

**“Most of our country is wild and  
unspoiled”:**

**Advertising Gender, Race, and Empire for  
Western Canada, 1867-1911**

by

Jarett Henderson

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

The Department of History  
The University of Manitoba/The University of Winnipeg  
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MASTER'S THESIS/PRACTICUM FINAL REPORT

Master's Thesis entitled:

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## To the Great North West!

To the West, young man! To the great North-West,  
To the land of the free and the home of the blest,  
Where oceans of prairie and forests of pine  
Stretch away far across the boundary line,  
Where the buffalo roams in his beauty and pride,  
There is the place for you and your bride.

To the great North-West where the Red River flows,  
In silence and majesty onward she goes  
Till she reaches the "Key of the great North-West,"  
Where the mighty Assiniboine takes her rest,  
Then quietly onward in unison flow  
To Winnipeg Lake a few leagues below.

To the great North-West, where the soil is deep,  
And the fields are broad that the farmers reap,  
And the lands are free that the farmer tills,  
And the sacks are large that the harvest fills.  
There is wealth in the great North-West, young man,  
Then waste not your allotted span,  
Nor take no sleep, nor slumber, nor rest,  
Till your face is toward the great North-West.

The English, the Scotch, the Irish, the Dane,  
And Russians are pouring in a main,  
The Icelander, too, from regions cold,  
And Canada's sons both strong and bold,  
From every region beneath the sun,  
To the great North-West they run, they run.

For a home, for love, for freedom, for wealth,  
For your peace of mind and body's health,  
For plenty of work and plenty of food,  
For your temporal wealth and future good,  
You can't do better than say "good bye,"  
And go to the West to live and die.

**Nicholas Devereux Ennis,**  
**Important Information for Intending Settlers in Manitoba,**  
**Liverpool: Turner and Dunnett Printers, 1882, 19.**

## Abstract

Immigration handbooks published by British, Canadian, and provincial institutions at the close of the nineteenth century were designed to encourage resettlement and constitute one aspect of the large scale immigration campaigns embarked upon by the federal government to colonize Western Canada. This thesis utilizes these handbooks in order to rethink not only the advertising campaigns of the Canadian government, but also to reconsider the interconnectedness of Canada and Great Britain's imperial pasts. Although they were produced to encourage migration from metropole to colony, immigration handbooks, this thesis argues, became the lens through which Canada's reverse imperial gaze was cast. Because immigration handbooks simultaneously reflected and constituted the imperial world of which they were a part, they provided intending immigrants with information not only about Western Canada, but also about the empire writ large. Moreover, these handbooks suggest how metropolitan ideals, colonial realities and the tensions that arose in-between were understood, maintained, and refracted by the peripheries. Immigration handbooks provided intending immigrants with practical and useful information, while simultaneously carving out the gender and racial ideals that were deemed appropriate for this edge of the British Empire.

## Acknowledgements

I have written this part in my head at least a hundred times and each time it has seemed so much easier. My advisor, Adele Perry, has inspired and challenged me more than she will ever know. Adele's knowledge, poise, and dedication to the historical practice, in addition to the genuine concern that she demonstrates for her students in and out of seminar, is refreshing and encouraging. Barry Ferguson and Robin Jarvis Brownlie have provided me with stimulating suggestions, valuable readings, and guidance throughout the thesis writing process. Roisin Cossar has challenged me to think far beyond the edges of empire, immigration, and resettlement to the sexual and gendered spaces of later medieval Europe. Carol Adam, Lisa McKindrey, and Sandra Ferguson have made life in the History Department a joy. Similarly, I had the pleasure of sharing this intellectual space with many energetic and bright as well as revolutionary students. Stacey Alexopoulos is equipped with a great set of ears, a solid, thought provoking mind, and is an excellent friend. Gillian Covernton, with whom I've shared reign of the Fort Garry Lectures and the H.G.S.A., has likely read too many versions of Boy Scouts, Margery Kempe, and Immigration Handbooks for anyone's well-being. My medieval past would not have been as complete without the friendship of Jenn Boychuck who has now become a traveling colonial in Australia. And lastly, Mary Jane McCallum has made this daunting task of writing so much more enjoyable by sharing her office and knowledge with me, and she remains a great friend.

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My family, but especially my parents Zina and Gordon Henderson, have provided me with a loving and stimulating environment that made me into the plucky son that I am today. Their love and support, combined with their genuine interest in my studies, is something that only parents can give. From a young age they taught me that no knowledge is ever wasted and informed me that I was going to be a university student; however, now, I think they wonder when I will cease to be one.

This is for them.

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## Introduction

### **“All who desire comfort and prosperity”: Gender, Race, and Imperial Migration Schemes**

On 23 May 1898, Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior, explained to the House of Commons the difficulties that would arise in the preparation of a descriptive handbook of Canada that would be “accurate” and at the same time “satisfy the desire of the inhabitants of various portions of the country.” According to Sifton, it would be much easier to issue handbooks that extolled “praise for every portion of the country.” But difficulties would arise, explained Sifton, “when an attempt is made to describe the country and tell the truth, which is the most necessary element in connection with immigration and an immigration policy.” The Minister of the Interior concluded that “the greatest possible care has been taken in the preparation of this [hand]book” and that he would endeavour, in the future, to “secure accurate information in detail and to correct the text in any portion of the handbook that appears to be incorrect.”<sup>1</sup>

The advertisement of Western Canada as a desirable space for imperial expansion relied upon the construction, publication, and distribution of a significant number of immigration handbooks intent on highlighting the “advantages” and “attractions” to life in the Canadian West. This thesis investigates these handbooks in order to determine how immigration promoters in Canada at the close of the nineteenth century comprehended Western Canada’s position within the British imperial world. Although

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<sup>1</sup> Debates, House of Commons, 1898, 5936-37.

designed to encourage the resettlement of Western Canada, immigration handbooks also served as a lens that focused what I have identified as Canada's reverse imperial gaze.<sup>2</sup> And it is through this reverse imperial gaze that students of colonialism are able to observe how metropolitan ideals, colonial realities, and the tensions that arose in-between were understood, maintained, and refracted by the peripheries.

Clifford Sifton's desire to tell "the truth" was constantly replicated in the opening comments of all immigration handbooks. Such statements greeted the reader and confirmed that, "the information in this pamphlet [was] compiled, in as far as possible, from official sources."<sup>3</sup> Acton Burrows further demonstrated that exaggeration was not only a topic to be avoided by those encouraging immigration, but it was also something that those in the United States whole heartedly partook in. "Where is the best place to go?" inquired Burrows,

The writer of these pages endeavours to answer: not by gushing, exaggerated, Americanized puff of a fancied El Dorado, or by holding out the inducement of a land flowing with milk and honey, but by producing from official and authentic sources evidence of the great fertility of the region which this pamphlet treats; of its

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<sup>2</sup> I use "resettlement" in the same fashion as Cole Harris, The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographic Change, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997. My concept of the term, reverse imperial gaze, has emanated from studies of colonial Australia which have analyzed how colonial Australians understood Britishness and ideas of "home". Andrew Hassam, Through Australian Eyes: Colonial Perceptions of Imperial Britain, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000 and Angela Woollacott, To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism, and Modernity, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

<sup>3</sup> Department of Agriculture, Province of Manitoba: Information for Intending Emigrant, Ottawa, 1874, 1.

suitability for settlement, and of the positive assurance of prosperity which can be given to those who locate within its borders."<sup>4</sup>

Such remarks served to reassure the intending immigrant that the "advice to colonists" provided within immigration handbooks was both accurate and truthful. Evaluating the accuracy of the "useful and practical hints" that immigration handbooks provided to intending immigrants needs to be considered. In order to ease the transition from the metropole to this outpost of empire, a handbook advertised that "nothing will be stated in this pamphlet which cannot be absolutely relied upon."<sup>5</sup> This thesis is grounded in a close textual reading of almost sixty of these immigration handbooks printed between 1867 and 1911.<sup>6</sup> However, my emphasis on the textual is by no means unproblematic.

Immigration handbooks, like all primary documents, are valuable for what they advertised, but they are equally important for what they chose to omit. In his analysis of immigration handbooks **Patrick A. Dunae** suggests that although the information contained within these promotional materials "projected an enticing image of Canada to the outside world," they also

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<sup>4</sup> Acton Burrows, North Western Canada: Its Climate, Soil and Productions with a Sketch of its Natural Features and Social Condition, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1880, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Department of Agriculture, Dominion of Canada: The Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territory, Information for Intending Immigrants, Ottawa, 1879, 3.

<sup>6</sup> All the handbooks used in this thesis are housed at the Dafoe Library at the University of Manitoba. They are reproduced on microfiche and are cataloged by both the C.I.H.M. and PEEL bibliographies.

revealed how Canada perceived both itself and prospective immigrants.<sup>7</sup> Unintentionally, Dunae's study illustrates the obviously fabricated nature of these sources. Alexander Begg, author of such handbooks as the Practical Hand-book and Guide to Manitoba and the North-West and What Farmers Say, serves as an example of this. Dunae attests that "for the most part," Begg's handbook, What Farmer's Say conveyed the "actual" testimony of farmers in the region. This comment persists even after Dunae had uncovered sufficient evidence to suggest that the reality constructed by immigration promoters and then advertised to the world was, to say the least, questionable. The following "unsuitable" reply was omitted by Begg in his production of the handbook.

...Among those omitted was that of a Kentish man who resided near Beulah, Manitoba. In reply to the question, "How do you spend time during winter?" the man wrote: "Trying to keep warm." In answer to a question concerning his overall opinion of the West, he wrote: "Damn fraud".<sup>8</sup>

Descriptions of Western Canada within the pages of immigration handbooks were first and foremost designed to advertise the attractiveness of the region. Comments such as those Alexander Begg encountered which would counter the desired aims of immigration promoters were often omitted from the content of handbooks. Sarah Carter's most recent work on captivity narratives in Western Canada questions the authenticity of testimonies made by female resettlers in the handbook What Women Say of the Canadian

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<sup>7</sup> Patrick A. Dunae, "Promoting the Dominion: Records and the Canadian Immigration Campaign," Archivaria, No. 19 (1984-84), 92-93.

<sup>8</sup> Dunae, "Promoting the Dominion," 86.

North-West. Carter comments that this pamphlet, published by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1886, was aimed at a female readership and gave a very positive impression of life which "was supposedly based on the actual testimonies of women settlers."<sup>9</sup> Identifying the selective nature of immigration handbooks does not make them less valuable primary sources. Problematizing the authenticity of the information and testimonies within immigration handbooks does not decrease their significance, but rather enables students of colonialism the opportunity to assess their influence within the British imperial world of the late nineteenth century.

The immigration handbooks published by official Government of Canada Printers, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and other independent printing houses in Manitoba, Central Canada, and Great Britain reflected, while simultaneously acting to constitute, the imperial world of which they were a part. It is thereby necessary to clarify that this thesis is not about actual immigrants who resettled in Western Canada. Rather, this thesis examines the ways in which immigration handbooks advertised the imperial character of Western Canada for those in the metropole. Moreover, by critically reading immigration handbooks, students of colonialism are able to discern not only how the character and politics of imperialism framed these rich sources, but also how colonial gender and racial constructs were

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<sup>9</sup> Sarah Carter, Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West, Montreal - Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997, 4.

understood and promoted by Canadians at the close of the nineteenth century.

