

PLURALISM AND RACE/ETHNIC RELATIONS
IN
CANADIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE, 1880-1939

by

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presented to the University of Manitoba
in fulfillment of the
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in
History

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Pluralism and Race/Ethnic Relations in Canadian Social Science, 1880-1939

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Susan Bellay

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree**

of

Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This thesis examines the academic researchers who studied race, ethnicity, and race and ethnic relations in Canada between 1880 and 1940. The thesis considers how questions of race/ethnicity and race/ethnic relations were debated in the Canadian milieu of large-scale immigration. The thesis is based on the discussion of these questions in the universities and the evolving social science communities.

The discussion of race/ethnicity in Canada incorporated the evolving political discussion of Dominion autonomy within the British emppire, and was also shaped by the conditions of science and social science in Canada. Influenced by these factors, Canadian liberal scholarly opinion moved away from the extremes of nativism as well as rejecting imperialist views of race, and reflected more moderate perspectives on ethnic diversity during the period of nation-building. By the early twentieth century, Canadian liberal academic thought had come around to at least a partial acceptance of cultural diversity, which was nonetheless subordinated to the idea of a culturally-based nationality and the beneficent state protection and assisted assimilation of ethnic minorities. Academic thought on race/ethnic relations subsequently mirrored a North American dialogue on cultural diversity, as well as reflecting the conditions of Canadian social science in the 1920s and 1930s.

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Introduction

This thesis is a study of the social science community in Canada and its contribution to the emerging discussions of cultural pluralism, race, ethnicity, and racial and ethnic relations in Canada between 1880 and 1945.¹ Rather than presenting a study of the nativistic climate of early twentieth-century Canada, I have chosen to focus on what may be described as liberal-minded "middle opinion." "Liberalism" in this thesis refers to the opinion that developed in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Canada in antithesis to the general conservatism and imperialism of the period, and that advocated, among other things, Canadian autonomy from the British Empire, national distinctiveness from the United States, and an interventionist role for the state. I also use "liberalism" in its more conventional meaning of individualist values, the separation of church and state, universalism, and tolerance in religion. In my examination of "middle opinion," I have tended to concentrate primarily on the published

¹American sociologist Werner Sollors has called attention to the comparatively recent origin of the term "ethnicity," a concept which until the early 1940s had been subsumed under the general category of "race." After the term "race" had been discredited in the aftermath of race politics in Europe, the term "ethnicity" gained prominence as a term encompassing both a sense of "people in general" and a sense of an ethnic group as "others." The terms "race" and "ethnicity," however, remain subject to considerable theoretical ambiguity, particularly when considered in a historical context. See Werner Sollors, "Theory of American Ethnicity, or: "? S Ethnic?/Ti and American/Ti, De or United (W) States S S1 and Theor?", American Quarterly 33, 3 (1981): 259-60.

and manuscript writings of the select community of social scientists. I have largely avoided journalistic and popular writings, and as well have refrained from examining the biologically-based and eugenicist discussions that took place at a scientific as well as a popular level of discourse.

The thesis therefore is focused around the response of a select community of liberal-minded scholarly researchers, mostly social scientists, in Canada to immigration following the Sifton years. As well as reflecting international developments in the emerging liberal scholarly idea of race/ethnicity, nation, and race/ethnic relations, the scholarly discussion incorporated the evolving political discussion of Dominion autonomy within the British empire, and also was shaped by the conditions of science and social science within Canada. The attitudes of this community towards immigration accordingly mirrored peculiarly Canadian conditions and concerns. Influenced by these factors, Canadian liberal scholarly opinion on immigration moved away from the more extreme tone of nativism as well as rejecting imperialist views of race, and reflected more moderate perspectives on ethnic diversity during the period of nation-building.

This thesis examines the interaction of these factors in the Canadian discussion of race relations, and considers how questions of race relations were played out in the Canadian milieu of large-scale immigration. The thesis is based upon the discussion of these questions in the universities and the evolving social

science communities. This thesis argues that by the early twentieth century, Canadian liberal thought had come around to at least a partial acceptance of cultural diversity, which took the form of a culturally-based nationality and the beneficent state protection and assisted assimilation of ethnic minorities.²

The methodology is that of intellectual history, the approach more internal than external. I employ an analytical approach often referred to as intuitive rather than methodologically rigorous; the approach has been to examine text, then to relate the text to similar texts and to the context surrounding their creation. In so doing, I have been particularly attentive to prevailing contemporary discussions of race, nationalism, and ethnicity, and to remain aware of the profound impact which science, particularly genetics and race classification, had on the popular rather than scholarly imagination.

I have tended to view the participants in this discussion in much the same way that John Higham represented them in his classic work Strangers in the Land: as a small, limited community of intellectuals who sought a more inclusive and pluralist approach

²On the varieties of social and political pluralism, see David Nicholls, The Pluralist State: The Political Ideas of J. N. Figgis and His Contemporaries, 2d ed., (London: Macmillan, 1990 [1975]), and Michael Banton, Race Relations, (London and Sydney: Tavistock Publications, 1967). The application to Canada has been made by W. Peter Ward, White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy toward Orientals in British Columbia, 2d ed., (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978, 1990).

to nationalism and nation-building, an approach that consciously rejected the assimilationism and repudiated the antiforeign hysteria of the years of European immigration.³ In this project, studies by David Nicholls, Paul Rich, John Higham, and Philip Gleason have been instrumental in clarifying my understanding of cultural pluralism and its role in the reaction to industrial capitalism, large-scale international migration, and race/ethnic relations in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴

Rich's Race and Empire has been particularly critical in relating the changing concepts of race to prevalent political and economic conditions, while Nicholls' The Pluralist State has provided important descriptions of the "three varieties of pluralism" emerging in British and American thought. Meanwhile, a large historiography has been produced on the idea of race, and recent studies by Elazar Barkan, Nancy Stepan, and George W. Stocking, among others, have helped clarify my understanding of the scientific discussion that underpinned the public and scholarly exami-

³John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925, corrected and with a new preface (New York: Atheneum, 1978, 1963), 119-21.

⁴Nicholls, The Pluralist State; Paul B. Rich, Race and Empire in British Politics, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); John Higham, Send These to Me: Jews and Other Immigrants in Urban America, (New York: Atheneum, 1975); Philip Gleason, "American Identity and Americanization," in Steven Thernstrom, ed., Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981), 31-58.

nation of race relations.⁵

On the other hand, I have not sought to relate the views of the individuals examined in this thesis to the structural relations of race/ethnicity/gender/class. Nor have I approached the project with postmodernist or deconstructionist methods, for instance, examining the contributions of social scientists in Canada to the construction of the twin categories of "Us" and "Other," as described by Robert Miles's study Racism After Race Relations, as well as in select essays in Werner Sollors' collection The Invention of Ethnicity.⁶ For various reasons that will be considered later, I found these methodologies to be limited in characterizing the response of those Canadian intellectuals being considered in this thesis to ethnicity and nation-building.

The modern concepts of race, class and nation were shaped during a particular period in European development in the early

⁵Elazar Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Nancy Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960, (London: Macmillan Press, 1982); George W. Stocking, Jr., After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888-1951, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), and idem, Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology, (New York: The Free Press, 1968).

⁶Robert Miles, Racism After 'Race Relations', (London and New York: Routledge, 1993); Werner Sollors, ed., The Invention of Ethnicity, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

nineteenth century, and exported around the globe.⁷ By the mid-nineteenth century, these factors had united the idea of race and nation into a vision of a racially-based nationality. This mid-Victorian optimism subsequently began to break down under the late nineteenth century global economic expansion and the accompanying international migrations. These developments further were buttressed by the scientific investigations of human diversity resulting in part from imperialist contact with a myriad of distinct cultures and populations.⁸

These developments eroded the complacent connection made in mid-century liberalism between race and nationality, and over time led to the reevaluation of the simplistic association of nation and race.⁹ Among the repercussions was an increasing cultural anxiety regarding the effect of migrating peoples upon a society already mired in urbanization, industrialization, and the enhanced powers of the state. However, these developments also

⁷Banton, Idea of Race, 3.

⁸Rich, Race and Empire, 17-24.

⁹The breakdown of this association in Canada is examined by Joseph Levitt, "Race and Nation in Anglo-Canadian Historiography," Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism 1 (Spring 1981), 1-16. In nineteenth and twentieth-century British and European historiography, see Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and idem, The Invention of Tradition, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983). See also John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds., Nationalism, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

led in liberal thinking to the introduction of cultural relativism, or to the recognition of the relative equality and separate worth of ethnic groups in liberal thinking on race relations.¹⁰ It becomes apparent that despite the dramatic manifestation of Anglo-Saxon racialism in public and political discussion during the height of the late nineteenth-century imperial wars, mainstream liberal opinion had largely abandoned Teutonic racial theory and were couching their definition of ethnicity and ethnic relations in more cultural, less biologically-influenced terms.

These developments also served to shape the Canadian discussion of race or ethnic relations during the period of evolving Dominion autonomy from the empire and the subsequent development of Canadian nationalism. To an extent, this process, as it proceeded in Canada, has been examined by historian Joseph Levitt. As Levitt demonstrates, the cultural rather than biological definition of race/ethnicity remained a continuing feature of scholarly opinion in interwar Canada.¹¹ What also became apparent, though, was the divisions among Canadians on the question of immigration, and that this discussion had a liberal/relativist component as well as a conservative/organic and culturally anxious one. Also evident was the rejection of biological views of

¹⁰Rich, Race and Empire, chapter 2, "Mary Kingsley and the emergence of cultural relativism," 27-49.

¹¹Joseph Levitt, "Race and Nation in Anglo-Canadian Historiography," Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism (1980), 1-16.

race and of biological racism by mainstream liberal opinion. The conscious repudiation of nativism and an assimilationist view of ethnic/race relations further came to characterize the thinking of a select group of pluralists in the early twentieth century, who sought a more inclusive view of Canadian citizenship encapsulated in the concept of the "mosaic".

By the early twentieth-century phase of nation-building, Canadian liberal-minded scholars had largely accepted cultural diversity as an inherent component of the Canadian nation, and remained generally optimistic about their ability to absorb the new changes and still remain essentially a prosperous agrarian and rural nation. Over the course of the early twentieth century, however, liberal scholarship in Canada became divided on the questions of cultural pluralism and the political and social implications of unchecked population growth and ethnic diversity. As depression and war approached, an increasingly conscious and isolationist political effort was made to preserve Canadian national integrity against its possible erosion due to such population pressures as mass migration from overseas and internal migration to the United States. In this effort, Canadian policymakers had the cooperation and backing of interwar Canadian liberal social scientists, who directed their efforts into promoting their role in forging an expert, disinterested and impartial immigration policy of scientific selection and social control. In contrast, a small and select group of Canadian social

scientists continued to openly oppose interwar assimilationism and immigration restriction, and challenged the discriminatory implications of interwar universalism. Their efforts underscored the failure of liberalism in Canada to successfully confront questions of discrimination and race prejudice until these questions had become immediate in the various crises of ethnic/race relations by the onset of the Second World War, notably the Jewish refugee question, the internment of Canadian of Japanese origin, and the wartime relationship of European immigrant groups to the Canadian state.

By the beginning of World War II, a small group of Canadian social scientists had begun to follow the lead of their international counterparts, and, particularly within the post-Depression reevaluation of economic strategy, also began questioning the ideas of culture and race upon which immigration policy and assimilation measures had been based. This questioning was in fact under way some time before the politics of race during the Second World War gave an additional urgency worldwide to the scientific and political reevaluation of the concept of race.¹² The efforts of these social scientists provided a scientific underpinning for cultural pluralism, as well as redirecting Canadian scholarship away from the assimilationism of earlier

¹²For an examination of this process within the British and American scientific communities, see Barkan, Retreat of Scientific Racism, and Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science.

Canadian sociology. Also by the onset of war, Canadians with pluralist views already had begun reconsidering relations between ethnic minorities and the Canadian state, emphasizing unity, harmonious relations between majority and minority groups, and the formulation of a more inclusive definition of Canadian citizenship. This pluralism, however, would remain limited in re-evaluating the wartime relationship between ethnic minorities and the Canadian state.

In general, the response of the Canadian social science community to immigration may be characterized by cultural relativism rather than by nativism or antiforeign sentiment. Cultural pluralism in Canada was rooted in the response to the changing international order of the late nineteenth century, and in the early twentieth century provided an alternative to nativism and biologically-based theories of race/ethnic relations in liberal-minded scholarship. Furthermore, a select membership within the scholarly community consciously attempted to define membership within the Canadian polity in a more inclusive and pluralist way than assimilationism or the "melting-pot". In turn, the discussion of cultural pluralism in Canada emerged within the parameters of various assumptions made by liberal-minded Canadian scholars about the process of nation-building, assumptions that would mainly limit cultural pluralism in Canada to a general tolerance of ethnic diversity while avoiding such broader, more intricate questions of political accommodation and

minority groups of non-European origin.

The immigrant experience has been extensively examined in Canada. The response to immigration and the manifestations of prejudice also have received considerable attention in the Canadian context. In general, the historiography of the Canadian response to immigration has been divided, and has focused on Canadian views of pluralism and multiculturalism and on verifying or refuting the historical existence of the Canadian "mosaic".¹³

Writings about the history of cultural pluralism in Canada are limited. W. Peter Ward has considered but does not elaborate on the characteristics of social and political pluralism in Canada in his study of anti-Asian attitudes and policies. Ward's work points out how pluralism led to a series of discrete divided societies framed by legal and popular attitudes. Allan Smith has written extensively about the symbolic meaning of the "mosaic," and examines how the metaphor of the mosaic has been used historically to distinguish Canadian pluralism from the "melting-pot" ideal of the United States. In so doing, Smith's writings have illustrated an important feature of Canadian pluralism: its particularly tenuous nature, and how pluralism often has been

¹³For instance, see Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds., Readings in Canadian History, vol. 2: Post-Confederation, (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1982), 123-39.

accepted only with difficulty and reluctance.¹⁴

Smith's writings explore the evolution of the idea of cultural pluralism in Canada, and moreover call attention to the historically limited nature of this pluralism. Smith examines the limits to cultural pluralism imposed by factors such as nineteenth-century racial typologies and the search for an elusive cultural nationalism. However, he argues that the idea of pluralism in Canada has had a lengthy history, and has also been conditioned by such factors as the French Canadian presence, the political assertiveness of select ethnic groups and Canadian political values. According to Smith, rather than reflecting historical reality, the mosaic symbolizes the attempts by Canadians to come to terms with the delicate and tenuous task of maintaining a consensus in favour of unity among a heterogeneous population, as well as the difficulty of describing the Canadian national experience.¹⁵

The historical study in Canada of the idea of cultural pluralism has received much less attention than the idea of assimilation or the "melting-pot". Many historians have reexam-

¹⁴Ward, White Canada Forever; Allan Smith, "Metaphor and Nationality in North America," Canadian Historical Review 51, 3 (1970), 247-75. Reprinted in idem, Canada-An American Nation? Essays on Continentalism, Identity, and the Canadian Frame of Mind, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

¹⁵Smith, "Metaphor and Nationality in North America," 127-58.

ined the reality of the mosaic, and have challenged the assumption that Canadians rejected the melting-pot ideal of assimilation in favour of a pluralist acceptance of heterogeneity. Considerable attention therefore has been focused upon assimilation, and upon the historically unequal relations between ethnic minorities in Canada and the host society. Studies by Howard Palmer, W. Peter Ward, Patricia Roy, Irving Abella, Harold Troper, Barbara Roberts, Reginald Whitaker and others have successfully demonstrated that the Canadian record on ethnic relations has been far from spotless, and that numerous instances may be derived within the Canadian context of popular and political intolerance, race prejudice, anti-foreign hysteria, human rights abuses, and discrimination against ethnic minorities in both policy and practice.¹⁶ Milton M. Gordon's model of the "three

¹⁶On popular nativism and Anglo-conformity, see especially Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982). This thesis is central to such important studies of immigration as Donald Avery, Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896-1994, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995), and idem, "Dangerous Foreigners": European Migrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1979). Most recently, this approach has figured prominently in Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998). On anti-foreign attitudes and immigration policy, see also Ward, White Canada Forever; Patricia E. Roy, A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989); Irving Abella and Harold Troper, None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948, (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1982); Barbara Ann Roberts, Whence They Came: Deportation from Canada, 1900-1935, (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988); and Reginald Whitaker, Double Standard: The

theories of assimilation" and the related concept of Anglo-conformity have been especially important to this discussion, as has the model of nativism presented in John Higham's influential Strangers in the Land.¹⁷ John Porter's The Vertical Mosaic additionally has been an important Canadian reference point for sociologists and historians examining the structural framework of discrimination.¹⁸

In contrast, the evolution of the ideas of ethnicity/race and ethnic/race relations generally have received comparatively little historiographical attention in Canada. This thesis has taken the approach that intellectual history has much to contribute to the historical study of ethnicity/race and ethnic/race relations. A significant role is indeed currently being played by intellectual history in the discussion of racism and ethnic identity, particularly by those who have taken a revisionist or deconstructionist approach, as well as by those who examine race/ethnic relations and the place (or absence) of pluralism in the western philosophical tradition. In a broader sense, the subject of diversity and relativism similarly informs the broader

Secret History of Immigration Policy, (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1987).

¹⁷Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Higham, Strangers in the Land.

¹⁸John A. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968).

methodological preoccupations of intellectual history as well as the more historically specific questions of nationalism, pluralism, racism, and universalism.

This thesis has mainly attempted to relate attitudes towards immigration in Canada to the historical evolution of the ideas of race, ethnicity, and race relations. The thesis focuses upon "middle opinion," or the more moderate, articulate, and informed sections of Canadian opinion that expressed tolerant if occasionally paternalistic attitudes towards ethnic minority groups, and who seemed to feel that cultural diversity had much to contribute to the shaping of Canadian identity. These sections include but are not wholly limited to academic opinion. While this opinion remained connected to ideas of race and race relations that have long lost their currency in respectable social science, still this opinion cannot be simply characterized as "nativist" in the sense of being universally anti-foreign, hostile and embodying deep-rooted cultural anxieties.

Although it has now become rote to depict the Anglo-Canadian host society as inherently nativist and anti-foreign, this description has oversimplified and in many cases has failed to capture the complex and nuanced response in English-speaking Canada to immigration and the social question. The limits of the framework of nativism has therefore been one of my concerns. The model of nativism, as developed in John Higham's Strangers in the Land, has been adapted by Canadian historians and has been cen-

tral to the historiography of immigration and ethnic relations in Canada. Since the publication of Strangers in the Land, the concept of nativism has been reshaped and redefined to call attention to a widespread cultural ethnocentrism rather than a xenophobic response to ethnic minorities periodically emerging during crises in nationalism.¹⁹ Yet Higham himself reminds us that nativism "is necessarily a one-sided word, pinpointing exclusionary impulses expressed in the name of the native population." He adds, "Let us keep that traditional meaning. As historians have become sensitive to the many-sidedness of cultural differences, they have had to move beyond the parameters of nativism."²⁰

To some extent, a similar limitation continues to exist in the historical materialist emphasis on race/ethnicity/gender/class, and on a unilateral Anglo-Canadian bourgeois response to immigration. Indeed, as argued by historian Rudolph Vecoli, it is not necessarily accurate or appropriate to represent as "intolerant" the motives and actions of the men and women taking part in such social and political experiments in pluralism as the social settlement movement, regardless of what the present day would see as their limitations on questions of gender and ethnic-

¹⁹James M. Bergquist, "The Concept of Nativism in Historical Study since 'Strangers in the Land,'" American Jewish History 76, 2 (December 1986), 125-41.

²⁰John Higham, "The Strange Career of 'Strangers in the Land,'" American Jewish History 76, 2 (December 1986), 224.

ity.²¹ Yet broader concerns with than the good intentions and tolerant attitudes of social reformers are at issue; the question, rather, is the representativeness of the model that sees all reformers as characterized by ethnocentrism and nativism. In contrast, a body of opinion may be discerned that emerged in opposition to nativism and that challenged ethnocentric ideas of assimilation, but that is often portrayed instead as representative of a generally ethnocentric and culturally anxious Anglo-Canadian nationalism.

Rather than referring to the methods and concerns of historical materialism and deconstructionism, I have shifted my perspective to the political and philosophical centre, and therefore the thesis also addresses the wider question of the historical evolution of pluralism and diversity within the liberal philosophical tradition.²² But if one studies historically the liberal record on ethnicity and pluralism, one still has a responsibility to not do so uncritically and to be aware of its limitations. An

²¹Rudolph J. Vecoli, review of Rivha Shpak Lissak, Pluralism and Progressives, in Journal of American Ethnic History 11 (Fall 1991), 105.

²²See Charles Taylor et al., Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition, ed. and introduced by Amy Gutmann, (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1994); Will Kymlicka, Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights, (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1995), and idem, Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998). Also see Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman, eds., Citizenship in Diverse Societies, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

important consideration in this thesis therefore has been the limits of ethnic accommodation in Canada. The benevolence of middle opinion often masked more distrustful, racially-based attitudes towards minorities, particularly Asian immigrants and native peoples.²³ These attitudes were seldom systematically refuted or challenged, and effectively excluded these groups from participation on equal terms within Canadian society. Often, even the most tolerant of liberal opinion saw little other alternative than to shelter or protect these groups from interaction with Canadian society, and only a handful of interwar liberal academics openly confronted the discriminatory and segregationist implications of such an approach. A key failing of Canadian liberal thought on race relations in the early twentieth century was therefore the overt inability or unwillingness to directly come to grips with the problem of race prejudice, or the more invidious and discriminatory implications of restrictionist policy and legislation. Hence my thesis calls attention to the failure of liberal-minded Canadians to grapple with the inconsistencies and immorality of Asian immigration policy, as well as the slowness of the Canadian response to the humanitarian crisis taking shape in Europe by the late 1930s.

With the current attention focused upon pluralism and differentiated citizenship, the idea and deficiencies of cultural

²³This point is raised in the British historiography by Rich, Race and Empire, 201-02.

pluralism in Canada is receiving more attention than before.²⁴ While more moderate and more accepting of cultural diversity than the historiography of assimilationism would suggest, Canadian liberal thinking on cultural pluralism nevertheless has remained traditionally blunted. The benign acceptance of cultural diversity has not progressed beyond the simple toleration of racial differences, and Canadian pluralism, and liberal thought in general, subsequently have been criticized for failing to provide for a more democratic accommodation of ethnic minorities.²⁵ This discussion historically has militated against the acceptance of a more participatory pluralism in Canada, the definition of which has proved elusive as Canadians attempt to define and come to terms with a multicultural society.

This thesis accepts the proposition advanced by "mainstream" intellectual history that the ideas of race and ethnicity are historically evolutionary, and are rooted in historical time and

²⁴See, for instance, Kymlicka, Multicultural Citizenship, and idem, Finding Our Way. The recent literature on pluralistic citizenship has recently been appraised in Michel Pagé, "Pluralistic Citizenship: A Reference for Citizenship Education," Canadian Ethnic Studies 29, 2 (1997), 22-31. In the United States, the historical experience of diversity is also being reappraised and reconsidered. See, for instance, George M. Fredrickson, "America's Diversity in Comparative Perspective," Journal of American History 85, 3 (December 1998), 859-75; cf. John Higham, "Multiculturalism and Universalism: A History and Critique," American Quarterly 45, 2 (June 1993), 195-219.

²⁵Pagé, "Pluralistic Citizenship," 23.

place.²⁶ Furthermore, this thesis accepts that the ideas of race and ethnicity may be profitably studied in association with other factors such as empire, class and nation.²⁷ This thesis therefore attempts to apply in the Canadian context a historical approach to the idea of race and ethnic relations pursued in the context of British and American social science by Paul Rich and Michael Banton. Also important to this thesis is the history of the critique of the idea of race in the Anglo-American scientific communities, as examined by Elazar Barkan and Nancy Stepan.²⁸

This thesis has not attempted a textual analysis of the discourse of race.²⁹ The approach has not been to treat race as a social construction, nor to attempt to distinguish between a

²⁶A considerable literature exists on the idea of race. See, for instance, Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America, (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1970, 1963); J. W. Burrow, Evolution and Society: A Study in Victorian Social Theory, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1966); Stocking, Race, Culture, and Evolution; Christine Bolt, Victorian Attitudes to Race, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); Michael Banton, The Idea of Race, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1977).

²⁷Rich, Race and Empire in British Politics; Banton, The Idea of Race.

²⁸Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism; Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science.

²⁹For a critical response to the postmodernist trend in intellectual history, see Russell Jacoby, "AHR Forum: A New Intellectual History?", American Historical Review 97, 2 (April 1992), 405-24; but see also the rejoinder by Dominick LaCapra, "Intellectual History and Its Ways," *ibid.*, 425-39. A critical appraisal of postmodern theory as applied to the historical study of ethnic relations is presented in Gordon H. Chang, "History and Postmodernism," Amerasia Journal 21, 1 & 2 (1995), 89-93.

"real" or "constructed" category of race.³⁰ The deconstructionist approach of "inventing" or "constructing" categories of race or ethnicity might be approached with some caution, for this approach presents its own methodological challenges. One of these challenges is that of imposing an oversimplified and presentist order on past developments in the ideas of race and race relations, at the expense of an appreciation of the shifting historical circumstances within which these complex ideas evolved. Thus both the weaknesses and malevolent intent of early pluralists often have been exaggerated by their critics, when these critics have not taken this malevolence for granted; and the complex of ideas which shaped the thoughts and actions of early pluralists operated are erroneously represented as hostile and "anti-foreign."

The deconstructionist challenge therefore raises critical theoretical questions about the imposition of present judgments upon the decisions made in the past, and poses even more important questions about the historical evolution of concepts like "race," "culture," and "ethnicity" that are worthy of serious historical as well as sociological investigation. Rather, this thesis seeks to redirect the inquiry into investigating the complex of ideas that shaped the thinking of a select group of social scientists on race/ethnicity. In so doing, this thesis

³⁰See especially Robert Miles, Racism, (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), and idem, Racism After "Race Relations".

assumes the importance of the periodization of the concept of race, and accepts that the function of the historian is not to pass prior judgment on past actions, but to seek to explain them in their context.³¹

This thesis also has not attempted to provide a study of popular racial attitudes in newspapers or political debate, or to determine the depth and persistence of popular racial attitudes as expressed through songs, stories, symbols, and myths, the cultural media of the inarticulate and powerless members of society.³² Rather, the sample of opinion in this study is limited to the more articulate and educated sources of opinion, with particular emphasis on the academic community, with no claim being made to the universality or correctness of the views expressed by this select group. Moreover, while the interaction of liberalism, gender and ethnicity/race has recently provided a promising area for historical investigation, this thesis has not attempted such an inquiry.³³

³¹On the historiographical controversy surrounding the origins and use of the term "racism," see Rich, Race and Empire, 3-4. See also Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism.

³²See, for instance, Thomas C. Holt, "Marking: Race, Race-making, and the Writing of History," American Historical Review 100, 1 (February 1995), 1-20.

³³See Steve Soper and Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, "The Return of Liberalism," Social History 21, 1 (January 1996), 89-90.

Chapter I
Empire, Race and Immigration in Nineteenth-
Century Canada

The experience of empire, and the racial ideology that accompanied it, were critical to the way in which Canadians initially responded to the new immigration of the late nineteenth century. The subsequent response to immigration within the Dominion may be understood partly in the context of changing social and industrial conditions in Canada, but also needs to be considered in terms of the question of imperial unity and nationhood. This chapter examines the response in Canada to the immigration of the late nineteenth century, during the period presided over by Sir Clifford Sifton as Minister of the Interior under the Liberal government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and relates this discussion to the dialogue over Canada's future within the British empire. Changes in scientific racial theory were critical to this discussion, and the evolution of a more tolerant liberal imperialist approach to immigration may be seen accompanying the Canadian discussion of imperialism and the race theory that was crucial to its development. The response to immigration and to the immigration policies of the "Sifton era" illustrates how divided Canadians were not only on the question of immigration, but on Canada's future within the British empire.

Immigration to Canada altered profoundly during the latter part of the nineteenth century, coinciding with social and indus-

trial change as well as with plans for national economic growth and development. Between 1896 and 1914, the number of immigrants approached approximately two and a half million. For a country the size and population of Canada, immigration reached unprecedented levels, and could not fail to have a significant social, political, and economic impact upon a country in the process of nation-building.

Regardless of the rapid and sudden increase in immigration levels, the majority of immigrants were English-speaking, and hailed overwhelmingly from the English-speaking world.¹ Close to a million immigrants between 1896 and 1914 were British in origin; some three-quarters of a million, affected by the closing of the American frontier, responded to the campaign to recruit suitable agricultural settlers from the United States.

By far the most public concern was directed to the half-million immigrants of continental European origin and approximately thirty thousand Asian immigrants who had arrived in Canada by 1914.²

¹Freda Hawkins, Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 4.

²Ibid. An account of the reaction to immigration is given in Donald H. Avery, Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896-1994, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1995). See also Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932, (1979). See also Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice. On the response to Asian immigration, see Peter Ward, White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy towards Orientals in British Columbia, 2d ed. (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

Contributing to the diversification of the Canadian population were large numbers of immigrants from Germany, Scandinavia, and the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires.³ The effects of this population on the prairie provinces and British Columbia would be an ongoing public concern.⁴

The new immigration of the late nineteenth century fuelled the expansionist and speculative frenzy of the Laurier period. As it did so, Canada entered an unprecedented age of urban expansion and social and political change.⁵ Immigration policy during the Laurier years was formulated during that phase of expansion and investment that accompanied a heady optimism for the Canadian future.⁶ The immigration policy of Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior between 1896 and 1905, provided a reflection and a symbol of the expansionism and optimism of the Laurier years.⁷

³Hawkins, Critical Years in Immigration, 4.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 2-6.

⁶Ibid., 4.

⁷Valerie Knowles, Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1997, rev. ed., (Toronto and Oxford: Dundurn Press, 1997), 61. See also Jean R. Burnet and Howard Palmer, "Coming Canadians": An Introduction to the History of Canada's Peoples, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1988); D. J. Hall, Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon, 1861-1900, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981); Hawkins, Critical Years in Immigration; and Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

Sifton was both a prodigious organizer and energetic administrator, and is generally credited with redirecting Canadian immigration policy toward the goal of the rapid settlement of the prairies and subsequently, Canadian expansion and development.⁸ Sifton, of course, was not single-handedly responsible for the unprecedented migration of European peoples to Canada; nor was he responsible for the character of that immigration, or for the factors that prompted thousands to pull up roots and seek a new beginning overseas. Late nineteenth-century immigration to North America was an unprecedented phenomenon, in part because of the sheer volume, as well as the different ethnic and social composition of the immigrants themselves.

Furthermore, the new immigration reflected changed international and global economic conditions. The reasons for and the circumstances of migration had changed. Moreover, the advent of new and cheaper modes of transportation, as well as new imperial relationships, transformed immigration into a global phenomenon, and underscored increasing global economic interdependency. This interdependency further brought ethnic groups into closer proximity on an unprecedented scale, which had a profound effect on the ensuing discussion of race as well as race relations.

The immigration policy that was shaped under Sifton's adminis-

⁸Hall, The Young Napoleon, 256-57; see also John W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1931).

tration at this time was distinguished in two significant ways. The first was the focus on agricultural immigration, or the immigration of agriculturalists and farm labourers, to the exclusion and outright discouragement of industrial workers. Unlike in the United States after 1893, the emphasis was on the recruitment of a "producing class" of agricultural labour, and the official discouragement of any immigration that might be counted on to congregate in the urban centres.⁹ The second and far more controversial objective was the active solicitation of immigration beyond Great Britain, including rural farm labour from central and southern Europe.¹⁰ In effect, the recruitment of the immigrant farmer knew broader national and cultural bounds. For Sifton, the central or eastern European farmer was preferable to the British or American industrial worker, and represented the type of preferred immigrant sought for Canadian economic objectives:

When I speak of quality I have in mind something that is quite different from what is in the mind of the average speaker or writer upon the question of immigration. I think that a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born to the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children, is good quality.¹¹

Officially, the objective of government policy was to

⁹Knowles, Strangers Within Our Gates, 63.

¹⁰Ibid., 67.

¹¹Clifford Sifton, "The Immigrants Canada Wants," Maclean's Magazine, April 1, 1922. Reprinted in Howard Palmer, ed., Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1975); Hawkins, Critical Years in Immigration, 6.

encourage agricultural immigration to settle on Canadian soil, and was in keeping with several developments. One was the need for settlers to fill up and develop Canada's interior, as a cornerstone of Canadian economic policy; the other concerned "Canada's century." The unbridled optimism of the Laurier years, which anticipated that Canada would eventually sustain a population rivalling that of the United States, was reflected in immigration policy. This latter prediction continued to influence much of Canadian thinking well into the twentieth century, even reemerging at the end of the Great Depression, when policymakers began to consider reopening immigration doors.

The dramatic shift in direction for immigration policy would have enormous repercussions for the discussion of immigration at home. Late nineteenth-century Canadians were quick to respond to the aggressive, seemingly unregulated immigration policy of the Sifton administration, and to the motive of rapid economic expansion that produced it. The response took many forms, reflecting the social, political, and intellectual turmoil within a country attempting to come to terms with industrial and social capitalism.

The first was from imperialists preoccupied with Canada's evolution within the British empire, and which relied on the Teutonic origins theory to buttress their views.¹² But in opposi

¹²On imperialists' views of race in Canada, see Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism

tion to Teutonic racism emerged another view of race and race relations, supported by a more scientifically-based anthropological theory that provided an alternative to the concepts of racial superiority and inferiority associated with mid-Victorian romantic racialism.¹³ This view was considerably more focused on the racial or cultural diversity of the British empire, while continuing to emphasize Anglo-Saxon superiority in culture and civilization.¹⁴

Still another important response came from social reformers, who viewed immigration as affecting the health, physical and moral as well as social and political, of the entire Canadian community. This group tended to reflect anxieties regarding urbanization and industrialization in Canada, and buttressed their arguments with biological and hereditarian scientific theories. Yet not all critics of immigration were motivated by the Anglo-Saxon racism associated with imperial expansion, regardless of persistent concerns with the potential degeneration and "race suicide" of society through the absorption of European elements.¹⁵ Rather, they

1867-1914, reprint ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970, 1985), 116-19.

¹³Rich, Race and Empire, 20-1.

¹⁴Ibid., 18.

¹⁵See, for instance, Ian Dowbiggin, "'Keeping This Young Country Sane': C. K. Clarke, Immigration Restriction, and Canadian Psychiatry, 1890-1925," Canadian Historical Review 76, 4 (December 1995), 600. Dowbiggin argues that a convergence of personal, professional, and cultural factors resulted in the appeal of extreme solutions like eugenics to psychiatrists like C. K. Clarke. See also Ian Dowbiggin, Keeping America Sane: Psychiatry and Eugenics

reflected an interaction between liberal reform and biological or scientific theories, and also reflected a belief in the scientific regulation of society incorporating the state as an instrument of social reform.¹⁶

Liberal social critics were particularly concerned with the social and moral regeneration of Canadian society, and challenged the social and political implications of Sifton's policy on that basis.¹⁷ Their response incorporated a large measure of hereditarianism or neo-Lamarckianism that imparted a generally inconsistent and illiberal tone to their discussion of immigration and assimilation.¹⁸ It has been shown that the evolution of liberal theory incorporated a strong biological component in general, and the relationship between liberal social reform and eugenics or hereditarian theory in the late nineteenth century was similarly

in the United States and Canada, 1880-1940, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

¹⁶Michael Freeden, The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 165-69.

¹⁷On the role of secularization in late Victorian social criticism, see Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

¹⁸On hereditarianism, eugenics and liberal social reform, see Freeden, The New Liberalism, ch. 5, "Social Reform and Human Improvement," 170-194 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978). See also George W. Stocking, Jr., Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology, (New York: The Free Press, 1968), ch. 5, "Lamarckianism in American Social Science, 1890-1915," 234-69.

often close.¹⁹

The response to the new immigration was shaped by the Anglo-Saxon racial ideology that accompanied worldwide imperial expansion, and that had its counterpart within the United States and Britain.²⁰ In the newly confederated Dominion, Anglo-Saxon racial ideology had its own particular character, and reflected Canadian expectations for the role of the Dominion within a newly unified and strengthened Anglo-Saxon world. The increased levels of immigration particularly from the southern and eastern countries of Europe in part were appraised in the context of the imperialism and Anglo-Saxonism that prevailed in Canada particularly during the mid- to late-nineteenth century.

Imperial expansion was buttressed by theories of race purity that were rooted in polygenism, or a belief in the separate origins of the different races of man, and promoted concepts of racial superiority and inferiority. Teutonic racial theory was additionally grounded in a romantic and historical sense of Anglo-Saxon mission. Teutonism was particularly prevalent in the mid-nineteenth century, although its influence as a racial ideology waned after its heyday during the height of imperial expansionism.

However, Teutonism was also essentially an ideology of racial

¹⁹Freedden, "Biology, Evolution and Liberal Collectivism," in The New Liberalism, 76-116.

²⁰Rich, Race and Empire, 13. See also Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea, ch. 5, "The Teutonic Origins Theory," 84-122.

improvement when applied to the white colonies, and many imperialists in Canada conceived of Teutonism in these terms.²¹ Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon racialism implied the regeneration of the Anglo-Saxon race through expansion throughout the globe, as well as incorporating biological and eugenic ideas of race fitness.²² Teutonism therefore tended to imply a single idea of race, and incorporated the idea of a worldwide "commonwealth" united by "'common blood, common interest, and a common pride'" in a wider imperial unity.²³ Teutonism, however, also had a political component, and the "Teutonic origins" thesis suggested the racial basis of liberty and progress in Anglo-Saxon origins. Racial theory was therefore central to the imperialist idea of progress and democracy.²⁴

In Canada, Teutonic racialism combined the idea of an Anglo-Saxon inheritance with the belief that the Canadian character had been shaped by the rigorous northern environment and climate.²⁵ In particular, the northern climate was believed to instill qualities

²¹Rich, Race and Empire, 14. Carl Berger explores the imperialist conception of the role of Canada in the rejuvenation of the Anglo-Saxon peoples in The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914, reprint ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970, 1985), ch. 5, "The Canadian Character," 128-52.

²²Rich, Race and Empire, 15.

²³Anthony Froude, quoted in Rich, Race and Empire, 15.

²⁴Berger, The Sense of Power, 66-8; 118-19.

²⁵Ibid., 128.

of "energy, strength, self-reliance, health, and purity," as well as contributing to the development of a physical Canadian type, described as "'a taller, straighter, leaner people--hair darker and dried and coarser; muscles more tendinous [sic] and prominent and less cushioned.'"²⁶ In Canada, the idea of a "northern nation" was similarly linked with the English liberal ideals of liberty and progress, and the freedom of the northern nation was frequently contrasted with the stagnant and unprogressive nature of the "southern zones".²⁷

In essence, the Canadian northern environment was perceived as playing a potentially very important role in the regeneration of Anglo-Saxon race fitness, amidst fears of its rapid deterioration in the slums and industrial centres of England.²⁸ Aside from its effects on physical type and moral purity, the physical environment and cold northern climate in Canada were also seen as having regenerative effects; it was believed that the Canadian environment could restore the vigour of an Anglo-Saxon race undergoing degeneration in the crucible of urban and industrial Britain. For these reasons, Canada was often upheld as the salvation of an Anglo-Saxon race undergoing degeneration.²⁹

²⁶W. H. Hingston, The Climate of Canada and its relations to Life and Health, (Montreal, 1884), 94, 265-6; quoted in *ibid.*, 129.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 130.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 130; Rich, Race and Empire, 15.

²⁹Berger, The Sense of Power, 130.

The earlier version of Teutonic imperialist theory tended therefore to establish a single racial base for the empire, and generally was not amenable to immigration or theories of assimilation.³⁰ According to the imperialist author and educator, Sir George Parkin, in fact the Canadian northern climate helped function as a process of Darwinian natural selection, for the colder climate inhibited the immigration of the "lower races," particularly those from southern climates.³¹ The presence of French Canada similarly appeared as a threat to the establishment of an English and imperial basis for the Dominion. Many found that the French Canadian presence defied attempts to define a Canadian character on common cultural, linguistic and religious grounds, and the French Canadian element was consequently submerged or ignored.³² The negative side of the French Canadian image was that of the rural, conservative backwater where religious superstition and popery abounded.

Furthermore, while imperialism and Teutonism played a role in the response to French Canada, often antiforeign arguments contained a strong religious component. The Orange Order in particular represented a particularly virulent political assault on the French and Catholic presence in Canada from the perspective of racial

³⁰Rich, Race and Empire, 14.

³¹Berger, The Sense of Power, 130-31.

³²Ibid., 134; Rich, Race and Empire, 15.

Teutonism and Protestant extremism.³³ The most vociferous attacks on the French Canadian identity came from the Orange Order, which upheld the idea of one nation, one language, and a single racial base within a federated British empire.³⁴ Orange opposition to French Canada also incorporated an anti-Catholic theme, combining a fear both of "popery" and of the "Celtic influence" in their concerted political opposition to French Canada.³⁵

However, Teutonic imperialism and the accompanying sense of mission competed with movements of colonial nationalism, and indeed a division may be seen among Canadian imperialists between an extreme racialism and the emergence of a more accommodating view of race relations and diversity.³⁶ As a unifying racial ideology, Teutonism failed to provide the common ground sought between Britain, the colonies of white settlement and the United States.³⁷ In Canada, imperial federationism, with its nationalist focus, provided at least a partial check on the extremes of racial ideology associated with the idea of a common "blood brotherhood" incorporating one language and one religion. In part, this was because of the

³³Berger, The Sense of Power, 134-35. On the Orange Order, see also C. J. Houston and W. J. Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

³⁴Berger, The Sense of Power, 135.

³⁵J. R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," Canadian Historical Review 66, 4 (1985), 474-94.

³⁶Ibid., 135.

³⁷Rich, Race and Empire, 17.

binational character of Canada, and the attempt to integrate English and French into an organic as well as political union.

To some extent, therefore, the Teutonic racialist view of the "northern nation" was modified by Canadian imperialists to accommodate French Canada, and under select conditions, the nations of southern, central and eastern Europe.³⁸ Those who accepted French Canadians as compatriots in a "fusionist" idea of the Canadian nation pointed out that French Canadians were similarly being molded by the northern climate and environment, as well as having come under the beneficence of British influence.³⁹ Furthermore, it was argued that French and English could claim a common racial inheritance through the Norman and Briton "northern strain".⁴⁰

Teutonic racialism further incorporated a tendency to see good qualities in other nations, and appealed to many who found "spiritual inadequacies" within the Anglo-Saxon character.⁴¹ It was often contended that French Canada provided a "Celtic" balance or counterpoint to the aggressive materialism of the Anglo-Saxon, and consequently added to the uniqueness of the Canadian character.⁴²

³⁸Berger, The Sense of Power, 128.

³⁹Ibid., 131.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹George M. Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), 93.

⁴²Berger, The Sense of Power, 144.

Others found considerable virtue in a French Canadian province that retained values which were simple, agrarian and rural.⁴³ The mixture of French and English would have a tempering, even softening, influence on the aggressiveness of the Anglo-Saxon influence.⁴⁴

However, Teutonic racial theory proved generally inhospitable to immigration, particularly from southern and eastern Europe. Even those who saw the potential for race fusion in Celtism and Anglo-Saxonism found it difficult to accept the newcomers from the continent, fearing the social and racial deterioration of the "Canadian race" as a result of their encroachment.⁴⁵ The polygenist emphasis in Teutonic racial theory often resulted in the depiction of the inferiority of European national groups, and an extreme version portrayed "Alpine" and "Mediterranean" racial stocks as inherently unassimilable with the "Nordic" strains.⁴⁶ In 1918, this latter view provided the basis for Madison Grant's racist anti-immigration polemic The Passing of the Great Race.⁴⁷ Canadian imperialists seemingly kept a distance from this polygenist discussion, but some were generally convinced that the cold northern

⁴³Ibid., 140.

⁴⁴Ibid., 123.

⁴⁵Ibid., 163-65.

⁴⁶Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind, 123.

⁴⁷Madison Grant, The Passing of the Great Race, (New York: Arno Press, 1970 [c1918]). On Madison Grant, see Stocking, Race, Culture, and Evolution, 52, 288-89.

climate helped inhibit the immigration of the "lower races" of southern and eastern European origin, and further prevented the migration of coloured immigration from Africa and the United States.⁴⁸

However, the increased influx of European immigration later in the century raised the question of race fusion and amalgamation for imperialists such as Stephen Leacock. In 1909, in an address before the Canadian Club of Ottawa, Leacock attacked the "fusion policy" of immigration, or "the idea that the two great races in Canada are to be mixed together and stirred up until they become one that will be neither British nor French."⁴⁹ Leacock was mainly concerned with the broader implications of the "fusion theory" when applied to southern and eastern European immigrant groups. In general, he rejected a "fusion theory" that would open the immigration doors to "Poles, Hungarians, Bukowinians and any others who will come in to share the heritage which our fathers have won."⁵⁰

It may be noted that Leacock was primarily concerned not that Canada remain a British and imperialist outpost, but was instead an evolving nation incorporating the characteristics of its English and

⁴⁸Berger, The Sense of Power, 130-31, 228-29. See also Robert A. Huttenback, Racism and Empire: White Settlers and Coloured Immigrants in the British Self-Governing Colonies, 1830-1910, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976).

⁴⁹Stephen Leacock, "The Political Achievement of Robert Baldwin," Addresses Delivered Before the Canadian Club of Ottawa, 1903-1909, (Ottawa: The Mortimer Press, 1910), 164.

⁵⁰Ibid.

French founders. "In one sense of the word," he argued, "This is not a British country--and I say this as one who calls himself an Imperialist--but a country which is being built up through the greatness of Britain and the greatness of France." In contrast to the "joint organic development" of the English and French races in Canada, however, Leacock feared the creation of a "mixed race" that mingled "the political wisdom of the British" and "the chivalry of the French" with "the gall of the Galician, the hungriness of the Hungarian and the dirtiness of the Doukhobor."⁵¹ By this time, the Teutonism of Leacock's thinking also buttressed a conservative critique of economic expansion, even while the racial basis upon which Teutonism was founded had increasingly become eroded by developments in scientific anthropology.⁵²

At least temporarily, the response to the new immigration also reflected more immediate political motives. Canadians tended to base their observations about European immigrants upon first- and second-hand accounts of the American experience with the "new immigration" from Europe, and at least one observer, George Parkin, remarked upon how immigration from Europe threatened to dilute the Anglo-Saxon character of the United States.⁵³ At the same time, the character of the new immigration provided, at least for Parkin, one

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Rich, Race and Empire, 18.

⁵³Berger, The Sense of Power, 164-65.

more compelling argument against annexation. With fellow imperialist Colonel George Taylor Denison, Parkin asserted that the new immigration had contributed greatly to the degeneration of American society as well as the dilution of the Anglo-Saxon stock.⁵⁴ For Parkin and Denison, the fact of immigration as well as the "Negro problem" provided at least one more argument for the separateness and distinctiveness of the Dominion from the United States.⁵⁵

By the end of the century, Teutonism had become less important as a scientific theory, and even among imperialists, the scientific basis of the response to immigration had changed. Teutonic ideas of racial superiority tended to be grounded in a historical-mythological ideal that linked English liberty to its origins in the forests of northern Europe. In a more material and scientific age, Teutonism lacked scientific credibility and validity. After the late nineteenth century, Teutonic theory persisted mainly as a popular rhetorical device to buttress the imperial sense of mission.⁵⁶

In particular, the idea of a "pure race" represented by Teutonic theory came to be modified by anthropological and anthropometric investigations within the imperial scientific

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid., 165.

⁵⁶Rich, Race and Empire, 17.

communities.⁵⁷ Scientific investigations that included skull measurements and categorical descriptions of human "types" now underscored the diversity of human races.⁵⁸ However, these same investigations continued to assert the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon races and civilization, and the investigation of human diversity was directly linked to concerns regarding the permanence of colonial rule. The competition posed by colonial labour to white labour and the prospect of the colonial peoples as future consumers of British goods were among the economic factors that appeared to threaten British imperial influence.⁵⁹

By the mid-1880s, anthropologists contended that the English nation had been formed over centuries through the mingling of countless tribes through wars of conquest and migration. The English nation, in short, had been born through a complex process of "race fusion," in which the characteristics of distinct national groups were moulded into a new and distinct nationality.⁶⁰ John

⁵⁷Ibid., 18.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid., 18-9.

⁶⁰The scientific evolution of this phase of anthropology has been thoroughly examined in the historiographical literature. See especially Stocking, Race, Culture, and Evolution, and Stocking, After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888-1951, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995). See also Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind; Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America, (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1970). Recent examinations of the relationship between the sciences and racial attitudes include Nancy Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960, (London: Macmillan in

Beddoe, a British physician and amateur anthropologist, provided the definitive statement of this process in his 1885 The Races of Britain. By focussing attention on diversity within the United Kingdom, Beddoe helped refute the notion of the existence of a "pure" race.⁶¹ The dominant European national groups were instead thought to be the amalgamation of several different racial strains within a unique geographical location over the centuries. The publication of William Z. Ripley's The Races of Europe in 1896 further enforced the idea that racial groups tended to be an amalgamation or fusion of different racial strains or "stocks" over centuries of migration and contact, and also provided a prototype of racial classification and division that was used within North America as well as Europe.⁶²

While investigations such as Beddoe's and Ripley's were instrumental in undermining the doctrine of Teutonic purity, the Canadian anthropological literature as well began to emphasize the racial diversity of the North American continent, and contended that

association with St. Antony's College, Oxford, 1982), and Elazar Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁶¹Rich, Race and Empire, 102; Barkan, Retreat of Scientific Racism, 64-5. Regardless, neither Beddoe nor Ripley distanced themselves from the racial typologies or the idea of separate racial types that had characterized the preceding anthropological view of race. Thus their writings in some respects remained compatible with polygenism, even though they intended to refute polygenist thinking (Stocking, Race, Culture, and Evolution, 65-6).

⁶²Stocking, Race, Culture, and Evolution, 64-5.

a process of racial formation was under way.⁶³ Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, anthropological papers read before the Royal Society of Canada by Sir Daniel Wilson, John Reade and others argued that a unique process of racial formation and modification was taking place on the North American continent.⁶⁴ Studies like Wilson's and Reade's focused on not only ethnological diversity on the North American continent, but on the process by which the North American environment combined with the diverse characteristics of the native peoples to produce what Reade termed a "new ethnic variety" in North America.⁶⁵ Wilson was similarly to participate in the creation of a cultural relativist view of race relations within Canadian anthropology, a process that will be considered more fully in the next chapter.

⁶³This process is examined in Bruce G. Trigger, Natives and Newcomers: Canada's 'Heroic Age' Reconsidered, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), esp. chapter 1, "The Indian Image in Canadian History," 3-49. On the history of Canadian anthropology, see Douglas Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology, 1850-1910," Journal of Canadian Studies 8, 33 (1973): 33-45.

⁶⁴See, for instance, John Reade, "The Making of Canada," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the year 1884, (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, Publishers, 1885), 1-15; Reade, "The Literary Faculty of the Native Races of America," *ibid.*, 17-30; Daniel Wilson, "The Huron-Iroquois of Canada, a Typical Race of American Aborigines," *ibid.*, 55-106; John Reade, "The Half-Breed," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the year 1885, (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, Publishers, 1886), 1-21; Daniel Wilson, "The Artistic Faculty in Aboriginal Races," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the year 1885, (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, Publishers, 1886), 67-117.

⁶⁵Reade, "The Making of Canada," 1.

The theory of "race fusion" was used in Canada to describe a process of amalgamation in which English and French Canadians were becoming amalgamated into a unique "Canadian race". A notable example of this hypothesis may be found in the presidential address of Sir Sanford Fleming to the Royal Society of Canada in 1889.⁶⁶ Fleming observed in this address that anthropology had failed to verify the existence of independent ethnological origins for English and French groups.⁶⁷ Instead, English and French were believed to have derived from the same racial stock.⁶⁸ The differences in culture were ascribed by Fleming to centuries of environmental modifications in Europe resulting from migrations, invasions, tribal warfare, and the resulting changes in political and social forms from this early intertribal contact.

In North America, Fleming argued, lay the potential for the reunification of these two racial strains in a composite Canadian character that would not be dominated by one strain or the other, but that would incorporate the characteristics of both.⁶⁹ In this manner, a Canadian nationality would be created in the same way in which the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons had merged to create an

⁶⁶Sanford Fleming, presidential address, Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the year 1889, vol. VII, (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, Publishers, 1890): xxii-xxxii.

⁶⁷Ibid., xx.

⁶⁸Ibid., xxv.

⁶⁹Ibid., xxx.

English identity over the centuries.⁷⁰ The hypothesis therefore was a rejection of the notion of race purity, and presumed the melding over time of distinct racial groups, with the shaping influence of the environment combining to create a new composite character. For Fleming, the reunification of English and French on the North American continent therefore boded well for the future character of the Dominion. If it were the case that diversity was not a hindrance but a "substantial and solid advantage" to national development, then Fleming saw "the best grounds for hope" in the common inheritance of English and French incorporated into the development of a political community.⁷¹

Anthropology in Canada and abroad had clearly spearheaded a reaction against Teutonic or romantic racialism, and the result was a greater acknowledgement of the diversity of peoples that appeared to respect their inherent cultural characteristics.⁷² However, the intent of this position was still very assimilationist, and presupposed the eventual assimilation of native and non-English cultures to the political and cultural norms associated with Canada's British cultural origins. This position also could not overcome public pessimism regarding the ability of Canada to absorb the immigration of non-British origin without serious damage to the

⁷⁰Ibid., xxviii.

⁷¹Ibid., xxx.

⁷²Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, 39-44.

character of the Canadian nation.

The emerging focus on racial diversity was not the sole challenge to a deterministic Teutonic racial theory. Also incorporated into the imperialist dialogue was a more sophisticated analysis of "inter-racial contact," which avoided reducing the discussion of race differences to deterministic climatic and geographical influences.⁷³ Discussions of interracial contact were instead linked to an awareness of the global economic forces that were bringing the migrating peoples of the world into proximity and contact.⁷⁴ The concept of race was therefore extended to refer to inter-racial relations rather than to fixed and static categories of race, with the outcome as yet undetermined. According to British liberal scholar and politician James Bryce, inter-racial contact provided four alternative outcomes. These included "extermination or genocide, dominant assimilation, two-way assimilation or a 'melting pot', or a model of social pluralism."⁷⁵ Canadian writers, buttressed by the texts of American sociology, similarly were aware of these alternatives. However, they would distinguish the Canadian from the American example on several critical points.

Later imperialist writings in Canada on immigration by writers such as Stephen Leacock and J. R. Conn similarly incorporated this

⁷³Rich, Race and Empire, 20.

⁷⁴Ibid., 21.

⁷⁵Ibid., 22.

more sophisticated and sociological awareness of the interaction of global economic forces. In this, they were buttressed by their reading of the effects of European immigration in the United States, and particularly by academic texts on immigration produced by early American sociologists and political economists such as John R. Commons, Richmond Mayo-Smith, Prescott Hall, and J. D. Whelpley.⁷⁶ But the Canadian tendency was not to emulate the American studies of immigration in the absence of an explanatory Canadian sociology. Rather, the United States emerged as an example of the ill effects of immigration to be avoided in Canada through a policy of immigration restriction.

Particularly when confronted with the American example in such close proximity, many Canadian imperialists were pessimistic about the effects of assimilating the "backward" European groups on a Canadian nation in formation. Particularly notable expressions of pessimism arising over the prospect of "inter-racial contact" were expressed by J. R. Conn and by political economist and satirist

⁷⁶For example, see Richmond Mayo-Smith, Emigration and Immigration: A Study in Social Science, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890); Prescott F. Hall, Immigration and Its Effects upon the United States, (New York: Holt, 1907), and "Selection of Immigration," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 24, 1 (1904), 167-84; John R. Commons, Races and Immigrants in America, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907); James Davenport Whelpley, The Problem of the Immigrant: a brief discussion with a summary of conditions, laws, and regulations governing the movement of population to and from the British empire, United States, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Spain, Portugal, Netherlands, Denmark, Scandinavia and Russia, (New York: E. P. Dutton, [1905?]).

Stephen Leacock. Both are significant for the sociological perspective they brought to the study of immigration, and for their conservative critique of the direction of capitalist and industrial development represented by Sifton's immigration policy.

Conn is considerably less well known than Leacock, but nonetheless contributed to the discussion of immigration with an analysis that appeared in the scholarly journal Queen's Quarterly in 1900.⁷⁷ Conn presented an imperialist critique of the turn taken by federal immigration policy, and argued that it was impossible to separate the economic from the social and spiritual effects of any aggressive immigration policy.⁷⁸ For Conn, writing in 1900, the new global economic forces, and the prospect of infiltration of the Dominion with "backward" European groups, constituted a virtual revolution in the philosophical justification behind immigration. Conn argued that the new immigration negated the Enlightenment principle of the right of the individual to unrestricted migration, a principle commonly used to justify immigration up to the mid-nineteenth century. Immigration, as declared by the United States Congress in 1868, had been defined as a "'natural and inherent right of all people indispensable [sic] to the enjoyment of the rights of

⁷⁷See, for instance, Angus McLaren, Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1990), 48.

⁷⁸Ibid., 121.

life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' ".⁷⁹ Conn countered that the new economic and global realities necessitated a more careful and restrictive approach to immigration, and negated the previous principle of the right of unrestricted migration.

For the Enlightenment principle of individual rights and liberties that had earlier permitted freedom of migration, Conn substituted the pre-eminence of the collectivity or social organism. According to Conn, "the watchwords of one generation are discredited by the next"; the mid-century emphasis on the right of the individual could no longer be used to justify emigration.⁸⁰ Rather, immigration was to be seen as a social right, and must be determined by the "social interests of communities." "Consequently," Conn wrote, "it is within a nation's jurisdiction to say who shall or who shall not come to dwell within its boundaries."⁸¹ This imparted the right to restrict immigration according to the interests of the national life and the welfare of the nation involved. The national duty was to aim for a higher national good, and to eliminate any elements that were "opposed to it."⁸²

In place of any "natural and inalienable" right to migration, Conn had therefore substituted a belief in the pre-eminence of the

⁷⁹J. R. Conn, "Immigration," Queen's Quarterly 8, 2 (October 1900), 118.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid., 119.

⁸²Ibid.

social organism, the protection of which took precedence over any individual right to migrate in search of better economic opportunity. Rather, he argued, a country had the right to determine the composition of its population through regulating its immigration volume. In this light, the same principle that justified American imperialism in Cuba, the British occupation of South Africa, and the European presence in China could be used to justify the exclusion of "alien" elements seen as unassimilable within the broader Canadian population.⁸³

Conn's position was closely tied to Anglo-Saxon racialism as well as a social Darwinist belief that "the higher civilization has a moral right to displace the lower."⁸⁴ The right of the "higher as against the lower types" provided the justification for imperial extension worldwide, including the European occupation of China, the American presence in Cuba and the Philippines, and the British occupation of South Africa.⁸⁵ The same right, according to Conn, "justifies the people of this continent in shutting out such alien elements of population as seem likely to lower rather than raise the general type of life."⁸⁶

Having outlined the theoretical justification for an

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Ibid.

exclusionary and racially-oriented immigration restriction policy, Conn challenged the policy of rapid and unrestricted immigration for settlement and rapid economic development. Viewing immigration solely in terms of its economic benefits, Conn argued, was a mistake. Rather, he contended, it was impossible to separate social and economic effects, and to isolate the economic as evidence of the viability of immigration.⁸⁷ The immigrant was not merely a producer or consumer: he was a citizen, and was expected to take a citizen's place in the community, and, as such, would modify the institutions and life of his adopted community for good or ill.⁸⁸

Most significant was Conn's notion of assimilation. Assimilation meant a permanent change in the character of Canada. In "presenting farms to these hordes of Doukhobors, Galicians, Hungarians, Finns, Icelanders, Swedes, Germans and others," Conn asserted, "we are pledging ourselves to give up our character and take on a new one--such a character as these people in union with us shall form."⁸⁹ It would therefore be necessary, according to Conn, to take stock of the immigration that would have such a profound effect on the Canadian character, and the social modification that it would produce.

In this respect, one of the most significant features of

⁸⁷Ibid., 121.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Ibid., 127.

emigration was that it "is almost entirely a movement of the lower class." Furthermore,

The lower class in every country invariably exhibits the largest proportion of illiteracy, pauperism, vice and crime. Consequently an abnormal increase of these undesirable features is to be expected in any country that recruits its population through immigration.⁹⁰

Conn's most strenuous objection to immigration, therefore, was its character as "backward," rather than its racial or national origin, although the two were likely to be combined. At this point, instead of a deterministic Teutonic view of race differences, Conn employed the categorization of "advanced" and "backward" peoples that was central to the Victorian discussion of race relations.⁹¹ Conn therefore expressed a neo-Lamarckian theory that a "two-way assimilation" would result from the contact with the emigration of the "backward" classes, and the resulting fusion would be a degradation of the character of the Canadian people.⁹² This was a fear shared by many imperialists, as well as by many social reformers in an age obsessed with social degeneration, race suicide, and purity. The important feature about Conn's critique of immigration, though, was that it incorporated an appreciation of class as well as of race, and employed categories of class as well as of race relations.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Rich, Race and Empire, 21-2.

⁹²Ibid., 23.

Conn argued that Asian, European and even French Canadian groups did not fit well in the Canadian social organism, and that the prospects for their assimilation were poor.⁹³ The Chinese example clearly demonstrated to Conn that the social, rather than economic, effects of immigration were troublesome. If it were a clear case of economics, he argued, the Chinese would be a welcome asset in terms of the labour they provided.⁹⁴ Conn objected to Chinese immigration in particular on "social" grounds, thereby demonstrating the racist component of his thinking. Conn contended that the social attributes of the Chinese, accompanied by an "abnormally low" standard of living, made the Chinese incompatible with the economic and social standards of Canadian civilization.⁹⁵

Conn was even less optimistic about the outcome of assimilation in general, which he feared would lead to a downward alteration of Canadian national life through the integration of the "backward" classes.⁹⁶ Conn also had little faith in the viability of a binational, or multinational state, either in Switzerland, the quintessential example of a multinational state, or within Canada, with its binational character.⁹⁷ The concept of "multiple national-

⁹³Conn, "Immigration," 122-23.

⁹⁴Ibid., 122.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Ibid., 126-27.

⁹⁷Ibid., 122-23.

isms," he felt, led to divisions along racial lines, and hampered the prospects of internal political unity.⁹⁸ Rather than distinct nationalities, Conn portrayed Canada as being divided along racial lines, and argued that the resulting political antagonisms were detrimental to the cause of internal unity and political stability.⁹⁹ The example of Switzerland, he wrote, also demonstrated the impossibility of achieving internal political stability and cohesion within a pluralist state. The Canadian example, moreover, with its history of social and political confrontation between the English and French-speaking groups, demonstrated the futility of attempting to amalgamate a single country from two separate "races".

Similar comments were expressed by Stephen Leacock, the noted imperialist, political economist, author and satirist. Leacock opposed immigration and feared the implications of the continental European influx. In 1911, Leacock's critique of immigration incorporated a concept of race relations based not simply on romantic racialism, but on an understanding of the economic forces that had brought the world's peoples together in a global interaction. As with Conn, Leacock's awareness of global interdependence through the extension of imperialism similarly imbued his writings with a theory of interracial relations, as opposed to the static racial categories

⁹⁸Rich, Race and Empire, 21.

⁹⁹Ibid., 20-21.

of the Teutonic period.¹⁰⁰

Leacock's appraisal of the impact of interracial relations was pessimistic. In his view, the immigration of the "backward classes" of southern and eastern European countries would have a detrimental effect on the formation of Canadian civilization, which he hoped could be protected from the ravages of industrial Britain and Europe. According to Leacock, Canada faced the same population pressures once faced by the United States, but at a more critical stage of Canadian development. In the absence of a broad population base and the development of an "established political system," Canada stood to be more adversely affected by the movement of European immigrants in search of free lands. The United States, wrote Leacock, had already passed through its industrial revolution, and immigration to the United States during the formation of the early commonwealth had never been enough to overwhelm the "native-born." In contrast, "[to] us in Canada, with our exiguous population, our dislocated geographical contour, and with our political future still in the making, the matter [of immigration] is one of vastly political import."¹⁰¹

Most important was the changed character of immigration from

¹⁰⁰Stephen Leacock, "Canada and the Immigration Problem," National Review 17 (March-August 1911), 313; Rich, Race and Empire, 21-22.

¹⁰¹Leacock, "Canada and the Immigration Problem," 318-19.

Europe, changed in terms of both cultural and economic status.¹⁰² Leacock linked the two in significance. It was not simply that the origin of the new immigration had changed, but that the class had changed as well:

They are, in great measure, mere herds of the proletariat of Europe, the lowest classes of industrial society, without home and work, fit objects indeed for philanthropic pity, but indifferent material from which to build the commonwealth of the future... industrial Europe is moving in earnest, and in this great change of domicile the people of the lowest economic development are now in the vanguard.¹⁰³

It was not only the industrial origin, but the commensurate cultural status that concerned Leacock. For Leacock, it was the most illiterate and uneducated class that was currently being encouraged to migrate, largely owing to the availability of cheaper transportation. Lacking even the common school and educational system of the "advanced democratic States," these immigrants, argued Leacock, posed a threat to the high intellectual and democratic standard Canadians sought to maintain.¹⁰⁴ Implicit in Leacock's argument was a belief that the contact of the "lower" immigration with the "higher" elements of Canadian civilization would lower the overall quality of Canadian life; or, that Canadian ideals of democracy would quickly be overwhelmed by an unassimilable population used to despotic political forms.

¹⁰²Ibid., 323.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 324-25.

For Canada, Leacock argued, the question of assimilation was more complex than it was for the United States. Leacock asked if it was enough to merely emulate the United States, or whether Canadians wished to "far surpass" the United States in "this cheap and easy method of nation-making."¹⁰⁵ At the heart of Leacock's analysis was a rejection of the materialism of Canadian society, which was expressed in an immigration policy designed to fill up Canadian spaces as quickly as possible for economic gain.

Leacock emerged as an opponent of the schemes of state-aided British colonization that belonged to the ideal of inter-imperial unity.¹⁰⁶ Responding to proposals for the assisted settlement of Canada's prairies with Britain's surplus population, and particularly to the "'hundred thousand clubs of the West," he depicted Canada as part of the "last West," one of the few territories in the new world with arable land open for settlement. This vast, unsettled territory rendered Canada the heir apparent for immigration following the closing of the American frontier; it was this notion that Leacock hoped to counter.¹⁰⁷

At this point, Leacock introduced the idea that there were "limits to absorption" of any immigrant population.¹⁰⁸ In opposition

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 325.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 316.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 318.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

to the idea that Canada, with its open spaces, was harbouring a "dog in the manger" attitude toward the overflow of European immigration, Leacock countered that "you cannot make a nation by holding a basket at the hopper of an immigration chute."¹⁰⁹ This was a direct assault on the expansionist mentality that related national greatness to the rapid population settlement of the west, a mentality that Leacock equated with the worst of the republicanism of the south:

The development of the interior that should be planned with the majesty, certainty, and symmetry of the building of a Grecian temple, is conducted with the same eager haste as the erection of a circus tent. The Canadian toad swells and distends itself to the bursting-point in vain emulation of the bulk of the American ox.¹¹⁰

In the end, Leacock's reaction against immigration was buttressed by an idea of Canadian greatness and exclusiveness that he wished to meet through alternate, more conservative and more subdued means.

Leacock's imperialism echoed Conn's as a pessimistic appraisal of immigration from a conservative perspective while incorporating a critique of the expansionist economic policy of Laurier liberalism. Teutonic racism and social Darwinism provided a political underpinning of imperialism in their writings, but the critique presented by Leacock and Conn also was founded upon a conservative social and political critique of Canadian civilization and the effects of capitalist development upon national values and standards. As well, they integrated Victorian fears of the confronta-

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 313.

¹¹⁰Ibid, 327.

tion between "advanced" and "backward" classes, a Victorian device frequently used to describe race relations.

Not every imperialist student of immigration rejected immigration and the implications of diversity for Canada's continuing evolution within the British empire. Howard Angus Kennedy was a British-born journalist who spent nine years in Canada as a reporter for the Montreal Daily Witness, and wrote extensively on Canadian problems and Canadian conditions upon his return to London as a correspondent in 1890.¹¹¹ However, Kennedy was to return to Canada in 1912, this time as a freelance journalist, and remained until his death in 1938. He was the author of several books throughout his lengthy writing career, and contributed several short stories and articles to magazines such as the Pall Mall Magazine and Contemporary Review. In 1929, Kennedy became national secretary of the Canadian Authors' Association, a position he held until his death.¹¹²

Kennedy was described as an "advanced Liberal and an imperialist," and a committed supporter of imperial free trade. Sir Sanford Fleming further referred to him as "always true to the Canadian

¹¹¹"Howard Angus Kennedy," in W. Stewart Wallace, The Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 2d ed., rev. and enlarged, vol. 1, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, at St. Martin's House, 1945), 318.

¹¹²"Howard Angus Kennedy," in Henry James Morgan, ed. The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Hand-book of Canadian Biography of Living Characters, 2d ed., (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), 605.

cause".¹¹³ While in London, Kennedy authored several books about the Canadian interior, including the 1897 The Story of Canada.¹¹⁴ One of these, New Canada and the New Canadians, was a portrait of immigration in the Canadian west, in which Kennedy aimed to impart a sense of the mixture of peoples settling and developing the Canadian prairie region.¹¹⁵

Kennedy viewed immigration and emigration from a British imperialist perspective but, unlike Leacock, emphasized both imperial and racial unity as an objective of any immigration policy.¹¹⁶ As well as the strengthening of the Empire through emigration, Kennedy was also concerned with the quality of the population remaining in Britain; for this reason, perhaps he was somewhat more receptive to non-British migration, provided it was of the "right sort".¹¹⁷ Kennedy thus did not seem to have trouble with the concept of multiple nationalisms within a single state. The amalgam of nationalities, he felt, would be good for the western Canadian region. Not only did he have faith in the assimilative capacity of the western Canadian environment, but was also firmly convinced that the seeds of future British citizenship were in the

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵Howard A. Kennedy, New Canada and the New Canadians, (London: Horace Marshall & Son, 1907).

