star, March 12, 1928.

(4) Ibid., March 31, 1928. Evidence given before the select committee of the
 House of Commons inquiring into Canadian immigration problems.

(5) S.A.C., U.F.C., Sask. sect., Research and Publicity Dept. File #108. T.J.
 Nicholls, Assistant Winnipeg Manager, Hudson's Bay Company Overseas set-
 tlement limited to F.G. Edwards, March 11, 1927.

settling the British settlers. They opened up a training farm in England for intending settlers but by March 1928 the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company admitted that the results to date were rather meagre. He blamed the dominion government's regulations for their lack of success,⁽¹⁾ though probably the failure of the U. F. C. to adopt the program was a contributing factor. The Women's British Immigration League on the other hand, continued to expand. By February, 1927, the president, Mrs. David Crowe, could boast of a province-wide organization with 52 separate organizations. She claimed the league was out to change the situation revealed by Mrs. Marion Knowles and Miss Frances Heritage, in

which Saskatchewan's population was shown to be 75% foreign-born and only 25% British.⁽²⁾ Early in 1928 the Navy League of Canada came to an agreement with the British Dominions Immigration Society whereby former Royal Navy men and their families would be sent to Canada. The Canadian League undertook to supervise and care for the incoming immigrant.⁽³⁾

The Grand Orange Lodge of British America went one step farther by placing an agent of their own in the British Isles to recruit immigrants.⁽⁴⁾ The Saskatchewan diocese of the Church of England moved into the field of attracting British boy immigrants. They established boys' hostels at Indian Head and at Melfort.⁽⁵⁾ [Mr. H. G. Dawson, early in 1927,

~~turned over his residence to the church for diocesan purposes and, acting upon the suggestion of Bishop Lloyd, it was decided to use the residence for this purpose.]~~

Organizations desiring immigrants of nationalities other than British, were also spreading. Indeed Saskatchewan was becoming too-well-organized and Mr. J. A. Williams voiced the complaint that in a number of small localities

(1) Can. Ann. Rev., 1927-28, p. 184.

(2) Saskatoon Daily Star, February 26, 1927.

(3) Can. Ann. Rev., 1927-28, p. 184.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Journal of Proceedings, June 13-17, 1926, p. 32. Mr. H. G. Dawson, early in 1927, turned over his residence to the church for diocesan purposes and, acting upon the suggestion of Bishop Lloyd, it was decided to use the residence for this purpose.

there was a serious overlapping of effort. He proudly pointed out, however, that six thousand immigrants were placed by some 60 Local Colonization Boards in 1927, an increase of over 50% over the number placed in 1926. With respect to British settlers there had been an increase of over 100%.⁽¹⁾ In the annual immigration report, presented to the I.O.D.E. National Convention, Mrs. G. C. Hearn of Brandon singled out for special praise the warm welcome extended to new arrivals by the Governor Laird Chapter of the I. O. D. E. at North Battleford, while the chapters in Saskatoon, Young and Luseland were mentioned as groups⁽²⁾ doing very helpful work. It must be remembered that these organizations were in addition to those mentioned in previous chapters. Saskatchewan citizens were well prepared to welcome and assist incoming immigrants of all nationalities though the development of new British Immigrant Aid Societies was the pronounced trend in 1928.

Some of the religious groups were particularly well organized and active. The Roman Catholics, early in 1927, organized a Roman Catholic Aid Society designed to assist newcomers of their faith upon arrival. In particular they wanted to aid the new settler in overcoming his language difficulties, and to assist him in the purchase of land and equipment.⁽³⁾ The Jewish Colonization Association announced a plan in the same year to bring Jewish agriculturalists to completely-equipped and prepared farms in western Canada.⁽⁴⁾ In March, 1928, the secretary of this organization announced that six Jewish families were to be settled in Saskatchewan on farms which had everything in readiness for them. The Norwegian Lutheran Church planned to extend its organization to all of the Norwegian communities in the province.⁽⁵⁾ The Presby-

(1) Saskatoon Daily Star, December 8, 1927.

(2) Ibid., June 9, 1927.

(3) Ibid., August 2, 1927.

(4) Ibid., January 29, 1927.

(5) Ibid., February 3, 1927.

terians established a special committee on immigration and settlement in Feb-

(1)
 ruary, 1927. The German Catholic Immigration Society was already fully-organ-
 ized and able to announce that it would bring 100 families a year from Danzig. (2)

At the Saskatchewan conference of the United Church of Canada in Moose Jaw the
 general opinion was expressed that the church should take a more active part in
 immigration affairs although no specific program was drawn up. (3) If these activi-
 ties indicate anything it must be concluded that a large body of Saskatchewan
 citizens were in favor of the arrival of many newcomers and it must have been
 on the strength of their interest that provincial leaders felt they were justi-
 fied in moving ahead in their promotion campaign for more settlers.

However, there was also at this time a rising tempo of opposition.
 The Canadian Legion undoubtedly led the most intelligent campaign in opposi-
 tion to the federal policies. At the provincial convention of the Legion in
 North Battleford a resolution was passed urging the dominion to take immediate
 steps to restrict immigration to such races as were so related to the British
 and French peoples by blood or tradition as to be readily assimilated and amen-
 able to our traditions, customs and laws. (4) At the same time arrangements were
 made for a committee of three, Percy Skelton, chairman, Professor A. E. Potts
 and H. H. Bamford to prepare a comprehensive report on immigration for presen-
 tation to the dominion convention in 1928. (5) The committee gathered material
 for its report by sending a circular containing thirteen questions to every
 Legion local, and from the answers they drew their conclusions and made their
 recommendations. (6) They believed that Saskatchewan residents would welcome a

(1) Ibid., February 24, 1927.

(2) Ibid., April 22, 1927.

(3) Ibid., May 28, 1927.

(4) Ibid., June 11, 1927.

(5) Ibid., March 27, 1928. These men were appointed in June, 1927.

(6) These will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VI.

quota system in favor of British immigrants but were opposed to the present Railway Agreement and to the extension of government aid to children under fourteen, unless travelling with parent or guardian. The report stressed the importance of colonization efforts and expressed its disapproval of the formation of large foreign colonies. Finally the committee summed up its conclusions thus:

Is it unreasonable to believe that the natural increase of our population plus well-tried elements from eastern Canada, Britain and the United States, and a sprinkling of volunteer immigrants possessed of some means are equal to the task of developing the country as fast as economic laws permit?(1)

The committee realized that their conclusions were drawn from highly localized evidence and for this reason they strongly recommended that the dominion government should appoint a royal commission capable of inquiring into all phases of the immigration question on a dominion-wide scale. This report was issued on March 28th, 1928. Its questioning attitude and serious challenge to the basic Canadian immigration philosophies makes it outstanding among expressions of public opinion in Saskatchewan.

The farmers in the province usually voiced opposition to immigration policies. In 1926 they had moved to a point where they reluctantly admitted that immigrants were needed but they maintained however, that these should be selected rather carefully. In 1927 they moved slowly back into a more normal position of solid opposition. The Board of Directors of the U. F. C., Saskatchewan Section, in April and July 1927, passed resolutions advocating the calling of a conference of federal, provincial and railway officials, together with representatives from farm and labor organizations, with the object of developing an immigration policy that would make for a better balance in industrial and agricultural life. They felt that too much stress was being laid

(1) File # 108, Vol. 1V, Committee on Immigration Report, Canadian Legion B.E.S.L., Sask. Command, p. 14.

(2) File # 108, Vol. 1, Resolutions on Immigration passed by U.F.C. Convention Moose Jaw, 1927.

(1)
 along agricultural lines rather than on an all-round national development. By
 the fall of 1927, Moss Thrasher, Secretary of the U. F. C., declared that

..All agencies bringing out immigrants, other than the governments, should be
 abolished... Work by any denominational organization or society regardless of
 how efficient, was almost certain to bring criticism, from some quarters and
 tended to sectionalism.(2)

Christian Smith Sr., President of the Netherlands Colonization Bureau, replied
 promptly on behalf of the many immigration societies. He claimed that the so-
 cieties were doing very worthwhile work, with only the welfare of the immigrant
 in mind. He contended that neither the government nor the railway was in a
 position to duplicate the services except at very great expense. (3)

By February, 1928, the U. F. C. decided to present a memorandum to the Federal authorities
 expressing definite opposition to an energetic immigration policy. In the
 opinion of the U. F. C. a vigorous policy, far from lightening the farmers'
 burdens, tended to increase and complicate them. Moreover Canadian citizens
 should be given privileges in regard to settlement equal to those granted to
 immigrants. (4)
 In this latter connection the farmers were objecting to the easy
 land-credit terms provided by the railways and the Three Thousand British Fam-
 ily Scheme. Their own sons were not able to buy land on such attractive terms
 with the result that many of them were leaving the land and in some cases their
 own country of Canada. The U. F. C. Research Department had found that emi-
 gration from Canada in the past four years had been: 117,001 in 1923; 200,690
 in 1924, 102,753 in 1925 and 93,369 in 1926. It was estimated that 85% of
 these emigrants were born in Canada and only 15% were born in European coun-
 tries. In other words, Canada's immigration policies were working to displace

(1) Saskatoon Daily Star, April 16, 1927.

(2) Ibid., November 17, 1927.

(3) Ibid., November 18, 1927.

(4) File #108, Vol. 1, "Immigration" presented to Government February, 1928.

S.A.O. Saskatoon.

good honest Canadian citizens. Furthermore the U. F. C. produced evidence to show how non-British immigration had risen at the expense of British and American.

	Non-Br.	British	U.S.A.	
1923	22%	47%	31%	
1924	37%	49%	14%	
1925	38%	47%	15%	
1926	41%	39%	20%	
1927	50%	34%	16%	(1)

The obvious conclusion was that Canadian immigration policies were not tending to populate the country but were serving to displace good Canadian citizens with "foreigners." In addition the U. F. C. complained that the literature and publicity used to induce settlers to come to Canada still painted the Canadian scene in far too glowing colors and that the nomination system was being flagrantly abused. Too many people were making money by securing the signatures of farmers to nomination blanks when there was no intention upon the part of the farmer to provide employment. (2) The publication of the Legion Committee's report on immigration stirred the U. F. C. to further action. When it appeared likely that the Legion's pleas for a national commission were to be ignored the farmer's organization sent out invitations to interested bodies in Saskatchewan and held a combined convention. Delegates from the Legion, Saskatoon Trades and Labour Council, Rural Municipalities Association, the ^{women's} British ~~Women's~~ Immigration League and the U. F. C. were present. A wide range of topics was discussed but the convention finally passed a resolution.

That the present policy of bringing in excessive numbers of immigrants is not to the benefit of the Dominion---They are not being assimilated---with a consequent lowering of the living standard---Whereas this conference is of the opinion there is a definite lack of information---be it resolved that the Federal government appoint a national commission of inquiry that shall study the problem of immigration and assimilation from every possible angle."(3)

(1) Ibid., Letter of G.F. Edwards to Peter A. Lindsay, Rocanville, Sask., March 19, 1928.

(2) Ibid., Another section of the same letter.

(3) Saskatoon Daily Star, August 15, 1928.

The convention gave voice to the perplexed attitude of Saskatchewan citizens and begged for an honest reassessment of Canadian philosophies and policies.

Other groups too, were beginning to express opposition to various phases of Canada's immigration policies. Early in 1927 the newspapers of the province printed rather serious reports on the labor situation. In May there was an account of the difficulties experienced by ex-imperial service men who had emigrated to Canada in the hope of getting positions. The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix agreed on June 9, 1927, that there was too great a tendency to indiscriminate dumping of immigrants into western Canada with little or no organization for their reception and absorption. The Leader-Post described the pathetic scenes in the Regina Labor Office when it was announced that the railways needed some men for construction work in the Weyburn area. Some of the men who rushed for the jobs had been in the city for over two months, unable to obtain work. The Regina City Council, at the instance of Alderman M. J. Coldwell, passed a resolution protesting against this lack of care for the new arrivals. They felt it was the duty of the dominion and provincial governments to take charge of these men whose services were so essential in seeding and harvesting operations. At a conference of western mayors in June the problem was once more brought to the fore and a resolution was passed which protested again at the lack of planning in bringing of immigrants into western Canada. Organized labor made its protest too. Gerald Dealtry, of the Saskatoon Trades and Labor Council claimed that the existing immigration policy had seriously lowered the standard of living of the laboring man. He said that the direction of immigration policies should be removed from the realm of politics and placed in the hands of a three-man commission representing agriculturalists, labor and the government. However, at the

- S.A.O. Saskatoon.
- (1) File #108, Vol. IV, unnamed newspaper clipping dated May 22, 1927.
 - (2) Saskatoon Daily Star, June 9, 1927.
 - (3) File #108, Vol. IV, Regina Leader-Post, May 14, 1927.
 - (4) Ibid., Vol. III, April 5, 1927.
 - (5) Can. Ann. Rev., 1927-28, #.
 - (6) Saskatoon Daily Star, August 9, 1928.

U. F. C. convention he threw the support of his organization behind the combined
 (1)
 demand for a royal commission. Labor's position on the immigration question
 had not changed but it was becoming more aggressive in its opposition.

During the years 1927 and 1928 various churches became active in advocating immigration policies favoring their own particular denominations. At times charges and counter-charges were made in somewhat violent language, and, had the people of Saskatchewan been prone to follow their leaders blindly, serious divisions might have appeared. As it was these church leaders were unable to create any widespread enthusiasm or gain much active support. However, the continuous and aggressive discussions brought the immigration question to the fore in a dramatic fashion and forced people to take a position on one side or the other. In this sense these discussions were valuable and will be given consideration in the following paragraphs.

In the spring of 1927 the Salvation Army's Immigration Branch brought to public notice a quarrel with the immigration department. Since 1923 The Salvation Army had been receiving a federal grant of \$15,000 a year for the recruitment and transportation of boy immigrants and early in 1927 the Hon. Robert Forke announced that this was to be discontinued. He claimed that it was unnecessary duplication of supervisory services when the department was already employing people for that purpose.
 (2)
 Besides it was creating a precedent which would have to be repeated for the increasing number of organizations which were now entering the immigration field. Army officials accused the department of discriminating against the Salvation Army because of their policy of collecting from the youths they brought out part of the transportation fees which had been paid by the imperial and federal governments. The Army maintained that dominion

(1) Ibid., August 14, 1928.

(2) Can. Ann. Rev., 1926-27, p. 180.

(1)
 officials were not vitally interested in ~~the~~ British immigration. The minister denied the charges of discrimination and patiently explained to political opponents why the department's policy had been changed. He refused, however, to restore the grant and Army officials were forced to curtail their Canadian program.