The Government of Canada, in its attempts to encourage immigration, embarked upon an exhaustive advertising campaign to resettle Western Canada. It is clear that the public face of immigration guides was designed to advertise Western Canada as an outpost of empire beyond comparison. By educating intending immigrants about the resources, opportunities, and progress that awaited, this "practical information" within handbooks was meant to ease the move from metropole to colony. The instructive nature of immigration handbooks was further animated with maps of Canada and the British Empire. These maps greeted readers and were accompanied by histories that aggrandized both the British Empire and Canada's position within it.

Immigration handbooks encouraging the resettlement of Western Canada advertised that "bona-fide settlers" (understood as single, white, British males) were required. Wanted: "practical, hardworking, stalwart young men," one handbook proclaimed. Another requested "farm labourers," "tenant farmers," or "stock raisers." And yet another encouraged "tillers of the soil, farmers and stock raisers, mechanics, or any males with pluck or muscle" to immigrate to Western Canada.<sup>10</sup> As male resettlers began to migrate westward, the male population grew disproportionately to the female one.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Thomas Spence, Useful and Practical Hints for the Settler on Canadian Prairie Lands and for the Guidance of Intending British Emigrants to Manitoba and the North-West of Canada, 1878; Thomas Spence, Manitoba

In attempts to redress the predominately masculine character of Western Canada, immigration handbooks made token efforts to obtain female resettlers to fill vacancies as domestic servants or wives; ads promised "work as servant girls with a wage of 12 dollars to 25 dollars per month and board" or the possibility of marriage because "women are seldom in the Province [Manitoba] long before they are married to some of the prosperous young fellows already settled."<sup>12</sup> Handbooks were, however, quick to acknowledge that there was "no great opening for women as private governesses or companions, or in what are sometimes described as the lighter callings."<sup>13</sup> Immigration pamphlets not only discouraged the immigration of upper class women, but they also discouraged the migration of upper class men. As Thomas Spence, a handbook author from Manitoba, wrote: "professional men and clerks should not come unless with means to take up land and commence the life of a farmer."<sup>14</sup> When advertising for immigrants,

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and the North-West of the Dominion its Resources and Advantages to the Emigrant and Capitalist as Compared with the Western States of America, Toronto: Hunter, Rose, and Co., 1871; The Colonial Office, Information for Emigrants to the British Colonies, Issued by the Colonial Office, 1880.

<sup>11</sup> Adele Perry, " 'Oh I'm Just Sick of the Faces of Men': Gender Imbalance, Race, Sexuality, and Sociability in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia," BC Studies (1995), 27-43; and Cecilia Danysk, "A Bachelor's Paradise: Homesteaders, Hired Hands, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1880-1930," in Catherine Cavanaugh and Jeremy Mouat Eds., Making Western Canada: Essays on European Colonization and Settlement, Toronto, Garamond Press, 1996, 154-85.

<sup>12</sup> Nicholas Devereux Ennis, Important Information for Intending Settlers in Manitoba, Liverpool: Turner and Dunnett, 1882, 22.

<sup>13</sup> The Government of Manitoba, Manitoba, Official Information for Investors and Settlers, 1893, 28-9.

<sup>14</sup> Spence, Useful and Practical Hints for the Settler on Canadian Prairie Lands, 8.

handbooks not only acknowledged the types of immigrants that Canada wanted, but they also established parameters that disqualified others. These categories, however, were based upon the quality of one's character and were very ambiguous in nature. Such restrictions were subtly advertised in sections titled, "The Proper Classes to Settle in Canada" or more acutely in sections titled, "Persons Wanted in Canada, And Immigration that is NOT Encouraged."<sup>15</sup>

Often supplementing these discussions of "who should emigrate" were the "advantages and attractions" of life in the Canadian West.<sup>16</sup> Undoubtedly, the agricultural potential of the prairies was the most common feature that immigration handbooks advertised. Handbooks advertised to the metropole that Western Canada contained the "best wheat lands" and "the finest agricultural country in the world;" the North Western Territories were advertised as a place for all "who desire comfort and prosperity." In addition, the healthiness of the climate, the quality of the soil, and the Dominion Lands Act were repeatedly emphasized.<sup>17</sup>

As Serge Courville's recent analysis of French Canadian immigration pamphlets suggests, if there were various ways to present colonization in the

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<sup>15</sup> Original emphasis. Minister of the Interior, Letters from Settlers in Canada: Official and Other Information for Intending Settlers, London: Mc Corquodale & co., 1896, 45-6.

<sup>16</sup> G. H. Wyatt, A Reliable Guide For Settlers, Travellers, And Investors in the City of Winnipeg, Manitoba, and the New North-West, Toronto: 1881.

<sup>17</sup> G H Wyatt, A Reliable Guide For Settlers, 1881; Spence, Useful and Practical Hints for the Settler on Canadian Prairie Lands, n.d; Spence, Manitoba and the North-West of the Dominion, 1871; The Colonial Office, Information for Emigrants to the British Colonies, 1880.

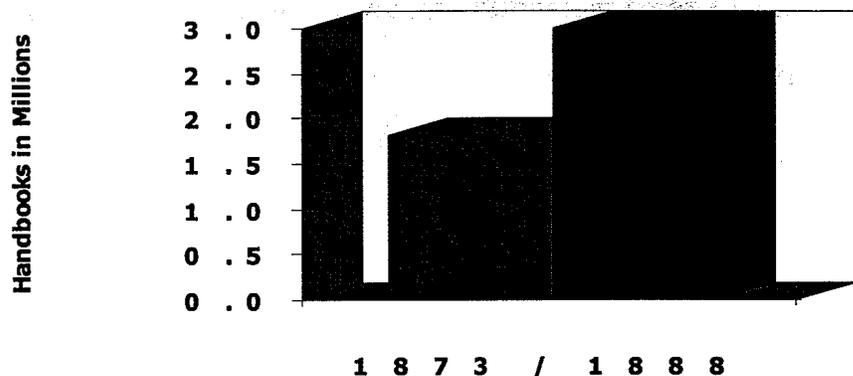
nineteenth century, there was only one conventional "matrix" that content could be arranged around, in relation to time, place, and prospective readership.<sup>18</sup> Courville identifies five themes that run throughout French Canadian immigration handbooks, which also appear in the English handbooks used in this study. First, colonial promotional material emphasised England's mission to bring God and civilization to previously undiscovered, uncivilised, and unsettled areas of the world. Second, handbooks reproduced the English belief that their race had a "manifest destiny" to exploit the riches of the earth and make them available to other nations. Third, virtue and patriotism were advertised as central to processes of immigration and colonisation, and were to be executed only by moral and honourable men. Fourth, handbooks promoted immigration as a method to alleviate poverty, vagrancy, and the religious tensions of the metropole, while remaking British subjects into respectable men in the colonies. And fifth, immigration handbooks justified the taking of the "vacant" lands that the Aboriginals only "passed" over as homes for white immigrants. Such was the stuff of immigration pamphlets.

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<sup>18</sup> Serge Courville, "Part of the British Empire Too: French Canada and Colonization Propaganda," a paper presented at *The British World Conference II*, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, July 2003.

Table I:1  
Number of Immigration Handbooks Published, 1873 & 1888

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Source: Compiled from Reports of the Committee on Immigration and Colonization, Canada House of Commons, Journal, 1873, App. no. 7, 3 and the Report of the Committee on Immigration and Colonization, Canada House of Commons, Journal, 1888, App. no. 5, 77.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century the federal government spent a significant amount of money funding the publication of immigration handbooks. Although all of the handbooks consulted and cited in this thesis are English language texts, similar reproductions existed in French, German, Icelandic, and Dutch. Most of the handbooks examined were between thirty and sixty pages in length, though some were as short as ten or as long as one hundred pages. They utilized a very similar structure and approach in their encouragement of Canadian immigration.

The initial campaigns to encourage the resettlement of Western Canada bore little fruit, but Prime Minister John A. Macdonald and his Conservative government continued to increase the number of immigration handbooks published. In 1873, no fewer than two million handbooks were printed, but by 1888 this number had increased to three million (see Table

I:1). Expenses by the federal government for the printing of immigration handbooks had reached almost \$60,000.00 by 1901. This amount was approaching 20% of the total amount spent to sustain Canada's immigration initiatives.

Table I:2  
 Printing Expenses for Immigration Materials: Handbooks, Posters, Etc

Year	Britain/Ireland	Continental	United States	Total
1892	\$13,805.63	\$248.00	\$12,668.19	\$26,721.82
1893	\$19,033.68	\$620.00	\$31,105.45	\$50,759.13
1894	\$15,420.85	\$4,175.20	\$30,297.75	\$49,893.80
1895	\$8,669.02	\$519.05	\$2,508.15	\$11,696.22
1896	\$8,816.86	\$600.00	\$1,844.31	\$11,261.17
1897	\$11,091.00	\$963.45	\$6,352.09	\$18,406.54
1898	\$17,611.56	\$2,220.59	\$28,197.44	\$48,029.59
1899	\$18,679.23	\$2,449.81	\$29,277.35	\$50,406.39
1900	\$26,150.73	\$2,463.05	\$24,988.15	\$53,601.93
1901	\$26,931.21	\$1,934.86	\$30,161.12	\$59,027.19
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$116,209.77</b>	<b>\$16,194.01</b>	<b>\$197,400.0</b>	<b>\$398,210.32</b>

Compiled from: Debates, House of Commons, 17 April 1902; 2957-2960

As the large body of literature on Canadian immigration history illustrates, under the guidance of Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier (1896-1911) there was a significant increase in the amount of government expenditures pertaining to immigration. Laurier's campaign to colonize Western Canada and assert federal dominion over the North Western Territories was spear-headed by the intrepid new Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton.<sup>19</sup> Under Sifton's direction and within the first year that the Liberals held office, federal

<sup>19</sup> D.J. Hall, Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981; D.J. Hall, Clifford Sifton: A Lonely Eminence, 1901-1929, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.

expenditures for immigration had increased more than 100% to \$261, 194.90. In 1905 when Sifton stepped down from his post as Minister of the Interior, the annual cost of funding Canada's immigration programme was fast approaching one million dollars, and was becoming an ever increasing concern to Canadians (See Table I:3). "There is no question that the people of the west feel more strongly on than this immigration question," stated Frank Oliver, Sifton's ministerial successor. "And there is nothing that they more earnestly resented than the idea of settling up the country with people who will be a drag on our civilization and progress. We did not go out to that country simply to produce wheat. We went to build up a nation, a civilization, a social system that we could enjoy and be proud of, and transmit to our children"<sup>20</sup>

Table I:3  
Total Federal Expenditure for Immigration – 1 July 1891 to 30 June 1905

Year	Amount
1891-92	\$177,604.82
1892-93	\$180,677.43
1893-94	\$202,235.52
1894-95	\$195,652.97
1895-96	\$120,199.00
1896-97	\$127,428.14
1897-98	\$261,194.90
1898-99	\$255,878.88
1899-1900	\$434,562.61
1900-01	\$444,729.63
1901-02	\$484,841.55
1902-03	\$642,913.74
1903-04	\$744,788.00
1904-05	\$972,356.69

Source: Debates, House of Commons, 1902, 2957; and Debates, House of Commons, 1905.

<sup>20</sup> Debates, House of Commons, 1901, 2939.