¹¹⁶Ibid., 250.

¹¹⁷Ibid., 257-258.

various nationalities which had come to settle in the Canadian west. Each nationality contained good citizenship qualities that only needed development in the right environment, as well as proper instruction in citizenship in the public schools. In the clean environment of the Canadian west, these qualities would unite into a more enriched and diverse population.

Kennedy's faith in the ameliorating effects of the Canadian environment, and in evolution in general, stands in contrast to the hereditarianism of the anti-immigration arguments. Kennedy believed that immigration, even of continental European origin, would satisfy Canada's need for population. Kennedy further argued that Chinese and Japanese immigration had a role to play in the formation of a composite Canadian nation, assuming they were of the "right sort". If they were, he opined, there should be nothing to fear from a "considerable influx of Japanese and other Asiatics," although he remained "well aware of the special arguments against such a movement".¹¹⁸ As for the "Continental races," he wrote,

...it would be the height of folly to discourage their emigration to Canada. With any rational and patriotic system of education in their new home, these people will in a generation or less be intelligent English-speaking citizens; and they will reinforce the stock from which the future British race must be produced.¹¹⁹

Immigration from non-British sources thus became a way not only to strengthen the Canadian population, but to subsequently strengthen

¹¹⁸Ibid., 258.

¹¹⁹Ibid., 258-59.

and preserve imperial ties and imperial unity as well, assuming, with Sifton, that this immigration was the "right sort" and not of the "undesirable and unimprovable" variety.¹²⁰

Kennedy's views suggest the emergence of a liberal imperialist view of immigration, particularly that of continental European origin, by the beginning of the twentieth century. Kennedy emphasized the importance of the imperial connection, while his case for immigration was intended to strengthen imperial unity while ensuring the Canadian population base was not enhanced through an excess of British migration. He was subsequently much more receptive to immigration and diversity at the social level than either Conn or Leacock. As well, an element of cultural pluralism, or at least a sense of the separate worth of diverse cultures, seemed also to inform his position on immigration. While this relativism was buttressed by a sense of British cultural superiority, this superiority was at least depicted in "relative rather than absolute terms."¹²¹ This relativism would play an important role in the emergence of a liberal Edwardian position on race relations.¹²²

¹²⁰Ibid. Kennedy's opinion of the "wrong sort" of immigrant also included the British migrant who was prevented, due to his own defects, from succeeding in Canada (p. 97).

¹²¹Rich, Race and Empire, 26.

¹²²Ibid.

Late Victorian fears of immigration were often grounded in the awareness of industrialism and urbanization. These fears reflected a preoccupation with the "social question," or with the prospects of moral, social, and especially physical decay that accompanied a rapidly industrializing society.¹²³ Preoccupations with "race purity" and racial fitness tended largely to reflect Victorian fears of the moral and physical degeneration accompanying urban and industrial society, rather than notions of racial superiority. Immigration in late nineteenth-century Canada subsequently was debated within the context of a society preoccupied with the ill effects of materialism, industrial degeneration, and urban decay.

Historians have long recognized the tension between the liberal political objectives of social reformers and the illiberal opinions and attitudes expressed towards immigrants.¹²⁴ This

¹²³The urban and industrial context of Victorian social reform in Canada is explored in Cook, The Regenerators. See also John Higham, "Integrating America: The Problem of Assimilation in the Nineteenth Century," Journal of American Ethnic History 1, 1 (Fall 1981), 21.

¹²⁴See Carol Lee Bacchi, Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); Ian Dowbiggin, "'Keeping This Young Country Sane'"; McLaren, Our Own Master Race; and Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991). Bacchi places the roots of suffragism in liberal political reform, and explains the opposition to immigration in terms of the Anglo-Saxon and Protestant ideology of the reformers. In contrast, Dowbiggin, in his studies of the professionalization of psychiatry in Canada and the United States, has argued that professionalization played a greater role in the opposition of public health reformers to immigration than Anglo-Saxon views, and has downplayed the significance of racist and eugenic attitudes in the response to immigration.

contradiction in liberal thought was inherited by the Canadian social reformers who tackled the question of immigration while addressing the problems of poverty, illiteracy, crime, disease, political inequality and the other ill effects of an urban and industrial civilization. It must be noted, though, that liberal social reformers tended to eschew the typologies of racial superiority and inferiority associated with Teutonic theory. Although social reformers upheld the superiority of the British cultural connection, their racial thought reflected the heritarian and environmentalist discussion that characterized the sciences and social sciences at this point.¹²⁵

Again, science was central to the evolution of a liberal social reform ethic. The "development of a better human being" or emphasis on "human improvement" imparted a scientific and systematic mission to liberal social reform.¹²⁶ Attention was focused on two critical issues: the importance of the environment in shaping character, and the "breeding of a better human stock" through eugenics.¹²⁷ These two emphases were part of the mixed and often fearful response of social reformers, who followed the prevailing scientific conventions on the subject of race along a broad spectrum of social

¹²⁵On the tension between hereditarianism and environmentalism in American social science, see Stocking, Race, Culture, and Evolution, 250-51.

¹²⁶Freedden, The New Liberalism, 170.

¹²⁷Ibid., 171.

opinion.¹²⁸ Rather than producing a critique of these conventions, these racial conventions were influenced by social and political discourse in Canada as they were elsewhere.¹²⁹

Liberal social reform approached the question of immigration from both hereditarian and environmentalist perspectives. On the one hand, many were influenced by neo-Lamarckianism.¹³⁰ As in Britain, late nineteenth-century liberal social reform in Canada contained a markedly illiberal component: the belief that social characteristics were inherited and immutable, and could therefore not be ameliorated through environmental reform.¹³¹ Both class and racial characteristics were presumed to be inherited, and the social characteristics of "foreigners" of a lower social class and originating from "despotic" European nations were apparently regarded as immutable and not subject to modification by the

¹²⁸Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism, 66, raises this point with respect to the British and American scientific communities.

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰On the role of neo-Lamarckianism in the social response to immigration, see Stocking, Race, Culture, and Evolution, ch. 10, "Lamarckianism in American Social Science, 1890-1915," esp. 250-58. However, see also Freedon, The New Liberalism, 174, on the contrasting role of Weismann's biological theories to an acceptance of the importance of environment on biological modification. The environmentalism of August Weismann presented a significant scientific challenge to Lamarckian hereditarianism, although George W. Stocking finds that hereditarianism and environmentalism often operated in tandem in late Victorian social thought (Race, Culture, and Evolution, 251).

¹³¹Freedon, The New Liberalism, 177-79.

Canadian environment. The assimilation of these immigrants therefore raised the spectre of "race suicide" and the degradation of the Canadian population.

For a considerable component of social reformers, therefore, immigration restriction seemed to fit neatly into the catalogue of reforms available to a population made anxious by urbanization and industrialization, and concerned with the purification of Canadian society. Also, rather than being a single movement, the appeal of immigration restriction appeared to bridge several social movements as a partial resolution to urban social problems. Immigration restriction had many proponents within the public health movement, the temperance movement, the suffragist movement, and particularly by the eugenics movement, as well as being associated with a host of other voluntary associations preoccupied with social reform.

By the start of the twentieth century, the consensus of social reformers appeared to be that Canadian society could ill afford to continue the type of unregulated admission of immigration associated with the Sifton years. If the problems created by immigration could not be resolved with recourse to character modification, then immigration restriction appeared to provide a ready alternative to the elimination of the source of the problem.

Above all, the problem of "race fitness" appeared central. To reformers, the infiltration of Canada by the "mentally degenerate" and "insane" of European nations seemed destined to contribute to the deterioration of the race; competition from Chinese and Japanese

labourers threatened to undermine the standard of living of white Canadian workers used to different industrial practices. Yet to Victorian contemporaries, the concept of "race fitness" had less to do with the superiority or inferiority of distinct racial groups, and referred instead to the physical and moral health of a society in general.

This meaning of "race fitness" may be seen particularly in the mental hygiene movement, which combined medicine, eugenics, and a typically late Victorian concern with such questions as race suicide, race degeneration, and the condition of the cities. The mental hygiene movement in Canada adopted the cause of immigration restriction early in its development. The mental hygiene movement was closely associated with the cause of immigration restriction, and, furthermore, was less motivated by a quest for racial purity than by anxieties governing the fitness of Canadian society.¹³²

Similarly, the suffrage movement in Canada, with its quest for purity and moral reform, seized upon immigration to buttress claims that the moral purity of women justified the extension of the franchise.¹³³ To a movement that tended to attract among its numbers

¹³²Dowbiggin, "'Keeping This Young Country Sane'", 600; Dowbiggin, Keeping America Sane. On the asylum movement and the early history of mental health care in Manitoba, see Cornelia Johnson, "A History of Mental Health Care in Manitoba: A Local Manifestation of an International Social Movement," M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of Manitoba, 1980.

¹³³Bacchi, Liberation Deferred?, 50-5. On the relationship between late nineteenth-century feminism and immigration, see also Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canada's Women Doctors: Feminism

an often highly educated and politicized following, it was the epitome of irony that the undereducated European immigrant would be favoured with the franchise, while university-educated women would continued to be denied the basic privileges of Canadian citizenship.¹³⁴ While some suffragist reforms were aimed at "cleansing, Christianizing, and assimilating" the immigrant, others concurred with Isobel Graham, contributor to the Grain Growers' Guide, that the West could not afford "'dilution by the ignorance, low idealism, and religious perversity of the average foreigner.'"¹³⁵

On the opposite side of the coin, however, many social reformers simultaneously accepted the importance of environment to the shaping of human character. The more sympathetic of social reformers placed considerable emphasis on a "Canadianization" campaign designed to assist the adjustment of immigrant groups to the Canadian social and political environment. For instance, suffragist Emily Murphy professed admiration for immigrant traits, such as the piety of the Doukhobors and the peasant values of the Ukrainians.¹³⁶ Reformers like Murphy subsequently advocated

Constrained," in S. E. D. Shortt, ed. Medicine in Canadian Society: Historical Perspectives, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981), 207-35; and Barbara Roberts, "'A Work of Empire': Canadian Reformers and British Female Immigration," in Linda Kealey, ed., A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s, (Toronto: Women's Press, 1979), 185-201.

¹³⁴Bacchi, Liberation Deferred?, 50-55.

¹³⁵Ibid., 53.

¹³⁶Ibid.

instruction in Canadian language, laws, and citizenship to assist the assimilation of immigrant groups into Canadian national life.¹³⁷

To social reformers in general, immigration restriction appeared to provide a tempting and efficient solution to the regulation of social ills associated with industrialism and urbanization. These reformers simultaneously demonstrated an ongoing tension in liberal reform thought between deterministic biological theories, evolutionism, and independent human consciousness. This tension characterized sociology and social reform in the late nineteenth century.¹³⁸ The other side of liberal social reform, however, was the belief that reform of the environment could also provide a remedy to many social ills attributed to character. In either instance, the influence of Anglo-Saxonism had been consigned to a rhetorical appeal, at least within respectable circles. The reaction to immigration instead was motivated by a scientific standard of efficiency and an emphasis upon "human improvement," and linked to nationalist rather than imperialist objectives.

A somewhat different criticism of the direction taken by Sifton's immigration policy was evolving in the thought of political economist Adam Shortt. Shortt briefly addressed immigration and

¹³⁷Ibid.

¹³⁸Rich, Race and Empire, 94; Freedden, The New Liberalism, 170-71.

western settlement in an article for Queen's Quarterly in 1895.¹³⁹ For different reasons than Leacock and Conn, Shortt argued as well that rapid economic expansion was undermining Canadian nationality.¹⁴⁰ Shortt's attack on federal plans for the Canadian northwest was on the surface an assault on the speculation and materialism of federal population policy. To Shortt, federal immigration policy had traded in loftier national ideals and protection of citizenship for an ill-conceived, materialistic focus on rapid population and settlement.¹⁴¹ For Shortt, it was a misguided assumption that "the economic basis of the state is the first thing to be attended to and, that secured, the rest will come in time"; the result would then be the sacrificing of national ideals for "commercial and speculative advantage".¹⁴²

Shortt's articles also contained several comments on the "desirable" immigrant class that, at first glance, also appeared to echo the late Victorian fears of the "degenerate" classes invading Canadian territory. When immigrants from the "degenerate" classes of European societies entered Canada, the result of this contact

¹³⁹Adam Shortt, "Some Observations on the Great North-West. I:--Immigration and Transportation," Queen's Quarterly 2, 3 (January 1895): 183-197; Shortt, "Some Observations on the Great North-West. II:--Social and Economic Condition," Queen's Quarterly 3, 1 (July 1895): 11-22.

¹⁴⁰Berger, The Sense of Power, 151.

¹⁴¹Shortt, "Social and Economic Conditions," 13.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*

would be a deterioration in the quality of Canadian civilization.

This conclusion is implied in Shortt's own words:

Biological science and human history alike tell us that unless we begin with a good sample of a race of high social capacity no great civilization can be expected. Nowhere in the realm of living things do men gather grapes off thorns or figs off thistles. A primitive people can, in the course of time, develop a high civilization if it has the germ of great things in it, but the retrograde specimens of a developed people never amount to anything.¹⁴³

Shortt seemed therefore to incorporate a touch of biology or neo-Lamarckianism into his critique of northwest immigration policy. He assumed that inferior physical and mental qualities belonged to the lower levels of society, and that the presence of this type of immigrant could only bring down the level of civilization in development in the Canadian northwest. He generally did not imply that the Canadian environment could have a rapid transforming effect on this group, particularly on a population encouraged to migrate for quick economic gain rather than in pursuit of higher ideals.¹⁴⁴ This perhaps was intended to respond to popularly held ideas regarding the backwardness of European migrants. At times, Shortt left the impression of using the arguments of the supporters of rapid western settlement against them, asking his readers,

...How can we hold our country so cheap as we do, and make our citizenship a thing of no account, affect to despise the social and political shortcomings of other nations and yet rejoice to enrol their failures on our

¹⁴³Ibid.

¹⁴⁴Ibid.

franchise lists, and then expect to foster, either among themselves or our new fellow-citizens, lofty ideals of patriotism?¹⁴⁵

However, in this Shortt appeared to be little different than most liberal social reformers of the late nineteenth century, and considerable differences may be found between Shortt and the writings of Conn and Leacock. In particular, Shortt appeared to share the ideas of liberal social reform regarding the unsuitability of the "undesirable classes" of immigrants, in particular British immigrants, for western settlement, particularly as the basis for the social development of the region.

Upon closer examination, Shortt's critique of the immigrant population settling in the west was an integral part of a criticism of the one-sided focus on the wheat economy, accompanied by deleterious effects upon Canadian civilization and national ideals.¹⁴⁶ In general, Shortt regarded the north-west as being in a "process of formation," or a continuing state of social development; as yet, he wrote, it would be impossible to determine the outcome of the intermixture of the social and cultural diversity currently populating the north-west.¹⁴⁷ Shortt's social criticism of immigration rather focused on the "ideal class" necessary for western settlement and agricultural development; otherwise, aside

¹⁴⁵Ibid., 14.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., 22.

¹⁴⁷Shortt, "Immigration and Transportation," 184.

from pointed references to the general unsuitability of the British labouring and upper classes for western settlement, Shortt did not appear to find national origin as such a significant predictor of success.

Shortt did, however, have clear views on the "wrong class" to be recruited for western settlement. His writings identified two unsuitable classes or groups: the first was the "thriftless, unstable, mortgage-eaten and poverty-stricken elements" recruited with the promise of quick prosperity to be found in Canadian farming and natural resources. Shortt regarded this type as "not at all promising material" with which "to lay the foundation of a nation."¹⁴⁸ The other was a more highly refined and cultivated class, but nonetheless unsuited in outlook, expectations, and skills for the rigors and demands of a Canadian farm environment.¹⁴⁹ At this point, therefore, a neo-Lamarckianism and distaste for the lower classes in particular entered Shortt's appraisal of the recruitment methods of immigration policy; the sober, self-reliant individualist with a small amount of capital was Shortt's ideal settler, and, according to Shortt, the very type of settler being excluded by the joint promotional efforts of the federal government and the C.P.R.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸Ibid., 194.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 188-89.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., 193.

In Shortt's articles, the commercialism and promotional activities of the Department of the Interior, extolling and possibly embellishing the agricultural and social potential of western lands, came under scathing review.¹⁵¹ The combined federal government-C.P.R. policy of settling the northwest with predominantly "population and physical labour" overlooked the necessity for state-aided agricultural training and education, and produced a population capable of contributing little to national ideals other than the self-styled rugged individualism of an Americanized pioneer society. It was also not without a twist of irony that Shortt suggested to readers that the current national policy did little to enhance either assimilation, standards of civilization, or higher national ideals.¹⁵²

Shortt's view of immigration and western economic development therefore reflected neither Anglo-Saxonism nor imperialism, liberal or otherwise. Rather, Shortt's criticism of Sifton's immigration policy combined the neo-Lamarckian assumptions of liberal social reform with an economic rather than a social focus that was neither imperialist nor annexationist. In Shortt's writings may be found the beginnings of a "new liberal" position on immigration, a position that would later develop into a liberal and not nationalist

¹⁵¹Shortt, "Social and Economic Condition," 12-13.

¹⁵²Ibid., 22.

critique of race relations and immigration policy.¹⁵³

The clarification of the values of Canadian civilization and the direction of Canadian society became the forum in which the immigration question was discussed and debated. The immigration question therefore became the forum for the clarification of national goals and values. It became clear that for Canadians of both conservative and liberal stripe, the social question had come to outweigh the advantages of a materialist policy of rapid population and agricultural development. It was uncertain whether Canadian values could survive the assimilation of an immigrant population widely associated with urban degeneration and despotism.

A discussion to this effect may be noted in the proceedings of the various Canadian Clubs across the dominion, particularly between 1907 and 1913. The sentiments voiced by Shortt and Conn were echoed in speeches and addresses by contributors as varied in political views as J. S. Woodsworth, Stephen Leacock, J. A. Macdonald, and C. A. Magrath. Each of these participated in a discussion on the question of immigration and the incorporation of immigrants into Canadian national life. Common to all was the uncertainty about the impact of immigration on Canadian national formation.

The end of assimilation was therefore unknown, and a matter of

¹⁵³This critique is examined in Barry Ferguson, Remaking Liberalism: The Intellectual Legacy of Adam Shortt, O. D. Skelton, W. C. Clark, and W. A. Mackintosh, 1890-1925, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), esp. 62-90.

much debate; the most that was agreed on was that the Canadian character, physiologically and mentally, would be irreversibly altered by the new immigration. The result of the "two-way assimilation" of Canadian and European-born stock was viewed in neo-Lamarckian terms as an ongoing experiment, the results which would not be known for possibly decades. The greatest fear expressed was that Canadian character would be altered for the worse by the incorporation of unfit or "lower elements" into Canadian society. It was not certain, for many, that Canada's northern climate and environmental expanse would be sufficient to overcome the physical, moral, and ideological liabilities brought to Canada by indiscriminate European immigration.

J. S. Woodsworth, addressing the Canadian Club of Toronto in 1911, likened the assimilation process to the "transformations in the vegetable kingdom," or the transforming of vegetables through the crossing of different varieties. "Whatever our theory of heredity may be," he stated,

...we must all agree that breeding has something to do with the development of types, and we ought to pay attention to that in this country; and further it is of high importance that we should also pay attention to the cultivation of these people whom we are transplanting.¹⁵⁴

For this reason, Woodsworth felt that that while much attention was being paid to agricultural development, more attention needed to be

¹⁵⁴J. S. Woodsworth, "Canadians of To-Morrow," Addresses delivered before the Canadian Club of Toronto, Season 1909-10, (Toronto: Warwick Bro's and Rutter, Limited, 1910), 139.

focused on the population being brought into the country.¹⁵⁵ Woodsworth thought attention should be paid both to the "race stocks that are being transplanted here" and the "cultivation of those people whom we are transplanting."¹⁵⁶

Immigration for Woodsworth raised serious social as well as political implications for Canadian development. The implications ranged from the political development of the western provinces, as the recipient of much of the new immigration, to the differences in social ideals and family traditions. Woodsworth expressed hope that these immigrants would be able to be "properly and wisely directed," and yet hope was not optimism; Woodsworth remained uncertain about the implications of immigration for future social and political development.

Woodsworth clearly had little faith in the optimism and efficacy of Israel Zangwill's "melting pot".¹⁵⁷ According to Woodsworth, the effect of the Canadian "melting-pot" would be uncertain. Contrary to the image presented by Zangwill of "God's great melting pot," which would serve as the crucible for the fusion of the peoples of the world, Woodsworth found no guarantee that the "fusion" of the melting-pot would invariably result in the creation

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶Ibid.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., 141.

of a "higher and better people".¹⁵⁸ What concerned Woodsworth in particular was how the "diverse elements" entering Canada would be brought together:

What is going to be the solvent that will break down these social, religious and social [sic] barriers; what is going to be the precipitant that is going to bring about this solution? What are we going to have in our Canadian life that will build them up again in a new form and crystallize them? What are the Canadians of to-morrow going to be along with these foreign elements? I leave the question with you.¹⁵⁹

While Woodsworth was seemingly unable to answer his own questions, he was able to place them within the context of current Canadian social and political problems. Among his concerns was the fact that Canada was a divided nation, or rather, "not yet a united nation". The divisions between English Protestants and French Catholics meant that Canada had yet to build a stronger nation, and had produced many difficulties still to be worked out within politics and education. Furthermore, Canada was required to assimilate a population at least "thirty-seven times" what the United States had to incorporate at approximately the same population level as Canada.¹⁶⁰ For Woodsworth, the mathematical implications of this statistic were staggering; this added to the "tremendous responsibility" that immigration had placed upon the Canadian

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., 142.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

people.¹⁶¹

Further, Woodsworth had, at least for the time being, his own solutions to the problems raised. One of these was the restriction of the franchise, preferably through the imposition of an educational or literary test. Another was the restriction of immigration levels, at least to the point that could be safely looked after educationally, socially, and morally. A hint of his own thoughts about the required solvent emerged when he suggested a need to work more closely with the immigrant population, through settlement work patterned after New York's University Settlement, or Hull House in Chicago.¹⁶²

The Reverend Dr. J. A. Macdonald, the influential editor of the Toronto Globe, concurred in this view. James Alexander Macdonald, clergyman and journalist, had founded the Westminster (later the Presbyterian) before becoming managing editor of the Toronto Globe in 1902.¹⁶³ In 1907, Adam Shortt praised Macdonald's "intellectual strength and independence of judgment, his directness and vigour as a writer, and his Celtic fervour and enthusiasm for

¹⁶¹Ibid.

¹⁶²Ibid., 148.

¹⁶³"James Alexander MacDonald," in W. Stewart Wallace, The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 4th ed., revised, enlarged and updated by W. A. McKay, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978), 494.

whatever enlisted his sympathies."¹⁶⁴ One of the issues to which Macdonald addressed himself was immigration, which he approached with his characteristic regard for principle. While one of Canada's most pressing needs was that of population to fill up the empty western spaces, Macdonald argued, this immigration presented many dangers to citizenship; far more important than the rapid settlement and development of Canada's resources was "the life of the nation, its purity, its freedom, its quality of endurance," which "stands supreme".¹⁶⁵

This was not merely a matter of intolerant anti-immigrant sentiment; central to the views expressed was a fundamental belief that society was a social organism, and an uncertainty about the effects of introducing new elements into that organism. In Macdonald's own words,

It is with the nation as it is with the individual. A man may occasionally eat foods not up to the dietetic standard and, if his digestion is good, he may suffer no great harm. But let him eat foods that are poisoned, even though he does it ignorantly, the toxine [sic] goes into the blood, and his doctor will tell him he has intestinal toxaemia which may take months to eradicate....There is such a thing as poisoning the blood of the nation....The vitality of the nation may be reduced and its vision so blurred that it cannot distinguish between right and wrong.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴Adam Shortt, "A Personality in Journalism," Canadian Magazine 29, 6 (October 1907), 520.

¹⁶⁵J. A. Macdonald, "Canadian Clubs and Canadian Problems," Addresses Before the Canadian Club, Season of 1910-11, (Toronto: Warwick Bro's & Rutter, Limited, 1911), 256.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

The chief danger from Macdonald's point of view was the danger of "unfitness". Macdonald, though, differed from Woodsworth on the source of this "unfitness." Macdonald seemed to find that "unfitness" was not an inherent or hereditary quality of immigrants; environment and social effort could have some alleviating impact on ignorance, poverty, even disease. As he wrote, "[the] ignorant can be educated, the poor may earn wealth, the diseased may be segregated and cared for."¹⁶⁷ It could not be said, in fact, that physical or racial unfitness was an appropriate reason to bar the gates to immigration:

The door of entrance should be safely guarded, not because the labor market is congested, not because of any theory of "Canada for Canadians," and not because Canadians are superior to Oriental or other races. The people of Canada dare not put up such bars. They would not be recognized in the judgment hall of the nations.¹⁶⁸

More important was "political and moral unfitness". Southern European immigrants were most to be feared, according to Macdonald, as members of despotic nations with corrupted political ideals. A despotic environment, he argued, was unlikely to produce immigrants who could readily adapt to Canadian ideals. The effect of any subsequent contact on the Canadian nation could not be known.

Furthermore, it was also clear that the racial categories associated with the earlier phase of empire were being challenged.

¹⁶⁷Ibid.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., 256-57.

There was some disagreement on whether immigrants suffered from the lack of physical "fitness" or from the effects of an undemocratic political environment. As Macdonald argued, a despotic environment was unlikely to produce an immigrant who could readily adapt to Canadian democratic ideals. What was certain, though, was that the effects of this immigration for the development of Canadian unity were unknown, and the prospects for assimilation uncertain at best.

In contrast, Charles A. Magrath was an imperialist for whom the Empire "has become a religion," and brought this perspective to bear on the discussion.¹⁶⁹ Magrath's career was largely identified with the development of the Canadian northwest, particularly as an irrigation engineer and land surveyor, and later as Conservative Member of Parliament for Medicine Hat. In 1910, Magrath also served as chairman of the Conservative caucus, as well as having been briefly associated with the Department of the Interior.¹⁷⁰ Despite being identified primarily with western issues, in 1910 Magrath was the author of a book that strongly upheld the imperial connection, and argued that immigration policy should be shaped accordingly.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹C. A. Magrath, "Canada and the Empire," Addresses delivered before the Canadian Club of Ottawa, 1911-1912 (Ottawa: The Mortimer Press, 1912), 148.

¹⁷⁰"Charles Alexander Magrath," in Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of Our Time, 724.

¹⁷¹C. A. Magrath, Canada's Growth and Some Problems Affecting It, (Ottawa: The Mortimer Press, 1910). See also M. H. Long, "Charles Alexander Magrath," Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada 3rd series, vol. 45 (1950), 95-6.

Magrath was an avid promoter of imperial unification, supporting the idea of the Empire as "some organic union, some cement thrown among the various elements that go to make up the British Empire, so that there shall be absolutely no question about our going down through the ages as a united family."¹⁷² Arguing for a rejuvenated plan of union with the Empire, Magrath still regarded with sentimental fervour the imperial mission to export British liberty and democracy to the corners of the Empire.¹⁷³ In short, Magrath, unlike Leacock, was not proud of imperial diversity; nor was he a supporter of the idea of cosmopolitan nationality. His arguments upheld the imperial sense of mission; they echoed the sentiment of the "white man's burden" or the civilizing mission seen as the duty of the British empire. A cosmopolitan Canada would weaken the bonds of the British empire and "would mean throwing the white man's burden within narrower limits of support."¹⁷⁴

For Magrath, immigration restriction was directly linked with the question of Canada autonomy.¹⁷⁵ Magrath believed the imperial connection was the only way by which Canada could avoid becoming absorbed into the United States; he had little faith in the ability of an autonomous Canada to successfully assimilate immigrants with

¹⁷²Magrath, "Canada and the Empire," 148.

¹⁷³Ibid., 155.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., 151.

¹⁷⁵Ibid., 147.

different backgrounds and ideals, including those from the United States.¹⁷⁶ As far as Magrath was concerned, the most immediate threat to Canadian values came from American immigration, for American immigrants brought with them the republicanism and cosmopolitanism of the south. Already, he argued, the question of Canada's political future was divided between those in the east, who desired the British connection, and those in the newly formed western provinces who were establishing ties of sentiment and population with the United States.

Magrath subsequently was concerned with the character of European immigration entering Canadian borders. Magrath was feared the entry of the "undesirable" as well as the "desirable" immigrant on Canadian nationality; "[the] standard of citizenship," he warned, "is as sensitive as the mercury in the glass." Admitting the "undesirable" immigrants would only increase the burden of the Canadian state and charitable institutions, and depress the standard of Canadian citizenship.¹⁷⁷

Magrath therefore supported some measure of immigration restriction. "Our pride and our pleasure in being Canadians," he argued, "will largely depend upon the extent to which the sieve is being used at our borders." Magrath subsequently took the view of "the chemist who does not wait until nature assimilates the elements

¹⁷⁶Ibid.

¹⁷⁷Ibid., 154.

he finds within the mortar, but actively uses the pestle." Instead, he proposed the careful selection of immigration, and their immediate integration according to British ideals.

Canada is a mortar and the pestle we need to work cohesion into the various peoples who are coming into this country is that of British ideals. And likewise the pestle necessary to knit firmly together the several units of an Empire, made up of various peoples is, in my judgment at least, business co-operation.¹⁷⁸

Immigration restriction, in general, was an approach that appealed to those Canadians opposed to federal immigration policy on moral grounds, as promoting materialism, aggressive commercialism, and a form of democracy that echoed the United States. It was not the case that Canadians sought to emulate the American approach; the United States, rather, was held up as an example of what Canadians did not wish to become. Immigration restriction therefore in part was a reaction against the ideals for society set out within the Laurier government, and a reaction against the prospect of materialism and republicanism represented by the Canadian image of the United States.

In the efforts to define Canadian ideals and Canadian citizenship, moreover, advocates of immigration restriction appealed to a typically progressive concern with the "fitness" of Canadian society. Again, though, even this was not consistent; the participants in the discussion varied widely on the degree to which they

¹⁷⁸Ibid., 155.

felt the Canadian environment was capable of mitigating the worst effects of the urban and industrial environment of Europe, and safely assimilating the "foreigner".

To a considerable extent, the immigration discussion mirrored the dialogue regarding the future of Canada and Canada's role within the British empire. As well, this discussion incorporated a late Victorian distinction between "advanced" and "backward" classes that integrated biological or neo-Lamarckian views of race and class. The nature of this discussion would alter with the evolution of Canadian autonomy within the British empire, and the development of Canadian nationalism.¹⁷⁹ This discussion would especially be affected by the emergence of a culturally relativist view of ethnic or "race" relations, a view closely associated with subsequent developments in Canadian anthropology and sociology.

¹⁷⁹Berger, The Sense of Power. Cf. John E. Kendle, The Round Table Movement and Imperial Union, (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1975).

Chapter II The Emergence of Cultural Relativism

Canadian anthropology began to produce a cultural relativist view of race relations by the end of the nineteenth century. The evolution of cultural relativism in Canadian anthropology helped undermine the simplistic categories of race relations belonging to the Victorian era, and subsequently influenced conceptions of race relations in Canada. This chapter examines the emergence of cultural relativism in anthropology (and early sociological writing), and its effect on the Canadian discussion of race relations. By the First World War, cultural relativism had become incorporated into the Canadian liberal academic discussion of immigration and race relations, and helped provide an alternative to the deterministic view of race and race relations associated with mid-Victorian physical anthropology. This discussion created a more tolerant view of immigrants and their suitability for Canadian citizenship, although this view of race relations continued to contain discriminatory and paternalistic overtones.

The development of anthropology in Canada lagged well behind developments in the United States and Britain, as evidenced by the absence of anthropologists in university posts and the general lack of anthropologists in Canada with international prominence and stature. Regardless, Canadian anthropologists were active and shared ideas and theories in common with the American and British

anthropological communities, although Canadian anthropology responded to indigenous conditions and was characterized by its own institutional development. While there were few professional anthropologists or anthropologists of international note, Canada had a thriving community of amateur research and natural history societies, reflecting the emergence of a scientific culture in Canadian society.¹

Prior to the late Victorian turn in anthropological method and theory, anthropologists examining native cultures had begun to pay close attention to racial diversity on the North American continent. By the mid-1850s, natural history societies displayed a fascination with the diversity of native cultures on the North American continent, although their field approach was limited to the collection of information about the customs and traditions of societies the collectors had come to regard as primitive.²

This trend developed even further following the 1880s, after which anthropologists in Canada dispensed with the notion of the innate inferiority of native cultures, and instead presented these cultures in terms of their inherent cultural worth. Contributing to this discussion were anthropologists with well-established

¹Douglas Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology," Journal of Canadian Studies (February 1973), 32; Bruce G. Trigger, Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), 39. See also Carl Berger, Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), ch. 1, "Science," 3-27.

²Carl Berger, Science, God and Nature in Victorian Canada, 41.

international reputations, including Sir Daniel Wilson, John William Dawson and Horatio Hale, as well as popular anthropologists such as John Maclean.³ Daniel Wilson, president of the University of Toronto between 1887 and 1892, taught English and history at University College, and was an internationally-recognized archaeologist in his own right.⁴ John William Dawson was principal of McGill University between 1855 and 1893. A noted geologist, he turned to anthropology in the mid-1860s, and was the author of several anthropological works, the most important of which was Fossil Men and Their Modern Representatives.⁵ Horatio Hale, trained as a lawyer, established his reputation as an "outstanding amateur anthropologist" through his work on Iroquoian languages and traditions.⁶

Cultural relativism in North America is generally associated with Franz Boas, and Boas was a major figure in the reorientation of North American anthropology and sociology towards cultural pluralism. Boas was instrumental in overturning the previous emphasis on biological and cultural evolution, and redirecting attention to the idea of culture or civilization. His main

³Ibid., 39-43.

⁴Ibid., 39-40. See also Marinell Ash et al., Thinking With Both Hands: Sir Daniel Wilson in the Old World and the New, ed. by Elizabeth Hulse (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Berger, Science, God and Nature, 42-45.

⁵Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, 41-2.

⁶Ibid., 42.

importance was in redirecting anthropology away from the positivism of late nineteenth-century physical anthropology, and towards the cultural anthropology of the twentieth-century. His studies of head measurements among immigrants proved especially crucial to the later, interwar sociological discussion of assimilation and race relations, and, as the basis of further studies from the University of Chicago, strongly influenced the interwar reevaluation of the assimilation process.⁷ In Britain, the central role in disseminating cultural relativism into the British political and public discussion of race relations was played by amateur anthropologist Mary Kingsley.⁸ Theories of environmentalism and neo-Lamarckianism had come to replace earlier emphases on race purity in the public and political discussion of immigration.

The work of Hale, Dawson and Wilson imparted a monogenist perspective to Canadian anthropology, and ensured that Canadian anthropology would be less prone to the polygenist extremes of

⁷Stocking, Race, Culture and Evolution, chapters 7, 8 and 9, contains an excellent discussion of Boas' significance and influence on the 1913 United States Immigration Commission. See also Franz Boas, The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883-1911: A Boas Reader, ed. by George W. Stocking, (New York: Basic Books, 1974); Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism. For Boas' influence on the "Chicago school" of American sociology, see R. Fred Wacker, "The Sociology of Race and Ethnicity in the Second Chicago School," in Gary Alan Fine, ed., A Second Chicago School? The Development of a Postwar American Sociology, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995): 136-163.

⁸Rich, Race and Empire, 29.

racial theory.⁹ Each subscribed to a somewhat "old-fashioned" view of the unity of mankind that belonged to the Enlightenment period, as well as being linked to Christian beliefs in the common origin of man.¹⁰ The result was a perspective that favoured monogenism over polygenism and subsequently rejected the ideas of mid-century American physical anthropology of the separate origins of native and European races.¹¹ For instance, Daniel Wilson, in his studies of native languages and cultures, adopted a cultural relativist view when he argued that "primitive" and "civilized" peoples had the same intellectual capabilities. The difference between "primitive" native cultures and European civilization was that the latter had had better opportunity to cultivate their abilities.¹²

Canada's few academic anthropologists reflected a unique Canadian turn away from the polygenist theories of mid-Victorian anthropology, and incorporated a monogenism based on religious rather than scientific foundations. Canadian anthropological beliefs generally were founded upon an Enlightenment-based, somewhat old-fashioned idea of the "intellectual and spiritual unity of man".¹³ Canadian anthropology therefore had a monogenist emphasis,

⁹Ibid., 40-43.

¹⁰Berger, Science, God, and Nature, 40-1.

¹¹Ibid., 42; Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, 40.

¹²Ibid., 40.

¹³Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, 43-4.

and at least within professional circles the religious emphasis militated against the polygenism that influenced science in the United States and Britain. By the end of the nineteenth century, coinciding with the professionalization of anthropology in Canada, anthropologists began to move in the direction of cultural relativism.¹⁴

Dawson's rejection of polygenism and his views of the unity of man were a product in part of his conservative religious views. These views, and particularly his view of the common origin of mankind, led him to reject evolutionary and racist theories, and to see anthropological studies as a means of demonstrating the common aspirations and hopes binding all of humanity.¹⁵ He viewed human physical variations as resulting from cultural, not evolutionary, causes. For Dawson, human cranial differences reflected relative standards of culture and civilization, and not racial or biological evolution. These views led Dawson away from the extreme polygenism of physical anthropology, and to view "primitive" peoples as having the same innate intellectual capabilities as "civilized" groups.¹⁶

Hale's influence was possibly even more crucial in terms of the general reorientation of North American anthropology towards cultural relativism. Hale supervised Franz Boas' studies of the

¹⁴Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology," 38.

¹⁵Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, 42.

¹⁶Ibid.

native peoples of the British Columbia coast, conducted for the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1888 and 1889, and is often credited for directing Boas towards a relativist approach.¹⁷ Some evidence suggests that Hale's relativism preceded that of the anthropological discipline in general, and that Hale similarly held relativist views at the height of the influence of physical anthropology.¹⁸

Hale's research on Iroquoian languages and traditions had uncovered evidence of civilization that could not be attributed to European influences. Hale concluded that anthropology had to reject the claim that European peoples were inherently superior owing to superiority in culture.¹⁹ In studying the Iroquois, Hale expressed admiration for the comparatively advanced state of the Iroquois language, mental capacity, character and political system relative to the expected norm for native cultures. Hale in particular found the Iroquoian language structure compared favourably to the Aryan and Semitic, and was even superior in many respects.²⁰ Hale subsequently concluded that the Iroquois represented a civilization

¹⁷Ibid., 43.; Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology," 39-40.

¹⁸Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, 40.

¹⁹Ibid., 39.

²⁰Horatio Hale, The Iroquois Book of Rites, 1883 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 99; "The Development of Language," The Canadian Institute, Proceedings, 3rd ser., VI (1887-88), 125-26. Quoted in Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology," 38.

that, within the comparatively primitive North American setting, had not had time to advance to a European stage of civilization. This constituted a critique of what Hale termed an "Aryocentric" theory of linguistics and ethnology which he criticized for dominating the anthropological disciplines.²¹

Even before professionalization, therefore, Canadian anthropology was characterized by the rejection of the extremes of polygenism and racism found in the mid-century school of physical anthropology. Wilson, Dawson, and Hale in particular represent the emergence of a tradition of cultural relativism in mid-Victorian anthropology in Canada, based on a sectarian defense of monogenism against the mid-century idea of the separate origins of races.²² In adhering to an idea of common cultural origin, Canadian anthropologists developed a respect for the diversity of cultures, and as early as 1859 emphasized the similarities rather than the distinctions between cultural groups.²³ Each emphasized the unity of mankind, and further predicted the eventual amalgamation of white and native groups in a single Canadian people.²⁴

Canadian anthropology therefore had established an important

²¹Horatio Hale, Science, vol. 19, 20-1, 30; "The Aryans in Science and History," Popular Science Monthly (March 1889), 672-86. Quoted in ibid., 38.

²²Rich, Race and Empire, 29.

²³Berger, Science, God, and Nature, 44.

²⁴Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, 41, 43.

tradition of cultural relativism even in the pre-professional stage of its development. However, cultural relativism did not imply cultural equality. Anthropologists such as Daniel Wilson and William Dawson relied on the distinctions of "civilized" and "primitive" peoples, and placed native cultures in a position of inferiority relative to white European civilization.²⁵ This position would be advanced into the late nineteenth century during the shift from classical evolutionism towards a more theoretical emphasis on social evolutionism and the organic unity of human society.

By the late nineteenth century, cultural relativism was also emerging among lesser-known anthropologists, anthropologists who laboured as amateur enthusiasts and who were associated with local and provincial natural history societies. These anthropologists generally lacked the professional standing and international reputation of Wilson, Dawson and Hale.²⁶ However, when natural history societies began to revisit the questions of native cultures from other than the antiquarian study of artifacts, a similar sense of the relative worth of native societies began to influence their published findings.

²⁵Rich, Race and Empire, 31.

²⁶Some of the contributions of these amateur enthusiasts to the development of a myth of the Manitoba mound builders are examined in Gwen Rempel, "The Manitoba Mound Builders: The Making of an Archaeological Myth, 1857-1900," Manitoba History (Autumn 1994): 12-18.

For instance, missionary John Maclean brought the assumptions of cultural relativism to a wider public audience. However, Maclean also tended to depict native cultures as primitive and inferior, and in some cases without the possibility of elevation to a civilized status.²⁷ Two popular studies of native customs and traditions, The Indians (1889) and Canadian Savage Folk (1896), provided an admiring account of the cultural strengths of the native populations, an account that nonetheless suggested the inferiority of native cultures.²⁸ In particular, Maclean believed that whites had much to learn from the religious beliefs of native tribes. Additionally, he argued that the intrusion of white beliefs into native cultures had altered native life for the worse, and that native ways must be understood and appreciated if these societies were not to come to further harm.²⁹

While emphasizing the importance of understanding native cultural roots, Maclean regarded native societies as "primitive" in comparison with white civilizations. He believed that native peoples needed to be freed from their barbaric and primitive traditions, and advocated a policy of guiding native peoples towards white cultural and religious ways.³⁰ According to Maclean, natives

²⁷Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, 43.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

had to be taught Christian beliefs; natives had to be taught to "earn their bread" through the sweat of their brow. He advocated forcible repression of such customs as the potlatch, which he believed inhibited the civilizing process.³¹ He was additionally not certain that all natives would survive this process.³²

The emergence of cultural relativism was also evident in studies of Manitoba's Red River settlement, a settlement divided by considerable ethnic conflict between the Métis, native and encroaching British-Ontarian populations.³³ In this setting, archaeological investigations of Manitoba's native "mound builders" after 1880 increasingly suggested cultural similarities between European and mound-builder cultures. In his study of the "mound builders," anthropologist George Bryce regarded this group in evolutionary terms as intermediate between European and native civilizations.³⁴ These investigations also retained a classically mid-Victorian distinction between "civilized" and "primitive" peoples.³⁵

A proliferation of research on the mound builders conducted in the early 1880s through the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society suggested a cultural semblance between mound builders and

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³Rempel, "The Manitoba Mound Builders," 16.

³⁴Ibid., 15.

³⁵Ibid., 13-4.

Europeans. The chief distinction was that European civilization was regarded as considerably more evolved than that of the so-called "primitive" peoples.³⁶ For anthropologists such as the Reverend George Bryce, head of Manitoba College, the cultural similarities were sufficient to suggest the evolution of a separate "Mound Builder race" intermediate between white and native civilizations, with its possible origins in white European migration to North America.³⁷

The impact of these and other writings was to suggest the separate cultural worth and identity of native populations, and to elevate select native cultures such as the Manitoba mound-builders to a standard approaching that of European civilization.³⁸ However, cultural relativism had not fully divested itself of many of its polygenist ideas, including the idea of "primitive" and "civilized" societies.³⁹ Even by the 1890s, Manitoba's archaeological community continued to portray native cultures as inferior and primitive relative to the "advanced" state of European civilization. Some even portrayed non-mound builder native cultures as biologically

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷George Bryce, Manitoba: Its Infancy, Growth, and Present Condition, (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1882), v. Quoted in *ibid.*, 15.

³⁸Rich, Race and Empire, 31.

³⁹Ibid.

distinct from Europeans.⁴⁰

More significantly, perhaps, was that the goals and aims of anthropology were increasingly tied to prevailing social and political concerns. The ethnological study of the mound-builder society in Manitoba buttressed the political claims of incoming white settlers to the region, and provided a scientific justification for the subsequent treatment of native peoples in Manitoba.⁴¹ The link of anthropology to present concerns, the emphasis on the psychic unity of human society, and the persistence of eurocentric notions of societies all began to signal an important transition in the theory and methods of late nineteenth-century anthropology.

Cultural diversity therefore had come to dominate the study of native cultures in the anthropological sciences in Canada by the 1880s. After this point, the broader context of the study of native cultures became the modernization of evolutionary anthropology and ethnological method, accompanied by efforts to link anthropological study to the study of broader social and national issues.⁴² Anthropologists further attempted to enlist the government in ethnological study, in particular an ethnological survey for the

⁴⁰Rempel, "The Manitoba Mound Builders," 13-4.

⁴¹Ibid., 17.

⁴²On the modernization of evolutionary anthropology between 1880 and 1910, see George W. Stocking, After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888-1951, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), ch. 3, "From the Armchair to the Field," 84-123.

Dominion, an ethnological survey with an early role conceived for the study of immigration. The goal sought by anthropologists such as George M. Dawson, Franz Boas and Edward Sapir was the creation of a federal government division designed to deal with questions of anthropology and ethnology.⁴³

In the late 1890s, Canadian anthropologists proceeded with plans to conduct a systematic scientific investigation of the ethnic and cultural mix of peoples in North America. Crucial to this anthropological investigation were the effects of the environment on its settlers. The impetus for this investigation actually came from the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Organized in 1831 as a natural history society, the British Association grew into an imperial scientific community whose objectives included the promotion of scientific discussion throughout the empire.⁴⁴ Certainly the nineteenth-century links between British and Canadian science were close, and many historians believe that the British Association provided an important stimulus to nineteenth-century scientific research in Canada.⁴⁵

⁴³Edward Sapir, "An Anthropological Survey of Canada," Science 34, 884 (December 1911), 789.

⁴⁴Berger, Science, God and Nature, 18; Trevor H. Levere, "The British Association Goes West: Montreal 1884," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, ser. 4, 20 (1982), 488-89.

⁴⁵See, for instance, Levere, "The British Association Goes West," 489-97, and Vittorio de Vecchi, "The Pilgrim's Progress, the BAAS, and Research in Canada: From Montreal to Toronto," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, ser. 4, 20 (1982), 519-32. In contrast, Richard A. Jarrell has challenged the view of

The British Association indeed provided the stimulus for two important projects in modernized ethnological research in Canada. The decision of Canadian anthropologists to proceed with an ethnological survey for the Dominion was preceded by the establishment of a similar scientific survey in Britain. In 1892, the first report of the British Ethnological Survey was presented to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and enumerated the objectives of the survey as well as describing the peoples under examination. The survey was intended to go beyond the simple objectives of cataloguing the physical characteristics of native tribes, instead incorporating a growing sensitivity within the British anthropological community to the cultural distinctiveness of colonial societies on the periphery of the empire.⁴⁶

The planning of the Canadian investigation also originated with the British Association for the Advancement of Science, under the direction of British evolutionary anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor, one of the chief founders of scientific anthropology in Britain.⁴⁷ Throughout his long and influential career, Tylor was a

nineteenth-century Canadian science as a colonial adjunct, in "British Scientific Institutions and Canada: The Rhetoric and the Reality," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, ser. 4, 20 (1982), 533-47.

⁴⁶Stocking, After Tylor; Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism; Rich, Race and Empire. 29-33.

⁴⁷John L. Myres, "The Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science," Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1909, 616.

representative voice for classical evolutionism in anthropology. However, his focus changed in the late 1880s, when Tylor became personally involved in the comparatively modern scientific enterprise of investigating the characteristics of the tribes of the Canadian northwest.⁴⁸ Tylor himself played a leading role in the establishment of the Canadian investigation, which was intended to employ academically-trained anthropologists in the collection and compilation of scientific material.⁴⁹

The Canadian investigation was considered a significant part of the British research. The Montreal meeting of the British Association in 1884 paid considerable attention to the subject of Canadian ethnology, to the point of recommending a branch of Canadian anthropology be added to the Canadian public service.⁵⁰ At this meeting, a research committee was appointed for the scientific investigation of the northwest native tribes of the Dominion. The Committee of the North-Western Tribes of Canada was to include George M. Dawson, General J. H. Lefroy, Daniel Wilson, Horatio Hale, and R. G. Haliburton, under the direction of Tylor as chairman.⁵¹

⁴⁸Stocking, After Tylor, 85.

⁴⁹Ibid., 86.

⁵⁰British Association for the Advancement of Science, circular of inquiry, "Committee on North-Western Tribes of the Dominion of Canada," (London: n.p., 1887), 1.

⁵¹Ibid., 2; British Association for the Advancement of Science, "The North-Western Tribes of Canada: Eleventh Report of the Committee," Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1896 (London: John Murray, 1896), 569.

The committee also included American-trained anthropologist Franz Boas. Trained in the ethnological methods sought by the British Association, Boas had already participated in the research among the native tribes of Vancouver Island that had brought him to the attention of the British Association.⁵² Although the research methods of Boas and Tylor would later diverge, at this point the inclusion of Boas did not represent a substantially different emphasis in either method or theory.⁵³

Focusing on the tribes of British Columbia, the work of the Committee of the North-Western Tribes of Canada continued for eleven years and was an important precursor to the formation of the Ethnological Survey in Canada.⁵⁴ This project reflected the research aims of the British Association, which had by this time devoted considerable attention to the project of ethnological surveys. The Ethnological Survey in particular reflected a growing dissatisfaction with "armchair anthropology," and with the unreliability of data compiled by amateur ethnology.⁵⁵

The survey also reflected an emerging research paradigm within the British Association, a paradigm associated with Tylor. As well as the systematic compilation of reliable ethnological data, British

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Myres, "The Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science," 616.

⁵⁵Stocking, After Tylor, 44.

evolutionary anthropology, partly under the influence of Darwin, had extended to "sociocultural evolutionism" as a broader theoretical perspective. However, at least in some British anthropological circles, the use of anthropology to examine the origins of human institutions and the growth of human culture had also been under way as early as the 1860s.⁵⁶

Also, the Survey's promoters were clearly impressed by the establishment of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, and sought to use the American bureau as a model to establish a similar division in Britain.⁵⁷ The efforts to attach anthropological research to government reflected the efforts by the British anthropological community to legitimize their field, and to give their field credibility by enlisting in the service of government in the practical management of colonial societies.⁵⁸

The British Association therefore embarked upon the study of the ethnology of the imperial periphery, as an ambitious project reflecting its newfound sensitivity to cultural differences, and attention to methodology and broader theoretical issues.⁵⁹ As well as the Canadian survey of the northwest tribes, one of its subse-

⁵⁶Ibid., 47.

⁵⁷British Association for the Advancement of Science, "Circular of Inquiry," 1.

⁵⁸Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism, 25; Stocking, After Tylor, 86-7.

⁵⁹Stocking, After Tylor, 87.

quent endeavours was an "Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom," established in 1892 at the Edinburgh meeting of the British Association.⁶⁰ Efforts to give this survey a wider imperial scope further surfaced in 1896, with the proposal of the establishment of an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology by C. H. Read of the Ethnological Department of the British Museum. Again, Read proposed the American ethnological bureau as a model for a similar imperial endeavour.⁶¹

The Canadian Ethnological Survey was subsequently formed at the Toronto meeting of the British Association in 1896, as a "fresh step" in the ethnological work being undertaken in Canada. The Canadian survey was conceived as an important branch of the British Association's ethnological research. It was designed to refine the work of the northwest tribes research, and to convince the Dominion government of the need for a federal ethnological bureau.⁶² The Canadian committee members, appointed at the Toronto meeting, included Dawson as chair and secretary, E. W. Brabrook, A. C. Haddon, E. S. Hartland, J. G. Bourinot, Abbé Cuoq, Benjamin Sulte,

⁶⁰Report of the Ethnological Survey of the United Kingdom, Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1897 (London: John Murray, 1898), 452.

⁶¹C. H. Read, "An Imperial Bureau of Ethnology," Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science 1896, (London: John Murray, 1896), 928.

⁶²George M. Dawson, "An Ethnological Survey of Canada: First Report of the Committee," Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science 1897, (London: John Murray, 1898), 440.

Abbé Tanguay, C. Hill-Tout, David Boyle, the Rev. Dr. Scadding, Rev. Dr. J. Maclean, Nereé Beauchemin, G. Patterson, D. P. Penhallow, and C. N. Bell. Franz Boas did not serve on the Committee, but played a prominent research role in the Survey.⁶³

The Canadian Ethnological Survey reflected the guidelines and anthropological paradigm established by the evolutionary anthropologists of the British Association.⁶⁴ In the Dominion, however, the theoretical questions raised by the British ethnologists were adapted to reflect contemporary Canadian problems and conditions. In the words of anthropologist and committee member D. P. Penhallow of McGill University, "The very unstable character of our population and the extensive mixture of races to be met with in [sic] a given community require that we should adopt somewhat different lines of procedure from those employed by the committee for the United Kingdom."⁶⁵ The Canadian committee therefore shaped the survey to branch into the study of European and indigeneous populations, and particularly to reflect scientific concerns with the disappearance of native cultures.⁶⁶ The Canadian survey began early to depart from the imperial directives of its founders, and also was clearly influenced by the ethnologically complex nature of its population.

⁶³Ibid., 440.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid., 442.

The Ethnological Survey generally focused on the study of native cultures as its first and most pressing priority, and the attention of anthropologists was engaged by what was seen as the imperative to record native cultures before these cultures died out in the face of white European encroachment, or were otherwise absorbed by white civilization. But immigrants were similarly assigned a place of importance in the Canadian survey.⁶⁷ The Survey attempted to direct attention to the scientific collection of "such facts relating to their general ethnology as may seem to establish a suitable basis for the study of these people under the influence of their new environment."⁶⁸

Extending the Ethnological Survey to the study of immigration was not merely because of the intrinsic merit of this question, which in the minds of Canadian anthropologists was outweighed by the urgency of the environmental transformation and disappearance of native cultures.⁶⁹ The study of European as well as native groups reflected anthropological attention to the transforming effects of the Canadian physical environment on successive generations of its

⁶⁷Report of the Ethnological Survey of Canada (First Report), Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1889 (London: Curlington House, 1899), 1-2; Report of the Ethnological Survey of Canada (Second Report), Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1890 (London: Curlington House, 1900), 468.

⁶⁸Report of the Ethnological Survey of Canada (First Report), 1-2.

⁶⁹Report on the Ethnological Survey of Canada (Second Report), 468.

inhabitants. To address this question, the Ethnological Survey in 1899 planned a study of the ethnology of the Doukhobor population, and expected to conduct similar surveys "with respect to other large bodies of immigrants."⁷⁰

To the anthropologists studying the transforming effects of the Canadian physical and social environment on its population, the French Canadians and the French and Scottish inhabitants of Manitoba and the northwest appeared particularly fruitful subjects for investigation.⁷¹ The investigation of the ethnology of these groups fell to Benjamin Sulte and to the Reverend George Bryce. Sulte's detailed investigations of the early French settlers in Canada between 1632 and 1666 were intended to "form an important basis for more detailed investigations respecting the effect of environment upon succeeding generations" of French Canadians.⁷² Bryce's ethnology of Rupert's Land was also intended to reflect the transformations occasioned by the interaction of white and native cultures, and to describe the civilization he believed had thereby developed.⁷³

⁷⁰Report on the Ethnological Survey of Canada (First Report), 2.

⁷¹Dawson, "An Ethnological Survey of Canada," 442.

⁷²Report on the Ethnological Survey of Canada (Second Report), 469-70. The italics belong to the original text.

⁷³George Bryce, "Intrusive Ethnological Types in Rupert's Land," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, ser. 2, 9 (1903), 135-44.

This emphasis reflected an anthropological preoccupation with the present question of the type of society that would emerge in Canada as a result of the recent population transformations, and with the shaping of a new Canadian civilization. In more general terms, the study of immigration represented attempts to link anthropological research to the sociocultural evolution of Canada, particularly to answer the question of the future evolution of the Dominion. For John L. Myres, president of the British Association, the pressing question regarding immigration was, "*What kinds of men do best in Canada? What kind of men is Canada making out of the raw material which Europe is feeding into God's Mills on this side?*"⁷⁴

Anthropology in Canada was therefore at least partly divested of its positivist overtones, and the Ethnological Survey reflected the application of anthropology to present questions. In practice, the study of immigrant cultures was fraught with methodological and procedural problems, and proved impractical from the standpoint of ethnological method. Not the least of these problems was that immigrants were both newcomers and widely dispersed, which added to the difficulties of collecting data and conducting systematic studies of the environmental impact on European immigrant groups over time.

Meanwhile, both methodological and professional concerns meant that the study of native cultures took priority over the study

⁷⁴John L. Myres, "An Ethnological Survey for Canada," Report of the Seventy-Ninth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Winnipeg 1909, (London: John Murray, 1910), 617. The italics are part of the original text.

of adaptation by white European groups. The actual significance of immigration for the Ethnological Survey lay in different directions. For one, the increase in the white European population placed additional pressures on native civilizations, and appeared to accelerate the assimilation of native cultures into the white Canadian environment. White European immigration therefore added a particular urgency to the objective of recording native cultures before these cultures disappeared.⁷⁵

More significantly, immigration was important because in large part immigration raised several crucial questions about Canadian social and cultural development. These questions concerned not only the effects of the environment on European peoples, but the capacity of the Canadian environment to absorb the diverse populations, and more critically, the type of society that was in the process of formation. Also in large measure, similar social questions had been raised by the British Ethnological Survey, and reflected the focus within evolutionary anthropology on the study of human society as it evolved in the present as well as in antiquity.⁷⁶

The declining focus on immigration by Canadian anthropologists after 1902 or so may have reflected more than practical procedural problems, including the dearth of academically-trained scholars and researchers to research the ethnology of immigration. The lack of

⁷⁵Report of the Ethnological Survey of Canada (Second Report), 468.

⁷⁶Stocking, After Tylor, 87.

priority appears to have reflected a general optimism regarding the capacity of the Canadian environment to successfully absorb the newcomers, as well as the growing separation of Canadian anthropology from imperial research objectives.

The anthropological "revolt against positivism" subsequently raised contemporary questions about the evolution of human society, and linked anthropology to the study of recent social changes upon the type of society under formation.⁷⁷ In one of these studies, George Bryce specifically linked the investigation of the "ethnological types" of Rupert's Land to "the filling up of the great north and west of Canada at the present time, by immigrants from all parts of the world...."⁷⁸ Bryce's ethnological examination lamented the loss of the pre-settlement life of Rupert's Land. At the same time, Bryce suggested the foundations of a stable society in the phase of early occupation, during which time white traders and Indian hunters formed the nucleus of a "semi-civilization" characterized by the introduction of Christianity.⁷⁹ Bryce's conclusions suggest an optimism regarding the "civilizing" effects of this social organization, particularly on the native inhabitants, whom he regarded as having adapted successfully to "habits of order and

⁷⁷On the revolt against positivism in British anthropology, see Stocking, After Tylor, 81-3.

⁷⁸George Bryce, "Intrusive Ethnological Types in Rupert's Land," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, ser. 2, 9 (1903), 135.

⁷⁹Ibid., 144.

settled work" from a "barbarous and wandering" lifestyle.⁸⁰

Sulte and particularly Bryce, in their focus on white European civilization and its adaptation to the Canadian environment over successive generations, seemed to suggest that a new Canadian civilization was in formation. This civilization would be based on the environmental adaptation of white European societies, as in the case of the French Canadians, or, as Bryce suggested, from the interaction of white and native cultures.⁸¹

This optimism was not shared in Britain. In his address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1909, Oxford evolutionary archaeologist and Association president John Linton Myres raised the question of environmental adaptation in reflecting on the interaction between anthropology and political science.⁸² Myres, though, expressed considerably less optimism regarding the outcome of environmental change and adaptation than his Canadian counterparts.

Myres' presidential address of 1909 was presented on the occasion of the demise of the Canadian Ethnological Survey. The last known report of the Survey to the British Association was in

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹See, for instance, Bryce, "Ethnological Types in Rupert's Land," 144.

⁸²John L. Myres, "The Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science," Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science 1909, (London: John Murray, 1910), 589-617. On John Myres, see Stocking, After Tylor, 171, 212, and Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism, 34-6.

1902. Between 1902 and 1909, some of the survey's key participants continued to publish their findings before the British Association and the Royal Society of Canada. The published results of the Ethnological Survey continued to be dominated by the studies of a few key individuals, and by a focus on native rather than European ethnology. Between 1902 and 1909 the Canadian survey failed to report before the British Association, and the demise of the Survey was confirmed by Myres at the British Association meeting in Winnipeg.

The reasons for the demise of the Survey were manifold. The reasons included the death in 1901 of George Dawson, one of the founding members and driving forces behind the survey, and the subsequent inability of the remaining members to regroup and retain interest in the project.⁸³ Dawson's death led to the general disintegration of the survey, and the British Association disbanded the survey in 1904 following the failure of Canadian field workers to report with the Survey's consultative committee in London.⁸⁴

Myres regarded the Survey's cessation as a great disappointment to the ethnological project. In lamenting the end of the Canadian Ethnological Survey, Myres appealed to Canadian anthropologists to pay close attention to the impact of European immigration on the

⁸³Myres, "The Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science," 616.

⁸⁴Ibid.

Canadian environment.⁸⁵ Myres considered the "systematic study of your own European immigrants" to be at least as deserving of ethnological attention as the disappearing native cultures.⁸⁶ For his Canadian audience, Myres drew parallels to the population of Britain's industrial slums as an example of Britain's own "great experiment in modern British anthropology," with pessimistic conclusions for the progress of Britain's social experiment.⁸⁷

In general, though, Canadian anthropology was fast moving away from the evolutionary objective of studying social "great experiments". The Ethnological Survey disbanded before meeting its earlier-stated objectives of recording the effects of environmental modification of white European peoples. In particular, the study of white European societies, including the promised study of Doukhor adaptation, never materialized in published form. In spite of Myres' pessimistic post-mortem, however, the demise of organized ethnological study in Canada was actually short-lived, and the succeeding years simply underscored the separation of professional anthropology in Canada from the British scientific community and imperial anthropological direction and objectives.

At the same time the Ethnological Survey appeared to be faltering, Canadian anthropologists seized upon the opportunity

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Ibid., 617.

presented to them by the creation of the Department of Mines in 1907 to incorporate anthropological research into the Geological Survey.⁸⁸ By 1911, ethnological research was integrated within an Anthropological Division of the newly constituted Geological Survey of Canada, and linked to the development of the national museum.⁸⁹ Professional anthropology in Canada thus entered a new phase after 1911, establishing new ties with government and pursuing a professional and scientific approach to the study of North American native cultures. Amateur research was simultaneously phased out of respectable anthropological scholarship.⁹⁰

At the same meeting in Winnipeg where Myres announced the dismantling of the Ethnological Survey, the remaining members of the survey had appointed a new committee, this time chaired by George Bryce, to recommend to the Dominion government "the establishment of a systematic anthropological survey of Canada in connection with the opening of the new national museum."⁹¹ In this objective, the new committee had the support of the Archaeological Institute of America and the Royal Society of Canada. Despite acknowledging the stimulus provided to ethnological research by the British Associa-

⁸⁸Edward Sapir, "The Work of the Division of Anthropology of the Dominion Government," Queen's Quarterly 20 (July 1912), 60.

⁸⁹E. Sapir, "An Anthropological Survey of Canada," Science, n.s. 34, 884 (December 1911) 789.

⁹⁰Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology," 42-3.

⁹¹Sapir, "An Anthropological Survey of Canada," 789.

tion, the committee credited the late George Dawson and Franz Boas as providing the chief impetus for the creation of the new federal ethnological division. This in effect signalled the end of imperial links to Canadian professional anthropology.⁹²

Edward Sapir, newly appointed as the head of the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey, was a German-born American who had only graduated from the doctoral program at Columbia the year before. Sapir's administration brought stricter scientific and professional standards to the twentieth-century study of anthropology.⁹³ Under Sapir's direction between 1911 and 1925, the Anthropological Division concentrated exclusively on the more limited and politically immediate objectives of the study and recording of disappearing North American native cultures in the early part of the twentieth century.⁹⁴ In part, Sapir's own interest in the anthropological study of immigration was hindered by a lack of government

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology," 42. The historiography of the Sapir years at the Anthropological Division is limited. More recently, this aspect of Sapir's career has been explored in Regna Darnell, Edward Sapir: Linguist, Anthropologist, Humanist, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990). See also Darnell, "The Sapir Years at the Canadian National Museum in Ottawa," in Konrad Koerner, ed., Edward Sapir: Appraisals of His Life and Work, (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1984), 159-78; Hélène Bernier, "Edward Sapir et la recherche anthropologique au Musée National du Canada 1910-1925," Historiographia Linguistica 11, 3 (1984), 397-412; and Stephen D. Murray, "The Canadian 'Winter' of Edward Sapir," Historiographia Linguistica 8, 1 (1981), 63-8.

⁹⁴Ibid., 43.

interest in other than the immediate objective of the recording and preservation of native cultures. Sapir's interest in immigration paralleled Boas' concurrent research on immigrant headforms, and in a 1911 letter to a colleague Sapir remarked that the study of immigration would help link anthropological study to "'problems of national interest.'"⁹⁵ However, the more concentrated and scientific emphasis on native cultures ensured that the anthropological study of immigration would disappear as a primary concern among professional scholars.

Sapir's appointment confirmed the separation of Canadian anthropology from British and imperial objectives, and the reorientation of Canadian anthropology towards North American scholarship, with an emphasis on the scientific investigation of Canadian ethnology.⁹⁶ Separating the Anthropological Division from the defunct Ethnological Survey, Sapir praised the Survey for having produced a few articles of anthropological importance. However, he

⁹⁵Darnell, "The Sapir Years at the Canadian National Museum," 162.

⁹⁶Sapir, "The Work of the Division of Anthropology," 60. On the links between imperialist and Dominion anthropological scholarship, and scientific scholarship in general, see Trever H. Levere, "The British Association Goes West: Montreal 1884," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, ser. 4, vol. 20 (1982), 489-97; and Vittorio de Vecchi, "The Pilgrim's Progress, the BAAS, and Research in Canada: From Montreal to Toronto," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, ser. 4, vol. 20 (1982), 519-532. Taking issue with the depiction of Canadian science as colonial is Richard A. Jarrell, "British Scientific Institutions and Canada: The Rhetoric and the Reality," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, ser. 4, vol. 20 (1982), 533-47.

also appeared to feel that past efforts had mostly yielded "the collection of a notable mass of museum material" rather than producing papers of anthropological note.⁹⁷

Sapir certainly engaged in a conscious effort to move Canadian anthropology away from its imperial connections, methodological and professional, as well as from its amateur traditions of scholarship and research. At the same time as he attempted to establish links between anthropological scholarship in Canada and the federal government, Sapir also appealed for the establishment of anthropology in the universities.⁹⁸ Sapir attempted to move anthropology in Canada in several new directions, including the de-emphasis of amateur research and the focus on exclusively North American problems, preferably to be approached by men and women trained in anthropological method at Canadian universities.⁹⁹

Among these new directions was the theoretical focus of ethnological study. Sapir also aimed to move Canadian anthropology away from the Victorian evolutionary emphasis that continued to characterize British anthropology into the twentieth century.¹⁰⁰ Rather than placing his faith in the "reconstruction of the social and psychic history of man" favoured by British evolutionary

⁹⁷Sapir, "The Work of the Division of Anthropology," 60.

⁹⁸Ibid., 68-9. See also Darnell, "The Sapir Years at the Canadian National Museum," 159.

⁹⁹Sapir, "The Work of the Division of Anthropology," 69.

¹⁰⁰Stocking, After Tylor, 124.

anthropology, Sapir shifted to an archaeological focus based on "such historical reconstruction as follows from a close study of the complex ethnographic data of a given time and place."¹⁰¹ This shift in emphasis provided the means for a break from the broad theoretical questions raised by British evolutionary anthropology, and reoriented Canadian anthropology towards the specialized study of cultures in North America.

The new direction in anthropological research also placed the anthropologist in the role of scientific expert and spokesman on behalf of the native peoples of Canada. This was a role Sapir adopted with a view to the relative equality of native peoples, supporting the potlatch system on the Northwest Coast and lending scientific support to efforts to repeal the anti-potlatch law.¹⁰² Other initiatives such as attempts to have native crafts taught in the public schools by native elders, and to establish a basket industry among the Northwest Coast tribes, attest to the efforts of the Anthropological Division to lend scientific authority in support of native causes. Sapir appears to have taken seriously the responsibility of the Anthropological Division to provide professional and scientific information to the Department of Indian Affairs, as well as to support the best interests of Canada's native

¹⁰¹Sapir, "The Work of the Division of Anthropology," 62.

¹⁰²Darnell, "The Sapir Years at the Canadian National Museum," 168.

population.¹⁰³

With the move towards a North American rather than imperial tradition of scholarship, professional anthropology in Canada broke with the previous idea of race relations transmitted through this view, and moved in a Boasian direction of cultural relativism during the twentieth century. This meant a reconsideration of the Victorian biological and cultural categories of "civilized" and "primitive" groups, and the pluralization of the concept of culture.¹⁰⁴ However, the number and influence of Boasian-trained academic anthropologists in Canada remained limited, even with the appointment of Sapir. Canadian anthropology lacked a solid institutional and academic base outside of government until at least the Second World War, and the general influence of Canadian academic anthropologists would be limited to a local and interdisciplinary audience until at least the 1940s.