(2)
 Contention arose on another score in 1927. In the parliamentary session of that year it was stated that the Immigration department was employing twenty-five Roman Catholic priests as immigration agents as against two Protestant ministers and Protestant groups felt that they could detect a "Catholic Menace" to Canadian Protestantism. At the Saskatchewan Baptist convention in June 1927 one delegate stated that the hinterlands of Saskatchewan and other parts of the west were being flooded with Roman Catholic immigrants. Another delegate said that the Prince Albert Ministerial Association held unanimously that a united Protestant effort should be made to impress upon the government the need to balance the bias held officially in favor of Roman Catholics. People who held this view believed that Mr. W. J. Egan Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization, who was a Roman Catholic, was the real power in the department and that the Hon. Mr. Forke was an amiable old gentleman acting as the figure-head. The General Synod of the Church of England in September, 1927, brought this charge to public notice. Led by Saskatchewan's Canon Burd, Canon Armitage and Bishop Lloyd, the convention took a very serious view of the immigration department's catholic favoritism. Canon Armitage charged that the department was actually hindering the emigration of British women, while Bishop Lloyd claimed that "The foreigners now openly boasted that it was too late to make the west British."
 (3)
 (4)

(1) Ibid., See also S. A. O., U.F.C., Sask. Sect., Immigration Vol. IV, File #108.

(2) House of Commons Debates, 1926-27, p. 1998-2005.

(3) Saskatoon Daily Star, June 17, 1927.

(4) Ibid., September 21, 1927.

government, requesting that facilities be granted the Anglican Church equal to those of other communions, and the establishment of a quota system heavily weighted in favor of British immigrants. (1) The immigration department recognized the various charges as sufficiently serious to warrant an official statement. Mr. Forke explained to reporters that there were twelve not twenty-five Roman Catholic priests employed as part-time repatriation agents from the northern New England states. He denied any discriminatory policies respecting British immigrants and claimed the medical examination facilities were going to made more readily available. (2) Canon Burd attempted to clarify the stand of the Church of England Synod on October 3, when he issued the statement that his church was protesting against the heavy influx of Europeans into western Canada and the unfair discriminatory policies of the federal department which allowed the employment of Roman Catholic priests as agents but denied similar privileges to the Church of England. (3)

The most persistent, if not always tactful critic of the federal immigration policies was Bishop Lloyd. (4) Early in 1928 this staunch Britisher thought he detected the swamping of western Canada's British stock, traditions and institutions, by a flood of Europeans. He pointed out that from January to March, 1928, the C. N. R. had brought to Winnipeg 2,095 new arrivals, only 300 of whom were British. He also quoted a Winnipeg despatch of April 13, which stated that the C. P. R. had brought into the west in three days 170 British to (5) 1,680 alien settlers. In his open letter to the newspapers entitled "British

(1) Ibid., See also Can. Ann. Rev., 1927-28, p. 188.

(2) Ibid., September 22, 1927.

(3) Ibid., October 3, 1927.

(4) Bishop Lloyd was head of the Anglican diocese of Saskatchewan with its headquarters in Prince Albert. He had been instrumental in founding a British settlement near Lloydminster many years previously and had always been actively interested in British immigration. Thus his opinions carried weight amongst Saskatchewan citizens.

(5) Can. Ann. Rev., 1927-28, p. 189.

Australia, Mongrel Canada," the Bishop posed this question "Will those Canadians who object to the heading of this letter, 'Mongrel Canada,' please ask the Premier why he gave the two railways the liberty to denationalize this country nearly three years ago?"⁽¹⁾ As the summer of 1928 went by Bishop Lloyd's articles, open letters to the newspapers and public speeches became more numerous and violent. He attempted to organize in the province an association known as The National Association of Canada and for this purpose he wrote a series of articles ridiculing the "melting pot" idea and claiming that even the United States had found theory wanting.⁽²⁾ "The dilution of our national blood began some twenty-five years ago," claimed the Bishop. By September he had organized a complete immigration plan for Canada. It envisaged a quota system. Immigration was to be limited to 100,000 a year of which 75,000 were to be British, 5,000 French, 10,000 Scandinavians and the remaining 10,000 allotted to other nationalities on a strict quota basis.⁽⁴⁾ This scheme he felt would in 23 years undo the damage already done by the railways and would stop the heavy emigration to the United States.⁽⁵⁾ The Bishop's plan was worthy of careful consideration and probably had some effect upon Saskatchewan public opinion. But as the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix expressed it:

The Bishop has very nearly sacrificed his claim to respect as a disputant by the use of violently contemptuous epithets. When a man refers to certain of his fellow citizens as "dirty, ignorant, garlic smelling foreigners" he must not be surprised if some resentment is felt and expressed.⁽⁶⁾

Bitter replies and indignant denials which quickly followed the Bishop's charges came from private individuals writing open letters to the newspapers and from such organizations as the German Canadian Catholic Association and the Ukrainian⁽⁷⁾

- (1) Saskatoon Daily Star, April 28, 1928.
- (2) Ibid., August 29, 1928.
- (3) Ibid., August 22, 1928.
- (4) Can. Ann. Rev., 1928-29, p. 163.
- (5) Saskatoon Daily Star, December 28, 1928.
- (6) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, September 14, 1928.
- (7) Ibid., October 5, 1928.

(1)

Institute. The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix summarized the incident in these words:

The Bishop has toned down remarkably since he began his crusade---we are glad to applaud the relatively calm manner in which he states his findings--we are inclined to agree that his estimate of 100,000 immigrants a year is much closer to the actual number that Canada can absorb than Colonel McRae's 400,000.---His suggestion of 75,000 Britishers a year is probably quite practical --- However, his list of preferred countries should have included Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland---and in order to maintain friendly international relations with Central European powers better to control the flow of immigrants by order-in-council.(2)

That this problem of the relationship between the number of British immigrants and the number of continental Europeans was troubling more than the Canadian Legion and the Church of England ~~Gilders~~ can be seen in the actions of other organizations and the statements of prominent speakers. The Saskatoon Ministerial Association, a Protestant group, passed a resolution stating that they "feared that the principle of the separation of the church and state ⁽³⁾ was being threatened by the conduct of the department of immigration." Even before this, the Grand Black Chapter of Saskatchewan of the "Black Knights of Ireland" passed a resolution:

That we view with alarm the activities of the large number of Roman Catholic organizations in establishing immigrants in this country--we recommend that our members give loyal support to any movement likely to develop British-Protestant immigration."(4)

The Loyal Orange Lodge of Eston, with more than three hundred members, petitioned the department of immigration to promote immigration from the British Isles and northern Europe and urged that immigration from central Europe be more restricted. ⁽⁵⁾ The Women's British Immigration League charged that the immigration department's regulation of the assisted passage scheme actually hindered British emigration, because of the troublesome forms and detailed questionnaires which

(1) Ibid., December 29, 1928.

(2) Ibid., December 28, 1928.

(3) Saskatoon Daily Star, January 17, 1928.

(4) Ibid., March 2, 1927.

(5) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 26, 1928.

(1)
 accompanied the scheme. The I. O. D. E. agreed with the charges of the Women's British Immigration League and urged that the dominion government adopt
 (2)
 a much more aggressive policy with respect to obtaining British immigrants. In 1928 the Homemakers' Clubs, always reluctant to become involved in political questions, heard a report from their standing committee on immigration which attempted to show that British immigrants remained longer in Canada than settlers from other countries. The committee advocated a proper ratio between British settlers and the foreign-born, especially those from non-preferred
 (3)
 countries.

It would be fitting to conclude this chapter on the indefinite note which seemed to stress the need for more British immigrants but was unable to make definite and clear-cut proposals. This muddled thinking was typical of the attitude of Saskatchewan citizens during the years 1927 and 1928. The Canadian Legion and the U. F. C. took the most serious view of the situation, and expressed it in their demand for impartial examination of the problem by a Royal Commission. The provincial government leaders were definitely out of tune with this trend in popular thinking and were ever harking back to their expansionist programs of the three previous years. But the protestant churches, led by the determined Bishop Lloyd, forced a hearing of the case against foreign immigration. No political leader nor professional man was able to come forward with a clear-cut analysis of the whole situation or with a straight-forward policy behind which Saskatchewan citizens could unite. The railways alone were able to organize many of the residents of Saskatchewan into voluntary groups capable and willing to extend the helping hand to the newcomer. But even these groups

(1) Can. Ann. Rev., 1927-28, p. 189.

(2) Saskatoon Daily Star, June 11, 1927.

(3) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 21, 1928.

showing signs of dissent and serious questioning of the official policies. The next two years were to see the rejection of many of the old theories and the establishment of new theories respecting this important Canadian problem.

DISILLUSIONMENT 1929-30

The years 1929 and 1930 witnessed a complete reversal of Canadian immigration theories and policies. The dominion government, step by step, tore down the elaborate machinery they had established to bring immigrants into the country. By the end of 1930 the demolition process was complete. Provincial politicians, in the face of a serious crop failure in large sections of Saskatchewan, quickly forgot their expansionist dreams. The people of the province, working through their organized societies, demanded a re-orientation of Canadian immigration philosophies and policies. Eventually the provincial authorities established a Royal Commission within the province which crystallized the new ideas into a definite program. But ~~the~~^a second crop failure occurred in 1930 and this situation, serious in itself, was aggravated by ~~the~~ falling wheat prices. By the fall of 1930 there were few groups in the province willing to advocate the resumption of active immigration policies under the existing economic crisis; others had united in a demand for the cessation of all immigration schemes. The experiences of the preceding ten years had taught Saskatchewan residents the error of many of their opinions of the early 20's and thereafter an immigration scheme, to have any wide-spread appeal, would have to be presented upon a different basis. The people of the province had learned that an influx of immigrants did not automatically mean that the province was about to prosper and expand.

By the spring of 1929 the officials of the Department of Immigration recognized that public opinion had changed considerably with respect to their particular sphere of activity. It was perfectly clear that the Canadian public definitely demanded more British immigrants and a decided reduction in the number of continental Europeans. Early in January, 1929 the deputy minister estimated and was pleased to announce that arrangements had been made for the training of

six thousand British subjects in the British Isles, who would eventually be placed in farm employment in Canada. At the same time he added the railways' quota for farm laborers from non-preferred countries had been reduced to 30% of the 1928 total. This restriction did not apply in any way to the movement of female domestics, agricultural families with capital, or wives and children coming to settle on the land. (1) In July, representatives from the prairies made it known that no harvesters would be required this year to handle the western crops. In view of these conditions, the Hon. Mr. Forke was satisfied with his earlier decision to limit central European farm laborers, and announced that the federal policies would be aimed at curtailing immigration to Canada and in particular to western Canada. (2) The minister planned to continue the British immigration schemes, as they were, for another year, but he felt that the movement of single men from central Europe should be reduced by another 25%. (3) The British farm training scheme was not completely satisfactory and would have to be improved both in the training procedures and the selection of young men. It had merely brought 3500 newcomers to Canada in 1929 but the plan for 1930 called for the placement of only 3000 more. (4) The general policy of closing off European sources of immigration indicated more than a reversal of economic fortunes. It indicated, as well, a changing attitude on the part of the dominion government respecting Canada's immigration needs.

The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix noted this fundamental change in policy and published the following statement in November, 1929: "Mr. Forke knows that immigration is no longer regarded as necessarily and always a blessing. He knows

(1) Saskatoon Star Phoenix, January 10, 1929, p. 14.

(2) Ibid., August 6, 1929.

(3) Ibid., September 24, 1929.

(4) Ibid., October 1, 1929.

(1)
the country is in a sceptical mood about it." Further evidence of the curtailment was contained in the federal department's announcement that henceforth it planned to consult the province with respect to who and how many immigrants, which ~~were eligible~~, should be admitted. The reduced importance of and the lessened activity in the Immigration department was a foregone conclusion when on December 30, 1929, its minister, the Hon. Robert Forke, was elevated to the Senate, and the department was handed back to the Hon. Charles Stewart, already Minister of the Interior.

Mr. Stewart adhered to the plan of consulting the provinces regarding immigration and announced that he would call a dominion-provincial conference (2) to discuss the details as soon as the dominion election was completed. He felt that the return of crown lands to the provinces should include the assumption of responsibility in regard to immigration and colonization. Henceforth, the dominion authorities would act as a clearinghouse for the provincial settlement plans, maintaining only a medical examination staff and a deportation department. The Railway Agreement was to be allowed to expire on May 31, 1930. All assisted passage schemes were to be discontinued with the exception of the schemes (3) for boy and girl emigrants. The minister hoped to be able to persuade the provinces to carry on these activities.

The election in July, 1930 resulted in a change of government and the Hon. W. A. Gordon took over the portfolio of Immigration and Colonization. Unemployment conditions in Canada were becoming more severe and the cabinet, while it felt that the conditions were only temporary, agreed that it was necessary to put tighter restrictions on newcomers. On August 15, the minister announced the

(1) Ibid., November 21, 1929.

(2) House of Commons Debates, 1930, p. 2930.

(3) Ibid., p. 2931.

discontinuance of immigration from Europe with the exception of experienced farmers of a suitable type who were in possession of ample funds. The new minister proposed for the dominion a modified policy which hinged on the contention that there was really no need to be hasty in increasing the population of Canada by extensive immigration schemes. Canada would expand rapidly enough if she absorbed and kept her natural increase plus a trickle of newcomers selected for their fitness and directed to localities where they might be particularly useful in the economic crisis. Mr. Gordon stated that he was opposed to the opening of new Canadian areas by expensive colonization schemes but hoped to see an apparent expansion of the present population into areas now only partially inhabited. The dominion government for two years past had been moving steadily towards a somewhat similar position and in actual practice it represented both a fundamental change in policy and philosophy respecting Canada's immigration needs. For the time being at least, there was an end to speeches and writings advocating a return of the great floods of immigrants in pre-war days since that was decidedly out of line with the feelings and beliefs of the Canadian public of 1929-30.

This altered official attitude is well illustrated by the speeches in parliament of the Minister of Immigration in both the 1929 and the 1930 sessions. In 1929 the Hon. Robert Forke admitted that there was a tremendous amount of controversy regarding immigration and declared that he was unable to discover any unanimity of opinion. Labor seemed to be afraid that a much larger volume of immigration would increase unemployment. The agriculturalists were definitely not pressing very hard for an increased program. Only the railroads continued to voice the opinion that the country would, or could absorb a very much

(1) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, August 15, 1930.

(2) Ibid., November 26, 1930.

(1)
 larger volume. But here again critics tried to show that Canada was not absorbing the immigrants already brought in but rather was losing them and a large number of her own natural increase as well, to the United States. The minister's comment was, "It may be profitable to transportation and other agencies to have a large influx of immigrants who simply pass through the country, but this type of immigration is certainly not profitable nationally." (2) Then there were those enthusiastic proponents of wholesale immigration who were always making odious comparisons between the rapid growth of the United States in the 19th century and Canada's slow progress in the 20th century. But the minister silenced these criticisms by pointing out that Canada's influx in 1928 was, for a population of $9\frac{1}{2}$ million, a much greater fractional increase than had ever occurred in the United States. This influx, in his opinion, had strained Canada's absorptive powers. (3) Although he had always thought of Canadian immigration in terms of developing Canada's open prairies, statements such as those of the Canadian Legion and U. F. C. definitely indicated that the prairie farming population was on the decrease and the farming lands were almost completely occupied. Moreover the new tractors, combines and other large power machinery made it possible for one farmer to cultivate a much greater acreage without hired help. It almost appeared as if the prairies were filled to capacity. Mr. Forke felt that this tendency, though not the best thing for the country, was an established fact. (4) The only solution, as he saw it, was to begin shutting off the flow which he had labored so hard to start.