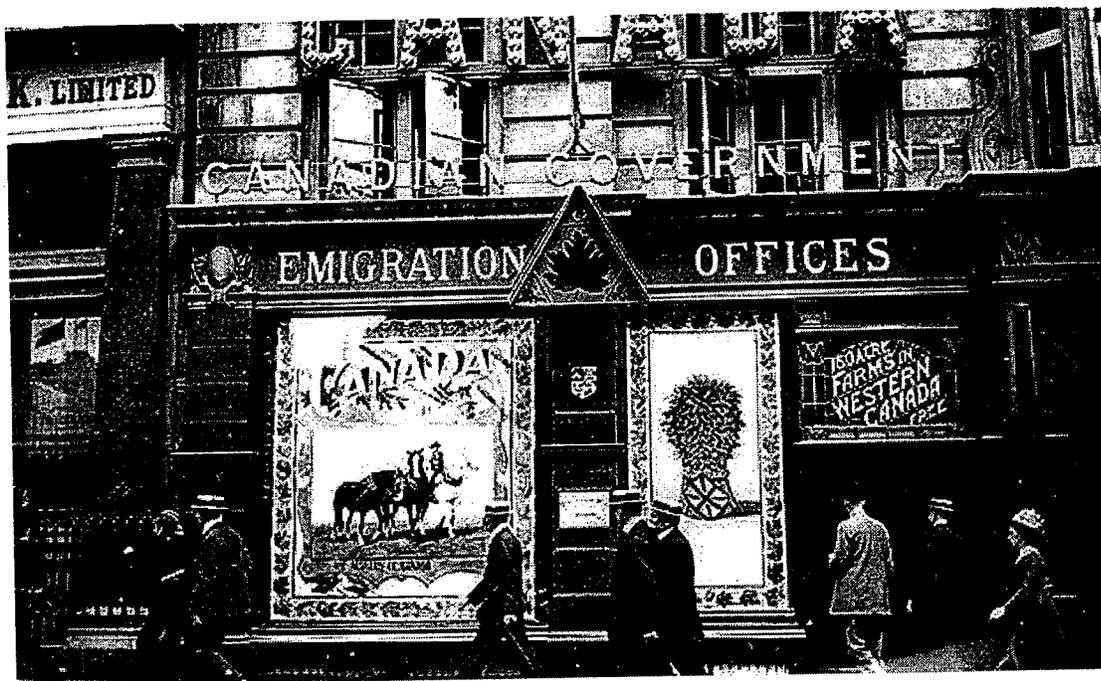
Under the British North American (BNA) Act of 1867 immigration was contained in a single section – Section 95. Immigration was to be a shared jurisdiction of both federal and provincial governments, but the federal government maintained paramount in cases of conflict.<sup>21</sup> On 22 June 1869, Canada passed its first separate immigration act, “An Act Respecting Immigration and Immigrants.” Such an Act had become essential, for the Government of Canada had recently purchased the North West Territories from the Hudson's Bay Company for a price tag of 1.5 million dollars. The landscape of Western Canada was thus transformed, and the government was eager to colonize this newly acquired territory.

Land surveyors were sent to the Red River Colony to measure, identify, and chart the lands which would then be advertised in handbooks as “open for settlement.” Ignoring the narrow river lot system used by the Métis, these surveyors imposed a square lot system upon the people and the landscape that asserted both imperial and Canadian authority over the region. Led by Louis Riel, the Métis inhabitants of Red River, upset with the Government of Canada's capture of their lands, resisted this intrusion. The result of this contact, the Red River Resistance of 1869-70, became the catalyst that enabled the initially small, “postage stamp colony” of Red River to enter Confederation as the Province of Manitoba in 1870.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> “British North American Act,” Statutes of Canada, 30 & 31 (1867), Section 95.

<sup>22</sup> Gerhard Ens, Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Métis in the Nineteenth Century, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.



Outside the Emigration Office in London, England.  
National Archives of Canada, C-63257

The limits of this early immigration policy were few, suggests Reg Whitaker, for the emphasis was on "attracting and bringing people in, rather than keeping them out."<sup>23</sup> However, those immigrants who were tagged as destitute, physically or mentally unfit, or likely to become a public charge, were permitted entry only upon the payment of a bond. And criminals could be refused entry completely.<sup>24</sup> In addition to regulating entry, the Immigration Act established immigration offices in London and other cities throughout the United Kingdom, and one immigration agency on the continent of Europe,

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<sup>23</sup> Reg Whitaker, "Canadian Immigration Policy Since Confederation," Canadian Historical Association, Saint John: Keystone Printing, 1991, 4.

<sup>24</sup> Discussing how the Canadian government often relied upon deportation as a method to control the presence of undesirable immigrants within Canada, see, Barbara Roberts, Whence They Came: Deportation from Canada 1900-1950, Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988.

"Immigration Act - 1869," Statutes of Canada, 32 & 33 (1869) 32-45 and Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.245.

with the possibility of others. As the government tweaked its new immigration legislation, Canadian authority was being extended to the Pacific. In 1871, British Columbia – the united colony of Vancouver Island and the mainland – joined Canada as the newest province.<sup>25</sup>

In 1874, the control of all matters connected with the promotion of immigration from Britain and Europe was delegated to the Minister of Agriculture. Initially, the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior worked together to promote and encourage the resettlement of Western Canada. The Department of Agriculture was responsible for conducting activities that promoted and encouraged immigration, while the Department of the Interior conducted the survey and allocation of western agricultural lands. With the systematic resettlement of Western Canada underway, the Department of the Interior negotiated land treaties with the 34 000 Aborigines who inhabited the region.<sup>26</sup> Seven treaties were signed between 1871 and 1877, ceding Aboriginal title to the land and ensuring that attempts made by intending immigrants to obtain desirable homestead lands would be fulfilled.<sup>27</sup> By 1892, the separate jurisdictions of these departments in Western Canada were

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<sup>25</sup> Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1991.

<sup>26</sup> Alvin Finkel and Margaret Conrad, History of the Canadian Peoples: 1867 to the Present, Toronto: Addison Wesley Longman, n.d., 31.

<sup>27</sup> Sarah Carter, Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990; Arthur J. Ray, Jim Miller, and Frank Tough, Bounty and Benevolence: A Documentary History of Saskatchewan Treaties, Kingston-Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000; and Cole Harris, Making Native Space: Colonialisms, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002.

amalgamated and sole control of immigration was transferred to the Department of the Interior.

With the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 the demand for low-waged Chinese construction crews decreased. This combined with the anxieties that British Columbians exhibited for nearly twenty years and the outcome of the "Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration" of 1884-1885. The Government of Canada was encouraged to introduce legislation that – as the title of the act suggested – "restricted" and "regulated" Chinese immigration.<sup>28</sup> This new act was separate from the Immigration Act of 1869 and stipulated that a "capitulation tax", "entry tax", or "head tax" of \$50.00 was to be paid by all Chinese immigrants entering Canada. Moreover, the act regulated marriages and citizenship rights, and separated immigrants into two groups, Chinese and non-Chinese.<sup>29</sup> In 1900, under mounting pressure from British Columbia, this head tax had doubled, and by 1903 it had increased to \$500.<sup>30</sup> Such measures were justifiable, observed Mr. Morrison, a Member of Parliament, in order to prevent "a yellow blot on the map of Canada."<sup>31</sup> Moreover, as Barry Ferguson and Derek Hum

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<sup>28</sup> Barry Ferguson, "Chinese Immigration to Canada before World War II," in Proceedings: 1994 National Conference on Chinese Education in Canada, Winnipeg (1994), 65. See also, Peter Ward, White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Towards Orientals in British Columbia, Montreal-Kingston: McGill – Queen's University Press, 1988.

<sup>29</sup> "An Act Restricting and Regulating Chinese Immigrants," Statutes of CDA, 1885.

<sup>30</sup> Constance Backhouse, Color-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950. Toronto: The Osgoode Society, 1999. 162.

<sup>31</sup> Debates, House of Commons, 1900, 8165-66. See also the secondary analysis, Patricia Roy, A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians

note, Canada's enactment of such legislation was couched within the imperial framework of other British colonies. Canada, in order to conform to the British imperial interests enacted legislation that aimed to exclude and subordinate non-white immigrants, much like the colonies of Cape Colony, Western Australia, Queensland, and New Zealand.<sup>32</sup> In 1910, amendments to the official Immigration Act further limited the entry of all non-white immigrants into Canada by including "race" as a qualification of entry. Section 38 of the 1910 Immigration Act stated:

C. Prohibited for a stated period, or permanently, the landing in Canada, or the landing at any specified port of entry in Canada, of immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada, or of immigrants of any specified class, occupation, or character.<sup>33</sup>

And, by 1923 Parliament had ensured the complete termination of Chinese immigration into Canada for the next quarter century. Despite the claims of immigration handbooks that Western Canada was wide *open* for settlement, health, character, and eventually race all restricted entry into Canada – the doors to the country were open just a crack.

Immigration handbooks produced by British, Canadian, and provincial institutions, despite changes to official immigration policy, remained constant

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and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989.

<sup>32</sup> Barry Ferguson and Derek Hum, "Canadian Citizenship and the Chinese in Canada, 1885-1947: A Muted Voice," in Hans Braun and Wolfgang Klooss Eds., Giving Voice: Canadian and German Perspectives, Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner Verlag, 2001, 139. See also, Freda Hawkins, Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared, Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.

<sup>33</sup> As quoted in, Hawkins, Critical Years in Immigration, 17.

in both structure and content throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century. Handbooks continued to promote the image that Western Canada was open to all: Canada "receives emigrants from all corners of the world, and is therefore a most cosmopolitan community," stated one handbook.<sup>34</sup> However, as Ann Laura Stoler asserts, studies of the discursive practices alone which shaped gendered and racialized metaphors of empire can only take us so far. Stoler encourages students of colonialism to attend to the relationships between prevailing metaphors and particular practices, aware of instances when the gendered language of rule diverged from imperial practice.<sup>35</sup> As suggested by the gap between policy and the "reality" advertised by immigration handbooks, there was a real tension involving the rhetoric about Canada's desire for British immigrants and the reality that others, particularly Eastern Europeans, were ultimately more serviceable. Despite the hodgepodge of information that immigration handbooks provided, their pages contained few details regarding the overtly racialized process that the Government of Canada used to define categories of *legitimate* and *illegitimate* occupants and *desirable* and *undesirable* migrants.

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<sup>34</sup> Department of the Interior, Canada: As a Home for the Scotch Agriculturist, Ottawa: 1898, 22.

<sup>35</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, 211.

Similar observations are made by Caroline Strange and Tina Loo; "law on the books is often very different from the law in action.....legal regulations can be framed to achieve certain high-minded ends, but their enforcement can be problematic, and the consequences unexpected, or even contradictory." Caroline Strange and Tina Loo, Making Good: Law and Moral Regulation in Canada, 1867-1939, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

## The Intimacies of Empire

The histories of colonialism and empire have been traditionally understood by participants and historical researchers alike: as a "boy's own frontier."<sup>36</sup> Consequently, current studies of colonialism have attempted to redress this inherently masculine position of empire. Feminist studies, post-colonial theory, and discourse analysis, combined with attempts to write social histories, have challenged colonial historians to develop new ways of conceptualizing the histories of empire. The scholarship of Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, and Homi Bhabha wed insight from post-modern, post-colonial, and literary studies and has significantly altered how historical researchers understand imperialism.<sup>37</sup> Utilizing the wealth of knowledge provided through such inter-disciplinary approaches to imperialism enables a move beyond the myriad of studies that once emphasized only the political/militant aims of imperialism, to confront instead, how imperial culture was experienced on various edges of the empire.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Jane Haggis, "Gendering Colonialism or Colonizing Gender? Recent Women's Studies Approaches to White Women and The History of British Colonialism," Women's Studies International Forum, 13:1/2 (1990) 105-11.

<sup>37</sup> See, Edward Said, Orientalism, London: Routledge, 1978; Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism, New York: Knopf, 1993; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds., Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, London: MacMillan, 1988; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," Critical Inquiry, 12:1 (1985) 43-61; Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture, London: Routledge, 1994.