The evolutionary trends in anthropological research, however, left an important legacy for Canadian political thought by providing a scientific buttress for cultural relativism. George Bryce, for instance, had suggested that a Christian and stable society had been set into place that resisted the divisive effects of the intermixture of peoples, and prevented the formation of an "Oregon" in

¹⁰³Ibid., 169-70.

¹⁰⁴Stocking, After Tylor, 124.

Canada.¹⁰⁵ Bryce's optimism perhaps incorporated an earlier anthropological and geographical belief in the stability and transforming effects of the Canadian physical environment. The strength of that environment, and its mixture of peoples, had been believed to have had a powerful transforming effect on the native cultures already inhabiting the land.¹⁰⁶

Bryce also illustrates the emergence of a liberal cultural relativist view of race relations, although as only one of many conceptions of race relations supported by anthropological science. The legacy bequeathed by anthropologists like Bryce was the idea of a Canadian civilization created from the interaction of native and white cultures, or from the intermixture of peoples in general. Canadian anthropologists like Bryce did not seem to experience the pessimism of their British counterparts regarding the stability of Canadian civilization. Myres' comments before the British Association for the Advancement of Science generally reflected the decline of mid-Victorian liberal optimism, uncertainties in Britain about the social impact of industrialization and urbanization, and the declining liberal faith in the imperial mission.¹⁰⁷ Such concerns were not shared in the Canadian anthropological community; or, if they were, the conditions of professional development within the

¹⁰⁵Bryce, "Ethnological Types in Rupert's Land," 144.

¹⁰⁶Myres, "An Ethnological Survey for Canada," 617.

¹⁰⁷Stocking, After Tylor, 98.

Canadian anthropological sciences had led Canadian anthropologists in a different direction.

Although sensitive and even sympathetic to the distinctiveness of cultures on the imperial or even European periphery, anthropological attitudes continued to mirror unconsciously eurocentric views of other cultures. The separate cultural worth of these societies may have been recognized, but this recognition was accompanied by a benevolent paternalism that emerged in anthropological thought on race relations.¹⁰⁸ In the instance of native-European relations, this paternalism was reflected in the assumption that native cultures were in the process of being overwhelmed by white civilization, and in the belief that white penetration was dangerous to the cultural integrity of these societies.

Influenced by social evolutionism, and emphasizing the common unity of human society, anthropology nonetheless retained a view of "civilized" and "primitive" societies that was manifested in this depiction of native groups. Often a benevolent although pessimistic concern with protecting peripheral native societies from white or European penetration emerged from anthropological thought.¹⁰⁹ Most anthropologists believed that many native cultures would not survive the assimilation process or process of creating a Canadian

¹⁰⁸Rich, Race and Empire, 35.

¹⁰⁹This alternative was particularly important as an imperialist ideology. See *ibid.*, 36-7.

"civilization".¹¹⁰ But others, such as Daniel Wilson and George Bryce, welcomed the thought of a two-way assimilation in which native and white cultures would create a new Canadian civilization. Wilson went as far as to reject the idea of segregation, and promoted contacts between native and white peoples in the interests of the cultural development of both groups.¹¹¹

Social evolutionism therefore appeared to proceed in more than one direction. Wilson and Bryce had effectively accepted the prospect of a two-way assimilation, and of the formation of a Canadian society resulting from the interaction of native and European cultures. It was a deceptive and rather myopic optimism regarding assimilation that minimized the potential for intercultural conflict as well as ignoring the racist overtones and relative differences in power. Regardless, Wilson and Bryce illustrate that Canadian anthropology had at least moved in a relativist direction. Moreover, while their relativism was limited by a monist emphasis on a single, universal set of Canadian standards, their conclusions on the adaptability of a "mixed" population suggest a liberal view of diversity absent from the British context.¹¹²

¹¹⁰See, for instance, the views of missionary John Maclean (cited in Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, 43).

¹¹¹Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, 41.

¹¹²Cf. Rich, Race and Empire, ch. 3, "Mary Kingsley and the emergence of cultural relativism."

By the twentieth century, "applied anthropology," or the establishment of an ethnological bureau, apparently had confirmed the professional move away from social evolutionary theory. However, the relativist assault on social evolutionism seemingly portended by Sapir's Boasian orientation brief administration in Ottawa remained limited by a number of factors. For one, Sapir lacked the cooperation of the Canadian amateur anthropological community, whose members resented being displaced by Sapir's goals for professional anthropology. Sapir's Boasian perspective and emphasis on linguistic field research alienated anthropologists within the amateur community. A notable example was British Columbia ethnologist Charles Hill-Tout, who complained to Sapir about the "'superior' and 'patronizing'" attitude Sapir presented to amateur anthropologists.¹¹³ Indeed, Sapir and Hill-Tout became rivals for control of anthropological research among the northwest native tribes in British Columbia, an area in which both enjoyed professional expertise.¹¹⁴

Additionally, public interest in the Sapir reorganization and the narrow specialization of the linguistic and field research dwindled during the intervening war years. The already marginal foundations of professional ethnological research in Canada were further weakened when the Parliament Building in Ottawa was

¹¹³Darnell, Edward Sapir: Linguist, Anthropologist, Humanist, 52.

¹¹⁴Ibid., 53.

destroyed by fire in April 1916, and Parliament conducted business from the Victoria Memorial Museum, the home of the Anthropological Division, for the next four years.¹¹⁵ Following the war, the Anthropological Division was further weakened by a succession of budget cuts and by the reorganization of the Geological Survey, and Sapir commented resignedly to one of his American colleagues that the atmosphere in Ottawa was unfavourable to the professional study of anthropology.¹¹⁶ In the wartime atmosphere and the drive toward economy, the urgency of recording native cultures appeared to have diminished, with Canadians accepting the eventual disappearance or assimilation of native cultures as fact.¹¹⁷

In 1925, Sapir returned to the United States to focus his attention on the theoretical study of linguistics, leaving his former graduate student, Diamond Jenness, in charge of a weakened anthropological division. If an opportunity had been presented to infuse Canadian ethnological study with the perspective of Boasian relativism, it had passed as a result of the backlash against Sapir and his research objectives, and as a result of the difficulties of establishing organized anthropological research in Canada.¹¹⁸ Under Jenness, a greatly attenuated and increasingly anachronistic

¹¹⁵Ibid., 82.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 83.

¹¹⁷Ibid.

¹¹⁸See Rich, Race and Empire, 22.

Anthropological Division was unable to further institutionalize anthropology, a role that increasingly fell to the Canadian universities.¹¹⁹

Cultural pluralism in early twentieth-century Canada therefore did not offer a critique of racial ideas or of the concept of race.¹²⁰ Those who acknowledged the relative worth of cultures did not extend their relativism to include the political or social equality of these societies. Anthropological scholarship remained paternalistic owing to the pervasive belief in the "primitive" nature of native cultures. Despite the move towards cultural relativism, the survival of social evolutionism meant that a paternalistic quality therefore continued to infuse the popular and historical discussion of ethnic relations.

A corresponding relativist but paternalistic approach entered the popular discussion of race relations. Even among those sympathetic to immigrants, the result was often a tendency to

¹¹⁹Darnell, "The Sapir Years at the Canadian National Museum," 177. The critique of the idea of race is an important topic in the secondary literature. For a discussion, see especially Elazar Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Nancy Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960, (London: Macmillan, 1982); and Michael Banton, The Idea of Race, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1977).

¹²⁰On the critique of the idea of race in the American and British scientific communities, see Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism.

romanticize the qualities of several immigrant groups as anti-thetical to industrialization. The absence of a critique of race also was reflected in the early twentieth-century historical and popular discussion of ethnic relations, including English-French relations as well as relations between Canadians and the central and eastern European immigrant populations.

The harshness of romantic racialism and Teutonic racial theory was rejected in many of the prewar and wartime studies of English-French relations, such as those by historian George M. Wrong and others associated with the *Bonne Entente* movement.¹²¹ Wrong, whose histories were strongly influenced by anthropological developments, wrote generally tolerant and accommodating studies of French Canada that emphasized the fundamental equality of English and French groups in Canada.¹²² Wrong was especially critical of the romantic racialism of American historian Francis Parkman, whom Wrong criticized for a failure to appreciate the defining cultural characteristics of French Canadian society.¹²³

In efforts to promote cultural unity and resolve the ethnic and religious tensions of early twentieth-century Canada, Wrong was joined by more popular writers such as Arthur Hawkes, Percival

¹²¹Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900, 2nd edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 17-21.

¹²²Ibid., 20.

¹²³Ibid.

Fellman Morley, and William Henry Moore, who urged mutual sympathy and understanding as a way of reconciling race differences.¹²⁴ Each found much to admire about French Canadian society, and attempted to check the high tide of ethnic and religious feeling in both English and French Canada with a plea for education and a sympathetic appreciation for cultural differences. Regardless, their portrayals of French Canadian society emphasized its "traditional, retrogressive features."¹²⁵ Quebec was generally admired as a stable religious and conservative society, but these features were also regarded as inhibiting economic development and promoting superstition among the inhabitants of the province.¹²⁶

The portrayal of immigrant societies, particularly the "bloc" communities of central and eastern European origin, was subject to a similar approach. As Canadians adjusted to the presence of Sifton's settlers, particularly where settlement in rural western communities had taken place, an admiration for the better qualities of these settlers was revealed in the popular literature on immigration. However, portrayals of immigrant life similarly emphasized the quaint and the picturesque, and left the impression

¹²⁴William Henry Moore, The Clash! A Study in Nationalities, (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1918); Arthur Hawkes, The Birthright: The Search for the Canadian Canadian and the Larger Loyalty, (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1919); Percival Fellman Morley, Bridging the Chasm: A Study of the Ontario-Quebec Question, (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1919).

¹²⁵Berger, The Writing of Canadian History, 18.

¹²⁶Ibid., 19.

that these peasant societies needed to be upgraded to the standards of Canadian civilization.¹²⁷

Through the avenues of anthropology and its subsequent influence on the writing of Canadian history, cultural relativism therefore came to enter and influence mainstream liberal thinking on race relations. The result was a considerably more tolerant approach to cultural differences, and in many cases a genuine desire to resolve differences through study and education. Like the *Bonne Entente* movement, liberals believed that ethnic and religious tensions could be resolved through education and mutual understanding. However, liberalism had not produced a critique of the idea of race; the persistence of a concept of "advanced" and "backward" classes and civilizations remained problematic, as was the belief that each group would eventually assimilate to a common cultural standard. The result was a version of cultural pluralism that acknowledged the separate cultural worth of societies, but otherwise failed to either acknowledge social equality or provide for equality of political power. The logic of assimilation focused on the individual, emphasizing the capacity of the individual to assimilate, and overlooked the distinctiveness of group identities. The

¹²⁷See, for instance, Joseph Elkington, *The Doukhobors: Their History in Russia, Their Migration to Canada*, (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, Publishers, 1903); Aylmer Maude, *A Peculiar People: The Doukhobórs*, (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1904); S. B. Rohold, *The Jews in Canada*, (Toronto: Board of Home Missions, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1913). Cf. Wilfred Campbell, *The Scotsman in Canada*, (Toronto and London: The Musson Book Company, Limited, 1911).

result was a "contradictory and even patronizing" approach in liberal thinking on questions of race relations.¹²⁸

While much less well developed in Canada than in the United States, sociological accounts of immigration similarly began to move in the direction of cultural relativism. The sociological discussion of European immigration was also characterized by references to "civilized" and "primitive" cultural distinctions. This is illustrated in the work of James Shaver Woodsworth.

The vocational crisis that led Woodsworth to his career in social service is well known.¹²⁹ Succumbing to personal and theological doubts about his calling, Woodsworth attempted to resign the Methodist ministry in 1907. The church, however, refused to accept his resignation, and shortly thereafter Woodsworth found himself drawn to the type of social settlement work made famous in the United States by Jane Addams and Hull House. In 1907, combining both his theological training and his commitment to seeking a practical outlet for his principles, Woodsworth accepted the position of superintendent of All People's Mission in Winnipeg, where he made the observations that led him to write Strangers Within Our Gates in 1909.

¹²⁸Berger, The Writing of Canadian History, 18.

¹²⁹Cook, The Regenerators, 213; Mills, Fool for Christ, 31-7; Kenneth McNaught, A Prophet in Politics, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), 6-8.

Woodsworth's Strangers Within Our Gates is considered by historians to represent the prevailing negative tenor of Canadian social thought on immigration. However, Woodsworth was surprisingly sympathetic to immigration in 1909. Furthermore, between the publication of Strangers Within Our Gates and the end of the First World War, Woodsworth's thought increasingly turned towards a more enlightened view of race relations incorporating postwar liberal internationalism.¹³⁰

A contrasting approach to immigration and assimilation had begun to develop by the early 1900s, when, linked with the emergence of the social settlement movement in Canada, the discussion of immigration and assimilation began to take a more secular and humanitarian turn.¹³¹ Similarly concerned with the emergence of large-scale industrial and social problems, reformers such as Woodsworth nonetheless accepted both a cosmopolitan nationality, or a greater accommodation of diversity as part of nationhood, and the idea of individual opportunity.¹³² They also based their writings on a broader idea of community and of the responsibility of Canadian citizens to assist in the assimilation process. The result was the

¹³⁰On the effect of liberal internationalism on the liberal discussion of race relations, see Rich, Race and Empire, 48-9.

¹³¹See Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators, esp. discussion of J. S. Woodsworth, 213-227; 229.

¹³²John Higham, "Integrating America: The Problem of Assimilation in the Nineteenth Century," Journal of American Ethnic History 1, 1 (Fall 1981), 21.

gradual emergence of a more inclusive and tolerant approach to immigration, which regardless continued to rely upon a policy of immigration restriction to exclude groups seen as incapable of assimilation.

Strangers Within Our Gates was largely a reflection of the social ethos developed by Woodsworth as both a student of sociology and as someone who yearned to put this ethos to practical use. Strangers Within Our Gates was followed two years later by the publication of My Neighbor, a treatise on the "problem of the city," and it is important to understand both as an expression of the social settlement movement. Both, according to Woodsworth, were written to reflect the perspective of "Social Work"; both additionally were written to draw attention to questions of national sociological import. Neither book was exactly a scientific treatise. Strangers Within Our Gates, in fact, was hastily prepared over a winter that was exceptionally busy for Woodsworth, who was preoccupied with the administration of All Peoples' Mission in Winnipeg. Many chapters in Strangers Within Our Gates were written instead by A. R. Ford of the Winnipeg Telegram, and had been published earlier in the Westminster.¹³³

Both books were heavily influenced by the sociological literature of immigration and the city emerging from the United

¹³³Ibid., 5. These chapters were designated with Ford's initials, and included sections on "The Icelanders," "The Doukhobors," "Ruthenians," and "The Poles in Western Canada."

States, used in conjunction with the emerging social settlement movement in such cities as Chicago, where Jane Addam's Hull House provided the prototype for social settlement work. In fact, Canadian writings on immigration were not merely a reflection of the sociological literature of the United States. The United States, rather, was perceived as having gone through similar problems a generation earlier, and therefore provided the benefit of hindsight; the American cities provided an example of many of the problems that Canadians could hope to avoid.

In Woodsworth's thought, the emerging sociological literature on immigration, the city, and other areas of social reform mirrored the emerging ethos of social service and social reform. This included a more sympathetic approach to immigration than previously, and a greater sensitivity to the integrity of immigrant cultures. The failing of the book, though, one which has been noted by countless historians, was Woodsworth's continued reliance on stereotyped and patronizing descriptions of non-British and non-northern European immigrant groups.

Indeed, part of the intention of Strangers Within Our Gates was to sound the alarm to concerned, reform-minded Canadians regarding the magnitude of the problems presented by incoming immigration in such large numbers. As J. R. Sparling emphasized in the introduction,

...there is a danger and it is national! Either we must educate and elevate the incoming multitudes or they will drag us and our children down to a lower level. We must

see to it that the civilization and ideals of Southeastern Europe are not transplanted to and perpetuated on our virgin soil.¹³⁴

Sparling's seemingly Victorian alarmism, however, was modified by Woodsworth's far more subdued purpose of introducing "the motley crowd of immigrants to our Canadian people", and presenting for consideration "some of the problems of population with which we must deal in the very near future."¹³⁵

Instead, while regarding assimilation as imperative, Woodsworth believed it was important to "divest ourselves of a certain arrogant superiority and exclusiveness, perhaps characteristic of the English race" in dealing with the immigrant population.¹³⁶ Rather, for Woodsworth the question of immigration was related to broader questions of national identity and citizenship, and the definition of unifying national values.¹³⁷ These questions were in turn defined in terms of the cosmopolitanism of the Canadian population, and of the impact of the incoming settlers on the development of the Canadian community.¹³⁸ "Surely," Woodsworth wrote, "we have come from the ends of the earth! We hardly knew we were so cosmopolitan. To see the nations of the world we need

¹³⁴J. W. Sparling, "Introduction," in *ibid.*, 4.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, 5.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, 289.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, 14.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*

merely to journey through Canada."¹³⁹ Immigration, for Woodsworth, concerned the implications of this cosmopolitanism for a country that had "not yet entered fully into our national privileges and responsibilities," but was forced nonetheless to grapple with pressing problems of national magnitude.¹⁴⁰

For individual migrants, Woodsworth expressed considerable sympathy and admiration. Strangers Within Our Gates was filled with the stories of individual successes and failures that confirmed Woodsworth's sympathy with individual "men, women and children--with their hopes and struggles, their victories and defeats."¹⁴¹ With L. M. Fortier, Chief Clerk of the Immigration Department, Woodsworth agreed that "'[the] process of uprooting and transplanting is a painful one, but it is undergone by many of a family to the great betterment of their prospects in life'".¹⁴²

Many concessions to evolutionary theory affected Strangers Within Our Gates, suggesting Woodsworth was influenced by some degree of social evolutionary thought. To some degree, he accepted the potential for modification of the characteristics of the

¹³⁹Ibid., 18.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., 13-14.

¹⁴¹Ibid., 19.

¹⁴²Ibid., 35. For contemporary analyses of immigration adjustment responding to the concepts of "uprooting" and "transplanting," see Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted: From the Old World to the New, (London: Watts, 1953), and John E. Bodnar, The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

immigrant through the effects of the North American environment. His examination of the "racial effects" of immigration suggested the evolution of an "American type," with "distinctive physical, mental, and social characteristics." Woodsworth therefore incorporated an environmental conception of civilization, as distinct from a static category of race based on immutable biological distinctions.¹⁴³ There was no question that immigration would permanently alter this type; the question, rather, was whether the "older American type" would prevail, or whether other "elements" would come to predominate. For Woodsworth, the outcome of the "melting pot" was by no means guaranteed.¹⁴⁴

Woodsworth seemed fairly optimistic about the prospect of assimilation, and his concept of biological and social evolution appears to have echoed the prevailing anthropological belief in the unity of human society. Woodsworth assumed an inevitable outcome, "not based altogether on natural law," that a "higher type" would be the result of the mixture of peoples. European peasant societies, he felt, were in a state of flux; they were "capable of being moved, of developing." In migration, Woodsworth found the potential for evolutionary and moral change, possibly for the better. "Surely," he wrote,

¹⁴³Rich, Race and Empire, 96, examines the shift in late nineteenth-century British sociology away from a "fixed racial determinism" towards an environmental conception of levels of civilization.

¹⁴⁴Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, 217.

the whole concept of evolution is founded on the implicit faith that the world is moving toward higher things, and that spiritual forces are destined to prevail. Example, training, higher motives, religious impulses are more potent than race characteristics, and will determine the future of our people.¹⁴⁵

These principles ensured that Woodsworth would remain optimistic, although tentative, about the prospects for assimilation.

Woodsworth's humanitarianism also contained an apparently illiberal feature: his classification of immigrant groups according to their suitability for citizenship. In Strangers Within Our Gates, Woodsworth followed the example of John R. Commons in marking out "desirable" and "undesirable" groups according to their ability to assimilate into the Canadian environment. Like many social reformers of the pre-war period, Woodsworth apparently still struggled with the tension between liberal social reform and deterministic biological theory, as well as retaining the Victorian concept of "advanced" and "backward" classes. Woodsworth's writings therefore lacked a sociological critique of race.¹⁴⁶ Examples of this may be seen in his descriptions of eastern and southern European immigrant groups, which compared unfavourably with immigrants of northern European origin.¹⁴⁷ Of emigrants from the

¹⁴⁵Ibid., 220.

¹⁴⁶The failure of prewar sociology to provide an alternative definition of race or culture is examined in *ibid.*, 98-9.

¹⁴⁷Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, ch. 13, "The Italians--North and South," 160-66; ch. 14, "Levantine Races--Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Syrians, Persians," 167-69. Cf. ch. 6, "The Scandinavians," 87-97; ch. 7, "The Germans," 98-108.

Balkan states, Woodsworth wrote generally, "They are a simple, sluggish people, who have been oppressed and down-trodden for ages," and who could not be expected therefore to assimilate.¹⁴⁸ On the other hand, Woodsworth often attempted to ameliorate the harsher descriptions of the European populations with evidence of their successful adaptation to Canadian conditions, and his chief complaint about these groups appeared to be related to perceptions about the downtrodden state of their civilization.

Woodsworth, like his contemporaries, feared that Canada's progressive immigration policy was turning Canada, along with the United States, into "the Old World's dumping ground".¹⁴⁹ His descriptions of the immigrant groups entering Canada avoided the harsher conclusions of race theory; at no one point did Woodsworth describe a race as physically or genetically inferior. However, his descriptions did combine physical definitions with a consideration of the impact each group's environment of origin had on the development of their distinctive national characteristics. If both biology and environment appeared deleterious, a national group could be considered unassimilable and therefore a distinct threat to Canadian national development. Eugenics occasionally influenced Woodsworth, who aligned himself in 1916 with the mental hygiene

¹⁴⁸Ibid., 149.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 201.

movement and its concurrent emphasis on immigration restriction.¹⁵⁰ While he supported immigration restriction as a means of stemming the tide of "defectives," Woodsworth did not claim that biological illness was racially based. In fact, Woodsworth expressed doubts about the fixed nature of racial "types."¹⁵¹ Strangers Within Our Gates also echoed prevailing anthropological typologies in assuming the existence of "older and more permanent races and civilizations" that were established and generally immutable in character. However, in the "newer nations," Woodsworth found a "greater tendency to variation," and believed that "example, training, higher motives, [and] religious impulses" were likely to outweigh racial characteristics in the evolution of a higher national type.¹⁵²

In summary, Strangers Within Our Gates was a practical and educational manual rather than a scientific analysis of immigration and its effects on Canadian society. Regardless, the book reflected some of the central tenets of social evolutionary theory, including a belief in the development through evolution of a "higher type" of society. As well, the book incorporated the Victorian idea of the "backward" and "advanced" classes and races in its description of immigrant groups. Furthermore, the idea of "race" the book expressed confused cultural and biological determinants, and

¹⁵⁰Mills, Fool for Christ, 53-4.

¹⁵¹Ibid.

¹⁵²Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, 220.

reflected the general inability of early sociology to provide an alternative definition of either race or culture.¹⁵³

Generally, Woodsworth represented the humanistic side of progressive social reform before World War I. He represented a cooperative side of progressivism that found expression in the social settlement movement, and that incorporated the "ideology of equal rights and [was] congenial to the cosmopolitan idea of nationality".¹⁵⁴ However, Woodsworth also represents the emergence of a culturally relativist sociological tradition on race relations. While rejecting a "fixed racial determinism," early sociology nonetheless echoed many of the Victorian fears of advanced and backward classes.¹⁵⁵ Prior to 1914, liberal social reformers like Woodsworth were not quite able to circumnavigate their fears of the deterioration of Canadian society, and their views remained characterized by eurocentric notions of cultural superiority.

Like other sociologists and social reformers, Woodsworth's acceptance of an evolutionary idea of civilization did not preclude support for immigration restriction to protect Canadian civilization from social degeneration.¹⁵⁶ In 1917, a trace of liberal interna-

¹⁵³Rich, Race and Empire, 98-9.

¹⁵⁴John Higham, "Integrating America: The Problem of Assimilation in the Nineteenth Century," Journal of American Ethnic History 1, 1 (Fall 1981), 21.

¹⁵⁵Rich, Race and Empire, 96-7.

¹⁵⁶Mills, Fool for Christ, 55. Also see Woodsworth, "Nation Building," 97.

tionalism seemed to move Woodsworth towards a more cooperative vision of ethnic relations in Canada.¹⁵⁷ However, the European war also added to Woodsworth' mission to protect Canadian civilization from internal divisions, whether social, industrial, or political. Subsequently, Woodsworth remained a true social reformer, placing tremendous faith in the application of science to reform social problems.¹⁵⁸ Even in 1917, he was not quite able to shed to evolutionary assumptions of the differential capacity of "races" for civilization.¹⁵⁹

By the early twentieth century, social evolutionary thought in the social sciences had moved the Canadian discussion on ethnic relations in the direction of cultural relativism. The result in liberal thinking was an optimistic view of race relations and assimilation in Canada, and of the stability of Canadian society, that nonetheless failed to question the paternalist assumptions regarding minority groups upon which this view was based. Outside of the professionalization of the social science disciplines, this view was the most common one in mainstream Canadian opinion, and tended to be linked to the cultural relativism developing within evolutionary anthropology and sociology, and to the theoretical

¹⁵⁷Woodsworth, "Nation Building," 85-6.

¹⁵⁸Mills, Fool for Christ, 55.

¹⁵⁹Rich, Race and Empire, 97.

emphasis on the unity of human society.¹⁶⁰ This view was reflected in a sometimes parochial and often ethnocentric depiction of ethnic minorities that was otherwise characterized by a relativist and often admiring view of their distinguishing cultural characteristics. Even the more sympathetic scholars tended to ignore distinct modes of development within separate cultures in a search for unifying principles of social organization that mirrored their own unconscious ethnic assumptions about social order, and mirrored their own nationalist aspirations instead.¹⁶¹

By the early twentieth century, professional anthropological and sociological scholarship in Canada remained comparatively underdeveloped. However, attitudes towards immigration in the early professionalization of the social sciences were characterized by an acknowledgement of the diversity of the Canadian population, by the separation from imperial scholarship and attitudes, and by the modernization of scientific method. Further, emerging professional scholarship on race relations was increasingly linked to a Boasian North American cultural relativism, and represented a break from the evolutionary anthropology that continued to influence British

¹⁶⁰On cultural relativism in the British and American anthropological sciences, see Stocking, After Tylor; Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism; Rich, Race and Empire. Barkan and Rich in particular consider the implications of cultural relativism for the emerging discussion of race relations.

¹⁶¹Stocking, After Tylor, 108.

anthropology well into the twentieth century.¹⁶² By the time of the interwar years, professional Canadian anthropology and sociology would move in the direction of a critique of race and race prejudice that was relatively late in arriving in the British context.¹⁶³

¹⁶²Ibid., 92-3.

¹⁶³Ibid.

Chapter III
Cultural Pluralism in Early
Canadian Social Science

By the early twentieth century cultural pluralism began to shape the discussion of immigration and assimilation in the Canadian social sciences. Early Canadian social science was characterized by the emergence of a cultural pluralist approach to race relations, one conditioned by the conditions of the emerging social sciences before World War I. This chapter examines the development of a pluralist approach to ethnic relations in the earliest scholarly studies of immigration, and especially in the writings of J. S. Woodsworth, J. T. M. Anderson and W. G. Smith, who produced the first academic Canadian studies of immigration and assimilation. The result was the emergence of an alternate liberal position on ethnic relations, one less tied to the British empire and more closely linked to a North American-based cultural pluralism.¹ However, the version of race relations and immigration that resulted remained linked with an evolutionary sense of the underlying unity of humanity, and did not overturn Victorian notions of "advanced" and "backward" classes. This pluralism also did not progress beyond the acceptance and tolerance of ethnic differences.

¹On the varieties of pluralism, cf. David Nicholls, The Pluralist State, (London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1975), and Michael Banton, Race Relations, (London and Sydney: Tavistock Publications, 1967). Nicholls distinguishes between English pluralism and a less radical, less federalist variant associated with the United States. On social and political pluralism, see also Banton, Race Relations.

Early academic scholarship in Canada on race relations and assimilation seemed to follow the more general reaction against positivism that had begun to affect liberal thought in anthropology, sociology, and the other social sciences, and concurrently paved the way for at least a more tolerant approach to assimilation, if not cultural pluralism.² The settlement movement's reevaluation of race relations especially began to play an influential role in the Canadian academic discussion of immigration, as it had done in the United States through the efforts of Jane Addams and philosopher and educational reformer John Dewey.³ The ideas of the settlement movement were introduced in Canada, and the effect of the settlement movement was to introduce cultural relativism to the emerging Canadian sociological examination of immigration.⁴

²John Higham, "Ethnic Pluralism in American Thought," in Higham, Send These to Me: Jews and Other Immigrants in Urban America, (New York: Antheneum, 1975), 199-200.

³Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: the Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 137-40.

⁴The Chicago School of Sociology has been the subject of considerable historical investigation in the United States, although only recently have the implications of Chicago sociology for Canadian academic scholarship been examined. On the subject of the Chicago school and interwar Canadian sociology, see Marlene Shore, The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School, and the Origins of Social Research in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987). On interwar Canadian sociology, see also Harry Hiller, Society and Change: S. D. Clark and the Development of Canadian Sociology, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981). For the evolution of the sociology of race relations in Britain, see Michael Banton, The Idea of Race, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1977); Paul Rich, Race and Empire in British Politics, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), ch. 5, "Sociology,

By 1913, after the publication of his first work on immigration, J. S. Woodsworth began a reappraisal of immigration and assimilation. His crisis of faith and direction had led him towards a commitment to active social service and away from the Methodist ministry. His beliefs also had led him to experiment with a more worldly form of religion, and away from what he regarded as the excesses of the Protestant evangelizing movement of the previous decades.⁵

The gradual and often painful evolution in Woodsworth's theological and social convictions, as well as the practical experience gained from his settlement work with All Peoples' Missions in Winnipeg, contributed to his post-1910 reevaluation of immigration and assimilation.⁶ Following the publication of Strangers Within Our Gates, Woodsworth had come around to an

anthropology and race," 92-120. In contrast, the United States social settlement movement, and its relationship to progressive ideology and evolutionary sociology, has only recently been the subject of historiographical attention. Most recently, the social thought of the settlement movement has been reconsidered in Mira Carson, Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990). A revisionist approach to the social settlement movement is presented in Ruth Crocker, Social Work and Social Order: the Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889-1930, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992). These studies are appraised in Eileen Boris, "The Settlement Movement Revisited: Social Control With a Conscience," Reviews in American History 20. 2 (1992), 216-21.

⁵Cook, The Regenerators, 214-17; Allen Mills, Fool for Christ: The Political Thought of J. S. Woodsworth, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 19-21, 31-37.

⁶Ibid.

acceptance of the heterogeneity of the Canadian community, and the role this heterogeneity could play in the moral regeneration of Canadian society, as well as in the shaping of a Canadian national ideal. The 1913 publication of a series of articles in the Manitoba Free Press, "Canadians of Tomorrow," attested to a shift in Woodsworth's thinking towards an acceptance of cultural pluralism.⁷ In Woodsworth's opinion, should Canadians measure up to the task of moral regeneration from within, the immigrant population could play a significant role in the reorientation of Canadian social, political, and national values.

The result was a view of assimilation that not only repudiated the views of Victorian social reform, but was grounded in an idea of the moral regeneration of Canadian society. This view was, in some respects, an extension of Woodsworth's earlier social evolutionism and its link with Christian ends. By 1913, however, Woodsworth also had begun to depart both from his earlier proselytizing and his assumptions about the "primitive" character of immigrant groups, and was more welcoming of ethnic diversity than previously.⁸

The "Canadians of Tomorrow" series began with a social

⁷J. S. Woodsworth, "Canadians of Tomorrow," Manitoba Free Press, Thursday, May 29, 1913 to Tuesday, June 13, 1913. The "Canadians of Tomorrow" series is also examined in Mills, Fool for Christ, 47-50.

⁸Eg. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, ch. 23, "A Challenge to the Church," 290-312.

reformer's concern with the social and political ill effects of immigration.⁹ But as readily as he noted the dangers of immigration, Woodsworth began to acknowledge that for good or ill, the ideal of a homogeneous British Canadian ideal with a common language and common values was "incapable of realization" in Canada. The presence of a culturally diverse population meant that any Canadian unity could no longer be founded upon a common past. However, neither could any unity be attained through the suppression of minorities by the majority.¹⁰ Instead, any unity had to be realized through the "shared experiences of a common life" and through common "participation in a vivifying common home".¹¹

Heterogeneity therefore had pushed Woodsworth in the direction of cultural pluralism, concurrently with similar developments in the social settlement movement in the United States, where social settlement worker Jane Addams, the founder of Chicago's Hull House, had begun to show an appreciation not only for immigrant cultures, but an inclination to protect immigrants from public attack.¹² In

⁹J. S. Woodsworth, "The Foreign Invasion," Manitoba Free Press, Thursday, May 29, 1913, 13; Woodsworth, "Danger Signals: The Effect of Immigration on Our National Life," Manitoba Free Press, Friday, May 30, 1913, 15.

¹⁰Woodsworth, "Danger Signals," 15.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Paul Rich, "T. H. Green, Lord Scarman and the issue of ethnic minority rights in English liberal thought," Ethnic and Racial Studies 10, 2 (April 1987), 156; Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Groups, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 133-59, cited in *ibid.*, ff.

fact, the Canadians of Tomorrow series was in large measure a call to reform social service in Canada, to professionalize it through such measures as the training of "social experts" in the colleges and universities.¹³ The emphasis on "present experience" in Woodsworth's writing further indicates a rejection of earlier positivist thinking on ethnic relations.

In contrast to the tenor of Strangers Within Our Gates, Woodsworth now argued that immigrants possessed many characteristics that could as easily be applied to the creation of democracy and freedom in Canada.¹⁴ The better ideals of Europe could easily regenerate and morally reform a Canada that was succumbing to real estate and stock speculation; the industry and patriotism of the immigrants, their "old world respect and reverence" could provide an antidote to the "crude young civilization" Canada was becoming.¹⁵

Equally telling were the effects of the "New World" on the immigrant. By 1913, Woodsworth had abandoned the idea that the inherent personal or racial characteristics were responsible for the maladjustment of immigrants to Canadian life. Rather, he blamed the corrupt Canadian environment for its degenerative effects on

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¹³J. S. Woodsworth, "Wanted, Expert Social Leadership," Manitoba Free Press, Friday, June 13, 1913, 15.

¹⁴J. S. Woodsworth, "The Assets Which the Immigrant Brings," Manitoba Free Press, Saturday, May 31, 1913, 11.

¹⁵Ibid.

immigrant life. The ward boss, the machine politicians, the saloon keepers, the "gauntlet of unscrupulous lodging house keepers, unemployment agents, and construction foremen" contributed to the "spoiling" of the immigrant on Canadian soil.¹⁶ Implicit in his examination of the ill effects Canadian society had on the immigrants was a progressive critique of Canadian society, of the "selfish and indifferent actions" of the Canadians who received them.¹⁷ "Reforming" the immigrant, therefore, was a question of the moral and social regeneration of Canadian society, and Canadians themselves were held responsible for the moral and social adjustment of the immigrant in a way they had not been previously.

Indeed, Woodsworth argued, one of the problems with the Canadian approach to immigration had been a too-rapid assimilation of the immigrant, a process that brought shame to the immigrant and furthermore caused immigrants to abandon the best of the old world characteristics they had brought with them.¹⁸ The task, Woodsworth felt, rather than "educating the foreigners," was to educate Canadians to an "appreciation of the beautiful."¹⁹ The immigrant who divested himself of his old world customs, traditions, ideals,

¹⁶J. S. Woodsworth, "More Danger Signals the Effects of Canada on the Immigrant," Manitoba Free Press, Monday, June 2, 1913, 13.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸J. S. Woodsworth, "How to Make True Canadians," Manitoba Free Press, Tuesday, June 13, 1913, 13.

¹⁹Ibid.

and religion too quickly was not likely to make the best Canadian. Here, Woodsworth repudiated the goal of assimilation as the indoctrination of British ideals, and introduced for the first time the notion of a "mosaic" to describe Canada's new ethnic diversity. "Surely," he exclaimed, "there is room in our Canadian pantheon for more than our British heroes!"²⁰ The Canadian of British origin who could forget his native land could not really be worthy of respect; so, too, the Icelander and the Pole who recalled their native land would be more patriotic Canadians in the end.²¹ The metaphor of the "Canadian garden" summarized for Woodsworth a composite Canadianism, in which the attributes of each ethnic component contributed to the unique character of the whole. According to Woodsworth, it was to this pluralist ideal that Canadians needed to be educated.²²

A second critique, that of the role of the churches, permeated Woodsworth's reevaluation of immigration. Without the evangelizing ambition of late Victorian Protestantism, Woodsworth relinquished the previously hard line on non-Protestant faiths that had been seen in Strangers Within Our Gates.²³ By 1913, Woodsworth had come to question both the Protestant evangelizing mission and the belief in the inherent superiority of the Protestant churches. Addressing the

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

²³Cf. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, ch. 23, "A Challenge to the Church," 290-312.

needs of the immigrants also meant reform within the Canadian church, and the repudiation especially of a proselytism designed to "make the foreigners over into English Protestants". Even if this latter goal was achievable, Woodsworth wrote, it was not necessarily desirable; the "abhorred word proselytism warns us that missionary activity has often been sadly misdirected."²⁴

Thus Woodsworth's concern for community life and for the moral regeneration of Canadian society had led him by 1913 to reject an idealist vision of a homogeneous British Canadian society, and had moved him towards a pluralist view of the cosmopolitanism and heterogeneity of the Canadian community. At the very least, the result was a more inclusive approach to assimilation in Woodsworth's thinking.²⁵ The "immigration problem" was now the "problem of developing a community life which will give freedom to peoples diverse in language, in race, in religion and in social customs."²⁶ Woodsworth's pluralism consequently was linked to Canadian moral reform as well as to the objective of educating the immigrant into loftier Canadian national ideals. Woodsworth thereby was able to

²⁴J. S. Woodsworth, "The Canadian Protestant Churches and the Immigrant," Manitoba Free Press, Thursday, June 5, 1913, 14. The Canadian Protestant churches also came under fire for their sectionalism, as it was dubious to Woodsworth that a divided Christianity could address the problem of the immigrant from the perspective of social service.

²⁵See Higham, "Send These to Me," 199-200.

²⁶J. S. Woodsworth, "Introduction," in C. B. Sissons, Bilingual Schools in Canada, (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1917), 3.

accommodate ethnic diversity into his view of Canadian nationality. However, in Woodsworth's thought, diversity nevertheless was linked to the generally rhetorical idealist notion of a common unity based on shared experience. Woodsworth's thinking therefore fell short of pluralism in a federationist sense, in that he subordinated ethnic autonomy to a broader, vaguely defined idea of a "common good".²⁷

This approach was echoed in the introduction Woodsworth wrote for C. B. Sissons' wartime study of the bilingual schools controversy, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada. In response to the "language question," Woodsworth proclaimed that it was time for Canadians to accept the responsibilities that immigration had brought them. "Whether we relish the prospect or not," he wrote,

...Canadians are not and cannot now be a homogeneous people. Whether or not they are to be a united people depends largely on the attitude of Canadians of the older stock, who are at present responsible for National leadership.²⁸

The importance given to the development of a community life meant that for Woodsworth, the idea of assimilation had changed as well. In effect, Woodsworth renounced the late nineteenth-century idea of the melting-pot, in exchange for a more inclusive definition of assimilation:

It would be as unwise as it would be futile to attempt to force all these immigrants into one mould. Some of

²⁷Nicholls, The Pluralist State, 115-16.

²⁸Woodsworth, "Introduction," 4.

us have never quite understood that the older Ontario type of Canadian, however admirable, has not been the only type of Canadian. If ever one type is evolved it will be catholic enough to incorporate in itself the best elements in the various peoples who are making Canada their home.²⁹

Woodsworth believed that each of the immigrant groups comprising the Canadian population had some distinctive contribution to make to the evolution of a common Canadian "type"; to a common Canadianism, they brought the "heritage of the rich and varied civilization of Europe".³⁰ He reiterated this point elsewhere, stating that British Canadian who promoted English as Canada's predominant language had failed to grasp the meaning of the other languages to other Canadians.³¹

This notion was an important shift away from prevailing idealist notions about "national character" that were sustained by the idea of a homogeneous racial basis.³² However, Woodsworth stopped well short of advocating a cultural pluralism that acknowledged the political legitimacy and cultural autonomy of minority groups, and also failed to distinguish between the interests of ethnic minorities and an idea of the common good. In this, he distinguished himself from the American pluralists Horace Kallen and

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid., 5.

³²See Rich, "T. H. Green, Lord Scarman and ethnic minority rights," 150, 156-57.

Randolph Bourne, who each postulated a variant of a "world federation in miniature", or a "federation or commonwealth of national cultures."³³ He also separated himself from the late nineteenth-century English pluralists J. N. Figgis, H. J. Laski, and F. W. Maitland, who sought to assert the influence of the group as a mediating influence between the individual and an increasingly powerful state.³⁴ Instead, Woodsworth had aligned himself with a muted North American variant of pluralism associated with the early twentieth century social settlement movement and progressive reform, a version that acknowledged ethnic diversity and asserted the beneficence of the state in protecting the interests of ethnic minorities.³⁵

Woodsworth's influence evidently went well beyond the publication of Strangers Within Our Gates, which in effect was a pioneering work for the scholarly study of assimilation and race relations. Academic sociology remained in a very underdeveloped state in Canada prior to World War I, especially in comparison with the growth of sociology in the United States. In fact, few university departments offered instruction in sociology prior to the 1950s, and those that did merged sociology with other disciplines

³³Quoted in Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, 140-42.

³⁴Nicholls, The Pluralist State, 5.

³⁵For a critical appraisal of this version of pluralism, see *ibid.*, 113-23.

such as political economy, history, and agricultural economics.³⁶

Such was indeed the case at the University of Manitoba, where sociology courses was offered sporadically with political economy and political science in an all-encompassing Department of Political Economy.³⁷ Between 1909 and 1915, three M.A. theses were produced on the topic of immigration for the newly established Department of History at the University of Manitoba, each referring in some way to Woodsworth's Strangers Within Our Gates. These three theses, written by William Ivens, J. T. M. Anderson and J. T. Whittaker, yield useful insights into the state of academic sociology in Canada, as well as of early Canadian research on immigration and assimilation.³⁸ These theses, however, are also transitional, and represent an evolution of thought on ethnic relations within the relatively short time frame between 1909 and 1915.

Although prepared for the Department of History, the tenor of Ivens' and Anderson's theses was sociological, while Whittaker

³⁶Harry H. Hiller, Society and Change: S. D. Clark and the Development of Canadian Sociology, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 12-16.

³⁷Ibid., 13.; H. Clare Pentland, manuscript, "The Department of Economics, University of Manitoba: A Brief History," H. Clare Pentland Papers, Department of Archives and Special Collections, Elizabeth Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba, Mss 46, box 5, fd. 1, 2.

³⁸William Ivens, "Canadian Immigration," M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1909; James Thomas Milton Anderson, "Canadian Immigration and Its Problems," M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1914; Joseph Thompson Whittaker, "Canada and the Immigration Problem," M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1915.

adopted the methods and perspectives of political economy. Their procedure reflected the general dearth of attention to the teaching of academic sociology, and the degree to which a single department could encompass several disciplines.

The Department of History, along with the Departments of English and of Political Economy, was created as separate departments in 1909, with Chester Martin as chair in History. The Department of History appears to have offered graduate instruction leading to the master's degree in its first year of existence, with the first thesis, written by William Ivens, appearing in 1909.³⁹ Chester Martin's department concentrated predominantly on British constitutional history, with a section left open to "special phases in a period of Canadian history."⁴⁰ Martin himself, however, was to become a preeminent historian of the Canadian west, as well as a lifelong student of western frontier settlement. It is also perhaps no surprise that a university in the midst of a rapidly expanding immigrant population, and that included prominent social gospellers such as the Reverend Salem Bland among its faculty, should have

³⁹In contrast, the Department of Political Economy did not offer graduate instruction leading to the master's degree until 1919. (Pentland, "The Department of Economics, University of Manitoba," 5)

⁴⁰University of Manitoba, Courses in English, History and Political Economy, session 1909-1910, (Winnipeg: [Free Press Job Dept., 1909?]), 4-5.

focused so much attention on immigration.⁴¹

It was recognized by each of the three thesis writers that immigration studies in Canada were in a preliminary stage; in the words of William Ivens, these studies were pioneering studies, and in the absence of Canadian sociological literature, such studies were required to rely on American scholarship which by this time had been exploring immigration for the preceding two or three decades.⁴² This approach was justified by Ivens on the grounds that the problems of adjustment faced by Canada and the United States were similar, and the successes and failures of the United States were to be considered a guide for the study of Canadian conditions.⁴³

Also in the prevailing absence of Canadian research, each of these studies relied on Woodsworth's Strangers Within Our Gates for the description and evaluation of the immigrant groups settling in Canada; Whittaker's thesis, however, also incorporated descriptions of immigrant groups from Shortt and Doughty's Canada and Its Provinces, and refuted the emerging pluralism of the social

⁴¹The relationship between immigration and the social gospel movement has been depicted by historians as ambiguous and not entirely beneficent. See, for instance, Marilyn Barber, "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel," in Richard Allen, ed., The Social Gospel in Canada: Papers of the Interdisciplinary Conference on the Social Gospel in Canada, (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 186-226.

⁴²Ivens, "Canadian Immigration," 2.

⁴³Ibid.

settlement movement.⁴⁴ Strangers Within Our Gates was in effect regarded as the first important study of immigration and assimilation in Canada. Woodsworth subsequently played a part in the early attempts to apply sociology to the study of Canadian immigration and assimilation. In the absence of prior immigration studies in Canada, Woodsworth had himself turned to the American sociologists for direction regarding the impact of immigration on Canadian social, economic, and political life. Names such as Richmond Mayo-Smith, J. D. Whelpley, and John R. Commons had figured prominently in Woodsworth's writing. By the time Whittaker and Anderson began writing, though, American sociologist Jeremiah Jenks of Cornell University, an associate of Franz Boas and a member of the United States Immigration Commission, also had been added to the reading list.⁴⁵

Notably absent from the theses written by Whittaker, Ivens, and Anderson was the field investigation and statistical analysis associated with interwar sociological research methods. Not

⁴⁴Whittaker, "Canada and the Immigration Problem," 10-13, 16.

⁴⁵Jeremiah Jenks and W. Jett Lauck, The Immigration Problem, (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1912 [1911]). See Whittaker, "Canada and the Immigration Problem," 14, ff. On Jeremiah Jenks, the United States Immigration Commission and Jenks' association with Boas, see Stocking, Race, Culture, and Evolution, 175-80, and Barkan, Retreat of Scientific Racism, 83. Jenks in fact was instrumental in securing the approval and financial support for Boas' celebrated research on human heredity for the US Immigration Commission. Boas' research stood out against the restrictionist bias of the Immigration Commission, which was the "high point of political propoganda for immigration restriction" in the early 1910s (Barkan, Retreat of Scientific Racism, 83).

surprisingly, the prevailing mode of analysis was historical. "Commitment to the historical method and the use of historical data" informed the analyses of each, and were subsequently central to an analysis of the "immigration problem".⁴⁶ Without exception, Anderson, Ivens and Whittaker adopted a historical perspective of immigration before proceeding to an analysis of the effects of immigration on Canadian society.

The three theses were only partially dependent upon Woodsworth's description of the immigrant communities settling in the Canadian west, and not all were sympathetic to non-Anglo-Saxon immigration. J. T. Whittaker, for instance, relied upon the recently published essay on immigration by W. D. Scott in Canada and Its Provinces, which remained generally unkind to the class of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, as well as remarking unfavourably on Jewish immigration.⁴⁷ However, unlike Scott, Whittaker continued to place southeastern European immigrants in the "not so desirable" class.⁴⁸ Whittaker's thesis, more than the others, employed the methods and perspectives of political economy, and the distinctions may be seen in Whittaker's careful use of

⁴⁶Hiller, Society and Change, 14.

⁴⁷Whittaker, "Canada and the Immigration Problem," 13-17; W. D. Scott, "Immigration and Population", in Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty, gen. eds., Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions by One Hundred Associates, (Toronto: Edinburgh University Press, 1913), 517-90, esp. "Immigration by Races," 531-72.

⁴⁸Whittaker, "Canada and the Immigration Problem," 13.

census data and thorough examination of the economic effects of immigration. Whittaker concluded that a restrictive immigration policy was essential, rather more from the standpoint of economic effects than for social stability, although some attention to the "social problem" also guided his conclusions.

Whittaker's conclusions in this instance were determined by the axiom that there "is an instinct in the make up [sic] of most people, that they should retain their own institutions and this, perhaps, in the long run, leads towards the best development of that people."⁴⁹ Whittaker therefore joined those who justified restriction in the best interests of the community and the development of Canadian nationality. He further suggested that the best way to incorporate immigrants would be through a guided policy of immigration selection and assimilation:

It is true a country may derive great benefit from an infusion from without; but this benefit can only be obtained by a gradual and wise use of the new element through successive generations. Should the present stream of immigration continue as it has in the past, and there is no reason to think otherwise, unless some restriction is placed upon their entry, is there not a possibility, that in the long run, the Canadian element will be the one to lose its identity rather than the immigrant?⁵⁰

Whittaker's position in fact was a carefully considered view on assimilation, and voiced a principle established in twentieth century Canadian immigration policy: the right of a colony within

⁴⁹Ibid., 31.

⁵⁰Ibid.

the British Empire to regulate the character of its own immigration and population. Regardless, Whittaker's thesis had linked universal with Anglo-Saxon principles, and was based on a culturally homogeneous nationalism. The key purpose of immigration restriction was to preserve those principles of the British tradition regarded as inherent to political democracy. These principles, he feared, might be threatened by the presence of an unassimilable "foreign" population.⁵¹

The theses prepared by Anderson and Ivens, in contrast, were comparatively kinder to immigrant groups, and promoted a comparatively more tolerant approach to immigration and assimilation. William Ivens, radical social gospeller and future founder of the Labour churches, is also remembered for his role in the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike as a member of the Winnipeg Strike Committee.⁵² Ivens' thesis, concentrating mostly on the role of the Canadian Protestant churches in facilitating assimilation, is closer to the earlier Woodsworth than to the author of "Canadians of Tomorrow", and was the most strongly affected by Strangers Within Our Gates. Ivens believed that the task ahead was to define a

⁵¹Whittaker, Canada and the Immigration Problem, 52-3; Rich, Race and Empire, 60-1.

⁵²On Ivens, see Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), esp. 36-7, and McNaught, A Prophet in Politics, 97-8. See also Douglas F. Campbell, Beginnings: Essays on the History of Canadian Sociology, (Port Credit, Ontario: The Scribblers' Press, 1983), 30-1.

"Canadian national spirit" that would be "composed of many elements" but united by "one fundamental national temperament of which we shall all equally partake."⁵³ Ivens' thesis was subsequently dominated by this objective, which incorporated moral and evangelical overtones in the contention that Canada must be a "righteous nation, founded upon the solid rock of Christianity."⁵⁴

Ivens differed from Whittaker, though, by contending that a more magnanimous approach to immigration was needed, and that Canadians would do well to extend at least the spirit of moral regeneration to Canada's immigrant populations.⁵⁵ Also unlike Whittaker, Ivens was considerably more courteous and generous regarding the finer qualities and capacity for assimilation of the southeastern, southern, and Asian immigrant groups, and his attempts to bring balance to the characterizations of the "undesirable" class of immigrants reflected a social gospel outlook.⁵⁶

Ivens by no means implied that these immigrant groups were socially equal to Canadians. For instance, while contending that it was "unfair for us to regard...Orientals as inferior nations," he nonetheless concluded that they were "undeveloped and medi-

⁵³Ivens, "Canadian Immigration," 29.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid., 71.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 18-24.

eval."⁵⁷ Similar characterizations were presented for Italian immigrants, while Ivens could not bring himself to overlook the "disabilities" associated with the southern European groups.⁵⁸ Rather, Ivens attempted to see a universal potential for assimilation and citizenship within each immigrant community, although potential to Ivens by no means meant equality.⁵⁹ Ivens was also much less tolerant and receptive to the separate schools, seeing in them a threat to civil and religious liberty, and the perpetuation of "foreign" ideas and "race clannishness."⁶⁰

The ideal outcome of assimilation, for Ivens, was a two-way interaction whereby the best qualities of all peoples would be merged into a "common body politic". In this, he found a model for race relations in the evolving British empire, comparing assimilation to the bonds that held together the colonies and the mother country, with loyalty being the glue that held the disparate colonies together:

...Let us hope our policy towards our immigrants will attach them as firmly to our side as we are to the Old Land. No greater temple of fame in honor of a magnanimous spirit toward the stranger was ever erected than the greatness of the British Empire; nobler terraces to support the central structure were never raised than her many and thriving colonies....She has given us a worthy example; let us

⁵⁷Ibid., 24.

⁵⁸Ibid., 18-21.

⁵⁹Ibid., 24.

⁶⁰Ibid., 61-2.

by emulating her magnanimity lay deep and immovable the foundation stones of Canada's matchless Commonwealth.⁶¹

Like Whittaker, then, Ivens sought and found a model for race relations and assimilation in the pluralist structure of the British empire. Unlike Whittaker, he favoured a more tolerant approach to the assimilation of disparate peoples.

Both Whittaker and Ivens saw the "problem of assimilation" as the preservation of traditional British political values against ethnic diversity, and saw these values as universal. But while Whittaker's analysis had integrated an Anglo-Saxon view of race relations, Ivens called on Canadian magnanimity and Christianity to resolve the matter of cultural diversity. One of the ramifications of this position was a softening of the position on the potential for assimilation and citizenship of the incoming immigrant groups, a softening observed in Ivens and later on in Anderson.⁶² This in turn implied a less hostile and even tolerant approach towards the immigrant populations, but still did not acknowledge their equality relative to their Canadian hosts.⁶³

Within the next few years, a cultural pluralism would emerge that occupied a "middle position" between alternative ideologies of

⁶¹Ibid., 71.

⁶²See also Rich, Race and Empire, 60-1.

⁶³Ibid.

"segregation" and the opposing extreme of a pluralist federation.⁶⁴ This view would acknowledge the relative worth of immigrant societies, while incorporating a monist or idealist view of the inter-relatedness and totality of human society.⁶⁵ Ethnic diversity therefore could be accommodated in this view as the select contributions of distinct ethnic minority groups to the totality of Canadian nationality, which would then be something more than the sum of its parts. But in 1909 Ivens had not yet reached this position, as reflected in the later writings of Woodsworth, and his thesis instead reflected the fears expressed in Strangers Within Our Gates.

Furthermore, Ivens' view remained handicapped by the absence of any critique of race in his models in sociology. Proponents of this view tended to perpetuate older Victorian ideas of a racial hierarchy, and failed to question the views of culture upon which these ideas were based.⁶⁶ The result was an often paternalistic view of these immigrant groups that failed to acknowledge their political equality and cultural autonomy within Canadian society, and that subordinated their interests to the interests of an undefined "common good". The social gospel, however, appears in Ivens' instance to have buttressed a more tolerant and receptive

⁶⁴Nicholls, The Pluralist State, 113.

⁶⁵Nicholls, The Pluralist State, 113; Rich, "T. H. Green, Lord Scarman and the issue of ethnic minority rights," 150.

⁶⁶Rich, Race and Empire, 50.

approach to immigration than the one represented by Whittaker's later thesis.

The student of immigration who was most deeply affected by Woodsworth's later efforts was James Thomas Milton Anderson, the notorious author of The Education of the New Canadian. The historical reputation of Anderson, a teacher and administrator who became premier of the province of Saskatchewan in 1930, is mixed. On the one hand, historians note Anderson's Ontario Conservative leanings, his association with the Orange Order, membership in the Native Sons of Canada, and the infamous collaboration between Anderson's Conservatives and the Ku Klux Klan that led the Anderson coalition to power in the province of Saskatchewan.⁶⁷ On the other

⁶⁷The history of politics in Saskatchewan is examined in David Smith, Prairie Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan 1905-71, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975). On nativism in Saskatchewan, see Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice, and Lloyd L. Begley, "The Foreign Threat: Nativism in Saskatchewan 1896-1930," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba/University of Winnipeg, 1996. Patrick Kyba's "Ballots and Burning Crosses: The Election of 1919," in Norman Ward and Duff Spafford, eds., Politics in Saskatchewan (Don Mills: Longmans Canada Limited, 1968): 105-123, is an account of the 1929 election and the role played by the Ku Klux Klan. The links, indirect and direct, between the Klan and the Conservative party are examined in William Calderwood, "Pulpit, Press and Political Reactions to the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan," in S. D. Clark, J. Paul Grayson, and Linda M. Grayson, eds., Prophecy and Protest, (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Limited, 1975). Anderson's political reputation is reconsidered in Raymond Huel, "The Anderson Amendments: A Half Century Later," in Study Sessions 1980, The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, (Ottawa: Historia Ecclesiae Catholicae Canadensis Publications, 1980): 5-21. A balanced appraisal of Anderson's career is made in Smith, Prairie Liberalism. An account of Anderson's role in rural educational reform is found in Caroline Melis, "J. T. M. Anderson,

hand, a contemporary and onetime colleague of Anderson's, Robert England, for one considered Anderson a friend, and generously appraised Anderson as "a man of extraordinary energy, far more tolerant than his enemies thought."⁶⁸ Part of Anderson's limitations, England believed, were due to the Ontario Conservative leanings Anderson had never quite surmounted, and which were seized upon and vilified in the "sharpened political climate of Regina" during the late 1920s and 1930s.⁶⁹

At the time Anderson completed his master's thesis for the University of Manitoba, he was principal of Grenville school in the province of Saskatchewan. He reached this post after several years of teaching, including some time in Manitoba's Interlake region, where he worked among Icelandic communities between 1906 and 1908 and learned some of the Icelandic language in the process.⁷⁰ Between 1911 and 1914, Anderson shuttled back and forth between his pedagogical duties in Saskatchewan and his university studies in Winnipeg, balancing his studies with a full-time position as school inspector by mounting study notes on the windshield of his old Ford

Director of Education Among New-Canadians and the Policy of the Department of Education: 1918-1923," in Saskatchewan History 33, 1 (Winter 1980): 1-12.

⁶⁸Robert England, Living, Learning, Remembering: Memoirs of Robert England, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1980), 176.

⁶⁹Ibid., 177.

⁷⁰Ibid., 174.

car.⁷¹ He earned his M.A. in 1914, his L.L.B. in 1915, and in 1918 completed a doctorate of pedagogy at the University of Toronto. His dissertation was published in 1920 as The Education of the New Canadian.

In Winnipeg, Anderson appears to have been exposed to the ideas of the social settlement movement, which greatly affected his subsequent thinking on immigration. His M. A. thesis, "Canadian Immigration and Its Problems," completed in 1914, shows him to have been influenced not only by Woodsworth, but by the ideas of social service and by the settlement movement in general.⁷² He directly acknowledged Woodsworth's influence in referring to the latter's 1913 newspaper articles.⁷³ Woodsworth's influence was also evident in the classification of immigration used by Anderson, derived from Strangers Within Our Gates.⁷⁴ Unlike most studies of the "racial hierarchy," though, Anderson's thesis appeared to go out of its way to acknowledge the citizenship potential in each of the immigrant groups in question.

The thesis additionally revealed a deep and sincere sympathy for the stories of the individual men and women and their families, their triumphs and tragedies, their struggles and successes in

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²J. T. M. Anderson, "The Education of the New Canadian," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1914.

⁷³Ibid., 51.

⁷⁴Ibid., 14.

settling and establishing themselves in their new land. Anderson, whose skills as an artist enabled him to illustrate his own thesis, filled the thesis with sketches of an often poignant nature. These sketches depicted the hardships and the fears faced by immigrants leaving behind families for a new and strange world, or fearful of not gaining admittance upon arrival.⁷⁵

Central to Anderson's thesis was a conception of assimilation that was directly linked to the creation of a Canadian ideal. For Anderson, the "immigration problem" meant

...the problem of creating a Canadian ideal sufficiently broad enough to incorporate the best which the immigrants bring with them and sufficiently high to save us from selfish commercialism which threatens to dominate our thought. Thus do we define assimilation.⁷⁶

For Anderson, this meant a repudiation of the "melting-pot" ideal, or at least its redefinition in more tolerant terms:

Have we not accepted superficial standards of assimilation, which have in many instances only been external limitations, and which in the final analysis wrought ruin to the child of the immigrant? The term "assimilation" implies a conformation to a standard, and too often we have been inclined to make ourselves and our own institutions the only standard.⁷⁷

Anderson's career as a teacher and administrator more properly belongs to the history of the progressive reform movement in public

⁷⁵Ibid., frontispiece, 11a.

⁷⁶Ibid., 38.

⁷⁷Ibid., 45.

school education.⁷⁸ In the rural reform movement, Anderson specialized in the education of the "new Canadian," where his noted zeal for assimilation was mollified by a sincere personal interest in the welfare of the immigrant.⁷⁹ In the view of some such as Robert England, this yielded mixed results. While Anderson "tended thus to overemphasize the assimilation aspect of his objectives," England wrote, he did make

...a notable contribution to the improvement of rural schools in Saskatchewan in areas that were being neglected and where new immigrants were uncertain about the working of democratic local government and the operation of new schools in what was to them an entirely new world in a raw pioneer country.⁸⁰

However, immigrant communities were likely to resent the constant state encroachment into their families and community represented by the objectives of the educational reform movement. A criticism frequently levelled against rural educational reform was that when overzealously pursued, it hampered rather than assisted the goal of integration into the English-speaking community.

By 1919, Anderson had become "Director of Education among New-

⁷⁸For an account of Anderson's role as a progressive educator and administrator, see Caroline Melis, "J. T. M. Anderson, Director of Education Among New-Canadians and the Policy of the Department of Education," 1-12. On progressive reform in education, see also B. Anne Wood, Idealism Transformed: The Making of a Progressive Educator, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985).

⁷⁹Melis, "J. T. M. Anderson, Director of Education Among New-Canadians and the Policy of the Department of Education," 11-12; Smith, Prairie Liberalism, 127-28.

⁸⁰England, Living, Learning, Remembering, 175.

Canadians" for the province of Saskatchewan, and tirelessly campaigned to promote both the objectives of progressive rural education and the "Canadianization" of the Canadian immigrant. The reform of rural education at this time was an attempt to rationalize and systematize educational standards, and to introduce uniformity to the public school curriculum. Provincial initiatives like the Putman-Weir Survey of British Columbia and the Foght Report in Saskatchewan attest to the climate of progressive educational reform, particularly in rural areas.⁸¹

Progressive educational reform, like the mental hygiene movement at this time, focused on the prospects for the Canadianization and assimilation of immigrant groups from southern and eastern Europe, as well as from China and Japan. Educational reform also attracted the interest of the eugenics movement; hereditarianism also appears to have played a considerable role in this discussion, as attested by the career of Dr. Peter Sandiford. Sandiford, a British Columbia psychologist, was the driving force in British Columbia behind the use of standardized intelligence testing. The purpose of such testing was to provide a "scientific"

⁸¹On the Putman-Weir Survey, see Wood, Idealism Transformed. On the Foght Report, see Robert England, Living, Learning, Remembering, 17. Dr. George M. Weir's association with Saskatchewan educational reform is discussed in *ibid.*, 16, 177-80. Weir, later head of the Department of Education at the University of British Columbia and Minister of Education in that province, was a friend and associate of Anderson's (*ibid.*, 177). Anderson's policy was to follow the principle of integrating the rural school with the agricultural economy as well as other practical administrative reforms (*ibid.*, 18).

examination of student progress and teaching efficiency in the classroom.⁸² Sandiford therefore represented the introduction of eugenics into the realm of education reform, buttressed by the authority of the psychology "expert".⁸³

However, as his M. A. thesis indicates, Anderson had not been particularly influenced by eugenics, nor by theories of race superiority and inferiority.⁸⁴ Instead, by the time The Education of the New Canadian was published, Anderson's thinking had been deeply affected by the recent war, which had further stimulated his zeal for the task of assimilation he saw as all-important to the future of the Canadian nation. Anderson also responded to the recent spate of anti-foreign hysteria that accompanied wartime Canada. He consciously set out to abate some of the hostility directed in press and public commentary against the non-English. "Perhaps it is human nature," he wrote in The Education of the New Canadian, to ignore the virtues of these people and stress their weaknesses. The writer has endeavored to be constructive, rather than destructive."⁸⁵ What the war also confirmed for Anderson, though, was that

...Canada is a country full of unassimilated groups,

⁸²Wood, Idealism Transformed, 162.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴This observation is also borne out in Smith, Prairie Liberalism, 128.

⁸⁵Ibid., 239.

with varying social ideals, varying languages, and varying ideas of Canadian citizenship and loyalty to the British Empire. The situation has been with us for years, but we have refused to face it with any definite national policy.⁸⁶

Anderson believed that the question of assimilation should be addressed judiciously, and that there should be "no unnecessary delay" in beginning the task of "racial assimilation and fusion"; this was an imperative in light of the recent nationalist conflicts overseas, which led Anderson to view assimilation as more urgent than before.⁸⁷

Anderson's views at the close of the war were directed toward promoting a "national policy" of racial assimilation.⁸⁸ In 1919, at the Winnipeg National Conference on Character Education, he proposed the creation of a "unifying Canadianization movement with the school as its symbol and centre"; he also proposed the creation of a Dominion Bureau of Education and the devotion of a branch of such a bureau to immigrant education.⁸⁹ Not wishing to tread on the provincial prerogative in matters of education, Anderson nonetheless

⁸⁶Ibid., 229.

⁸⁷Ibid., 238.

⁸⁸J. T. M. Anderson, "The School and the Newer Citizens of Canada," Report of the Proceedings of the National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship, Winnipeg, October 20-22, 1919, 100. On the Winnipeg conference, see Tom Mitchell, "The Manufacture of Souls of Good Quality': Winnipeg's 1919 National Conference on Canadian Citizenship, English-Canadian Nationalism, and the New Order After the Great War," Journal of Canadian Studies 31, 4 (Winter 1996-97), 5-28.

⁸⁹Ibid.

posited the need for a "definite national policy", and a limited role for the federal government in regulating a more rapid pace of assimilation.⁹⁰ The goal was to regulate immigration in pursuit of broader national ends; Anderson approached this goal with the fervour of a crusade, stressing that "all must work to promote a purified national consciousness" and that "there must be community co-operation" in this endeavour.⁹¹

In contrast to his eugenically-minded colleagues in education, Anderson promoted a cosmopolitan perspective of Canadian society in progressive education reform. This was evident not only in his sympathetic portrayal of immigrant groups; for Anderson, the war had only underscored Canada's greatness and potential, and, quoting James Bryce, Canada's "'new consciousness of itself'".⁹² Part of this national greatness, for Anderson, lay in the mixture of Canada's diverse populations. Again with Bryce, Anderson felt that Canada's European populations represented "'the highest Christian civilization of the world.'"⁹³ With the influence of Canada's environment as well as political institutions, Canada "need for the present fear nothing" from the high tide of immigration of the

⁹⁰Anderson, Education of the New Canadian, 223-29.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid., 17.

⁹³Ibid., 18.

previous decade.⁹⁴

Anderson therefore had accepted the implications of a culturally diverse, heterogeneous society which "'may be as successful as any.'"⁹⁵ Regardless, Anderson still believed some standardizing influence, some unity of standards and ideals, was necessary. The war, he indicated, enforced "'a chastened realization that a country composed of many peoples of widely different traditions will not of itself fall together into a unified nation."⁹⁶ Furthermore, he remained fully affected by the mission of social service and moral regeneration. The influence of Woodsworth and the social settlement movement was again revealed; Anderson had nothing but praise for the efforts of Woodsworth and the All Peoples' Mission to "[interpret] Canadian life to our immigrant citizens."⁹⁷ The Robertson Institute, St. Christopher House in Toronto, and Chalmers' House in Montreal received similar praise, as did the Y.M.C.A.⁹⁸

Anderson poured his full and prodigious energies into the cause of assimilation. It was this social service objective that

⁹⁴Ibid., 24.

⁹⁵Ibid., 26.

⁹⁶Anderson, Education of the New Canadian, 228.

⁹⁷Ibid., 27.

⁹⁸Ibid.

Anderson wished to bring to the rural schools.⁹⁹ Here, Anderson put out a call for "enthusiastic, sympathetic, thoroughly qualified Canadian teachers" to perform Canadianizing work within the rural communities of predominantly ethnic origin.¹⁰⁰ In these settlements, he wrote, the predominant, even the only, Canadianizing agency was the public school.¹⁰¹ Anderson generally imbued the public school teacher with the same characteristics as the social settlement worker: the teacher was to become an integral part of the community, and in effect, "bridge the gulf" between Canadian ideals and immigrant communities.¹⁰² The Education of the New Canadian was filled with examples of how this integration was taking place ; the life stories of immigrants who had successfully made the adjustment to Canadian life were listed as evidence of the success of the public school's assimilation efforts. For Anderson, the public school was the catalyst that transformed the raw human material of immigration under favourable environmental conditions. Their success "[augured] well for the satisfactory solution of this great problem of racial assimilation."¹⁰³

Anderson's depictions of immigrant communities were largely

⁹⁹Ibid., 31.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 37.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 31.

¹⁰²Ibid., 27.