When the Hon. Charles Stewart took over the department he moved ruthlessly to relieve the dominion government of its obligations. He found the de-

(1) House of Commons Debates, 1929, p. 984.

(2) Ibid., p. 986.

(3) Ibid., p. 987.

(4) Ibid., p. 987.

partment governed by a philosophy which believed its function was to pour people into Canada, particularly into western Canada, without regard to the question of absorption. "Long ago," he stated, "we realized that this was not possible." (1) The dominion government must end the annoying Railway Agreement, end all assisted immigration schemes and stop lending encouragement to people to come to Canada. (2) The provinces must take over the guidance of the future immigration program and thus save the dominion government the irksome task of formulating a new all-Canadian immigration policy.

In the provincial field the years 1929 and 1930 witnessed a reversal of previously-held ideas on the subject of immigration. They also announced the first two very serious crop failures since 1922, ~~and~~ Premier J. G. Gardiner, in his pre-election speeches in 1929 continued to forecast a great mineral and industrial development in the province. (3) The provincial Conservatives, on the other hand, claimed on May 16, that there were 2,000 unemployed in the Saskatoon district and also that only the past week the railways had brought in 300 additional continental Europeans. (4) Rather illogically the Conservative leader Dr. J.T.M. Anderson the next day promised that if his party was elected on the 6th of June they would appoint an agent-general to promote British immigration to Saskatchewan. (5) He charged the Liberal party as a whole with being opposed to British immigration and wrapped his own group in the Empire loyalty flag. On June 6th the Conservatives were returned to power but crop conditions were so poor that it was not practicable to implement the election promise of an agent-general.

In November the new government received its first taste of the complicated nature of immigration problems. Bishop Toews, head of the Mennonite

(1) Ibid., p. 2932.

(2) Ibid., 1930, p. 765.

(3) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 22, 1929.

(4) Ibid., May 16, 1929.

(5) Ibid., May 17, 1929.

church in Canada had approached the Prime Minister, the Hon. Mr. King regarding a proposed movement of one thousand Mennonite families from Russia via Germany to Canada. The appeal was made on humanitarian grounds and it was claimed that if Canada did not fall in line Russia would deport the 1000 families to Siberia and inevitable starvation. Mr. King said that it was a matter for the Hon. Mr. Forke and his department. Mr. Forke inquired of Premier Anderson as to the desirability of such a movement and received a qualified refusal. (1) Dr. Anderson pointed out that the Saskatchewan government felt the time was most inopportune to admit "destitute immigrants" but, provided the federal government would assist in relief measures now being carried on among recent arrivals, and the Canadian Mennonites ^{would guarantee to care for the newcomers,} ~~the Saskatchewan government~~ ^{residents} would reconsider the proposals. They would, however, consider the admission of relatives of Mennonites already resident in the province, providing these ~~relatives~~ ^{residents} would guarantee to care for the newcomers. (2)

A week later Bishop Toews and representatives from both railways had a long discussion with the premier but the Saskatchewan government had by now stiffened in its attitude and would only permit the entry of relatives of Mennonite farmers who were in comfortable circumstances and who were prepared to give the required (3) guarantee. On November 15, the federal minister wired that unless word was sent to Moscow immediately the Mennonite refugees would be transported to Siberia and starvation. By this time the provincial government had definitely made up its mind that it would accept no one except relatives of those already in the province. Widespread discussion of the problem followed and Dr. Anderson complained bitterly of the federal attempt to impose on Saskatchewan by portraying the province as one without humane feelings. He defended the government's stand by

(1) Can. Ann. Rev. 1929-30, pp. 181-2.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., p. 183.

adding that existing economic conditions in the province did not justify the introduction of large numbers of poverty-stricken refugees. ^W Those organizations which had done most to promote immigration naturally found it difficult to adjust themselves to the new turn of events. When the dominion government put its 30% restriction on continental Europeans, the two railway presidents combined in a clever reply. They pointed out that the Railway Agreement brought in less than one-quarter of Canada's immigrants, that if immigration was temporarily shut down now, it meant the disbanding of the organizations and offices that had been so laboriously created; that it could very easily result in a serious labor shortage the following summer; and that the countries affected would get a very bad impression from Canada's sudden reversal of policy. ⁽¹⁾ But the railway presidents evaded or perhaps missed the vital fact that these European immigrants were transients, who only stopped in the country as farm laborers for a comparatively short time and then slipped across the border or returned to their homeland.

The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix claimed that the ratio among newcomers to Saskatchewan had been 2:1 in favor of the non-British immigrants for the past twenty years ⁽²⁾ and yet the racial makeup of Saskatchewan remained practically the same. The railways moved closer to popular opinion when they rejuvenated their British immigration facilities. In March the railways had come to an agreement with the overseas settlement officials whereby 2200 young single men would be conveyed to Canada. ⁽³⁾ In the fall of 1929 the C. P. R. announced the formation of a new British Family Reunion Association. It was backed by the railroad, the Hudson's Bay Company and influential Canadians. The association planned to assist residents in Canada who wished to bring out their relatives by lending

(1) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, January 25, 1929, p. 4.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., March 27, 1929, p. 1. At least 72% of this number must be unemployed. As many as possible were to be drawn from mining areas.

(1)
 them the passage money. The responsibility for finding employment for the newcomers was to rest on the resident Canadian. This was the last large scale project sponsored by the railways prior to 1939 and designed to foster immigration into Canada. Henceforth the efforts of the railways were spent in settlement schemes and justification of their past policies.

The other organized groups supporting aggressive immigration policies were women's organizations and these were working in limited fields. The Women's British Immigration League continued to function throughout 1929 and 1930. Actually it had expanded its activities so that it gained the right to bring out girls in large groups (bulk nomination system). It obtained these girls from (2) either the British Isles or the Scandinavian countries. The I. O. D. E. chapters were taking an increased interest in immigration but were attracted particularly (3) to the problem of helping to make good Canadian citizens of the new arrivals. At the convention of the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada Mrs. F. B. Fadden reported that womens' groups in western Canada believed the English and Scotch settlers to be the best immigrants for Canada. They claimed they were definitely opposed to the formation of foreign immigrant colonies in that they hindered the (4) development of Canadian citizens.

Saskatchewan residents were reasonably well satisfied though with the boys' immigration scheme. The provincial government had entered into the plan in the fall of 1928 and carried it through until April, 1932. For the first two years ~~an amount of~~ ^{the} boys were distributed from the University of Saskatchewan and were supervised and cared for by Mr. J. G. Rayner, Director of extension work for the University. In 1930 the provincial government leased a farm three

(1) Ibid., October 29, 1929.

(2) Ibid., January 31, 1930, p. 11.

(3) Ibid., April 11, 1929.

(4) Ibid., June 18, 1929.

(1)
miles north of Regina and used this as the "distribution point." In four years
the government brought out 173 boys but of this number 58 were either returned,
(2)
transferred to another province or disappeared. Mr. Rayner, before the Sask-
atchewan Royal Commission on Immigration stated that at least 80% of the boys
brought out in 1929 had made good. When asked for suggestions, Mr. Rayner com-
mented on the relatively poor selection made in England. He felt that people
with little understanding of Saskatchewan conditions were making the choices
(3)
and recommended that the boys be obtained right after finishing school. Some-
what similar results and observations were obtained from the Anglican boys'
hostel at Melfort. In its five years of operation, 1927-32, 220 boys and 100
men passed through its portals. Of the boys 110 were classified as making good
(4)
progress, 86 fair, and the remainder very unsatisfactory. Mr. P. Booth, the
supervisor in charge of the Melfort hostel, also commented on the need for ob-
(5)
taining the boy immigrants as soon after graduation from school as possible.

Of the organizations most vigorously opposed to federal immigration
policies the Canadian Legion ~~added together with~~ ^{and} the farmers' organizations
continued to be the most active. As economic conditions worsened, the farmers
moved to the front and took over the leadership of the anti-immigration move-
ment. In February, 1929, the Saskatchewan Command of the Canadian Legion again
endorsed the resolution requesting the appointment of a royal commission by
(6)
the federal government. It also proposed a definite quota system, a better over-
all co-ordinated aid and welcome agency and a minimum age limit of 16 for Bri-

- (1) Annual Report of the Department of Railways, Labor and Industries, (Regina,
1929-1930) p. 43.
(2) Ibid., April 1932, p. 36.
(3) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, February 1, 1930, p. 3.
(4) Journal of Proceedings, June 1931, p. 95.
(5) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, February 17, 1930, p. 7.
(6) Ibid., February 8, 1929, p. 16.

tish children. The U. F. C. in the same month sent a personal letter to various members of the House of Commons requesting support for a royal commission.

The vast majority of members (187) ignored the request and sent no reply of any nature. Of those who did reply, which was 58, only 13 expressed themselves in favor of the idea. ⁽¹⁾ Undaunted by this setback the U. F. C. board of directors promptly reiterated their demand for a commission, claiming that the present system of immigration was by no means satisfactory and proposing that fewer and more carefully selected immigrants be brought into the country. ⁽²⁾ The directors then issued invitations for another meeting of all Saskatchewan bodies interested in immigration.

This meeting took place in Saskatoon in November, 1929, and included the Legion, the Saskatoon Trades and Labor Council, the Rural Municipalities Association, the Netherlands Colonization Bureau, the Womens' British Immigration League, representatives from the churches as well as the U. F. C. members. The conference expressed its regret that the federal government had not seen fit to establish a royal commission. Existing agricultural and industrial conditions seriously condemned the present immigration policies which were only tending to reduce the standards of living of people already resident in the ~~productive~~ province. Since Ottawa ignored their demands the conference turned to the provincial field and demanded that the Saskatchewan government carry out its own local investigation. ⁽³⁾ The provincial authorities could hardly ignore such a forceful demand from this large cross section of Saskatchewan opinion and almost immediately announced that it would appoint a royal commission.

Newspaper editors, in close touch with Saskatchewan public opinion,

(1) Sask. Archives, coll. of U.F.C., Sask. sect., File #109, Immigration, replies of M.P.'s concerning proposed for immigration commission.

(2) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 5, 1929.

(3) File #108, Vol. 1, S. A. O., Resolution passed at conference November 4, 1929.

welcomed the idea. The editor of the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix felt that the commission should be a non-political affair and that it should attempt to determine whether there were any great open spaces left for colonization as some claimed or whether the best land was all occupied as others maintained. It should determine the effect upon the province's population of the new mechanized farming techniques: It should investigate the possibilities for industrial development in the province, especially in northern Saskatchewan: It should undertake a scientific examination of the racial question. (1) On December 6th the government announced that Dr. W. W. Swanson, Economics Professor at the University of Saskatchewan, would head the commission. The other members would be Mr. Thomas Johnson of Govan, who was prominent in the U. F. C., Mr. Percy Shelton of Regina, representing the Canadian Legion, Mr. Garnet Neff of Grenfell and Mr. R. R. Reusch of Yorkton, representing the new immigrant stock. Headed by a professional man who had always been interested in Canadian immigration and including representatives of groups which had been critical of and favorably disposed towards past policies, the commission appeared to be wisely chosen.

Other groups besides the Legion and the farmers' organizations were alarmed over the immigration problem. Labor circles and particularly those connected with the unskilled labor situation were among the first to become greatly upset over existing conditions. In May, 1929, six hundred and fifty men met in the Labor Temple in Saskatoon and passed a resolution condemning the federal government for the influx of immigrants. An odd but nevertheless revealing factor in this situation was that 75% of these men had arrived very recently from the Central part of Europe. Many of them explained that they had been lured to Canada on false promises and they did not want to see their

(1) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, November 27, 1929.

(1)
 fellow countrymen subjected to the same experience. The Hon. J. A. Merkley, provincial Labor Minister, complained that the railway companies continued to dump immigrants into the cities of Saskatchewan and thus prevented any improvement in the labor situation. The local railways' officials indignantly denied the charge, claiming that all new arrivals had been offered positions though some had declined to work. (2)
 A special committee of representatives of the urban municipalities met in June to discuss these conditions and demanded that all immigration into Canada be stopped and that those people who signed nomination blanks or affidavits be compelled to live up to the obligations which they had undertaken. (3)
 The problem of unemployment and relief was becoming a very serious one and municipal officials were now prepared to join with labor circles in a demand for the complete cessation of immigration.

Individual speakers and writers reflected the growing determination to bar certain types of immigrants from Saskatchewan. Dr. W. A. Carrothers, in addressing the Young Men's Liberal Association felt that under existing conditions restrictions should be imposed on immigration from continental Europe. So far as British immigration was concerned he felt that no large influx could be expected at the moment and he warned that the practice of giving too much assistance to British immigrants tended to attract only the type of person who planned to lean continually on the government. (4)
 J. S. Woodward, editor of the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, told the members of the Rotary club that the farming lands available for cultivation were not nearly so extensive as the people in Saskatchewan had thought even four years ago. (5)
 The

- (1) Ibid., May 3, 1929.
- (2) Ibid., April 26, 1930, p. 3.
- (3) Ibid., June 27, 1930.
- (4) Ibid., February 12, 1930, p. 7.
- (5) Ibid., April 16, 1929.

Rev. W. G. Brown, a Presbyterian minister from Saskatoon, viewed the unemployment situation seriously. He called for an immediate stoppage of all immigration. The Saskatoon group of the Canadian League, a select group composed of professors, lawyers, government officials and editors of the Star-Phoenix, after serious consideration, called for a cessation of all assisted-passage immigration schemes and, in fact, of all large movements en masse. They observed that henceforth agricultural experience should not be made a necessary qualification for prospective immigrants. No matter in which direction one looked the public demand for a decrease in immigration was assuming large proportions.

Saskatchewan opinion can be best seen in the evidence that was placed before the royal commission between January and June, 1930. The commission held ~~stationary~~ sittings in all important centres in the province, where it received briefs from interested local organizations and heard the opinions of prominent citizens. In opening the first formal session of the commission in Saskatoon Dr. W. W. Swanson claimed that its first duty was to the Canadian people who had the first claim on economic opportunities in the country. He included within the scope of the inquiry a study of what might be done to give Saskatchewan-born residents a start on the land. Other questions he proposed to discuss included the effect of methods of ~~stating~~ settlement on assimilation, ways in which the natural resources could be best used to benefit the people of the province, means whereby the loss of population to other countries could be prevented, and the possibilities of interesting British or other capital in opening up new industries in Saskatchewan.