<sup>38</sup> See, Antoinette Burton, Ed., Gender, Sexuality, and Colonial Modernities, London: Routledge, 1999; Catherine Hall, "Gender Politics and Imperial Politics: Rethinking the Histories of Empires," in Verne Shepherd et

Ann Laura Stoler's research on the colonial history of Indonesia illustrates the importance of local context in studies of colonialism. Stoler admirably demonstrates how patterns of governance, thought to be particular to a specific time and place, resonate with other international imperial practices.<sup>39</sup> Her comparative colonial histories "illustrate the value of looking comparatively at circuits of knowledge production, governing practices, and indirect as well as direct connections in the political rationalities that informed

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al., eds., Engendering History: Caribbean Women in Historical Perspective, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995; Anne McClintock, "Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term 'Post-colonialism,'" Social Text 31:2 (1990) 84-98; Sara Mills, 'Gender and Colonial Space,' Gender, Place and Culture 3:2 (1996) 125-47; and Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation, London: Routledge, 1991.

For recent studies of Canadian history that utilize post colonial literature see, Sarah Carter, Capturing Women, 1997; Colin M. Coates and Cecilia Morgan, Heroines & History: Representations of Madeleine de Vercheres and Laura Secord, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002; Cole Harris, The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographic Change, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997; Adele Perry, On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001; Myra Rutherdale, Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002; and Elizabeth Vibert, Traders' Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807-1846, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.

<sup>39</sup> See Ann Laura Stoler, "Making empire respectable: The politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th Century Colonial Cultures," American Ethnologist, 16:3 (1989) 634-60; Ann Laura Stoler, "Rethinking Colonial Categories; European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 31:1 (1989) 134-61; and Ann Laura Stoler; "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 34:3 (1992) 514-51.

imperial rule."<sup>40</sup> In Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867, Catherine Hall argues that the relationships that existed between metropole and colony were relations of power. "More significantly," Hall attests, "they were relations which were mutually constitutive, in which both colonizer and colonized were made."<sup>41</sup> Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler's edited collection Tensions of Empire: Colonial Culture in a Bourgeois World further demonstrates a rethinking of this research agenda. Much like Hall, Cooper and Stoler are concerned with how the colonies and metropole shared in the "dialects of inclusion and exclusion" and in what ways the colonies were different than the metropole.<sup>42</sup> By positioning the metropole and colony in one analytical frame, Cooper, Hall, and Stoler demonstrate the value of comparison, using it as a window into specific exchanges, interactions, and connections throughout the empire.

In On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871, Adele Perry convincingly analyzes the complex and constantly shifting identities of the politics of race and gender, and their role in the creation of a colonial society in pre-confederation British Columbia. Perry's study illustrates that "the process of colonization cannot be

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<sup>40</sup> Anne Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," The Journal of American History, 88:3 (2002).

<sup>41</sup> Catherine Hall. Civilizing Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830 - 1867, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002, 9.

<sup>42</sup> Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking the Research Agenda," in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler Eds., Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, 3.

understood without attention to gender, and that gender, similarly, cannot be adequately comprehended outside the politics of race and colonization."<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, Perry demonstrates that the regulatory programs aimed to create an orderly colonial society out of the rough backwoods men and Aboriginal-white marriages — as viewed through the 'imperial eyes' of colonial administrators who thought these vices could be solved with the migration of white women — were "ultimately pipe dreams."<sup>44</sup>

Perry's analysis of this one specific edge of empire is situated within additional colonial historiographies that explore the politics of race and gender within the imperial agenda. Catherine Hall, Anne McClintock, Myra Rutherdale, Mrinalini Sinha, Anne Laura Stoler, as well as Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri all incorporate analyses of gender and race into their discussions of colonialism.<sup>45</sup> In Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest, Anne McClintock probes the contradictory and conflictual ways that gender, race, and class exist as articulated categories. McClintock establishes that men and women did not experience colonialism in the same way; rather, gender, race, and class came

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<sup>43</sup> Perry, On the Edge of Empire, 8.

<sup>44</sup> Perry, On the Edge of Empire, 4.

<sup>45</sup> Catherine Hall, White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History, London: Routledge, 1991; Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest, New York: Routledge, 1995; Rutherdale, Women and the White Man's God; Mrinalini Sinha, Colonial Masculinity: The 'manly Englishman' and the 'effeminate Bengali' in the late nineteenth century, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995; and Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri, Eds., Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.

into being through social relation to the other. Furthermore, she dispels the belief just that because women were absent from past studies of colonialism, they were 'hapless onlookers.' Instead, McClintock argues that white women "were ambiguously complicit both as colonizers and colonized, privileged and restricted, acted upon and acting."<sup>46</sup>

The perceptions and experiences that female missionaries had while disseminating imperial ideals in the Canadian North-West are explored by Myra Rutherdale in Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field. Her study illustrates how preconceived ideas about empire, religion, gender, travel, and race were often in conflict with actual experience. Moreover, Rutherdale asserts that "while gender may have been shaped within the Victorian and Edwardian ideology wherein men and women occupy separate spheres, on the mission frontier new spheres were established."<sup>47</sup> Therefore, Rutherdale's findings parlay with those of Perry which find discrepancies between the official discourse of imperialism and its practices on the ground. Such attempts do not, as Perry notes, "suggest imperial triumph as much as they hint at imperial vulnerability."<sup>48</sup>

Travel literature has emerged as valuable primary sources which enable students of colonialism to assess the reproduction of imperial attitudes on the vast fields of empire. Mary Louise Pratt's text, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation, explores the ideology of travel narratives

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<sup>46</sup> McClintock, Imperial Leather, 6.

<sup>47</sup> Rutherdale, Women and the White Man's God, xiv.

<sup>48</sup> Perry, On the Edge of Empire, 195.

produced by white Englishmen as they moved throughout South Africa. These texts reproduce, within what Pratt calls the "contact-zone," important aspects of "colonial meaning-making." In these extraordinary spaces of colonial social encounters, historically and geographically separated peoples came into contact with each other and established ongoing relationships, which, according to Pratt, "usually involve[ed] conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict."<sup>49</sup> Similar studies have been conducted by Elizabeth Vibert in Traders' Tale: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbian Plateau, 1807-1846 and Sara Mills in Discourse of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism that employ travel narratives as valuable primary sources.<sup>50</sup>

Situating travel into narratives of empire and colonialism has been a rapidly expanding area of study as demonstrated by Pratt, Mills, and Vibert. These studies, among others, illustrate how the imperial traveler, both female and male, viewed, constructed, and understood their world and those in and around it.<sup>51</sup> However, these travelers were not immigrants, as is indicated by their status and access to mobility within the empire. In Canada, historians of colonialism have yet to produce a narrative that successfully analyzes the

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<sup>49</sup> Pratt, Imperial Eyes, 6.

<sup>50</sup> Vibert, Traders' Tales, 1996 and Sara Mills, Discourse of Difference: An Analysis of Women Travel Writing and Colonialism, New York: Routledge, 1991.

<sup>51</sup> See the collection of essays in, Kate Darian-Smith, Liz Gunner, and Sarah Nuttall, Eds., Text, Theory, Space: Land, Literature, and History in South Africa and Australia, London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

In addition, Carter, Capturing Women; and Karen Dubinsky, The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Travel at Niagara Falls, Toronto: Between the Lines, 1999.

creation of colonial immigrants' identities as they embarked on their quests to civilize the North West. Immigrant histories such as those conducted by James Hammerton in Emigrant Gentlewomen: Genteel Poverty and Female Emigration and Susan Jackel in, A Flannel Shirt & Liberty: British Emigrant Gentlewomen in the Canadian West, 1880-1914, attempt to incorporate women into the Canadian imperial project. However, large gaps remain.<sup>52</sup>

A significant number of international studies, however, have been produced that evaluate imperial migration. These studies strive to understand how gender, race, and class were situated within these initiatives, while emphasizing how these categories were both sustained and altered as immigrants moved throughout the empire. Rita Kranidis' exploration of female immigrants finds that Victorian imperial ideals were deeply connected to the immigration process. Migrant women, Kranidis argues, were encouraged to "view themselves as 'serving' the empire."<sup>53</sup> Angela Woollacott's recent evaluation of Australian women travelling to Britain is concerned with how intersections of gender, race, modernity, and power were constituted in the imperial metropolis. Woollacott's study is most valuable for its examination of white women in the colonies and the instability of their "in-

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<sup>52</sup> James Hammerton, Emigrant Gentlewomen: Genteel Poverty and Female Emigration, London: Croom Helm, 1979; and Susan Jackel A Flannel Shirt & Liberty: British Emigrant Gentlewomen in the Canadian West, 1880-1914, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982.

<sup>53</sup> Rita S. Kranidis, "Introduction: New Subjects, Familiar Grounds," in Rita S. Kranidis ed., Imperial Objects: Essays on Victorian Women's Emigration and the Unauthorized Imperial Experience, London: Twayne Publishers, 1998, 2.

between ranking in the imperial hierarchy” that they occupied.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, Jan Gothard’s monograph, Blue China: Single Female Migration to Colonial Australia, debunks past arguments which insist that the female migrant’s sole purpose was to rectify gender imbalance within the colonies and marry to preserve the imperial race. Rather, Gothard reveals how these female domestics were exploited by immigrant agents and middle-class women who attempted to maximise their usefulness, while juxtaposing such regulation with these women’s own intentions and motivations.<sup>55</sup>

In Canada, the history of immigration, to say the least, is fragmented.<sup>56</sup> Franca Iacovetta in her article “Manly Militants, Cohesive Communities, and Defiant Domestics,” considers the state of immigration scholarship in Canada. Iacovetta traces the historiography of immigration from the impersonal, large scale, nation-building narratives of the early twentieth century, to post-structural analyses that apply insights from race studies, (specifically the construction of whiteness) in order to question how immigrants were racialized, gendered, and class-delineated. Iacovetta contends that: “the immigrant experience is really many diverse experiences and responses; it is

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<sup>54</sup> See specifically chapter one, Angela Woollacott, To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism, and Modernity, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, 34.

<sup>55</sup> Jan Gothard, Blue China: Single Female Emigration to Colonial Australia, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001.

<sup>56</sup> Whitaker, “Canadian Immigration Policy Since Confederation”; Hawkins, Critical Years in Immigration; Friesen, The Canadian Prairies; and Valerie Knowles, Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1990, Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997; and the collection of essays in, Gerald Tulchinsky, Ed., Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives, Toronto: Copp Clark Longman, 1994.

a social phenomenon shot through with such a multiplicity of meaning."<sup>57</sup> In an attempt to rectify the understanding of immigrants' experiences, Iacovetta challenges historians of immigration to scrutinize more carefully the transnational contexts in which the immigrant's class, gender, and race were negotiated.<sup>58</sup>

Marlene Epp in, Women without Men: Mennonite Refugees of the Second World War offers insight into the lives of displaced persons generally, while examining the experiences of a particular community — Mennonite women — whose circumstances, she argues, were unique. The uniqueness that Epp wants to observe is the lack of Mennonite men, which resulted in the redefinition of acceptable gender roles for Mennonite women.<sup>59</sup> Epp's study demonstrates how post-colonial studies and immigration studies, when juxtaposed, can be used to produce a valuable synthesis which evaluates the creation of identities as they are made and remade across the boundaries of time, space, and place.