¹⁰³Ibid., 171.

sympathetic. Moreover, he was careful to emphasize the contributions made on behalf of each of the immigrant communities to a more cosmopolitan Canadian culture. Like many of his contemporaries, including C. B. Sissons, he felt it was necessary to have respect for the languages and customs of other peoples, and that these languages and customs should not be taken away in the name of Canadianization. Anderson therefore shared much in common with Canadian liberal scholarship in questions of assimilation:

...it is not our desire to annihilate or submerge the best national traits of these people, but rather to develop the best type of Canadian citizenship through the fusion of the best traits of all the racial groups. Our aim should be to develop a more sublime type of Canadian consciousness.¹⁰⁴

"Canadianization," or assimilation, in Anderson's writings, had therefore taken on a role beyond the biological melting-pot, or forced acquiescence to Canadian cultural values: it involved the incorporation of the best cultural traits each immigrant group had to offer, as well as the development of loftier national goals and standards. As well, Anderson incorporated the belief that each of these immigrant groups could contribute considerably to the higher aims of Canadian society. Most significant about Anderson's writings, furthermore, was the belief that immigrants could be assimilated into the Canadian environment with the assistance of those who were morally inclined to carry out this endeavour. Like Woodsworth, he linked assimilation with higher moral and social

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

objectives.

The final element in this equation was therefore the moral regeneration of Canadian society, or the development of the "sublime Canadian consciousness" described by Anderson. This meant a role for Canadians in assisting the immigrant to realize Canadian values and standards, as well as attention to lofty national goals. Assimilation was a task that necessarily involved the participation of the Canadian hosts:

The immigrant who lives and works in this Dominion owes something to our government; but if he owes us Canadianization, we also have a duty to perform in providing the means to attain it. In the process of making Canadian citizens out of these people the burden of responsibility lies with us.¹⁰⁵

Anderson promoted public school education as not only the means of addressing the question of assimilation, but for the regeneration of Canadian society.¹⁰⁶ The Education of the New Canadian was a plea for national attention to the problem of assimilation.¹⁰⁷ Assimilation, though, involved other than racial fusion; it involved a redefinition of the principles of citizenship, as well as the postwar moral regeneration of Canadian society. Anderson considered the question significant enough in 1919 to call for the creation of a "definite national policy," or the implementation of a "fairly uniform system in dealing with the question of

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 230.

¹⁰⁶Anderson, Education of the New Canadian, 242.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 238.

racial assimilation" throughout the Dominion.¹⁰⁸

As Director of Education for New Canadians in Saskatchewan, Anderson's brief career was distinguished by his reforming zeal as well as by his assimilative mission. In this, he sometimes bore at least the rhetorical markings of an Ontario Orangeman distressed by the events of the war, and seeking a definition of citizenship that would consolidate and strengthen Canadian national identity against the possibility of divisive internal political conflicts.¹⁰⁹ His career in provincial administration would, however, be short-lived; in 1922, fearful of his growing political influence and apprehensive about his conservative leanings, his enemies in government had his post abolished.¹¹⁰

In 1922, he accepted the post of Inspector of Schools in Saskatoon; the change in position was accompanied by a cut in salary, and confirmed Anderson in his belief that he had been the victim of

¹⁰⁸J. T. M. Anderson, "The School and the Newer Citizens of Canada," 95.

¹⁰⁹Orangeism is generally associated with British and Protestant political extremism. Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smith, in The Sash Canada Wore, define Orangeism as a "bulwark of colonial protestantism," an ultra-Protestant and ultra-British philosophy that "formed an integral part of Canadian life" (Houston and Smith, The Sash Canada Wore, [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980], 3). However, as a largely colonial ideology, Orangeism was in flux in the Canada of the twentieth century. While the influence and internal cohesion of the Orange Order was on the wane following the 1916-1917 campaign of antforeign nativism among this group, Orangeism continued for some time to affect provincial politics, particularly in Saskatchewan in the late 1920s (ibid., 156).

¹¹⁰England, Living, Learning, Remembering, 175.

foes within the provincial government. By 1924, he was leader of Saskatchewan's Conservative party. His subsequent legacy has been appraised in light of the social and political crucible of interwar Saskatchewan politics.

By the time Anderson formed his co-operative government of Conservatives, Progressives and Independents in Saskatchewan, as Premier he and his coalition faced desperate economic conditions, and the concurrent destruction of the province's social and political structure. To some degree, his political legacy has been tarnished by the grim and insurmountable problems faced by his government.¹¹¹ To a significant extent, Anderson's historical reputation is also tied to the nativist surge within the province of Saskatchewan, and to the anti-immigrant impetus that aided the defeat of J. G. Gardiner's Liberal government in 1929. The association of Anderson's coalition with the Ku Klux Klan, however, belies Anderson's views on ethnicity, religion, and assimilation. Even as premier, Anderson appeared uncomfortable and embarrassed by "some of the more extreme opinions of some of his followers" in the matters of race and religion.¹¹²

Furthermore, political party was not necessarily a predictor of Klan affiliation; in the nativist politics of 1920s Saskatchewan, persons of all political stripes, including Liberals, Progressives,

¹¹¹Ibid., 174.

¹¹²Smith, Prairie Liberalism, 200.

and the Farm-Labour party, exhibited "nativistic tendencies."¹¹³ Robert England also believed in retrospect that Anderson's reputation had been unfairly tarnished by the "dark days" of depression-era Saskatchewan, and that greater political capital may have been made out of Anderson's Conservative and Orange leanings than was warranted.¹¹⁴

Anderson emerges, then, as a peculiar amalgam of political ambitions and social reform objectives, who played a significant although controversial role in two phases of the immigration question in Saskatchewan: progressive educational reform and nativist politics. To a large extent, the contradictions noted by many historians in Anderson's thought may be accounted for by the prevailing direction in Canadian scholarship on immigration and assimilation. Anderson's career particularly illustrates how early academic scholarship on immigration avoided and refuted theories of race superiority and inferiority, including the nativism and extremism associated with the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan, and substituted a cultural relativist view of race relations. The tolerance expressed in Anderson's writings was a legacy of Anderson's professional training.¹¹⁵ Meanwhile, the contrasts between his

¹¹³George Hoffman, "The New Party and the Old Issues: The Saskatchewan Farm-Labour Party and the Ethnic Vote, 1934), in Canadian Ethnic Studies 14, 2 (1982): 4-5.

¹¹⁴Ibid., 174-75.

¹¹⁵See Smith, Prairie Liberalism, 127.

career as educational administrator and as a politician in nativist Saskatchewan reveals much about the complex interaction between "loyalty, protestantism, anti-catholicism, and ethnicity" in Saskatchewan politics, and comparatively little about extremist and intolerant inclinations on his part.¹¹⁶

By the time of Canada's entry into the First World War, the tensions surrounding immigration and assimilation had converged into a war-stimulated wave of nativism across Canada. As various campaign ads testified in 1917, the year of the Union election, the "foreigner" was the target of accusations of sedition and disloyalty, as well as major legal repression. The simultaneous debate over bilingual education further aroused public fears and demands for the immediate expulsion or assimilation of the foreign element.

However, within academic circles, war conditions also produced a more insistent view of race relations that was closely connected with pluralism. To an extent, this view had taken expression in Woodsworth's earlier acceptance of the heterogeneity of the Canadian community. Greater emphasis was placed on the recognition of ethnic diversity, of groups and group life, and of the contributions that immigrant groups made to the community as a whole. In the context of the anti-French and anti-foreign hysteria of wartime Canada, however, this discussion took on a new intensity.

¹¹⁶See Houston and Smith, The Sash Canada Wore, 7.

As evidenced in the writings of Charles Bruce Sissons, this alternative view of ethnic relations began taking shape in liberal thought, particularly as the imperial connection and the idea of a homogeneous British Canadian nationalism began to come under question. This view of assimilation was more conscious of questions of tolerance and prejudice, and rejected the idea of the "melting pot" insofar as it meant coercing immigrants into adopting Canadian values at the expense of their own heritage.

The battleground for much of this interpretation was the language issue or "bi-lingual schools" question, previously played out in western Canada but by 1916 encompassing Canada as a whole. While the schools question fed into the anti-foreign hysteria of the war period, bilingual education had its active defenders. Books and articles by Sissons and political economist O. D. Skelton of Queen's University conceded the emerging belief that the country must be united by the use of one common language, and that the language must be English. However, neither of these authors ruled out the feasibility of bilingual education in circumstances where numbers warranted.

Charles Bruce Sissons, professor of classics at the University of Toronto, emerged by the time of the war as the author of several articles on literacy and assimilation in western Canada that tended to portray immigrants sympathetically, and the prospect of assimila-

tion with optimism.¹¹⁷ For the most part, Sissons' journal and newspaper articles explored the progress of assimilation in education in western Canada. Sissons' work subsequently was to the broader question of language. His Bi-lingual Schools in Canada, published in 1917, brought both themes together in an analysis not only of bilingual schools, but of the cultural struggle represented by the language issue.

In the introduction, Sissons' cousin, J. S. Woodsworth, remarked that "the language problem in Canada is but a part of the larger problem of developing a community life which will give freedom to peoples diverse in language, in race, in religion and in social customs."¹¹⁸ Diversity, remarked Woodsworth, was an acknowledged fact of Canadian society; no longer could Canadians expect to weld a homogeneous people from the diverse groups within its population.¹¹⁹ He defined the crux of the language issue when he wrote:

...Language is at once both the symbol and medium of national culture. The language question in Canada is not then simply which of two or more tongues shall be the means of communication. It is a question as to whether certain types of culture will survive or perish--a question as important to the older Canadian

¹¹⁷See C. B. Sissons, Nil Alienum: The Memoirs of C. B. Sissons, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 225-37.

¹¹⁸Woodsworth, "Introduction," in C. B. Sissons, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada, (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1917), 3.

¹¹⁹Ibid., 4.

people as to the newly-arrived immigrants.¹²⁰

Bi-lingual Schools in Canada was in large measure an attempt to reconcile the linguistic diversity of the Canadian population with the necessity of a "common solvent for all."¹²¹ The presence of a "common solvent" was important; the alternative, it seemed, was a cacophany of competing linguistic and religious groups, and the subsequent encouragement of sectarian and racial prejudice. Or, at least, this was the lesson to be learned from the bilingual schools controversy.¹²²

Instead, what was required was not untrammelled and unregulated diversity, but the direction of diversity "towards common ends."¹²³ The "common solvent," he argued, was the English language, or, more properly, the English language as "at once the symbol and medium of national culture." However, Sissons also contended that a bilingual training was an asset, and recommended its implementation where numbers warranted. Rather than a cacophany of competing interests, Sissons aimed to ameliorate the potential dangers of diversity and heterogeneity through the interaction of the various groups within a common culture.¹²⁴ The metaphor of a "perfect

¹²⁰Ibid., 5.

¹²¹Sissons, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada, 214-15.

¹²²Ibid., 187.

¹²³Ibid., 214.

¹²⁴Ibid., 187.

national symphony" effectively encapsulated the idea of diverse ethnic and religious groups interacting in a harmony that maximized the freedom of each, and minimized the potential for conflict between them.¹²⁵

O. D. Skelton, appraising the language question for Queen's Quarterly in 1917, echoed many of the themes in Sissons' work when he presented the case for bilingual education. Skelton believed that the chief danger of a heterogeneous population was segregation, or the "isolation" of minorities into separate linguistic communities. However, the danger could be averted through emphasizing values and aspirations common to all: "If, however," Skelton argued, "[minorities] put Canada first, and share in common Canadian aspirations, there seems no valid reason, on political grounds alone, for refusing a place in the schools for their mother tongue."¹²⁶ He added that the conformist "melting-pot" was a still less desirable outcome:

We want unity, not a drab, steam-rollered uniformity.
The man who forgets the rock out of which he was hewn
is no better Canadian for it; to repress old traditions
before we have given new ideals is questionable policy.¹²⁷

Like Woodsworth, then, Sissons and Skelton had accepted the heterogeneity and diversity of the Canadian population as a fact of

¹²⁵Ibid., 214.

¹²⁶O. D. Skelton, "The Language Issue in Canada," Queen's Quarterly 24 (April 1917), 461. This theme will be explored further in chapter IV.

¹²⁷Ibid.

life, and rejected an assimilationist approach that destroyed the vitality of group life. For Skelton, moreover, immigration had become linked to a new set of social questions reflecting the impact of diversity on several facets of Canadian society.¹²⁸ On the other hand, "segregation," or the potential for conflict in the differences between ethnic and religious groups, was seen as a potential danger of diversity. However, neither author found any great cause for alarm in diversity; so long as ethnic and religious groups could be encouraged to adopt English or French as a common language, their respective differences could be accommodated as a contribution to Canadian national life.

By the end of the First World War, a divide between eugenicists and a "reform wing" of the eugenics campaign was beginning to show up in the Canadian mental hygiene movement.¹²⁹ A similar reform wing began to emerge within the later Canadian mental hygiene movement, which, particularly under war conditions, continued to look to immigration restriction for the "rational reconstruction" of Canadian society, as well as seeking to establish professional

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹Paul Rich has called attention to the links between eugenics and liberal reform movements in Britain, indicating that eugenics was not inherently linked to notions of racial superiority and inferiority. Rather, evidence points to the existence of a "progressive" wing of the eugenics movement which emphasized social reform, and which conceived of the term "race" in a cultural rather than biological sense. (Rich, Race and Empire, 94)

legitimacy.

The mental hygiene movement in Canada was based on the belief that mental and nervous diseases were preventable, and that psychiatrists had the expertise to treat mental illness by addressing the social conditions that caused these illnesses. The mental hygiene movement essentially brought psychiatry "out of the asylum and into the community".¹³⁰ In the early 1900s, the mental hygiene movement had made immigration restriction one of its chief objectives, an objective which overlapped with the eugenics movement. The mental hygiene and eugenics movement therefore intersected on these grounds.¹³¹ Participating psychiatrists such as C. K. Clarke often were more motivated by social concerns than by considerations of race, while other participants, including psychologist and author W. G. Smith of the University of Toronto and Dr. Peter Bryce, Chief Medical Officer for the Immigration Department, rejected biological notions of race inferiority and superiority altogether.

In April 1918, the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene (C.N.C.M.H.) was formed, the culmination of years of lobbying on behalf of the purification and moral reform of Canadian

¹³⁰Ian Dowbiggin, "'Keeping This Young Country Sane': C. K. Clarke, Immigration Restriction, and Canadian Psychiatry, 1890-1925," Canadian Historical Review 76, 4 (December 1995), 599. See also Ian Dowbiggin, Keeping America Sane: Psychiatry and Eugenics in the United States and Canada, 1880-1940, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997). On eugenics in Canada, see Angus McLaren, Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1990).

¹³¹Dowbiggin, "'Keeping This Young Country Sane,'" 600.

society. Modelled after the United States National Committee for Mental Hygiene, the Canadian committee adopted the similar objective of the research and investigation of mental factors in general social health.¹³² One of the chief reasons for the formation of this committee, in fact, had been fears of the persistent "immigration problem," or the contribution of immigration to the social question:

For years, the cry of our country has been for increase of population, with the emphasis upon quantity rather than quality. Today, we are rudely awakened to the fact that immigrants from every country in Europe have been coming to Canada and admitted without adequate physical or mental examination, with the result that over fifty per cent. of our criminals are either of foreign birth or the children of foreign parents. The juvenile courts all over Canada...are emphasizing the fact that juvenile delinquents are largely recruited from the foreign population.¹³³

The organ of the C.N.C.M.H. was the Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene, with its editorial office in Montreal. Dr. Gordon S. Mundie, one of the executive officers of the Committee, served as the publication's editor. In 1919, the editorial board of the Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene included Dr. C. K. Clarke, Medical Director of the C.N.C.M.H.; W. H. Hattie, Provincial Health Officer, Nova Scotia; Professor R. G. Revell of the University of Alberta; Col. C. K. Russell, chair of the executive committee; Dr. Jasper Halpenny, a Winnipeg physician; and Principal W. H. Vance of

¹³²"Foreword," Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene, 1, 1 (April 1919), 1.

¹³³Ibid., 2.

Latimer Hall, Vancouver.¹³⁴

The statistical investigations of the Committee generally seemed to confirm their worst fears about the impact of immigration on the deteriorating social and mental health of the country. For instance, in July 1918, the Public Welfare Commission of Manitoba made a request to the executive of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene to conduct a survey of social conditions in that province. Careful attention was to be placed upon the "insane, imbecile, idiot and defective classes" in this investigation.¹³⁵ The recommendations of the Committee subsequently were presented to the Manitoba legislature, and passed in the fall of 1919, implementing what amounted to a sweeping reform of the administration of mental health in that province.¹³⁶

The Manitoba survey of 1919 confirmed to the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene not only the need for reform of the care of the "mentally defective," but that immigration was a significant contributor to the level of mental deficiency and accompanying criminality.¹³⁷ The survey touched off a wide response

¹³⁴Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene 1, 1 (April 1919), inside front cover.

¹³⁵"Survey of the Province of Manitoba," Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene, 1, 1 (April 1919), 77.

¹³⁶Ibid.; Gordon S. Mundie, M.D., "The Problem of the Mentally Defective in the Province of Quebec," Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene 1, 1 (April 1919), 126.

¹³⁷See Cornelia Johnson, A History of Mental Health Care in Manitoba: A Local Manifestation of an International Social Movement,

within the provincial chapters of the C.N.C.M.H., which regarded the report as exemplary and followed suit with their own investigations. Not long after, the British Columbia organization published its own survey, with similar results.¹³⁸

Jasper Halpenny, a Winnipeg physician, cited the Manitoba report in suggesting that statistics reflected the "alien burden" among the total number of criminal cases before the courts.¹³⁹ It was an established fact, wrote Halpenny, that insanity was directly related to crime.¹⁴⁰ Referring to the Manitoba report, Halpenny drew a direct comparison between the "foreign invasion" and the statistics on criminality in Manitoba.¹⁴¹ Noting an "undue number" of criminal cases brought against members of the immigrant population, Halpenny concluded that the "foreign invasion" contributed a disproportionate number of these cases, and subsequently to the level of "mental defects" in the province; he attributed this high level to an inadequately supervised immigration policy.¹⁴²

However, a more liberal perspective had also emerged within

M. A. Thesis, Department of History, University of Manitoba, 1980.

¹³⁸"Mental Hygiene Survey of the Province of British Columbia," Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene 2, 1 (April 1920): 3-59.

¹³⁹Jasper Halpenny, "One Phase of the Foreign Invasion of Canada," Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene 1, 3 (October 1919), 224-25.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., 225.

¹⁴¹Ibid., 226.

¹⁴²Ibid.

the mental hygiene movement by 1917, represented by Dr. Peter H. Bryce, Chief Medical Officer of Health for the Immigration Department and Dr. W. G. Smith, the author of the 1920 book A Study in Canadian Immigration.¹⁴³ Smith in particular represented a revisionist voice in the field of mental hygiene, and his views additionally reflected Bryce's more liberal orientation. Additionally, Smith seemed to be on better terms with C. K. Clarke, medical director of the C.N.C.M.H., than was Bryce and the immigration administration.

A professor of psychology at the University of Toronto, Smith's approach to immigration challenged the alarmism about immigration restriction prevailing within the mental hygiene movement, as represented by psychiatrists Clarke and C. M. Hincks. In its place, he presented a historical-cultural view of immigration, suggested that assimilation was possible in most cases, and defended immigrants against the prevailing tendency to reduce the question of immigration restriction to a direct correlation between insanity, criminality, and national or racial origin. Smith's

¹⁴³On the public quarrels between Bryce, C.N.C.M.H. founder C. K. Clarke and the federal immigration administration, including superintendent of administration W. D. Scott, see Dowbiggin, Keeping America Sane, 148-49. Clarke was publicly at odds with the federal immigration administration over immigration policy, which Clarke believed to be insufficiently regulated and administered, and subject to manipulation by business and political factions. In fact, Laurier himself was known to interfere directly in the awarding of contracts to the Quebec medical inspection posts, resulting in controversies over preferential treatment given to J. G. Pagé, medical inspector at Quebec City (ibid., 151).

thinking, although shaped around the issue of restriction on medical grounds, therefore was considerably more liberal on the broader question of ethnic relations, and echoed the more accommodating approach to immigration taken earlier within the social settlement movement. At the same time, though, Smith was a supporter of immigration restriction, justifying a policy of judicious selection as a means of safeguarding the interests of the developing Dominion on social as well as medical grounds.

In a series of articles contributed to the Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene, Smith adopted an approach similar to that employed by sociologist Jeremiah Jenks, a reform-minded member of the United States Immigration Commission: he embarked on a statistical investigation of the contributions made by immigrants to the number of criminal convictions and asylum occupancies in Canada.¹⁴⁴ His conclusions were similar to those of Jenks as well. Smith found that the contribution of immigration to the rate of crime, disease, and infirmity was not as alarming as had been previously made out, even contradicting some of his colleagues in the mental hygiene movement on this matter.

For instance, in a response to Halpenny's earlier article, Smith revisited the question of immigration and its contribution to criminality and insanity in Canada.¹⁴⁵ Smith offered several

¹⁴⁴See Jenks, The Immigration Problem.

¹⁴⁵W. G. Smith, "Immigration and Defectives," Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene 2, 1 (April 1920), 73-86.

refutations of Halpenny's claim regarding the impact of the "foreign invasion" on the clinics, hospitals, asylums, and jails. First and foremost was his repudiation of the "general belief which sometimes finds verbal expression, vocal and written, that the river of our national life has been polluted by the turbid streams from immigrant sources."¹⁴⁶ Accompanying this criticism was a notion articulated in several of Smith's writings that immigrants had contributed considerably to the building of the country, and that immigration restriction, as well as contravening the principles of British justice, neglected the fact that Canada needed immigration.¹⁴⁷

Employing statistics derived from reports from psychiatric clinics and asylums, Smith examined the relationship between nationality and race for the purpose of verifying the claim that, among other things, the immigration process had been too lax in preventing the admission of the mentally infirm. He concluded that no such correlation existed that could be corroborated statistically.¹⁴⁸ He simultaneously rejected previous explanations linking mental infirmity and criminal behaviour with nationality and racial origin.¹⁴⁹ Statistical analysis, rather, pointed to the opposite conclusion that the "foreigner" compared favourably to the native-

¹⁴⁶Ibid., 73.

¹⁴⁷See W. G. Smith, A Study in Canadian Immigration, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1920), 135-36.

¹⁴⁸Smith, "Immigration and Defectives," 78.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 77.

born Canadian in terms of crime and illiteracy rates. The statistics yielded little information correlating either race or national origin with deportations for criminality and insanity, or in fact if they did, these statistics suggested that "the advantage is with the foreigner". Smith found a slightly larger number of deportations of British or American immigrants for medical grounds than of immigrants of non-English-speaking origin.¹⁵⁰

Smith challenged immigration restriction on this basis, and disputed the allegation that immigrants were largely responsible for higher levels of criminality and cases of mental disturbance.¹⁵¹ Similarly, Smith concluded the connection made between insanity, criminality, and racial or national origin was meaningless, and all that had been established was that immigrants were subject to "passions and failings as the rest of folk, and the country into which he comes has a duty to discharge as much as he has a labor to give."¹⁵² As will be seen later, Smith did not find this argument incompatible with his own views on immigration restriction, which he would continue to advocate in the interests of the health of the Canadian population.¹⁵³ Regardless, Smith represented a move away from the often rigid eugenicism that characterized the mental

¹⁵⁰Ibid., 79.

¹⁵¹Ibid., 82.

¹⁵²Ibid., 86.

¹⁵³See W. G. Smith, A Study in Canadian Immigration, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1920).

hygiene movement in wartime Canada, and his writings reflected a more liberal and even cosmopolitan view of immigration as well as defending immigrants against their detractors within the mental hygiene movement. This position subsequently aligned Smith with the more receptive views of immigration associated with the social service and social settlement movements in Canada and the United States.

Smith's views were elucidated most strikingly in his article on "Oriental Immigration."¹⁵⁴ Statistically, Smith found little evidence to support the argument that Asian immigrants contributed significantly to the social problem; in fact, Smith determined that the Asian immigrant in this respect "compares favourably, very favourably with other immigrants, and far superior to many."¹⁵⁵ Regardless, Smith felt a severe curtailment, if not outright restriction, of Asian immigration was essential, even if doing so amounted to discrimination against immigrants of Asian origin.¹⁵⁶

However, Smith still felt compelled to justify the discriminatory implications of an exclusionist policy which contradicted liberal and humanitarian principles, and that furthermore contravened the emigration and citizenship policies of the British Empire by excluding East Indian immigration. "It is no easy

¹⁵⁴W. G. Smith, "Oriental Immigration," Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene 1, 3 (October 1919), 213-221.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., 230.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., 218.

matter," he wrote, "to devise ways and means by which the Chinese may be treated on a better equality--or, rather, less inequality--with other races."¹⁵⁷ Policy, he wrote, discriminated against Asian groups as against no other, including the least desired classes of Europeans. The former were compelled to prove their suitability for admission, or be excluded; the latter were presumed suitable unless immigration authorities were able to establish otherwise.¹⁵⁸

In this instance, Smith appeared to place a finer point on discrimination. The discrimination, he wrote, was "against the idea of the equality of the races in respect of immigration legislation."¹⁵⁹ This approach was in contrast with the prevailing efforts by Viscount Ishii, Japanese ambassador to the United States, in his 1919 campaign to have racial discrimination abolished and equality of treatment guaranteed by the constitution of the League of Nations. These efforts continued to be opposed by the United States and the white dominions, regardless of how such an action would accord with principles of "democracy, justice, and humanity."¹⁶⁰ It appeared, then, that for Smith, discrimination in immigration policy could be defended in spite of the implications for a discriminatory and less humanitarian view of race relations.

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

¹⁵⁹Ibid.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

The removal of these discriminations, argued Smith, would present problems more significant than they would resolve. Recognizing the inequity of Asian restriction, Smith regretfully but firmly considered exclusion to be essential, and the removal of these restrictions to have "far-reaching consequences."¹⁶¹ The most significant from the Canadian standpoint, he argued, was the considerably lower Asian standard of living. In general, when he contended that the real objection to Asian immigration was economic, Smith affirmed the belief that the lower-paid and more economically productive Asian labourer presented a direct threat to the higher ideals as well as living standards sought by Canadians.¹⁶² Questions of race and language, he wrote, were doubtless significant, but their impact would be less consequential if the other "vital differences" could be eliminated; and despite the many efforts directed toward the assimilation of Asian groups, Smith had no confidence that the basic differences could be erased.¹⁶³ That there was no satisfactory answer to the questions of discrimination raised by Asian immigration he considered regrettable, but unavoidable.

Although his statistics would be called into question by later generations of immigration scholars,¹⁶⁴ Smith was among the first to

¹⁶¹Ibid.

¹⁶²Ibid., 221.

¹⁶³Ibid.

¹⁶⁴Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Citizenship, Immigration and Ethnic Groups in Canada: A Bibliography of

conduct statistical investigations of the impact of immigration. These analyses challenged much of the prevailing Victorian wisdom about the impact of immigration on the "social problem." His articles in the Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene also formed the basis of his 1920 A Study in Canadian Immigration, the first statistical examination of the immigration question. First and foremost, the book was intended to make a case for restriction of immigration based on medical and physical grounds, and subsequently emerges as a liberal and environmentalist direction taken within the mental hygiene movement. However, the book also stands as a clear liberal defence of the major tenets of a selective immigration policy, and subsequently was regarded by critics as an important contribution to the discussion of citizenship in Canada.¹⁶⁵

In writing the book, Smith linked his investigations directly to those of Woodsworth, Sissons, and Anderson in the study of the problems connected with immigration.¹⁶⁶ A Study in Canadian Immigration was an examination of the "complex problems arising from the characteristics and capacities of the immigrants themselves,"

Research, Published and Unpublished Sources 1920-1958, (Ottawa: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1960), 7, notes Smith's faulty use of statistics.

¹⁶⁵See, for instance, F. N. Stapleford, "Facts of Canadian Immigration," Canadian Bookman 2, 3 (July 1920), 57-8. Stapleford reviewed the book favourably, while noting that the book was not a study of the psychology of the immigrant, and failed to focus on the adjustment process in Canada (57).

¹⁶⁶Smith, A Study in Canadian Immigration, 4.

and reflected the sympathetic approach to immigrants and appreciation of the characteristics of immigrant societies that had emerged in the writings of Woodsworth, Sissons, and Anderson. A Study in Canadian Immigration also challenged the idea of a Canadian nationality based upon a homogeneous British base, and further refuted the hereditarianism and racialism of sociological colleagues such as the American eugenicist Prescott Hall.¹⁶⁷ But A Study in Canadian Immigration also was a liberal alternative to the mental hygiene movement's emphasis on immigration restriction, with reflections both on the conduct of immigration policy and on the process of assimilation upon arrival in Canada. Smith argued for the reform of immigration laws, but argued rather for a more intensive screening process of prospective emigrants as well as a more concerted effort of Canadianization for those immigrants who were accepted.¹⁶⁸ In so doing, Smith separated himself from those within the mental hygiene movement who campaigned for immigration restriction on eugenic as well as on social grounds.

Despite his more liberal views, Smith appears to have enjoyed the endorsement as well as the friendship of colleagues such as C. K. Clarke, who contributed the preface to A Study in Canadian Immigration.¹⁶⁹ Smith's views, nevertheless, could not have been

¹⁶⁷Ibid., 349-50.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., ch. 15, "Some Present Needs," 348-400.

¹⁶⁹On C. K. Clarke, see Dowbiggin, "'Keeping This Young Country Sane,'" and Keeping America Sane, esp. ch. 3, 133-90.

more different from Clarke's. In particular, he presented immigration as an asset to the Dominion, and suggested its continuance, although in a more limited form, was integral to future Dominion prosperity. He was also considerably more optimistic about the assimilating effects of the Canadian environment than his colleague.

Smith's approach to immigration was clearly more liberal than that of his colleagues. But like many other liberals of the time, Smith retained some professional sympathy for eugenics and hereditary theory. This is attested to in Smith's review of Prescott Hall's Immigration Restriction and World Eugenics in the Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene.¹⁷⁰ Similarly, in A Study of Canadian Immigration, Smith's professional concern with a "sane and healthy population" was evident throughout. At one point, he suggested that the hereditarian theories of Prescott Hall undoubtedly had "some merit", although Smith's hereditarianism was tempered with much respect for the effects of the environment in shaping character.

Unlike his more eugenically-minded colleagues, however, Smith placed considerable importance on the transforming effects of environment. But safeguarding and conserving the resources of the Canadian environment were essential if the nation were to "safeguard its trust". Canada's environment would presumably work best on those who were already equipped to benefit the most from it; it was not expected that the Canadian environment would transform the most

¹⁷⁰W. G. Smith, "Is Immigration Eugenic?," Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene 1, 3 (October 1919), 245.

unsuitable of European immigrants into productive Canadian citizens.

The purpose of A Study in Canadian Immigration was to argue for a policy of immigration restriction, with a view to assimilating the immigrants who were selected to enter the country. A Study in Canadian Immigration acknowledged the valuable role played by immigration in the first decades of the twentieth century. Smith generally viewed immigration as an asset to the country, without which the capital and intensive labour necessary for the construction of railroads and the development of agriculture and industry could not have taken place.¹⁷¹ Far from being a threat, immigrants were regarded by Smith as instrumental to the process of nation-building. Smith's concerns, rather, were largely for the "misfits" and the "refuse of the tide" that came largely because of lax immigration regulations, particularly before changes to immigration law were enacted in 1910.¹⁷² As such, he continued to recommend a policy of immigration restriction in the interests of the mental and social health of the country.

Smith's examination of the rates of deportation by immigrant group echoed the conclusions he had recorded earlier in the Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene. Smith found that a greater ratio of deportations had taken place for "solicited Europe" than for "unsolicited Europe." In short, for countries such as the United Kingdom

¹⁷¹Smith, A Study in Canadian Immigration, 91.

¹⁷²Ibid., 72-73.

where the Canadian government actively recruited prospective immigrants, the ratio of deportations between 1903 and 1909 was significantly higher than the ratio of deportations of immigrants from southern and eastern European countries, where the Canadian government had no active soliciting campaign.¹⁷³ The rate of deportation of "Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus," moreover, was lower (a ratio of one to 164) than that of the United Kingdom, which recorded a deportation ratio of one to 218.¹⁷⁴

From these ratios, Smith concluded that "...it seems undeniable that relatively the superiority in this respect lies with the foreigner."¹⁷⁵ Citing the 1908 medical report by Dr. P. H. Bryce, Chief Medical Officer of Immigration, Smith observed that the more unsuitable immigrants were those from the English urban classes. These classes in general demonstrated an unsuitability for farm and rural life, and a propensity to drift back to the cities where they often languished in poverty and destitution, becoming a burden on the state and charitable institutions. The southern European peasantry therefore compared favourably with British urban labourers, and were even seen as superior by Bryce, whose report stated,

"...contrary to a too popular opinion, it appears that if compulsory education can be generally enforced we have in such races not only an industrial asset of great value, but also the assurance of a population

¹⁷³Ibid., 77.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., 78.

¹⁷⁵Ibid.

remarkably free from the degenerative effects seen in those classes which have been for several generations factory operatives and dwellers in the congested centres of large industrial populations."¹⁷⁶

In other words, Smith argued, the southern European peasantry was virtually free from the degenerative effects resulting from urban congestion noted in British urban centres. With the "'clean blood'" and "'native energy'" that characterized the peasantry of southern Europe, Bryce concluded that all that was necessary was "'the influence of social and educational environment to transform them into good citizens and absorb them into the masses of our law-abiding and progressive communities.'"¹⁷⁷

In Smith's account, then, immigration restriction turned into a policy of state regulation of immigration in the interests of a regenerated Canadian community. In his words, immigration selection represented "the moral sense of Canada in action"; from amidst the unscrupulous promoters and innocent victims of past immigration policy would emerge the "imposing figure of Government not blind-folded but argus-eyed dispensing justice" in the middle.¹⁷⁸ Smith's support for careful selection of postwar immigration was therefore concerned with the higher aims of Canadian civilization, and was buttressed by an ideal of the moral regeneration of Canadian society.

¹⁷⁶p. H. Bryce, annual report for 1908, quoted in *ibid.*, 79.

¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 113.

In this respect, Smith's arguments contained echoes of those of Woodsworth, Anderson and Sissons, and A Study of Canadian Immigration consequently belongs to this tradition. Smith's views contained an appreciation of the contributions of immigrants to nation-building, and hinted at the pluralism of Woodsworth and especially Anderson. This pluralism was blunted by Smith's emphasis on the development of a common "national spirit," and on an increased role for the state in assimilating the new immigration. In fact, Smith often seemed ambivalent on the potential for sustaining a cosmopolitan nationality for the Dominion, although there is no doubt that he considered immigration to be a vital part of future Canadian economic development.¹⁷⁹ His intent was to suggest that immigration was a pressing national question, but that the resources of the immigration bureaucracy be applied towards assimilating immigrants rather than towards keeping them out.¹⁸⁰ Additionally, the absence of a critique of race was problematical in Smith's writings, as was his refusal to directly confront the question of discrimination in the restriction of Asian immigration.

Between 1905 and 1920, developing Canadian social science scholarship had shifted towards cultural pluralism. Influenced by the social settlement movement, as well as by growing experience

¹⁷⁹Eg. *ibid.*, 62.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 370-81.

with heterogeneity, within this early scholarship emerged a view of race relations and assimilation that accepted ethnic diversity, and attempted to accommodate diversity into an idealist, all-encompassing vision of Canadian nationality. However, this was a muted pluralism that did not venture beyond the acceptance and tolerance of ethnic diversity in Canadian society, and thus did not consider the questions of intergroup relations, immigrant adjustment, and concepts of culture.

Cultural pluralism in early Canadian scholarship ameliorated the harsher attitudes towards immigrant groups. This position acknowledged ethnic and religious diversity as a fact of Canadian life, and directly attacked intolerance and prejudice as well as seeking a more inclusive definition of Canadian citizenship. However, this view of pluralism was also limited in subordinating ethnic diversity and pluralism to an idealist version of national unity, articulated in the mostly rhetorical concept of a common national spirit or national ideal. This view subsequently lacked a sociological critique of the racial models upon which it was based. A particularly telling problem with this version of race relations, moreover, was its role in supporting not only policies of immigrant restriction, but mitigating even overt discrimination against groups such as Asian immigrants who could be distinguished as unassimilable by a colour bar. In this manner, even the invidious discrimination in Asian legislation policy could be excused by its liberal defenders, such as W. G. Smith, as odious but

necessary.

By the interwar period, social science scholarship in Canada would raise a different set of analytical questions about immigration that would confirm the centrality of pluralism in Canadian thought and challenge the older imperial views of an ethnically homogeneous nationalism in an era of intense public discussion and debate about immigration restriction. The discussion of ethnic relations would be further shaped by the conditions and paradigms of interwar social science, including changing approaches to race relations. However, a component of this interwar scholarship also would continue to subordinate diversity to the broader goals of centralization and economic development.

Chapter IV
The Statistical Investigation of Immigration
and Assimilation in Interwar Canada

By the 1920s, attitudes towards assimilation had begun to harden in public policy and in public pronouncements by members of the Canadian bureaucracy. Beginning in 1923, with the revisions to the Chinese Immigration Act and the imposition of a policy of total exclusion, immigration policy began to take a far more restrictionist approach. The result in Canada as well as the United States was a more exclusionary position on immigration and assimilation, and the tightening of regulations and restrictions governing the admission of new immigrants. This approach was defended as the right of a country to regulate the character of its own population, in the interests of determining its population base. This harsher approach was not simply a question of economic requirements or of "absorptive capacity," but also a means of regulating the assimilation of the immigrants already within the country, and of keeping the assimilation of any further immigrants within manageable bounds.

Thus the interwar discussion of immigration and ethnic relations was shaped. This chapter investigates the role of the interwar social science and statistical studies in this process. The chapter pays particular attention to the role of W. Burton Hurd, professor of economics at Brandon College, and of M. C. MacLean, statistical researcher for the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The views of Hurd and MacLean were central to the liberal discussion of

immigration in interwar Canada, as well as providing the social scientific buttress for immigration restriction particularly during the Depression and before World War II. The perspective represented by Hurd and MacLean incorporated a tougher position on immigration and assimilation, one that incorporated statistical investigation and the pluralism of interwar social science.

Throughout the 1920s, the emphasis in immigration policy had been to encourage a "select" type of immigration suited specifically for agricultural development.¹ By 1928, however, the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Immigration was questioning the viability of continued levels of immigration. At this time, W. Burton Hurd, then teaching economics at Brandon College and serving as a demographics specialist for the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, raised the spectre of establishing national quotas for prospective immigrants similar to those adopted in the United States.²

This tightening of attitudes towards the "melting-pot" took place at roughly the same time the Dominion Bureau of Statistics began to play a greater role in the statistical investigation of the social problems of the period, and sought an increased role for its expertise. In 1911, when the United States Department of Immigra-

¹Department of Immigration and Colonization, Canada and Immigration: A Brief Review of Policy Organization and Practice, (Ottawa, 1927), 13.

²W. Burton Hurd, "The Case for a Quota," Queen's Quarterly 36 (Winter 1929), 145-59.

tion produced its immigration survey, this had been done to address the relative dearth of statistical evidence on questions of social import such as the effects of immigration. The resulting forty-volume survey represented the "high point" for immigration restriction sentiment in the United States. However, the survey had also provided the springboard for Franz Boas's assumptions about cultural relativism to enter the anthropological and sociological mainstream.³

At the time the United States Immigration Survey had been released, Canadians were similarly aware of the absence of appropriate statistical data to study their own immigration and assimilation problems. W. G. Smith's A Study in Canadian Immigration was the first book-length statistical survey of immigration in Canada, although the statistics in the book later were reviewed as faulty.⁴ However, the study of immigration in Canada clearly lagged well behind the United States, and conspicuously absent were the psychological investigation of immigrant adjustment and the sociological focus on the contact of cultures emerging from the University of Chicago under the direction of Robert E. Park. In

³Elazar Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 83.

⁴Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Economic and Social Research Division, Citizenship, Immigration and Ethnic Groups in Canada: A Bibliography, (Ottawa, n.d.), 7. The bibliography appraises A Study in Canadian Immigration as containing "many false conclusions due to faulty use of statistics".

fact, questions of intergroup relations and immigrant adaptation would not receive concentrated social scientific attention in Canada until after the Second World War.⁵ Instead, much of the interwar investigation of immigration concentrated on the statistical study of the movement of populations, incorporated the models and concerns of political economy, and examined the implications of population movements for Canadian cultural and social composition.

In the prior absence of the formal statistical study of population movements in and out of Canada, statistics regarding immigration and assimilation were a pressing concern. This was a situation that the newly formed Bureau of Statistics set out to redress in the mid-1920s. The official investigation of immigration subsequently became linked to the official objective of regulating the Canadian population through a selective immigration policy.

The state of statistical study in Canada was still comparatively weak at the time when Robert Hamilton Coats took over the newly reorganized Dominion Bureau of Statistics. As a result of the 1912 Commission on Internal Statistics, the statistical administration was examined and overhauled to address weaknesses in the state of official statistics in Canada.⁶ The overhaul had come about as

⁵See, for instance, Nathan Keyfitz, "Ethnic Groups and Their Behavior," in Robert Hamilton Coats, ed., special issue, "Features of Present-Day Canada," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 253 (September 1947), 158-63.

⁶David A. Worton, The Dominion Bureau of Statistics: A History of Canada's Central Statistical Office and its Antecedents, 1841-1972, (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 62-3.

a result of concerns with the lack of coordination and fragmentary nature of the official compilation of statistics in Canada.

In turn, these concerns reflected the statistical reform movement in Canada and the wish to coordinate and centralize statistics as a federal concern. In 1912, the Commission reported that

Though many of the statistical reports issued by various departments and branches are of undoubted excellence and value, there is apparent in the body of Canadian statistics, considered as a whole, a lack of coherence and common purpose....[It has] been evident as between the several provinces and the Dominion, and between province and province, notwithstanding that the national importance of many of the functions of the provincial governments under Confederation calls urgently for statistical uniformity and homogeneity.⁷

The transition within statistics was confirmed with the appointment of Coats to the Department of Trade and Commerce as Dominion statistician and controller of the census on 19 June 1915.⁸ Between 1915 and 1939, Coats would preside over an era of sweeping changes. The "Coats era" would consist of the "centralization, reorganization and enlargement" of Canadian statistics.⁹ Furthermore, statistics would be harnessed toward the investigation of problems critical to Canada as a whole, including immigration and the rate of demographic

⁷Quoted in *ibid.*, 63-4.

⁸*Ibid.*, 68.

⁹*Ibid.*, 71.

change.

With the formation of the new Bureau of Statistics, Coats merged the collection of population statistics with those of agriculture. This was in recognition of the close association between Canada's agricultural and population requirements, the same reasoning that led to the creation of the combined Department of Agriculture and Immigration in 1917. The merger of agriculture with population statistics, in Coats' view, reflected the importance of agriculture; it also allowed agriculture to rely on the results of the "low-paid field investigators" who conducted the population census.¹⁰

The population census, furthermore, was merged at that time with vital statistics and migrations, addressing earlier concerns with the absence of statistics measuring the rate of emigration to the United States.¹¹ The groundwork for the interwar census was laid at this time. The provinces, under a uniform scheme of legislation, were to be responsible for the compilation of data regarding births, marriages and deaths; the Dominion would secure "benchmark data" through the census, and coordinate the centralized collection and publication of the data.¹² For the next twenty-five years, the compilation of "racial origins" statistics would be

¹⁰Ibid., 72.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

conducted by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in connection with the Canadian population census. In 1926, the first study of "racial origins" on the prairie provinces would be merged with an agricultural atlas of that region. In 1921, with the assistance of William Burton Hurd, then a professor of economics at Brandon College, the first of several "racial origins" censuses would be undertaken and prepared for the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Hurd would thenceforth be associated with the "racial origins" question, and under the auspices of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, would be the central figure in the examination of immigration and assimilation. In 1929, the publication of Hurd's Origins, Birthplace and Nationality of the Canadian People, based on the 1921 census, heralded the Bureau's focus on "racial origins" and assimilation.¹³

Hurd has been remembered as an economist and demographics expert who influenced McMaster University towards becoming a centre for demographic studies.¹⁴ He was born in Brockington, Ontario, in 1894, but moved with his family to Winnipeg. In 1913, Hurd graduated from the University of Manitoba with an Arts degree. As

¹³On the racial origins census, see Jean-Pierre Beaud and Jean-Guy Prévost, "Immigration, Statistics and Eugenics: Measuring Racial Origins in Canada," Canadian Ethnic Studies 28, 2 (1996), 1-24. See also Monica Boyd, Gustave Goldmann, and Pamela White, "Race in the Canadian Census," in Leo Driedger and Shiva Halli, eds., Visible Minorities in Canada, (Montreal and Toronto: Queens and Carleton Universit Press, 2000), 33-54.

¹⁴D. A. MacGibbon, "William Burton Hurd, 1894-1950," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada ser. 3, vol. 44-45 (1950-51), 83-4.

so many others of his generation, Hurd's studies were interrupted by the war and war service; following the war, however, he was selected as a Rhodes Scholar, and graduated from Oxford in 1921. Upon returning to Canada in 1921, he accepted a position with Brandon College as professor of political economy, succeeding W. A. Mackintosh, who had gone to Queen's University. He remained for fourteen years at Brandon, which was affiliated with McMaster University as both were Baptist Church foundations, until moving on in 1935 to McMaster's Department of Political Economy.¹⁵

As Canada's foremost population expert between the wars, Hurd's imprint was left on the discussion of immigration, assimilation and population problems in liberal circles. At the time of his death, he served as President of the Canadian Political Science Association, simultaneously serving on the Board of Directors of the Population Association of America. He was part of the Research Committee of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, as well as being a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. In 1932 he also served as economics advisor to the Canadian government at the Imperial Conference in Ottawa.¹⁶

During his time at Brandon College, Hurd made contact with R. H. Coats, then in the midst of reorganizing the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Through his association with Coats, Hurd became drawn

¹⁵Ibid., 83.

¹⁶Ibid.

into the field of population studies in Canada.¹⁷ Between 1929 and 1945, Hurd was the author of numerous population studies based on the data of the decennial population censuses conducted by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Hurd's first publication for the Dominion Bureau of Statistics was the 1926 Agriculture, Climate, and Population of the Prairie Provinces of Canada.¹⁸ However, his attention was quickly drawn to the questions of immigration and assimilation in western Canada, which led to the investigations of the "racial origins" census with which he is associated.¹⁹

The studies of "racial origin" were intended to track the progress of assimilation, using the statistics derived from the population census, and to make long-term projections about the future ethnic composition of the Canadian population. At this time, the first evidence emerges that changes in the scientific study of race had come to be adapted to the Canadian discussion of immigration. Franz Boas' work for the United States Immigration Commission in 1913 represented a significant challenge to the accepted assumptions of physical anthropology; his measurements of the cephalic index among immigrants, and his subsequent theory of the plasticity of human skulls, successfully undermined the reliability

¹⁷Ibid., 84.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹W. Burton Hurd, Origin, Birthplace, Nationality, and Languages of the Canadian People; Hurd, Racial Origins and Nativity of the Canadian People, Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Volume XIII, Monographs (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1942): 537-828.

of skull measurement as an index of human classification.²⁰ The result was the rejection of rigid race typologies, and a "Boasian school" emerged that aimed for the separation of race and culture through a closer examination of the respective influences of race and culture.²¹

Although an economist rather than an anthropologist by training, Hurd's "racial origins" studies articulated a carefully considered physical anthropology that reflected the Boasian reorientation of the social sciences towards cultural relativism, and away from rigid typologies of race.²² The ethnology of the "racial origins" census reflects the emerging influence of cultural relativism and the scientific rejection of rigid race typology.²³ This is seen in the definition of the term "race" as used in the racial origins censuses between 1929 and 1945, which, as well as biological factors, incorporated cultural, linguistic, and geographical features as well.

The lack of methodological consensus of interwar race science is reflected in the definition of race used by Hurd and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. While Boas had effectively upset the

²⁰Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism, 83-4.

²¹Ibid., 91.

²²Hurd, Origins, Birthplace, Nationality, and Languages of the Canadian People; Racial Origins and Nativity of the Canadian People.

²³Hurd, Racial Origins and Nativity of the Canadian People, 567.

prevailing practices of physical anthropology and certainties of race typology, no new classification had emerged to fill the vacuum.²⁴ The absence of methodological certainty and conviction among scientists rather had opened science up to "liberal" and "conservative" applications of race theory between the two world wars.²⁵ Generally, though, the Dominion census adopted a definition of "race" that was more cultural than biological, more liberal than conservative.²⁶ For Hurd, in fact, the concept of "race" in 1929, even in a "strictly scientific sense," was subject to imprecision and methodological confusion.²⁷ Hurd rejected the biological classifications of "race" as too uncertain and inconsistent, emphasizing the relative importance of heredity and environment instead. As he argued in the 1931 census monograph,

Scientists have attempted to divide and subdivide the human species into groups on the basis of biological traits, such as shape of the head, stature, colour of skin, etc., and to such groups and to such only, would the biologist apply the term "race". The use of the term, however, even in this strictly scientific sense is neither definite nor free from confusion, for there is no universally accepted classification. Furthermore, the identification of certain types of culture with definite biological types has led inevitably to the result that, even in the hands of the ethnologist, the term "race" has acquired a cultural as well as a bio-

²⁴Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism, 137-38.

²⁵Ibid., 3-4.

²⁶Hurd, Racial Origins and Nativity of the Canadian People, 567.

²⁷Hurd, Origin, Birthplace and Nationality, 12.

logical implication.²⁸

Instead, Hurd accepted that "most modern national groups are composed of widely varying racial strains."²⁹ The rejection of the biological perspective remained limited, however. The "racial origins" census continued to rely on the racial typologies of Alpine, Mediterranean, and Nordic that were still current in physical anthropology. Furthermore, the ethnology of the census reflected the conceptual confusion within cultural anthropology, which continued to accommodate biological theories of human behaviour despite focussing on cultural interpretations.³⁰

Furthermore, the end result for the racial origins census was a peculiar and inconsistent tripartite classification of immigrant groups into three distinct categories: biological, cultural or linguistic, and geographical. Even while Hurd claimed a generally equal influence for culture or environment and biological factors on the shaping of a "racial group," for the purposes of the census he was predisposed to emphasize one set of factors over the other. Therefore, in cases where the "strains of the immigrating people are comparatively pure," Hurd proclaimed the existence of a "biological" group. To this classification, particularly where the group showed evidence of a distinctive culture as well, Hurd included "the

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism, 92-3.

coloured stocks, the Chinese, Japanese, Hindu, Negro and aboriginal Indians."³¹ However, Hurd also found little trouble with the classification of these groups, finding that "no serious statistical difficulties arise" for census purposes.³²

More troublesome from the standpoint of statistical classification were the groups of central and eastern European origin.³³ For the purposes of the census, these groups provided "practical problems" of classification where the presence of two distinct linguistic subgroups, for instance Ukrainian and German, within one census group suggested the presence of "racial admixture."³⁴ To resolve this problem, the Canadian census turned to geography as the basis for classification.³⁵ Finally, there were groups where the "cultural strain was predominant"; these included such groups as the English, French, Italian, and virtually any European group which was the product of centuries of "commingling" of several different "primitive stocks." Even where distinct variants within one census group, such as the Scottish and Irish groups, were noted, these groups were nonetheless classified for census purposes as "cultural"

³¹Ibid., 568.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., 568-69.

³⁴Ibid., 568.

³⁵Ibid., 569.

groups.³⁶

Therefore, in the racial origins census,

...the term "origin" always connotes the original geographical habitat of a population group, usually implies a distinct structure, and often a definite biological strain. In any case, it refers to a specific group of immigrants and their progeny.³⁷

The one exception to this rather convoluted classificatory scheme were Jewish immigrants, who presumably merited a separate classification to themselves.³⁸

But for Hurd, the biological classification itself was a relatively minor point, and Hurd mainly emphasized cultural over biological descriptions of national groups.³⁹ Rather, the significant fact for Hurd was that certain census groups, such as the Ukrainians, owing to their different biological and cultural origins, were likely to have a different biological and cultural impact on Canada than a group of English migrants.⁴⁰ But while Hurd acknowledged that the relative influence of biology and culture could not be measured quantitatively, he still held it to be common knowledge, for instance, that "Orientals" were not biologically assimilable, or that Mennonites and Doukhobors could not easily be

³⁶Ibid., 567.

³⁷Ibid., 569.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Hurd, Origin, Birthplace and Nationality, 12.

⁴⁰Ibid.

assimilated culturally.⁴¹ The distinctions Hurd attempted to make only underscored the methodological inconsistencies within the racial origins census.

The racial origins census was considered by Hurd to have a direct bearing on immigration policy; the notion of intermarriage as an index of assimilation was critical to the census.⁴² The census was intended to measure the rate of assimilation through the rate of intermarriage between non-English groups and groups of "native English and French stock." Therefore, according to Hurd, "...socially, the origin data perform a practical function in tracing the progress of the assimilative process and finally demonstrate that assimilation has taken place."⁴³ The census subsequently concentrated most on the "non-assimilating peoples," notably the groups of central and eastern European origin, for whom the rate of intermarriage showed them to be assimilating very slowly.⁴⁴

The interwar liberal turn towards cultural anthropology permitted Hurd to reject the more deterministic and rigid typologies that characterized much of the nativist reaction against immigration. Hurd's approach to the compilation and interpretation of

⁴¹Ibid., 13.

⁴²Ibid., 14.

⁴³Ibid., 15.

⁴⁴Ibid.

racial origins data, in fact, proved to be highly controversial in the late 1920s. In 1928, Hurd was compelled to publicly justify his decision not to add the classification of a "Canadian race" to the racial origins census. In an article for Queen's Quarterly, Hurd rejected the idea of "racial amalgamation" or the creation of a "Canadian race" as the end result of assimilation, while at the same time reiterating the principles of tolerance as central to Canadian treatment of its immigrant population.⁴⁵ In so doing, Hurd set himself up against a strain of Canadian nationalism that was defined in terms of a new "national consciousness," and which linked itself with cultural homogeneity and a biological definition of assimilation.⁴⁶ Responding to the generally illiberal tenets of this discussion of the national consciousness, Hurd insisted that there was no "Canadian race," nor could one be defined for the purposes of the census. In fact, one of the contravening factors to the creation of a "Canadian race" was the presence within Canada of large groups of two separate origins.⁴⁷ Furthermore, no definition of a "Canadian race" could exclude other Canadians of non-French and non-British origins from membership.⁴⁸

In general, Hurd's ethnology represented an application of

⁴⁵W. Burton Hurd, "Is There a Canadian Race?", Queen's Quarterly 35 (May 1928): 615-627.

⁴⁶Ibid., 615.

⁴⁷Ibid., 617-18.

⁴⁸Ibid., 619.

anthropology for liberal purposes, an application that emphasized the relative equality of cultures and took aim at racial prejudice and intolerance. Hurd subsequently reflected a liberal approach to assimilation and diversity within the Canadian discussion of immigration and race relations. At the same time, Hurd warned that the "racial melting-pot is boiling".⁴⁹ Although Hurd accepted the principles of the individual rights of immigrants, it was a significant matter for Hurd that the melting-pot within Canada did not appear to be melting: that there appeared to be large numbers of unassimilated immigrant groups within the country.

Furthermore, Hurd's definition remained hampered by the inability to precisely define the term "race," or to dispense with it altogether; as in the case of the "biological" races, the term "race" continued to contain prejudicial implications that related directly to the perceived inability of select "biological" groups to assimilate.⁵⁰ Academic sociology furthermore had not contributed significantly towards a reappraisal of ethnic relations; Hurd had no countervailing sociological or anthropological perspective on the process of immigrant group adjustment within Canada, such as those being developed within the United States in the early decades of the twentieth century.⁵¹

⁴⁹Ibid., 625.

⁵⁰Cf. Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism.

⁵¹Notably William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: Monographs of an Immigrant Group,

In part, this was due to the underdeveloped state of academic sociology in Canadian universities. Sociology in virtually all academic institutions, save for McGill University, was subordinated to the disciplines of political economy and history, and, if considered at all, was studied within a multidisciplinary focus.⁵² What sociology there was being studied in the Canadian prairies was mostly studied in other departments such as political economy, or through centres such as Manitoba Agricultural College, in connection with prairie resource development.⁵³

The relative absence of institutionalized sociological study was highly significant from the point of view of developing Canadian theories of assimilation. Between 1920 and 1945, the only two institutions in the country that were capable of or interested in sustaining modest academic programs in sociology and anthropology were the University of Toronto and McGill University in Montreal.⁵⁴ While these two centres developed separate programs in these aspects of the social sciences, on the prairies sociology was harnessed in

(Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press, [1918-20]; Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted, (New York and London: Harper, 1921).

⁵²Hiller, Society and Change, 15-16; A. B. McKillop, Matters of Mind: the University in Ontario, 1791-1951, (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 494ff.

⁵³B. Y. Card, The Expanding Relation: Sociology in Prairie Universities, Canadian Plains Studies, Occasional Paper No. 1, (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1975), 3-5.

⁵⁴Hiller, Society and Change, 15-16.

the service of the agricultural colleges, or was submerged in the disciplines of political economy and history.⁵⁵

Sociology as a separate discipline received a cool welcome from Canadian universities; Douglas Pullman, as an undergraduate at the University of Alberta in the late 1940s, was advised by the faculty dean that sociology was "'a new fangled American fad which would not last'".⁵⁶ Therefore, unlike in the United States, where sociological investigations of assimilation and immigrant adjustment were developing around the University of Chicago and Wisconsin, relatively small programs of sociology at McGill and social science and anthropology at the University of Toronto, and the lack of them elsewhere, meant the absence in Canada of sustained academic investigations of immigration adaptation and adjustment. The Toronto programme emphasized instead the heavily abstracted study of social philosophy.⁵⁷ The first systematic sociological studies of immigration and assimilation conducted by a university department of sociology took place in the 1930s, under the direction of Leonard Marsh and Carl Dawson at McGill University.⁵⁸ Until then, social science investigations of immigration and population change proceeded from extra-institutional sources or multidisciplinary

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid., 16.

⁵⁷McKillop, Mind over Matter, 494-513.

⁵⁸Shore, The Science of Social Redemption, ch. 7: "The Sociology of Unemployment, Immigration, and Assimilation," 224-61.

projects like the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee, usually in connection with the scientific investigation of the western Canadian frontier.

Such developments, though, also underscore the importance of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in the formal investigation of immigration and assimilation in Canada. Thus formal immigration studies in Canada, at least until the mid-1930s, proceeded from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, during which time the "Coats era" presided over the collection and centralization of statistics dealing with immigration and the pace of assimilation in Canada. Invariably, the study of population would remain merged with the development of agriculture and national resources, and the view of assimilation that emerged stressed the centralization of the nation from a social as well as from an economic and political point of view. The result did not bode well for theories of racial or ethnic diversity in Canada's interwar years.

By the mid-1920s, it was clear, at least from the initial racial origins census, that assimilation no longer implied a "melting pot" in the biological sense. As noted previously, mid-1920s liberalism in Canada had followed the direction of the rest of the English-speaking world by rejecting biological theories of amalgamation and assimilation. Furthermore, Canadian liberalism simultaneously encouraged tolerance and actively combatted prejudice, and although political diversity continued to be regarded with

suspicion, at the very least the idea that Canada was still in a process of cultural formation was reflected in continued references to the "mosaic" or a similar metaphor. Regardless, beginning in the late 1920s Canadians moved in the direction of a concept they referred to as a "melting pot," which, while not incorporating the original amalgamationist meaning of the late nineteenth century, nonetheless was defined by ideological and political concerns specific to Canada's era of centralization and nationalism.

Additional studies of immigration had initially been planned by the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee. But the Committee accepted the conclusions by Hurd and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and the imperative they presented regarding the importance of rapid assimilation of immigrant groups would not be challenged from this source. Carl Dawson, the McGill University sociologist associated with the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee, in fact would sustain the conclusions of Hurd and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.⁵⁹ The goal of assimilation and conclusions regarding diversity would not be reconsidered from the perspective of academic studies of immigrant adjustment, at least not until the first studies of immigration and assimilation from McGill in the mid-1930s.⁶⁰

⁵⁹For instance, see Carl Dawson, Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, (Toronto: MacMillan, 1936). The Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee and its successor, the Canadian Frontier Settlement Series, will be examined in chapter 5.

⁶⁰Shore, The Science of Social Redemption, ch. 7.

The effect of the Great Depression was to bring immigration to a virtual standstill. As early as 1928, the anticipated slowdown of the Canadian economy was already raising questions about the future of immigration policy. A 1928 parliamentary commission investigated the causes and effects of immigration, with a view to determining future policy. Simultaneously, within the academic community, evidence of growing support for a policy of immigration restriction commensurate with changing social and economic conditions emerged between 1928 and 1930, in a succession of articles written for Queen's Quarterly.⁶¹ In general, the academic contributors to this discussion questioned the viability of continuing an immigration policy of unlimited admission.⁶² Further, with the exception of Robert England, these writers favoured some form of immediate policy of restriction, on the grounds of the difficulties associated with the assimilation of a diverse population.⁶³ In contrast to his colleagues, England defended a policy of selected

⁶¹See, for instance, Duncan McArthur, "What Is the Immigration Problem?", Queen's Quarterly 35 (May 1928), 603-14; W. B. Hurd, "Is There a Canadian Race?", Queen's Quarterly 35 (May 1928), 615-27; W. A. Carrothers, "The Immigration Problem in Canada," Queen's Quarterly 36 (1929), 517-31; Robert England, "Continental Migration," Queen's Quarterly 36 (Autumn 1929), 719-28; Robert England, "British Immigration," Queen's Quarterly 36 (Winter 1929), 130-44; W. Burton Hurd, "The Case for a Quota," Queen's Quarterly 36 (Winter 1929), 145-59; R. M. Lower, "The Case Against Immigration," Queen's Quarterly 37 (Summer 1930), 557-54.

⁶²McArthur, "What Is the Immigration Problem?", 613-14.

⁶³Carrothers, "The Immigration Problem in Canada," 519-31; Hurd, "The Case for a Quota," 157-59.

rather than restricted immigration from Continental Europe.⁶⁴ However, even England, who also urged caution against an alarmist immigration policy based on racial and religious grounds, advocated a selective and scientific approach to the admission process based on the requirements of agricultural production, as well as recommending a departure from the previous policy of state-encouraged British migration.⁶⁵ At this time, although Hurd was already recommending the implementation of a quota system similar to that of the United States, he was still anxious to establish his case for immigration restriction on social and political rather than on racial grounds.⁶⁶

The ongoing debate about immigration restriction had hinged on the question of the admixture of races and nationalities. Yet Hurd avoided this debate altogether, or refused to make any claim for "the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon and French races" or "for the British culture." Nor did he impugn "individuals or groups for circumstances beyond their control which make their assimilation in Canada difficult."⁶⁷ Hurd at this point introduced a consideration that would remain central in his future analyses of immigration: the rate of admixture of the immigrant population, based mostly on the

⁶⁴England, "Continental Immigration," 727-28.

⁶⁵Ibid., 727; idem, "British Immigration," 143-44.

⁶⁶Hurd, "The Case for a Quota," 145-59.

⁶⁷Ibid., 159.

index of intermarriage but including factors such as language, literacy, and rate of naturalization and, in particular, fertility rates.⁶⁸ In 1928, Hurd made the claim, which he verified by statistics, that immigrant populations were settling in Canada in large unassimilated "blocs" which appeared impervious to the incursion of Canadian political values and standards.⁶⁹ This claim would be central to his case for immigration restriction.

For Hurd, preoccupied with the centralization of the Canadian economy and polity, the prospect of diversity was an unsettling thought. He continued to link diversity with social and political division, and listed illiteracy, criminality, and insanity as the product of segregated or unassimilated groups of European immigrants.⁷⁰ Hurd also feared that unassimilated immigrant populations would accentuate geographical and political divisions between the eastern and western parts of the country, already divided along English and French linguistic and cultural lines.⁷¹ On the other hand, Hurd incorporated a liberal critique of race prejudice into his writings, and further appeared to regard the contributions of immigrant groups to the development of Canadian nationality as

⁶⁸Ibid., 149.

⁶⁹Ibid., 152.

⁷⁰Ibid., 154-56.

⁷¹Ibid., 157-58; W. Burton Hurd, "The Relation of the Origins of Immigrants to the Settlement of the Country," Proceedings, Canadian Political Science Association, 48-50.

crucial.⁷²

Hurd in effect had endeavoured to present a scientific claim for immigration restriction that he attempted to remove from considerations of racial intolerance and prejudice. Hurd's claim to an impartial statistical analysis of the impact of immigration on the Canadian population, however, was suspect because of the absence of countervailing studies of immigrant adjustment and culture contact. Without these considerations, Hurd expressed grave concerns over what he perceived as the slow rate of assimilation, and particularly over the prospect of "segregation," which he regarded as divisive and contributing to internal political instability.

With the onset of the depression, important changes were enacted to existing immigration policy and its administration. Among these was the 1930 order-in-council that suspended immigration from Europe, with exceptions in the case of individual immigrants from any nation who could be self-supporting, as well as the wives and minor children of family heads.⁷³ In 1931, the provisions of the 1930 order-in-council were tightened even more; the new legislation limited even further the specified categories of immigrants that could be admitted. Particular consideration was given

⁷²Hurd, "The Case for a Quota," 159.

⁷³Knowles, Strangers At Our Gates, 108.

to agriculturalists of American and British origin, confirming the continued emphasis on assimilation within immigration regulations. The new regulations had a considerable impact on immigration levels; the number of immigrants dropped to 140,000 after 1931, well down from 1,166,000 in the decade 1921-1931.⁷⁴

The Department of Immigration and Colonization was dismantled, and an Immigration Branch affixed instead to the Department of Mines and Resources after 1936. The reason for this change was to coordinate immigration with the development of the natural resource base of the western provinces. But the Department of Immigration and Colonization no longer seemed necessary; changes to immigration legislation had significantly reduced the number of new immigrants so that a separate administrative department was no longer required.

The new legislation permitted a modest amount of immigration, but the numbers were dramatically reduced from previous levels. Immigration was largely permitted from Britain and countries of northern European origin, as before, but the active campaign of solicitation was no longer being undertaken in Europe. Immigrants were further required to provide evidence of being able to become self-sustaining within Canada, and were permitted to bring dependents as long as these dependents would not become charges upon the state. A number of immigrants from continental Europe were nonetheless permitted to enter Canada during this time. A notable example

⁷⁴Ibid.

was Thomas Bata, a Czechoslovakian refugee whose shoe manufacturing interest brought capital and promised the creation of jobs within Canada.⁷⁵

In total, government measures reduced the number of new admissions after 1930. The number of immigrants fell dramatically from 88,000 in 1931 to fewer than 26,000 in 1932. An elevated number of deportations of unemployed immigrants further reduced the immigrant population.⁷⁶ In contrast, some defenders of immigration restriction argued that immigrants from continental Europe who fell under the new immigration guidelines had not been turned away on the basis of their country of origin. R. A. MacKay contended that as many continental European immigrants as British and northern European groups had been allowed to enter the country, and that these numbers were sufficient to answer any questions of discrimination on the basis of national origin that this policy raised.⁷⁷ Chinese immigration, however, provided a different story. Under strictly enforced legislation, Chinese immigrants were not permitted to sponsor wives or dependents for entry, regardless of suitability for citizenship or economic contribution to the country.

Beginning in 1928, then, immigration policy had taken an even

⁷⁵Knowles, Strangers At Our Gates, 120.

⁷⁶Kelley and Trebilcock, The Making of the Mosaic, 216-17.

⁷⁷R. A. MacKay and E. B. Rogers, Canada Looks Abroad, (London and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1938), 58-9. Cf. Kelley and Trebilcock, The Making of the Mosaic, 216.

more restrictive turn coinciding with the onset of economic depression. The new restrictions also coincided with the renewal of antiforeign sentiment at the popular level, and in general reflected a tougher stance on immigration and assimilation than taken previously. In many respects, the period between 1928 and 1936 reflected the economic concerns of the period of agricultural expansion and development of the 1920s. As the Depression eased, the possibility was raised once again of opening the immigration gates, and renewing the immigration policy that had been abandoned during the Depression. According to many Canadians, the future prosperity of the country depended upon a dramatic increase in the Canadian population, which necessitated a return to the immigration policy of the previous decade. For social scientists, though, the wisdom of such a policy was increasingly challenged according to the new economic circumstances of industrialization and urbanization.

The effect of the events of the late 1920s and 1930s was to consolidate and entrench the concerns in Canada regarding assimilation and the melting pot. From the late 1920s, as economic events conspired to reorient the direction of immigration policy, students of population such as Hurd began suggesting the implementation of national quotas such as those applied in the United States. While immigration numbers subsided in Canada, the question of assimilation was held as no less urgent, as evidenced in some significant population studies conducted during this time.

Furthermore, with the worsening of international tensions, the

implications of Canadian population problems for foreign policy also became a growing concern. For a country seeking to predicate its foreign policy upon the premise of national unity, a population with its considerable regional, geographic, cultural, and religious divisions appeared to many to pose a potential risk during times of international conflict. With the encroachment of war, this latter concern came to play a significant role in the question of the treatment of Canada's ethnic minorities during wartime conditions.

Assimilation and nationalism had become interconnected even prior to the onset of the Depression, with the gradual worsening of economic conditions. In Hurd's view, the assimilation of immigrants from continental European nations was critical to the development of Canadian unity. Particularly in the western provinces, Hurd feared the presence of an unassimilated immigrant population for several reasons. Not the least of the problems raised was the creation of a distinct sense of regionalism and particularism in the West that undermined transnational unity. Also a concern was the social and political implications of unassimilated "bloc" settlements that, according to Hurd, posed a serious obstacle to the task of nation-building, especially in the western provinces.⁷⁸ Aside from the problems associated with language and education in the

⁷⁸W. Burton Hurd, "The Relation of the Origins of Immigrants to the Settlement of the Country," Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association 2 (1930), 52-3.