The railways' representatives met the commission in Winnipeg in May, 1930 to give evidence and present their views. Dr. W. J. Black of the C. N. R. felt that Saskatchewan had the facilities for a much larger population than it

then possessed. However in ~~the~~ view of the current depressing conditions he maintained that only families should be encouraged to come to Canada. He urged an immediate soil survey of all land so that new settlers would have a better opportunity to succeed. He was very decided in his belief that British settlers with capital could not be induced to come to Canada and probably would not come unless (1) there was a pronounced industrial expansion. The C. P. R. official defended the much maligned Railway Agreement. He claimed that it was essential for Canadian prosperity to have some arrangement of that nature to promote the immigration and settlement of newcomers. He denied that the railways made large profits^{out} of transporting immigrants. The real benefits to the railways came when the immigrants (2) became producing citizens and provided the railways with increased traffic.

Bishop David Toews represented the Mennonite Colonization Board before the commission. He stated that they had brought 7,828 settlers to Saskatchewan since 1924. Of these only 8% had failed to make good on the land purchased for (3) them through the C. C. A. A number of Mennonite witnesses gave evidence at Wymark. The general consensus of Mennonite opinion in that district was absolutely opposed to further ~~em~~igration from Russia or elsewhere. Any further emigration from Russia (4) should be directed to other parts of the province or other provinces.

The Lutheran Immigration Association was represented by Professor H. W. Harms of the Lutheran College. He said that the association had brought into Canada 10, 573 German speaking immigrants since 1923. At least 70% of these immigrants were still in the country. More than 85% of them had come from German areas outside the boundaries of Germany itself. He insisted that it was the height

(1) Ibid., May 5, 1930, p. 7.

(2) Ibid., May 6, 1930, p. 5.

(3) Ibid., April 30, 1930, p. 7.

(4) Ibid., March 10, 1930, p. 7.

of folly to turn immigrants loose in a new country without any guidance. Organizations such as the Lutheran Immigration Association, which guaranteed employment were performing a necessary public service.⁽¹⁾

Christian Smith representing the Netherlands Colonization Bureau (~~and~~
~~the Immigration Bureau in some reports~~) pointed out that there were no difficulties in regard to the assimilation of Dutch immigrants. His organization was not in favor of wholesale immigration. They preferred quality rather than quantity and asked only for dairy farmers. Mr. Smith claimed that 90% of the Dutch immigrants remained in the country.⁽²⁾
⁽³⁾ Under questioning he agreed that British settlers had as much chance for success in Saskatchewan as any newcomers from continental Europe.

The various branches of the Legion presented a fairly uniform picture. The Wilkie branch declared that there should be a restrictive preference for British settlers with a rigidly enforced ~~quantity~~ quota law for central Europeans. They claimed that our provincial courts had shown that the central Europeans were not a preferred class of continentals.⁽⁴⁾
⁽⁵⁾ The Melfort Legion wanted to go even farther and shut off for three years all immigration from outside the British Empire. At Nipawin a witness reported that newcomers had driven down the wages in the lumber camps.⁽⁶⁾ At Hudson Bay Junction the Legion wanted severe restrictions on all but British immigration and stricter literacy tests for those already in the country applying for naturalization. All assisted passages were to be eliminated.⁽⁷⁾ The Foam Lake branch expressed strong objections to any assist-

(1) Ibid., January 31, 1930, p. 3.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., January 30, 1930, p. 3.

(4) Ibid., April 23, 1930, p. 3.

(5) Ibid., February 17, 1930, p. 7.

(6) Ibid., February 19, 1930, p. 7.

(7) Ibid., February 24, 1930, p. 7.

ted-passage scheme and also gave evidence regarding the difficulty of assimilating central and southern Europeans.⁽¹⁾

The United Farmers' locals expressed sentiments very similar to those expressed by their central office. At Rosetown the commission received a brief from a number of locals, which demanded the cessation of all immigration. Any further immigration would be highly dangerous to the welfare of present Canadian citizens.⁽²⁾ The Regina branch of the U. F. C. claimed that Canada needed a new immigration policy. Agriculturalists were no longer needed due to the mechanization of present farming practises.⁽³⁾ The central directorate summed up the farmers' views on June 2, when they recommended that all agricultural immigration schemes cease until provision should be made for the native population, that all solicited and assisted immigration schemes should be eliminated permanently, that the province should be given more control of immigration affairs but not complete responsibility, and that Canadian boys should be shown the same consideration as British or foreign immigrants.⁽⁴⁾

Various individuals discussed other aspects of the immigration problem. Mr. G. H. Cameron, the editor of the Watson Witness, claimed that criminal statistics should be re-studied with a view to improving the class of Canadian immigrants.⁽⁵⁾ The Mayor of Swift Current claimed that even in this small town, foreign immigrants had lowered the wages and living standards. He added that new farm machinery was aggravating the situation and felt that a complete survey of land suitable for future settlement should be made immediately.⁽⁶⁾ Mr. A. A. Stewart, of the North Battleford Board of Trade, believed that the province's saturation point with respect

(1) Ibid., June 2, 1930, p. 7.

(2) Ibid., February 25, 1930.

(3) Ibid., March 29, 1930.

(4) Ibid., June 2, 1930, p. 3.

(5) Ibid., February 18, 1930, p. 7.

(6) Ibid., March 1, 1930, p. 14.

(1)
to agriculturalists had been reached. Professor Manley Champlin of the University of Saskatchewan, agreed with this opinion when he claimed that the wheat acreage in western Canada had practically reached its limit. (2) Officials of the Soldier Settlement Board, when they gave evidence, were for the most part heartily in favor of the 3,000 British Family Scheme. Mr. L. H. Ward, district supervisor of the S. S. B. at Melfort, stated he could not understand how a scheme described (3) as 90% successful in 1928 could be completely abandoned in 1929.

Apparently, as long as the "hard times" continued, practically everyone in the province was opposed to further unrestricted immigration. Even the railways and their agents felt the pressure of circumstances and were silenced. The people of Saskatchewan had reached the point where they realized that agricultural expansion for them was a phenomenon of the past. Indeed there were many who prophesied that the farming population would decrease permanently under the impact of the new power machines and large-scale farming methods. Many people hoped for industrial expansion within the province, and for mineral development, but no one was certain if or when this might occur. Politicians had been speaking of it for the preceding ten years but very little real progress had been made. For the time being and as long as the depressed conditions continued the people of Saskatchewan were definitely opposed to large scale immigration and questioned the wisdom even of restricted immigration. As far as the future was concerned they realized that the picture was far from bright. Agricultural expansion was of the past and any other possibility in 1930 looked rather remote. And so Saskatchewan residents awaited the Commission's report, hoping that they could find some scientific basis for a readjustment of policies relating to immigration and land settlement.

(1) Ibid., April 23, 1930.

(2) Ibid., June 4, 1930.

(3) Ibid., February 17, 1930, p. 7.

A SURVEY OF SASKATCHEWAN OPINION

During the period 1920 to 1939 two notable efforts were made to study the immigration question as it related to Saskatchewan. Both groups, before arriving at any definite conclusions, made a rather widespread survey of provincial public opinion. Early in 1927, the Saskatchewan command of the Canadian Legion established a committee of three to inquire into this problem. This committee was instructed to submit their findings to the dominion command in 1928. They issued a rather detailed report in March, 1928, wherein they discussed the nature and effects of recent immigration policies, indicated where they had obtained their information, and finally devoted their final section to the making of several pointed conclusions followed by definite recommendations. In October, 1929, this committee issued^a supplementary report which reiterated their previous stand and laid greater stress on the problem of assimilation. The second major effort was made by the provincial government in November, 1929, when they established their own Royal Commission. This commission attempted a complete survey of the immigration question from a scientific and impartial point of view. Its chances of achieving this end were greater, in contrast to the Legion committee, for it was not sponsored by an organization with pre-conceived ideas. The Legion committee's opinions and conclusions were always colored by their favoritism for British settlers.

The Royal Commission in their report gave first their recommendations and their reasons for these suggestions. This was followed by twelve particular appendices. Each appendix dealt with some particular phase of the immigration problem and was derived by the commission from expert opinion on that precise problem. For example the first appendix gave a quick historical resume' of the growth of the province, then the scientific laws governing the growth of nations, followed by a rather complete survey of the present population in the province.

These studies were enlarged by an assessment of the agricultural possibilities in the province, followed by an estimate of the actual amount of land still available for settlement. Then came a thorough discussion of the possibilities of expansion in the field of natural resources and finally a lengthy examination of the assimilation problem. Both the Legion and the Royal Commission reports were of considerable value in assessing provincial opinion. Both made recommendations worthy of careful consideration respecting any future plans for immigrants coming into the province. Both expressed regret that the scope of their activity had, of necessity, to be limited to the provincial field, with the result that their recommendations, while applying to Saskatchewan, might not be applicable to the whole dominion.

The Legion committee drew most of the information for its report of 1928 from replies received from local branches of the Legion. They sent out a questionnaire, composed of thirteen questions requiring fairly detailed answers, to which fifty-three percent of the Legion's branches replied. In these replies the province as a whole was well represented with the exception of the south-east corner. The local branches seemed to feel that the financial success of the present residents of the province would be the best means of attracting new-comers to Saskatchewan. More than this they felt that there was no justification for an indiscriminate admission of aliens who in the past had not been disposed to remain in the agricultural field. The committee noted the widespread local demand for a quota law and they felt there was much to justify such legislation. However, they pointed out that there were many practical political objections, and so they would not definitely recommend this step. The committee did agree with the locals' demand for more attention to the colonization aspects of the immigration program. They concluded:

- (1) Report of Committee On Immigration, Canadian Legion, B.E.S.L., March 28, 1928, p. 12. File #108, Vol.1, S.A.O. Saskatoon, Sask.
- (2) Ibid., p. 13.

The weight of expert evidence indicated, whether we consider the native son or an immigrant, the average man must be encouraged at some expense to the country to buy land and settle on it.(1)

The Legion in its report clearly indicated its preference for British immigrants. They pointed out that special credit must go to the Soldier Settlement Board, the Three Thousand and the One Thousand Family schemes and to church and colonization organizations. These, in their opinion, were the only groups who had produced permanent settlements in the province, and who, it might be noted, were particularly interested in British settlers. By checking homestead entries for the nationality of those filing on new farms, the committee concluded that the "European peasants and clerks" were not being induced to settle on our western lands,^{as} so many eastern editors and writers would like to maintain. Instead they suggested this class was tending to "wander off to swell the industrial market and prejudicially affect the unskilled labor ~~market~~ market." This, they maintained, was why labor organizations had consistently opposed all immigration programs. Probably the most startling section in their report concerned the amount of available land for newcomers. By totalling the number of open homesteads, ~~with a number of open homesteads~~ with the number of vacant farms for sale they concluded that there were only some 43,793 unoccupied half-section farms in the province. With this in mind their conclusion was that it would be only sensible and fair to retain these lands for the new generation of Canadians and any British subjects who might desire to come to the province.

From the answers to their questionnaire and their own studies the Legion committee compiled its report and presented three recommendations to the

(1) Ibid., p. 14.

(2) Ibid., p. 3.

(3) Ibid., p. 4.

(4) Ibid., p. 6.

(5) Ibid., p. 8.

Dominion command. Briefly these were that the federal government should immediately appoint a national commission of inquiry; secondly that the Railway Agreement should immediately be annulled and any renewal should be subjected to a severe Quota restriction, and third, that the province of Saskatchewan should organize a large number of joint committees who would extend a more generous welcome to all English settlers.⁽¹⁾

A supplementary report was issued in October, 1929, by the same committee and it reaffirmed the three recommendations made the previous year. In addition it went on to outline the observations made by Legion members during the past decade. First it noted that English-speaking immigration was the most profitable to Canada. Most of the pioneer settlement in the province was to be credited to Canadian, American and British newcomers, rather than to alien peoples. The free and unassisted entry of aliens was ~~(upon the immigrants but)~~ unprofitable to Canada ^{and} ~~as~~ to themselves. There was an increasing tendency for these people to form a transient group rather than any permanent settlement within Canadian borders. Perhaps the marked and accelerated decline in the number of owner-operated farms in the province was ^a contributory factor to this condition. Certainly any future immigration scheme would have to be paid for from the provincial treasury in the form of credit, supervision and other outright assistance.⁽²⁾ The committee's submission in contrast to the confused reasoning in the 1928 report, was one with clear and definite conclusions logically developed. However, it was ~~sufficiently~~ significant that the fundamental recommendations remained the same.

The province's Royal Commission presented a detailed report on pro-

(1) Ibid., p. 15.

(2) Supplementary Report to Immigration Report, March 1929, Canadian Legion, B.E.S.L., October, 1929, File #108, S.A.O.

vincial immigration topics. Since many of these have been dealt with elsewhere, in detail, we will confine ourselves to their main conclusions and observations, in order to avoid unnecessary duplication. In Appendix 11 of the report, the commission attempted to answer the question of how many residents Saskatchewan could hope to sustain. They worked on the assumption that scientific curves could be developed for any community from which one might prophesy the probable future population of that district. These curves were based on the assumption that a "modern community tends to increase until its density of population reaches a certain relation to the various natural resources." Their curves for Saskatchewan brought them to the conclusion that the province's population had reached the tapering off stage. However by comparing the density of population in North Dakota, South Dakota and Saskatchewan they found that the Canadian province could still look forward to a further expansion. With this fact in mind the Commission investigated the two most obvious fields for development. Firstly they dealt with the agricultural and land expansion and came to the conclusion that there were only some 38,000 one-half section farms still available for settlement. Thus they confirmed the figures produced by the Legion committee and proved the startling fact that the reserves of arable land in the province were much smaller than had been assumed by many. Secondly, they considered the possibility that Saskatchewan's population curve might be given an upward trend if some of its many other natural resources were developed. They reported on the prospects for an expansion in the coal, water power, forest, oil and gas, metallic and non-metallic mineral resources. The commission's conclusion was that the province could not look forward to

(1) Report, 1930.

(2) Ibid., p. 62.

(3) Ibid., p. 61, figures were 648.3 acres per head, ~~for~~ North Dakota and South Dakota had 647.8 acres in 1920 while Sask. had 1003.1 acres per head of population.

(4) Ibid., p. 155.

any immediate industrialization on a large scale. However it was possible that a considerable expansion might occur in the non-metallic field. They proposed that the provincial government should carefully and intelligently develop these resources in an attempt to produce a well-rounded economic life in the province. (1) Thus the commission was not optimistic regarding Saskatchewan's ability to support a much larger population. While they did not state that it could not expand they ~~did not say that it could, but remarked that if it did, it~~ ^{state that this expansion} would be of a ^{very} limited nature.