As current colonial studies suggest — as do immigration histories — a transnational or international approach is needed to fully understand the social and cultural process of identity making. Donna Gabaccia and Franca

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<sup>57</sup> Franca Iacovetta, "Manly Militants, Cohesive Communities, and Defiant Domestic: Writing about Immigrants in Canadian Historical Scholarship," Labour/Le Travail, 36 (Fall 1995), 239.

<sup>58</sup> See Iacovetta's more recent analysis edited with Donna Gabaccia. Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

<sup>59</sup> Marlene Epp, Women Without Men: Mennonite Refugees of the Second World War, Toronto: University Toronto Press, 2000.

Iacovetta in Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives, position transnationalism at the center of their study and explore, through a collection of essays, the full range of migrant women's experiences. Much like Pratt's 'contact zone,' the act of immigrating created spaces which were not direct representations of home. The immigrants' identities – as were imperial ones – were remade within these specific in-between spaces.

The creation of Canada as an immigrant nation, whose foundation as a white-settler colony was forged in racism and the subjugation of the native people, needs to integrate further race studies into the understanding of the Canadian past. As Constance Backhouse argues in Color-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950, race had a crucial position in the creation of imperial categories: "race was a convenient justification for their right to rule over 'uncivilized' peoples, a rationale for the creation of colonial hierarchies."<sup>60</sup> As Himani Bannerji has recently suggested in The Dark Side of the Nation, different people have different and unequal positions within the Canadian nation. Bannerji attests that Canada sustains and promotes an ideal white Canadian race at its centre, which consequently situates other races at the margins of the nation, where they are constantly reminded that they are not white, and therefore, not a part of the nation.<sup>61</sup> Immigration history, which at its base centers on the movement of ethnic peoples, can provide valuable insights into the role of race within colonial and Canadian

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<sup>60</sup> Backhouse, Color-Coded, 5.

<sup>61</sup> Himani Bannerji, The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender, Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2000.

histories. The parallels that exist between colonial and immigration studies, particularly their emphasis on local context, transnationalism, and space, enable a healthy dialogue between these two veins of scholarship that can only be advantageous for both.

## **Methodology**

By situating immigration handbooks into the literature on one of the richest periods in Post-Confederation Canadian history, this thesis rethinks not only the advertising campaigns of the Canadian government, but the interconnectedness of Canada's and Great Britain's imperial pasts. Early histories emphasized the nation building endeavors of the young Dominion and illustrated how immigration was central to this process.<sup>62</sup> However, these studies rarely considered the various experiences of immigrants as they migrated to Canada. Instead, they emphasized how these migrants aided the greater good – that of the establishment of Canada as a British Dominion from sea to sea.

In The Canadian Prairies: A History, Gerald Friesen admirably demonstrates how, through the lens of social history, studies of Western Canada can juxtapose discussions of nation building and immigration. Friesen combines the experiences of Aboriginals, various immigrant groups, entrepreneurs, and politicians into a cohesive narrative explaining the *story* of

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<sup>62</sup> Doug O'ram, Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Western Canada in a manner that attends to all those who partook in its formation.<sup>63</sup> Using Friesen's text as a spring-board into more contemporary studies of Western Canadian histories, historians have now begun to consider how the West was made and remade, defined and redefined. Such studies fuse insight from the holy trinity of social history – gender, race, and class – into discussions that consider the interconnectedness of the past. Through such approaches, these histories bring to the fore the diversity, difference, inequality, and power relations that existed in Western Canada.<sup>64</sup>

Post-colonial and post-modern approaches to Canadian history further animate this retelling of the story of Western Canada. The geographic parameters of this study unquestionably deal with the physical space of Western Canada, understood today as the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. However, the authors of immigration handbooks understood this geographic space differently. Until the mid 1890s, this region was identified as Manitoba and the Great North West. Corresponding with the Liberal government's large scale efforts to encourage immigration, the term North West was then replaced in favor of Western Canada. In 1899, the handbook Western Canada defined the region

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<sup>63</sup> My use of "story" in this statement refers to Gerald Friesen's insistence in lectures that history is foremost "story." Friesen, The Canadian Prairies. See his more recent study, Gerald Friesen, The West: Regional Ambitions, National Debates, Global Age, Toronto: Penguin/McGill Institute, 1999.

<sup>64</sup> For example, the essays contained within; Robert Wardhaugh, ed., Toward Defining the Prairies: Region, Culture, and History, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001 and Catherine Cavanaugh and Jeremy Mouat, eds., Making Western Canada: Essays on European Colonization and Settlement, Toronto: Garamond Press, 1996.

in the following fashion: "roughly, the Canadian prairies, which begin in Manitoba and run westward a clear thousand miles to the Rocky Mountains, and northward to beyond the great Saskatchewan River, an area capable of raising enough grain to feed all of Europe."<sup>65</sup> Throughout the thesis I use Western Canada and North West Territories interchangeably. However, because British Columbia quite often embarked upon separate campaigns to entice immigrants to its lands, this study ends at the foothills of the Rockies.<sup>66</sup> In many instances, however, this thesis moves beyond these prairie lands to include Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Great Britain. This methodology attends to the intimate relationship that exists between metropole and colony, and acknowledges how one was made in and through the other. By positioning Western Canada, and more broadly Canada, into the larger imperial world of the late-nineteenth century this thesis suggests that Canadian history is "best" understood, as a "chapter in the international history of imperialism."<sup>67</sup>

Chapter 1 examines how immigration handbooks used cartography to redefine and reorganize the landscape of Western Canada in order to promote it as a desirable site for resettlement. This chapter suggests that not only did the portrayals of Western Canada within immigration handbooks as a

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<sup>65</sup> Minister of the Interior, Western Canada: Manitoba, Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Northern Ontario, 1899, 6.

<sup>66</sup> Patrick A. Dunae, "Promoting the Dominion: Records and the Canadian Immigration Campaign," Archivaria, No. 19 (1984-84). On British Columbia specifically see, Jason Patrick Bennett, "Apple of the Empire: Landscape and Imperial Identity in the Turn-of-the-Century British Columbia," Journal of the Canadian Historical Association, New Series, Vol. 9, (1998).

<sup>67</sup> Perry, On the Edge of Empire, 194.

“vast” and “vacant” territory erase Aboriginal people from the landscape, but such descriptions were necessary to encourage immigration from the metropole. In Chapter 2, metropole and colony are positioned within one analytical frame. By considering specific aspects of Western Canada that immigration handbooks advertised as symbols of the British imperial world, this chapter illustrates how immigration promoters used these “ornaments of empire” to promote the imperial character of Western Canada.

Imperial masculinity and what constituted acceptable displays of manliness in Western Canada are explored in Chapter 3. Immigration handbooks appealed to men living in the metropole tagged as unmanly, and encouraged them to migrate to Western Canada where they would be able to achieve the metropolitan ideal of masculinity. Handbooks advertised owning a home and land and the mastery of the land and climate as seeds responsible for growing successful, healthy, and manly bodies on the fields of empire.

As a whole, these chapters argue that immigration handbooks constructed, published, and distributed to advertise Western Canada as a desirable space for British immigrants were entrenched within the British imperial world. Although designed to encourage the resettlement of Western Canada, immigration handbooks serve as a lens that focused Canada’s reverse imperial gaze. By recognizing this reverse imperial gaze this thesis observes how metropolitan ideals, colonial realities, and the tensions that

arose in-between were understood, maintained, and refracted by the peripheries:

## Chapter 1

### **“A beautiful land of vast proportions”: Resettlement and the Other(s) Colonial Space(s)**

“The very essence of the work of promoting immigration is of an educational character,” stated the 1897 Annual Report of the Department of the Interior. “A large number of our pamphlets are being used as readers” reported the Department, “in the teaching of history, geography, and the resources of Canada in ordinary and evening schools.”<sup>68</sup> Then, on the 12 April 1901, Mr. Uriah Wilson, Member of Parliament from Lennox, expressed similar sentiments as he praised the Liberal government for their production of immigration handbooks in the United Kingdom, specifically, how British students were being educated about Canada by means of the Atlas of Canada. Wilson acknowledged that a “good service to the country” was achieved and that “readers and atlases have reached 930 schools.” “By this means,” explained Wilson, “we are educating the people of Great Britain and Ireland as to the resources and geography of Canada, and we have been giving them, so far as I have been able to learn, some information of which they are very much in need.”<sup>69</sup>

Immigration pamphlets, posters, lectures, atlases, and lantern slides all advertised the colonial space of Western Canada as one that was explicitly not England, but that was nevertheless defined by imperial culture and

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<sup>68</sup> “Report of the Department of the Interior: 1897,” Sessional Papers: Second Session of Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, (1897) Vol. XXXI, No. 10, 6.

<sup>69</sup> Debates, House of Commons, (1901) 2879 - 80.

politics. This chapter explores two subjects extracted from the contents of immigration handbooks. First, I argue that immigration handbooks used cartography to redefine and reorganize the landscape of Western Canada. Handbooks used maps to effectively advertise the appropriation of this colonial space and increase Canada's appeal for those in the metropole. Second, I investigate the portrayal of Western Canada within immigration handbooks as a "vast" and "vacant" territory, a virgin landscape eagerly awaiting the benefits of colonization. I argue that these descriptions not only erased Aboriginal people from the landscape, but also that such constructs were necessary to encourage imperial expansion. As a whole, this chapter demonstrates the awkward position of Canada within the British Empire and how colonial promoters advertised for readers in the metropole Canada's management of this colonial space.

### **"The Nearest *British* Colony"**

Maps decorated either the first or last pages of every immigration guide and provided both colonial promoters and resettlers with a variety of services. Through these maps resettlers were educated regarding the shortest routes of passage, where roads and railways were located or were being built, and what lands were identified as "open for settlement." For those

promoting immigration the inclusion of maps assisted, facilitated, and legitimized the process of colonization in Western Canada.<sup>70</sup>

In 1872, a handbook published by the Department of Agriculture produced for readers a map that illustrated Canada's geographic position in relation to Great Britain. This map assisted the intending immigrant in spanning the distance between metropole and colony and positioned this colonial space within the grander process of imperialism. Following this map, a section explained for intending immigrants, "Canada's geographical position and extent." "This map," according to the handbook,

despite its diminutive proportions, shows strikingly the magnitude of the North American possessions of Great Britain, embracing more than half of the continent within their limits, from the southern frontier line which separates them from the United States, to their ice-bound extensions towards the arctic.<sup>71</sup>

These maps charted civilization. Maps aided British expansion into previously "undiscovered," "unmapped," and "unsettled" territories. Moreover,

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<sup>70</sup> Colin M. Coates, "Like 'The Thames towards the Putney': The Appropriation of Landscape in Lower Canada," Canadian Historical Review, 74:1 (1993) 317-343; Thomas Bassett, "Cartography and Empire Building in Nineteenth-Century West Africa," Geographical Review, 84:3, (July 94), 316-36; Serge Courville, "Part of the British Empire Too: French Canada and Colonization Propaganda," a paper presented at The British World Conference II, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, July 2003; Tony Birch, "A land so inviting and still without inhabitants': erasing Koori culture from (post-) colonial landscapes," in Kate Darian-Smith, Liz Gunner, and Sarah Nuttall, eds., Text, Theory, Space: Land, Literature, and History in South Africa and Australia, London and New York: Routledge, 1996, 173-90; Simon Gikandi, Maps of Englishness: Writing and Identity on the Culture of Colonialism, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996; and Richard Phillips, Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure, London: Routledge, 1997.

<sup>71</sup> Department of Agriculture, Dominion of Canada: Information for Emigrants, Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1872, 1.

the inclusion of maps extended British dominion over the landscape and had a significant role in empire building.

Shortest Sea Passage to America.

Average About Eight Days.