West, Hurd believed that "the country is also paying for its immigrants through increased insanity and crime," based on the cultural and hereditary background of its immigrants.⁷⁹

The greatest concern, though, was the problem of intermarriage, or the "absence of it."⁸⁰ The relative absence of intermarriage, to Hurd, indicated the slowness of the assimilation of the central and eastern European newcomers in particular to Canadian social and political ideals.

...in no country has the melting pot idea been more effectively exploded than in Canada. This is particularly true of Western Canada and British Columbia where solid foreign blocks continue to maintain a separate social existence and intermarriage with the basic stocks of the country is thwarted at once by the magnitude of the original racial and cultural differences as well as by occupational and geographical segregation. In the case of such groups, cultural assimilation is proceeding with the utmost difficulty and racial fusion scarcely at all.⁸¹

Among other difficulties, the absence of intermarriage raised the question of differential fertility rates, which, according to Hurd, in Canada followed "racial and religious" lines.⁸² A declining fertility rate among the Anglo-Saxon population, accompanied by a relative increase in the fertility rate among second-generation European immigrants, left the prospect that in the future, the Anglo-Saxon population would become "numerically

⁷⁹Ibid., 52.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid., 52-3.

⁸²Ibid., 53.

dominated" by that of non-British stocks.⁸³ For Hurd, this raised considerable implications for future political and social stability, concerns that could only be resolved through the rapid assimilation of non-British immigrant groups.⁸⁴

As previously noted, Hurd's views on assimilation and diversity had been articulated in the latter part of the previous decade. Hurd's belief that the "melting-pot" was not melting at an appropriately rapid pace was in part offset by his insistence that ethnic minorities be treated with tolerance, and by his acceptance that the Canadian character was gradually being formed by the intermixture of ethnic groups of various origins.⁸⁵ The total, he believed, would also be more than the sum of its parts. For Hurd, then, diversity had been accepted as a significant component of the Canadian national identity, an identity in the process of evolving to an as yet undetermined form.

The result was a version of assimilation or the "melting pot" that endeavoured to be more tolerant towards the individual immigrant, and that separated itself from the intolerant and racist implications of the late nineteenth-century amalgamationist metaphor. By the 1920s, liberals had generally rejected any concept of the "melting pot" that implied conformity and the denunciation

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Ibid., 53-4.

⁸⁵Ibid., 58.

of one's cultural inheritance.⁸⁶ Yet the idea of assimilation in Hurd's writing was linked to nation-building, economic nationalism, and centralization, and further was suspicious of the "segregation of foreign stocks" as a source of disunity.⁸⁷ Furthermore, several circumstances, in particular the economic slowdown, contributed to Canada's growing interwar isolationism, and further hardened attitudes against pluralism and diversity as detrimental to the national ideology under construction.

As noted earlier, Hurd regarded cultural diversity as integral to the Canadian national identity. His articles also had taken aim at intolerance, and he acknowledged cultural diversity as both a permanent fixture and a necessary characteristic of Canadian national values. Hence, Hurd's views similarly integrated a blunted pluralism, meaning an accommodation of cultures other than the majority British or French groups. However, he also felt strongly about the consensus of nationalizing and centralizing values he felt

⁸⁶Higham, "Ethnic Pluralism in American Thought,"

⁸⁷"Segregation" was more than a problem from the standpoint of "Canadianization". With the rise of segregation in the United States, segregation presented a serious challenge to liberal universalist values, and liberal imperialists rejected a model of segregation in imperial relations, substituting the model of the Commonwealth instead (Rich, Race and Empire, ch. 3, 51-69, esp. 51-2). Most Canadians as well wished to avoid a "segregationist" experiment, whether with Asian immigrants in British Columbia or the central and eastern European populations in the west. To this end, many such as Hurd were willing to support immigration restriction, confining entry to the types of populations that could be readily assimilated (Hurd, "Relation of Origins of Immigrants to Settlement," 57-8).

necessary to create some cohesion from a country characterized by mostly divisions and diversity, or to overcome what he regarded as the disadvantages of geography and population. As noted earlier, Hurd's nationalism reflected the belief in the fragility of Canadian nationalism, and incorporated the assumption that north-south geographical ties, regionalism, and cultural diversity militated against national unity.⁸⁸ The absence of long-range continuity of political conditions, the apparently divisive effects of the Canadian environment, and the tenuous fragility of Canadian national unity militated against any accommodation of cultural diversity, beyond a general respect for individual rights. For Hurd, therefore, the source of national unity lay in the assimilation of the immigrant population around the heritage of the English and French founding groups. Hurd argued specifically that some merging of the Canadian population was imperative for national unity, and assimilation was subsequently considered by Hurd to be of critical national importance.

The events of the Depression only confirmed Hurd in his beliefs. By the mid-1930s, population studies conducted by Hurd and his associates with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics seemed to confirm Hurd's earlier concerns that the "melting pot" was not operative in Canada, and that assimilation in Canada was proceeding only slowly. In a series of articles published in the Canadian

⁸⁸Ibid., 49-50.

Journal of Economics and Political Science, Hurd and associates such as Jean Cameron embarked on a statistical examination of the rate of population change and its implications for future population trends.⁸⁹ These articles, among other things, examined the rate of intermarriage of immigrant with English and French Canadian groups as an index of assimilation, along with the differential fertility rates of the "old stock" English and French groups as well as ethnic groups of "other origin."

Among other findings, these articles pronounced the end of the pre-Depression phase of immigration, or the era of "building up domestic markets by shipping agricultural immigrants to western Canada."⁹⁰ Hurd and Cameron's analysis concluded that two significant shifts had taken place in immigration and settlement. The first was a geographical shift in settlement: the majority of immigrants tended to gravitate to urban centres in eastern Canada rather than the prairie provinces. However, the decline in rural over urban immigration was also noted in the statistical finding that immigrants to the prairie provinces were also more likely to settle in urban rather than rural areas. The trend, in other words,

⁸⁹W. Burton Hurd and Jean Cameron, "Population Movements in Canada, 1921-31: Some Further Considerations," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 1, 2 (May 1935): 222-245; W. Burton Hurd, "The Decline in the Canadian Birth-Rate," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 3, 1 (February 1937): 40-57; Hurd, "Some Implications of Prospective Population Changes in Canada," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 5, 4 (November 1939): 492-503.

⁹⁰Hurd and Cameron, "Population Movements in Canada," 238.

was "eastward and urban."⁹¹ This migration was related to a second trend: the declining fortunes of agriculture and the relative absence of agricultural development. While a considerable acreage of unused land remained in the west for settlement and distribution, the remoteness of that land, plus the distance of markets, provided "as effective barriers to the exploitation of any resource as physical unproductivity."⁹²

The prognostications of Hurd and Cameron subsequently reflected the conditions of Depression-era Canada. They conjectured that the maintenance of any surplus immigrant population would invariably fall upon the towns and cities, especially in the industrial East: "failing some radical revision of the Canadian and the world economy, they are almost certain to gravitate in that direction."⁹³ In short, Canada under current trends was likely to resemble the industrial United States before long. This was only one of the arguments made in favour of a limited immigration policy following the Depression.

Another was a metaphor based on the older "Gresham's Law," that the result of foreign migration was a displacement of the Canadian-born population.⁹⁴ Among social scientists, though, this

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴The Canadian use his term is generally associated with economist and historian A. R. M. Lower (Lower, "The Case Against

argument had become qualified to an extent. It was no longer presumed that the foreign-born were driving out the Canadian-born population. In fact, it was readily acknowledged by this time that the Canadian-born "might have left in any case," in search of better opportunities south of the border.⁹⁵

These articles also hinged on a projection that foresaw a declining population rate in Canada. To a large measure, the studies in this area prepared by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics paralleled population forecasts made in every other major country in the world during this period.⁹⁶ The divergence in attitudes, in fact, between Hurd and population experts from other parts of the world would become apparent in such forums as the Tenth International Studies Conference, sponsored by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and held in Paris, France, in 1937.⁹⁷ From a domestic viewpoint, however, the concern was with a declining birth-rate within the Canadian population, yet another indicator

Immigration," Queen's Quarterly 37, 3 [Summer 1930], 571-72).

⁹⁵Hurd and Cameron, "Population Movements in Canada," 244.

⁹⁶Hurd, "The Decline in the Canadian Birth-Rate," 40.

⁹⁷International Studies Conference, Peaceful Change: Procedures, Population, Raw Materials, Colonies. Proceedings of the Tenth International Studies Conference, Paris, June 28th-July 3rd, 1937, (Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 1938). H. F. Angus, Canada and the Doctrine of Peaceful Change, E. J. Tarr Papers, Department of Archives and Special Collections, University of Manitoba, Mss 4, Box 9, Fd. 61; Angus, Memorandum on Canada and the Doctrine of Peaceful Change (Canadian Memorandum No. 1), E. J. Tarr Papers, Department of Archives and Special Collections, University of Manitoba, Mss 4, Box 9, Fd. 61.

that the population projections based on immigration and agricultural prosperity had drawn to a close.⁹⁸

Several reasons were provided by Hurd for the declining Canadian birth-rate between 1921 and 1931, but the most significant seemed to be related to the modernization of Canadian society. These included the rate of assimilation as well as urbanization and access to a higher standard of living than previously.⁹⁹ Cultural assimilation, in turn, implied a rising educational status and subsequent acceptance of Canadian social norms and standards among immigrant groups.¹⁰⁰ However, Hurd did not appear to draw the conclusion that a declining birth-rate could provide an index of assimilation as much as the rate of intermarriage, which remained the statistical yardstick of assimilation through the 1930s. While assimilation was seen as a factor in the reduction of the Canadian birth-rate, the impact of immigration on the birth-rate was still in question. "Exceedingly heavy net gains" through immigration tended to be a factor that offset the factor of postponement of marriage observed among the second and subsequent generations.¹⁰¹

In any event, it was not Hurd's opinion that the abandonment of policies of economic nationalism would moderate the trend towards

⁹⁸Hurd, "The Decline in the Canadian Birth-Rate," 43.

⁹⁹Ibid., 51.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 53.

a declining birth-rate.¹⁰² The declining population rate was a trend which it was believed immigration and emigration would not measurably ameliorate.¹⁰³ Economics had largely abandoned the direct correlation made at the beginning of the century between immigration and the rate of increase of the Canadian population, so that the projections of a Canadian population base totalling in the hundred millions were regarded as overly optimistic. In the first place, Hurd and others used the concept of Canada's limited absorptive capacity to illustrate that such a population increase could be achieved only at the expense of Canada's standard of living, and would place a strain on existing resources. Secondly, it was believed that outmigration to the United States resulting from European immigration provided a check on the actual increase that could be attained through an increase in immigration numbers. This latter conjecture incorporated a neo-Malthusian precept that likened a nation to a biological organism, and suggested that there was a limit to the amount of population that could be sustained before the excess was ejected in the form of outmigration to the United States.

By the mid-1930s, it was acknowledged that the actual level of European immigration to Canada was smaller than had been previously supposed.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, it was also acknowledged by some that the

¹⁰²Ibid., 54.

¹⁰³Hurd, "Some Implications of Prospective Population Changes in Canada," 493.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 494.

"exodus" of Canadians to the United States was related more to "pull" factors than to "push" factors; students of Canadian-American relations such as J. A. Brebner noted the "pull" of better opportunities in the United States, which provided a stronger motivational factor for emigration than any population and economic pressures resulting from European immigration.¹⁰⁵ However, even with these reservations, the tendency was still to assume a correlation, although to a lesser extent than previously assumed, between immigration from Europe and emigration of Canadians to the United States.¹⁰⁶

Statistical analysis conducted by Murdoch C. MacLean in 1935 appeared to confirm these observations. According to Hurd, MacLean's 1935 study, Analysis of the Stages of Growth of Population in Canada, confirmed that whatever gains to the Canadian population that had been made through immigration were offset through emigration, and by a downward pressure on the population increase at home. This meant that Canada could not reasonably look to immigration to augment national prosperity. If anything, the proponents of these views argued, immigration, if not carefully regulated, could have the opposite effect. Therefore Canada had room for only a limited

¹⁰⁵W. Burton Hurd, "The Immigration Problem," address delivered before the Canadian Club, Toronto, March 8, 1937. E. J. Tarr Papers, Department of Archives and Special Collections, University of Manitoba, Mss 4, box 11, fd. 91.

¹⁰⁶Hurd, "Some Implications of Prospective Population Changes in Canada," 494.

and selective immigration policy, carefully managed to include a small number of capitalists and highly skilled labour.

The views represented by MacLean, Hurd and their associates at the Dominion Bureau of Statistics appear to have carried considerable authoritative weight in a period of economic nationalism. Through the Canadian census and the Canada Year Book, their conclusions were transmitted into the ensuing discussion of immigration, assimilation, and foreign policy. None of the articles in question provided a sociological analysis of assimilation, nor did any theory of "culture contact" appear to inform the analysis of the authors.

A close examination of the decennial "racial origins" census in fact indicates that the writings of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics were based on theories of cultural anthropology that identified national traits with ethnic or national origin. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics generally was careful to distance itself from a cruder physical anthropology, and to denounce scientific and ideological notions of race superiority or inferiority. However, the inclination of the researchers at the Dominion Bureau of Statistics was to identify national with cultural characteristics, and subsequently to presume the importance of the "old stock" English and French groups for social and political cohesion in the country.

These views also coincided with growing international concerns about population pressures, concerns that coincided with worldwide

rates of unemployment and the effects of overpopulation on international peace and stability. The subsiding of Depression-era economic conditions in Canada had renewed demands for the reopening of immigration gates. While much of the demand for renewed immigration came from British Canadians who still sustained older ideas of Canada's national grandeur, more humanitarian and international considerations also prompted a renewed look at the Canadian capacity, as a "receiving country," to help absorb the social and economic pressures of the population crisis in Europe. The end of the Great Depression coincided with international concerns about population pressures, as well as with the growth of international tensions on the Pacific coast and within Europe. Despite calls at home and abroad for the liberalization of Canadian immigration policy, the Canadian policy response was to entrench the prevailing precepts of immigration policy and, if anything, to ensure an even more conservative application of these principles.

This was evident in policy and academic statements made about immigration policy during this time, notably by Hurd, who defended Canada's immigration policy against charges of its "dog-in-the-manger" approach.¹⁰⁷ Particularly following the levels of unemployment reached during the Depression, if anything, the Canadian immigration authorities had become even more vigilant after 1937 regarding the admission of new immigration, and strict admission

¹⁰⁷Hurd, "The Immigration Problem."

requirements prevailed in the instance of "inadmissible groups".

Liberal internationalism at this time had little impact on Canadian policy considerations, and challenged but failed to overturn the principle of the Canadian right to regulate the character of its own population.¹⁰⁸ In Hurd's words, "Canadian immigration policy will be determined by Canadians for Canadians and not imposed on us from without. These assumptions require no apology; any alternatives would be totally unacceptable to the people of this Dominion."¹⁰⁹ In particular, the argument of Canada's "limited absorptive capacity" provided a particularly compelling reason why Canadian immigration levels were to remain low; it was argued that while the Canadian geographical frontier remained largely unsettled and undeveloped, the Canadian economic frontier

¹⁰⁸In the 1930s, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs took part in international conferences on issues associated with collective security. One pressing issue was the international population question, or the crisis of overpopulation and related high levels of unemployment in the European nations, viewed at the time as a source of potential international conflict. (International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Peaceful Change: Procedures, Population, Raw Materials, Colonies. Proceedings of the Tenth Annual International Studies Conference, Paris, June 28th-July 3rd, 1937 [Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, League of Nations, 1938]), 19.)

While conferences such as the 1935-1937 International Conference on Peaceful Change (the Paris Conference) investigated migration as a partial solution to European overpopulation, Hurd, as a conference delegate, stood in opposition to the general consensus that emigration was a remedy for overpopulation. Hurd additionally took the opposing view, that underemployment could not be remedied by immigration. He further argued that immigration created problems of assimilation that offset any positive economic benefit from increased migration (ibid., 147).

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 5.

was close to saturation. Further immigration would represent a population overload that could not be directly accommodated by a country itself recovering from Depression-era conditions.

The confrontation between Canadian nationalists and liberal internationalism was played out in the latter years of the 1930s in various international conferences on economic and policy alternatives, conferences addressing the merits of international cooperation. Among these was the International Studies Conference on Peaceful Change, which took place between 1935 and 1937, and which was attended by about 150 scholars and experts in international relations, nominated by their national committees and institutions.¹¹⁰ At this conference, the principles of collective security came up against the doctrine of economic nationalism represented by the Canadian delegates, who included Hurd as well as Henry Angus.¹¹¹ As the delegates sought a solution to the problems of international population pressures through migration, Hurd represented a dissenting voice among the conference delegates.

Among other issues and problems visited by the 1937 conference

¹¹⁰Ibid., 11. Participating delegates included experts from France, the United States, Britain, Poland, Germany, Switzerland, Norway, Rumania, Australia, Hungary, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Brazil, Austria, the Netherlands, Sweden, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria (ibid., 620-633). Representing the C.I.I.A were George Frederick Curtis, Burton S. Keirstead, Malcolm MacPherson, Jack Pickersgill, Robert G. Riddell, Edgar J. Tarr, Robert A. MacKay, and John R. Baldwin as Secretary of the Canadian group.

¹¹¹Hurd participated in a meeting of the International Study Group for Demographic Questions held in Paris on January 22, 1937, as one of seven "international experts" (ibid., 119).

in Paris was the problem of overpopulation, and the related areas of optimum population and migration.¹¹² Leonard J. Cromie, Secretary-Rapporteur of the Conference on Peaceful Change, identified overpopulation as perhaps the single most important demographic concern in the maintaining of peaceful international relations. It also appeared that the conference delegates were unanimous on the significance of overpopulation for the problem of peaceful change.¹¹³ For the delegation of population experts assembled at the conference, the idea of overpopulation as "arithmetical density" had come to be superseded by a definition of overpopulation in relative terms. From the standpoint of migration as a solution to the world economic crisis, this was a critical shift. A country that was not considered "overpopulated" in terms of absolute population levels might be considered overpopulated in terms of a relative standard of living.

In the Canadian memorandum for the conference, Hurd forwarded a "relative and psychological" definition of overpopulation, which he presented as a question of subjective evaluation rather than absolute numbers. According to Hurd,

The immigrant to whom Canada offers opportunities which his native land denies him cannot think of Canada as overpopulated. The Canadian who, perhaps because he possesses special abilities for which no outlet can be found in Canada, migrates to the United States, does so because he believes that, for his purposes, Canada

¹¹²Ibid., 120.

¹¹³Ibid., 121.

is overpopulated.¹¹⁴

Hurd reiterated for the delegates that despite Canada's geographical expanse, the level of development of Canadian natural resources was not nearly sufficient to sustain the extra population. He strongly disagreed with the perception that Canada was underpopulated relative to its maximum carrying capacity, charging that this definition of underpopulation "was totally unacceptable in the United States and the British Dominions."¹¹⁵ He further took issue with an objection raised by British delegate and demographics expert A. M. Carr-Saunders, that a country that had not maintained a steady rate (about 2% annually) of population increase over a course of decades could be seen as failing to maximize its natural wealth.¹¹⁶ On this issue, Hurd appears to have been alone among the delegates, who generally were of the opinion that North America along with the British dominions could stand a "substantial increase" in their general level of population.¹¹⁷

Hurd was also the sole delegate who would not agree that migration was an acceptable solution to overpopulation. Once again, Hurd found himself aligned against Carr-Saunders, a firm proponent

¹¹⁴Quoted in *ibid.*, 123.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, 130.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, 131.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*

of emigration as a remedy for overpopulation.¹¹⁸ For Hurd, migration could not be shown conclusively to relieve overpopulation; in fact, through removing a natural adjustment of the birth rate, Hurd argued, migration could even have the opposite effect and increase the danger of overpopulation. Hurd reiterated his earlier arguments that migration added nothing to the rate of population increase in a comparatively underpopulated country, and therefore could also do nothing to alleviate the problem of underpopulation.¹¹⁹ While the delegates to the conference, in particular Carr-Saunders, disputed the theoretical basis of this argument, Hurd noted that in the Canadian context, any increase of the net population through immigration had been offset by consequent migrations of the Canadian population to the United States. He further noted that "waves of Canadian emigration have followed and not preceded periods of intensive immigration."¹²⁰

However, Hurd stood as a noted exception in his opposition to migration as a potential solution to the problems of overpopulation.¹²¹ Most of the memoranda presented to the conference supported, in the words of Carr-Saunders, the "common-sense view"

¹¹⁸Ibid, 145.

¹¹⁹Ibid.

¹²⁰Ibid., 146.

¹²¹Ibid., 145.

that immigration increased population.¹²² Nor were Hurd's arguments from assimilation part of the general consensus of the conference that seemed to be arrayed against not only the economic nationalism of Canada, but against the position of the United States and the British Dominions as a whole. For instance, most of the European delegates seemed to agree regarding the capacity of North America and Australia to receive additional amounts of immigration.¹²³ Hurd, on the other hand, joined with Australian delegates F. W. Eggleston and G. Packer to urge caution in the matter of further immigration to their respective countries.¹²⁴ In the end, a clear division stood between the European delegates and the representatives of the dominions on the question of migration:

...the tendency of European writers is to take a broad view of the opportunities for migration overseas, whereas the demographic experts of those countries attach a great deal of importance to the obstacles hindering migratory movements and consequently arrive at lower estimates of their potential immigrant-receiving capacity.¹²⁵

It should be noted, though, that the assembled delegates similarly recognized that a number of practical difficulties did stand in the way of an accord on migration and overpopulation.¹²⁶ The delegates did appear of less of an accord, though, on questions

¹²²Ibid., 146.

¹²³Ibid., 147.

¹²⁴Ibid., 148.

¹²⁵Ibid., 149.

¹²⁶Ibid.

of assimilation, or questions relating to the absorption of immigrants by their receiving countries. Here the interests and attitudes of the emigrant countries were clearly in conflict with those of the receiving or host countries. While some of the former, such as Italy and the Soviet Union, wished to retain some measure of control over their nationals, the bias of the receiving countries was to encourage and enforce assimilation and naturalization as quickly as possible.¹²⁷

To this effect, the Paris Conference delegates also referred to studies of the legal restrictions on immigration, notably the volume edited by Norman MacKenzie, The Legal Status of Aliens in Pacific Countries, which contained several articles that were harshly critical of Canadian restriction practices.¹²⁸ Regardless, the position that Hurd presented to the delegates was a desire for an integrated population, and that the presence of large unassimilated bodies presented a threat to the domestic stability of the nation. According to Hurd, this fear was grounded in the Canadian experience, and he cited the difficulty of assimilation in particular of the southern, central and eastern European populations in demonstration.¹²⁹ Hurd had the support again of the Australian

¹²⁷Ibid., 150.

¹²⁸Ibid., 150-51. See also N. A. M. Mackenzie, ed., The Legal Status of Aliens in Pacific Countries, (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1937).

¹²⁹Ibid.

delegation, which contended that "'Problems of assimilation and social control are more difficult under democratic conditions. Hence the growing intensity of exclusion under democracy.'"¹³⁰

On this point the conference reached no consensus. Opposition to Hurd's comments came particularly from Carr-Saunders and from Georges Mauco of the French delegation. Mauco appeared to regard assimilation as a natural, almost automatic, process, with the factors favouring assimilation stronger than those in opposition. Carr-Saunders concurred, stating "in a general way" that goodwill between immigrants and the receiving country should be all that was required to overcome acquired differences.¹³¹ The conference, however, seems to have left the contentious issue of race untouched. The conference, in general, omitted discussion of the physical and psychological characteristics that could presumably present "such serious obstacles to assimilation" that select immigrants could legally be denied entry by the receiving countries.¹³²

In summation, the Paris conference reached no definitive conclusion on the problem of overpopulation, but merely underscored the divisions between the European delegates and the representatives of the nations where isolationism and economic nationalism prevailed. Hurd had occasion to reiterate these views on Canada and

¹³⁰Ibid., 152.

¹³¹Ibid., 153.

¹³²Ibid.

the "immigration problem" in a 1937 address before the Canadian Club of Toronto.¹³³ At this point, the "immigration problem" referred specifically to the question of "limited absorptive capacity." In his address, Hurd raised several points he described as having received "rather less prominence than their importance warrants," but which nonetheless raised questions of "considerable practical significance." The address, in fact, was a summation of the population studies conducted for the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, which, among other things, revisited the question of Canada's absorptive capacity from the post-Depression standpoint.

For Hurd, the thorny question of absorptive capacity included the seemingly slow pace of social assimilation of immigration as well as the "economic absorption of the unemployed".¹³⁴ However, for Hurd it was also a means of revisiting economic precepts that had been in place since the beginning of the First World War. In most cases, the assumptions of the First World War underwent significant remodification in light of changed economic and social conditions, and in light of the new statistical research which had been brought to bear on the problems of immigration, migration, and absorption. However, even in the late 1930s, for Hurd, these assumptions still held up even in light of changing conditions, and confirmed the need for moderation and caution in the application of immigration policy.

¹³³Hurd, "The Immigration Problem," 3.

¹³⁴Ibid., 3.

For instance, Hurd's address contended that a "push" factor rather than a "pull" factor operated in Canada with respect to the reasons for immigration. Citing Carr-Saunders and American economist Harry Jerome as authorities, Hurd presented the hypothesis that earlier immigration to North America had taken place under conditions of relative prosperity rather than as a result of unfavourable economic and social conditions.¹³⁵ Extrapolating on this theme, Hurd suggested that immigration had not been responsible for the general economic prosperity of this time. Rather, immigrants had come over in search of this prosperity, and while they had doubtlessly contributed to favourable economic conditions, it was Hurd's opinion that immigration followed prosperity, and not the other way around.¹³⁶

A subsequent analysis of emigration rates in the last half of the nineteenth century confirmed Hurd's theoretical expectations:

Many years ago Malthus enunciated the principle that prosperity does not depend on population, but population on prosperity. Yet we are in constant danger of forgetting that the first condition of more rapid population growth is not more people, but the ability to make more effective and profitable use of our material environment. The fundamental and basic importance of this truth must be kept in mind if one is to achieve any adequate understanding of the conditions under which immigration may make any permanent contribution to the population.¹³⁷

¹³⁵Ibid., 1.

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷Ibid., 2.

Hurd similarly revisited the question of migration to the United States and its relationship to European immigration, with similar results. While he did reevaluate the idea of a direct correlation between immigration and the subsequent outmigration of "native stock," believing the idea to be simplistic, he nonetheless contended that some causal connection existed between immigration and the "decline of native birth rates".¹³⁸

The bulk of Hurd's speech was addressed to the European "population experts" of the Paris conference as well as to "certain prominent Canadians" who were at odds with these views.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, Hurd argued, most of the immigration that was projected for the near future would likely be of the "pull" variety: it would consist of immigrants seeking a standard of living comparable with Canadian conditions. Under those circumstances, Hurd's address firmly reiterated the idea of Canada's limited absorptive capacity, as well as the inherent principle that Canadians had the right to regulate the character of their population as they saw fit, in keeping with both economic and social requirements. For these assumptions, Hurd offered "no apology," and showed no intention of capitulating to policy alternatives "imposed on us from without."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸Ibid.

¹³⁹Ibid., 4.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., 5.

The ideas represented by Hurd appear to have been influential in Canada, particularly among students of both immigration and international affairs, and were frequently promulgated by the membership of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (C.I.I.A.). These ideas essentially provided a social scientific buttress for a position of immigration restriction, and for the position of isolationism that accompanied Depression-era conditions. For instance, similar views was repeated in 1939 by F. R. Scott, writing under the auspices of the C.I.I.A. Scott noted that recent studies on the effects of immigration had yielded "important, if tentative conclusions". "While it would be dangerous," he wrote,

...to accept all the findings as final and complete they are sufficiently exact to render necessary a revision of the popular idea that every new immigrant means an increase of one in the size of the total population, or that Canada, because of her "vast resources" and "great open spaces", can readily absorb a large number of new immigrants.¹⁴¹

The first assumption concerned the net increase in Canada's population as a direct consequence of immigration; the second concerned Canada's absorptive capacity. Scott addressed the first with a reminder of the "Gresham's law of immigration," by which presumably a net influx of foreign migration resulted in a population exodus of native-born Canadians to the United States. Or, in Scott's words, "the net result was largely a substitution of

¹⁴¹F. R. Scott, Canada Today: A Study of Her National Interests and National Policy, (London and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1939), 18.

foreign-born settlers (including British) for native-born Canadians."¹⁴² To some extent, he wrote, Hurd had statistically demonstrated that if there had been no immigration between 1851 and 1931, the Canadian population would have been as large or even larger than it was at present.¹⁴³

By 1939, the application of "Gresham's Law" had been qualified; it could no longer be suggested that the Canadian exodus to the United States was solely the result of European immigration, as it had been in the early decades of the twentieth century. Regardless, Scott felt, European migration and Canadian outmigration had occurred simultaneously, and a moderate "cause-and-effect" relationship could thereby be postulated.¹⁴⁴ At least, the existence of the correlation could be modified in light of studies examining Canadian-American relations, with less alarmist implications than previously.¹⁴⁵ However, the suggestion was sufficient to counter the argument that immigration would necessarily result in a larger Canadian population base rivalling that of the United States.

Perhaps more significant was the idea of Canada's limited absorptive capacity. The overpopulation of urban centres and a rural labour surplus projected as high as 800,000 provided evidence

¹⁴²Ibid.

¹⁴³Ibid., 19.

¹⁴⁴Ibid.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., 20.

that Canadian spaces could not absorb large numbers of immigrants as believed. For the purposes of immigration policy, this had meant a shift from an emphasis on large-scale immigration to the carefully regulated admission of the "small numbers of skilled workers and carefully selected settlers" necessary to meet Canada's population requirements.¹⁴⁶

Scott reiterated the principle that assimilation in Canada was not meant to imply conformity to either French or English cultural beliefs, nor was assimilation intended to enforce linguistic and cultural conformity.¹⁴⁷ Nonetheless, in the estimation of Scott, as of Hurd, "the assimilation of immigrants, in the form of intermarriage and a mixing of stocks, is slow."¹⁴⁸ Even the gulf between English and French was increasingly worthy of concern: between French and English, argued Scott, lay "an almost impenetrable wall built of religion, race, language, education, history, geography and simple ignorance of one another's point of view."¹⁴⁹ According to Scott, relations between English and French in times of peace were governed by "the spirit of mutual non-interference" which "allows each group to pursue its separate path with little disturbance". However, each new political crisis, including the upcoming crisis

¹⁴⁶Ibid., 23.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., 25.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., 24.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 25.

of foreign policy, only served to underscore the gulf between the two groups.¹⁵⁰

Concerns with the fragility and tenuous character of Canadian national unity were also significant considerations in the ensuing discussion of Canadian foreign policy. According to R. MacKay and E. B. Scott, also writing for the C.I.I.A., the racial homogeneity of a nation's population had a considerable impact upon the nation's foreign policy.¹⁵¹ MacKay and Rogers reiterated concerns raised by the Canadian census about the decline of the British population, the increasing strength of the French Canadian population, and in particular the gains made by the Canadian population of non-British and non-French origin at the expense of the other two groups.¹⁵² They also indicated the dubious nature and progress of the Canadian "melting pot," suggesting the homogenization process had not proceeded very far.

The study by MacKay and Rogers similarly was based on the assumption that while many centralizing and homogenizing influences were at work to ensure Canadian national integrity, Canadian

¹⁵⁰Ibid., 25. Scott also predicted that by 1971, the French Canadian group would have come to numerically dominate the British. Scott refused to speculate fully upon the implications of this statistic, suggesting merely that French Canadians would continue to be concentrated within a single province. Meanwhile, the majority of the non-English immigrant groups would have been assimilated, adding to the "homogeneity of the non-French group" and perhaps balancing the predicted extension of the French influence.

¹⁵¹MacKay and Rogers, Canada Looks Abroad, 50.

¹⁵²Ibid., 51.

national consciousness was weak and tenuous at best.¹⁵³ The authors were primarily cautiously optimistic about Canadian national unity, which they suggested was "steadily advancing among the Canadian people as a whole." Citing a number of "nationalizing influences," including east-west lines of trade and the growth of national commercial and business organizations, the authors seemed to feel that a national consciousness was more or less secure. Yet the authors suggested that their effects were "perhaps less than is to be desired" on the goal of "building a nation out of the heterogeneous groups which together make up the population of Canada."¹⁵⁴

MacKay seemed especially convinced that the two-party system provided a way of integrating ethnic minority groups into the Canadian political system.¹⁵⁵ The Canadian political system, at least federally, had acted as a centrifugal force because of the representative nature of the political parties. History was the accomplishment of the leaders of the two major political parties: "political architects" such as Macdonald and Laurier who had forged great national coalitions, and thus succeeded in creating national unity out of regional, sectional, and religious diversity. Thus, according to MacKay, the chief accomplishment of Sir John A. Macdonald had been the creation of a Liberal-Conservative party that

¹⁵³Ibid., 66.

¹⁵⁴Ibid.

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

included "Roman Catholics and Orangemen, French-speaking and English-speaking, farmers and industrialists, wage earners and employers, debtors and creditors, indeed representatives of all economic and social groups in the new Dominion."¹⁵⁶

The justification for the continuance of the two-party system, in fact, was that the great national coalitions papered over the divisive influences of race, religion, class, and region. According to MacKay,

...the two great political parties have been important influences in promoting co-operation between these various groups, and they have thus helped foster national unity out of the great diversity which characterizes the Canadian people.¹⁵⁷

MacKay and Rogers thus argued that these same divisive influences and "competing loyalties" were also problematic in the sphere of foreign policy. A notable case study had just been written by Elizabeth Armstrong in 1937. Armstrong's The Crisis of Quebec, 1914-1918 was prepared as a case study in how a "particularly powerful" unassimilated minority or religious group "might feel so intensely about a particular issue that it would compel a government to act irrespective of the wishes or feelings of other political groups."¹⁵⁸

Initially prepared as a doctoral dissertation in History for

¹⁵⁶Ibid.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., 67.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., 68.

Columbia University, Armstrong's book applied an assimilative model to present Quebec as an example of a community that had successfully resisted assimilation. Armstrong, an American author, was largely sympathetic to French Canada, presenting French Canadians as an example of the "passive resistance" of a minority groups to absorption by the English-speaking majority. In a later handbook, French Canadian Opinion and the War, Armstrong would argue that the key to national unity was the ability of English and French to surmount their cultural barriers and understand one another. In 1939, though, according to MacKay and Rogers, the opposition of such a large and concentrated religious and cultural group had some portentous overtones; the authors feared the potential for disunity and even civil strife erupting over conscription and other politically contentious questions of foreign policy.

In summary, Hurd can be seen as representing a liberal position on assimilation and immigration that avoided the amalgamationist implications of the "melting-pot" metaphor of assimilation. This liberal perspective incorporated some of the cultural relativism of Franz Boas' ethnology, and attempted to arrive at a reconciliation of culture and biology within the racial origins census. But while rejecting race theory, this position remained tied to anthropological theories of race that liberal scientists in the English-speaking world had not yet rejected or replaced. These theories formed the ethnological basis of the

"racial origins" censuses taken in Canada between 1921 and 1945, and the conclusions and findings of the population work of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics were based largely on these ethnological assumptions.

For the most part, this ethnology was used for liberal purposes, and buttressed a relative degree of tolerance for the newcomer between the wars. But this ethnology was subject to several inconsistencies, notably the lack of a clear definition of "race" or an inability to dispense with the term altogether. This ethnology also provided a scientific justification for a more restrictive immigration policy, especially under Depression-era conditions.

The prevailing international climate of collective security failed to make any significant theoretical impact upon the theories of assimilation produced by Hurd and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Instead, Hurd continued to defend his demographic analysis against pressure from international population scholars to have Canada considered as a "receiving country" for Europe's surplus population. In the face of criticism from these sources, Hurd reiterated his views both on assimilation and the concept of "absorptive capacity". Hurd's impact, meanwhile, may also be noted in liberal scholarship on race relations in the years leading up to the war, particularly among members of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

Between the wars, the scientific study of immigration was also

affected by considerations of economic nationalism. The assumptions of economic nationalism, however, were challenged in the question of migration as relief for international population pressures. Furthermore, as the world moved toward war, an immigration policy based on the precepts of economic nationalism was found ill-prepared to accommodate humanitarian and refugee crises, to override antiforeign public opinion at home and especially to respond to the politics of race.¹⁵⁹

Meanwhile, the dearth of sociological and anthropological analysis in Canada at this time meant the relative absence of a sustained academic challenge to the merging of social assimilation with the principles of economics. Even Carl Dawson, the McGill University sociologist who pioneered studies of assimilation in Canada, accepted the conclusions of Hurd. It would not be until the 1930s that studies of immigrant adjustment and "culture contact" would challenge the claim of Hurd and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics to an impartial scientific and statistical appraisal of the effects of immigration and the progress of assimilation.

¹⁵⁹For example, on the Canadian response to the Jewish refugee crisis, see Irving Abella and Harold Troper, None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948, 3rd ed. with a new epilogue, (Toronto: Lester Publishing, 1991).

Chapter V
Immigration Policy and the Study of Group Settlement

During the twenties and thirties a number of academic research projects reconsidered Canadian immigration policy. Such projects as the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee and the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement studied immigration and assimilation in relation to agricultural settlement and pioneer development. This chapter examines the development in interwar Canada of sociological models of immigrant adjustment and assimilation.¹ The chapter explains the social scientific study of immigrant adjustment in the interwar years, particularly the major collective projects that studied immigration on the Prairies and the reaction to them from other social scientists. In the aftermath of the Depression, sociological study supplemented, and in some cases challenged, the prevailing analytical focus on migration and population growth and the subsequent policy implications.

By the early 1920s, aware of the contrast with the United

¹Historians have already noted the development of such studies in eastern Canada during the Depression years, and further have observed how the west had become a "kind of social clinic" or experimental laboratory for the application of sociological methodology. See eg. Marlene Shore, The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School, and the Origins of Social Research in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), ch. 7; Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900, 2d ed., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 162.

States, Canadians increasingly became conscious of the absence of social science research to study their own immigration and assimilation problems. W. G. Smith's A Study in Canadian Immigration was the first book-length statistical survey of immigration in Canada, although the statistics in the book later were reviewed as faulty.² However, the study of immigration in Canada clearly lagged well behind the United States, and Smith's book for some such as F. N. Stapleford had only underscored the dearth of social science investigations of immigration in Canadian society.³

By the early twentieth century, some Canadian social scientists attempted to redirect the study of immigration toward a more professional and scientific approach. For instance, O. D. Skelton, who lectured regularly on immigration, raised a number of questions on the implications of diversity for Canadian society. His discussion of the language question, for instance, also called for the investigation of "the influence of racial and particularly of language diversity upon social relationships, upon religious life and work, upon trade union organization, upon relations between employers and employed, upon party organizations and methods, and

²Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Economic and Social Research Division, Citizenship, Immigration and Ethnic Groups in Canada: A Bibliography, (Ottawa, 1960), 7. The bibliography appraises A Study in Canadian Immigration as containing "many false conclusions due to faulty use of statistics".

³F. N. Stapleford, "Facts of Canadian Immigration," Canadian Bookman 2, 3 (July 1920), 57-8.

on many other phases of our national life."⁴ Stapleford's review of Smith's A Study of Canadian Immigration additionally raised questions about the psychological adjustment of immigrants that spoke of the importance of further social science investigation in this field.⁵

Despite these considerations, the immediate postwar study of immigration avoided the sociological questions of intergroup relations and immigrant adjustment, and from the outset became linked to the economic and policy questions being raised by immigration and diversity. The study of immigration generally was tied to the question of immigration restriction, and particularly to the development of a selective and scientific immigration policy rather than the implementation of a U.S.-style quota. In 1924, this direction was illustrated by Charlotte Whitton's "Canada and the Immigration Question," which redirected the study of immigration away from racial assimilation and towards economics.⁶ Whitton urged the refocusing of immigration policy on a scientific basis, according to the capacity of the Dominion to absorb the new immigration. Whitton's article emphasized the importance of a

⁴O. D. Skelton, "The Language Issue in Canada," Queen's Quarterly (1917), 441.

⁵Stapleford, "Facts of Canadian Immigration," 57.

⁶Charlotte Whitton, "The Immigration Problem for Canada," Bulletin of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, no. 48, May 1924 (Kingston: The Jackson Press, 1924), 1.

policy of scientific selection as well as of social control.⁷

Whitton's article followed the 1923 international studies of migration conducted by the League of Nations and the United States Social Science Research Council. In 1923, seeking to establish a greater profile for social science in Canada, a number of Canadian social scientists allied themselves with international projects examining the progress of international migrations. These included studies by the League of Nations as well as by the newly formed Social Science Research Council, which had formed a committee on migration research to investigate world migration, internal migration, emigration, and their implications for future immigration policy.⁸ Dominion statistician R. H. Coats, as a participating member, emphasized the statistical investigation of assimilation and the implications of diversity for Canadian political and economic development, and defended a policy of government control of the melting-pot.⁹

Also in 1923, a special Canadian issue of the Annals of the

⁷Ibid., 9.

⁸The origins and objectives of this project are examined in Marlene Shore, The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School, and the Origins of Social Research in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 162-66.

⁹See Robert H. Coats, "The Immigration Program of Canada," in Louis I. Dublin, ed., Population Problems in the United States and Canada, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926), 182-84. Coats distinguished Canadian from American policy by suggesting that "the United States no longer courts the rôle of melting-pot; Canada still does, but she will melt only the raw materials required for nationhood." (Ibid., 183)

American Academy of Political and Social Science illustrated the growing attention, both academic and in policy terms, immigration and population questions were beginning to receive in Canada.¹⁰ Contributions to this issue by Coats, G. E. Marquis, Provincial Statistician in Quebec, G. E. Jackson, Associate Professor of Political Economy at the University of Toronto, former Chief Medical Officer of Immigration Peter Bryce, T. H. Boggs, Professor of Economics at the University of British Columbia, and Robert J. C. Stead, Publicity Director of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, attested to the emphasis on the statistical investigation of population movements and their implications for Canadian development.¹¹

As this dissertation has shown, early sociological research on immigration in the early 1920s tended to be subordinated to the broader issues of policy and compilation of statistical data, and failed to raise questions of intergroup relations and immigrant adjustment. In short, the type of research envisioned earlier by Skelton and Stapleford did not materialize. In part, the emphasis

¹⁰W. P. M. Kennedy, ed., "Social and Economic Conditions in the Dominion of Canada," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 107 (May 1923).

¹¹R. H. Coats, "The Growth of Population in Canada," in *ibid.*, 1-6; G. E. Marquis, "The French Canadians in the Province of Quebec," in *ibid.*, 7-12; G. E. Jackson, "Emigration of Canadians to the United States," in *ibid.*, 25-34; P. H. Bryce, "The Immigrant Settler," in *ibid.*, 35-44; T. H. Boggs, "Oriental Immigration," in *ibid.*, 50-5; Robert J. C. Stead, "Canada's Immigration Policy," in *ibid.*, 56-62.

on questions of policy may have reflected the efforts of the fledgling social science community in Canada to attain professional credibility through an association with the objectives of government.¹² In part, this emphasis may also have reflected the relative strength of political economy as a discipline, in contrast to the lack of attention and professional recognition given to sociological research in all but a few select universities and courses. Instead, the efforts of students of immigration were poured into the statistical compilation and analysis of questions relating to assimilation and the Canadian absorptive capacity.

Under Depression economic conditions, immigration was virtually suspended until the middle of the decade. The attention of the social science community turned to the changes within Canadian society brought about by the new non-British immigration, and was focussed especially on the western part of the country. In the early interwar years, immigration studies continued to be dominated by the perspective of political economy and history, and examined the relationship between immigration and population growth from a perspective initially influenced by the biological approach of Malthusianism. Based on Thomas Malthus' 1803 Essay on Population, the "Malthusian school" regarded society as a biological

¹²Shore, The Science of Social Redemption, 166.

organism with a finite capacity for population growth.¹³ A level of growth beyond an "optimum capacity" led invariably to pressure on economic resources and an expulsion of the excess population, the principle that underlay the "Gresham's Law" of immigration popular in Canada prior to the First World War.

By the onset of the Depression, the traditional economic analyses of migration and net population outflow had become modified from those prevailing before the war. For one, the previous biological emphasis had been reevaluated, and had been supplanted by statistical studies describing the historical course of population movements.¹⁴ Furthermore, with the centralization of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canadian scholarship on immigration by the early 1930s tended to concentrate on the immediate exigencies of statistical analysis and tabulation. In terms of future policy, the statistical investigation of immigration and population movements was a high priority, although, in the opinion of both Gilbert Jackson and Arthur Lower, these studies would not be enough to satisfy anyone with an interest in the social phenomena behind the

¹³For a statement of the Malthusian school and the study of population capacity as a social and economic problem, see the Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources, Report of the Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement, (Regina: King's Printer, 1930), Appendix II, "Biological and Other Laws Governing Increase of Population," 52-3.

¹⁴Eg. Gilbert Jackson and Roland Wilson, "Migration Movements in Canada, 1868-1925," Canadian Historical Review 13, 2 (June 1932): 157-161; A. R. M. Lower, "The Growth of Canada's Population in Recent Years," Canadian Historical Review 13, 2 (June 1932): 431-435.

statistics.¹⁵

Policy, in fact, tended to be the main concern of those undertaking the statistical investigation of migration in Canada, spearheaded by the reorganized Dominion Bureau of Statistics. R. H. Coats' chapter on Canada in the 1931 study International Migrations, according to Lower, "displayed the usual emphasis on policy," and attempted once again to calculate the relationship between immigration and population growth in Canada.¹⁶ Matters such as naturalization, crime, illiteracy, intermarriage, and other aspects of the social implications of population movements received only nominal comment in the study.¹⁷ Lower further hinted broadly that articles such as Roland Wilson's for the Canadian Historical Review, attempting to provide historical estimates of migration for the period between 1868 and 1925, would have been copied and sent to "those who influence or shape Canadian policy."¹⁸

Lower himself appeared to be addressing those same policy-makers. A careful student of the relationship between migration and population growth, Lower produced his own statistical analysis which appeared to confirm the operation of a "Gresham's Law" of

¹⁵Jackson, "Migration Movements in Canada," 157; Lower, "The Growth of Canada's Population," 431.

¹⁶R. H. Coats, "Canada," in Walter F. Willcox, ed., International Migrations. Volume II: Interpretations, (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1931), 123-42.

¹⁷Lower, "The Growth of Canada's Population," 432.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 432.

immigration: or, that Canada was capable of absorbing only a "comparatively small" proportion of the immigration that came through Canadian gates. Between 1921 and 1931, Lower placed the net increase of the Canadian population resulting from immigration at 254,069--a small portion of the 1,232,318 immigrants who entered Canada within that same decade.¹⁹ The apparent net loss of 978,249 through migration to the United States or elsewhere confirmed for Lower that "[o]nce more has the immigration mountain laboured and brought forth its mouse."²⁰

It was clear that population and migration studies were written in the interwar years with a view to influencing policy, and particularly towards a cautious policy of restriction. The study of emigration was intended to confirm that rather than a net increase of the Canadian population, immigration produced a corresponding outflow to the United States that offset any net population gains. The effect was to try to influence policy away from the received wisdom of filling up empty Canadian lands with an immigrant population, and towards the idea of a limited absorptive capacity: the idea that Canadian lands and resources could sustain only a finite proportion of immigration.²¹ Any immigration beyond that point constituted a surplus which would be expelled or

¹⁹Ibid., 434.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹See, for instance, Gilbert Jackson, "Migration Movements in Canada," 160.

contribute to unemployment levels. At least for Gilbert Jackson, professor of political economy at the University of Toronto, the facts of emigration had confirmed that the previous faith in unlimited immigration had by the 1930s failed to "provide Canada with a sufficiency of taxpayers, purchasers, passengers, and labourers for her needs."²² By 1931, this was the position that had also been assumed by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and efforts were made within the social science community to influence policy accordingly.²³

Political economy, though, had failed to examine the social and historical as well as economic effects of population movement. Between the wars, considerable sociological effort was subsequently poured into the study of immigrant communities themselves. Led by such research centres in sociology as McGill University and the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee, these studies were conducted in connection with the interdisciplinary investigations of western Canada's pioneer fringe in the late 1920s and 1930s. To the study of immigration, sociology brought a focus on immigrant communities and immigrant adjustment that had been missing from the previous statistical investigations of population change. However, in several cases, these sociological investigations went hand in hand

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

with the existing statistical research, and continued to buttress the case for a cautious and restrictive immigration policy, particularly during the Depression.

Assimilation within pioneer conditions was still considered to be of the utmost importance, and the discussion of assimilation also had policy implications. There was continued support for a restrictive immigration policy that would regulate the flow of immigration until the diverse cultural and racial elements in these provinces had been assimilated. W. Burton Hurd in 1930, in an address to the Canadian Political Science Association, voiced this opinion when he stated that "the West should no longer be flooded with a stream of immigrants which it is incapable of assimilating." He added that reducing the immigration of non-assimilable types from central and eastern Europe was "more than justified" by the current situation.²⁴

The scientific study of assimilation and adaptation proceeded with the investigation of the frontier settlement region of western Canada. The study of the pioneer regions of western Canada reflected concerns with immigration and assimilation. Various scientific studies of immigration and settlement accompanied the decentralization of control of natural resources, and the expanded responsibility thereby ceded to the provinces. One of the most

²⁴W. Burton Hurd, "The Relation of the Origins of Immigrants to the Settlement of the Country," Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association, 2 (1930), 57.

significant studies at this time, Carl Dawson's Group Settlement, was produced in connection with the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee, a committee formed in 1928 in conjunction with the American Geographical Society to investigate pioneer conditions in the Canadian prairie region.²⁵

Beginning in the late 1920s and extending into the 1930s, considerable scholarly and research effort was directed to the study of pioneer and settlement conditions in the prairie provinces. In large measure, this was attendant upon the transfer of control of natural resources to the prairie provinces. This research was additionally related to international interest in the development of the frontier regions of Canada, as expressed by the American Geographical Society and various international organizations studying pioneer conditions.

Scientific interest in Canada's "pioneer belt" came about in the late 1920s, primarily as the result of an initiative of American geographer Dr. Isaiah Bowman and the Social Science Research Council.²⁶ In August 1927, Bowman and an advisory committee of the Social Science Research Council invited three Canadians, W. J. Rutherford, D. A. McArthur and W. A. Mackintosh, to consult with the

²⁵Carl Dawson and the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee are also examined in Shore, The Science of Social Redemption, ch. 5, "Frontiers of Settlement," 162-94.

²⁶W. A. Mackintosh, Director of Research, Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee, "Supplementary Report on Canadian Pioneer Belts Project for the Year 1929," R. C. Wallace Papers, 68-1, University of Alberta Archives, p. 1.

Committee on the possibility of Canadian participation in the pioneer belts project. In May 1928, the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee was formed at a conference in Ottawa to carry out the Canadian portion of the study, with Rutherford, Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture at the University of Saskatchewan, named as Chairman and Director of Research.²⁷ "Assurance of sympathetic consideration" was received from Prime Minister Mackenzie King at this time.²⁸

From there, the project was over a year in getting under way. Upon his appointment to the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on the Grain Trade, Rutherford resigned as chair, leaving the project suspended for up to ten months. W. A. Mackintosh took over as the new Director of Research in February 1929.²⁹ It was still not until May 1929 that the Committee was reorganized, with the addition of two new members, Dawson and R. W. Murchie, head of the Department of Economics and Sociology of Manitoba Agricultural College. The reorganized committee also included Rutherford, D. A. McArthur, head of the History Department at Queen's University, Chester Martin, head of the Department of History at the University of Toronto, and R. W. Wallace, president of the University of Alberta and former professor of geology with the University of Manitoba. Wallace was

²⁷Ibid., 1-2.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

named to replace D. A. McGibbon, who resigned after being appointed to the Board of Grain Commissioners for Canada.³⁰

The work of the Committee was divided into five sections: physical, agricultural economics, general economics, history, and sociology.³¹ The connection with immigration research and population studies was evident from the outset. In 1929, W. W. Swanson of the University of Saskatchewan was drawn briefly away from the general economics subcommittee to begin work as chairman of the newly appointed Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration.³² Meanwhile, the historical committee, chaired by Chester Martin, was to spend considerable time on the study of immigration and immigration policy, with movements of population, immigration, land policies, and railway policies named as the "most essential trends to follow".³³

McArthur had been scheduled to produce a monograph on the region's post-1890 history and recent immigration policies. The volume, which never materialized, was intended to accompany Chester Martin's examination of the region's early history and land policies.³⁴ The proposed study would have been a historical

³⁰Ibid., 2.

³¹Ibid., 2-3.

³²Ibid., 8.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

investigation of immigration policy, the mechanism for recruiting immigrants, and the results of immigration policy, and would have drawn conclusions regarding the relationship between immigration and population growth.³⁵ It was anticipated that the historical study of the region would complement such recently or soon-to-be-published monographs as England's The Central European Immigrant in Canada, Carrother's British Immigration, and J. B. Hedges' work on C.P.R. land policy.³⁶

In contrast, the sociological studies of the region were more experimental, in light of the relative dearth of sociologists on the prairies and the need therefore for the accumulation of relevant data.³⁷ Carl Dawson, professor of sociology at McGill University, directed the study of immigration and settlement for the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee. Dawson, as chair of the sociological subcommittee, spent two months in western Canada both in search of sources of relevant data and developing a suitable research method. It was decided that Dawson would focus his efforts on two areas with "some sort of an autonomy and unity" of their own. The Carrot River Valley and Peace River Valley areas were subsequently selected, the

³⁵Minutes of the meetings of the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, January 6-7, 1933, p. 2. R. C. Wallace Papers, 3/2/6/3-2, University of Alberta Archives.

³⁶Mackintosh, "Supplementary Report on Canadian Pioneer Belts Project for the year 1929," 9.

³⁷Ibid.

former in a relatively advanced stage of agricultural and social development, the latter in a fairly early stage. The Carrot River Valley had the added advantage of having been the subject of an earlier farm management study by Dr. William Allen of the University of Saskatchewan, making it convenient to supplement the data of this study with sociological research.³⁸

Dawson joined the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee in the spring of 1929, and at one of its earliest meetings outlined a proposal for the sociological investigation of "racial groups, social institutions and community organization."³⁹ In the absence of previous sociological studies, Dawson's studies were experimental, and were carried out in consultation with agricultural economists and rural sociologists from the University of Wisconsin and the University of Minnesota. The methodology used was that of the local survey. For some months, a program of collecting standard of living data from a sample of fifty farm families was worked out and followed, while businesses, schools, hospitals, churches, and other forms of social organization were studied "in a preliminary way".⁴⁰ In some cases, the investigators travelled to the fringe settlements to conduct their research. These methods were applied for the region around Melfort, Saskatchewan, as well as the Peace

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

River district.⁴¹

Key "racial areas" and other selected communities were identified for further study and research. Select areas were singled out for study as representing "a particular race or mixture of races"; the purpose was to compare their agricultural achievements in different types of agricultural areas, and at different stages in their development. These communities were also selected to compare the success within "racial areas" of communal forms of farm organization versus individualistic farm operations.⁴²

Dawson's investigations also incorporated data compiled by W. Burton Hurd for the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. From the beginning, Hurd was an integral part of the project. While not a member of the committee, Hurd, who spent his summers working for the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, compiled and analyzed the population statistics of the Carrot River-Peace River area, and identified questions to be answered by the local survey. Throughout the project, Dawson continued to rely on the assistance of Hurd in all statistical studies, while Everett Hughes of McGill University developed population pyramids for various areas in the western provinces.⁴³

The result was the publication in 1936 of Group Settlement:

⁴¹Ibid., 9-10.

⁴²Ibid., 13.

⁴³Ibid, 9-10.

Ethnic Communities in Western Canada as the seventh volume of the Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series.⁴⁴ On its own, though, Group Settlement stands as a study of the "bloc settlements" of the pioneer belt, as well as one of the first investigations of immigration adaptation and adjustment. In a nutshell, Dawson concluded that the groups with which the volume was concerned "have formed 'cultural islands' which have retarded the progress of assimilation, but in the process they have made important material and spiritual contributions to the wider community about them."⁴⁵ In contrast, though, the study was about groups, not "foreigners," and moreover contrasted pioneer settlement as a particular type of settlement with a "normal type of individualist settlement". In this context, Dawson contended that the group settlement was actually an integral part of the assimilation process on the pioneer belt.

Group Settlement was a study of segregation, contrasted with the model of individual settlement through which the Canadian West was supposed to have been settled. It was also a study of the breakdown and assimilation of segregated communities through the processes of secularization. In a series of case studies involving Doukhobor, Mennonite, Mormon, German Catholic, and French Canadian

⁴⁴C. A. Dawson, Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, Limited, at St. Martin's House, 1936).

⁴⁵Foreword by W. A. Mackintosh, Group Settlement, ix.

settlements, Dawson examined the gradual assimilation or "transformation" of homogeneous into heterogeneous groups through the influence of "Canadian conditions of mobility". He argued that a tremendous burden was being placed both on Canadian resources and Canadian patience while the process of assimilation was taking place. However, the process was still seen as the result of the operation of "natural forces," so that in the end the assimilation of rural ethnic groups could be taken for granted.⁴⁶

A sectarian model developed by Robert Park provided the basis of Dawson's analysis of the five groups under examination.⁴⁷ Each group reflected varying degrees of individualism in combination with communal solidarity, but the groups were selected on the basis of their homogeneity and desire to maintain their culturally distinctive way of life. The secular invasion of these groups, when peaceful, was inevitable, and resulted in the accommodation of individualist values with a lingering sense of community solidarity. In short, Dawson asserted, "Sectarians of whatever type tend to make their peace with the plain facts of the extremely competitive society which has surrounded and invaded their colonies."⁴⁸

The settlement of these groups was contrasted with the pattern of individual pioneer settlement developed in the sixth volume of

⁴⁶Dawson, Group Settlement, xx.

⁴⁷Ibid., xiii.

⁴⁸Ibid., xvii.

the Canadian Frontiers of Settlement series. This form of settlement was characterized by an "experimental individualism" peculiar to the frontier. Over time, these heterogeneous communities evolved a certain level of social solidarity and local institutions, but the process was difficult and painstakingly slow.

In contrast, Dawson's model communities illustrated that in pioneer conditions, the presence of communal solidarity facilitated and assisted the settlement process. Group settlement enhanced residential stability, which led to increased cooperative endeavour and enhanced "productive efficiency" within the resident groups.⁴⁹ In short, the joint cooperative efforts within the community enabled the survival and eventual prosperity of the individual settlers within the community, providing a safety net generally unavailable within the conditions of competitive individualism. "Productive efficiency" within these communities remained the norm despite "minor exceptions," related to the lag in standard of living between many of these groups and other Canadian communities.⁵⁰

The communitarian settlement also was seen to facilitate social adjustment, through obvious factors such as the alleviation of loneliness and the comparatively rapid development of institutions and services.⁵¹ According to Dawson, however, problems arose

⁴⁹Ibid., 377.

⁵⁰Ibid., 378.

⁵¹Ibid., 379.

in the relationship of the sectarian groups with their more secular neighbours. Dawson's conclusions asserted that suspicion within the sectarian communities, along with the antagonism of their neighbours, had an alienating effect on members of these communities. In consequence, Dawson argued, government representatives attempting to extend educational, homestead, and other regulations within these communities met with antipathy and resistance.⁵² Efforts to extend external communications, marketing, transportation, and banking systems to these communities similarly met opposition. The result was a costly and lengthy delay in the administration of these services. The incorporation of ethnic blocs into the prairie region therefore "placed a heavy burden on all its inhabitants."⁵³

The conclusion of Dawson's study was that "natural," secular assimilative forces--meaning contact with the surrounding nonsectarian community--would invariably break down the isolation of the communal societies and bring about their integration into the social and economic structure of the prairies.⁵⁴ In short, Dawson regarded assimilation as the inevitable outcome of contact between sectarian settlements and the individualistic, competitive community which surrounded them. The public schools, participation in the labour market, the railway, contact with settlers of different views

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid., 380.

⁵⁴Ibid.

and outlook were ways in which the diffusion of the ethnic communities was taking place. The process, Dawson wrote, could be facilitated by the "wise administration" of school and governmental regulations. This contained an admonishment against the imposition of a one-sided assimilation, based on fear and suspicion of the communities in question. Those "who have attempted to hasten this assimilation by ill-chosen means, have unwittingly retarded it by arousing the self-consciousness and recalling the receding solidarity of these colonies."⁵⁵

Dawson's study of immigration adjustment was an important departure from the previous trend of statistical investigation of the relationship between immigration and population growth.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, Dawson stressed immigrant adaptation to the model of an individualistic, competitive Canadian community, and argued that the pressures of this community would invariably break down the barriers of communitarianism and sectarianism surrounding immigrant "culture islands". While this model led to an optimistic appraisal of the eventual assimilation of the "bloc settlements," it also tended to examine assimilation from the point of view of perceived policy and population needs, and largely did not address the persistence and autonomy of group life. The implications for policy

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶See, for instance, Jackson and Wilson, "Migration Movements in Canada, 1868-1925"; A. R. M. Lower, "The Growth of Canada's Population in Recent Years".

of Dawson's research continued to be the restriction of the net inflow of immigration, to facilitate the process of assimilation and immigrant adjustment.

For the year 1930, the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee had planned six social surveys to be carried out in conjunction with a succession of agricultural surveys. The surveys included community studies in both settled and pioneering "fringe" areas, and surveys of "typical families" in both types of communities. However, the Committee additionally paid close attention to recently published, or soon-to-be-published, studies of immigration and settlement that were unrelated to the frontier settlement project.

One of these studies was being conducted for the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene by a former student of Dawson's, Charles H. Young.⁵⁷ The publication of Young's The Ukrainian Canadians, edited by Helen Y. Reid of the Immigration Division of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene, actually preceded Dawson's by five years, and stands as the first sociological study of assimilation and immigrant group adjustment.⁵⁸ For the purposes of the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee, Young's study was important for its examination of a "particular racial group," and more so because, according to the Canadian Pioneer

⁵⁷Mackintosh, "Supplementary Report on Canadian Pioneer Belts Project," 12.

⁵⁸Charles H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation, ed. by Helen Y. Reid, (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons Limited, 1931).

Problems Committee, "the Ukrainians are the most difficult of racial groups" in terms of assimilation.⁵⁹

The Ukrainian Canadians was also a pioneering study in assimilation, carried out in connection with the Canadian National Council of Mental Hygiene. Unlike earlier studies carried out by that organization, The Ukrainian Canadians drew optimistic conclusions regarding the prospect of assimilation. Not only that, but Young further emphasized the importance of Ukrainian groups and institutions in the assimilation process, including the Ukrainian Orthodox church and the Ukrainian language press.⁶⁰

For Young, assimilation meant an appeal to "the solidarity of the racial group".⁶¹ Young emphasized that the group, in the process of the transition from the old cultural environment to the new, was "indispensable to the welfare of the immigrant" after arrival.⁶² With American sociologists Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller (Old World Traits Transplanted) and W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki (The Polish Peasant),⁶³ Young concurred that the cultural

⁵⁹Mackintosh, "Supplementary Report on Canadian Pioneer Belts Project," 12.

⁶⁰Young, The Ukrainian Canadians, 177.

⁶¹Ibid., 175.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted, (New York and London: Harper, 1921); William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: Monographs of an Immigrant Group, (Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press, [c1918-1920]).

traits of the immigrant group were indispensable to assimilation.

Young cited The Polish Peasant in illustration of this point:

"Until methods are found of completely incorporating the immigrant into the intimate life of American society and making him take part in all lines of American culture his life-organisation will depend on the efficiency of the Polish-American structure, and any weakness of the latter must inevitably manifest itself in a personal decadence of its members."⁶⁴

Young concluded, therefore, that Ukrainian nationalism was not "anti-Canadian," and served an important purpose in immigrant adjustment. Further, the direct consequence of depriving immigrants of any origin of their cultural bearings was immigrant maladjustment, reflected in increased convictions for criminal activity, and attributed to "social disorganization." Increases in criminal activity, Young concluded, provided firm evidence of social disorganization, or the failure of the transition from one culture to the next.⁶⁵

Young's study of assimilation was therefore the first in Canada to employ the methods and conclusions of early race relations studies in the United States, involving the role of the immigrant community in facilitating assimilation. With Thomas and Znaniecki, Young acknowledged that "cultures develop their own patterns," and recognized the significance of these patterns for immigrant

⁶⁴Ibid., 176.

⁶⁵Ibid., 272-73.

adjustment.⁶⁶ This approach also seemed to confirm the diversifying of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene away from its earlier hereditarianism.⁶⁷ The study further expressed confidence in the successful adaptation of the Ukrainian settlers to Canadian pioneer conditions.⁶⁸ The approach continued, however, to assume that rapid assimilation was imperative, and tended to support a policy of careful selection and restriction of the Ukrainian settlers on the grounds of their "relative isolation" and "differences in culture".⁶⁹

At the same time the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee was in the process of carrying out its lengthy project of producing several volumes regarding the prairie region, the province of Saskatchewan released its own scientific study of immigration in prairie conditions independently of the Committee. The Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement was organized in January 1930, for the purpose of investigating immigration and land settlement policies. Chaired by University of Saskatchewan economist W. W. Swanson, the Royal Commission included P. H. Shelton as vice-chairman, and commissioners T. Johnson, G. C. Neff, and A.

⁶⁶Banton, The Idea of Race, 107.

⁶⁷Ibid., 103.

⁶⁸Young, The Ukrainian Canadians, 308.

⁶⁹Ibid.

R. Reusch. Between January 3 and June 3, 1930, the Commission held forty public hearings throughout Saskatchewan, with an additional hearing in Winnipeg. The results of these public hearings were published in 1930 as the Report of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement.⁷⁰

The pioneer environment and the economic and agricultural needs of the west were the chief concerns of the 1930 Royal Commission. Prior to the creation of the Royal Commission, a wave of anti-immigrant sentiment in Saskatchewan had contributed to the defeat of the incumbent Liberal government, returning the coalition government led by Conservative party leader J. T. M. Anderson, formerly Saskatchewan's Director of Education for New Canadians. While the popular electoral mood in Saskatchewan in the late 1920s inclined towards nativism, the report of the Commission did not tend to mirror the restrictionist or anti-immigrant atmosphere of much of the province.

Instead, the spirit of the inquiry reflected a "general opinion that immigration and settlement policies required to be adjusted to meet changing conditions." These changing conditions included the end of the availability of agricultural lands for settlement. Furthermore, they reflected the impending decentralization and transfer of control of natural resources from federal

⁷⁰Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources, Report of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement, (Regina: King's Printer, 1930).

to provincial governments. Also acknowledged were federal announcements to the effect that while control over immigration was a federal responsibility, future drafts of immigration policy were to be determined with consideration to the views and requirements of the provinces concerned.⁷¹

The general question addressed by the commission members concerned whether or not "continued immigration, with its resultant increase in population, can be considered desirable on social and economic grounds."⁷² Of the numerous recommendations raised by the Report, the central recommendation was that "at least some inflow" of immigration must be allowed to continue, to maintain the rural population requirements of Saskatchewan.⁷³ In general, the commission concluded for several reasons that "it is desirable that no unnecessary checks be placed on population increase by immigration."⁷⁴ Nonetheless, the implementation of some "checks and controls" on the flow of immigration was recommended by the commission.⁷⁵

The reason for these checks and controls, the Report indicated, was not racial, nor related exclusively to assimilation, but

⁷¹Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources, Report of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement, 11.

⁷²Ibid., 17.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid., 18.

⁷⁵Ibid., 19.

related to optimum population capacity.⁷⁶ According to the Report, the province of Saskatchewan had been experiencing a net outflow of population from the rural areas. The Report related the failure of the province to retain its natural increase of population directly to policies which, in the past, had artificially stimulated immigration "in excess of natural requirements."⁷⁷ Under conditions of excess population, the standard of living in the province had declined, partly induced by competition for scarce resources. Where there was an excess of population, the inevitable result would be an "economic struggle for survival," in which groups willing to accept lower standards of living would replace those seeking a higher.⁷⁸ According to the commission, this struggle had in fact taken place.⁷⁹

The commission therefore recommended control of immigration levels. The intention of the Report was to establish "certain principles of control, intended to provide for the maximum freedom of immigration, limited by the legitimate desire of the people of this province to maintain a general standard of living satisfactory to their ambitions."⁸⁰ In short, a tradeoff was to occur between

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Ibid.

the population structure of the province and the ambition of maintaining a relatively high standard of living, particularly in the rural areas of the province. The commissioners indicated that this was not a racial problem; nonetheless, they conceded that the higher standards of living preferred in Saskatchewan in some cases greatly exceeded those of many of the immigrant groups entering the province.⁸¹

The Report assumed the existence of "biological and economic laws governing the relations between population and prosperity," but had departed somewhat from the biological determinism of the Malthusianism of previous years.⁸² The Report retained the concept of an "optimum economic level of population" in any community. That optimum level was defined as the level of population that would permit the community to maintain a higher economic status, or an optimum standard of living.⁸³ In an appendix to the Report, the commission steered clearly away from Malthusian principles, instead relying on a study by Dr. R. Pearl, "The Biology of Population Growth," to interpret provincial trends in population. In general,

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid., 66.