In appendix 1 the Commission submitted a detailed account of the many immigration schemes used in the past. They were rather inclined to condemn many of these for their haphazard nature, and they assumed that henceforth the provincial government would have the primary control over the flow and settlement of immigrants. They strongly urged that the minister of Agriculture and the minister of Labor should take the major responsibility for the after-care of the immigrants. Under the guidance of these two departments a provincial council should be created, (2) which would approve all future land sales and agreements. By this means the commission hoped that the exploitation of incoming immigrants would be prevented. Only too often in the past population was extended unto sub-marginal lands, or speculators sold lands for more than they were worth with the resulting waste of human and material resources. To insure against this the provincial council should undertake immediately a complete soil and economic survey to forestall the settlement of sub-marginal lands. (3) The council should also undertake the task of clearing forested lands before sending settlers to virginal territory. If the settler did take up a poor quality of land then they strongly recommended that the provin-

(1) Ibid., p. 138-139.

(2) Ibid., p. 21.

(3) Ibid., p. 15.

cial government should give longer leases or move the settler to a more suitable area. The commission felt the immigration agencies, land and mortgage companies and the railways might have been too strict in the past in their observance of financial commitments. (1) This provincial council or some similar branch of the government should also take on the task of licensing all societies before allowing them to bring settlers. In this fashion the government would always have control of the situation to see that the newcomer was fairly treated. (2) The commission thus presented to the provincial government a concrete colonization program to replace the haphazard pouring of immigrants into the country.

The Royal Commission also considered the assimilation problem. They presented tables which proved that south-eastern and central European immigrants were the most illiterate group. (3) Other tables which showed that these groups were peoples tending least to intermarry with other nationalities and thus become truly assimilated into the Canadian pattern. The commission felt that Saskatchewan's population with over 30% of non-British origin, indicated a need for retarding the flow of non-English speaking people. (4) Any rapid increase of these would mean too great a stress on our educational system and those other services^{by} which newcomers were assimilated. ~~with~~. Henceforth the dominion government should compel the naturalization of immigrants after a seven year period of residence and should demand an oath from all new arrivals, requiring obedience to the laws of Canada. (5) Within the province the government should continue its highly successful assimilation campaign in the schools. They recommended that all public bodies, religious groups and service clubs co-operate in co-ordinated efforts with this end in view. (6)

(1) Ibid., p. 16.

(2) Ibid., p. 21.

(3) Ibid., p. 196-197.

(4) Ibid., p. 24.

(5) Ibid., p. 16.

(6) Ibid., p. 24.

Thus the Royal Commission confirmed many of the worst pronouncements of individuals respecting the assimilation question. They were not content however to merely state the problem but went on to recommend positive steps by which the dangers might be overcome. They recognized the many contributions that these non-English speaking elements had made to the development of the province while at the same time they respected the public demand that these peoples become good Canadian citizens.

Finally the commission envisaged a new program for the future settlement of the province. They had endorsed the plan for primary provincial control of immigration, but this did not mean that the federal government should withdraw from the immigration field. Instead they added that it should be guided by a federal board comprised of representatives from all provinces. All colonization agencies, whether provincial or dominion, should be licensed, thus bringing them under direct governmental control. Instead of concentration on the colonization of newcomers they proposed that Saskatchewan's first consideration should be for the settlement of people already in the province. Next an attempt should be made to repatriate Canadians from the United States and then to encourage British immigration, particularly British boys. They endorsed the farmers' stand that no financial aid should be given to any incoming settlers except the two classes mentioned above.

As long as the ^{present} ~~existing~~ unemployment conditions existed it would be unwise to foster any aggressive immigration policies. These were the main principles laid down by the Royal Commission for the guidance of the provincial council and the federal representatives from Saskatchewan in the new immigration organization. Unfortunately the economic difficulties of the province during the ensuing years made it impossible for the government to advocate or implement their recommendations.

NEW IMMIGRATION POLICIES IN THE 1930's

The years 1930 to 1939, from our point of view may^{be} studied as a single unit. These years were difficult ones for Saskatchewan citizens. The struggle for their own survival was too great for them to be deeply concerned over newcomers. The dominion government, plagued with unprecedented numbers of unemployed, raised high barriers against the influx of immigrants, lest they swell the ranks of the unemployed. Nevertheless ardent immigration enthusiasts such as Brigadier-General Hornby and Sir Henry Page-Croft stirred some controversy towards the middle of the decade with their elaborate British emigration schemes. It was not until the end of the period, when the question of immigration was taken out of the realm of material politics and placed on a humanitarian basis, that Canada began again to consider and admit newcomers. Before the stream to Saskatchewan had begun to flow very rapidly, and before any large body of opposition arose, the second World War intervened and again closed Canada's immigration portals. Since the topic for this chapter extends over a relatively long period and since there is little relationship between the individual items to be discussed it would seem wise to abandon our previous scheme of presentation and deal with the material in strictly chronological order.

The advent to power of the Hon. R. B. Bennett's Conservative government in August, 1930, with the Hon. J. A. Gordon as Minister of Immigration and Colonization, brought a changed attitude in immigration policies. The severe drought conditions in Saskatchewan, coupled with a drastically lowered price for⁽¹⁾ wheat, prompted the people of the province to advocate a policy of reduced wheat production which meant in turn the raising of higher bars against continental

(1) Canada Year Book, 1931, p. 221.- Average price is 43 cents per bushel.

European immigrants. Less than a week after the Bennett government took office, Mr. Gordon announced that immigration would be restricted to British subjects from any part of the British Empire, to American citizens and to agriculturalists from continental Europe with sufficient means to maintain themselves. Wives and children under 18 years of age could join family heads already present in Canada and capable of financially caring for them. Mr. Gordon felt that these drastic restrictions were essential in order to check the growth of unemployment. (1) He also produced a material saving and reduced the possibility of immigration from the United States by discontinuing the American offices of the department in (2) 1931. Thus the dominion government in moving towards a solution of the unemployment problem, temporarily silenced the controversy regarding immigration.

The Canadian railways' systems were quick to recognize the change in public opinion which had prompted this drastic action. They fell into line with the government's official policy and turned their colonization departments to the tasks of solving the assimilation problem and aiding the dominion government in settling unemployed people in productive farm areas. (3) Newspapers in Canada ^{also} recognized this new trend ~~also~~. The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, expressed its views of the situation in an editorial on the Doukhobor movement:

Public opinion in Canada is definitely opposed to immigration of any kind irrespective of the immigrants' ability to look after themselves when they get here. There is a surplus of manpower in the country now and there is no indication that the condition will be changed for some time. (4)

~~AP~~
Under these circumstances Brigadier-General Hornby's proposals for the migration of British families to Saskatchewan had little chance of receiving a sympathetic

(1) Can. Ann. Rev., 1930-31, p. 573.

(2) Ibid. X

(3) Ibid. X

(4) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, (Evening edition), August 8, 1931.

hearing. Early in July, 1931, General Hornby of Lethbridge, Alberta, proposed that families should be selected from the unemployed classes in England, particularly Birmingham, and sent to an area of not less than 10,000 acres of land to be secured somewhere near Saskatoon. The whole scheme was to be financed by English authorities.

(1) But his program, incomplete as it was at this stage, aroused little interest in the province and was quickly lost from view.

Throughout 1932 the federal government maintained the immigration restrictions. The railways combined with the government in a fairly extensive back-to-the-land movement, with 7,046 families being moved between October 1930

(2) and March 1932. The Hon. W. A. Gordon expressed the opinion that any money available for immigration;

should be devoted to colonization at home, until we have, by a proper corrective process, remedied to some extent, the urban and rural complexion of our population. (3)

General Hornby, however, was very active in seeking ~~support~~ support for his scheme. Eventually his persistent efforts began to bear fruit. In September 1931 the Union of Canadian Municipalities approved "the institution of a comprehensive and systematic scheme of immigration along lines suggested in Brig. (4) Gen. M. L. Hornby's Plan, when the need for further immigration should arise."

In the Wolseley area in Saskatchewan John R. Garden vigorously advocated the Hornby proposals. On April 16, 1934, the Wolseley Board of Trade passed a resolution strongly urging that one hundred British families be established in (5) their district under the Hornby Land Settlement Scheme. The next day the Rural Municipal Council of Wolseley urged the dominion Minister of Immigration and Col-

(1) Ibid., July 2, 1931.

(2) Can. Ann. Rev., 1932, p. 419.

(3) Ibid., 1933, p. 466.

(4) Ibid., 1932, p. 627.

(5) File #21, U.F.C. Sask. Section, Saskatoon, Sask.- Pamphlet #61 Canada and British Immigration, M. L. Hornby, February, 1936, p. 78.

(1)
 onization to support the idea. Early in January, 1935, the Prince Albert Board of Trade endorsed the plan and recommended its study and endorsement by the Federal Government. They were followed in February by the Melfort town council and the Lashburn Board of Trade. Towards the end of the year 1935, the plan was of sufficient interest in Saskatchewan for the Regina Leader-Post to publish a series of articles about it. It was evident that the plan merited serious consideration, and many Saskatchewan citizens were more than interested in the program.

(2)
 (3)
 Early in 1936 General Hornby issued a pamphlet which explained his Land Settlement Scheme in detail. He sent this pamphlet to every member of the House of Commons in the hope of gaining sufficient support to be able to proceed with his plans. He envisaged the establishment in Canada of a number of Community Family Farm Settlements which would be sponsored by approved committees representing counties and towns in the United Kingdom. The committees were to acquire by purchase 5,000 to 15,000 acres of well situated mixed land, which they would retain in perpetuity. They would erect any new buildings required, recondition the old ones, supply the 75 to 100 farms with livestock, implements and everything necessary to make the unit a profitable working establishment. A manager to look after the financial and social side of the community was to be appointed by the British committee sponsoring the Saskatchewan community but he was to be assisted and advised by a staff of Canadians. The British settlers who came to take up this land were expected to remain in the country from three to five years. In that length of time, it was assumed, they would have obtained sufficient capital to be able to strike out and establish themselves. Other

(1) Ibid., p. 79.

(2) Ibid., p. 81-82.

(3) Regina Leader-Post, December 28, 1935.

(4) Canada and British Immigration, pp. 37-38.

British settlers would take their places. The community, it was hoped, would be attractive to both married couples and single persons. The scheme had much to recommend it to Saskatchewan citizens and on paper seemed to be a project with great possibilities of success.

Saskatchewan newspapers gave qualified approval to the scheme. The Regina Leader-Post said that this project involved the immediate outlay of one and a quarter million dollars to establish the first settlement near Wolseley. The addition of this much money to a tottering economy could conceivably do much to ease the burden. Besides, the plan was designed to teach the newcomers Canadian methods of farming and to assist in relieving the unemployment problem in the British Isles. The Leader-Post was quick to point out that unsuitable persons would be promptly returned and the plan would not cost the Canadian government a penny. (1) The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix was more cautious in its discussion of the immigration problem. The editor pointed out that there was a sharp division of opinion about immigration. Some people favored an increase in Canada's population, to the limits anticipated when the country's transportation, school, industrial and business institutions were established. Thus responsibility for the public debt would be more widely shared. But other people felt that no more immigrants should be accepted until the unemployed were absorbed or, at least, until the demand for agricultural products more nearly equalled the supply. (2)

But in spite of such warnings the Liberals in Saskatchewan believed that they had a good election plank in advocating British immigration at this time. The Hon. J. G. Gardiner, speaking to the Canadian Club in Saskatoon, suggested

(1) Regina Leader-Post, December 28, 1935.

(2) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, Evening, February 15, 1936.

(1)
that Canada might have to choose between accepting further population and war.
In February, 1936 there was a debate in the provincial house about agricultural
immigration when Mr. H. H. Kemper, C. C. F. member for Gull Lake, introduced a
resolution opposing such a movement. Mr. Omer Demers, Liberal Member for Shell-
brook, moved in amendment:

That this Assembly is of the opinion that the time has now come when the Canadian Government should get in touch with His Majesty's Government of Great Britain with a view to putting forward a scheme for the voluntary redistribution of the white peoples of the empire, thereby creating a stimulation of shipping and trade under the flag.(2)

In speaking to his motion Mr. Demers claimed that Canada's most prosperous period had been from 1901 to 1911. This had occurred at a time when immigrants had brought some 636 million dollars into Canada. There were still some 38,000 farms available in Saskatchewan thus leaving room for a number of new immigrants. The Hon. George Spence stressed the importance of establishing better relations with Great Britain. He criticized the practice of erecting artificial barriers against her goods and her people and asking only for her money for our
(3)

products. The Hon. J. G. Taggart, provincial Minister of Agriculture gave a qualified approval to the amendment. Although the friendly attitude indicated by the resolution would be beneficial to Canada, Mr. Taggart was definitely opposed to active propaganda or government assistance to immigrants. The C. C. F. members opposed the amendment on the grounds that it was only adding to the danger of increasing the number of unemployed in Canada. And, added Mr. Williams,
(4)
"Is it good for Canada to produce more wheat when it already has difficulty in ridding itself of its present surplus?"
(5)

(1) Ibid., January 9, 1936, p. 3.

(2) Ibid., February 26, 1936, p. 5.

(3) Ibid. X

(4) Ibid., February 28, 1938, p. 13.

(5) Ibid. X

Naturally these arguments provoked considerable comment. The provincial chapter of the I. O. D. E. passed a resolution in April that the Canadian government get in touch with the government in Great Britain with a view to putting forward a scheme for the voluntary redistribution of the white peoples of the Empire. (1) President Beatty of the C. P. R., speaking in Saskatoon, stated that wholesale unregulated immigration was not to be encouraged but did say that desirable immigrants might be secured from Great Britain with the support of the Imperial government. (2) The Regina Board of Trade passed a resolution urging the resumption of a steady flow of British people to Canada on a properly financed and organized immigration scheme. (3) But Mr. George Bickerton, U. F. C. President, expressed the views of his organization in these words:

"I was much disappointed at the decision of the Government to encourage immigration to Saskatchewan at this time.....We are in an economic muddle, and it is unfair to bring people from any other land to aid physically and financially.....I trust the Government will not get over-anxious to let down the flood gates of immigration. (4)

Thus, while most business groups and government officials were encouraging the scheme, the farmers and some newspapers were cautioning all concerned that this was not the time to open Canada's gates.

However, weighing the general consensus of opinion, the proponents of Hornby plan still felt that it was the right time to move forward with their program. Early in June a committee was organized with Garnet C. Neff, chairman, and including John A. Garden, W. A. Ashfield and Kenneth D. Little. (5) During the summer Mr. Neff and Mr. Garden toured the province and came to the conclusion that "the people have a general desire to study all same proposals for economic revival. An absorbing interest in immigration is felt everywhere." (6) On the 23rd and 24th of

- (1) Ibid., April 23, 1936, p. 9.
- (2) Ibid., September 8, 1936, p. 3.
- (3) Ibid., September 18, 1936, p. 3.
- (4) Ibid., March 5, 1936.
- (5) Ibid., June 15, 1936.
- (6) Ibid., August 8, 1936.