**THE NEAREST BRITISH COLONY**

**CANADA**

TENANT FARMERS and others who require small, who wish to engage in profitable agriculture, AGRICULTURAL LABORERS, and FEMALE DOMESTIC SERVANTS are, at the present time, the classes mostly required in Canada.

Improved Farms, with comfortable Dwellings and Outbuildings, can be purchased in ONTARIO, QUEBEC, NOVA SCOTIA, NEW BRUNSWICK, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, and BRITISH COLUMBIA for Cash, or on easy Terms, and the same lands are within easy reach of the principal ports of Great Britain.

**FREE GRANTS of 160 ACRES**

OFFERED TO SETTLERS IN THE FERTILE, ARABLE AND GRASSY PRAIRIE LANDS OF

**MANITOBA**

AND THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES,

**ASSINIBOIA, ALBERTA, SASKATCHEWAN, AND ATHABASCA.**

GRANTS OF 100 TO 200 ACRES ARE ALSO OFFERED IN OTHER PARTS OF CANADA.

For before seeking homes in any part of Canada, or elsewhere, parties are advised to obtain a copy of the Reports of Professors SHILDON and FLEMING, of the College of Agriculture, Ontario, and of Professor YALSER, Director of Education under the auspices of the Board of Agriculture, South Kensington, London, who recently visited Canada (including Manitoba and the North-West Territories), with every latest Prospector and Map, published under the authority of the Imperial and Dominion Governments, and full information respecting Canada, by Professor, Trade, Customs, etc. (Lancaster, Eng.) may be obtained FREE on application to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Mr. G. CAMERON, Secretary; Mr. C. CAMPBELL, Assistant-Secretary and Accountant, 2, Victoria Chambers, London, E.C. 4; or to the Canadian Government Agent, Mr. JOHN DYER, 10, Water Street, Liverpool; Mr. THOMAS GRAYSON, 40, St. John's Square, Glasgow; Mr. W. HARRICK, 35, Victoria Place, Belfast; Mr. T. O'CONNOR, Northumberland House, Dublin.

Map depicting Canada's central position within the British Empire, late 1890s. National Archives of Canada, Government Archives Division, RG 76

Thomas Bassett's study of colonial West Africa in the nineteenth century illustrates the authoritative power of the map. Bassett asserts that the

power inherent within maps is rooted in the readers' assumption that they are viewing an object that reproduced an accurate representation of reality. Maps produced within immigration handbooks, much like those reproduced by the explorers on the African frontier, identified "undiscovered" or "unsettled" territories as "blanks spots" on the map of empire. The prairie landscape was similarly portrayed as a "blank spot," and the filling of these "blank spots" was enough to motivate imperial expansion.<sup>72</sup>

Tony Birch has explained that in colonial Australia, British expansionists renamed the historical and physical landscapes of the outback in order to fashion this colonial space as an identifiably British possession. Birch suggests that by attaching British names to these captured landscapes, British colonists legitimized the "theft of land for their governments who 'owned' the names."<sup>73</sup> In Western Canada, surveying the landscape promoted the imperial ownership of the territory, enabled imperialists to reorganize Aboriginal space, and advertised to those in the metropole a reality that did not contain Aboriginal people.

Colin Coates explains that in Lower Canada the appropriation and establishment of dominion over "*new lands*" created "*new spaces*" for imperial expansion.<sup>74</sup> In Western Canada, these *new spaces* were advertised to intending immigrants through handbooks' reproduction and inclusion of maps.

In the North Western Territories the land survey system became one of the

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<sup>72</sup> Bassett, "Cartography and Empire Building".

<sup>73</sup> Birch, "A land so inviting and still without inhabitants," 177.

<sup>74</sup> Coates, "Like 'The Thames towards Putney,'" 323.

fundamental erasures of Aboriginal claims to the landscape, and therefore, a primary reorganizer of Aboriginal space. Discussions of the homesteading policy and the land surveying system within the pages of immigration guides enabled the Government of Canada to illustrate its imperial ownership of the land for readers in the metropole.<sup>75</sup> By including such information, handbooks mapped the legal and statutory definitions of the divisions and subdivisions of the Western Canadian landscape.

Every township is exactly six miles square, and this township is divided into sections 1 mile square, or 640 acres each. These sections are again subdivided into half-sections of 320 acres; quarter sections of 160 acres; and half-quarter sections of 80 acres each.<sup>76</sup>

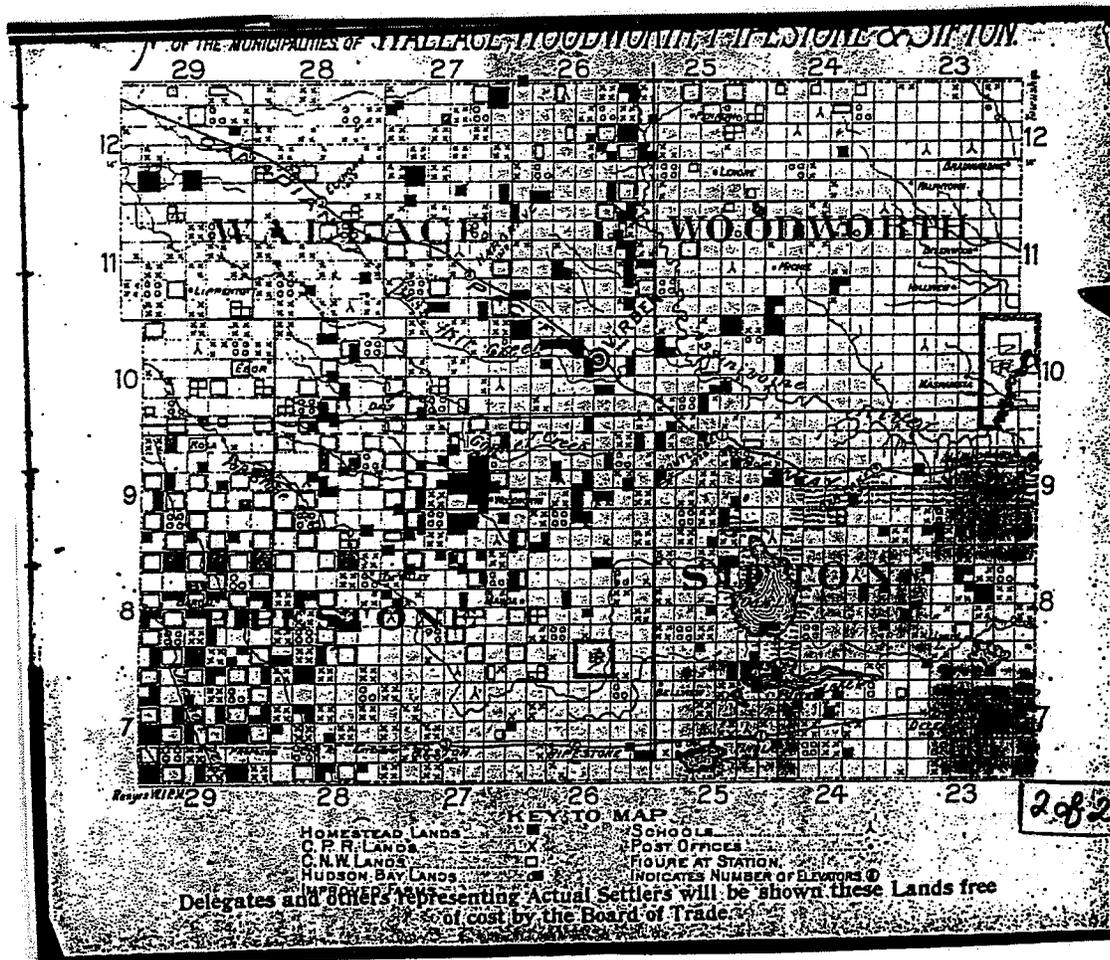
According to the Department of Agriculture this system of land survey was both "simple and scientific." Initially the British immigrant will find such nomenclature "strange," explained the Department, but he will soon understand and be charmed by its "accuracy and simplicity."<sup>77</sup> Through its use of such "scientific methods," the land survey system communicated the imperial authority of the Government of Canada over this landscape and further warranted the reorganization of Aboriginal space.

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<sup>75</sup> Almost all immigration handbooks contained at least one section explaining such methods; however, many contained more than one section on homesteading and how to acquire land through government programs other land grants.

<sup>76</sup> Department of Agriculture, Dominion of Canada: The Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territory, Information for Intending Immigrants. Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1879, 14.

<sup>77</sup> Department of Agriculture, Dominion of Canada, 1879, 15.



Virten Trade Board, Manitoba Homelands and other Lands Open for Settlement, 1897.

The reorganization of Aboriginal space is clearly visible in the land survey map reproduce above from the municipalities of Wallace, Woodsworth, Pipestone, and Sifton in north-western Manitoba from 1897.<sup>78</sup> Through a variety of shading techniques, circles, squares, and Xs, this map provided intending immigrants with very specific information about where in this district to resettle. The legend of the map was divided into two columns; the first allocated ownership to the landscape, while the second marked the

<sup>78</sup> Virten Trade Board, Manitoba Homelands and other Lands Open for Settlement, Manitoba: n/p, 1897.

presence of "civilized" institutions that illustrated the progress and character of these municipalities. A closer examination of the map reveals the presence of two plots of land bordered by a thick black line and containing the upper case letters I.R. Although these I.R. spaces were not identified in the map's legend, it is apparent that these spaces were categorized as "Indian Reserves."

The relocation of Aboriginals onto reserves enabled imperialists to commence educational and civilizing missions that aggrandized a white, British ideal for Western Canada.<sup>79</sup> As the above map demonstrates, the distinction between reserve lands and lands "open for settlement" was significant. The thicker line that framed the I.R. spaces protected resettlers and their whiteness from the perceived degenerating influence of Aboriginals, while confining Aboriginals to reserve lands.<sup>80</sup>

Designed to encourage white British immigrants to resettle in Western Canada, immigration handbooks needed to appeal to the imperial imaginations of those in the metropole. Immigration handbooks operated as a conduit between metropole and colony, and reflected the larger social world of empire wherein racial categories hinged on notions of morality,

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<sup>79</sup> Constance Backhouse, Color-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950. Toronto: The Osgoode Society, 1999, Caroline Strange and Tina Loo, Making Good: Legal And Moral Regulation in Canada, 1867-1939. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997, and Maureen Lux, Medicine the Walks: Disease, Medicine, and Canadian Plains Native People, 1880-1940, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2001.

<sup>80</sup> Perry, On the Edge of Empire; and Sarah Carter, "Categories and Terrains of Exclusion: Constructing the "Indian Woman" in the Early Settlement Era in Western Canada," in Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld eds. Gender and History in Canada. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996.

respectability, and virtue was vital. Handbooks advertised that the anxieties vis-à-vis the protection of whiteness and the integrity believed inherent within, would not only be preserved within Western Canada, but would also thrive. The maps reproduced within immigration handbooks celebrated the appropriation of this colonial space, advertised Canada's imperial status, and legitimized the reorganization of Aboriginal space.