⁸³An optimum standard of living was defined by the Report as a surplus of income that went beyond subsistence, and that enabled the earner and his family to participate in the "amenities of life common to the community," including ownership of a car and a radio. The earner would also be able to put savings aside to maintain a general level of comfort after the period of employment was past, and provide an inheritance for the succeeding generation (54).

the Report's examination of the density of population in the province concluded that the rate of increase of population in the province was "rapidly slowing down."⁸⁴

The Report contended that the optimum rate of population could be maintained not necessarily by immigration, but by "major changes in the economic system." These changes involved "a readjustment of our land settlement policies so as to ensure greater likelihood of success to the settler."⁸⁵ The Report rejected the idea of using immigration to maintain an optimum population rate. Immigration could assist such an increase, but under carefully controlled conditions. In short, immigration needed to be controlled to prevent the possible effect of a reduced standard of living described earlier. To some extent, a "Gresham's Law" of immigration was still operative in the Report.⁸⁶

The Report's section on assimilation indicated that the integration of European immigrant groups did not inevitably pose a significant problem for the province. The "Malthusian law," the Report indicated, had few implications as yet for the province of Saskatchewan with respect to overpopulation. This situation, however, was conditional upon the province's ability to control and regulate its population flow. The province faced other significant

⁸⁴Ibid., 64.

⁸⁵Ibid., 64.

⁸⁶Ibid., 67.

problems relating to the population structure, and the adaptation of diverse groups to a new and unfamiliar landscape. To add to the complexity of this adaptation, the landscape of Saskatchewan was in flux. According to the Report, the plasticity of the pioneer environment presented problems of adaptation and assimilation that were unique to the pioneer region:

Into the province have been poured many thousands of immigrants representing the major races of Europe. They have carried with them their languages, their religions, and their social ideals. Necessarily they have been plunged into a new complex of social, economic, legal and political activities, based upon the British pattern in part, and perhaps in even greater degree upon the pattern created by a pioneer environment.⁸⁷

The pioneer environment, according to the Report, was "an unique factor in social causation." It was of "major importance" that the province was in this stage. The pioneer stage was described as plastic, dynamic, changing in response to rapid scientific and technological innovation in agriculture and industry, with significant social repercussions.⁸⁸ The social implications of these changes rendered the process of assimilation for the newer immigrant populations more complex. The Report observed that it was "not surprising if, at times, they find it hard to fit themselves into the new social and economic patterns," and outlined several practical difficulties faced by immigrants adapting to the new

⁸⁷Ibid., 192.

⁸⁸Ibid., 192-193.

economic and social conditions.⁸⁹

The Report remained optimistic regarding the successful adaptation of non-British groups to the Saskatchewan environment. It was added that "we desire only those racial elements that can make a contribution to our common citizenship, and keep alive the proud traditions and high respect for law which have characterised at all times the British race."⁹⁰ At the same time, the Report noted a higher rate of naturalization in Saskatchewan than in the other prairie provinces, denoting a "mental adaptation to our social environment of the highest significance."⁹¹ Credit was given by the Report to the significant role played by education in the social control of immigration.⁹²

The authors of the Report expressed reservations about group settlements or "blocks". They found both good features and "grave objections" to the development of group settlements. The authors indicated at this time that they felt group settlements had a significant role to play in assisting immigrants to adjust to the new environment, and at the same time contributed to the richness of the Canadian cultural landscape. Reference was made to Darwin's theory of the "three main steps in social development--namely,

⁸⁹Ibid., 193.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Ibid., 194.

⁹²Ibid.

diversity, adaptation and progress." The authors concurred that the ethnic settlements did indeed bring diversity and richness to the community, and speculated that this diversity provided greater opportunities for contact with the new environment. In turn, this made for more rapid economic progress.⁹³ On the other hand, it was feared that group settlements turned into "blocks," and inhibited social contact with the community, the very contact necessary for the development of citizenship.⁹⁴

The Saskatchewan Report essentially concluded that some continued flow of immigration was still required to maintain optimum population levels. However, this could not be the same volume of immigration that was initially responsible for the peopling of the west. Furthermore, the Report recommended changes in land settlement policies rather than increased immigration as the solution to the province's population outflow. On the other hand, the Report was optimistic regarding the adaptation of immigrants to the pioneer environment, even while recognizing the peculiar social and economic difficulties this environment presented for the pioneer immigrant.

In total, while it recommended the careful control of immigration, the Report concluded that "solid progress" had been made in Saskatchewan, in both the areas of immigration and

⁹³Ibid., 197.

⁹⁴Ibid., 198.

settlement. From the evidence, the authors of the Report concluded that assimilation "is within our conscious control." That is, government and social control were "merely a problem in invention to determine what is best so that we can adapt our policies to the desired end." Immigration was "at bottom a problem in adaptation." On the other hand, such an adaptation was "not a one-sided process." It was important, the authors concluded, that Canadians should adapt themselves to the best that immigrants brought from their homelands, just as it was important for the newcomers to adapt "to what is worthwhile in our economic and cultural life."⁹⁵

Despite having heard evidence from such anti-immigrant and nativist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Native Sons of Canada, the Report had not concluded by recommending a quota system, nor by supporting the immediate cessation of immigration.⁹⁶ Rather, the Report continued to emphasize the need for immigration within carefully circumscribed limits commensurate with an optimum population capacity, beyond which a preferred standard of living could not be maintained. In part, these conclusions were suited to the beginnings of the economic slowdown. In general, though, the Report had adapted the existing economic and sociological research on optimum population capacity, assimilation, and pioneer settlement. The conclusions of the Report mainly reflected the

⁹⁵Ibid., 199.

⁹⁶Opinions presented by the Native Sons of Canada, Regina Assembly, and the Ku Klux Klan, *ibid.*, 202-04.

general mood of social science caution on immigration policy, rather than the nativism of popular opinion. The authors of the Report had similarly arrived at the conclusion that if quotas were an inappropriate policy from the standpoint of Canadian values, then some measure of social control of immigration was nonetheless necessary through a nonpartisan, impartial, scientific immigration policy. Again, though, this analysis was similarly tied to policy objectives rather than taking into consideration such sociological issues as immigrant adjustment and intergroup relations.

Under the direction of Carl Dawson, research on immigration was simultaneously extended into the Montreal area in the mid- to late-1930s. McGill University in the 1930s was the centre of studies relating to the social and economic adjustment of immigration in metropolitan Montreal.⁹⁷ The work of Dawson and his students and colleagues was an extension of the research of Robert Park into assimilation and immigrant adjustment, and reached conclusions not dissimilar to Park's. At the same time, the conclusions arrived at by Dawson and his students through their Montreal-area research began to provoke a critical response from some of their colleagues by the mid-1930s.

One important and provocative study, The British Immigrant, was written by Lloyd G. Reynolds, a graduate student of Dawson's at

⁹⁷Shore, The Science of Social Redemption, ch. 7: 224-61.

McGill University's Department of Sociology. In 1932, Reynolds had participated in the field research compiled for Dawson's Group Settlement, preparing the study's preliminary report on the Mennonite community.⁹⁸ At McGill, Reynold's thesis was prepared under the direction of Dawson and Leonard C. Marsh, also with the Department of Sociology. In 1935, the thesis was published as The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada, with an introduction by Dawson.⁹⁹

Reynold's examination of immigration was a thorough case study of the adaptation and adjustment to Canadian social and economic conditions of British immigrants, emphasizing the role of the immigrant group in facilitating assimilation to the Canadian environment.¹⁰⁰ The study aimed to address the policy of encouraging British immigration from the sociological perspective gained at McGill. The study was almost entirely a Depression-era document; it focussed on the unemployment problem among British immigrants in Montreal, sought its causes in immigrant adjustment or maladjustment, and proposed a remedy in a scientifically regulated immigration policy.¹⁰¹ However, The British Immigrant additionally differed

⁹⁸Dawson, Group Settlement, xii.

⁹⁹Lloyd G. Reynolds, The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1935).

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 2.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

from previous studies in being an analysis of human migration, and took issue with both immigration policy and the direction of the preceding social science examinations of immigration.

Reynolds took issue with an immigration policy he termed "unscientific," or that was based largely on the wishes of the corporate and transportation interests involved, without recourse to scientific data on the social effects of immigration. As well, he wrote, the immigration discussion had been dominated by popular bias, prejudice, and other "subjective" factors.¹⁰² However, for this neglect of research on the experience of immigration, Reynolds also blamed the preoccupation of social scientists with the relationship between immigration and population growth, and for an obsession with government statistics to the neglect of original investigation of the experience of immigrants upon arrival.¹⁰³ Reynolds therefore directly criticized the prevailing neglect by Canadian social scientists of immigrant adjustment. Moreover, he also challenged the preoccupation with British immigration based on "subjective" factors such as pro-imperial sentiment and concepts of the superiority and inferiority of select races.¹⁰⁴

Reynolds did indeed set out to redress the omission. Set in depression-era Montreal, the study incorporated the theories of

¹⁰²Ibid., 2-3.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 2.

human migration and race relations associated with the Chicago school of sociology, and was based on hundreds of interviews with British immigrants. The study addressed primarily the process of immigrant adaptation and adjustment, examining the process of acculturation from the point of migration to the final adjustment of the immigrant to the new community.¹⁰⁵ Intergenerational conflict, the role of religious and social institutions in facilitating adaptation, and the similar role of community contacts were examined as integral parts of the "assimilation process."¹⁰⁶ Assimilation was held to be complete when the differences between British and Canadian cultures, and "the feeling of strangeness that accompanies them," were "lost" or minimized.¹⁰⁷

The British Immigrant was a Depression-era study, and consequently examined the adjustment of British immigrants to the social and economic conditions of urban Montreal deep in the grip of the economic shutdown. Reynolds appeared most affected by the unskilled labourer, whose prospects of assimilation were tied to his economic mobility; in the depressed economy of Montreal, Reynolds found, the unskilled worker had the hardest task of adjustment due to his virtual unemployability.¹⁰⁸ Much of the study concentrated

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 3.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., ch. X, "The Assimilation Process in an Artisan Area," 206-36.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 206.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 280.

therefore on the maladjustment of the British immigrant. Reynolds held little optimism about the potential for adjustment of the British unskilled worker. The unskilled labourer was considered least likely to assimilate, or to adjust to Canadian conditions without undue personal and financial hardship. Additionally, the unskilled worker recruited for farm labour seemed headed for failure. Invariably, Reynolds argued, a worker recruited under such conditions would attempt to revert to the more familiar urban setting, and become subjected to a "cycle of dependency" that led to the permanent unemployability of this group.¹⁰⁹

These conclusions seemed mainly to underscore the unsuitability of British unskilled labour for Canadian conditions, and Reynolds subsequently argued against a policy of assisted immigration, as opposed to a scientific immigration policy that matched the immigrant's skills and qualifications with the country's needs. It was this latter point, however, that seemed to draw the most controversy among the book's academic reviewers. Reynolds would be accused by critics of underestimating the ameliorating factors of group life, and underemphasizing the role of the "national group" in facilitating immigrant adaptation.¹¹⁰

The British Immigrant was in essence a sociological critique

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 281.

¹¹⁰Cf. Robert England, The Colonization of Western Canada: A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement, 1896-1934, (London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1936).

of the policy of the state-sponsored migration and settlement of British labour. Reynolds' study set out to examine migration as a social process and portray the immigrant as a member of a "human community," an approach that was intended to replace the focus on "economic man."¹¹¹ One important premise of the study was that a similar cultural background was not an automatic guarantor of success in assimilation and adjustment; being British was not a guarantor of successful adaptation. This was a direct refutation of the popularly-held and racially-based belief in the superior assimilability of immigrants of British origin, although Reynolds noted that because of cultural similarities, the British immigrant would probably have an easier time of adjustment.¹¹² Another premise was that the divergence between Canadians and British immigrants was great enough that the study of British adjustment could also serve as a model for studying non-British groups.¹¹³

But perhaps more contentious than Reynolds' challenge to the racially-based policy of encouraging British immigration was his solution of a scientific and selective immigration policy. The critical reaction that followed the book's publication was both scholarly and non-scholarly, and gives some indication of the nature of the controversy within the social science community invoked by

¹¹¹Ibid., 3-4.

¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹³Ibid.

the questions of assimilation and the related concern of a scientific and selective immigration policy. The British Immigrant received the most favourable critical review from W. Burton Hurd.¹¹⁴ Hurd praised the study as a "strictly scientific and impartial study" of the social and economic adjustment of the British immigrant, and wrote that "one must credit the author, and those under whose direction the work was carried out, with a fine piece of work."¹¹⁵ If the study received the attention it deserved in Canada and Great Britain, Hurd wrote, there would be second thoughts on the revival of immigration from the British Isles or indeed immigration from any other source.¹¹⁶

A favourable review was also given by W. A. Carrothers of the University of Saskatchewan, himself the author of an earlier study of British emigration.¹¹⁷ Carrothers described the book as "an extremely valuable contribution to the study of immigration problems in Canada, particularly in the matter of economic assimilation and social adjustment."¹¹⁸ However, Carrothers concluded that it would

¹¹⁴W. B. Hurd, review, The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada, in Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 2, 1 (February, 1936): 91-93.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 94.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 93.

¹¹⁷W. A. Carrothers, Emigration from the British Isles, with special reference to the development of the overseas dominions. London: P. S. King & Sons, Ltd., 1929.

¹¹⁸W. A. Carrothers, review of The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada, in Canadian Historical

be inappropriate to generalize about the British experience in agriculture on the basis of the data presented within the study.¹¹⁹ Those familiar with agricultural and settlement conditions in the west could find "outstanding examples" of British immigrants with an urban background who achieved significant successes in agriculture. Carrothers also suggested that the tendency on the part of British urban immigrants to drift to the towns instead of to the land merely illustrated better economic opportunities in the urban centres.¹²⁰ If Reynolds' conclusions regarding the adaptability of British immigrants were overgeneralized, Carrothers wrote, so were his blanket conclusions drawn regarding future assimilation and a continued emphasis on scientific selection.

Other reviews were not so favourable, and some of the opposition came from those who were largely critical of the McGill Social Research Series itself, as exhibiting the failings of sociology and particularly of the American-inspired variety.¹²¹ From a more internationalist perspective, however, the Winnipeg Free Press was critical of Reynolds for expressing "strong opposition to future immigration to Canada, except in a small and very selective

Review 17, 2 (June 1936), 214.

¹¹⁹Ibid.

¹²⁰Ibid., 215.

¹²¹Shore, The Science of Social Redemption, 239.

way."¹²² The Free Press raised the problem of the surplus population of overcrowded parts of the world, especially from Britain but including the nations of Europe and Japan. In light of the Canadian ability to provide for the needs of its own small population, the Free Press questioned how Canada could answer the inevitable charge of "adopting a monopolistic and selfishly exclusive policy".¹²³

However, some of the more interesting questions and comments emerged from critics associated with the Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series. In general, students of agricultural settlement found Reynolds to have concentrated too narrowly on urban and eastern centres, and to have underestimated the process of assimilation. Their reviews of The British Immigrant additionally suggest the growing importance of Robert England's The Colonization of Western Canada as an alternative model of assimilation and immigrant adjustment. The minutes of the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee themselves indicate considerable interest in England's research, as well as that of Carrothers.¹²⁴

One such evaluation came from W. W. Swanson, who remained associated with the Canadian Pioneer Projects Committee, despite having left the project to head the Saskatchewan Royal Commission

¹²²H. B. G., "Opposed to Immigration," Winnipeg Free Press, Friday, March 20, 1936, p. 13.

¹²³Ibid.

¹²⁴Mackintosh, "Supplementary Report on Canadian Pioneer Belts Project," 9.

on Immigration.¹²⁵ Swanson described Reynold's book as a "factual and objective study of the British immigrant in Canada," and found it to be "brilliantly conceived and executed". A scientific analysis of the success of settlement in the country was "greatly needed," particularly in a field where research had been characterized by opinion rather than by science. The relationship of this question to the problem of population growth and the associated questions of debt, taxation, and government services additionally made the study timely.

Despite his high praise for the book, Swanson felt that The British Immigrant provided "too narrow a basis for such broad conclusions of [selective] policy."¹²⁶ In part, Swanson speculated, Reynolds' analysis of immigrant adjustment had been skewed somewhat by the fact of depression conditions in Montreal. On the basis of this analysis, Reynolds had concluded that the age of great immigration had ended, and that a narrowly selective and restrictive policy was currently the best policy option for Canada.

Swanson could not agree that this was the case, nor that severe restriction and selection were the only option. The research, Swanson pointed out, had been confined to certain urban and eastern centres. While Swanson did not fault Reynolds for the

¹²⁵William A. Mackintosh, Economic Problems of the Prairie Provinces, (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1935).

¹²⁶W. W. Swanson, review of The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada, in American Economic Review, 26, 2 (June, 1936), 359.

lack of concentration on agricultural settlement, it became clear that Swanson found that agricultural settlement provided an alternative perspective on the assimilation of British and other immigrants, and the subsequent formation of the Canadian character. Broadly, Swanson's critique raised questions regarding the process of assimilation. These questions suggest a rebuttal and a development of an alternative perspective to the idea of assimilation to which the McGill Social Research Project was tied.

Not enough is known of the processes of 'assimilation' to render such harsh judgment, for example, on the tenacity with which the British immigrant clings to past habits and traditions. It is just possible that these elements have done more to form the Canadian character than the writer of the book admits.¹²⁷

Similarly, Swanson questioned Reynolds' appraisal regarding the adjustment of urban British immigrants to rural living. It seemed superficial, according to Swanson, to assume that urban British immigrants could not adapt to rural conditions, since many were only one generation removed from the land. Furthermore, the conclusions reached by Reynolds failed to take into account why so many British settlers in the western region had attained "real distinction" in agriculture.¹²⁸

Immigration and population increase, Swanson pointed out, were still an integral part of the solution to the railway and other economic problems. Before the end of mass immigration could be

¹²⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸Ibid., 359-360.

proclaimed, it would be necessary to reconsider the problem from the perspective of agricultural settlement, with studies of the type being pursued by Robert England illustrating the nature of the research that needed to be conducted. Selecting lands for settlement, selecting the types of settlers needed, determining the size of farms, financing farmers in pioneer areas, and planning to ensure the success of the prospective settlement were all considerations that might prevent the recurrence of the recent economic distress. Such considerations might also result in the reappraisal of the success of British agricultural settlement.¹²⁹

Over time, sociological attitudes toward assimilation began to reflect a recognition that "block settlements" contained characteristics that not only facilitated the transition to the pioneer environment, but changed the character of the existing one. Arguments like these, however, also underscored the divisions emerging within the social science community regarding the prevailing objective of a tightly regulated and selective immigration policy. As Canada sought ways to pull out of its economic doldrums, the importance of the ethnic group to immigrant adjustment and economic development and diversification would prove to be a very significant consideration in the emerging critique of a selective immigration policy.

¹²⁹Ibid., 360.

Robert England's The Colonization of Western Canada had been written before the publication of the Canadian Frontiers of Settlement series, and was not formally associated with the project. However, England was indebted to the project, and reproduced a considerable amount of material associated with the project.¹³⁰ During the time of its preparation and writing, Robert England was western manager of the Canadian National Railway's Department of Colonization and Agriculture. At this time, England's work with the Department of Colonization and Agriculture, as well as his scholarly and research interests, had taken him into the field of agricultural development in western Canada. Equally significantly, these interests led him to the theories of French sociologist Frédéric Le Play.¹³¹

England entered rural teaching in Saskatchewan in 1922 as one of several teachers awarded scholarships through the Masonic Scholarship Project, a scholarship fund sponsored by the Freemasons of Saskatchewan. The project's purpose was to select and encourage highly qualified teachers to work for at least one year in the

¹³⁰R. G. Trotter, review of Robert England, The Colonization of Western Canada: A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement, (London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1936), in Queen's Quarterly 42 (Summer 1936), 216-17.

¹³¹Another student of Le Play was sociologist Léon Gérin, who established the foundations of sociological inquiry in French Canada (Berger, The Writing of Canadian History, 161).

underserviced remote, ethnically diverse areas of Saskatchewan.¹³² In 1923, England was awarded a scholarship to pursue graduate work at Le Play House in France. There, he was profoundly influenced by Le Play's work on human groups and in particular the importance of the family unit. Both The Central European Immigrant in Canada and The Colonization of Western Canada borrowed heavily from the theory and methodology of Le Play, focusing on the central importance of the family unit in the adaptation of immigrant communities to pioneer conditions. The Le Play study Les Ouvriers Européens appeared especially to have made a strong impression on England, with its focus on "tradition, the region and the family".¹³³

Much in the organization of society, England believed, was below the surface, in instinctual rhythms and unarticulated motives described as "crowd psychology".¹³⁴ Ethnic group communities in western Canada presented a prime example of how these subconscious impulses were involved in adapting to the frontier environment.

Ethnic group communities in western Canada, for example, show ecological forces at work--migration, subtle adaptation to soil and climate, signs of a certain periodicity in "hiving off," and characteristic forcefulness and purpose in moulding a new environment to a racial idiosyncrasy. There are obscure reserves in any race or people that carry through centuries a mode of living--such

¹³²George M. Weir, "Introduction," in Robert England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1929), ix-x.

¹³³Robert England, "The Apathetic Fallacy," Queen's Quarterly 42, 4 (Winter 1935-1936), 443.

¹³⁴Ibid., 442.

as the Mennonites, Hutterites and Doukhobors. The curious qualities there developed cannot be easily categorized.¹³⁵

England's purpose was therefore to call attention to the significance of deeper, subconscious cultural factors that provided cohesion and a sense of unity within human groups. These included those conventions and traditions transmitted through imitation, social discipline, and a "sort of subconscious perception" or instinct. In England's estimation, "the home, the church, the lodge, folkways, clubs, communal habits" were "more potent than the schols in determining perspectives, attitudes and emotional directives, and they are reinforced by tradition, convention and custom."¹³⁶ This meant also a significant role for music, art, drama, ritual, and symbolic ceremony in their influence on the "intuition, will and imagination."¹³⁷

Too often, England argued, these impulses were overlooked in an overemphasis on the mechanistic methods and objectives of rationalistic sciences and philosophies. But the significance of group consciousness could not be ignored.¹³⁸ For instance, the supplanting of native North American culture resulted in "a lowering

¹³⁵Ibid.

¹³⁶Ibid., 449.

¹³⁷Ibid.

¹³⁸Ibid.; Robert England, Living, Learning, Remembering: Memoirs of Robert England, (Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education, University of British Columbia, 1980), 56.

of Indian race vitality and a loss of perspective and purpose." An understanding of these factors, and particularly of the cohesiveness of the family unit, was critical to any analysis of society. Too often, according to England, "we fail to value aright traditional forces which have imparted qualities of purpose and vigour that our urban civilization lacks."¹³⁹

England's The Colonization of Western Canada was an examination of the community competitions sponsored in the prairie provinces by the Canadian National Railway's Department of Colonization and Agriculture in the mid-1930s. The idea of community competitions among ethnic communities had been devised by Dr. W. J. Black, Director of the Department of Colonization and Agriculture. Dr. Black brought considerable experience with agriculture and immigration to the director's position, as former president of Manitoba Agricultural College from 1906 to 1914 and as a former Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization.¹⁴⁰ According to England, Black took the same pride in an Ulster ancestry as Arthur Meighen and J. T. M. Anderson, and similarly reflected the "reservoir of conservatism" that characterized the Canadian West at that time.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹England, "The Apathetic Fallacy," 444.

¹⁴⁰England, The Colonization of Western Canada, 167.

¹⁴¹England, Living, Learning, Remembering, 35. This was a "reservoir of conservatism" on social issues, but with an agrarian and radical tinge.

The tone of the Department of Colonization and Agriculture appeared to be generally sympathetic toward the immigrant communities, particularly while the depression took its toll upon the prairie provinces. A great deal of the work of the Department during this time was concerned with immigrant settlers as well as with agricultural development and land settlement.¹⁴² While it was observed that language barriers impeded the delivery of extension services and agricultural bulletins within many ethnic communities, it was simultaneously recognized that the impact of the depression was being alleviated somewhat by the traditional attitudes and practices of these communities.

The result, as England explained in The Colonization of Western Canada, was the development of a "very varied approach to pioneer life."¹⁴³ Retaining this approach, England believed, was critical to future Canadian social and economic development. As he later wrote, "The real national problem here was while slowly integrating these new settlers into full and reciprocal Canadian citizenship not to weaken certain ideals operative in their lives."¹⁴⁴

With this objective in mind, the Department of Colonization and Agriculture staged a series of annual Canadian National

¹⁴²Ibid., 52.

¹⁴³England, The Colonization of Western Canada, 7.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., 60.

Community Progress Competitions within northern and rural prairie communities. The competitions were directed specifically to rural communities in the prairie provinces with an ethnic composition of at least seventy per cent, including first and second generations. The purpose was both to "bring within the sweep of our Canadian culture and life the traditional skills, homecrafts, and handicrafts of our European settlers" and "to interest them in the services provided by our provincial institutions in education, health, and agriculture."¹⁴⁵ The competitions in part were a practical way to bring Canadian services within the scope of relatively isolated rural and ethnic communities, but the objectives reflected the observation made by England that the best that these communities had to offer was being lost to assimilation.

According to the terms of the competition, each entry would present a progress report that would be scored on the basis of an arranged score card. Areas to be scored included education, agricultural development, and interest in public health, community activities, and cooperative enterprises, as well as participation in agricultural clubs and fairs. The purpose, England explained, was to make full use of the principles of community cooperation, community achievement, and competition to reach the objectives of the project.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵Ibid., 55.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., 56.

From the standpoint of the Department of Colonization and Agriculture, this experiment in community cooperation was a resounding success, and the results were published in 1936 by England in The Colonization of Western Canada. The Colonization of Western Canada was prepared within the context of agricultural settlement research, and emphasized the ethnic heterogeneity of western Canadian society.¹⁴⁷ The book examined "the story and the resulting structure of the colonization of Western Canada--Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta." A central focus was the annual Canadian National Community Progress Competitions staged by the Canadian National Railways in continental European communities. However, the book was additionally a study of group consciousness, and aimed to stimulate interest in the "ecological adaptation of human communities to their environment."¹⁴⁸

In other words, England wrote, the purpose was to make use of the principle of group consciousness in the settlement of immigrant groups in the prairie and frontier regions. "From the psychological angle," England argued, "a community is the most natural and effective medium for the inoculation of ideas by mass suggestion and imitation." It was therefore "essential to enlist the underlying racial, religious, and cultural motive force in favour of the program proposed." The spirit of a pioneer community was the factor

¹⁴⁷England, "Preface," The Colonization of Western Canada, 1.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., 7.

that ensured its survival in a pioneer region. Agricultural and economic progress in particular depended upon community cooperation.¹⁴⁹ In general, though, the significance of the community had been long missed or overlooked.

England had been favourably impressed with the Frontiers of Settlement series, and through his position as western manager of the C.N.R.'s Department of Colonization and Agriculture, he had provided assistance to both Isaiah Bowman and W. A. MacKintosh on the pioneer settlements investigation.¹⁵⁰ Nonetheless, England's objectives differed significantly from Dawson's: in The Colonization of Western Canada, England set out to "emphasize [the] contributions of the ethnic groups to the settlement of Western Canada a little more explicitly."¹⁵¹

England proved to be very critical of the studies of assimilation that emphasized intermarriage between "ethnic stocks" and underscored statistics of crime and delinquency. Without specifically naming Hurd, England's study was intended to "allay any fears lest these groups constitute a genuine threat to the development of Canadian nationality."¹⁵² In The Colonization of Western Canada, England was more blunt, decrying the use of

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

¹⁵⁰England, Living, Learning, Remembering, 59.

¹⁵¹Ibid., 60.

¹⁵²Ibid.

Malthusian theory to instill fear and suspicion towards the newcomer. Methodologically, his quarrel was with a Malthusianism he regarded as mechanistic rather than dynamic, and that assumed society was a mechanism rather than in a constant state of growth. The prevailing statistical approach to policy, he asserted, had ignored the traditional role of the family unit as a "shock absorber" for industrial change, and instead had tried to "set up a planned economy which recognizes individuals as members of the State rather than as members of the family." The result, he argued, was an overemphasis in policy and research on social control, and a "steam-rolling" of ethnic minorities into acquiescence to policy and administration.¹⁵³

The result was a revisiting of the assimilation question, and a rebuttal of assimilationist arguments that depicted traditional immigrant cultures as an impediment to Canadian development. In particular, England referred to communities such as the Hutterites, Doukhobors and Mormons, who had sought refuge on the frontier. England continued to perpetuate the idea of modern versus precapitalist and traditional societies. "Turning to the sociological aspect," he wrote, "it is admitted that there are, in many of these communities, elements alien to modernity." Regardless, alongside the premodern and traditional attributes were "peasant crafts and customs, peasant culture, and a peasant mother-wit which are worthy

¹⁵³England, The Colonization of Western Canada, 306.

of retention."¹⁵⁴

England concluded that immigrant groups brought with them cultural traditions and attributes which, although premodern and "traditional," played a very important and valuable role in their adaptation to the pioneer environment of the prairies. More significantly, these attributes were important to the character of the society and economy being developed within the prairie provinces. In many respects, this perspective had been developed in The Central European Immigrant in Canada; however, England adapted this research not only to the issues of prairie settlement, but to the economic conditions of the depression. England implied that a new society was developing within the West on the basis of settlement conditions, and the immigrant played no small role in shaping the emerging society. As evidence, England drew attention to "a development of natural resources that is broader than otherwise would have been the case"; among other examples, he cited the contributions of the Mennonite communities to flax and fruit farming, the development of irrigated farming among the Mormon communities, and the use of truck gardening among the Dutch.¹⁵⁵ In short, he emphasized the otherwise neglected role of the ethnic family unit in enabling many rural ethnic communities to withstand the Depression, and in contributing to the agricultural and economic

¹⁵⁴Ibid., 172.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., 304.

diversification of the west in general.¹⁵⁶

In terms of immigration, this meant that a rethinking of the goals of assimilation and integration, as presented in the prevailing statistical scholarship on population, was necessary. "To assume," England concluded, "that the immigrant raised in another environment, equipped with new ideas, and trained in thrift and industry is a handicap is a gratuitous and parochial assumption and perhaps the final economic absurdity."¹⁵⁷ Malthusianism, as well as the "short-sighted restrictive immigration policy" employed by the United States and colonial countries, were based on "grave misconceptions," and were inhibiting economic growth and diversification:

A people conscious of inability to absorb other elements admits the insufficiency of its culture and of its powers. There comes a slackening of the will to grow, to build, and to achieve. The spectre of fear haunts the mind--fear that the standard of living will be jeopardized, institutions shaken, and culture swamped--resulting in suspicion of the newcomer.¹⁵⁸

Instead, the lesson to be learned from the depression in western Canada was the value of communities that eschewed the laissez-faire economy in favour of more traditional attitudes toward the family unit.¹⁵⁹ A further suggestion was that considerable room

¹⁵⁶Ibid., 304-05.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., 304.

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., 305.

still existed in western Canada for colonization and settlement, that the "optimum population" of the prairie provinces was not yet in sight.¹⁶⁰ A high premium was placed by England on the traditionalism of ethnic groups, "qualities which may be embarrassing at times but are healthy and useful and necessary in the development of the riches of a territory with as great a variety of possibilities as most of Europe."¹⁶¹

The Colonization of Western Canada also marked a revision of the liberal and progressive reform of rural education that had characterized the previous two decades. As he wrote in "The Apathetic Fallacy" in 1936, "The home, the church, the lodge, folkways, clubs, communal habits" played a far more significant role than the public school in "determining perspectives, attitudes and emotional directives," and "were reinforced by tradition, convention and custom." This was a rebuttal of the standardization of rural public school education.¹⁶² "Ten years ago," England wrote,

our interest was concentrated on the social problem of assimilation of the non-English settlers of the West. Though interest in this is still marked, our schools, and agencies of social control have changed the character of this problem and some effort now is necessary to conserve the qualities, skills and aptitudes of the fast disappearing older generation of pioneers.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰Ibid., 306-307.

¹⁶¹Ibid., 308.

¹⁶²England, "The Apathetic Fallacy," 449.

¹⁶³England, The Colonization of Western Canada, 10-11.

The Colonization of Western Canada was generally favourably reviewed. Most criticism concentrated on the sketchiness and weak documentation of the book, but the work was generally received as a contribution to the ongoing discussion of assimilation and western settlement. The conclusions, though, remained controversial. Professor G. E. Britnell, writing for the Canadian Historical Review, defended the British-based view of Canadian nationalism when he found that England's "generous enthusiasm for groups" had led him to "under-estimate the extent to which the Central and Eastern European immigrant has displaced the Anglo-Saxon and native-born farm operator, and to over-estimate tremendously the speed with which assimilation is taking place through inter-marriage."¹⁶⁴ A rather acrid review of The Colonization of Western Canada similarly was presented by A. F. W. Plumptre, who suggested that England was at such pains to defend the beleaguered immigrant communities that he painted a "far too roseate picture" of their success. Plumptre's review was accompanied by several comments regarding England's "special bias" toward these communities.¹⁶⁵

Most reviewers, like W. Burton Hurd, reviewed the study in connection with Dawson's Group Settlement and studies of assimilation like D. C. Harvey's The Colonization of Canada. Hurd

¹⁶⁴G. E. Britnell, review of The Colonization of Western Canada, Canadian Historical Review 18, 1 (March 1937), 73.

¹⁶⁵A. F. W. Plumptre, review, The Colonization of Western Canada: A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement (1896-1934), in The Economic Journal, 47, 185 (March 1937), 141.

generally praised the book, but suggested that a too-optimistic picture had been presented of the success of assimilation in the Canadian west. Statistical evidence, commented Hurd, corroborated the observation that intermarriage in the west was proceeding more slowly than England had assumed.

In a review essay for the University of Toronto Quarterly, however, D. A. McGibbon went to the heart of the issue as one of whether or not further immigration should be encouraged, a subject upon which existed "great diversity of opinion."¹⁶⁶ In McGibbon's review, England's achievement in highlighting the positive contributions made by non-British immigrants in western Canada was contrasted with Dawson's opposing conclusion: that secularization was leading to the breakdown of sectarian barriers within these groups. In either case, McGibbon noted, both studies could be seen as putting to rest fears that non-British immigration constituted "a genuine threat to the development of Canadian nationality."¹⁶⁷

McGibbon agreed with England, however, that "the real problem here is, while slowly integrating these people into full and reciprocal Canadian citizenship, not to weaken certain fine ideals operative in their lives."¹⁶⁸ While Dawson had concluded that the process of integration was inflicting a heavy burden upon the social

¹⁶⁶D. A. McGibbon, "The Settlement of Canada," University of Toronto Quarterly 6, 1 (October 1936), 147.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., 150.

¹⁶⁸England, The Colonization of Western Canada, 60.

and economic structure of the region, McGibbon countered that this was the price to be paid for the rapid economic development and exploitation of the prairie west. Furthermore, there was nothing to be done but to try to "make the best of the situation."¹⁶⁹

Additionally, McGibbon argued, assimilation was a very slow process, and it would be a mistake to expect the rapid assimilation of a non-British, largely peasant population not proficient in the English language. Public officials would be wise to recognize this, and to exercise tolerance and patience in their dealings with these communities.¹⁷⁰ McGibbon's comments indicate that scholarship within English Canada was increasingly converting to a sympathetic understanding of immigrant group life, and questioning the wisdom of the scientific control of immigration and assimilation as based on perceived policy and population needs.

Interwar sociology in Canada moved immigration scholarship beyond the traditional focus on history and political economy, and examined immigrant adjustment rather than the relationship between migration and population growth. These sociological studies rejected biologically deterministic theories of race, and promoted a tolerant view of immigrant groups instead. Nonetheless, these studies generally supported a cautiously and scientifically

¹⁶⁹McGibbon, "The Settlement of Canada," 150.

¹⁷⁰Ibid.

regulated immigration policy, to control the rate of assimilation as well as an optimum population capacity. In contrast to the more pessimistic appraisal of the rate of assimilation under Depression-era conditions emerged a position that stressed the positive and autonomous aspects of group life, and reacted against the enforced standardization of immigrant societies under policies of social control.

Robert England's writings in particular represented a pluralist challenge to the interwar sociological scholarship on immigration and assimilation, which he criticized as emphasizing social control, the standardization of community life, and a mechanistic focus on the immigrant as rational "economic man."¹⁷¹ As studies of pioneer adaptation and settlement progressed, England's focus and criticisms became popular among social scientists both sympathetic to ethnic diversity and impressed with the importance of diversity in the shaping of the agricultural environment. This focus also appealed to those social scientists who were beginning to challenge on an economic and social basis the prevailing emphasis on an immigration policy based on scientific selection and social control, and who also sought a more inclusive and pluralistic definition of Canadian citizenship.

¹⁷¹Another contemporary critic of a "static" social ecology was sociologist S. D. Clark, who attempted to move sociology away from its presentism and towards a more historical focus (Berger, The Writing of Canadian History, 163).

Chapter VI
Race Relations and Asian Exclusion

In the matter of Chinese immigration, as well as other Asian immigration, a handful of scholars emerged in the interwar years to challenge prevailing attitudes on segregation, exclusion, and the presumed unassimilability of Asian immigrant groups. Asian immigration had met with significant public and political opposition particularly in British Columbia, where most immigrants had previously settled. Moreover, mainstream liberal opinion had continued to justify restriction of Asian immigration, despite the intolerant implications of such a policy, and the contradictions with existing democratic practice. Exclusion was justified both in the interests of nation-building, and on the grounds of preventing an American-style segregation on Canadian soil.¹ This chapter examines the sociological reevaluation of race relations on the Pacific coast, and the subsequent evolution in Canadian liberal social science of a critique not only of the discriminatory treatment of Canadians of Asian origin but also of the racist assumptions which underlay this policy.

By the mid-1920s, Canadian social scientists had adopted the concept of race relations that dominated sociological discussion in

¹Eg. T. H. Boggs, "Oriental Immigration," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 107 (May 1923), 50-5.

the United States, and that entered English Canadian academic discourse through participation in international projects such as the Pacific Coast Survey of 1925. As Robert Park's "contact theory" of assimilation entered academic discussion of Asian-Canadian cultural relations, a position advocating tolerance and supporting the cultural assimilation of Canadians of Asian descent emerged in the scholarly literature and enlightened public opinion. English Canadians became more informed and enlightened on improved cultural relations, and became committed to enhancing peaceful Canadian-Pacific relations in general. Furthermore, this position reflected the decline, at least in the social science literature, of the influence of biological theories of race, although these theories remained very influential in public and political discourse in British Columbia in the early twentieth century.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the evolution of a liberal position on Asian-Canadian relations remained in conflict with a deep public and political anti-Asian antipathy in British Columbia, much of it perpetuating racially based stereotypes of Asian culture, society, and economic competition. Spokesmen for the rights and privileges of Asian Canadians, and for the fair and equitable treatment of Asian nationals resident in Canada, laboured long and hard against these deeply persistent beliefs, in what they must have often felt was a losing battle against racist perceptions. In the end, deeply rooted racial attitudes among sections of British Columbia's white population proved nearly impossible to overcome or eradicate, as

illustrated by rising tensions within British Columbia with the approach of the Second World War.

British Columbians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century overtly blamed economic rather than racial factors for tensions within the province. The emphasis on economic conditions, however, was deeply tinged with implicit racist overtones.² The tendency was to disclaim any idea of racial prejudice in the reception of Chinese, Japanese, and East Indian immigrants. Racial prejudice was subordinated to economic factors in accounting for local hostility to Asian labour. Lower standards of living and the superiority of Asian labour were cited as reasons for imposing restrictive or exclusionary policy. It was alleged that these conditions were inherent to Asian civilizations or "races," and constituted unfair competition for white North American labour.

Early in the twentieth century, the movement to restrict and even exclude further immigration from Asia hinged on the idea of Asian biological and cultural unassimilability. Even if the idea of Asian biological inferiority had been rejected, intermarriage between Asian and Canadian groups was considered not only unlikely,

²Patricia Roy, A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989), examines the interaction between racial and economic factors in popular attitudes to the Asian communities. In contrast, W. Peter Ward, White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia, 2nd ed. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), subordinates economic factors and attributes anti-Asian feeling to psychological tension within British Columbia society.

but socially and culturally undesirable. The question was not one of the supposed cultural or biological inferiority of the Asian groups, who generally were regarded as advanced rather than backward civilizations.

At times, intolerant as well as respectable opinion accepted the superiority of Asian culture, civilization, and industry.³ Canadian universities such as the University of Toronto and McGill University supported wholeheartedly the study of Chinese civilizations and artifacts, attesting to the scholarly interest in Asian societies. Among the research centres devoted to the study of Chinese culture and civilization were the Gest Chinese Library at McGill University, the Royal Museum associated with the University of Toronto which housed a collection of pre-Ming and Ming Chinese art, and the School of Chinese Studies organized at McGill.⁴ With respect to nation-building, however, there was a strong emphasis on the social and cultural unassimilability of the Asian newcomers. Those who emphasized nation-building tended to assert that the cultural and biological differences between Asian and Canadian groups militated against the assimilation of the former. They

³See, for instance, Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration. Report and Evidence, (Ottawa: printed by order of the Commission, 1885), xxvii, lxxvii. See also Roy, A White Man's Province, xiv, 8-9.

⁴General Sir Arthur Currie, "Canada and Pacific Relations," in J. B. Condliffe, ed., Problems of the Pacific: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1927, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), 13.

recommended the restriction of Asian immigration to prevent the existence within Canada of an unassimilable national group different in culture and outlook from Canadians.

By the mid-1920s, much of the discussion regarding Asian-Canadian race relations was not advanced in a scholarly forum, but in the context of discussion or study groups organized for the purposes of examining aspects of international relations. These included organizations like the Institute for Pacific Relations (I.P.R.) and the Canadian Institute for International Relations (C.I.I.A.), patterned after Britain's Royal Institute for International Affairs and dedicated to the informal discussion of international problems. In the interwar decades, the I.P.R. and C.I.I.A. encouraged the academic study of Asian migration and cultural assimilation, and the I.P.R. furthermore helped establish scholarly connections between the University of British Columbia and American universities on the Pacific rim. The evolution of a liberal position on Asian relations in general can be seen in the conferences and publications of the I.P.R. and C.I.I.A.

To scholars such as Henry Forbes Angus, professor of economics at the University of British Columbia, the usefulness of the I.P.R. and C.I.I.A. as study and research groups was limited, particularly in the early years of their existence. According to Angus, who first became acquainted with the I.P.R. in 1927, the organization initially had no pretensions to being a formal study group. Rather, the objective was to promote "friendly conversations between

representative citizens" from countries on the North Pacific rim, and to encourage rational discussion of their differences free from the influence of propaganda and government policies.⁵ Over time, though, the I.P.R. and C.I.I.A. both evolved in the direction of encouraging detached and scientific discussion of key matters relating to international affairs.

The first of these efforts to examine Asian cultural assimilation in Canada was presented by McGill University president Sir Arthur Currie, at the second I.P.R. conference in 1927 where he headed the Canadian delegation. At this conference, Currie examined Canada's relations with the Orient in the context of nation-building, and presented the main problem as a problem of assimilation. The unifying theme of his presentation was that Canada's relations with the Orient should be considered in the light of the difficulty of "the new experiment in nation-making."⁶

In his discussion, Currie endeavoured to justify the exclusion of Asian immigration as a safeguard for nation-building. Canadian national development was depicted by Currie as a long, intense struggle to create unity from diversity. Nation-building was inevitably a difficult prospect, but particularly for Canada, because of "widely scattered parts, the diversity of the people and

⁵Henry Forbes Angus, unpublished manuscript, "Autobiography," Angus Family Fonds, Henry Forbes Angus Series, University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections and University Archives Division, Box 1, Fd. 1-2, 223.

⁶Currie, "Canada and Pacific Relations," 13.

institutions, the barriers of language, and the difference of nationality or creed."⁷ The maintenance of unity was therefore of the greatest importance. While Canadians could be justifiably proud of this achievement, the presence of a large and unassimilable group posed a distinct threat to a fragile national unity.

The question for Currie was a matter of how much diversity a nation could possibly sustain. He expressed his concerns as a problem for nation-building, not race prejudice or racial antipathy: "Just how long the intermingling and intermarrying of races of different colors and civilizations should be permitted in any one community is something that can only be amicably settled by long and patient periods of trial and error."⁸

Currie therefore appraised the "question of oriental immigration" in light of Canada's historical past. He vehemently denied, or more likely overlooked, the role of race prejudice in as a factor in race relations. Currie attributed race relations difficulties instead to

...a natural and inevitable reluctance, a definite and instinctive recoil from the possibility of the creation in our midst of unassimilable units socially and culturally connected with a heritage in which the rest of the nation has had no part.⁹

Cultural unity was depicted by Currie as being fragile, uneasy, and

⁷Ibid., 13.

⁸Ibid., 14.

⁹Ibid.

still in the process of consolidation. Currie paid scant attention to race or colour prejudice, but insisted instead that Canadians had a "real concern" for traditions and institutions connected with the Canadian historical past.

If any distinctive group, Currie argued, should be permitted to settle in large numbers within any province, the implications for unity would be unsettling.¹⁰ The people of Canada, and of British Columbia in particular, were "understandably fearful" of the consequences of admitting large numbers of unassimilable immigrants. To emphasize the lack of ill will involved, Currie underscored the good will and harmonious relations between Canada and Pacific area countries. He referred to the "good feeling" existing between Canada and Japan, as embodied in the Gentlemen's Agreement. He also cited numerous Canadian cultural contacts with the Orient, naming several centres of Asian cultural studies within Canada, as evidence of the "growing interest in the old cultures and in the present progress of Oriental nations."¹¹

In effect, though, Currie's argument for restriction of Asian immigration hinged on the belief in the biological and cultural unassimilability of Asian groups. His emphasis on "nation-building" was tied to an older concept of assimilation, and emphasized the right of nations to restrict immigration to groups who were

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid., 15.

culturally and biologically similar to the national majority groups.

Currie's emphasis on biological and cultural unassimilability was only one of two prominent arguments made for the restriction of Asian immigration, raised at the time of the passing of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1923. The second factor was that of the presumed superior economic competitiveness of Asian immigrant labour. Increasingly, though, this argument became affected by developments in American sociology, particularly at the University of Chicago in the mid-1920s.

The shift towards a focus on race relations is generally associated with the work of American sociologist Robert E. Park. Park, who taught sociology at the University of Chicago between 1914 and 1929, was the most influential social theorist of this period. He did not hold an academic post until the age of fifty. Rather, as a journalist observing the Congo in Africa, and as an assistant and public relations man for Booker T. Washington, Park gained abundant exposure to and observation of race relations in Africa and the deep South. In 1921, with E. W. Burgess, he was the author of An Introduction to the Science of Sociology, an influential textbook that compiled the writings of several authors and contained many of his own articles on the subject of race relations. Park became a pivotal figure in the development of a sociology of "race relations" that supplanted the previous emphasis on social Darwinism and

theories of racial superiority and inferiority.¹²

Park's significance was the development of an idea of race relations as the product of European expansion, giving race relations a cosmopolitan and historical context that had not been present before. He inaugurated an explanation of race relations in global terms, in terms of the economic expansion of the world's progressive powers. This historical and economic focus led to Park's theory of the "'four great types of interaction--competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation,'" stages that he regarded as progressive and ultimately inevitable. While focusing on European and Asian nationalities, Park also applied this explanation to an understanding of American race relations and immigration.

One of the projects associated with Park and his "conflict theory" of assimilation was the Survey of Race Relations, a project undertaken in 1923 for the purpose of examining white-Asian relations on the Pacific coast. According to Park, the purpose of the survey was to advance understanding of race relations on the Pacific coast, to enable Asian and North American communities to live together in a more harmonious fashion.¹³

The Survey of Race Relations was initiated in 1923 by the

¹²Michael Banton, The Idea of Race, (London: Tavistock, 1977), 8; William Petersen, "Concepts of Ethnicity," in William Petersen, Michael Novak and Philip Gleason, Concepts of Ethnicity, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1982), 13.

¹³Robert E. Park, "Our Racial Frontier on the Pacific," The Survey (Midmonthly), 56, 3 (May 1, 1926), 192.

Institute of Social and Religious Research of New York City, a research foundation, and coordinated by the Pacific Coast Executive Committee, chaired by Ray Lyman Wilbur, president of Stanford University. The Committee comprised elective representatives from five different regions along the Pacific slope, including British Columbia, Washington, northern California, and southern California. Under Park's direction, research councils in conjunction with the different universities along the Pacific coast assisted the Survey, and directed the research of students and associated investigators.¹⁴

The objective of the Survey was to obtain information on white-Asian relations on the Pacific coast. To that end, the Survey set out to compile source materials, consisting of life histories and other data provided by members of the Asian communities themselves, by trained investigators, or by white persons having had firsthand contact with Asian groups, and any additional information provided by official bodies, racial groups, or private organizations and individuals.

One of the participants in the study was Theodore H. Boggs, professor of political economy at the University of British Columbia.¹⁵ Boggs was a highly regarded and popular although somewhat diffident instructor who headed the University of British

¹⁴Theodore H. Boggs, "The Oriental on the Pacific Coast," Queen's Quarterly 33 (February 1926), 311.

¹⁵Ibid.

Columbia's small economics department in the 1920s.¹⁶ Although Boggs was one of the more tolerant voices of English Canadian opinion at this time, his arguments for Asian restriction tended to mirror earlier arguments regarding the economic competitiveness of Asian labour. At the same time, these arguments incorporated an awareness of how discriminatory measures affected Asian residents, and advocated the elimination of these measures in the interests of fairness as well as internal peace and stability.

Boggs brought the perspective of race relations and cultural relativism to the academic study of Asian-Canadian relations in British Columbia. He declared himself to be in essential sympathy with the search for objective and dispassionate truth that defined the objectives of the Survey. Regardless, he took sole responsibility for the views he expressed in the course of his participation, indicating a possible divergence between his conclusions and the views of the other Survey investigators. He also directed his observations and recommendations to the Canadian situation, warning that his conclusions were not to be applied to the American context.¹⁷

Boggs' comments before the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in 1923 had addressed the question of restricting Asian immigration, even as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923 further

¹⁶Angus, "Autobiography," 167.

¹⁷Ibid.

had prohibited the immigration of the families of Chinese men working in Canada. Boggs' key emphasis was not on the cultural unassimilability of Asian immigrants. In fact, he urged the rapid cultural assimilation of Asian immigrants, including the granting of the franchise and of full privileges of Canadian citizenship. However, Boggs appeared to regard racial tensions as deeply-rooted and insurmountable without some form of immigration restriction.

Boggs recommended that in the absence of harmonious relations, immigration from Asia should be limited, and the numbers of Asians in Canada severely curtailed. The reason for this was the "wide divergence between the racial antecedents, political traditions, and social habits of the people of the Dominion and of the immigrants from the Orient."¹⁸ The conflict between whites and Asians was attributed to inherent cultural differences between the two groups. This meant that Boggs did not challenge the assumption, as other writers eventually would, that the lower Asian standard of living represented a form of unfair economic competition. In fact, Boggs accepted the premise that lower standards of living among Asian workers enabled Asian labour to underbid white workers, and constituted a threat to living standards on the Pacific coast.

Boggs tended to regard lower standards of living as an insurmountable feature of Asian culture. He also accepted that immigration invariably involved a "conflict of standards". If the

¹⁸Boggs, "Oriental Immigration," 53.

disparity between these two standards was great, the lower standard would migrate to the higher standard country, with a correspondingly "heightened" reaction in the receiving country. Rather than raising the standard of living of Asian workers, Boggs accepted lower standards of living as a cultural fact, and urged the restriction of Asian immigration to reduce racial tensions and preserve higher living standards on the Pacific coast.¹⁹ Boggs also appeared to take seriously predictions regarding Asian competition in the fishing, retail, tailoring, agricultural, and other key industries, as well as predictions regarding a high Asian birth rate. He suggested that in the absence of a restrictive immigration policy, British Columbia might be overrun by such competition in the future. The only way of "resolving" these cultural differences was through following a policy of restriction.²⁰

At the same time, Boggs urged the rapid cultural assimilation of those Asians already in Canada, including the full extension of the franchise and other privileges and rights of Canadian citizenship.²¹ Such an approach may have resulted from Boggs' admiration of Asians as a "sober, industrious, and law-abiding" people.²² Boggs thought this policy would also be in the interests of

¹⁹Ibid., 51.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

Canadians as well as Asian immigrants, for it would prevent the development of a "'government within a government'". In short, it would prevent the segregation within Canada of a group racially and culturally dissimilar from the majority, and reduce the potential for conflict.

Boggs's solution, therefore, was the immediate restriction of Asian immigration on the basis of the divergences and incompatibilities seen between Asian and Canadian civilizations. With this restriction, though, was the plea that Asians be granted full rights of Canadian citizenship and assimilated as quickly as possible. Boggs's early approach to Pacific coast race relations therefore remained limited from the standpoint of alleviating racial discrimination, although this approach was advanced partially in an effort to address racial tensions. Despite the argument that naturalization and citizenship rights needed to be brought into line with what was expected from an egalitarian and democratic society, Boggs continued to assert that cultural and racial differences were ultimately too great to be overcome.

Many of these themes were elaborated in Boggs's subsequent report for the Race Relations Survey.²³ The central focus of Boggs's ensuing article, published in Queen's Quarterly in 1925, was the "race problem" on the Pacific coast, which Boggs represented as the "racial frontier" of North America. His purpose was to try to

²³Boggs, "The Oriental on the Pacific Coast."

explain the "widespread opposition" in Canada to the Asian immigrant, and why, in his view, immigration restriction was the preferred solution to the ongoing tensions. In so doing, Boggs placed less emphasis on the traditional reasons for opposition to Asian immigration associated with the perspective of "white Canada." His article in fact seemed to try to discredit the idea, in favour of a more cosmopolitan and less prejudiced idea of race relations, emphasizing that racial tensions resulted from contact between Asian and white populations rather than from the superiority or inferiority of the "races".

To Boggs, the visible differences of colour, language, and industriousness in work habits constituted the source of racial antipathy towards the Asian immigrant.²⁴ Contact had brought about competition between Asians and whites, and race competition had produced conflict. The economic strength and competition resulting from the growing numbers of Asian immigrants meant the transformation of race conflict into racial hostility. Asian immigrants furthermore remained visibly distinct from white society through colour and through cultural characteristics acquired from past civilizations. Racial antipathy towards these immigrants could subsequently be attributed to these differences.

But Boggs did not feel that racial prejudice constituted sufficient grounds to expel or exclude Asian immigrants. He

²⁴Ibid., 314.

additionally refuted the traditional economic argument for total exclusion. Traditionally, Boggs wrote, it was believed that the lower Asian standard of living undermined the economic advantage of white labour. With Asian immigrants willing to work for lower wages, the competition undermined the ability of the white labourer to compete, and further undermined standards of living on the Pacific coast. Boggs rejected this argument, indicating at various times a similar argument had been applied in the United States against immigrants of European origin. The argument would not be sound if the Asian worker had a white skin; in any event, if it were made illegal to lower wages beyond the normal level of those received by white workers, the economic problem would be resolved without the need for exclusionist legislation.²⁵

Boggs, however, appeared to give serious consideration to the "weight-of-numbers" argument, or the contention that the Pacific coast would be eventually overrun by Asian immigrants. The reasons given for this position included the higher density of the Asian populations relative to the white population of Canada and the United States, as well as the "greater fecundity" of the Asian populations.²⁶ Also important to Boggs was the absence of intermarriage, which he attributed to the "colour bar". It had not yet been scientifically verified, Boggs wrote, that the "Oriental" could not

²⁵Ibid., 317.

²⁶Ibid., 318.

be assimilated through intermarriage, but public opposition to the idea was widespread enough that it had to be seriously considered. The general result of racial intermarriage, Boggs contended, was "unhappiness, incompatibility and social ostracism."

Thus, Boggs argued, immediate restriction of immigration from Asian countries was imperative, in order to prevent a racial problem on the Pacific coast similar in magnitude to the race problem in the United States.²⁷ Such a solution did not bar the continuation of commercial and cultural relations between white and Asian society. Boggs still held fast to the idea of the desirability, and even the inevitability, of cultural assimilation. The continued association through ongoing trade and commerce could produce an exchange of ideas and education, which could help foster a mutual understanding and reduce the incidences of hostility.

On the whole, though, Boggs remained pessimistic about the immediate prospects of the assimilation of the Asian population on the Pacific coast. "The contact of the white and the Oriental on the Pacific coast," he observed, "has extended over three-quarters of a century and for the most part it has been a continuous story of race misunderstanding and oftentimes conflict."²⁸ Boggs advised the severe restriction of subsequent Asian immigration, "in order that the Pacific coast may escape a future race problem similar to

²⁷Ibid., 320.

²⁸Ibid.

the existent negro problem of the United States."²⁹ What this illustrates is that Boggs saw assimilation in general as desirable and even inevitable, but that this assimilation was unlikely for the foreseeable future owing to insurmountable racial and cultural differences between Canadian and Asian societies.³⁰

Boggs also urged the rigid restriction of Asian immigration to assist the process of cultural assimilation. The stringent regulation of Asian immigration would also be accompanied by the granting of full citizenship privileges to Asians already resident in Canada. Without the granting of such privileges, Boggs feared, there could only be misunderstandings, tensions, and recriminations for the future. Here, Boggs had warned against the creation of a "segregated" community in British Columbia that could exacerbate racial tensions within the province.

Boggs's race relations focus still had failed to challenge some of the prevailing racially-based assumptions regarding Asian cultures and communities, including allegedly superior economic competition, lower standards of living, and high birth rates. Regardless, Boggs' writings were indicative of a growing sympathy among English Canadian scholars toward Asian immigration, and of an emerging liberal focus on race relations and repudiation of race prejudice. Sympathetic English Canadian writers by the end of the

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

decade similarly began to reevaluate the older assumptions about the biological and economic unassimilability of Asian societies that still held sway at the popular level, and contributed to high levels of racial tensions within British Columbia. Regardless, these same liberals also felt it necessary to add that it would be an injustice to permit further Asian immigration, in light of prevailing white antagonism and public hostility to such immigration.

Some, such as A. S. Whiteley of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, later the author of The Peopling of the Prairie Provinces of Canada, challenged popular fears regarding the low standard of living and superior economic capacity of Asian workers.³¹ In 1928, as the British Columbia legislature introduced a resolution to restrict Asian participation in industry, trade, and agriculture, Whiteley criticized both the discriminatory legislation and the exploitation of Asian labour by British Columbia industry. Whiteley pointed out that not Asian economic characteristics, but "the haphazard system of control that characterizes extractive industries," was largely responsible for the lower standard of living of Asian labour.³² As soon as employers agreed to bring wages for Asian labour in line with industry standards for white

³¹A. S. Whiteley, The Peopling of the Prairie Provinces of Canada, (United States: American Journal of Sociology, [1932]). Reprinted from the American Journal of Sociology 38, 2 (September 1932), 240-52.

³²A. S. Whiteley, "The Oriental in British Columbia," Canadian Forum 9, 106 (July 1929), 342.

workers, Whiteley commented sardonically, a source of "unfair Oriental competition" and the Asian "threat" to the white standard of living could be removed.³³

More significantly, Whiteley reminded Canadians of their responsibility for the present and future condition of the Oriental in Canada, and of their role in ensuring Asian progress toward a standard and way of living commensurate with Canadian expectations. In short, those most concerned about an "Oriental threat" should be placing their best efforts into the Canadianization of the Asian immigrant.³⁴ The reciprocal role played by Canadians as individual citizens in the assimilation of Asian communities was increasingly emphasized by decade's end.

The churches also entered the discussion by appealing to an end to racial discrimination on moral and ethical grounds. One such appeal was written by S. S. Ousterhout, United Church minister and Superintendent of Oriental Missions west of the Great Lakes. Ousterhout's Oriental in Canada, published in 1929, addressed the theme of improving inter-racial relations between "Oriental and Occidental races," in an effort to bridge a gulf enforced by prejudice and misunderstanding. In so doing, Ousterhout added his voice to the growing number of English Canadians appealing for the fair and equitable treatment of Asian immigrants, and for the

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid., 343-344.

removal of invidious discriminations that prevented their full integration into Canadian society.

Orientals in Canada was not a sociological study, and incorporated no theoretical framework of interracial relations. Nor did Ousterhout attempt to evaluate the sources of race prejudice. In general, the book described the progress of missionary work among Asian immigrants, and addressed racial discrimination from an ethical and moral rather than sociological perspective.³⁵ Ousterhout also generally avoided all discussion of questions of immigration policy, but his analysis of race relations involved an effort to further "better understanding between the races" and to "further the process of assimilation."³⁶ The study adopted a liberal and Christian tone, appealing to Canadians to assist in integrating Asian immigrants into the Canadian national structure, and to defy racial prejudice according to a "very high standard of morality."³⁷

The emphasis of the book tended to be the assimilation of Asian immigrants, and particularly the prevention of the "segregation" of Asians in large urban communities.³⁸ Ousterhout additionally exhibited a missionary's concern with the gambling, opium

³⁵S. S. Ousterhout, Orientals in Canada: The Study of the Work of the United Church of Canada with Asiatics in Canada, (Toronto: Ryerson Press of Canada, 1929).

³⁶Ibid., 10.

³⁷Ibid., 210.

³⁸Ibid., 28.

smoking and other "social vices" associated with the segregated Oriental community.³⁹ Furthermore, Ousterhout considered the prospect of biological assimilation or intermarriage unlikely, and speculated that "Orientals are to remain separate races in Canada."⁴⁰ But Ousterhout considered cultural assimilation into Canadian citizenship not only necessary, but conceivable. To this end, he entreated that Asian immigrants should be given every opportunity and assistance to integrate into Canadian society, and to establish cordial relations with the Canadian population:

Having been admitted through the regular channels of the Immigration Department, these people have their rights, rights to live in this land, rights to education, rights to enjoy themselves, and it is the task of Canadians to help and to instruct them in their laudable ambition to become a real and vital part of our country's life.⁴¹

Similarly, the assumptions of Asian racial and biological unassimilability were also beginning to be challenged, and statistics on crime and other symptoms of "unsuitability" were being replaced by cultural and sociological studies of the processes of adjustment and assimilation within Chinese, Japanese, and other Asian communities. The argument presented by these works was that Asians were not only culturally and socially assimilable, but that in fact assimilation into Canadian society was already taking place,

³⁹Ibid., 31.

⁴⁰Ibid., 6.

⁴¹Ibid., 6-7.

particularly among the second and third generations of Asian immigrants. Furthermore, the research indicated that assimilation had proceeded to the point where a recognizable gap in values and attitudes was being observed among the second and third generations of Asian families raised within a Canadian environment.

These themes were explored in a 1931 survey by Cheng Tien-Fang, Oriental Immigration in Canada, the author's doctoral thesis in political science for the University of Toronto.⁴² Cheng, the commissioner of education for the Chinese province of Anhwei, explored the problem and progress of Oriental assimilation, distinguishing "assimilation" from the "amalgamation of races." If assimilation meant "the absorbing of the language, customs, ideas and ideals, modes of living, etc., of one people by another," then assimilation was not only possible, but had been accomplished by the generation of Chinese and Japanese who had been brought up in Canada.⁴³ However, Cheng reiterated the Canadian obligation to participate in the process of assimilation. "If the teacher is not willing to teach," he argued, "we cannot blame the pupil for not learning; if the Canadians are not willing to assimilate, we cannot blame the Orientals for not being assimilated."⁴⁴

Cheng emphasized that the Orientals in Canada were indeed

⁴²Cheng Tien-Fang, Oriental Immigration in Canada, (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, Limited, 1931).

⁴³Ibid., 237.

⁴⁴Ibid., 238.

willing to be, and capable of being, assimilated.⁴⁵ The role of the churches and schools in this process, he noted, was especially important.⁴⁶ Cheng described the adaptability of Japanese immigrants to Canadian conditions, and the efforts of organizations such as the Canadian-Japanese Association to further Canadianize the Japanese. He defended the adaptability of the Chinese, particularly against charges of a proclivity toward gambling and lawlessness. In total, it was important for Canadians to respond to their presence as a significant section of the British Columbia population by recognizing the assimilability of these groups:

The best way is to assimilate them so that they will become good and useful citizens, an asset to Canada instead of a burden. If they are nonassimilable, then any efforts would be wasted, and the Canadians are not to blame for neglecting them. But fortunately for Canada, they are quite assimilable and can easily be assimilated. It is then up to the patriotic Canadians to think out the way to do the work.⁴⁷

Cheng's recommendations included the extension of the franchise. He also recommended Canadian assistance in raising the Asian standard of living, thereby redressing the source of one of the most stringent objections to the Asian immigrant. The lower standard of living, Cheng wrote, arguably inhibited the assimilation of the Orientals, and the removal of this impediment to assimilation

⁴⁵Ibid., 241.

⁴⁶Ibid., 240.

⁴⁷Ibid., 246.

could only result in lessening Canadian objections to Orientals.⁴⁸ Cheng urged the removing of social discriminations and the treatment of Orientals as equals. Orientals, he wrote, would be assimilated more readily if they were "treated according to their merits as individuals, and not according to their race or color as a group."⁴⁹

Cheng pointed out that race prejudice, in short, perpetuated the existence of separate Oriental communities within Canadian society, and prevented the assimilation of these groups. His message to Canadians was that the suspension of this race prejudice would assist their assimilation, and furthermore, that Canadians had an obligation to participate in this process.⁵⁰

Other social scientists began to examine anti-Asian arguments as an expression of race prejudice, and similarly sought the roots of prejudice in the interracial contact introduced on the Pacific coast, where western and Occidental civilizations first encountered the other in competition for scarce economic resources. This approach was a reflection of the sociology of race relations introduced in the United States by Park, and was generally based on the contact-conflict theory of race relations he had introduced earlier.

⁴⁸Ibid., 248.

⁴⁹Ibid., 249.

⁵⁰Ibid.

The effect of the sociology of race relations in the 1920s and 1930s was an assault within the social science community on race prejudice, and a challenge to the discriminatory and injudicious aspects of policy affecting Asians residing in Canada, either as immigrants or as citizens. With the sociological concept of race relations that influenced both American and Canadian scholarly thinking in the 1920s, the public prejudice directed against Asian minorities was depicted as deplorable and inequitable. This concept rejected racially-based descriptions of Asian communities, and pointed to the influences affecting racial attitudes and the development of race prejudice. It was assumed that ongoing contact and better mutual understanding between Asian and North American groups would, over time, lead to tolerance and the overcoming of historical prejudices.

The 1923 United States Race Relations Survey had marked the beginning of concerted international academic interest in Asian-North American cultural relations. The creation of institutes such as the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Institute for Pacific Relations, to examine various aspects of international relations, also made the study of cultural relations in the Pacific area a priority. The International Research Committee of the Institute for Pacific Relations, over the interwar decades, further sponsored several studies bearing directly on standards and costs of living in Pacific areas. These studies included a Canadian survey prepared in 1938 by W. A. Carrothers, for the Canadian

Institute of International Affairs in cooperation with the I.P.R.⁵¹

The Institute of Pacific Relations, at its founding, was strongly influenced by the same factors that brought into being the United States Race Relations Survey. According to one of its members, the Institute of Pacific Relations embodied not merely an organization, but a principle: it was an effort to investigate "whether it is possible to live harmoniously in a world that is constantly growing smaller". The purpose of the Institute was to "study the factors that underlie racial contacts and the adjustment of conflicting interests and to examine the possibility of creating a new type of international community in the Pacific area based upon reciprocity and mutual understanding."⁵² The philosophy of the Institute tended to provide the general guidelines for the research of its membership, although published works included the disclaimer that the opinions and conclusions represented were those of the author rather than the opinions of the Institute. Membership in the I.P.R. was drawn from Australia, Canada, China, Britain, Hawaii, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the United States, with unofficial representation from the League of Nations and the International Labor Office. In Canada, representation was drawn from concerned members of the academic as well as business commu-

⁵¹H. A. Innis, "Editor's Preface," in Charles H. Young and Helen R. Y. Reid, The Japanese Canadians, with a second part on Oriental Standards of Living by W. A. Carrothers, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1938), vii-viii.

⁵²Condliffe, Problems of the Pacific, preface.

nity, and the I.P.R. counted membership from cities across the country.

Beginning in the mid-1920s, the American Council of the I.P.R. sponsored a series of sociological investigations into "the problems of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino residents on the Pacific coast of the United States."⁵³ One of these studies, Oriental Exclusion, was prepared in 1928 by Roderick D. McKenzie, a Canadian-born professor of sociology at the University of Washington.⁵⁴ McKenzie was born in Carmen, Manitoba, in 1885, and completed a Classics degree at the University of Manitoba in 1912. In 1913 he entered the University of Chicago. At Chicago, he became a student of Robert Park, where his interests in immigration found expression in the study of the assimilation of diverse cultural groups. In 1915, McKenzie accepted a position as full-time instructor at Ohio State University. He continued to work within and develop the Chicago sociological tradition in later appointments at the University of Washington and the University of Michigan.⁵⁵

Oriental Exclusion was prepared by McKenzie in connection with

⁵³Ibid, viii.

⁵⁴R. D. McKenzie, Oriental Exclusion: The Effect of American Immigration Laws, Regulations, and Judicial Decisions Upon the Chinese and Japanese on the American Pacific Coast. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928). Reprint ed., (San Francisco: R and E Associates, 1970).

⁵⁵Marlene Shore, The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School, and the Origins of Social Research in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 107-108.

the 1927 Honolulu Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The 1927 conference was an outgrowth of the 1925 conference, which focused on American immigration laws as a source of "friction and misunderstanding." Realizing the need for detailed information on American immigration laws, the American Group of the I.P.R. approached McKenzie to prepare a study of the impact of American exclusionary laws, their operation, and their enforcement upon the Chinese and Japanese residents of the North American Pacific coast.⁵⁶

The subsequent study examined exclusion not only as historically "a form of cultural isolation," but as a method of regulating biological and economic competition in more recent times.⁵⁷ The modern exclusion movement reflected the "rising tide of national and racial consciousness." Modern exclusion could therefore be linked to the recent developments in communication, the developments responsible for increased mobility and greater contact between peoples. Increased mobility of peoples was reflected in "the modern tendency of nations to erect barriers to regulate the international movements of commodities and peoples."⁵⁸ Early efforts to regulate these movements were of a local and state character. Over time, these movements took on a national form, complete with legislation

⁵⁶Ibid., v.