September, 1936, on their suggestion, a convention met in Saskatoon to discuss the Hornby plan. Among those in attendance were representatives from the I. O. D. E. and the Trades and Labor Councils. Two British visitors, Councillor R. S. Dalglish (1) of Newcastle-on-Tyne and Sir Patrick Hammon, M. P. were also at the convention. Outstanding provincial men such as Premier Patterson, Mr. G. H. Williams, Mr. M. W. J. Coldwell, M. P., Mr. J. C. Mitchell, Saskatchewan's wheat king, presented their individual views.

The four main speakers at the convention were Dr. W. W. Swanson, and Professor Manley Champlin from the University of Saskatchewan, Mr. Garnet C. Neff and Mr. K. D. Little. Dr. Swanson believed that it was time for the British Commonwealth to seriously consider the colonization of the empty spaces of the dominion and thus increase production and expand markets. Canada required an "expanding population" and a widening of the fields of production and employment in order to (2) carry the social and economic institutions already developed. Colonization by (3) British stock was essential in order to guarantee our institutions and traditions. Mr. Neff concurred in Dr. Swanson's sentiments when he stressed the need for more British people to counteract Saskatchewan's trend towards cosmopolitanism.

Britain has the people to spare and the money required to finance their establishment here; we have the land, all the facilities and services and all the amenities of civilized life to offer them. (4)

Mr. K. D. Little directed attention to the importance of choosing wisely the loca-

(1) Sir Patrick stated in an interview that he was not taking a stand with respect to the Hornby plan but he assured a reporter the plan was meeting with favor in the old Country and he believed that the plan was also regarded favorably (in Saskatchewan.) See Ibid., September 23, 1936, p. 4.

(2) British Family Settlement in Canada, January 1937, p. 7.

(3) Ibid., p. 8.

(4) Ibid., p. 11.

tion of these projected communities. He pointed out that the dominion and provincial governments, with the University, had made surveys concerning the quality of the land as well as the average rainfall. The Melfort district, for instance, was classified as a "superior ⁽¹⁾ area." Professor Champlin amplified his ideas and claimed that any successful immigration policy within the Empire must be based on four fundamental criteria: ⁽²⁾ (a) selection of those settlers only who were likely to succeed, (b) provision of adequate financial assistance at low interest rates, (c) careful selection of farms, (d) the existence of an organization that would provide adequate instruction and supervision.

Other speakers at the convention expressed their views more emphatically. Dr. Charles Endicott, United Church minister, was of the opinion that the Hornby *Plan* could do no harm to the present residents in Canada and might do a great deal of good. ⁽³⁾ Premier Patterson felt that it was foolish to place any restrictions on wheat production. It was essential that Canadians remove the barriers to Great Britain's people and her goods for we could not expect Great Britain to trade with us unless we traded with her. ⁽⁴⁾ The Hon. George Spence, provincial Minister of Public Works, strongly urged some such scheme as the Hornby Plan in order to promote good feeling and to cultivate friendship with our British neighbors and customers. ⁽⁵⁾ These speakers, together with Mr. J. C. Mitchell and others, presented the various arguments in favor of the Hornby Plan and indicated how a majority of Saskatchewan residents felt towards the idea.

Other speakers at the convention expressed views in opposition to the project. Their criticism turned on the belief that Canada should put her

(1) Ibid., p. 12-13.

British Family Settlement in Canada-Four addresses presented to the Saskatchewan Family and Settlement Convention, January, 1937.

(2) Ibid., p. 14.

(3) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, September 24, 1936, p. 3.

(4) Ibid., p. 4.

(5) Ibid., p. 5.

house in order before bringing settlers, whether British or others, to her shores.

Mr. M. J. Coldwell stated frankly that no immigration program should be inaugurated until the farmers had raised their standard of living. Mr. William Harrison, speaking for the Trades and Labor Congress, feared that if the incoming agricultural immigrants should fail, they would, as they had done in the past, drift into the cities and aggravate the unemployment situation. The U. F. C. brief complimented Hornby on the presentation of the most practicable plan that had ever been submitted to any country but urged the delegates not to ask new British immigrants to come and share the present deplorable conditions. Mr. Williams warned that immigration at this time would mean the displacement of present tenants. He further charged that the British visitors, Hannon and Dalglish, had been deliberately misled as to the real conditions in Saskatchewan and in their journeying about the province had only been allowed to see the more prosperous districts. Mr. L. J. Walshe, secretary of a voluntarily formed Saskatoon citizens' Anti-Immigration Association, presented a formal brief with ten arguments which criticized the Hornby Plan itself and reiterated all the arguments used by the other opposing groups. He demanded that the organizers of the scheme should give some guarantee that there would be a proper selection of immigrants, proper supervision and financing. The Rev. W. G. Brown, Mr. John Evans, Mr. L. H. Hantelman, M. D. A. for Kindersley, Mr. John McNaughton and others spoke in opposition to the plan.

It spite of this seemingly strong opposition three resolutions were adopted unanimously. One of these urged the Canadian government to co-operate actively with the British government in the inauguration of the Hornby plan. The

(1) Ibid., p. 3.

(2) Ibid., p. 5.

(3) Ibid.,

(4) Ibid., September 23, 1936.

(5) Ibid., September ~~23~~, 24, 1936.

(6) Ibid., September 24, 1936, p. 3.

second resolution requested the provincial government's support in urging the federal government to greater activity. The final resolution claimed that Saskatchewan was prepared to receive some 5,000 settlers in the next five years. (1)

The U. F. C. and the labor groups were rather hard pressed to account for their seeming endorsement of the scheme. Gerald Dealtry defended his action by saying that it would have been foolish for labor representatives to oppose the institution of these plans since the convention was bound to pass them in spite of the opposition. Rather it was better for the labor groups to stay on the plans committee in order to gain a measure of protection for the immigrants and labourers here. (2)

The U. F. C. head office issued a statement in October denying that their delegate had accepted the situation in good grace. The U. F. C. delegate representing the views of some 30,000 farmers, had voted against the main resolution but in view of the result he considered it useless to vote on the other resolutions. Furthermore, the only co-operation ~~whatever~~ the U. F. C. pledged was to help the victims of the scheme when the need should arise, as inevitably it would. The head office stated briefly that there would be no co-operation whatever with the promoters of the scheme in bringing people into the country. In fact the U. F. C. would oppose the scheme to the fullest extent. (3)

Thus two large sections of the public expressed themselves as in opposition to the Hornby scheme.

Notwithstanding, the convention engendered the greatest enthusiasm and public support ever manifested in favor of the Hornby plan. General Hornby placed the issue vigorously before individual members of the House of Commons but with little response. All he asked from the Canadian government was co-oper-

- (1) Case for Organized Empire migration, May 1937.
- (2) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, September 24, 1936, p. 4.
- (3) Ibid., October 1, 1936, p. 5.
- (4) Ibid., February 16, 1937, p. 3.

ation with the British government in the movement of one million British families.⁽¹⁾ Finally in April, 1937, the dominion government did relax the severe restrictions of 1931 and agreed to admit any British subject or American citizen having sufficient means to maintain himself until employment could be secured.⁽²⁾ But in spite of this concession, nothing was done to implement the Hornby plan by either the Canadian or Imperial governments.

During the 1937 session of the provincial legislature a bitter controversy developed between the Liberals and the five C. C. F. members concerning immigration. The Liberals stressed the need for goodwill with the British while the C. C. F. claimed the province should put its own house in order before inviting newcomers. The Hon. J. G. Taggart said frankly that he was not in favor of assisted immigration at the moment.⁽³⁾ In fact, early in December, 1936, he had stated to the members of the Rowell-Sirois commission, quite positively, that Saskatchewan had reached the saturation point as far as population was concerned. Indeed it was his opinion that the province's population was likely to decrease because mechanized farming on a large scale was becoming common and the small farmer was gradually being squeezed out of business. Because of this and other reasons,⁽⁴⁾ sixty-thousand persons had left the province between 1931 and 1936. The minister's remarks were welcomed by C. C. F. members but their resolution calling for opposition to any scheme of assisted agricultural immigration was convincingly defeated in the 1937 session. However when the question was raised again in 1938 only 39 Liberals could be mustered in favor of British immigration and 2 Liberals actually joined the C. C. F. party in opposition to the program.⁽⁵⁾ As the

(1) Ibid., February 16, 1937, p. 3.

(2) RC. 695.

(3) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, February 9, 1937.

(4) Ibid., December 17, 1936.

(5) Ibid., February 18, 1938.

editor of the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix pointed out in January, 1937, Canada had had some unhappy experiences in respect to assisted immigration. The much vaunted Three Thousand British Family Scheme, in spite of its success in the late 20's, had left only 54% still farming in 1937. ⁽¹⁾ Later that year the Star-Phoenix pointed out that Canada's need for a greater population in order to make more complete use of her expanded facilities was a proven fact, but the old theory that the expansion should occur only in the agricultural field was no longer tenable. To increase Canada's agricultural productiveness at a time when a considerably enlarged outside market was required, would be the height of folly. ⁽²⁾ Thus the Hornby plan gradually faded from the public picture and it is significant that no positive steps were taken towards implementing this, the most acceptable and indeed the most ~~acceptable and~~ seriously considered immigration plan of the period.

Towards the end of 1938 another minor series of proposals for a scheme of assisted British Empire migration appeared. In August General Hornby conducted Sir Henry Page-Croft and Councillor Dalglish through British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan. The Hon. J. G. Gardiner stated that he was entirely in favor of a proposal by Sir Henry which would bring ~~so~~ much British industry and capital here. ⁽³⁾ On the other hand, Mr. Bickerton, criticized the proposal severely. He referred to the annual invasion of "immigration enthusiasts from Great Britain" who seemed determined to leave no stone unturned in order to find a way of moving masses of British folk to Canada. He felt that it was presumptuous for them to assume the responsibility of advising the Canadian government, especially at ~~such~~ a time when Canada was in no position to absorb the flow of settlement planned by

(1) Ibid., January 13, 1937.

(2) Ibid., January 13, 1937.

(3) File #108, Immigration, Vol. 1V, S.A.O., August 26, 1938. newspaper unknown. (unknown paper dated August 26, 1938.)

(1)

the present enthusiastic campaigners.

On the whole, these controversies stirred up little public interest. One exception was the action of the North Battleford Board of Trade in approving a strongly worded set of resolutions advocating enthusiastic support of the program. (2) On the other hand, the editor of the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix drew attention to the report of the British Overseas Settlement Board which pointed out that large scale British emigration had come to an end because the British population trend was downward, not upward, and the movement in the preceding years had been into the British Isles, and not out. (3) In September the editor reiterated his opinion that, until Canada had an assured market for her agricultural produce, it was useless to speak of increased immigration. (4) Thus the Page-Croft proposals came to nothing and produced considerably less enthusiasm in the province than had the Hornby plan.

Significantly the Hon. J. G. Gardiner began to shift his views regarding immigration. He still believed that the prairies possessed great natural resources of oil, gas, coal and farm lands, but he felt that it was essential that subsidiary industries be developed at the same time that the farm lands were taken up. (5) In this fashion new home markets would be built up for the western farmers. The dominion government, Mr. Gardiner pointed out, had no immediate intention of changing its immigration policy which allowed into Canada only those people who were able to support themselves and who knew how to farm, and excluded those who might flock to the cities and increase relief problems. Thus was Mr. Gardiner shrewdly withdrawing his support from immigration schemes in order to completely

(1) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, August 30, 1938.

(2) Ibid., August 27, 1938.

(3) Ibid., July 18, 1938.

(4) Ibid., September 9, 1938.

(5) Ibid., September 7, 1938.

circumvent the determined opposition of western farmers to any resumption of immigration on a large scale.

However, in the latter part of 1938 and the early months of 1939, the immigration problem became complicated by a new angle. The dictator countries of Europe opened their expansionist campaigns and hordes of frightened refugees began to flee before the steady advance of fascist regimes. The question immediately arose as to whether Canada should become a place of refuge for the Jewish, Sudetan and Polish oppressed. The arguments in favor of immigration into Canada hinged on the humanitarian plea. In November, 1938, the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix revealed the pressing plight of a million Czech refugees who sought new homes.

(1)

Canada was considered as one possible haven. The editor felt that if the Canadian government did accept them, they would bring in some new and worthwhile industries, such as fine glass work, fine paper and parchment manufacture. Canada might well accept these minorities on some basis, providing they did not increase her own minority problems. In January, 1939, it was reported that a large Hungarian agricultural implement industry wished to move intact to Canada with its owners, managers and skilled workers. The editor of the Star-Phoenix welcomed the plan as the first concrete immigration proposal for the movement of ~~immigration~~ refugees. Rumors like these were filling the Saskatchewan newspapers but until definite action was taken by Canadian authorities little preparation, approval or disapproval was likely to manifest itself.

(2)

(3)

As early as November, 1938, reports were circulated that the dominion government, under pressure from the League of Nations, was considering lowering the barriers against immigrants. However, the government was said to be insist-

(1) Ibid., November 7, 1938.

(2) Ibid., January 6, 1939.

(3) Regina Star, November 8, 1938.

ing that any that were admitted should be self-supporting and would never become a drain upon the Canadian people. Groups within the country were opposed to this severely practical stand. Mr. M. J. Coldwell, M. P. for Rosetown-Biggar, stated that the C. C. F. party was urging the Prime Minister to take the House into his confidence and issue a statement as to whether this country would, in common with other democratic peoples, take its fair share of those who were suffering from political persecution in Central Europe. (1) A Canadian National Committee on Refugees and victims of political persecution, sponsored by the League of Nations Society in Canada, the representatives of some churches and some forty ~~more~~ national organizations, urged the dominion government to lower the immigration barriers. They asked in particular that selected groups of skilled workers be allowed to enter (2) ~~Canada~~. The Social Service Council of the Church of England entreated the Canadian government to admit selected groups of Jewish people and non-aryan Christians from Austria and Germany. (3) In January, Dr. C. E. Silcox, the general secretary of the Social Service Council, toured Canada and spoke in favor of opening Canada's doors to the victims of Nazi aggression. The refusal to admit European immigrants had been, he asserted, an important factor in prolonging the depression in both Canada and the United States. He believed that greatly increased population on the prairies, made up of Europe's best, culturally and technically, would infuse new life into the Canadian economy and would solve the prairies' marketing problems. (4) Dr. J. S. Thomson, President of the University of Saskatchewan, in introducing Dr. Silcox, explained that he was leading a movement to form committees throughout the country which would render assistance to Jewish and other

(1) File #108, Vol. IV, Immigration, S.A.O., January 18, 1939.

(2) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, December 7, 1939.

(3) Regina Star, January 13, 1938.

(4) Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, January 24, 1939.