### **"A Vast and Vacant Region"**

Canada, about 3 528 000 square miles in size, a handbook proclaimed, was a "vast territory" occupying half of the continent of North America.<sup>81</sup> Such depictions of the Western Canadian landscape advertised this colonial space in terms that emphasized its emptiness and enormity. These descriptions of the landscape as "vast" and "vacant" represent more than the mere reality that these lands were uninhabited. Portrayals of the land as empty by immigration handbooks reproduce what Anne McClintock has identified as the "myth of the empty land." This myth found within colonial narratives appropriates and asserts that imperial landscapes, despite the presence of indigenous people, were in actuality empty. McClintock explores this mythic displacement of Aboriginals and argues that such a discourse positioned indigenous populations within *anachronistic space*. "According to this trope," McClintock asserts, "colonized people do not inhabit history proper

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<sup>81</sup> G. H. Wyatt, Dominion of Canada: Manitoba, the Canadian North-West and Ontario, Toronto: Government of Canada, 1880, 7.

but exist in a permanently anterior time within the geographic space of the modern empire."<sup>82</sup>

The displacement of Western Canada's Aboriginal people into anachronistic space by immigration handbooks was itself complicated. Maureen K. Lux has demonstrated that, despite the late-nineteenth century notion that Aboriginal people were a vanishing race, they in fact coped with poverty, malnutrition, and illness and *survived* in Western Canada.<sup>83</sup> But reading immigration handbooks for content alone indicates the complete absence of Aboriginal people in Western Canada. However, as Adele Perry has suggested, the absences within primary sources are equally, and possibly even more valuable, than any information they overtly provide.<sup>84</sup> Even discussions of the 1885 Riel Rebellion did not include Métis peoples within the pages of immigration handbooks. Of the handbooks used in this study, only two mentions of Métis, or "half-breeds" as handbooks categorized them, were made.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, teasing out the meanings of these absences illustrates the tensions that existed between metropole and colony, but more

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<sup>82</sup> Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Gender, Race, and Sexuality in the Imperial Conquest, London: Routledge, 1992, 30.

<sup>83</sup> Maureen Lux, Medicine that Walks, 5.

<sup>84</sup> Adele Perry, "The Historian and Theorist Revisited," Histoire Sociale/Social History, 33:65 (May 2000) 145-52.

<sup>85</sup> The first reference appeared before the Riel Rebellion of 1885, in 1882 and explained how the "half breeds" had become accustomed to the agricultural life. While the second, only a mere citation, appeared in the 1899 edition of Western Canada that described the area as once inhabited by "Indians and half-breeds" Ennis, Important Information for Settlers, 1882 and Western Canada, 1899, 37.

specifically, how Canada advertised its management of the Western Canadian Aboriginal population for those in the metropole.

The official regulation of Aboriginal people in Canada became absolute in 1876 when the Government of Canada consolidated its policies and enacted the Indian Act. Legitimizing the “us” and “them” ideology inherent within the imperial agenda, the Indian Act validated for Canadians, and advertised to those in the metropole the inferior position of Aboriginals as “wards of the state.”<sup>86</sup> Acton Burrows’ handbook, North Western Canada, articulated for readers what has been identified as the paternalist relationship between the Government of Canada and Aboriginal people.<sup>87</sup> “In Canada,” wrote Burrows, “the Indian knows that he is under the protection of the Great Mother, that her officers will protect him against harm and faithfully carry out the agreements made under the treaties by which his title to the soil was surrendered to the Crown.”<sup>88</sup>

In 1874 the Province of Manitoba published one of the few handbooks that advertised that Aboriginal people lived in Western Canada. Information for Intending Emigrants addressed a question that it believed to be important for its audience when considering immigration to Western Canada. The handbook inquired: “are there many Indians, and are they peacefully

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<sup>86</sup> Loo and Strange, Making Good, 25.

<sup>87</sup> Robin Jarvis Brownlie, A Fatherly Eye: Indian Agents, Government Power, and Aboriginal Resistance in Ontario, 1918-1930, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2003.

<sup>88</sup> Acton Burrows, North Western Canada, Its Climate, Soil and Productions with a Sketch of its Natural Features and Social Condition, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1880, 34.

inclined?" To this question the handbook replied with the assertion that the "Indians" were both "quiet" and "inoffensive" and were "well satisfied" with the annuity of three dollars provided them by the Government of Canada. Moreover, the handbook explained that the "Indians" now have "hunting grounds for themselves *far back* in the North-West"<sup>89</sup> Even though this handbook advertised that Aboriginal people were in fact present within Western Canada, it perpetuated for those in the metropole the notion that these perceived hindrances to imperial expansion were indeed happily confined to the safety of their reserves. After the ratification of the Indian Act in 1876, the portrayal of Aboriginal people within handbooks began to take on new dimensions. Aboriginals were no longer depicted as actual bodies inhabiting the colonial space of Western Canada, but rather were advertised to the metropole as features of the landscape or as a vanishing race, receding before the "face of the white man".

In 1882 an immigration guide proclaimed that: "the Indians have now vanished from their old hunting grounds."<sup>90</sup> This image of the 'vanishing indian', argues Daniel Francis, was prominent in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and publicized that "Indians" were truly "vanishing" from the Canadian landscape. Free Homes, a pamphlet published by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1886, described for readers the centrality of race to the resettlement of Western Canada.

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<sup>89</sup> [My Italics] Department of Agriculture, Province of Manitoba: Information for Intending Emigrant, Ottawa: 1874, 44.

<sup>90</sup> Ennis, Important Information, 1882, 6.

This magnificent scenery, magnificent in extent at least, has an elevating effect upon the Anglo-Saxon race; it enlarges the ideas, it brightens the imagination and it elevates the sentiments....To our British eyes, to our patriotic minds, the greatest of all wonders was this spectacle of the Anglo-Saxon, British Canadian enterprise spreading itself over the surface of this vast country... [But] the prairie is fast becoming a thing of the past. In that respect it is following the herds of buffalo and the poor Indians who are receding before the face of the white man.<sup>91</sup>

This construct of the 'vanishing indian', insists Francis, "appealed to expansionists because it disposed of a major obstacle to the extension of White civilization across the continent. And, of course, the image appealed to racists who found in it a welcome reassurance that their own way of life was superior."<sup>92</sup>

Western Canada, a handbook published by the Department of the Interior in 1899, described the landscape of the region without any mention or acknowledgement of Aboriginal occupancy.

There was a time when this vast region was supposed to be fit only for the habitation of the beaver, the buffalo, and the bear: but that day is past, as since the movement of immigration westward it has been demonstrated that this region contains the finest wheat and grazing lands in the world.<sup>93</sup>

A year earlier, in 1898, another handbook published by the Department included the image of a sole Indian grave on the prairies. Elizabeth Vibert in Traders' Tales observed that descriptions of the landscape "tended to be

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<sup>91</sup> Canadian Pacific Railway, Free Homes for all in Manitoba and the Canadian North-West along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1886, 6.

<sup>92</sup> Daniel Francis, The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian In Canadian Culture, Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992, 57.

<sup>93</sup> Minister of the Interior [issued under the authority of Clifford Sifton], Western Canada: Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ottawa, Canada: 1899, 5.

'empty' of human traces" and as a result "Indians became part of the setting."<sup>94</sup> And, traversing the empire, Catherine Hall has illustrated that in both South Australia and New Zealand, white imperialists similarly conceived of these landscapes as empty and their Aboriginal inhabitants forgotten.<sup>95</sup>

Rod Macneil argues that in Australia imperialists fused depictions of the landscape and Aboriginal peoples which resulted in the "deculturation" of this space. As a result, these individuals were able to promote the landscape as empty and clear, awaiting the arrival of culture understood as "civilization."<sup>96</sup> In 1886, the handbook Free Homes explained that Western Canada was once known as the "lone land", but that since the arrival of "civilization," it has become known to the world as the "land of promise." Canadian government officials that visited Western Canada reported that they "saw signs of culture" emerging in the form of "homesteads" and "fields under cultivation" because the "real plains" – those regions yet to be settled – "do not have culture."<sup>97</sup> The handbook Important Information for Intending Settlers in Manitoba, penned by Nicholas Devereux Ennis, further demonstrated how the imperial imagination perceived the Aboriginal past as trivial and nullified

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<sup>94</sup> Elizabeth Vibert, Traders's Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807-1846, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997, 103.

<sup>95</sup> Catherine Hall, Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002, 31.

<sup>96</sup> Robert Macneil, "Time After Time: Temporal Frontier and Boundaries in Colonial Images of the Australian Landscape," in Lynette Russell, ed., Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous – European Encounters in Settler Societies, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001, 49.

<sup>97</sup> Free Homes, 1886, 5-6.

by imperialism. "Where the Indian so recently maintained a precarious existence," explained Ennis, "there are populous villages, fast merging into towns, the clink of the hammer is heard in the forge and the rush of the stream from the mill-dam tells of agriculture and commerce."<sup>98</sup>

The "decultured" landscape of Western Canada that illustrated its 'otherness' was only one side of the proverbial coin minted to encourage the resettlement of Western Canada. The flip side communicated to the metropole that the 'otherness' of this landscape could be remade with the arrival of "bona-fide settlers." The Department of Agriculture noted that "it is only a few years since what are now the haunts of civilization were the runs and wallowing places of herds of buffalos."<sup>99</sup> Handbook author G. H. Wyatt, observed that Western Canada was "the finest I have ever seen in a state of nature,"

the prospect is bounded by the blue outline of the hills; on the plains, alternate wood and prairie, presenting an appearance more pleasing than if either entirely prevailed; it seems as if it wanted but the presence of human habitations to give it the appearance of a highly cultivated country.<sup>100</sup>

Immigration handbooks did not simply advertise the malleability of this "decultured" landscape. Handbooks also publicized that Western Canada *longed* for the benefits of colonization which would enable it to make the transition from a 'decultured' and 'other' landscape into a respectable white colonial society.

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<sup>98</sup> Ennis, Important Information, 1882, 6.

<sup>99</sup> Free Homes, 1886, 6.

<sup>100</sup> G. H. Wyatt, Dominion of Canada: 1880, 44.

The following image greeted readers of the handbook Manitoba and the North-West of the Dominion, authored by Thomas Spence. This image reproduces for the observer the extraordinary space of the contact zone; the arena in which colonial social encounters were played out. In this most intimate of circumstances between colonizers and colonized, this image reminded those in the metropole of their duty to transform the "Otherness" of this colonial space. Moreover, the image identifies specific aspects of the landscape that immigration handbooks used to advertise the imperial character of Western Canada.



Thomas Spence, Manitoba and the North-West of the Dominion, 1871.

Five key elements within the image alert the viewer to its imperial message; the flags, the Aboriginal men, the white female settler and her

children, the Red River cart, and Fort Garry. The fort marked civilization. It separated the reality that the image was created to reflect into two spheres: one outside the fort walls, the other preserved within. The strong, solid, and fortified representation of Fort Garry, resting under the British flag, articulated to the viewer the imperial character of this landscape. According to Cole Harris the creation of forts enabled fur traders to create familiar and safe spaces in their new environments, which were understood as "islands of relative security amid unfamiliar, potentially hostile people."<sup>101</sup> Inhabiting this "hostile" and "uncivilized" space outside the fort are two Aboriginal men, a white female resettler, and a Red River cart. The presence of the two Aboriginal men acknowledges that this landscape was once their home, but has since been appropriated by British resettlers, as is further suggested by the flag that overarches the entire image.

Initially, the location of the white female resettler and the Red River cart outside "civilization" is perplexing. Nonetheless, this strategic position is vital to the image's colonial message. In a nutshell, these two objects represent the most intimate of actors in the process of colonization. The Red River Cart teetering on the edge is not leaving the image, but is rather arriving. Therefore, this cart, which enabled resettlers to traverse the landscape of Western Canada, gestures in the dawn of colonization for the

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<sup>101</sup> Cole Harris, The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographic Change, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997, 34-35 and Colin Coates and Cecelia Morgan, Heroines and History, Representations of Madeline de Vercheres and Laura Secord. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

“uncivilized” territory that framed Fort Garry. Moreover, Fort Garry serves as the sole reminder of the fur trade missions that brought Europeans to the heart of the North American continent and displaced Aboriginal peoples.