⁵⁷Ibid., 9.

⁵⁸Ibid.

and a national machinery to enforce exclusionary provisions.⁵⁹

McKenzie advanced a general model of exclusion settlement that was applicable to all areas of Asian immigration. Exclusion sentiment, McKenzie wrote, was an outgrowth of settlement. Pioneer conditions, on the other hand, encouraged coolie or unskilled migratory Chinese labour. As conditions evolved from pioneer to established settlement, the human resource once necessary for pioneer development became a source of friction and annoyance. The result was anti-Oriental sentiment and restrictive legislation in the receiving states.⁶⁰

Nations where Asian immigration and settlement took place passed through various common phases of evolution. The first was the development of a "standard of living argument," in which it was believed that the lower standards of living of Asian labourers were an unfair source of economic competition for white labour. Early exclusion laws were formulated on the basis of regulating unfair competition by Asian workers.⁶¹

The early economic argument was superceded over time by arguments from assimilation and amalgamation, in which the apparent unassimilability of Asians presented the fundamental excuse for

⁵⁹Ibid., 10.

⁶⁰Ibid., 12.

⁶¹Ibid., 15.

restricting their numbers.⁶² From economic competition, McKenzie wrote, attention shifted to biological and cultural considerations, again a common trend in most countries to which Asians had emigrated.⁶³

The methods employed by various states to exclude Asian labour additionally followed certain common trends. Early legislation was intended to restrict Asian immigration by limiting the number of immigrants that could be brought over on a single vessel, as well as by imposing head taxes. These methods were followed by Canada, Australia, and California. Additionally, these measures were undertaken with some degree of concern for the sensibilities of the emigrant countries.⁶⁴ As national sentiment grew in the receiving countries, legislation reflected national exclusiveness and was less concerned with offending the countries of immigrant origin. Legislative action also reflected an emerging principle, the claim by the host country of their right to control who should or should not be permitted to enter the country.⁶⁵ In countries such as Canada, the trend toward "national assertiveness" in immigration policy produced a succession of gradually increasing "head taxes," a series of Orders-in-Council prohibiting the landing of Chinese

⁶²Ibid., 15.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid., 16.

⁶⁵Ibid.

labourers, and the infamous Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 that completely halted the emigration of Chinese labour to Canada.⁶⁶ McKenzie subsequently illustrated how the exclusion movement had given rise to a series of problems, injustices, inequities, and humiliations for the immigrants affected by them.

The type of discussion raised by the I.P.R. and other international organizations prompted scholarly reconsideration of the system of legal discriminations against Asians in Canada. Studies such as McKenzie's Oriental Exclusion set the direction for scholarly investigations of cultural relations and other Pacific-area matters.

One of the participants in this discussion was H. F. Angus, lawyer, professor of economics, and civil servant. Particularly in the 1930s, Angus was a prominent spokesman for the removal of discriminatory legislation against Canadians of Asian descent. Angus campaigned tirelessly for the reversal of this discriminatory legislation, or for the removal of the system of legislative controls that prevented the full participation of Asian Canadians in Canadian political and economic life. During this time, Angus was a prominent spokesman for the redress of injustices, legal, economic, political, and social, perpetuated against persons of Asian background by Canadian law and practices. Angus wrote and

⁶⁶Ibid.

lectured on a myriad of diverse topics throughout a lengthy and prolific scholarly career. His ongoing interest in peaceful Pacific-area relations, and in the rights and privileges of Canadians of Asian background, was only one of many interests and involvements that included international relations, Canadian-American relations, and various aspects of Canadian domestic policy.

Angus was additionally well-known in British Columbia for his vocal public and political support for the rights of Canadians of Asian descent, including his support for the extension of the franchise and the removal of discriminatory legislation. During this time, his support for Asian enfranchisement led at least one critic to demand his resignation from the University of British Columbia. His advocacy of full civil rights for Asian Canadians led to his appointment to the federal Standing Committee on Orientals in British Columbia, as a voice of tolerance and a friend of Japanese Canadians.⁶⁷

Henry Forbes Angus was born in 1891 in Victoria, British Columbia, the son of William Angus and Mary Edith Dunckley, and the well-connected nephew of C.P.R. treasurer Richard Angus. He was educated at McGill University, and received his M.A. at Oxford, but also read law as a barrister of the Inner Temple in England. In 1920, he was also called to the bar in British Columbia. In 1922,

⁶⁷W. Peter Ward, White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy toward Orientals in British Columbia, 2d ed., (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 140-141, 147.

he joined the faculty of the University of British Columbia as assistant professor of economics. In 1930, he was appointed head of that university's combined Department of Economics, Political Science, and Sociology. Between 1937 and 1940, he served as a member of the Rowell-Sirois Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, and from 1940 to 1945 was Special Secretary to the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs. In 1949, he became Dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies at the University of British Columbia, a position he held until his retirement in 1956. An autobiography he completed in 1966 was never published.⁶⁸

Angus's interest in the question of race relations stemmed in part from his early participation in study groups organized by the I.P.R. In particular, in one study group held in Vancouver, Angus assisted with "the study of Oriental immigration to British Columbia and the process of cultural assimilation of the immigrants and their descendants."⁶⁹ The subject was appealing to Angus, and marked his entry into the academic study of Asian assimilation and relations

⁶⁸"Angus, Henry Forbes," Canadian Encyclopedia, vol. I A-For (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985), 57; "Angus, Henry Forbes," Encyclopedia Canadiana, (Toronto: Grolier Limited, 1972), 167; Mary Banham and Laurenda Daniels, Angus Family Fonds, Fonds Description, University of British Columbia Archives, 1977; Robert M. Clark, "Preface," Canadian Issues: Essays in Honour of Henry F. Angus, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), vii-viii; Norman Mackenzie, "Foreword," in Clark, ed., Canadian Issues: Essays in Honour of Henry F. Angus, v-vi.

⁶⁹Ibid., 224.

with the white British Columbia majority.⁷⁰

By the 1930s, Angus had come around to a full criticism of both popular racist attitudes in British Columbia and of the economic arguments and neo-Malthusian fears that had become a component of these racist attitudes. As he wrote for the Dalhousie Review in 1933,

Subconsciously we are all Malthusian at heart. The situation seemed a nightmare, Malthusianism with its geometrical ratio reinforced by immigration, and with its tempo accelerated by the high birthrate of an immigrant group, in a land of plenty! The one element of safety appeared to be that the Chinese brought very few women with them. A further economic apprehension arose. The Chinese remitted money to China to support their families there. It was thought that these remittances constituted a drain on British Columbia, and that the province would be much better off if it received settlers who would spend their earnings in the province. All the economics of protectionism supported this view.

No doubt these considerations explain the acts of the past and the sentiment which exists today. But do they justify that sentiment? Can Canadians not change their minds as circumstances alter?⁷¹

A series of scholarly articles written by Angus in the 1930s subsequently analyzed the system of discriminatory legislation and treatment that had built up around the restriction of Asian immigration. Some of Angus's earlier articles, such as "Underprivileged Canadians," published in Queen's Quarterly in 1931, were often written in an ironic tone, and were intended generally to

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹H. F. Angus, "A Contribution to International Ill-Will," Dalhousie Review 13, 1 (April 1933), 29.

challenge the wisdom of the prevailing treatment of Asian Canadians in immigration policy and domestic legislation. Later articles, such as "The Legal Status in British Columbia of Residents of Oriental Race and Their Descendants," focused more exclusively on immigration laws, as well as on the rationale and administration of discriminatory legislation affecting Canadians of Asian descent.⁷² These articles were written in connection with the I.P.R. and C.I.I.A., and continued in Canada the work begun by Roderick McKenzie and other members of the American Council of the I.P.R.. In short, the purpose of these articles was investigative, and focused on the impact, operation, and enforcement of laws aimed at the exclusion and curtailment of the rights of Canadians of Asian descent.

"Underprivileged Canadians" called attention to discriminatory treatment against Canadian citizens of Chinese and Japanese background. The article in general was a plea for the immediate enfranchisement of Asian Canadians, and for the gradual elimination of economic disabilities that inhibited Asian Canadian participation in the country's economic life. As Angus wrote, "the policy of one generation creates the problems of the next."⁷³ Particularly in his

⁷²H. F. Angus, "Canadian Immigration: The Law and Its Administration," reprinted in Norman MacKenzie, The Legal Status of Aliens in Pacific Countries, (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), 58-75; "The Legal Status in British Columbia of Oriental Race and Their Descendants," reprinted in *ibid.*, 77-88.

⁷³H. F. Angus, "Underprivileged Canadians," Queen's Quarterly, 37, 3 (Summer 1931), 445.

earlier articles, Angus placed the source of prevailing policies in the Malthusianism and racial attitudes of the past forty years. Such legislation, Angus wrote, could not be considered as any part of a definite or well-articulated Canadian policy. Rather, this legislation was the effort of influential Canadians of non-Asian descent to protect themselves against economic competition from Asian immigrants. Policies developed during this era continued to restrict the economic and political participation in Canadian society of second and third generation Canadians of Asian descent. These policies could hardly be justified and defended on grounds of justice or expediency.⁷⁴

Angus's public commentary was no less ironic, and was even confrontational. Articles such as "Liberalism Stoops to Conquer" took aim at provincial Liberal politicians in British Columbia, who exploited popular anti-Asian sentiment during that province's election for political gain:

It may have seemed good policy to appeal to this supposed obsession of certain electors even at the cost of tarnishing any shining spots which may remain on the shield of liberalism in the twentieth century, and bad policy to choose the moment of an election for re-proving illiberal prejudices.⁷⁵

Angus asserted that over time, inter-racial contact and participation in Canadian society would overcome historical

⁷⁴Ibid., 445.

⁷⁵H. F. Angus, "Liberalism Stoops to Conquer," Canadian Forum 15, 179 (December, 1935), 379.

antipathies, and that existing economic and political inequities would be resolved over time with changing attitudes.⁷⁶ By the time of escalation of hostilities in the Pacific area, and accompanying racial tensions in British Columbia, it was reluctantly admitted by even the most vocal supporters of Asian Canadian rights and privileges that it would be necessary to curtail additional immigration from Asian countries.

The wider scope of these studies was their bearing on international relations involving the Pacific area. As suggested by Norman MacKenzie, professor of international law at the University of Toronto, "if we understand the facts in this matter it may be possible to suggest changes which will remove various causes of complaint and bad feeling and will make for some improvement in the relations between the nations in the Pacific area."⁷⁷ However, the worsening of racial tensions at the domestic level and of international relations abroad led to another conclusion regarding the restriction of Asian immigration. With considerable reluctance and regret, liberal scholars like MacKenzie and Angus acknowledged that it would be necessary to restrict additional immigration from Asian countries. This led to the incongruous support by these scholars for the less tolerant policy of selective immigration, directed at only those national and racial groups who would be most easily

⁷⁶Eg. Angus, "Underprivileged Canadians," 447-48.

⁷⁷MacKenzie, "Introduction," 1.

assimilated into their new homelands.

For Mackenzie, the need for restriction was based on growing national and international tensions, and recognized the limits of the "melting-pot" process. Until a greater degree of international control and cooperation was achieved, "it seems wise, as well as certain, that countries of immigration should insist on the right to select as between individual immigrants, to discriminate in favour of certain nationalities or races, to deport those individuals who prove undesirable, or to exclude immigrants altogether."⁷⁸

In broader philosophical terms, the conflict involved two principles: individual freedom of migration versus state control. On the one hand was the prevailing principle claimed by most countries that the right to restrict immigration was a matter of state jurisdiction. It was a widely applied principle that immigration was a domestic matter, and that a state had the right to either prohibit the entry of aliens into its territory or to admit them according to its own judgment.⁷⁹ The counterargument was the use of immigration to resolve problems related to population pressures, including unemployment and poverty.

Mackenzie's view was that the exigencies of the international situation made state control a priority over freedom of international movement. This conclusion, he wrote, was based on the

⁷⁸Ibid., 4.

⁷⁹Ibid., 3.

recognition that the "'melting-pot' process, or the juxtaposition or intermingling of considerable bodies of persons of differing race, colour, culture, or religion, does not necessarily make for an absence of violence or the individual good." As evidence, Mackenzie cited the treatment of Asians in both Canada and the United States, the treatment of American blacks, the ongoing crisis of minority and refugee groups in Europe, and incidents such as the Indian Mutiny and Boxer uprising. The evidence, Mackenzie suggested, underscored the wisdom of a policy of restricted immigration, despite the unfairness and difficulties inherent in such a policy.⁸⁰ It would also seem wiser, he argued, to prohibit such immigration than to allow the discriminatory treatment of these immigrants to constitute an "open sore" in international relations.⁸¹

Mackenzie was not alone in reaching these conclusions. According to Charles Young, another author associated with the I.P.R., even the Japanese of British Columbia were "resigned to the idea that further immigration on a numerically significant scale is out of the question."⁸² Angus concurred, writing that Canadians of Japanese descent "'know as well as anyone that the presence of

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid., 5.

⁸²Charles H. Young and Helen R. Y. Reid, The Japanese Canadians, ed. by H. A. Innis, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1938), 178.

greater numbers would be likely to lead to feelings of hostility.'"⁸³ For this reason, according to Young, Canadian-born Japanese were concentrating their efforts on defending and improving their status within Canada rather than on increases in immigration.⁸⁴

By 1938, ongoing racial tension in British Columbia had led Young to observe that "it was unfortunate for both Japanese and Whites that the former were ever allowed to settle in Canada." The experience with Asians in Canada was compared to that of other countries, notably the United States, where conflict between two groups "so radically different in race and culture" was inevitable.⁸⁵ Young suggested that only the Gentlemen's Agreement between Japan and Canada, which had slowed considerably the movement of immigration between the two countries, had prevented racial tensions in the province from becoming worse. Under such conditions, it was pointless to regard immigration restriction as "un-Christian" or as adopting a "dog-in-the-manger" approach.

In effect, Young admitted that white attitudes in British Columbia were "not likely to change," and that this situation had an important bearing upon immigration policy.⁸⁶ Under the circum-

⁸³H. F. Angus, quoted in Young and Reid, The Japanese Canadians, *ibid.*

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 179-180.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 189.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*

stances, new migrants would only succeed in keeping the racial question alive. The best thing the Japanese government could do in the interests of those already in Canada would be to voluntarily restrict further migration from Japan to Canada.⁸⁷

The support for quotas on further Japanese immigration by liberal sympathizers such as Young, Angus and Mackenzie was an admission that the situation between whites and Japanese in the province of British Columbia was unlikely to change. As Young wrote,

The antagonism between these two groups is deeply rooted in group attitudes of a strongly sentimental and emotional nature. The essentially un-rational character of these attitudes implies that they will be very slow to change. All that a programme can do is offset to a certain extent the influence of those factors which aggravate the antipathy of the two groups towards each other.⁸⁸

Recognizing the futility of attempting to enforce a change in white attitudes, scholars like Young fell back on a program with the limited end of ameliorating some of the more virulent anti-Asian attitudes, a program that included restricted immigration. At the very least, such a program would "go a long way towards improving the lot of the Japanese, and towards raising the moral tone of all the groups affected by this unhappy and unwholesome situation."⁸⁹ However, this recommendation underscored the sense of futility

⁸⁷Ibid., 190.

⁸⁸Ibid., 193.

⁸⁹Ibid.

experienced by liberal scholars in Canada as they recognized the limits of scholarly discussion and the slowness of public dialogue in changing public attitudes.

In 1938, in an effort to address the sociological aspect of racial tensions on the Pacific Coast, Charles H. Young published a sociological examination of the Japanese Canadians under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Young's study in effect was an extension of the research begun in the United States by Rodrick McKenzie about a decade earlier. The study was a thorough examination of Japanese adaptation and assimilation on the Pacific Coast, and addressed race relations from the sociological perspective associated with the 1925 Race Relations Survey.⁹⁰

Written by Young with the cooperation of Helen R. Y. Reid for the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, the study in part was a continuation of the work begun by the Committee in its earlier published volume, The Ukrainian Canadians.⁹¹ However, in the seven years that had elapsed since the publication of that first volume, the tone of the discussion regarding the assimilation of Canada's immigrants had changed significantly, following precedents in the research established earlier by the I.P.R. and the C.I.I.A..

The volume combined the sociological research of Young and

⁹⁰Young and Reid, The Japanese Canadians.

⁹¹Ibid., vii.

Reid, and the economic investigation of W. A. Carrothers into the standard of living of Japanese Canadians. Both studies were carried out under the auspices of the I.P.R., with the cooperation of the C.I.I.A., and were closely related to earlier economic and sociological investigations of economic and cultural relations on the Pacific Coast. The work of Young, Reid, and Carrothers had been undertaken simultaneously, in many instances employing the same sources. It was therefore decided by the editors to join the research results into a single volume, to avoid duplication and coordinate the results of the separate ventures.

The volume was edited by economist H. A. Innis, and contained a second part by W. A. Carrothers examining the living standards of Japanese Canadians. This section, as Innis indicated, was undertaken by the C.I.I.A. in cooperation with the I.P.R., as part of the I.P.R.'s international research program.⁹² The economic aspects of the study were related to similar studies on the standards of living within selected regions of Canada, including studies by S. A. Saunders on the Maritimes, by F. R. Scott and H. M. Cassidy on labour conditions in the clothing industry, and G. E. Britnell's The Wheat Economy.⁹³

The sociological aspects of the study as well were rooted in the earlier examinations on race relations conducted by the American

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid., viii.

Council of the I.P.R., including R. D. McKenzie's Oriental Immigration, itself one part of a series of inquiries into the conditions of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino immigrants on the American Pacific coast. Young and Reid linked their study in particular to Robert Park and the 1925 United States Race Relations Survey, but noted that the study had been published at a time when the immigration question in the United States was "much more vital than it had been in recent years."⁹⁴ The study incorporated the theory of the race relations cycle established by Park about a decade earlier, namely, in Park's words, that "the race relations cycle--contact, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation--is apparently progressive and irreversible."⁹⁵

"The frontiers of the Occident and the Orient meet on the Pacific Coast of Canada. The contact has given rise to what is one of Canada's most interesting and perplexing problems."⁹⁶ The authors examined race conflict as one phase of a "race relations cycle" that consisted of contact, competition, and conflict, and the outcome of which was assimilation.⁹⁷ The theory of race relations used by Young and Reid "assumes the existence of a universal process of competition." The theory of "race conflict," according to the

⁹⁴Ibid., xxv.

⁹⁵Park, "Our Racial Frontier on the Pacific," 192.

⁹⁶Young and Reid, The Japanese Canadians, xxi.

⁹⁷Ibid., xxiv.

authors, closely mirrored the process of "class conflict," in which the characteristics of those who succeed in the competition for scarce resources are compared with a great deal of antagonism to the characteristics of the less successful. The "factors of culture and colour," however, were "especially significant because they antagonize the more patriotic element." For this reason, even moderate economic success tended to be dangerous for the "foreign-born" where race conflict existed.⁹⁸

The study employed extensive field surveys, using questionnaires based on those used by McGill University's Department of Sociology. The compilation of data included interviews with subjects, as well as featuring round table conferences held in Vancouver. Significant acknowledgements were given to thesis work by a Japanese student assistant, Reginda Sumida, and to a survey of the second generation Japanese prepared in 1935 by the Canadian Japanese Association.⁹⁹ Through the use of this survey and questionnaire methodology, the Young and Reid study attempted to "submit a total picture of the Japanese in Canada in terms of the significant stages in their development since they arrived in this country."¹⁰⁰

In large measure, the Young and Reid study undermined many

⁹⁸Ibid., xxiii.

⁹⁹Ibid., xxix.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

commonly held assumptions regarding the inherent characteristics of Japanese Canadians. The Japanese Canadians emerged in the Young and Reid study as adapting and assimilating well within Canadian society, the cultural expectations and traditions brought with the original set of immigrants becoming modified in contact with the Canadian environment. For instance, an examination of the success of the Japanese in the primary industries of British Columbia, particularly in lumbering and fishing, illustrated considerable progress in the Japanese Canadian standard of living.¹⁰¹ This examination also revealed considerable antagonism on the part of white British Columbians, which eventually drove Japanese Canadians from the primary industries into the commercial and agricultural sector, where many continued to thrive and prosper, with standards of living comparable to white society.¹⁰²

The progress of the Japanese in commercial activity and participation in urban society further underscored the rapid rate of assimilation within this group.¹⁰³ This assimilation was indicated particularly by movement into the more heterogeneous and socially higher residential areas, reflective of higher standards of living, as well as a greater proportion of earned income devoted to household conveniences and leisure activities. The leisure and

¹⁰¹Ibid., 41.

¹⁰²Ibid.

¹⁰³Ibid., 68.

educational opportunities enjoyed by the second generation were further testimony to the adoption of Canadian ways, including better living standards.¹⁰⁴

Again, it could be demonstrated that the significant and conspicuous degree of success among Japanese immigrants drew the antagonism of white British Columbian society. However, economic expansion and enhanced economic opportunity were an important factor in the assimilation of the Japanese. Increased economic success gave Japanese Canadians broader contacts with white Canadian society, and were a factor in the rapid assimilation of this group.¹⁰⁵

This process was not peculiar to the Japanese Canadians, but reflected a more general adaptation process common to most immigrant groups.¹⁰⁶ The society of the immigrants, meanwhile, was "neither Canadian nor Japanese". Japanese immigrants, wrote Young and Reid, existed within a "marginal world or society somewhere between the two civilizations". This society was truly Japanese Canadian, "for while its roots are in the soil of Japan, its structure and content are increasingly altered by unceasing adaptation to the environment of the New World."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 71.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 78.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 72.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 85.

Turning their attention to the "invisible luggage" of culture retained by Japanese immigrants, Young and Reid called attention to the modification of Japanese values and attitudes within the Canadian cultural environment. The most significant example was the clash between the traditional Japanese family system and the values and attitudes of the new world. This clash became manifested in generational conflict, as the second generation began to show signs of assimilating into Canadian society.¹⁰⁸ The modification of the Buddhist faith to include Christian forms of social and religious organization was another indication of the degree to which the Japanese culture was becoming modified by the Canadian environment.¹⁰⁹

Again, though, Japanese forms of social organization aroused the suspicions of white society.¹¹⁰ Japanese Canadians were not unlike other immigrant groups in being nationalistic or patriotic, and in incorporating aspects of their culture or patriotic sentiments in group organization. In particular, the feudal aspects that distinguished Japanese culture and society, from the traditional family system to religious institutions to community organizations, tended to be reproduced to some extent within the new world environment. The reproduction of traditional Japanese cultural

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 95.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 116.

forms and values, according to Young and Reid, provoked the worst of anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States as well as Canada.¹¹¹

Part of the result of this survey was to confirm what had already been indicated by the United States Race Relations Survey: that the Japanese were excellent citizens. The paradox, though, was that the Japanese were among the most hated groups in British Columbia.¹¹² Traditionally, the reasons for enmity were attributed to the standard characteristics attributed to the Japanese, including economic competition, high birth rates, low standards of living, biological unassimilability, and loyalty to Japan.¹¹³ Young and Reid clarified that these were not the conclusions of their study, but a summary of the objections held to Japanese immigration within British Columbia. These assumptions, on the other hand, had been given the weight of facts by persons who assumed them to be valid. In short, the attitudes of white British Columbians towards the Japanese were more significant in determining the treatment of Japanese immigrants than any objectionable features of Japanese Canadian behaviour.¹¹⁴

Regardless, Young and Reid remained pessimistic about finding a solution to the partisan extremism expressed by many individuals

¹¹¹Ibid., 116.

¹¹²Ibid., 171.

¹¹³Ibid., 178.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

and groups within British Columbia. They also appeared resigned to the absence of immediate solutions for eliminating the sources of conflict between white and Japanese Canadians. It was unlikely, for instance, that legal impediments to Japanese immigration would be removed, and even the Japanese within the province of British Columbia were becoming resigned to that situation.¹¹⁵ Even those more sympathetic to the Japanese agreed that continued restriction of Japanese immigration would be in the best interests of the Japanese already resident in Canada. It was a position reluctantly shared by Young and Reid, who similarly deplored the injustice of restriction but felt that under prevailing conditions, continued restriction was necessary.

It seemed futile, Young and Reid argued, to criticize such restriction as "un-Christian" or as a "dog-in-the-manger" attitude. The chief source of ongoing antagonism and interracial tension was the attitudes of whites, which the authors felt were unlikely to change. The fact of white antagonism "has an important bearing on the immigration phase of the problem at the present time."¹¹⁶ Under such circumstances, the authors wrote, the wisest course of action would be for the Japanese authorities to voluntarily restrict further emigration to Canada, in the interest of the Japanese already resident in Canada. Any increase in migration would only

¹¹⁵Ibid., 179.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 189.

call attention to Japanese residents and aggravate existing tensions.

Young and Reid further suggested the implementation of a quota system, limiting Japanese participation in key British Columbia industries to a proportion of the population affected by these industries.¹¹⁷ Such a system, they felt, could be justified as protecting the interests of white labour, and still minimize the hardship inflicted on Japanese labour by policies of exclusion.

Suggestions such as the restriction of immigration and the establishment of quotas in industry were not advanced as adequate or equitable solutions to discrimination. In total, these suggestions were an admission by liberal scholars of the deep-rooted nature of the antagonism between white and Japanese groups in the province of British Columbia, and of the unlikelihood of their resolution in the immediate future.¹¹⁸ As scholars such as Young and Reid became resigned to the unlikelihood of improved relations, they hoped such recommendations would "offset to a certain extent the influence of those factors which aggravate the antipathy of the two groups towards each other." At the very least, they hoped, such measures would afford a small bit of protection for Japanese residents, as well as raising the moral tone of the discussion in

¹¹⁷Ibid., 191.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 193.

the future.¹¹⁹ In effect, these liberal-minded scholars had called attention to the inability of either governments or scholarship to seriously address the high level of race prejudice within public opinion, and remained concerned that race tensions on the Pacific coast could not be successfully resolved without addressing the problem of prejudice. Indeed, governments and politicians continued to skirt this problem. In the near future, with a few exceptions within the scholarly community, including Angus, Reid, and diplomat Hugh Keenleyside, few within the political community would criticize either restricting or barring outright the mobility and participation of Japanese Canadians within Canadian society as a solution to the escalation of race tensions within wartime British Columbia. Similar justifications would be presented for the internment of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War "for their own protection," in effect acknowledging the continuing powerlessness of federal and provincial governments to resolve racial tensions on the Pacific coast.

Appended to The Japanese Canadians, W. A. Carrothers' examination of the standard of living of Orientals resident in Canada confirmed the improved standard of living among these groups, commensurate with adaptation to the Canadian environment.

Charles Woodsworth's Canada and the Orient, a 1941 study

¹¹⁹Ibid.

prepared for the C.I.I.A., drew the same pessimistic conclusions as the Young and Reid study. Canada and the Orient, rather than being a sociological examination of Japanese assimilation, was a "study of international relations" and emphasized the "social economics" of racial tensions on the Pacific coast. The study was prepared as Woodsworth's doctoral thesis for the University of London, with the assistance of a grant from the Canadian Institute for International Relations, and published under the auspices of the C.I.I.A. in 1941.¹²⁰

Woodsworth regrettably but adamantly concurred that the complete cessation of Japanese immigration was necessary in the interests of international goodwill.¹²¹ He followed in the footsteps of other social scientists such as Theodore Boggs in recommending the assimilation of those remaining as the basis for future Asian policy.¹²² He also remained acutely conscious of race prejudice and how race prejudice undermined the logic of social economics: in short, that discrimination based on race, and the denial of the privileges and rights of citizenship to the Japanese population, would leave an important legacy of bitterness and discontent among the Canadian Japanese community. Furthermore, he argued, this same

¹²⁰Charles J. Woodsworth, Canada and the Orient: A Study in International Relations, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1941).

¹²¹Ibid., 279.

¹²²Ibid.

discrimination hindered economic mobility among the Japanese, and perpetuated a cycle of lower living standards and accompanying higher birth rate.¹²³

A shift in sociological orientation towards race relations, however, resulted from the crisis in race relations in British Columbia that culminated in the evacuation and "repatriation" of the Japanese population in that province. To many associated with the federal government's investigation of race relations in that province, including Angus and diplomat Hugh Keenleyside, and to observers like sociologist Forrest La Violette, the roots of the crisis lay in popular attitudes of racial prejudice and discrimination.

The evacuation and internment of the Canadian Japanese during the Second World War particularly underscored the inherent tensions between traditional attitudes in British Columbia, social change, and Canadian democratic values. Furthermore, for Angus and La Violette, the war crisis in Canadian-Japanese relations meant that the limitations not only of Canadian policy solutions, but of the social ecology model of race relations, needed to be addressed.¹²⁴ The crisis in Canadian-Japanese relations culminated in the evacuation of all persons of Japanese descent in British Columbia in 1941. Occurring as it did at the height of the Canadian reevaluation of

¹²³Ibid., 278.

¹²⁴Banton, The Idea of Race, 112-13.

citizenship, the evacuation and subsequent "repatriation" was a final indignity that underscored the contradictions in Canadian liberal thinking between democratic ideology and overt racism.

The role of Angus and La Violette, an American-born and American-trained sociologist teaching at McGill University, was to draw attention to minority relations as an analytical focus, and further to shift the study of race relations to the study of race prejudice. In particular, both Angus and La Violette focused on the effects of the war on the Canadian Japanese as a minority group, and on what Angus termed the "high social cost" of the "colour bar" that enforced social and economic discrimination against the Japanese.¹²⁵ La Violette, moreover, placed this theme in comparative context; a student of Japanese assimilation in the United States, he drew a comparative focus between the Canadian and American experiences with Japanese assimilation. In 1948, his research was published as The Canadian Japanese and World War II for both the C.I.I.A. and I.P.R.¹²⁶

In 1940, Angus had been named to the Special Committee on Orientals in British Columbia, appointed to investigate the position of the Chinese and Japanese populations in wartime British Columbia.

¹²⁵H. F. Angus, "The Effect of the War on Oriental Minorities in Canada," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 7, 4 (November 1941): 506-16.

¹²⁶Forrest E. La Violette, The Canadian Japanese and World War II: A Social and Psychological Account, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948).

The investigation was to proceed with a view to matters relating to internal security and military training.¹²⁷ Angus would additionally be appointed to a subsequent standing committee charged with carrying out the recommendations of the Special Committee.¹²⁸ In 1941, Angus reported on the activity and findings of the Special Committee in a paper presented at the round table on sociology at the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association in Kingston. The paper also contained a statement of Angus's views of the wartime minority status of the Canadian Japanese.¹²⁹

According to Angus, the chief findings of the Special Committee were the high degree of public suspicion and distrust of the Japanese population, and the lack of any substantial evidence for that suspicion.¹³⁰ Based on the lack of evidence of subversive Japanese activity (or what La Violette would later term "peaceful penetration"), the Special Committee concluded that the source of popular antagonism towards the Japanese population was not economic competition, as most of the witnesses had claimed. Rather, it was the manipulation of public opinion by unnamed individuals for

¹²⁷Special Committee on Orientals in British Columbia (Canada), Report of the Special Committee on Orientals in British Columbia, (Ottawa, 1940); Angus, "The Effect of the War on Oriental Minorities in Canada," 511.

¹²⁸Angus, "The Effect of the War on Oriental Minorities in Canada," 513.

¹²⁹Ibid., 506-16.

¹³⁰Ibid., 511.

political advantage.¹³¹ One of the chief recommendations of the committee, therefore, was the production of official statements aimed at quelling public hysteria against the Japanese population.¹³² The committee additionally recommended legislation to redress the disparity in living standards and discrimination in employment against the Japanese.¹³³

At the same time, the Special Committee feared that a hysteria-induced public violence against the Japanese population in British Columbia was imminent, and implemented a system of registration of the Japanese population designed primarily to assuage public fears. Most of the committee's recommendations, in fact, had been designed largely for the protection of the Japanese community against incidents resulting from suspicions of illegal entry, the use of the Japanese language schools for foreign propaganda, and other fears of Japanese militaristic objectives. One of the most unfortunate recommendations, in Angus's view, had been the decision to bar Canadian Japanese soldiers from the armed forces. This measure, designed to protect conflict between Japanese and Canadian soldiers, also denied Canadian Japanese an opportunity for the franchise and full admission to Canadian citizenship through military

¹³¹Ibid., 512.

¹³²Ibid.

¹³³Ibid.

service.¹³⁴

In general, though, Angus suggested that a reasonably tolerant view of the Canadian Japanese had been promoted by the Canadian press. Given the history of racial antipathy in British Columbia, he wrote, the Japanese Canadians had been treated during the crisis "as good as could be reasonably expected." Angus further praised the generally tolerant demeanour assumed by the Canadian press.¹³⁵ Over time, he also expected to see the political and economic disabilities against the Canadian Japanese fall, with the eventual admission of the Japanese to a position of political and economic equality.¹³⁶

The residual problem, however, would be the *de facto* colour bar against the Japanese, and the resulting "concealed social cost" of subjecting particularly the elite of the Canadian Japanese community to economic and social discrimination. The cost of the colour barrier would be a legacy of introspection, bitterness and defensiveness within the Canadian Japanese elite, a legacy which would be transmitted through the elite to the community in general.¹³⁷ To this end, Angus hoped to see a policy that would address not the "Japanese problem," but the problem of popular

¹³⁴Ibid., 513.

¹³⁵Ibid., 515.

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷Ibid., 516.

opinion that he viewed as the source of the *de facto* colour bar in the first place.¹³⁸

The effect of the war on the Japanese minority was also the subject of La Violette's book-length exposition published in 1948; by that time, the Japanese expulsion and "repatriation" had imparted an additional irony, in Angus's and La Violette's view, to the simultaneous Canadian redefinition of citizenship and human rights.¹³⁹ For Angus, the question also had underscored the contradictions between Canadian political ideals and an unwillingness to examine questions of racial discrimination and intolerant minorities.¹⁴⁰

La Violette, a student of the Japanese evacuations in both Canada and the United States, was a colleague of Everett C. Hughes at McGill's Department of Sociology. La Violette received his doctorate from the University of Chicago, and was an associate professor of sociology at McGill when he published The Canadian Japanese and World War II. Prior to that, he had been the author of a study of the assimilation of Japanese immigrants in the United States, a study that focused on the family and community life of American Japanese and drew some comparisons with the situation of

¹³⁸Ibid.

¹³⁹H. F. Angus, "Preface," in La Violette, The Canadian Japanese and World War II, vi.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., vii.

the Canadian Japanese.¹⁴¹ That study, rather than having been an examination of the rate or success of assimilation, focused on how the assimilation of this group had been shaped and complicated by the fact of racial discrimination.¹⁴²

The Canadian Japanese and World War II revisited this theme, and went a step beyond. The book was an indepth exploration of the war crisis in British Columbia, and the subsequent evacuation, resettlement, and "repatriation" of Japanese resident in British Columbia during the outbreak of war. But as well as restating the author's earlier findings about the influence of race discrimination or the "colour bar," the book also investigated the source of racial prejudice in the historical and social conditions of the province of British Columbia as a marginalized society.

For La Violette, the analytical focus had similarly shifted in the postwar period from the "Oriental problem" [sic] to the "British Columbian problem." La Violette now saw the Japanese crisis as the outcome of "the will of the people." He further situated its causes in the ideological tensions within British Columbia, resulting from having to adapt to a North American ideological framework from the perspective of a residual imperialist and racist outlook belonging to an older colonial past. Or, in La Violette's words, the crisis

¹⁴¹Forrest E. La Violette, Americans of Japanese Ancestry: A Study of Assimilation in the American Community, (Toronto: The Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1945).

¹⁴²Ibid., 2.

had its roots in "the effort to reconcile remaining 'British' with becoming 'Americanized'". In the historical process of resisting incorporation by the United States, he argued, British Columbians had effectively turned inward, developed a "high level of self-consciousness," and excluded anyone who were unable or unwilling to achieve rapid integration within the developing society.¹⁴³ The result was "the firm establishment of the social inferiority of the Oriental peoples, in a quasi-caste social status if not fully a caste position," and the subsequent refusal to admit Asian peoples to full citizenship.¹⁴⁴

La Violette's research signalled a shift in sociological emphasis from the earlier examination of the "ecological aspects of social life," which appeared to leave many questions about racial prejudice and its origins unaddressed.¹⁴⁵ By war's end, both the Japanese crisis and the redefinition of Canadian citizenship had necessitated an altering of the sociological perspective on Asian assimilation and subsequent policy. Research subsequently shifted from a focus on the assimilability (or lack thereof) of the Asian populations to the study of racial prejudice, its impact on the Japanese community, and its roots in the conditions of British Columbian society. Both Angus and La Violette additionally

¹⁴³Ibid., 283.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., 286-87.

¹⁴⁵This point is addressed in Banton, The Idea of Race, 112-13.

attempted to draw Canadians' attention to the social impact of the "colour bar," or ongoing racial discrimination, and the effect of government policies that further subjected Canadians of Japanese ancestry to isolating and discriminatory measures. Particular emphasis was placed upon the contradictions between the existence of prejudice and fundamental Canadian democratic values, an irony underscored in light of the recent attempts to redefine citizenship under the new citizenship legislation.

The experiences of the war had in effect created a significant shift in the liberal examination of race relations in Canada. The war in general, and the Japanese crisis in particular, had inaugurated a search for new concepts of race relations, and a need for new "political concepts and analytical tools" during a time of rapid political and social change.¹⁴⁶ This was also a concurrent development in American and British sociology, propelled by a newer wartime emphasis on majority-minority relations.¹⁴⁷ But as yet postwar policy directions remained largely unaffected by the change in emphasis within social science research.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., 169.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

Chapter VII
Cultural Pluralism in Interwar Canada

The writings of C.N.R. manager and pluralist scholar Robert England suggest the development in interwar Canada of an approach to immigration and assimilation that criticized the attempts of the state to superimpose a uniformity of values and standards upon different cultures.¹ At the same time, a movement began within Canadian social science towards an emphasis on cultures and culture contact, and away from the collectivist-individualist focus of the "social ecology" model of the University of Chicago. This chapter first examines the development of interwar cultural pluralism, and later considers the contribution of social science, through the "culture concept," to a pluralist view of race relations. The culture concept meant a shift in emphasis away from evolutionary racial theory, and provided a scientific buttress for cultural pluralism.

In 1920, John Murray Gibbon, a British journalist on assignment in the Canadian west, took issue with the wartime nativistic assault on the "foreign-born" in an article for Queen's Quarterly.² Rather insightfully, he noted that the recent spate of antiforeign

¹For a detailed discussion of England's pluralism, see chapter 5, 295-310 below.

²John Murray Gibbon, "The Foreign Born," Queen's Quarterly 27, 4 (April, May, June, 1920), 331.

sentiment had been closely linked to the sense of nationality that had emerged in Canada during the late war; he characterized wartime nationalism as a "spirit which demands that the foreign born shall either accept the ideals and obligations of Canadian citizenship or get out".³

Gibbon's article called attention to the exploitation and prejudice directed against immigrants, and appealed to Canadians to reject a set of values that regarded immigrants solely in terms of their economic value to the country.⁴ In response, his approach to immigration incorporated a distinctive core of national values that echoed those of Woodsworth and J. T. M. Anderson before him. "If Canada is wise," he wrote,

...she will profit by the mistakes of her neighbours to the south, and see that the immigrant encouraged or allowed to settle in this country is not merely left to himself to sink or swim, but is led to feel that the country is glad to have him, provided he conforms to the laws, sends his children to school, takes an interest and pride in his new country. But he must have educational facilities good and cheap, and must be presented from unfair exploitation.⁵

While immigration regulations tightened and became more restrictive in the 1920s, the emergence of cultural pluralism emerged in juxtaposition to nativism, as well as to the vision of Canadian nationalism presented by supporters of immigration

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., 350-351.

⁵Ibid., 349-350.

restriction such as Arthur Lower.⁶ Lower, in his memoirs, recalled his inaugural public lecture as newly appointed department head at Manitoba's Wesley College, shortly after his graduation from Harvard University in 1929. Selecting immigration restriction for his subject, a topic he believed was a safe and innocuous one, Lower was taken aback the next day when his lecture was reviewed and firmly denounced by J. W. Dafoe in the Winnipeg Free Press.⁷ The response Lower subsequently received from his Manitoba peers and colleagues confirmed that the brand of nationalism Lower represented had little support in a region increasingly becoming multicultural, and defining itself in pluralist terms.

Although Lower defended his vision of Canadian exclusiveness and cautionary approach towards immigration until the end, his later writings, such as the article "Motherlands," attempted to give some recognition to the pluralism emerging in the academic and scholarly milieu of interwar western Canada.⁸ Still, Lower had committed himself to an underlying cultural unity which he suggested would form the basis of a common Canadianism or civilization, and seemed

⁶On Lower's vision of the national community and subsequent views of immigration, see Berger, The Writing of Canadian History, ch. 5, "Arthur Lower and the National Community," 112-36. See also Arthur R. M. Lower, History and Myth: Arthur Lower and the Making of Canadian Nationalism, ed. by Welf H. Heick, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975), 251.

⁷Arthur R. M. Lower, My First Seventy-Five Years, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1967), 164.

⁸A. R. M. Lower, "Motherlands," Dalhousie Review 18 (1938): 143-48.

to look forward to the day when the diverse cultures in Canada became "fused" into a common element known as "Canadianism".⁹ In light of concurrent developments in Europe, Lower continued in the late thirties to fear the "Balkanization" of Canada's cultural groups as an outcome of self-conscious nationalism within these groups.¹⁰

As the example of Gibbon illustrates, cultural pluralism at the end of the First World War was, in part, a response to wartime nativism, or the juxtaposition of antiforeign sentiment and the wave of nationalism that accompanied the war.¹¹ Cultural pluralism immediately following the war was also a reaction to the perceived cultural bankruptcy and excesses of modernization, and an attempt to redress the standardization of modern economic society through the incorporation of European folk values. Cultural pluralists subsequently looked to the cultural values of European immigrant

⁹Ibid., 148.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Nativism in Canada has been explored in Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1982). The definitive study of nativism is John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925, corrected and with a new preface (New York: Atheneum, 1963). For recent critical appraisals of the model of nativism advanced by Higham, see American Jewish Quarterly, special issue, "A Reexamination of a Classic Work in American Jewish History: John Higham's Strangers in the Land," 76, 2 (1986), 107-226. See also Howard Palmer, "Strangers in the Land: A Canadian Perspective," in *ibid.*, 117-24.

societies to anchor Canadian society, as well as promoting a revised version of ethnic relations to protect immigrants from the effects of a zealous assimilation campaign.

In interwar Canada, cultural pluralism as a critique of Canadian society often took literary form, and was expressed in the writings of authors, journalists, and cultural critics, particularly those at the forefront of the search for a Canadian national literature.¹² These writers, including Watson Kirkconnell, Frederick Philip Grove, John Murray Gibbon, and E. L. Chicanot, accepted the racial classifications accepted by mainstream science, and did not challenge basic categorizations of race. However, cultural pluralism incorporated "organic" theories about human behaviour, theories derived from studies of the psychology of the immigrant and the sociology of immigrant adjustment.¹³ They further emphasized the importance of traditional European immigrant values in an assault on the standardization of Canadian culture, and particularly on that variety linked with imperialism. In so doing, interwar pluralists further developed an alternative view of ethnic relations to the imperialist definition of cultural and ethnic relations that mainstream opinion had not managed to relinquish by the

¹²American cultural pluralism has been examined by Fred Matthews, "The Revolt Against Americanism: Cultural Pluralism and Cultural Relativism as an Ideology of Liberation," Canadian Review of American Studies 1, 1 (Spring 1970), 9. Matthews contends that interwar cultural pluralism was linked to a "volk romanticism" that often idealized the qualities of European peasant societies.

¹³Ibid., 6.

mid-1920s, and that formed the basis of much of Canadian immigration policy.¹⁴ Additionally, pluralists saw themselves as critiquing both imperialist versions of race relations and a liberal democratic ideology associated with the United States.

With the vast majority of immigrants settling on the Canadian prairies, the process of acculturation was regarded as more active and prominent there than in any other province in Canada. For Canadian sociologists, the west came to be regarded as a social experiment in progress, an experiment in social diversity, acculturation, and heterogeneity. The significance of the western region as a laboratory for cultural diversity was similarly a prominent consideration for cultural pluralists. Moreover, pluralists such as Kirkconnell, England, Grove and Gibbon resided in the west and worked in close proximity with western immigrant populations. The west was considered to have special significance for the process of citizenship and nation-building in Canada. The proximity of the west for these thinkers meant that cultural pluralism was influenced by a firsthand experience of the process of acculturation. This theme, for instance, was articulated by Watson Kirkconnell in 1928, who believed that the prairies were "capable of sustaining at least fifty millions of people" and that the west was "the future centre

¹⁴These concepts are discussed in the British context in Deryck Shreuder, "British Imperialism and the Politics of Ethnicity: The 'Warring Nations' of the African Highveld," Journal of Canadian Studies 25, 1 (Spring 1990), 123, and in Paul B. Rich, Race and Empire in British Politics, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

of gravity of Canada's population."¹⁵

The uniqueness of the prairie West, and its role in the development of a Canadian civilization, were frequent themes in the literature of diversity and assimilation. The first expressions of cultural pluralism were as a literary construct, but these literary expressions themselves were also associated with a concurrent sociological recognition of the underlying cultural and psychological process of adaptation and acculturation, as described in books such as Robert E. Park's Old World Traits Transplanted. Furthermore, interwar cultural pluralism in Canada incorporated a reappraisal of the uniformity and standardization of modern Canadian civilization, usually expressed in cultural terms. In this instance, cultural diversity, and particularly its expression in artistic and folk cultures and crafts, provided a radical critique of the march toward standardization in popular culture and social norms.

These themes were expressed in the writings of John Murray Gibbon, later the author of The Canadian Mosaic.¹⁶ By the early 1920s, Gibbon's articles emphasized the heterogeneity of western Canadian society. He wrote of the "Canadian garden," an early variation of the concept of the mosaic. Often written in romantic

¹⁵Watson Kirkconnell, "Western Immigration," Canadian Forum (July 1928), 706-07.

¹⁶John Murray Gibbon, The Canadian Mosaic: the Making of a Northern Nation, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1938).

and metaphorical prose, the idea of the "Canadian garden" was a literary construct that incorporated the idea of the many European "seeds" within it. The metaphor appeared in Gibbon's paper for the Royal Society of Canada, "European 'Seeds' in the Canadian Garden." Here, Gibbon wrote almost metaphorically of Canada as a fabric within which the many colourful strains of European cultures were interwoven, to produce a whole that was more than simply the sum of its parts.¹⁷

The publication of Park's Old World Traits Transplanted had been a significant sociological step towards a theory of acculturation, and epitomized the difficulty of immigrant adjustment to the Canadian environment. Gibbon specifically referred to the text in his study of the poetic and literary contributions of the "New Canadians" to Canadian literature, and similarly alluded to the transplanting of European cultural and literary traits onto Canadian "literary soil" where they would grow into a new national literature.¹⁸ Subsequently, Gibbon was led to examine the national origins of American short story fiction writers, and noted with considerable interest that a proliferation of writers of immigrant origin were contributing to an active American literature.¹⁹ In a

¹⁷John Murray Gibbon, "European Seeds in the Canadian Garden," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. 17 (1923), 119-29.

¹⁸Ibid., 127.

¹⁹Ibid., 121.

slightly different vein, Watson Kirkconnell also would refer to the role of immigrant adjustment in shaping the national literature of Canada. Kirkconnell would later contend that the theme of immigrant adjustment was probably the definitive theme in the poetry and literature of the "New Canadians", and that the future sociologist attempting to analyze the immigrant experience in Canada would do well to look into what he would term the "poetry of transition" for evidence.²⁰

This emphasis in Canadian letters directly challenged the assumption of the unassimilability of the European immigrant, particularly that of the peasant and lower classes from continental Europe. Written in 1923, Gibbon's "European Seeds in the Canadian Garden" made a point of noting the level of creativity and artistic expression particularly among the lower classes and peasantry of continental European origin, a creativity he found lacking within the Anglo-Canadian population. In so doing, he consciously separated class from culture in his description of the European Canadians. The result was a high estimation of their cultural potential, based on the cultural accomplishments of these groups in their native Europe.²¹ This was a departure from the early twentieth-century perception that these classes represented a

²⁰Watson Kirkconnell, A Slice of Canada: Memoirs, (Toronto: Published for Acadia University by University of Toronto Press, 1967), 81.

²¹Ibid., 122, 129.

distinct threat to the political and social stability of the Canadian community.

The literary concerns and sociological emphasis that surfaced in Gibbon's journalistic prose also emerged in the stories and articles of author Frederick Philip Grove.²² Grove's pluralism additionally contained a critique of the perceived standardization and homogenization of Canadian culture, and a rejection of the materialistic standards that he associated with the United States.²³ Cultural pluralism, in Grove's opinion, was what separated Canada from the United States, and ensured the integrity and separateness of Canadian identity.²⁴ Grove's pluralism especially emphasized "European values" in ensuring the separateness of that identity, values that were perpetuated through the heterogeneity of the Canadian population.²⁵

Grove had considerable reason to sympathize with the immigrant community in the postwar discussion of immigration; he was an emigrant from Germany who had arrived in Canada during the Sifton years.²⁶ Regardless, he concealed his German background while

²²Grove is examined in Enoch Padolsky, "Grove's 'Nationhood' and the European Immigrant," Journal of Canadian Studies 22, 1 (Spring 1987): 32-33.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., 33.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid., 34.

attacking prejudice and pleading for tolerance towards "non-preferred" immigrant groups, and identified himself publicly as being of Anglo-Scandinavian immigrant origin.²⁷

Grove's views of ethnic relations and Canadian identity were articulated in a speaking tour for the Association of Canadian Clubs in 1928, for which he had been recruited by the Association's national president, Graham Spry.²⁸ At Spry's invitation, Grove chose as his lecture theme his experiences as an immigrant, and the contribution that the "new Canadian" had to make to the Canadian national character.²⁹ Articles and addresses such as "Assimilation," "The Meaning of Nationhood," and "Canadians Old and New," written and published between 1928 and 1929, generally serve as a developed statement of Grove's pluralism as a cultural critique of the "melting-pot" ideology and of the materialism associated with "Americanization".³⁰

²⁷Ibid., 45.

²⁸Graham Spry to Frederick Philip Grove, Ottawa, February 7, 1928. Frederick Philip Grove Collection, Mss 2, Box 3, fd. 5, Department of Archives and Special Collections, Elizabeth Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba.

²⁹Spry to Grove, Ottawa, 11 June 1928. Grove Collection, Box 3, fd. 5.

³⁰Frederick Philip Grove, "Assimilation," Frederick Philip Grove Collection, Mss 2, Box 19, fd. 1; reprinted in MacLean's (September 1, 1929), 7, 74-5, 78-9. See also idem, "Canadians Old and New," Grove Collection, Mss 2, Box 19, fd. 2, reprinted in MacLean's (March 15, 1928), 3, 55-6; and "The Meaning of Nationhood," Grove Collection, Mss 2, Box 19, fd. 7, reprinted in Canadian Nation 2, 1 (March 1928), 8-10.

In articles such as "Assimilation" and "Nationhood," Grove outlined a theory of ethnic relations that he presented as an alternative to the "melting pot" model of the United States. In general, these articles repudiated the model of melting-pot assimilation epitomized in the American immigrant experience.³¹ While these articles seemed to suggest some degree of assimilation was necessary, Grove still rejected the idea of a "one-sided assimilation" in which immigrants gave up their own civilization in favour of the more materialistic values of their new environment.³² Grove therefore provided a critique of materialism that incorporated the cultural and folk contributions of European groups as a counterweight to the worst of negative liberalism.³³

As well as providing a radical critique of "Canadianization" or melting-pot assimilation, Grove appeared to incorporate a pluralist ideal of British imperial relations that referred to English poet and critic Matthew Arnold. Indeed, Grove appeared to have been influenced by Arnold as a critic of Victorian materialism, and transferred Arnold's conception of the "idea of beauty" to a moral and aesthetic criticism of Canadian economic values as

³¹Grove, "Assimilation," 6-14; "The Meaning of Nationhood," 8; "Canadians Old and New," 9-10.

³²Grove, "Canadians Old and New," 6.

³³Matthews, "The Revolt Against Americanism," 8, argues that American pluralists reverted to a "volk ideology," romanticizing the folk qualities of European immigrants in their critique of Americanization.

materialist and contributing to the standardization of society:

The fundamental idea which stands behind all art, the idea of beauty, is one of the great realities, of vastly deeper importance than economic prosperity; it is one of the immortal needs of mankind without which it cannot have 'life'. By insisting on such ideas, by spreading them, the critic must, in an economically heterogeneous mass, in the 'public', produce that homogeneity of judgment as to what is excellent which we call 'taste' and which is--with regard to literary and artistic production--a reality within those nations which present to us, as such, the spectacle of a spiritual entity--as France, or Greece, or the Germany of a hundred years ago.³⁴

This central idea informed Grove's cultural pluralism as well as that of other pluralists. The British pluralist critics of imperial race relations had reminded their Victorian readers of the importance of the diversity of cultures in rejuvenating the "philistinism" of Victorian culture.³⁵ In interwar Canada, Grove transmitted this idea to a plurally-based conception of Canada, describing Canada in terms similar to the British Isles: as a "mixed population, compounded of many different racial strains."³⁶ The continuation of an unassimilated French-Canadian presence attested to the success of Canadians in maintaining a federation along the lines of the British Empire.³⁷ This federation, for Grove, was integral to

³⁴Frederick Philip Grove, It Needs to Be Said... (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Limited, 1929), 44-45. These concepts are analyzed for the British context in Henry S. Kariel, "Pluralism," Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (1968), 165.

³⁵Rich, Race and Empire, 14.

³⁶Grove, "Canadians Old and New," 1.

³⁷Grove, "The Meaning of Nationhood," 4.

the Canadian identity, and distinguished the Canadian nation from a "mere British Crown colony" where the "foreigner" was regarded with suspicion and assimilation was the rule.³⁸

Grove criticized the "melting-pot" on several grounds. The experience of the first and second generations showed the failure of the attempt to standardize immigrant cultures according to an individualist ideal. The first generation remained half-assimilated and displaced, looking with regret at the culture that was no longer in place; the second generation had forgotten the old traditions altogether. "Under the methods so far tried on this continent," Grove wrote, "the immigrant, instead of finding himself transplanted, at last finds that he was merely uprooted."³⁹

Grove, like many of his pluralist contemporaries in Canada and the United States, linked his critique of "Americanization" with an emphasis on the European peasant tradition.⁴⁰ In the European folk tradition, Grove and other interwar cultural pluralists found a counterpoint to the materialism and individualism of modern society.⁴¹ The importance of the European peasant tradition to a

³⁸Grove, "Canadians Old and New," 1.

³⁹Grove, "Assimilation," 12.

⁴⁰Matthews, "The Revolt Against Americanism," 8; Padolsky, "Grove's 'Nationhood' and the European Immigrant," 33, 45-46; Grove, "Assimilation," Frederick Philip Grove Collection, Mss 2, Box 19, fd. 1, Department of Archives and Special Collections, Elizabeth Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba.

⁴¹Matthews, "The Revolt Against Americanism," 8.

revitalization of Canadian national unity, according to Grove, gave the west a particular significance in the shaping of a Canadian social ideology.

Grove juxtaposed the Canadian experience with immigration against the American experience, but cited the British empire as an example of the pluralist ethnic relations he sought, describing the British empire in terms of a pluralist federation. Rather than assimilating the immigrant, he argued, Canadians should place a higher priority on securing immigrant loyalty through emphasizing the fundamental equality of all groups within a common federation. He held out the model of imperial pluralism as an example of how this could be done:

The British Empire has not assimilated the Hindu, the Africander [sic], the Kaffir, the Irishman: it would be a disaster if it had done so; for life would have lost much of its colour and charm. Nor has Anglo-Saxon Canada assimilated French Quebec. But both have secured the loyalty of those unassimilable portions of the population; and they have secured them for the very reason that they left them their spiritual independence and freedom.⁴²

In contrast to the United States, Canada was in a position to articulate a "principle of federation and good-will, respect, and recognition" regarding its immigrant population.⁴³ Grove explained the principle of "federation" with respect to Herodotus and the idea of "Isonomia," a word which he translated as "'equality before the

⁴²Grove, "Assimilation," 13.

⁴³Ibid., 14.

law'", as "'federation,'" as "'unity within diversity'", or as "'Fair Play.'"⁴⁴ The vision of ethnic relations was of the fundamental equality of each within a "common loyalty," a vision that came to be defined particularly as the "unity within diversity" spoken of by Watson Kirkconnell and others by the end of the 1930s.⁴⁵

Finally, Grove placed particular value upon the Canadian west as the source of the spiritual values required for the development of a Canadian cultural civilization.⁴⁶ In an article which illustrated the author's own preoccupation with the Arnoldian idea of "striving after beauty," Grove examined the folk culture of European peasantry as reflecting the timeless and higher spiritual purpose reflected in Dante, Homer, Shakespeare and Goethe.⁴⁷ This was a European tradition with fundamentally tragic overtones, the tradition "which looks at life with a fanatical and almost Biblical seriousness even when it smiles or jests."⁴⁸ This tradition Grove considered central to the evolution of a Canadian national culture or spiritual civilization, and a necessary counterpoint to the newer American tradition which had not yet developed these spiritual

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Watson Kirkconnell, A Slice of Canad, 281.

⁴⁶Grove, "The Meaning of Nationhood," 11.

⁴⁷Ibid., 11.

⁴⁸Ibid., 12.

values.⁴⁹

Grove found the emergence of this European-like tradition in the poverty and struggles of the heterogeneous peoples of the pioneer Canadian west.⁵⁰ The men and women of the Canadian west, he wrote, "...stand distinctly opposed to what we call the march of our great material civilisation [sic] of our neighbours to the south."⁵¹ In the heterogeneous population of the west, and particularly in the group settlements in the poorer reaches of the pioneer area, Grove found a civilization in the making, incorporating the timeless spiritual fundamentals he associated with European civilization.

Western ethnic settlements held special significance for Canadian cultural pluralists, and the ideology of cultural pluralism in Canada incorporated this idea. In the cultural diversity of the west was to be found the rejuvenation of the Canadian nation, and its immigrants were to provide the spiritual foundation of Canadian civilization. This notion, summarized in the concept of "individuality in a people's civilization," encapsulated Grove's cultural pluralism; the idea summarized the interrelationship between the personality of the individual, its locus in the European tradition of the group of origin, and its relationship to national identity.⁵²

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid., 12-13.

⁵¹Ibid., 14.

⁵²Ibid., 15.

Many of Gibbon's and Grove's themes were reiterated by Eugene Louis Chicanot, journalist and author, as a pluralist critique of the cultural standardization and homogenization of Canadian society. Chicanot was the author of Homestead Rhymes and editor of Rhymes of the Miner: An Anthology of Canadian Mining Verse, and wrote both popular poetry and prose on various facets of the western pioneer experience, particularly that of the immigrant.⁵³

Like many others, Chicanot used the metaphor of the mosaic to describe the cosmopolitanism that was taking shape in western Canada. The mosaic or the acknowledgement of cultural diversity accompanied the sense that western Canada was "the youngest section" in Canada, "merely in the primary stages of development through which others had passed."⁵⁴ In a sense, Chicanot repeated the earlier argument that the establishment of a homogeneous character could not be accomplished because of the absence of an established population and social base, especially when compared with the older provinces of Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes. With western Canada "in a stage of flux," unlike the established eastern provinces, the future still seemed "uncertain enough to make immigration interesting."⁵⁵

Chicanot's pluralism was indicated both in his verse and in

⁵³E. L. Chicanot, Homestead Rhymes (n.p., 192?); Chicanot, Rhymes of the Miner: An Anthology of Canadian Mining Verse, (Gardenvale, Quebec: Federal Publications Limited, 1937).

⁵⁴E. L. Chicanot, "Moulding a Nation," Dalhousie Review 9 (1929-30), 232.

⁵⁵Ibid.

articles on western immigration that he contributed to the leading popular journals during the 1920s and 1930s. Cultural heterogeneity, according to Chicanot, gave the western provinces a regional distinctiveness that was not shared by any other section of the Dominion.⁵⁶ That the west should have been portrayed in this fashion was a reflection of the pioneer ethos associated with the Canadian west, incorporating the sense that the prairies were being hewed from "rough elements" by a people unique in its cosmopolitan origins. In part, though, the emphasis by Chicanot on the cosmopolitanism of the west was a response to the assimilationist argument that the "polyglot" or culturally differentiated nature of the west made that region a potentially explosive political factor.

Rather, Chicanot argued that the west provided a unique opportunity to see the forces of Canadianization in action.⁵⁷ Chicanot predicted that the "welding of the cultural contributions of these various nationalities may develop the process of Canadianization on a higher plane than has yet been conceived."⁵⁸ The west provided a foreshadowing of the "great unification of citizenship which is so much to be desired."⁵⁹

Chicanot's cultural pluralism, like Grove's, as well as

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid., 237.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

reflecting the implementation of an experiment in group relations or democracy, incorporated an aesthetic and moral critique of modernization. The pluralism of the west provided an antidote to the standardization of modern culture, which was largely to be found in the expression of the richness of the cultural life brought by the various nationalities settling in Canada. In opposition to the trappings of standardized American culture, summarized as "a car, a radio, and a taste for jazz and cheap movies," western craft and music festivals instead provided compensation for the aestheticism lost through the "levelling, rolling out, and stamping as with a die to an accepted pattern."⁶⁰ Watson Kirkconnell, writing for the Canadian Forum in 1928, had similarly noted the importance of handicraft and folk music festivals in alleviating "both the tedium of a Western farm winter and the deadly uniformity of the Machine Age."⁶¹ This appears to have been a common theme in Canadian cultural pluralism.

Watson Kirkconnell, a friend and colleague of Frederick Philip Grove's, was also strongly influenced by the idea of "unity within diversity," of a cultural "federation" of ethnic groups within a common Canadian loyalty. Similar issues preoccupied Kirkconnell: the widening rift between first and second generations

⁶⁰Ibid., 233.

⁶¹Watson Kirkconnell, "Western Immigration," 58.

of immigrants, and the "atomistic" existence forced upon ethnic groups through the assimilation process.⁶² Kirkconnell emphasized the importance of a unifying or "integrating force" that would unite Canada's ethnic communities and provide them with a common Canadian consciousness.⁶³

Kirkconnell is remembered in Canadian historiography as a prominent spokesman for cultural pluralism, who played a critical role in "bridging the gap" between Canada and its ethnic minorities, in particular the Ukrainian Canadian population.⁶⁴ As well, he played a prominent public and political role during the transition of the wartime relationship between the Canadian state and its ethnic minorities. He was a controversial figure during the Second World War, playing a highly visible role as a vocal defender of Ukrainian Canadian unity, and through his association with the Nationalities Branch of the Department of National War Services. Also during the war, he was a sharp critic of communism and the imperialism of the Soviet Union. During a lengthy academic career, he was best noted for the grasp of linguistics and European languages that culminated in the translation of immigrant literature and letters, and their incorporation into a developing Canadian

⁶²Kirkconnell, A Slice of Canada, 260-61.

⁶³Ibid., 261.

⁶⁴N. F. Dreisziger, "Watson Kirkconnell and the Cultural Credibility Gap Between Immigrants and the Native-Born in Canada," in M. L. Kovacs, ed., Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education, (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1978), 87.

national literature.

Watson Kirkconnell graduated from Queen's University in 1916, where he received his M.A. in Latin and Greek, and from Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1922. He began his academic career at Wesley College, later United College, where he remained between 1922 and 1940. In 1940, he accepted a position at McMaster University, leaving in 1948 to become President of Acadia University, a position he held until ill health forced his retirement in 1964. As a professor of languages and literature, he began his academic career in Manitoba at roughly the same time the process of acculturation of ethnic minority groups in the prairie provinces got under way. In general, cultural pluralism in western Canada appears to have been shaped by the experience of being directly connected with the "process of acculturation" and immigrant adjustment.⁶⁵ The western provinces at this time were the site of an experiment in progress in the acculturation of immigrants, and integration was proceeding at a rapid pace. In Manitoba, by the end of the First World War the second generation of Icelandic, Ukrainian, and other immigrant arrivals in the province had graduated from the University of Manitoba and held professional and political positions within the province.

⁶⁵Dreisziger, "Watson Kirkconnell and the Cultural Credibility Gap," 88-9. Historical research on immigrant adjustment in early twentieth-century Canada has focused predominantly on relations between the host and ethnic communities, and the resulting expressions of prejudice and antagonism by the host society.

Kirkconnell's racial views and theories did not depart significantly from those employed by other Canadians in their description of minority groups. His graduate thesis, published in 1923 as International Aspects of Unemployment, made little reference to race relations, but proposed such biological or eugenic solutions for the unemployment crisis as the sterilization of the "unfit".⁶⁶ In so doing, he probably differed little from the liberal climate in Britain at that time, where sociology was not yet independent of biology and still incorporated elements of eugenic thinking.⁶⁷ Even liberals often advocated restraining the "unfit" in the interests of the physical and race "fitness" of the community.⁶⁸ For these neo-Malthusian conclusions, Kirkconnell was taken to task by sociologist R. M. MacIver, a prominent new liberal in his own right,

⁶⁶Watson Kirkconnell, International Aspects of Unemployment, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1923), 77-80, 211-214: "...if the mechanism of civilization becomes complex beyond the capacities of the race to perform its functions, or if the mental and moral qualities of the race actually degenerate and sink below the level required by the complexity of the economic and political system, the result must be ruinous collapse to a more primitive civilization commensurate with the mentality and morality of the race." (211-212)

⁶⁷Rich, Race and Empire, 94-5.

⁶⁸Michael Freeden, The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 179-180; Nancy Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960, (London: Macmillan Press, 1982), 146. The history of the eugenics movement in Canada is examined in Angus McLaren, Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1990). See also Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991).

in an otherwise encouraging review for The Canadian Forum.⁶⁹

Kirkconnell's racial theories appeared to differ little from accepted scientific standards in use in sociology and physical anthropology. In this, Kirkconnell was not unusual for his time; nor, however, did he make a significant departure in terms of racial theory. However, he actively repudiated formal race theory, and while later books like Canada, Europe and Hitler and Canadians All continued to employ standard anthropological classifications of race, this was mainly for the purposes of debunking the simplistic and pernicious racial typologies associated with Nazism.⁷⁰ Kirkconnell essentially regarded race typologies to be too convoluted to have any real meaning, and instead prioritized culture over biological theories of race.⁷¹ Like his contemporaries, Kirkconnell associated culture and race, using the two terms interchangeably, while rejecting as repugnant theories of racial superiority and inferiority. By 1928, Kirkconnell, writing for the Canadian Forum, had clearly dismissed the idea of race purity as a "figment of the

⁶⁹R. M. MacIver, review of Kirkconnell, International Aspects of Unemployment, in Canadian Forum 4, 37 (October 1923), 24. In his memoirs, Kirkconnell explained his pessimism as the result of his first encounter with social service work, and reflected on his thesis as follows: "My diagnosis of the malady [of unemployment] was that of the medical school clinic and not that of a man whose family had known the disease." (A Slice of Canada, 121)

⁷⁰Watson Kirkconnell, Canada, Europe, and Hitler, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1939), ch. 2, "Nazi Racial Dogma," 10-22; idem, Canadians All: a Primer of Canadian National Unity, (Ottawa: Director of Public Information, 1941), 8-11.

⁷¹Watson Kirkconnell, "Western Immigration," 706.

imagination."⁷² Rather, Kirkconnell accepted as scientific and historical fact that

...greatness in civilization has almost invariably come from a great blending of races and cultures. The most splendid mongrels of all were perhaps the ancient Athenians who, at the height of their achievement, were a fine mixture of blond Hellene and dark Pelasgic, with some Alpine, possibly Slavic, elements superadded. Thus Plato was a Nordic type, Aristotle was a dark Mediterranean, and Socrates, who was apparently neither, may have had Slavic affinities.⁷³

By the mid-1920s, Kirkconnell appears to have encountered some formal scientific and anthropological theory, although circumstances caused him to steer his anthropological interests into the formal study of linguistics. If anything, he seems to have been influenced by a branch of physical anthropology associated with the expatriate Canadian anthropologist Reginald Ruggles Gates.⁷⁴ Although he had never undertaken formal anthropological study, Kirkconnell's lifelong fascination with anthropology was evidenced in his membership in the Royal Anthropological Institute. In 1919, acting on the advice of Edward Sapir, Kirkconnell had actually made a

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Kirkconnell, A Slice of Canada, 37. Reginald Ruggles Gates, a Nova Scotia-born anthropologist, in the 1930s was at the centre of the British scientific establishment (Elazar Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars, [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992], 168-69). For Gates's hereditarian and polygenic views, see *ibid.*, 168-76, and Rich, Race and Empire, 115. After World War II, Gates was considered a professional anachronism (Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism, 169).

special trip to Columbia to approach Franz Boas regarding the prospects of further study in anthropology. Boas, whom Kirkconnell described as a "lean, belligerent-looking little man" with a face badly scarred from past duels, offered Kirkconnell some blunt advice:

In a candid burst of pessimism, he urged me to stay out of professional anthropology. Such a department was regarded as a frill by North American universities and was the first to get the axe whenever times grew hard. It would be folly to proceed, for I should run a great risk of starving.⁷⁵

While Kirkconnell heeded Boas' frank advice, he nonetheless retained an interest in anthropology, although as an amateur and a hobbyist rather than as a professional scholar. An article published in the American Journal of Physical Anthropology, titled "Mendelism and Cephalic Index," led to a fellowship in the Royal Anthropological Institute and a long friendship with Ruggles Gates. His apparent personal distaste for Boas, meanwhile, was accompanied by a subsequent focus on Mendelian inheritance rather than on Boas' hypotheses of environmental influences on the cephalic index.⁷⁶

Instead, Kirkconnell developed his skills in the study of linguistics. Kirkconnell further enjoyed a long association with Sapir and Roland G. Kent, which led to a membership in the Linguistics Society of America and a "sharpened perspective of linguistics

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid., 37.

as a world-wide science."⁷⁷ His professional ties also included the Rev. William Schmidt of Vienna (1868-1954), the author of several synthetic surveys of world anthropology and languages.⁷⁸ At Wesley College in Winnipeg, Kirkconnell had been able to pursue what he termed a "cross-fertilization" of classics and English with the concerted study of linguistics. Nonetheless, his interests, while aided by a zeal for detailed work and a prodigious memory, tended to avoid the more mathematical study of pure linguistics, which he eschewed for the "lush flora of natural languages."⁷⁹

By and large, Kirkconnell's works therefore did not tend toward a scientific or systematic reevaluation of physical anthropology or race. But like most social scientists, he had by and large rejected any theories of race superiority as untenable and morally repugnant, and employed the term "race" in a cultural rather than biological sense. In practice, the use of the term "race" often continued to imply a biological application, even among cultural pluralists who had not yet relinquished the typologies or classifications of physical anthropology of human groups into "races." Theories of nationality similarly tended, despite the repudiation of theories of race superiority, to be based on concepts of race.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid., 31.