European refugees. He, too, stated that Canada was a country with large open spaces which could provide shelter for the persecuted.⁽¹⁾

Finally in March it was announced that the dominion government had completed arrangements with the Czecho-Slovakian, French and British governments, whereby three thousand Sudetan German families were to come to Canada. Each family was to receive \$1500 and farm homes were to be provided for them in the Peace River district of Alberta and in Northern Saskatchewan.⁽²⁾ The first twenty-five passed through Saskatoon on April 1st, 1939. The second group, numbering some fifty-five men, women and children arrived soon after and received a hearty welcome arranged by the Saskatoon Board of Trade, the German-Canadian Club Concordia,⁽²⁾ and the Saskatoon Refugee committee. Two of the Sudetan Germans were reported to have said that they would not mind hardships or poverty if they could breathe free air again and be given a chance to rehabilitate themselves and their families on Canadian soil.⁽³⁾ Other groups passed through Saskatoon during the summer months until there were some 600 situated in the St. Walburg area of ~~the~~ Saskatchewan. But before the new movement could really get under way the second World War broke out and immigration stopped abruptly.

To the proponents of immigration the decade had been most unsatisfactory. Public interest in immigration had never before been at so low a level. In 1936 a few groups showed some interest in the Hornby plan. But the complete failure of the plan and the subsequent collapse of the Page-Croft proposals clearly demonstrated that Saskatchewan residents were not prepared to accept large numbers

(1) Ibid., January 24, 1939.

(2) Ibid., May 6, 1939.

(3) Ibid., April 21, 1939.

of agricultural immigrants, regardless of their country of origin. It was rather widely recognized by the end of the 1930's that the province had reached its saturation point insofar as population was concerned. But Saskatchewan residents were willing apparently to consider political ~~regulations in connection with political~~ refugees from other countries who were in distressing circumstances and who were willing to go on the land.

CHAPTER VIII

PROBLEM OF ASSIMILATION 1920-1939.

The problem of assimilation had caused grave concern during the first World War. The war forced upon the residents of Saskatchewan, an awareness of the heterogeneous nature of their province's population with terrifying clarity. The 1916 census showed that there were some forty nationalities and three dozen different tongues within Saskatchewan. The war made it imperative that all of these people should become loyal citizens and when numbers of them failed to respond satisfactorily, the provincial authorities took steps to remedy the situation.

Immediately after the war a campaign was opened to Canadianize the "foreigner." In January, 1919, the new post of Director of Education among the New Canadians was created under the control of the Department of Education and Dr. J. T. M. Anderson was appointed the ^{first} ~~first~~ ⁽¹⁾ director. The provincial government made it compulsory that the public schools be conducted in English only. ⁽²⁾ They encouraged the establishment of night schools for the education of adults by granting one dollar a night per pupil to the teacher of such a school. ⁽³⁾ By the fall of 1919 there were thirteen night schools in operation with an enrolment of 264 and a year later 74 ⁽⁴⁾ schools were functioning with an attendance of 1830. The new director apparently had made a good start. Dr. Anderson spent much of his time recruiting and encouraging his "Trail Blazers," the rural public school teachers, who were to go into foreign settlements. He hoped that they would ⁽⁵⁾ remain in these districts from three to five years. In his lectures and talks on this subject Dr. Anderson attempted to arouse the spirit of ad-

(1) Saskatoon Daily Star, February 26, 1923.

(2) Saskatoon Phoenix, February 19, 1921.

(3) Saskatoon Phoenix, March 5, 1920.

(4) Ibid., January 21, 1921. This grant was increased to \$2 per pupil per night on January 21, 1921.

(5) Ibid., September 25, 1920.

venture and the thrill that comes from tackling an important and difficult task. The theme for many of his talks might well have been taken from the 133rd psalm, "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell
(1)
together in unity." The Masonic Lodges of Saskatchewan were impressed by the work of Dr. Anderson and the results he was obtaining. In the fall of 1921 they offered fifty \$300 scholarships to prospective teachers who, after the completion of their Normal courses, would work for a least one year in an outlying non-English speaking district. The scholarships were to be honored at the provincial Normal School in either Regina or Saskatoon.
(2)
One of the most outstanding scholarship teachers was Robert England.

In order to illustrate what the Department and provincial residents hoped to see accomplished by the teachers in these schools we shall rapidly sketch the work and accomplishments of Mr. England. After service overseas during the war, Mr. England returned to the teaching profession in 1920 and took over the Slawa school, eight miles from Hafford, which had a population of 90% Ruthenian and 10% English. With care and the assistance of Dr. Anderson and the Inspector, Mr. England gained the support and co-operation of the people in the district.
(3)
He organized the first New Canadian Boy Scout troop in the district, as well as an adult community club for instruction and recreation. He also brought outside
(4)
agencies such as the Rotarians into close contact with the district. Under his direction a monster Sports' Day was held in Hafford in June, 1921,

(1) Ibid., p. February 14, 1921.

(2) Ibid., September 15, 1921.

(3) Ibid., April 1, 1921. See also R. England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada, Toronto, 1929.

(4) Daily Star, (Saskatoon), May 8, 1923.

(1)
 at which sixteen New Canadian school districts were represented. Fifteen Rotarians from Saskatoon made^a special trips to Hafford on this occasion to present the Rotarian shield to the outstanding district. Methods very similar to those employed by Mr. England were duplicated in many rural school districts and always with a view to impressing the newcomer with his duties and opportunities as a Canadian citizen.

The University aided in the work of adult education by sponsoring courses designed to facilitate the Canadianization of foreign-born settlers. In 1919 short courses in Home Economics for the wives of soldier settlers had been given at Dodsland and Yorkton. In 1920 a two month course was opened at the University. Miss Muldrew, Dominion Director of the Home Economics Branch, stated that "this course was the best that this or any other country has ever attempted in colonization and is the very first concrete step in what may be called 'Canadianization'⁽²⁾". The course was sufficiently popular to warrant repetition the following year. The University also co-operated with the railways and the provincial government in equipping and staffing a "Better Farming Train" which toured the province. These demonstration trains had been first started in 1914 and made runs during the summer months to different sections of the province each year.⁽³⁾ The train of 1921 consisted of thirteen cars, containing among other things, exhibits of grain and forage crops, weeds and flowers, of farm machinery, of livestock and poultry. Lectures were given on crop production, stock breeding, farm implements, farm buildings, household

(1) Saskatoon Star Phoenix, June 25, 1921.

(2) Ibid., April 26, 1920.

(3) Ibid., May 2, 1921.

science, poultry_x husbandry, gardening and in general_x any topic that would appeal to rural audiences. The trains, with their welcome and helpful lessons in farm management, were particularly appreciated in the "New Canadian" districts. By demonstrations, lectures and illustration with concrete examples, the highly qualified staff on these trains was teaching many "New Canadians" in a practical fashion how to become better farmers and Canadian citizens.

The necessity for a program of Canadianization was emphasized by the Mennonite problem in the early 1920's. The provincial government and the public were determined that the foreign-born settlers should become loyal Canadian citizens and it was not likely that they would give special consideration to the Mennonites. In 1919 the government formally banned the use of any language other than English within the schools of the province. Some of the Old Colony Mennonites appealed this decision on the basis of the rights granted to the original settlers of 1873 by the dominion government.⁽¹⁾ Two of these rights were freedom from military service and control of their own educational system. Recourse to the law courts in 1920, however, resulted in the Supreme Court of Canada upholding the rights of the provincial government with respect to education.⁽²⁾ The dominion government did not and never did have the right to grant these people any privileges in respect to education, according to the decision of the Supreme Court. This tossed the problem back to the provincial government. But if the government made a special exception in the case of the Mennonites there would have been clamor for similar concessions from a dozen other groups of non-English origin. The provincial authorities

(1) Ibid., February 2, 1920.

(2) Ibid., March 11, 1920.

remained firm and some of the Mennonites prepared to leave Saskatchewan because of this. The Mennonites near Swift Current sold 105,000 acres of their land,⁽¹⁾ but the government still refused to grant any concessions. So the emigration of Old Colony Mennonites began in the latter part of 1921 and continued for the next two or three years.⁽²⁾ Those who elected to remain in Saskatchewan agreed to abide by the provincial educational laws and they proved to be very thrifty people who in many cases became owners of the best-equipped farms and farm houses in the province.

Other illustrations can be given of the determination of the people of Saskatchewan to carry through their Canadianization program. On February 5, 1920, the Ukrainian People's Council, composed of five hundred delegates, met in the Labor Temple in Saskatoon and established an organization of people, Ukrainian, by birth or descent. The purpose of this organization was "to develop among these people a Canadian spirit and Canadian ideals and so instruct them in the principles of representative government as embodied in the laws of Canada as to promote their becoming thorough Canadians."⁽³⁾ The Rural Municipalities' Association passed a resolution at their annual meeting of 1920, that all councillors should be able at least to speak English before they could be considered eligible for the office of councillor.⁽⁴⁾ The Veterans' organizations took a similar stand on this phase of immigration. The annual meeting of the G. W. V. A. held in Prince Albert passed a resolution requesting the dominion government to bar from entry into Canada for a five year period the citizens of those countries with which we were at war during 1914-1919 and the citi-

(1) Ibid., June 8, 1920.

(2) Ibid., December 9, 1920.

(3) Ibid., February 5, 1920.

(4) Ibid., March 11, 1920.

zens of Soviet Russia, and the veterans also asked that an educational
 (1)
 test, before entry, be imposed at the end of that time. The Weyburn
 delegate felt that these groups should be permanently excluded because
 he claimed over 70% of the criminal litigation and immorality was caused
 (2)
 by nationals of the countries with which we had lately been at war. These
 and other illustrations seem to indicate the intensity of ~~fellows~~ feel-
 ing in the province regarding this vitally important question.

By 1922 the trend of public opinion seemed to be swinging in the
 opposite direction. Mr. Ball, the Deputy Minister of Education, felt that
 the prosperous conditions on the prairies and the vigorous educational mea-
 sures had achieved a degree of assimilation of the foreign-born which could
 (3)
 not be matched anywhere on the North American continent. The Hon. Mr. Lat-
 ta, Minister of Education, observed that the foreign-born were fast adopt-
 ing our standards and ~~make~~ use of our mode of life, even to the automobile.
 The young people could speak good English and the majority of their elders
 (4)
 understood and ~~spoke~~ the language. In two years the Masons had awarded 50
 scholarships to teachers and, while it was agreed that the work accomplished
 had been well worthwhile, ^{the} Masons believed that the program could be drop-
 (5)
 ped. On the other hand Canadianization projects were still being vigor-
 ously organized. At Hafford in July 1922 an extremely successful Boy Scout
 and Girl Guide camp, composed almost entirely of New Canadians, was run
 by Dr. J. T. M. Anderson and Mr. J. P. Selby. The Insinger Club of Saska-
 toon supplemented this effort by providing a week's vacation with all ex-
 penses paid, for 33 New Canadians. These children were to be chosen from

- (1) Ibid., March 11, 1920.
- (2) Ibid., March 11, 1920.
- (3) Ibid., April 19, 1922.
- (4) Ibid., April 19, 1932.
- (5) Ibid., June 14, 1922.

(1)
the public schools on the basis of industry, good habits and loyalty.

While admitting that these efforts were worthwhile some of the general public were beginning to feel that it was unwise to force the Canadianization of newcomers too rapidly. Dr. E. H. Oliver, Principal of the Presbyterian College in Saskatoon, expressed the opinion that These people are the soil loving people this country needs, and it would be unwise to force our customs on them. They should be assimilated by time and we should not attempt to outline any definite program for Canadianizing.(2)

Dr. J. M. Uhrich, Minister of Public Health, some time later held the same view:

It is psychologically bad to approach this work (of Canadianizing) through a super-organized and much trumpeted movement, because it warns the immigrant in advance that a crowd of superior persons have set out to improve him.(3)

On another occasion Dr. Uhrich stated:

There must be a recognition of the fact that there is no best race in Canada, no race that can speak disparagingly of another and refer to them as disloyal or ignorant or behind the times. Genius, ability and honor are neither geographical nor ethnological attributes.(4)

Public opinion regarding the assimilation problem was undergoing a change and the emphasis on Canadianization was about to be shifted.

It was not long before the provincial government began to change its policies. In November, 1922, Dr. J. T. M. Anderson was moved from his office and the position of Director of Education for New Canadians was abolished. The Minister of Education explained that Dr. Anderson's work was finished and that the schools he had established were functioning

(1) Ibid., July 20, 1922.

(2) Ibid., December 14, 1922.

(3) Saskatoon Daily Star, May 26, 1924.

(4) Ibid., March 18, 1924.

(1)
satisfactorily. In June, 1923, it was announced that the Department was not going to operate any more better farming trains as they had for the past eight summers. (2) Officially the government was pleased to turn the task of "Canadianizing" over to the Local Colonization Boards whose special duties it became to assist immigrants in learning the English language and to organize educational courses for them. (3)

Critical of this shift of policy on the part of the provincial government were Dr. J. T. M. Anderson and the Rt. Rev. G. E. Lloyd. The latter felt that if this nation was to do its proper duty in the world, then it must insist on attaining a homogeneous people with a unity of language and loyalty. He stated that the government had not taken the precaution to explain to this mixture of thousands being poured into the country that "English is our language and British is our loyalty and that Canada expects everyone to become a good citizen by using our public schools." (4) Dr. Anderson protested against the decision to discontinue the operation of better-farming trains and the extension work from experimental farms. Only by sending out experts to them could these new groups be shown how to become prosperous and worthy citizens. (5)

During the years 1925, and 1926, and 1927, the public paid less attention to the problem of assimilation and transferred its interest to the encouragement of immigration. In general the people of the province accepted the guidance of Premier Dunning, Dr. E. H. Oliver and others who counselled friendship and the gradual absorption of the foreign-

(1) Saskatoon Star Phoenix, October 12, 1922.

(2) Saskatoon Daily Star, June 4, 1923.

(3) Ibid., May 28, 1924.

(4) Ibid., April 28, 1924.

(5) Ibid., June 15, 1924.

born. The Premier's message on this subject was as follows:

Every race in Saskatchewan is day by day leaving its impress upon the future citizen of the province. That future citizen of Saskatchewan is ours to make or mar proportionately as we deal with each other, race to race, creed to creed, nationality to nationality on a basis of mutual tolerance and good will or as we endeavour to foster those prejudices and old racial jealousies, which have come down from earlier generations.(1)

Dr. E. H. Oliver's suggestion was: "Let the newcomers understand Canada is theirs, that we will work with them and that they may work with us in the common cause."⁽²⁾

Professor W. P. Thompson, head of the biology department of the University of Saskatchewan, pointed out that the process of intermarrying between the different races would ultimately result in the development of some individuals possessing qualities surpassing the best in the races from which they had originated.⁽³⁾

Mr. E. Zerebko, of the Hafford Local Colonization Board, claimed that successful assimilation could only be obtained if the English settlers threw away their "spirit of narrow parochialism" and adopted a more friendly attitude and interest in the newcomer.⁽⁴⁾

Dr. Frank Hoffman, a Hungarian, when speaking to the Women's Canadian Club in Saskatoon stressed the same idea ^{and he} ~~decidedly~~ assured his audience that an excellent type of central European awaited the opportunity to come to Canada. All organizations might materially assist the new-comers by extending a cordial welcome and by trying to transmit Canadian ideals.⁽⁵⁾ The people of the province were content to see the assimilation problem transferred from the realm of official policy to one for local action.

Members of the so-called foreign groups themselves, began to

(1) Ibid., June 4, 1925.

(2) Ibid., February 12, 1925.

(3) Ibid., February 8, 1926.

(4) Ibid., September 29, 1926.

(5) Ibid., December 10, 1927.

express opinions on this matter. Mr. Peter G. Makaroff, Doukhobor who practises law in Saskatoon, assured Saskatchewan citizens that the young Canadians of Russian extraction appreciated keenly the merits and blessings of the British constitution and British justice and fair play. He added that no one need feel any concern for Canada and British institutions no matter how many central Europeans came to this country. (1) Late in 1927 the Hungarians of the northern section of the province formed a branch of the Canadian Hungarian Association for the purpose of helping the Hungarian newcomers to fit into their new Canadian life, of seeing that their children attended school and that those of unusual ability were assisted. (2) On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the coming of the Ukrainians to Canada, Dr. G. E. Dragan, protested against application of the brand of "foreigner" to hundreds of thousands of Canadians. He drew attention to the Ukrainian contribution to Canadian material development and noted that most Ukrainian children knew no other native land but that of Canada. The unpleasant reflections made upon the Ukrainian people in his opinion were unnecessary and unjust. (3) Thus the foreign groups were shouldering their responsibility in the matter of becoming adjusted to Canadian customs while at the same time they were protesting vigorously against the superior attitude of many residents of English origin.

There were, however, powerful organizations within the province who distrusted the central Europeans in general. The veterans' organizations in particular seemed unable to shed their prejudices against the foreign born settlers. In 1925, it is true, their resolution to debar

(1) Ibid., September 2, 1926.

(2) Ibid., November 28, 1927.

(3) Ibid., July 16, 1927.

southern European immigrants was tabled in spite of the protests of a delegate who claimed that the penitentiaries and jails were crowded with this class of immigrants. (1) By 1927, however, the veterans had made up their minds that immigration should be restricted to British and French only. (2) The farmer*s' organizations objected, not so much to the place of origin of immigrants to Canada, as to their settling in blocs. (3) In 1925 the farmers passed a resolution to this effect, but when a ~~practically~~ similar motion was made in 1926 it was defeated, largely due to the efforts of the Hon. George Langley and farmers from these segregated areas. The latter claimed that these closely-knit communities provided a real welcome to the newcomers and hastened the necessary process of adjustment to Canadian ways of living. (4)

During 1928 and 1929 the problem of assimilation became prominent again in the councils and conversations of all. Bishop Lloyd was heard a number of times during the year on his theme, "British Australia, Mongrel Canada." (5) He ridiculed the idea of a heterogeneous nation and the "melting pot" theme of so many speakers. He claimed that the idea had failed in the U. S. A. where it had produced only a mass of "hyphenated" Americans, whose status, even under their present quota laws, was far from desirable. This insidious mongrel-making policy, the melting pot, had failed to change into Canadians, the Germans around Humboldt or the Mennonites around Hague. (6) Instead, Bishop Lloyd declared, this constant pouring into Saskatchewan of twenty or forty different racial groups with

(1) Ibid., March 21, 1925.

(2) Ibid., June 11, 1927.

(3) Ibid., January 30, 1925.

(4) Ibid., April 27, 1928.

(5) Ibid., August 29, 1928.

(6) Ibid., ~~September 29~~, 1928.

(7) Ibid., ~~January 5~~, 1928.

Sept. 5.

different instincts, traditions and ideals would soon swamp and paralyze British institutions and traditions. Dr. Peter H. Bryce, the chief medical officer for the dominion government, was quoted in the Montreal Gazette as saying ~~that~~ the foreign-born residents of Canada were mainly responsible for crime in the country and were generally without respect for the laws and traditions of their adopted land. Dr. Bryce said further that figures he possessed showed there was an actual decrease in serious crime directly proportional to the relative percentage of foreign born. In Ontario and Quebec in the period 1915-24 there was an actual decrease of 1% in the number of serious offences while in Saskatchewan there had been an ⁽¹⁾ decrease of 20%. Even Dr. Oliver warned that "while we were proud of the old land, and love and prize its institutions, we do not intend our national life to be smothered by them."⁽²⁾

The Canadian Legion in its survey of 1928 found the question of assimilation to be very much to the front. Their local groups replied that while Dutch and Scandinavian settlers were to be desired, the south eastern Europeans were not readily assimilated and the Mennonites were a definite menace to local progress. A number of branches protested against the group settlement plan and a branching in the south-west of the province pleaded, "We need a rest; we need to digest the immigration we have been swallowing."⁽³⁾ The committee itself produced figures to show that British-born settlers and immigrants were more tenacious and remained with the country longer than any other nationality.⁽⁴⁾ At the same time they ad-

(1) Ibid., January 3, 1928.

(2) Ibid., August 8, 1928.

(3) Immigration Committee Report, March, 1928. p. 11-12.

(4) Ibid., p. 14.

mitted that although time would cure the present ills, they could not see how any real political or personal support could be expected from a polygot population for such remote abstractions as love of Canada or loyalty

(1)
to the British Empire. In 1929, their supplementary report noted Mr.

W. B. Hurd's article in the Queens' Quarterly, which gave figures to show that assimilation by intermarriage would be a very slow process. Up to 1921 less than 11% of the Austrian married men had married wives of a different racial origin, only 10% of the Galicians had done so, 92% of the Finns, 7.2% of the Ukrainians and 4.2% of the Hebrews. The Veterans' Committee deduced from American reports that of the ten most illiterate immigrant peoples of Canada, nine came from south east and central European states. The group with the best mental rating among these peoples was Austrian which stood 14th on a composite chart of intelligence for

(2)
various nationalities.

Against public prejudice Dr. Black and Dr. Uhrich pleaded in vain. Dr. Black stressed the economic value of large numbers of European immigrants to the growth and development of Canada. But at the same time he admitted that special arrangements should be made to encourage the

(3)
Canadianization of newcomers. Dr. Uhrich (with considerable eloquence)

pointed out that the British Empire was^a a commonwealth of diverse races. He claimed that democracy was not a political program to be entrusted to any one dominant racial group but the possession of all mankind. He argued that the foreign-born residents of the province had not remained ignorant of the English language nor had they failed to become good and

(1) Ibid., p. 13.

(2) Supplementary Report, October, 1929.

(3) Saskatoon Phoenix, January 23, 1928.

(1)
industrious citizens.

It was not until 1930 though, that an official study was made of these problems in a reasonably objective fashion. The Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement at that time drew attention to the following facts and drew their conclusions. They quoted figures to show that nearly 30% of Saskatchewan's population was foreign born, and this figure represented the highest percentage for any province in the dominion. Moreover, Saskatchewan had twice as many immigrant residents of non-British (2) as of British birth, with the central European element predominating. The Commission, though admitting there were some important advantages in the group settlement plan, recommended that all future settlements should be (3) made on a diversified basis. In order to assist in the assimilation of newcomers they recommended that the provincial government and all interested societies should take an active part in welcoming the new arrivals and follow through with a definite program to secure complete assimilation. The Commission believed that experienced farmers or graduates from agricultural colleges could go into the recently settled districts and work with and guide the immigrant into better Canadian ways of farming. The public schools, as they had done in the past, should continue to be a powerful ~~introducing~~ instrument in assisting the non-British elements to fit themselves for citizenship. The Commission pointed out that there had been a marked decrease in the amount of illiteracy and that Saskatchewan, with the exception of Prince Edward Island, had the highest rate

(1) Saskatoon Star, February 4, 1928.

(2) Royal Commission Report, 1930, p. 193.

(3) Ibid., p. 197.

(1)
of naturalization in the dominion. On the whole the assimilation programs carried on by the residents of Saskatchewan in the preceding decade seem to have had some concrete results and the commission recommended that they be continued.

The Canadian National Railway, in an effort to silence criticism of their activities in regard to immigration, inaugurated in 1930 a series of annual Community progress Competitions in continental European Communities. The scheme proposed by Dr. Black, was designed to measure the progress made by a "foreign" group of six or more school districts in becoming Canadian citizens. In order to compete the district had to have a resident population showing 70% of continental European origin of the 1st or 2nd generation. The communities were to be judged on the basis of their progress in education, agriculture, citizenship, co-operation, social welfare and arts. Prizes of \$1,000, \$500 and \$250 were to be awarded to the three districts in each of the Prairie Provinces obtaining the three highest scores on a detailed point system. Mr. R. England, western representative of the C. N. R. department of Colonization arranged the conditions of the competition. Dr. W. C. Murray, Dr. W. J. Rose and Mrs. V. McNaughton acted as judges in Saskatchewan.

In the winter of 1931 Dr. W. C. Murray published an article on
(2)
the results of the competition. In the field of education the judges found definite progress both in the physical state of the school buildings and in the decrease of illiteracy. The schools possessed a large enrolment and community interest in the school's welfare was high. In the field

(1) Ibid., p. 193-98.

(2) Queen's Quarterly, Winter, 1931, p. 63-75. A fuller account of the competitions may be found in R. England, The Colonization of Western Canada, (London, 1936), Chap. 9, et seq.

of agriculture they noted many tendencies to carry on the methods and practices used in the old country. But the second generation seemed to be adopting Canadian methods, and were building better homes and installing ^{some of the household conveniences.} Good citizenship was well illustrated by the large number of public health, agricultural, homemakers and co-operative societies. In music most districts revealed real appreciation and considerable artistic ability. Many of the men showed adaptability in being not only farmers but also fair carpenters, mechanics and smiths. The women demonstrated an amazing ability in preserving foods, in needlecraft and weaving. In short the so-called "foreign" communities were rapidly advancing to full Canadian citizenship while still retaining their many artistic gifts and cultural traditions.

The problem of assimilation within the province of Saskatchewan can be left at this point. From the point of view of the public the matter had become one of historical interest only, and the problems of survival loomed much more importantly during the 1930's. Even towards the end of the period under consideration, when immigration appeared once again to be an important public issue, the problem of assimilation did not come to the front because really active immigration was never resumed. The period, however, had shown the people of Saskatchewan that if they were to take in large numbers of people, particularly from south eastern and central Europe, some definite steps would have to be taken to ensure that these people were absorbed. The schools provided one excellent means of obtaining this result. Voluntary societies and organizations which took their responsibilities seriously, provided another. Time was an essential element. The first generation immigrant was likely to live here physically but basically his loyalties and traditions and beliefs were

with his motherland. But the second generation immigrant was likely to try to fit into the Canadian picture and to take an active part in both Canadian educational institutions and Canadian societies. Most people in Saskatchewan agreed that the British or Scandinavian settler was to be preferred but excellent citizens could be made of other nationalities if sufficient time was allowed. Most people in the province would also have been prepared to admit that these other nationalities had a definite cultural contribution to make to Canadian ways of living. The decade had indeed taught the people of Saskatchewan much concerning the absorption of diverse peoples into their community but economic conditions unfortunately prevented the immediate implementation of these well learned lessons.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Province of Saskatchewan

Archives (at Saskatoon Office)

Collection of United Farmers of Canada, Saskatchewan Section.

Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association.

File #38, Immigration. Canada Colonization Association.

Research and Publicity Department.

File #108, Immigration, vols. 1 - IV.

File #109, Immigration.

File 110, Immigration Commission.

Pamphlet Collection. Miscellaneous Saskatchewan Publications

Newspaper Clippings.

File # 510, Social and Economic Affairs, Settlement and Immigration.

File # 514, Social and Economic Affairs, European Immigration.

File # 521, Social and Economic Affairs, Census.

File # 5245, Social and Economic Affairs, Mennonites.

Department of Agriculture. Bureau of Labor, Annual Reports, 1911-1924.

Department of Railways, Labor and Industries, Annual Reports, 1929-1935.

Public Service Monthly, 1920-1930.

Report of the Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement, 1930.

Dominion of Canada.

House of Commons Debates, 1920-1939.

Sessional Papers, 1875, #40.

1893, #13.

Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations,
Ottawa, 1939. Vol. 1.

Canada Year book, 1912-1947.

Church of England, Diocese of Saskatchewan, Meetings of the Synod,

Journal of Proceedings, 1924-1932.

Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of Confederation of the British
North American Provinces, Quebec, 1865.

Pamphlets

Hornby, M. L. Canada and British Immigration, February, 1936.

The Case for Organized Empire Migration, May, 1937.

British Family Settlement in Canada, January, 1937.

Newspapers

The Saskatoon Star, 1 January, 1920 - 12 September, 1928.

The Saskatoon Phoenix, 1 January, 1920 - 12 September, 1928.

The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, 12 September 1928 - 1 January 1940.

The Regina Leader-Post, selected issues.

The Regina Star, selected issues.

Secondary Sources

- Anderson, J. T. M., The Education of the New Canadian, Toronto, 1918.
- Canadian Annual Review, 1920-1932.
- Creighton, D. G., British North America at Confederation, Supplementary Report to the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Ottawa, 1939.
- Dominion of the North, Boston, 1944.
- Gulliton, J. T., Assisted Emigration and Land Settlement, McGill University, Montreal, 1928.
- Dafoe, J. W., Clifford Difton in Relation to his Times, Toronto, 1931.
- Dawson, C. A., Group Settlement, Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, Toronto, 1931.
- England, R., The Central European Immigrant in Canada, Toronto, 1929.
- The Colonization of Western Canada, London, 1936.
- Harvey, D. C., The Colonization of Canada, Toronto, 1936.
- Murd, W. B., "Decline of the Canadian Birth Rate", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, February, 1937.
- "Fertility of Marriage in Canada", Canadian Economics, vol. 1, Toronto, 1928.
- "Population movements in Canada 1921-31 and their implication", May, 1934.
- Irnis, H. A., "Notes on Problems of Adjustment in Canada", Journal of Political Economy, December, 1935.

- Lower, A. R. M., Colony to Nation, A history of Canada, Toronto, 1946.
- Mackintosh, W. A., Canada as an area for Land Settlement, New York, 1937.
- Marchbin, A., "The Origin of Migration from South Eastern Europe to Canada",
Canadian Historical Association, 1934, pp. 110-120.
- Martin, C., "The Colonial Policy of the Dominion", Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, Vol. XVI (1922), Section 2.
- Morton, A. S., History of Prairie Settlement (Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Vol. II), Toronto, 1938.
- Murray, W. C., "Community Progress Competitions", Queens Quarterly
Winter, 1931.
- Oliver, E. H., "The Beginnings of White Settlement in Northern Saskatchewan",
Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, Vol. XLII
(1925), Section 2, pp. 83-129.
- Sharp, P. F., "The American Farmer and the 'Last Best West'", Agricultural History, April, 1947, abstract in Saskatchewan History, Vol. 1,
No. 1, Winter, 1948.
- Smith, W. G., A Study of Canadian Immigration, Toronto, 1920.
- Haines, W. J., Prairie Population Possibilities, Supplementary Report to the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Ottawa, 1939.