⁷⁹Ibid., 83.

Instead, Kirkconnell, like Grove, sought a reorientation of ethnic relations from the prevailing emphasis on assimilation, and in particular from the emphasis on maintaining a privileged standard of living. On the rare occasions when he wrote of pluralism, Kirkconnell mounted a clear philosophical defence of the idea.⁸⁰ He argued for a limited role of the state in the realization of personality, rather than as an end in itself.⁸¹ His definition of the individual identity as realized through the "racial group" was consistent with the ideal of pluralism advanced within the early twentieth century. Such pluralists envisioned the state as a "society of societies," or "community of communities," and had wanted to limit the role of the state so as not to interfere with the realization of the fullest potential of the individual. This potential, in turn, could only be realized through association with groups outside the state, including one's ethnic group.⁸² As Kirkconnell put it, the good life

...goes on to seek the highest possible realization of personality. This realization of personality in the individual is closely linked up with the national character which racial constitution and historical experience have wrought out in the group from which he

⁸⁰Dreisziger, "Watson Kirkconnell and the Cultural Credibility Gap," 94-5.

⁸¹Cited in *ibid.*, 94.

⁸²These concepts are described in the British context in David Nicholls, The Pluralist State: The Political Ideas of J. N. Figgis and His Contemporaries, 2d ed., (London: Macmillan, 1990 [1975]), 7-10.

comes.⁸³

Ethnic identity was thereby central to Kirkconnell's thinking on Canadianism and Canadian ideology.⁸⁴

By the late 1920s and 1930s, this thinking had found expression in a lifelong career of translations of European Canadian poetry and prose, and an examination of the significance of "new Canadian" letters for the formation of a distinctively Canadian literature. The first of these, European Elegies, undertaken as a memorial to his wife, Isabel Peel Kirkconnell, who had died in childbirth in 1925, also incorporated the ideas that had been forming in Kirkconnell's mind since taking a position at Wesley College in 1922. By 1929, Kirkconnell had committed himself to the lifelong study of "new Canadian" poetry and prose in translation, seeming to feel that this was a mission for which he was particularly suited. He had proposed an ambitious translation project to his publisher, consisting of twenty "Canadian Books of European Verse," to be prepared between 1930 and 1949. At this time, Kirkconnell confided to his close friend Frederick Philip Grove, "I feel there is in the racial and national diversities in Canada a challenge to the best that I have to give; that I am prepared to devote the best years of my life to interpreting the European

⁸³Ibid., 94-5.

⁸⁴Dreisziger, "Watson Kirkconnell and the Cultural Credibility Gap," 92. These general concepts are also discussed in Nicholls, The Pluralist State, and in Matthews, "The Revolt Against Americanism."

tradition in Canada and the peoples of Europe (in Canada) to one another."⁸⁵

Kirkconnell's study and translation of "new Canadian" letters stressed the trauma of acculturation as the central and predominant theme of most immigrant poetry and prose.⁸⁶ Kirkconnell was most deeply impressed by the revelation that "[i]n some cases the wounds never heal, and the exile's grieving spirit either drives him back to a troubled homeland or renders him forever a hopeless misfit in the New World."⁸⁷ The "poetry of transition" was a recurring theme in Kirkconnell's study of immigrant letters:

All too few Canadians are aware of the vastness of the problem faced by our uprooted newcomers, whether among the lonely crowds of an automationist Megalopolis or in the crushing loneliness of a pioneer cabin. The old status, the old skills, the old language, the old friends may all be lost or useless. The immigrant may be bleeding inwardly from warfare, bereavement, indignity, or even physical torture. His past may be in ruins. In the sporadic poetry of a generation in transition we may, if we will, glimpse the inner world of its painful metamorphosis.⁸⁸

Like Grove, Kirkconnell had placed considerable emphasis on the "uprooted" immigrant, as opposed to the immigrant who was merely "transplanted."

⁸⁵Kirkconnell to Grove, 22 March 1929. Grove Collection, Mss 2, Box 2, fd. 6.

⁸⁶Kirkconnell, A Slice of Canada, 260.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Kirkconnell, "Homesickness in Several Minor Keys," paper presented before the Royal Society of Canada, 1961; quoted in A Slice of Canada, 81.

These themes were enlarged in subsequent translations such as Canadian Overtones, a 1935 anthology of ethnic Canadian poetry.⁸⁹ By the mid-1930s, Kirkconnell also had undertaken the publication of a regular column, "New Canadian Letters," for the University of Toronto Quarterly, an annual survey he conducted until forced by ill health to quit in 1966.⁹⁰ Canadian Overtones was especially significant as an articulation of Kirkconnell's views of cultural pluralism.⁹¹ The introduction of that volume echoed the pluralism of Grove, and the same criticism of the standardizing effects of assimilationism.

Like other pluralists, Kirkconnell was so critical of standardization that he had mainly contempt for the individual, native-born or otherwise, who had renounced his cultural background. A similar distaste had been expressed earlier by Grove.⁹² This theme was developed in the introduction to the 1935 Canadian Overtones, in which Kirkconnell depicted the "one hundred per cent Canadian" as the individual who "has deliberately suppressed an alien origin in order to reap the material benefits of a well-

⁸⁹Watson Kirkconnell, Canadian Overtones: An Anthology of Canadian Poetry, edited and translated by Watson Kirkconnell, (Winnipeg: Columbia Press, 1935).

⁹⁰Kirkconnell, A Slice of Canada, 82.

⁹¹Ibid., 280.

⁹²Dreisziger, "Watson Kirkconnell and the Cultural Credibility Gap," 92; Kirkconnell, A Slice of Canada, 280.

advertised loyalty."⁹³ Kirkconnell and Grove both reflected a distaste held by "communal liberals" for the "marginal man," who they saw as "psychically impoverished" for having "lost the strength afforded by membership in a stable community."⁹⁴ The recognition and encouragement of ethnic diversity would not only ameliorate this standardization, but would aid in the incorporation of ethnic minority groups into Canadian citizenship. In short, the recognition of diversity would instill the requisite loyalty to Canadian values and principles, and hasten the process of acculturation.

Like Grove, Kirkconnell also presented an alternate model of ethnic relations incorporating the principle of "diversity in unity".⁹⁵ Again, components of this model were presented in Canadian Overtones.⁹⁶ The full development of personality, individual and group, were subsequently necessary for the formation of national identity--a conclusion also alluded to by Grove in his concept of "individuality in a people's civilization," and consis-

⁹³Quoted in Dreisziger, "Watson Kirkconnell and the Cultural Credibility Gap," 93.

⁹⁴These concepts are articulated for the American context in Matthews, "The Revolt Against Americanism," 13.

⁹⁵Kirkconnell, A Slice of Canada, 281.

⁹⁶Dreisziger, "Watson Kirkconnell and the Cultural Credibility Gap," 94-95; Kirkconnell, A Slice of Canada, 280-81, also emphasizes the importance of Canadian Overtones as a statement of his views of the multicultural state.

tent with a pluralist theory of the state.⁹⁷

Kirkconnell, Grove, Gibbon, and Chicanot illustrate the development of a liberal pluralism in interwar Canada that incorporated a critique of early twentieth-century capitalist society, and that expressed repugnance with its standardizing and demoralizing effects.⁹⁸ Their experiences, and their search for an alternate view of ethnic relations, parallel those of American pluralists similarly responding to the "Americanization" or negative liberalism of the early twentieth century, with some distinctions.⁹⁹ Above all, they presented a liberal critique of the "materialism and prosperity-worship" of early twentieth-century Canadian society.¹⁰⁰ As well as taking part in the redefinition of Canadian cultural values, they articulated a model of pluralism that integrated ethnic diversity within a common unity, and presented ethnic diversity as a counterpoint to a materialist society. Some purposely referred to a plurally based model of ethnic relations that incorporated the example of British imperial race relations, and sought to perpetuate a similar pluralist federation on Canadian soil. Thus each emphasized the "diversity of cultures" as rejuvenating a materialist

⁹⁷Grove, "The Meaning of Nationhood," 15. See also Nicholls, The Pluralist State.

⁹⁸These concepts are examined in the British context in Henry S. Kariel, "Pluralism," Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (1968), 165.

⁹⁹Matthews, "The Revolt Against Americanism," 1.

¹⁰⁰Gibbon, "European Seeds in the Canadian Garden," 129.

civilization, and echoed the "plurally based conception" of the British nation and empire reminiscent of that advanced nearly a century earlier by Matthew Arnold.¹⁰¹ Their idea of cultural pluralism did not incorporate a critique of the concept of race, although they actively refuted the politics of race, particularly in the defence of ethnic minorities during the Second World War. However, under changed social and economic conditions, this pluralism would become important by the time of the Second World War.

Kirkconnell and Gibbon, along with Robert England, would not only take part in the wartime reexamination of ethnic relations, but would play a role in the bureaucratic apparatus established in the redefinition of relations between ethnic minorities and the Canadian state.¹⁰² Thus they would participate in the postwar dialogue on a more inclusive citizenship that culminated in the passing of the 1947 Citizenship Act. By the Second World War, the pluralist

¹⁰¹Rich, Race and Empire, 14.

¹⁰²This is explored in N. F. Dreisziger, "The Rise of a Bureaucracy for Multiculturalism: The Origins of the Nationalities Branch, 1939-1941," in Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan and Lubomyr Luciuk, eds., On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity and the Canadian State, 1939-1945, (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988), 1-30. See also Leslie A. Pal, "Identity, Citizenship and Mobilization: The Nationalities Branch and World War II," Canadian Public Administration 32, 3 (Fall 1989), 407-26. For a critical perspective, see William R. Young, "Building Citizenship: English Canada and Propaganda during the Second War," Journal of Canadian Studies 16, 3-4 (Autumn-Winter 1981), 121-32, and idem, "Chauvinism and Canadianism: Canadian Ethnic Groups and the Failure of Wartime Information," in Hillmer et al., eds., On Guard for Thee, 31-52.

concept of "unity in diversity" articulated by these pluralists would be used to herald the changing relationship between ethnic minorities and the state in Canada.

The antithesis of cultural pluralism was Kate A. Foster's Our Canadian Mosaic, sometimes cited as an example of the emergence of cultural pluralism.¹⁰³ Kate Adele Foster, later Kate Percival Foster, was born in Woodstock, Ontario. She became the wife of James William Percival, field secretary of the National Committee of the Y.W.C.A. and Executive of the Economic Relations Committee of that organization. In 1935, Foster became the organizer, co-founder, and chair of the National Committee Council of Friendship, an organization established in the interest of furthering harmonious relations with Canada's immigrant groups or "new Canadians."¹⁰⁴

Foster's earlier involvement with immigration, however, was considerably less pluralistic. In 1925, Foster had been commissioned by the Y.W.C.A. to undertake a survey of immigrant groups in western Canada. The resulting book, Our Canadian Mosaic, published in 1926, was not a tribute to cosmopolitanism and an ideology of ethnic equality, but a worried treatise by a social service worker on the great task of assimilation facing the country in its reconstruction years. Rather than praising the cosmopolitanism of the

¹⁰³Smith, "Metaphor and Nationality," 139.

¹⁰⁴[No author], "Devoted to Canadian Unity," Canadians All, 2, 1 (Autumn 1943), 44.

emerging nation, Foster saw immigration as a problem in assimilation and race relations that needed to be addressed. While Foster similarly referred to the "culture contact" theory becoming popular in the American sociological literature at that time, she did so with a view to emphasizing the problems created by the "new contacts of races".¹⁰⁵

Foster's Our Canadian Mosaic, in fact, was an argument for a limited selective immigration policy.¹⁰⁶ This was clearly expressed in James H. Coyne's preface, which spoke of "a possible national peril from peaceful invasion by immigrants with lower standards and ideals".¹⁰⁷ While Canada's greatest need, Foster wrote, was for population,

...it is nevertheless true that Canada should consider quality rather than numbers; that she should have due regard to the physical, industrial and financial fitness of prospective settlers and at all times to the Dominion's powers of absorption... Limited Selective Immigration is Canada's greatest need to-day. Pros-

¹⁰⁵Kate A. Foster, Our Canadian Mosaic, (Toronto: Dominion Council of the Young Women's Christian Associations of Canada, 1926), 9. Howard Palmer links Foster's views to the 1920s drive by voluntary associations such as the Y.W.C.A. to "Canadianize" the immigrant, in Palmer, "Mosaic Versus Melting Pot: Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada and the United States," International Journal 31, 3 (1976), 497. In contrast, Allan Smith appears to present Foster's work as a forerunner of pluralism, in his article "Metaphor and Nationality in North America," in idem, Canada-An American Nation? Essays on Continentalism, Identity and the Canadian Frame of Mind, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 139. Foster's career between 1925 to the Second World War, however, appears to have traversed both directions.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 11.

¹⁰⁷Foreword by James H. Coyne, *ibid.*, 9.

pective immigrants should be selected preferably from British stock or from among the more readily assimilable peoples of Europe and a thorough examination and proper tests should be made of applicants before they leave their own country.¹⁰⁸

Far from being a statement of cultural pluralism, Foster's book articulated the values of assimilationism and cultural homogeneity, and thus may be separated from the pluralistic literature emerging from the prairie West in the 1920s.

Foster's position would shift significantly by the time of the Second World War. In 1927, she embarked on a tour of eight European countries with a view to observing the working conditions of girls and women.¹⁰⁹ In 1935, after a lengthy career with the Y.W.C.A., Kate Percival Foster became chair of the National Committee Council of Fellowship, a movement dedicated to the promotion of national unity through the fostering of goodwill between Canada's national groups. In 1943, along with Professor George Simpson of the University of Saskatchewan, Robert Fletcher of the Canadian Unity Council and Judge Walter J. Lindal, President of the Canada Press Club, she was commended by the journal Canadians All for her role in promoting national unity and harmonious ethnic relations.¹¹⁰ However, in the mid-1920s, her position reflected an idealist national exclusiveness that supported immigration restriction

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 9.

¹⁰⁹"Devoted to Canadian Unity," 44.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

instead of cultural pluralism.¹¹¹ Cultural pluralists emerged partly in antithesis to positions such as the one expressed by Foster in 1926, which more closely resembled a position of "Anglo-conformity" in its emphasis on cultural homogeneity as the mainstay of national character.¹¹²

Foster's earlier position represented the other side of the Canadian view of race relations: a model that emphasized a homogeneous nationality or "single racial basis" for Canadian nationalism, and asserted the predominance of a national character based on British cultural and racial characteristics.¹¹³ This position remained in Canada during the 1920s, altering only to emphasize the cultural rather than the biological superiority of British democratic values.¹¹⁴ The result was a more benevolent attitude to ethnic relations that nonetheless continued to identify civilization with predominantly British values, emphasized the British cultural basis of political democracy, and assumed the

¹¹¹The evolution of a "less liberal" and more exclusive racially-based variant of nationalism in the British context is examined in Paul Rich, "T. H. Green, Lord Scarman and the issue of ethnic minority rights in English liberal thought," Ethnic and Racial Studies 10, 2 (April 1987), 156.

¹¹²Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds., Readings in Canadian History, vol. 2: Post-Confederation, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1982), 130-32.

¹¹³Rich, "T. H. Green, Lord Scarman and ethnic minority rights," 156; Rich, Race and Empire, 14.

¹¹⁴Rich, Race and Empire, 60-61.

universality of British political principles.¹¹⁵

In Canada, this ideology was represented in such associations as the Native Sons of Canada, which included historian A. R. M. Lower among its members.¹¹⁶ The Native Sons of Canada represented a liberal variant of the nationalism that often found expression in immigration restriction.¹¹⁷ More than anything, this variant emphasized the formation of a unique national character through the formation of a Canadian race. It was uniquely nationalist, in that pronouncements reflected a weakening of the ties with the British empire, and denounced British immigration on very much the same grounds as they advocated the restriction of immigration from non-British sources.

This variant of Canadian nationalism similarly had ties with the eugenics movement, and suggested that a "sound racial basis" was necessary for national unity. The basis of this national character, however, was not British, but Canadian, and was predicated upon the idea of a "Canadian race" that was still in the process of formation.¹¹⁸ It was this ideal to which Hurd was responding when he

¹¹⁵Ibid., 62-63.

¹¹⁶Mary Vipond, "Nationalism and Nativism: The Native Sons of Canada in the 1920s," Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism 9, 1 (Spring 1982), 87-8.

¹¹⁷Ibid., 87.

¹¹⁸Vipond, "Nationalism and Nativism," 88. See also W. Burton Hurd, "Is There a Canadian Race?", Queen's Quarterly 35 (May 1928), 615.

argued that there was no "Canadian race"; that the basis of Canadian unity, in fact, was a common bond of citizenship which was "broad enough to include Canadian nationals of every race and of every tongue."¹¹⁹

Between 1920 and 1928, this position was also associated with immigration restriction, and regarded assimilation as imperative. Foster generally seemed to regard the "mosaic" as something to be overcome rather than as a national ideal, and thus cannot be associated with the cultural pluralism of Canada in the early 1920s.¹²⁰ However, the use of the term "mosaic" in the title of her book attests to the importance of this concept in early twentieth-century Canada.

It was left to Canadian anthropology and sociology to provide the social scientific basis for cultural pluralism, through a shift away from social evolutionary models of race relations to an emphasis on "culture contact" based on the internal aspects and unconscious or psychological aspects of cultures. By the late 1920s, even while the merits of immigration and cultural diversity were being debated in public and political discussion, social science research in Canada as well as in the Anglo-American world was beginning to overturn traditional Victorian assumptions about

¹¹⁹Hurd, "Is There a Canadian Race?," 627.

¹²⁰Cf. Smith, "Metaphor and Nationality," 139.

ethnic diversity and intergroup contact.

This process was led by developments in sociology and anthropology. Beginning in the late 1920s and 1930s, scholars such as anthropologists Thomas F. McIlwraith and Alfred G. Bailey, and sociologist Everett C. Hughes, began to develop scholarship around the "culture concept," and examined the interactive effects of this contact on both the dominant and the weaker cultures. The "culture concept," imported from British and American sociology and anthropology, was further shaped to reflect the historical conditions of the Canadian environment. The "culture concept" was a significant shift in the history of Anglo-American sociology and anthropology. As explained by historian George W. Stocking, Jr., the accomplishment of the "culture concept" was to deflect scholarship away from the evolutionism associated with race theory, and towards the alternative of "culture" to describe differences between groups.¹²¹

The "culture concept" was also significant in the interwar United States, leading to a reevaluation of social scientific views of group life and of the nature of intergroup relations.¹²² The reevaluation undermined traditional assumptions about acculturation

¹²¹George W. Stocking, Jr., After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888-1951, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 230.

¹²²Philip Gleason, "Americans All: World War II and the Shaping of American Identity," Review of Politics 43, 4 (October 1981), 485-86.

and intergroup relations, and repudiated the racialist assumption that cultural characteristics were at least partially determined by inherent biological traits. In other words, the culture concept repudiated the scientific view that biology determined the type of culture a people could create.¹²³

As American historian Philip Gleason has shown, in the United States the argument from "national origins" provided the underpinning of restrictionist policy in the interwar period, and would not be removed from official legislation until the 1960s.¹²⁴ Furthermore, the evolution of the "culture concept" in interwar academic thought on race relations took place at least fifteen years before that shift had become evident in public opinion.¹²⁵

The emergence of the culture concept also had relevance for social science in Canada. In Canada as well as the United States and Britain, social scientists were the first to "repudiate the older racialism," as the "culture concept" similarly began to supersede race as "the key to understanding human groups".¹²⁶ In Canada, the "far-reaching implications" of the anthropological focus

¹²³Ibid., 486.

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶Matthews, "The Revolt Against Americanism," 16; Gleason, "Americans All: World War II and the Shaping of American Identity," 486.

on culture were neither immediately nor widely felt.¹²⁷ But by the end of the Second World War, the "culture concept" had become the anchor of the social sciences and the repudiation of earlier doctrines of race; this was, in fact, the "signal achievement" of liberal social scientists in the Anglo-American world in the 1930s and 1940s.¹²⁸

In the United States, the twentieth-century study of cultural anthropology was led by Franz Boas and his students, including anthropologist Ruth Benedict.¹²⁹ Their research shifted attention to the formative influences of cultures upon the personality of the individual, and to the importance of psychological factors such as opinions and emotions on this formation. Rather than assimilation to the majority culture, Boas and his followers emphasized the internal cohesion and relative equality of cultures, and overturned the assumptions of "primitive" and "advanced" civilizations that had previously been a staple of Victorian anthropology.¹³⁰ This emphasis became a political weapon in the twentieth-century assault on race prejudice and "Americanization."¹³¹

In Canada, research of a similar kind, although on a

¹²⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸Ibid., 488; Rich, Race and Empire, 205.

¹²⁹Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism, 127-28.

¹³⁰Matthews, "The Revolt Against Americanism," 17.

¹³¹Ibid., 16-17.

considerably smaller scale, took place around the University of Toronto and McGill University. The reexamination of race and culture was conducted by Thomas F. McIlwraith and Alfred G. Bailey in anthropology, and around Everett C. Hughes in sociology, as well as within other disciplines such as geography. In part, they were part of the world-wide repudiation of race theory within social science during the 1920s and 1930s. In part, their contributions were shaped by Canadian institutional and intellectual conditions and were largely applied to problems of Canadian ethnic and race relations. Their influence tended to be predominantly local, although Everett Hughes, upon his return to the United States, became a major sociologist and expert on race and culture. In general, their influence did not extend widely outside Canada, and initially was limited to their respective institutions until at least the 1940s.

In 1935, the publication in Britain of We Europeans by Julian Huxley and Alfred C. Haddon "marked the end of an era". We Europeans discredited the idea of racial types such as the "Aryan race" and the "Nordic legend", crystallizing several years of criticism of the racial excesses of physical anthropology.¹³² Such

¹³²Rich, Race and Empire, 114. Other historians have also indicated that We Europeans represented a political rather than a scientific milestone. Huxley and Hadden did not replace the term "race," but insisted on confining the term to biological and anthropological rather than political uses. See Barkan, Retreat of Scientific Racism, 301-02, and Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science, 168.

criticism had been mounting since the 1920s, with some opposition crystallizing in the diffusionist school. In the 1930s, diffusionism was supplanted by the functionalism of the Polish-born anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski and the structuralist-functional school of Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown. Despite the success of these schools in overturning, at least in scientific thinking, the excesses of race theory, they did not present an alternative way of thinking on the subject of race and race typology. Until the 1940s, the tendency in liberal thinking was still to associate race with national type, or to use the concepts "race type" and "pure race" interchangeably. The idea of race typology was not adequately challenged, and some physical anthropologists insisted on preserving the idea of distinctions on the grounds of race.¹³³

Academic anthropology in Canada at this time was still very limited compared to Britain and the United States. Twentieth century Canadian anthropology was therefore initially drawn into an American or North American complex, rather than developing indigenous traditions and ideas on the scale of grand theory.¹³⁴ Nor was Canadian anthropology institutionalized within academic departments. Anthropologists such as McIlwraith and Edward Sapir were affiliated

¹³³Ibid., 116.

¹³⁴Victor E. O'Connell, Alfred G. Bailey and Canadian Anthropology, (Fredericton: The Kanata Institute, 1990), 2; Douglas Cole, "Origins of Canadian Anthropology, 1850-1910," Journal of Canadian Studies 8, 33 (1973), 33-45.

primarily with museums and with the federal government, and tended to follow the precepts of Boas. When academic anthropology in Canada began to develop, however, it was in association with the disciplines of history and economics. The result was the development of "culture contact" studies, or a preliminary form of ethnohistory, that was closer to social history than to the prominent anthropological schools of the interwar period. These studies drew upon Canadian influences to emphasize the role of culture in shaping nationality.

In the early 1930s, this interdisciplinary orientation can be seen developing around the figures of Alfred G. Bailey, Harold Innis, McIlwraith, and Diamond Jenness. The other prominent Canadian anthropological figure of the 1920s and 1930s, Marius Barbeau, was an ethnologist whose interests drew him into folklore. His focus additionally was on French Canada as well as the Amerindian. Nonetheless Barbeau, too, represented a departure from the traditional anthropological emphasis on race type, and stressed the significance of culture rather than of race in the description of the characteristics of a population. Barbeau, a colleague of Edward Sapir's, attempted throughout the 1930s to refute established notions of French Canadian racial insularity and resistance to assimilation, linking French Canadian survival instead to the persistence of cultural and folk traditions.¹³⁵

¹³⁵Marius Barbeau, "The Survival of French Canada," Canadian Forum 15, 176 (July 1935), 290, 313-14. See also idem, "French

Cultural relativism and cultural contact studies were thus encouraged in twentieth-century Canadian anthropology, not only because of the influence of Boas but because of the conditions of the Canadian research environment, which encouraged the pursuit of Canadian topics of relevance. McIlwraith, the author of The Bella Coola Indians, in particular depicted North America, and especially Canada, as a blank canvas for the indepth study of cultural diversity. McIlwraith, an Ontario-born scholar, received his anthropological training at Cambridge, where he encountered the ideas of Haddon, Charles Seligman, and W. H. R. Rivers. In 1925, McIlwraith accepted an appointment with the Ethnological Collection at the Royal Ontario Museum and lectured part-time at the University of Toronto. By 1930, he held the post of assistant professor.¹³⁶

In Britain, Haddon, Seligman and Rivers were associated with a growing association between sociology and anthropology that, in many respects, predated the structural-functionalism of Bronislaw Malinowski. Their thought represented a theoretical break with the anthropology of the Victorian period, while their focus tended toward synthesis between anthropology and other disciplines such as sociology, psychology, and geography.¹³⁷ In 1924, while on a

Canada: Its Survival," Dalhousie Review 11 (January 1932), 433-38, and "Changing Quebec," University of Toronto Quarterly 5 (April 1936), 318-33.

¹³⁶Ibid., 10.

¹³⁷Rich, Race and Empire, 105-106.

research assistantship at Yale, McIlwraith completed a study of the Bella Coola tribe, which would remain unpublished until 1948.¹³⁸ Apparently Cambridge had failed dramatically to affect McIlwraith's theoretical orientation, since he adopted the precepts of Boas and continued to acknowledge Boas' influence as late as 1948.¹³⁹

The dominance of Boasian anthropology had allowed McIlwraith to avoid the dogmatism of the scientific anthropology emerging in Britain, polarized around the central figures of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. On the other hand, this approach to anthropological inquiry, shaped as it was by unique Canadian circumstances and by historical analysis, also resulted in its being overlooked in scholarly circles. McIlwraith's study of the Bella Coola tribe was not published until 1948, after the circumstances of the Second World War had led to the reexamination of scientific approaches to race, culture, and nationality. His student, A. G. Bailey, would receive a similar reception, and would not be recognized internationally until the evolving field of ethnohistory led to a rediscovery of his doctoral thesis in the 1960s, although it was first published in 1937.

Anthropologist Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey received his graduate

¹³⁸O'Connell, Alfred G. Bailey and Canadian Anthropology, 9.

¹³⁹Ibid. Cf. John Barker, "T. F. McIlwraith and Anthropology at the University of Toronto, 1925-63," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 24, 2 (May 1987), 252-268, who locates McIlwraith within the tradition of Haddon, Rivers, and Seligman as presented at Cambridge (260).

training at the University of Toronto, where McIlwraith was his advisor. Bailey held an undergraduate degree from the University of New Brunswick, where courses in psychology, philosophy, and sociology stimulated his interest in the "social and institutional aspects of Canadian history."¹⁴⁰ At the University of New Brunswick, Bailey was exposed to Hobhouse's Morals in Evolution and Westermarck's Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas. These texts first brought his attention to what he termed "historical sociology" or comparative "schemes of social evolution."¹⁴¹

As a graduate student, Bailey encountered a "spirit of Canadian nationalism that was new to me," one that emphasized a search for an authentic Canadian spirit as epitomized in the works of the Group of Seven. For Bailey, this search for an authentic Canadian national spirit was also epitomized in the history seminar of W. S. Wallace, who had just completed his study on the growth of Canadian national feeling. In Wallace's seminar, Bailey quickly adopted the vision of Canadian history as having "a significance beyond its intrinsic interest".¹⁴² Later essays, such as "Evidence of Culture Considered as Colonial," would attest to the importance Bailey came to attach to culture and complexes of cultural beliefs

¹⁴⁰Alfred G. Bailey, "Retrospective Thoughts," Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1977), 16.

¹⁴¹Ibid., 16-17.

¹⁴²A. G. Bailey, "Preface," in A. G. Bailey, Culture and Nationality: Essays by A. G. Bailey, (Toronto and Montreal: McClelland & Stewart, 1972), 2.

as central to the Canadian experience.¹⁴³

After a brief career in journalism, Bailey returned to the University of Toronto as a doctoral student, where his anthropological research began in earnest. Upon reentering Toronto, Bailey embarked upon what he described as "a field requiring a combination of historical with anthropological studies". He was encouraged in this direction by Chester Martin, the head of Toronto's Department of History, who referred him to McIlwraith. This would be the beginning of an influential and productive association with the University of Toronto anthropologist.¹⁴⁴

As a result, Bailey embarked upon "a work that today would be referred to as interdisciplinary, and which was certainly a departure from the strictly departmentalized approach to the humanities and social sciences prevailing at that time."¹⁴⁵ For his doctoral dissertation, Bailey elected to bring anthropological methods to the investigation of European-indigeneous cross-cultural relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During the course of research, Bailey was compelled to abandon the perspective on social evolution acquired through his readings of Hobbhouse and and Westermarck, as well as the representation of "three stages of

¹⁴³A. G. Bailey, "Evidences of Culture Considered as Colonial," in Bailey, Culture and Nationality, 178-199.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., 3.

¹⁴⁵Ibid.

evolution" acquired from Comte and from Lewis Morgan.¹⁴⁶

In the 1920s, these theories were under attack from the diffusionist schools in Britain, the United States, and Germany. Associated in particular with Sir Grafton Elliot Smith and William James Perry of the University of London, diffusionism debunked the notion that all societies passed through the same three distinct stages of evolutionary advance, "from savagery to barbarism to civilization".¹⁴⁷ Instead, diffusionism emphasized that invention proceeded around a unique set of circumstances, circumstances that could not have occurred twice. Therefore, the conditions that produced inventions were held to be the result of diffusion from a single source.¹⁴⁸ Bailey noted that he was "saved from this madness" by R. B. Dixon's book, The Building of Culture, which challenged the idea that culture in the Americas owed its origins to diffusion from its Egyptian source.¹⁴⁹ However, this was a retrospective appraisal that followed the general repudiation of diffusionism by postwar scholars; Bailey's thesis, published in 1937 as The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, contained many elements of diffusionism.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶Bailey, "Retrospective Thoughts," 17.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹⁴⁸Ibid.

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

¹⁵⁰Bruce Trigger, review, A. G. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700: A Study in Canadian

Bailey's doctoral thesis studied the impact of European contact on the eastern Algonkian peoples, focussing generally on the destructive implications of this contact. Only a "tentative analysis of group-consciousness" was presented in the thesis.¹⁵¹ Although "cultural and social consciousness" would become critical to Bailey's wartime scholarship, prior to the war Bailey still wrestled with diffusionism. This approach was generally not conducive to an examination of diversity or heterogeneity, as diffusionism reduced all societies or cultures to a single homogeneous cultural origin.¹⁵²

At the time that Bailey began graduate study, cultural contact studies had established little academic credibility as a method of anthropological inquiry within the major anthropological schools of the interwar period.¹⁵³ Despite the publication of Pitt-Rivers' examination of cross-cultural relations between the Europeans and the peoples of the Pacific, Bailey's work was outside the pale of contemporary anthropological inquiry. By that time, the preeminent schools of anthropological inquiry in Britain, functionalism and structural-functionalism, emerged respectively around Polish-born anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, and Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-

Civilization (Sackville, N.B.: The Tribune Press, 1937), in Canadian Historical Review 52, 2 (June 1971), 183.

¹⁵¹O'Connell, Alfred G. Bailey and Canadian Anthropology, 10-11.

¹⁵²Ibid.; Stocking, After Tylor, 230.

¹⁵³O'Connell, Alfred G. Bailey and Canadian Anthropology, 10.

Brown.¹⁵⁴ Along with Franz Boas in the United States and Canada, these schools dominated anthropological inquiry during the second quarter of the twentieth century.¹⁵⁵

Bailey's research, in contrast, was influenced by both the nationalism of the University of Toronto and by the interdisciplinary approach and collaboration encouraged by his mentors. Bailey himself recalled having had little contact with functionalism and structural-functionalism, save for attending one lecture by Radcliffe-Brown before the Royal Canadian Institute in 1931.¹⁵⁶ Instead, his academic advisor, McIlwraith, despite being a follower of Franz Boas, appears also to have been particularly influenced by British ethnologist George Fox-Lane Pitt-Rivers' examination of cultural contact.¹⁵⁷ An article written by McIlwraith for the Canadian Historical Review in 1930 supported the view that "'an accurate interpretation of the first two hundred years of Canadian history must take cognizance of the Indian point of view as well as that of the white man.'" Such a view would not generally have been echoed in the preeminent scientific anthropological schools in Britain and the United States.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴Ibid.

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶Ibid.

¹⁵⁷Bruce G. Trigger, "Alfred G. Bailey--Ethnohistorian," Acadiensis 18, 2 (Spring 1989), 3, ff.

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

Bailey had also been profoundly influenced by economist Harold Innis, who had just published The Fur Trade in Canada, and worked closely with Innis during the preparation of the thesis. From Innis, Bailey acquired the idea that "industry, together with missionary enterprise, were the great catalysts of the sociocultural revolution eventuating from the contact of Eastern Algonkians with the incoming Europeans."¹⁵⁹ Bailey's thesis set out to explore the social and cultural consequences of this contact. In doing so, however, he had no preset model to follow. As he noted, Pitt-Rivers' study of European-Pacific contact was "of a somewhat different type," and in his estimation, William Christie MacLeod's American Indian Frontier contained little of anthropological interest.¹⁶⁰

In effect, Bailey produced a pioneering study that was more interdisciplinary than anthropological, and that predated by some thirty years the academic subdiscipline of ethnohistory.¹⁶¹ However, Bailey had little institutional support throughout the rest of the anthropological discipline to sustain his conclusions, and his thesis received scant notice from the British and American anthropological community. His thesis received favourable commentary from Canadian academic periodicals, but received no notice in the

¹⁵⁹Ibid., 18.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

¹⁶¹Bruce G. Trigger, "Alfred G. Bailey--Ethnohistorian," 3-21.

American Anthropologist. Adding to the unfavourable reception of Bailey's study was the fact that his results challenged those of a noted American authority. One of the difficulties was the interdisciplinary focus adopted by the study, which represented "a departure from the strictly departmentalized approach to the humanities and social sciences prevailing at that time."¹⁶² A second difficulty was the application of historical investigation to anthropological inquiry. By definition, structural-functionalism and functionalism avoided historical input.

Bailey's academic influence was additionally limited by the nature of the Canadian anthropological community, which remained underfunded, insular, and lacking institutional focus. Regardless, in the changed political climate of the Second World War, Bailey's cultural relativism attained a new public emphasis. His emphasis on the autonomy and uniqueness of cultures formed the basis of his attack upon racial dogma and race politics, and were also used to reevaluate French-English relations in Canada.¹⁶³ By debunking the idea of "race," and substituting the idea of culture and nationality, Bailey, along with other Canadian social scientists such as geographer Griffith Taylor, participated in the wartime reevaluation of the universalism of social science, the debunking of racial

¹⁶²Ibid., 3.

¹⁶³A. G. Bailey, "On the Nature of the Distinction Between the French and the English in Canada: An Anthropological Inquiry," reprinted in Bailey, Culture and Nationality, 210-222.

ideology, and the assault on racism and intolerance.¹⁶⁴

As well, Bailey delivered a particularly effective critique of the "small but vocal" coterie of artists and writers who were simultaneously attempting to establish a national culture. This group, he wrote, tended to show "little understanding of the subtle properties of cultural distinctiveness," and were fixated on a superficial environmentalism instead. According to Bailey, they had ignored the "configuration of beliefs and attitudes, hierarchies of values, and the peculiar sensitivities and nuances" which did not lend themselves well to analysis and definition.¹⁶⁵ In so doing, Bailey brought a more scientific approach to the study of diversity of cultures and cultural interaction to Canadian pluralism, an approach that also rejected the association of race and culture that was still implicit in the romantic concept of "volk ideology."¹⁶⁶

Sociologists in Canada, influenced by developments in culture studies, produced pioneering works in Canadian race relations that in part responded to crises in ethnic and cultural relations raised by the war. These included the studies of English-French industrial relations prepared by Everett C. Hughes and Helen McGill Hughes in the 1940s, and the studies of Japanese Canadians written by Forrest

¹⁶⁴Matthews, "The Revolt Against Americanism," 22.

¹⁶⁵A. G. Bailey, "Evidences of Culture Considered as Colonial," in Bailey, Culture and Nationality, 181-182.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., 182-183.

La Violette at the end of the war. As representative examples of the direction taken by culture contact studies in sociology, these works also illustrate the growing revisionism within the social sciences regarding assimilation and acculturation, discrimination, and intergroup relations.

Everett C. Hughes, the author of French Canadians in Transition, was an American-born sociologist who taught for ten years at McGill University, between 1928 and 1938, during the development of that university's Department of Sociology under Carl Dawson.¹⁶⁷ His many career titles included president of the American Sociological Association, the Society for Applied Anthropology, and permanent honorary president of the Canadian Social Science Association.¹⁶⁸ In the 1950s, he edited the American Journal of Sociology, the journal of the American Sociological Association. Although he returned to the United States in 1938 to take a position at the University of Chicago, Hughes retained an interest in French-English ethnic relations and culture throughout his career.

When Hughes prepared French Canada in Transition, the war was leading to another crisis in the often turbulent history of English-

¹⁶⁷Everett Cherrington Hughes, French Canada in Transition, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943). Reprint ed., 1963.

Hughes' years at McGill have been examined in Shore, The Science of Social Redemption, 254-60. See also David Riesman, "The Legacy of Everett Hughes," Contemporary Sociology 12, 5 (September 1983), 477-81; Robin Ostow, "Everett Hughes: The McGill Years," Society 8, 3 (October 1984), 12-16; and idem, "Everett Hughes: From Chicago to Boston," Society 9, 1 (January 1985), 8-12.

¹⁶⁸Riesman, "The Legacy of Everett Hughes," 481.

French relations in Canada. Prior to the publication of French Canada in Transition, authors such as Elizabeth Armstrong had attempted in various ways to explain French Canadian thinking to English Canadians, in the hope of promoting tolerance and understanding. In general, though, these studies had not been divested of a tendency to portray English and French as unassimilable, and as groups whose inherent national and cultural differences were racially based and insurmountable. In contrast, Hughes applied the theories of "culture contact" produced by the University of Chicago, theories that were influenced, once again, by Boas' anthropological emphasis on cultural relativism.

Hughes is often associated with the emergence of a "second Chicago school" of postwar sociology. He was strongly influenced by his friend and mentor Robert E. Park, and is credited with transmitting Park's approach in the study of ethnicity and race relations after the war.¹⁶⁹ He represented the continuation of the ideas of Robert Park in the study of race and ethnic relations, and his work on French Canadian society was an attempt to examine the impact of industrial transition on English-French relations, an area Hughes considered crucial.¹⁷⁰ Through his study at the University

¹⁶⁹R. Fred Wacker, "The Sociology of Race and Ethnicity in the Second Chicago School," in Gary Alan Fine, ed., A Second Chicago School? The Development of a Postwar American Sociology, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 140.

¹⁷⁰Marlene Shore, The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School, and the Origins of Social Research in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 254-55.

of Chicago, Hughes also ingested the cultural relativism of Franz Boas, which had strongly influenced Park and the University of Chicago school of sociology.

When Everett Hughes entered the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Chicago, sociology and anthropology had not been separated.¹⁷¹ As Innis and McIlwraith had encouraged Bailey's interdisciplinary reading at the University of Chicago, Park encouraged Hughes to read the great European social thinkers in all fields, not just sociology.¹⁷² As a result, Hughes maintained a lifelong dislike for academic boundaries, which he considered narrow and arbitrarily imposed.¹⁷³ He read extensively in sociology, history, and anthropology, and developed a particular fondness for German writers and French Canadian contemporary literature.¹⁷⁴ From his exposure to anthropological studies, Hughes also inherited the fieldwork techniques that he would apply in his first major study, French Canada in Transition.¹⁷⁵

At Chicago, Hughes became strongly influenced by Park, who became his mentor and close friend. He became fascinated with the

¹⁷¹Riesman, "Legacy of Everett Hughes," 481.

¹⁷²Ibid.

¹⁷³Paul Colomy and J. David Brown, "Elaboration, Revision, Polemic, and Progress in the Second Chicago School," in Fine, ed., A Second Chicago School?, 31.

¹⁷⁴Ibid.

¹⁷⁵Ibid.

concepts of the ethnic and racial frontier as developed by Park, and with the ideas of a Canadian expatriate, Roderick McKenzie, on the ways in which industrial and economic change had brought ethnic groups into a single global unit.¹⁷⁶ At McGill, Hughes became increasingly impressed by the way in which industrialism and urbanization brought together the intermixture of peoples of diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural origins.¹⁷⁷ This idea was to govern his research and writing throughout his career. These concepts lay at the heart of Hughes' study of industrialism and race relations in Quebec, which was published in 1943 as French Canada in Transition, the study of "Cantonville," a prototypical town in rural Quebec that was actually a composite profile of several French Canadian communities.¹⁷⁸

In its general approach, French Canada in Transition was a study of ethnic and cultural diversity, and how both Canada and the United States had failed to conform to the model ideal of the "nation-state" with its emphasis on a homogeneous culture.¹⁷⁹ The book endeavoured to show how ethnic differences affected the process

¹⁷⁶R. D. McKenzie, "Industrial Expansion and the Interrelations of Peoples," in E. B. Reuter, ed, Race and Culture Contacts, (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1934), 19-33; Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in Reuter, *ibid.*, 57-85.

¹⁷⁷Riesman, "Legacy of Everett Hughes," 477.

¹⁷⁸Hughes, French Canada in Transition.

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*, ix.

of industrialization, and to illustrate the response of a minority culture to industrialization imposed upon it by an external majority group. Hughes' conclusions effectively debunked the idea of French Canadian "rusticity", and suggested instead the strengthening and increasing self-consciousness of French Canada's minority status as the product of externally-imposed industrial and economic change.¹⁸⁰

French Canadian Society in Transition also marked the intellectual separation of Hughes from his mentors at Chicago. In the course of field research for the study, Hughes broke away from the Chicago emphasis on assimilation and acculturation. Expecting to find the eventual assimilation of French Canadians into the English cultural and economic milieu, Hughes's data caused him to focus instead on the internal cultural characteristics of French Canadian society.¹⁸¹ Eventually Hughes debunked the idea of the inevitable assimilation of the French Canadian people in favour of a focus on ethnic relations, a focus that would distinguish his postwar career.¹⁸²

This approach eclipsed the interwar sociology of Robert Park, and particularly the assumption that over time, group attitudes

¹⁸⁰Ibid., 219.

¹⁸¹E. C. Hughes, "The Study of Ethnic Relations," Dalhousie Review 27, 4 (January 1948), 478.

¹⁸²Ibid., 479. Shore, The Science of Social Redemption, also links Hughes' theory to the Chicago tradition of metropolitan dominance, with Montreal as the metropolis for "Cantonville" (258-59).

would inevitably adjust to accommodate the ethnic mixture. Hughes had discovered that "[i]t takes more than one ethnic group to make ethnic relations."¹⁸³ In this respect, Hughes had separated from Park's and W. I. Thomas's approach on assimilation and acculturation. Hughes in effect was a participant in a more pluralist, anthropologically-influenced sociological approach to race relations. Research like French Canada in Transition challenged not only assimilationist sociological models, but conceptions of French Canadian society like Elizabeth Armstrong's that remained linked to an evolutionary theory of race and culture.¹⁸⁴ By 1948, influenced by the anthropological focus on the study of culture, Hughes had substituted two-way "ethnic relations" for the idea of assimilation and acculturation.

By 1952, Hughes and his Vancouver-born wife, Helen MacGill Hughes, also differentiated themselves from American sociologists like Louis Wirth and the wartime focus on majority-minority relations.¹⁸⁵ Their study, Where People Meet: Racial and Ethnic

¹⁸³Hughes, "The Study of Ethnic Relations," 479.

¹⁸⁴Cf. Elizabeth Armstrong, The Crisis of Quebec, 1914-1918, reprinted with an introduction by Joseph Levitt, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974). See also idem, French Canadian Opinion on the War, January, 1940-June, 1941, (Toronto and Halifax: Ryerson Press, 1942).

¹⁸⁵Helen MacGill Hughes was the eldest daughter of James MacGill and Judge Helen Gregory MacGill of Vancouver. She attended the University of Chicago, where, as a graduate student, she was part of the emerging climate of sociological study associated with the Department of Sociology in the 1920s. On the MacGill family, see Elsie Gregory MacGill, My Mother the Judge: A Biography of Judge

Frontiers, reevaluated Wirth's emphasis on majority-minority relations, which they argued had come to hold politically charged meanings. According to Hughes and Hughes, the possibility of neutral scholarship had been compromised by "more intense and even feverish interests in the special kinds of minority problems which are on the minds and consciences of people in North America and Western Europe."¹⁸⁶

For Hughes and Hughes, the focus on minorities and "action agencies" had undermined the disinterested scholarship that was part of the Chicago tradition.¹⁸⁷ As Hughes argued in the Dalhousie Review in 1948, and again in the 1952 joint study, American sociologist and race relations expert Louis Wirth's interwar approach to majority-minority relations also took for granted the passivity of the minority group in the face of prejudice.¹⁸⁸ Again,

Helen Gregory MacGill, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1955).

¹⁸⁶Everett Cherrington Hughes and Helen MacGill Hughes, Where People Meet: Racial and Ethnic Frontiers, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952), 9-10.

¹⁸⁷Wacker, "The Sociology of Race and Ethnicity in the Second Chicago School," 142.

¹⁸⁸Hughes and Hughes, Where People Meet: Racial and Ethnic Frontiers; Wacker, "The Sociology of Race and Ethnicity in the Second Chicago School," 142. Louis Wirth, Professor of Sociology and Associate Dean of the Division of the Social Sciences at the University of Chicago, was also an expert in the field of urbanism, race relations, minority problems and sociological theory. He organized the American Council of Race Relations in the 1940s, and in particular advocated the role of action agencies in abetting discrimination and facilitating race relations. Rich, Race and Empire, 170-71. See also Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 244 (March 1946), special issue,

French Canadian society was Hughes' favourite example, as he emphasized that sociological attention must also be focused upon the internal struggles and cohesion of the minority group, as well as on the interactive aspect of race relations.¹⁸⁹

By the time of the war, social science had brought a new dimension to previous discussions of race relations that often incorporated evolutionary notions of culture and race. The chief significance of social science had been the overturning of traditional studies with evolutionary theories of race and culture at the centre, an interpretation rapidly being discredited within the international scientific community in the aftermath of the Nazi conflict and the subsequent reevaluation of the idea of race.¹⁹⁰ Canadian social scientists similarly took part in this discussion, and, like their counterparts in Britain and the United States, abandoned their tradition of disinterested academic scholarship to dispute the idea of race in a public forum as well as in the academic literature.

For instance, Thomas Griffith Taylor, geographer, ethnologist,

"Controlling Group Prejudice," ed. by Gordon Allport, (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1946), 9.

¹⁸⁹Hughes and Hughes, Where People Meet: Racial and Ethnic Frontiers, 30; Wacker, "The Sociology of Race and Ethnicity in the Second Chicago School," 142.

¹⁹⁰The response of the British and American scientific communities to the politics of race is examined in Barkan, Retreat of Scientific Racism, and in Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science. See also Rich, Race and Empire.

and head of the Department of Geology at the University of Toronto, refuted race theories, including the Nordic pretensions of the notorious amateur ethnologist Madison Grant, in both scholarly publications as well as popular articles.¹⁹¹ Taylor aimed instead to redirect geography into a broader study of "culture," incorporating elements of history, economics, sociology, and anthropology, that he hoped would lead "to a broad sympathy with the concerns and ideals of other individuals and peoples."¹⁹²

A. G. Bailey similarly aimed to correct "false conceptions of race, current in Canada and elsewhere."¹⁹³ Bailey, who regarded theories of race and race superiority as intellectually inadmissible and morally repugnant, reevaluated much of Canadian history in light of the manifestations of these theories in the Nazi conflict, and included the Canada First movement in his reevaluation. He also turned his attention to English-French relations, and endeavoured to correct the assumption of English and French being divided by irrefutable biological differences. Bailey added that doubtlessly misunderstandings between English and French had been accentuated by the tendency to regard nationalistic differences as hereditary

¹⁹¹Griffith Taylor, "French and English Are Not 'Races,'" Canadian Forum 25, 294 (July 1945), 92-3; Thomas Griffith Taylor, Environment, Race, and Migration. Fundamentals of Human Distribution: With Special Sections on Racial Classification; and Settlement in Canada and Australia, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1937), ch. 34, "Deductions and Suggestions," 459-68.

¹⁹²Taylor, Environment, Race, and Migration, 461.

¹⁹³Bailey, "Preface," Culture and Nationality, 8.

and permanent.

An essay by Bailey on anthropological differences between English and French in Canada stated as much, and his revisionist look at English-French differences was conducted in light of the "spurious ideas of race and racial superiority" evident in the Nazi regime.¹⁹⁴ "Barring catastrophes shocking to think of," he commented wryly, "it is always easier to go on thinking in the habitual wrong-headed way. It conserves energy, and perhaps a general recognition of the truth would be repugnant to those self-regarding emotions that give collective coherence to large masses of men."¹⁹⁵ Of course, Bailey was referring to the persistence of the evolutionary ideas of race and nationality that pervaded the historical literature on English-French relations. Bailey, though, went a step further. He adopted a public and political role in challenging "mass attitudes" of suspicion and intolerance, and directly linked misconceptions about race and nationality to antisemitism as well as other virulent expressions of group intolerance and hatred.¹⁹⁶

What Bailey endeavoured to accomplish regarding English-French relations was also attempted for Japanese-Canadian relations by sociologist Forrest La Violette, who reevaluated Japanese assim-

¹⁹⁴A. G. Bailey, "On the Nature of the Distinction Between the French and the English in Canada: An Anthropological Inquiry," in Bailey, Culture and Nationality, 210-11.

¹⁹⁵Ibid.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., 211.

ilation in cultural rather than in racial terms. La Violette's studies of the affect of the war on the Canadian Japanese in effect turned previous racially-based thinking on its head. Rather than investigating the "Oriental problem," the first chapter of La Violette's The Canadian Japanese and World War II focused pointedly on the "British Columbian problem," and turned into a study of white attitudes toward the Japanese population in British Columbia.¹⁹⁷ Everett Hughes similarly took part in this discussion: his 1948 article for the Dalhousie Review challenged sociologists to reexamine their own ethnocentric biases and assumptions. However, Hughes differed somewhat in trying (as he saw it) to rescue disinterested scholarship on race and ethnic relations from the politicized overtones it had acquired during the war.¹⁹⁸

As was the case in the United States and Britain, the Canadian social science community by the 1940s had begun to play a public role in the reevaluation of traditional scientific doctrines of race. The chief accomplishment of social science in the reevaluation of the idea of race was an emphasis on the importance of culture and its unconscious dimension in shaping ethnic group characteristics.¹⁹⁹ Canadian social scientists further shaped these concepts to address Canadian conditions, an approach that in Canada

¹⁹⁷La Violette, The Canadian Japanese and World War II, 4-5.

¹⁹⁸Everett C. Hughes, "The Study of Ethnic Relations," 477-82.

¹⁹⁹Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism; Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science.

had become interdisciplinary in scope and underpinned by a historical emphasis on Canadian national development. In short, sociology and anthropology in Canada also had served to remove the Canadian discussion of ethnic relations away from its racial underpinnings, but this discussion was additionally shaped by the conditions and central problems of social science in Canada.

In broader terms, the contributions of Canadian academics like A. G. Bailey would not be widely recognized outside the Canadian social science community until well after the war. However, by the time of the war, they were important in shaping the Canadian social science dialogue, and particularly the examination of Canadian nationalism, away from its prior racial underpinnings, and toward a reevaluation of ethnic relations in Canada. In so doing, they had also turned the discussion of race relations in Canada away from its imperial and racial underpinnings, and had substituted a North American cultural relativism in its place.²⁰⁰

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, in the Canadian discussion of immigration liberal pluralism provided a counterargument to the policy of social control of immigration enforcing an allegiance to the values of individualism and collectivism. But rather than being merely an echo of American cultural pluralism, cultural pluralism in Canadian academic scholarship had been shaped by an awareness of

²⁰⁰Rich, Race and Empire, 205-06.

diversity, and notably by an awareness of the French and native presence in Canada.

Anthropological and sociological scholarship since Confederation had historically focused mainly on both the "French fact" and the considerable diversity of native populations in Canada, and the bulk of social science research had been concentrated on the investigation of these groups. Interwar academic scholarship brought this perspective to the study of ethnic relations, and subsequently redirected the Canadian discussion of pluralism away from the ideological antecedents of the pluralist research simultaneously being pioneered in the United States. In contrast, immigration was notably absent from the Canadian discussion. In contrast with the United States, the academic community in Canada paid comparatively little attention to the formal study of immigration until after the Second World War. In so doing, interwar Canadian academic scholarship had shaped the "culture concept" as employed by McIlwraith, Bailey, and Hughes, as well as preceding theories of race relations, to reflect the historical diversity and complexity of the Canadian population.²⁰¹

²⁰¹This idea is considered in the British context by *ibid.*, 13-15.

Conclusion

It has been shown for other nations that the nineteenth-century discussion of race relations was shaped by the experience of empire on the one hand, and by the development of industrial capitalism and accompanying social relations on the other.¹ In Canada, this was similarly the case. Furthermore, rather than being peripheral to liberal-democratic ideology, concepts of race and race relations were significant components of this ideology.² Both immigration policy and the ensuing discourse on immigration and race relations were shaped not in a nativist and nationalist vacuum, but within the complex of factors resulting from the intersection of international migrations, economic expansion, industrial growth and the experience of empire. The late nineteenth-century Canadian response to immigration must therefore be viewed as the convergence of population movements with a particular phase in the evolution of the British empire, and in terms of the racial ideology that accompanied that evolution.

The Canadian understanding of empire and of race strongly influenced the way many Canadians responded to immigration prior to the First World War. However, as Canada emerged from its imperial

¹These concepts are examined in Paul B. Rich, Race and Empire in British Politics, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

²Eg. Rich, Race and Empire; Michael Freeden, The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

origins into "Canada's century," the historical fact of the complexity and diversity of the Canadian population ensured the early separation of Canadian thinking on ethnic and race relations from that of British imperialism.³ Even post-Confederation imperialist ideology incorporated both French and English Canada in the conception of the national character of the Dominion.⁴ Canadian scholarly opinion responded to immigration from a complex notion of cultural diversity arising from their own awareness of the complex and heterogeneous population on Canadian soil. In particular, this awareness of pluralism was influenced by the strength and survival of the French minority population, but also exhibited a strong awareness of the diversity of the North American native population, and was similarly cognizant of the Scottish, Irish, and Welsh role in the early history of the nation.

The initial discussion of European immigration illustrated both how divided Canadians were on the question of Canada's future and the role to be played by immigration, and how divided Canadians were on the role to be played by ethnic diversity in shaping the society of the new Dominion. This discussion had a liberal as well as conservative component. However, by the early twentieth century, the conservative component remained largely aligned with imperialism

³Ibid.

⁴Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1967-1914, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), ch. 4.

and a British connection, and based national unity on a social organicism which included an association between nationalism and racial homogeneity. Conservatives such as Stephen Leacock fiercely resisted the integration of European populations into Canadian society. But while social reformers also had feared the potential for social and moral degeneration resulting from the immigration of non-British populations, many refrained from expressing the same association of race and nation as Leacock. Instead, for many of these reformers opposition to immigration was based on a complex mixture of biology, national origin, and class, a mixture which often buttressed liberal social reform objectives rather than imperialist ideologies. Voices like Leacock's grew increasingly anachronistic amongst academic opinion in Canada's new century, as the strength of the imperial connection declined both in sentiment and in fact.⁵

Much occurred in early twentieth century Canada to undermine the association being made by conservative opinion between race and nation. In particular, liberal social science scholarship had moved in the direction of cultural relativism, and acknowledged at least the separate worth if not equality of cultures. For one, a liberal imperialist perspective emerged that was considerably more flexible with respect to the prospects for a harmonious integration of non-

⁵See also Berger, The Sense of Power; John E. Kendle, The Round Table Movement and Imperial Union, (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1975).

English and non-French ethnic groups. This model, while upholding the British connection, incorporated an Edwardian model of a culturally, geographically and politically diverse British empire held together by the magnanimity of British rule. Regardless, this model still may be distinguished from earlier Canadian imperialist opinion, which had accommodated French as well as English Canada in a pluralist model of national unity.

Meanwhile, as Canadian social science participated in the reevaluation of the idea of race, the pluralist awareness of ethnic complexity that had already characterized liberal thought ensured that this discussion would be taken in a relativist direction. In the late nineteenth century, a respect for the diversity of native populations, despite being limited by contemporary thinking on gender, ethnicity and class, separated Canadian anthropological scholarship from its imperialist roots, and moved it in the direction of a North American cultural relativism. Scholars such as George Bryce and Daniel Wilson had gone so far as to envision a Canadian society comprising the ethnic characteristics of both native and white Canadian groups.

A similar shift had begun to take shape in early Canadian sociology, which also began, under the influence of the settlement movement, to move in a pluralist direction. An early expression may be seen in J. S. Woodsworth's evolution towards a cosmopolitan view

of Canadian nationality.⁶ Influenced by progressive social thought, early Canadian academic scholarship on immigration promoted the more tolerant if paternalistic goal of integrating of immigrant groups through emphasizing an intensive program of education and citizenship training. While their ideas have been viewed by later scholars as limited by prevailing concepts of gender, race, and class, their progressivism and pluralism as well as their generosity, rather than nativism or intolerance, remain the important defining characteristics of their thinking.

But during the wartime dialogue on the language and education questions, a spirited, public, and liberal defence of bilingual schooling against the Orange Protestant assault on the separate schools indicated the emergence of a more scholarly set of questions about pluralism and its relationship to Canadian identity. This was a view that dissociated itself from prevailing ideas of race, as well as from the view of a Victorian racial hierarchy, and promoted the equal contributions of ethnic minority groups to the shaping of the nation. Academic scholarship subsequently became linked to the emerging North American scholarship on race relations, led by the Chicago School of Sociology. Interwar Canadian social science thus dispensed with the idea of race, and gave precedence to culture and

⁶This shift has been remarked upon by other historians. See esp. Allen Mills, Fool for Christ: The Political Thought of J. S. Woodsworth, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), and Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

to race relations over biological theories of inherent racial characteristics, while the liberal academic community acknowledged the role diversity had to play in the shaping of a national identity.

The emergence of a critical liberal view of the alternatives of both imperialism and annexation in political economic thought⁷ also had a parallel in the criticism of Anglo-Saxonism and Teutonism, of biological theories of race superiority and inferiority, and subsequently of race prejudice and intolerance. While imperialists in the early twentieth century continued to support Teutonic ideas of race superiority and inferiority, a handful of Canadian social scientists moved in the direction of cultural relativism, proclaiming the relative validity of cultures and the contribution to be made by many disparate peoples towards the creation of a common Canadianism. Their idea of the "mosaic" incorporated the allegiance of these disparate ethnic groups to a common set of values based on the British cultural inheritance. Although they had not quite dispensed with the idea of the British cultural connection, proponents of the new liberalism sought the equal participation rather than the subordination of ethnic minorities in Canadian public, social and economic life.

Throughout the interwar period, liberal academic scholarship

⁷See Barry Ferguson, Remaking Liberalism: The Intellectual Legacy of Adam Shortt, O. D. Skelton, W. C. Clark, and W. A. Mackintosh, 1890-1925, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

would provide an important although limited critique of the racial model of ethnic and race relations that was a legacy of the imperial tradition. As well, this scholarship would provide an alternative to a concurrent nationalist ideology predicated upon the idea of a culturally homogeneous population base, and that sought to officially establish, through the Canadian racial origins census, the notion of a "Canadian race." A completely different set of questions was being posed about immigration than those raised by Victorian models of race relations, questions that involved Canada's capacity to absorb immigration within circumscribed economic and social limits.

Initially, though, the formal study of immigration and race relations in Canada remained hampered by the lack of an institutional sociological and anthropological focus. Rather, early sociology was focused mainly on the development of statistical analysis, and incorporated the objectives of political economy rather than the sociology of race relations. Both sociology and political economy avoided the idea of a quota-based system of immigration similar to that of the United States. However, social scientists addressed the question of social control of immigration and the prospect of a scientific immigration policy linked to Canada's economic and social needs. Social science was employed mainly to address policy issues from the perspective of the disinterested expert, and focused little on the formal study of race relations in Canada until the onset of the Depression. Until then,

political economists in Canada remained focused on the twin goals of economic centralization and national unity. From this perspective, liberals like W. Burton Hurd concentrated mainly on assimilation and the discouragement of "segregation," which many feared would auger the race problems which divided the United States.

Ideas on immigration were consequently tied to a set of economic and social goals represented by centralization. These goals led many such as Hurd to support immigration restriction as the economic slowdown and the renewal of ethnic conflict in Europe threatened to disturb Canadian prosperity and, consequently, Canadian political and social stability. Further, immigration restriction was linked to the goals of political and economic centralization, and to the development of the western resource frontier. Regardless, ethnic diversity formed part of the unarticulated assumptions behind Canadian national identity. Even those academics supporting immigration restriction based their conception of Canadian national identity on the diversity of the Canadian population.

The scholarly influence of the new social science was substantial within the informed interwar discussion of immigration and immigration restriction. Hurd and the Canadian ethnic origins census were particularly influential, and were cited in the contemporary literature on immigration and immigration restriction. While they generally concurred with continued immigration restriction, their role in influencing policy was less overt. As with

other questions, they advocated their role as nonpartisan experts and attempted to influence policy through analysis and general expertise. These liberal social scientists, however, were problematic on the question of assimilation and ethnic relations. Mostly, their understanding of race relations was linked to an emerging North American sociological view of assimilation. However, they did not challenge traditionally-held assumptions about the cultural and political characteristics of immigrant groups. Nor did they provide an alternative to the prevailing scientific theories of race that perpetuated these "common-sense" attitudes, as evidenced in the "racial origins" census. Although their views on immigration restriction were shaped by economic rather than social or biological concerns, the important question of diversity and its relationship to Canadian nationalism was subordinated to a focus on the individual rather than on the group.

In large measure, the mistrust of diversity was a product of the postwar reaction against the wars of nationalism in Europe, and of the fear of transplanting similar conflicts to Canada at the expense of internal national stability. In part, this position belonged to an ideology that viewed diversity, both ethnic and geographic, with suspicion as detrimental to the goal of centralization. In general, a scientific critique of racial attitudes was subsumed by the goals of nationalism and centralization, which seemed to require an emphasis on the assimilation of the individual to a clearly defined set of national values. Briefly, the immigrant

who was valued most highly was the one who would assimilate readily to a set of values epitomized by the pioneer farmer, and who would prove invaluable to the rapid settlement and resource development of Canada's frontier area.

The formal study of ethnic relations in Canada was generally late in arriving. Early studies of group settlement tended to follow the individual-collectivist model employed by the Chicago school of sociology, and introduced to the Canadian social science discussion under the direction of McGill University's Carl Dawson. Increasingly, though, this model proved inadequate for Canadian conditions, and social scientists began to question the assimilationist conclusions of an immigration policy of scientific selection and social control. Interwar Canadian scholarship thus became divided on questions of race and ethnic relations. Liberal-minded scholars like Hurd, associated with the ethnic origins census and the sociological examination of assimilation on the prairies, had not provided an analysis of group or cultural cohesion, and underestimated both the tenacity of group attitudes and their importance to the assimilation process.

Opposition to the assimilationist model favoured by Hurd came from Canadian cultural pluralists, many of whom favoured a pluralist interpretation of the Commonwealth as a "mosaic" of equals greater than the sum of its parts, and applied this model to ethnic relations in Canada. Many from within the academic community adopted a position of cultural pluralism influenced in part by

anthropological and sociological studies of the unconscious processes shaping ethnic community and cohesion. However, they were additionally motivated by a critique of the standardizing implications of modern capitalism, and regarded diversity as ensuring the realization of the personality of the individual against social and economic standardization.

By the Second World War, this group of liberals had coalesced to provide an alternate view of national identity incorporating group identities rather than an individual allegiance to common goals. Their immediate success was apparent in their participation within government bureaus, wartime administration, and particularly in the shaping of the Citizenship Act proclaimed on January 1, 1947. A more tolerant, citizenship-oriented view also entered the war cabinet of the Mackenzie King government, and influenced ethnic relations in Canada in the direction of a more moderate treatment of "enemy alien" groups.⁸ However, while promoting a sincere desire to more fully integrate ethnic minorities into the rights and privileges of Canadian citizenship, their efforts were roundly criticized for an overreliance on propaganda and for the promotion

⁸N. F. Dreisziger, "The Rise of a Bureaucracy for Multiculturalism: The Origins of the Nationalities Branch, 1939-1941," in Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan and Lubomyr Luciuk, eds., On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945, (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the Study of the Second World War, 1988), 1-30; Robert Bothwell, "Something of Value? Subjects and Citizens in Canadian History," in William Kaplan, ed., Belonging: The Future and Meaning of Canadian Citizenship, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 25-35.

of the personal political agendas of individual participants. Furthermore, their success remained limited by the federal government's continued focus on the prosecution of the war rather than on peacetime ethnic initiatives.

Liberal social scientific thinking on ethnic relations in Canada was therefore shaped by a limited realization of ethnic diversity and complexity. However, liberal thinking had not fully dealt with the question of race. A serious weakness of liberal thought on race relations, therefore, was the outright refusal to confront the discriminatory implications of an immigration policy of scientific selection and social control. This weakness was particularly evident in the question of Asian immigration, which was subject to severe measures of restriction and regulation, while Asians in Canada remained prevented by legislation and by social prejudice from full and equal participation within Canadian society. Yet save for a handful of interwar academics, most liberals remained adamant that Asian immigration should continue to be severely restricted.

By the mid-1930s, Asian-Canadian relations was being subjected to a more critical sociological approach. Led by liberal academics such as Henry Forbes Angus of the University of British Columbia, critics systematically and publicly protested the mistreatment of Asians within Canada as second-class citizens. Angus especially was instrumental in refocusing the discussion of Asian-Canadian relations on race prejudice rather than on the biological and

cultural distinctions between Asian and white Canadians. In this, he was joined by other Canadian sociologists associated with the Institute for Pacific Relations and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, as well as by members of the emerging left-liberal intelligentsia such as Escott Reid. This critical approach helped provide a scientific and ideological challenge to the imperialist inheritance which saw Asian groups discriminated against in law, policy and society.

However, the limitations of this challenge were also apparent. As the possibility of war on the Pacific coast loomed increasingly larger, even the more sympathetic intellectuals were openly pessimistic about their ability to either change white attitudes or to protect the Japanese population from them, and resigned themselves to immigration restriction as a means of protecting Japanese resident in Canada from white retribution under the conditions of social and economic duress occasioned by depression and war. Eventually the Japanese evacuation crisis underscored the inability of the liberal critique to make headway against either public hysteria or the federal government's determination to reinforce existing social and political relations within British Columbia.

Between the wars, a handful of Canada's liberal intelligentsia also participated in the reshaping of ideas of race that was taking place throughout the western world. Anthropologists and sociologists in particular, with the introduction of the "culture concept," moved the discussion of race relations from a biological to a

cultural basis. Furthermore, liberal political ideas often intersected with the scientific reevaluation of the idea of race. In Canada, this discussion took place as well, although it was limited by the relative weakness of Canada's academic anthropological and sociological community, and by their general lack of international reputation and exposure. The status of the academic disciplines in Canada additionally meant that this discussion would be an interdisciplinary discussion rather than one promoted by the separate disciplines. The importance of the culture concept in Canada, though, was in challenging the prevailing belief in assimilation as the desired outcome of ethnic group relations in general, and in English-French relations in particular.

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