The white female resettler and her children acknowledge the colonizing roles that white women had as “agents for the empire,” even as they were not the empire’s official agents.<sup>102</sup> Delores E. Janiewski, writing on the colonization of the American frontier, argues that the arrival of white women was a chief indicator that settler-colonization had begun.<sup>103</sup> Identified as ‘mothers of the race’ or ‘angels of the house’ by imperial gender discourse, white women were believed to bring both order and respectability to white settler societies.<sup>104</sup> Catherine Hall has observed that imperialists “expected women to sustain and even to improve the moral qualities of the opposite sex.....Women, it was believed, could act as the moral regenerators of the nation. They occupied a key position in the struggle to reform and revive the

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<sup>102</sup> Rita S. Kranidis, “Introduction: New Subjects, Familiar Grounds,” in Rita S. Kranidis Ed., Imperial Objects: Essays on Victorian Women’s Emigration and the Unauthorized Imperial Experience, London: Twayne Publishers, 1998.

<sup>103</sup> Delores E. Janiewski, “Gendered Colonialism; The ‘Woman Question’ in Settler Society,” in Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri eds., Nation Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998, 57-9.

<sup>104</sup> See, Adele Perry, On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000; and Mariana Valverde, “‘When the Mother of the Race is Free’: Race, Reproduction, and Sexuality in First-Wave Feminism,” in Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde eds. Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Woman’s History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992; and Marilyn Barber, “The Gentlewomen of Queen Mary’s Coronation Hostel,” in Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdro Eds., Not Just Pin Money, Victoria: Camosun College, 1984, 141.

nation."<sup>105</sup> Regardless of their marginal positions within the image, the white female resettler with her children and the Red River cart, demonstrate two crucial aspects in the resettlement of Western Canada. Together they advertised to the metropole how the "uncivilized" space outside Fort Garry could be changed from a fur trade society into a respectable, white, British space through the process of colonization.

Reflecting the larger social world of empire, immigration handbooks used cartography to redefine and reorganize the landscape of Western Canada, to celebrate the appropriation of this colonial space, and to advertise Canada's status within the British Empire. The portrayal of Western Canada as a "vast" and "vacant" territory longing for the benefits of colonization assisted in the reproduction of a reality that did not contain Aboriginal people. Advertising the removal of Aboriginal people from the landscape and their relocation onto reserves enabled pamphleteers to utilize terms that evoked images of "distance" and "safety" in their descriptions of the *potential* contact between resettlers and Aboriginal people. Through such means, immigration pamphlets promoted a reality that regulated the "Otherness" of this colonial space, while simultaneously advertising that immigrants would not be threatened by its Aboriginal inhabitants. By erasing Aboriginal people from the territory immigration handbooks were thus able to encourage the resettlement of Western Canada. Moreover, by advertising the management

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<sup>105</sup> Catherine Hall, White, Male, and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History, New York: Routledge, 1992, 86.

of such perceived hindrances to imperial expansion, immigration handbooks demonstrated to the metropole how the 'otherness' of this colonial space could be altered through the transformative touch of the imperial plough.

## Chapter 2

### **“No more a change than moving from York, Glasgow, Swansea, or Dublin to London”: Redefining the Social World of Western Canada**

On 25 May 1897, Liberal Member of Parliament for Elgin West, G. E. Casey, articulated in the House of Commons his understanding of the needs and desires of intending British immigrants. “The Britisher,” noted Casey, “rather likes to settle in a place where there are institutions something like those that he has left, and the prospect of having good schools and churches and roads and everything of that kind, would be an inducement. Most of the immigrating class in England, and most of the tenant farmer class to which I refer, are not aware that such things exist in Canada.” He continued that those in the metropole “look upon Canada as a backwoods district or as a prairie district, or as a mining district; they are not aware that there are great extents of country here where they can, for a small capital, get comfortable and well-established homes.”<sup>106</sup>

In attempts to encourage migration from the over-populated and degenerate social spaces of the metropole to Western Canada, handbooks advertised that intending immigrants would retain their connection to the British Empire while achieving independence, prosperity, and a home more quickly and easily than in Great Britain. Handbooks advertised that the social world of Western Canada mirrored that of the British metropole. However, as Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler remind us, neither colony nor

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<sup>106</sup> Debates, House of Commons, 1897, 2815-2816.

metropole existed in isolation. The metropole was made in and through its imperial projects, just as the colonies themselves were shaped through such imperial encounters.<sup>107</sup>

This chapter extends the discussion of the imperial fashioning of Western Canada as undertaken in chapter 1. Once immigration handbooks had established that the territory of the Canadian North West was under the authority of the British Empire, it became necessary to make the space – the social world of the region – identifiably British. Achieving this required immigration promoters to select specific “ornaments of empire” – aspects that the metropole understood as British – to reproduce in Western Canada. This process enabled immigration handbooks to redefine the social world of Western Canada as a space that was neither Aboriginal nor American. As a result, immigration handbooks advertised that Western Canada was a respectable, white outpost of the British Empire that contained all the amenities of “home.”

In stride with current colonial histories, this chapter positions both metropole and colony within one analytical frame.<sup>108</sup> This chapter identifies the specific “ornaments of empire” that immigration promoters used to redefine the social world of Western Canada as an imperial space ripe for resettlement. Handbooks advertised that schools, churches, British

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<sup>107</sup> Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, Eds., Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

<sup>108</sup> Catherine Hall, Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

structures of government, and the presence of British law in Western Canada redefined this space as British. Robert Gordon Moyles and Doug Owsram insist that immigration handbooks and literature pertaining to Western Canada at the close of the nineteenth century offered intending immigrants too many "mixed messages" about what they would find in Western Canada. Moyles and Owsram argue that these messages complicated the British immigrants' presumptions about Western Canada to the extent that they may have impeded resettlement.<sup>109</sup> This chapter rethinks this notion and suggests that these advertising campaigns were not as perplexing. Rather, immigration handbooks in their attempts to redefine Western Canada as a British space eased many of the anxieties that those in the metropole had about immigration. By redefining the social world of Western Canada in terms that those in the metropole understood as British, immigration promoters made this outpost of empire a familiar, friendly, and welcoming cite for resettlement and thereby eased the transition from metropole to colony.

### **"Canadians are the English of the English"**

Immigration handbooks were far from muted in their attempts to redefine Western Canada as a suitable site for intending British immigrants. In 1877, the handbook Canada: A Handbook of Information for Intending Immigrants exclaimed that "Canada is thoroughly British. The emigrant from

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<sup>109</sup> Robert Gordon Moyles and Doug Owsram, Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

the United Kingdom will find his laws, language, manners, and customs." In fact, stated this guide, "to go to the Dominion from England is in fact little more than removing from one part of the Kingdom to another."<sup>110</sup> Immigration handbooks relentlessly advertised that Western Canada reproduced all that the imperial world understood as British. Immigration Agent John W. Down noted that in Western Canada, British immigrants resettling in the region would "find themselves at home at once, in a land that is British, and amongst a people similar to themselves." As Down observed; "the Canadians are the English of the English."<sup>111</sup>

Immigration handbooks strove to advertise that without a doubt, Western Canada was a British space. Unlike the maps of empire that appeared within immigration handbooks or the Atlas of Canada, the contents of immigration handbooks were designed to convince those in the metropole that not only was the landscape of Western Canada British, but so was the social world and quality of life that awaited immigrants. Headlines described Western Canada as "the finest agriculture country in the world" or "the last best west" and these became recurring images which spoke to the imperial fashioning of Western Canada, while simultaneously cultivating intrigue within the imperial imaginations of those in the metropole. For in the colonies,

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<sup>110</sup> Department of Agriculture, Canada: A Handbook of Information for Intending Immigrants, Ottawa, 1877, 74.

<sup>111</sup> J. W. Down, The Manitoban and Great North-West Colony: Explanation of its Advantages and Objects. Bristol: Jeffries and Sons Printers, 1877, 75.

stated the Department of Agriculture, "they copy all that is good and suitable in the Old World system, [and] avoid all that is bad and defective."<sup>112</sup>

Immigration handbooks advertised that resettling in Western Canada would be most beneficial to the British subject for a variety of reasons. "It is on the whole, therefore, to be said, that Manitoba presents not only a suitable, but advantageous field for the settlement of those who leave the United Kingdom."<sup>113</sup> In 1893, the Government of Manitoba went so far as to claim that "life in Manitoba is pretty much what it is in Great Britain."<sup>114</sup> Promoting this image that Western Canada was no different than Great Britain led immigration promoters to make substantial claims about the imperial character of Western Canada. In 1899, the handbook Western Canada ambitiously stated that resettling in the agricultural districts of Western Canada was "no more a change than moving from York, Glasgow, Swansea, or Dublin, to London" the thriving urban centres of Great Britain.<sup>115</sup>

Redefining Western Canada as a British space required immigration handbooks to advertise that those institutions the metropole expected and associated with an acceptable quality of life for a British citizen existed on these vast fields of empire. The intending immigrant, wrote Acton Burrows, in coming to Canada, "but removes from one part of the Empire to another,"

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<sup>112</sup> Canada: A Handbook of Information, 17.

<sup>113</sup> The Department of Agriculture, Dominion of Canada: The Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territory, Information for Intending Immigrants, Ottawa: 1879, 14.

<sup>114</sup> Government of Manitoba, Manitoba, Official Information for Investors and Settlers, Winnipeg: 1893, 21-2.

<sup>115</sup> Minister of the Interior, Western Canada: Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ottawa: 1899, 10.

where there "is a careful preservation of those traditions which give the general features to English society the world over."<sup>116</sup> These features of English society, suggest Daniel Gorman, enabled colonizers to distinguish themselves from the colonized and are best understood as "ornaments of empire." Moreover, these ornaments, Gorman argues, were important elements in the encouragement of imperial migration, the perpetuation of imperial ties, and in sustaining a British identity when no form of imperial citizenship existed that included all those within the British Empire.<sup>117</sup>

In 1893, the handbook Manitoba, Official Information for Investors and Settlers affirmed that "the settler from the United Kingdom, in Manitoba, will also find his language, his religion, and means to educate his children from the common school to the college."<sup>118</sup> Redefining Western Canada as a British space, and advertising that the quality of life which awaited intending immigrants in Western Canada was suitable for the British immigrant, was as one handbook observed, a question of "transcendent importance." In Western Canada, because this space maintained such strong links to the metropole, such a concern warranted no "needless anxiety." The newly

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<sup>116</sup> Acton Burrows, North Western Canada, Its Climate, Soil and Productions with a Sketch of its Natural Features and Social Condition, Winnipeg, Manitoba: 1880, 33.

<sup>117</sup> Daniel Gorman, "Wider and Wider Still: Racial Politics, Intra-Imperial Immigration and the Absence of an Imperial Citizenship in the British Empire," Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History, 3:3 (2002).

<sup>118</sup> The Department of Agriculture, Dominion of Canada: The Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territory, Information for Intending Immigrants, Ottawa: 1879, 14.

arrived resettler to Manitoba would not only find the "necessities of life", but also "most of the luxuries of life," stated the handbook,

[for] many of the stores and shops supply nearly everything. In drapery goods, the latest London and Paris fashions are obtainable in such cities and towns as Winnipeg, Brandon, and Portage-la-Prairie. There are churches in connection with nearly all denominations; there are schools, banks, hotels, clubs and societies of all kinds; there is a very extensive telegraph system, which is constantly being added to; there is gas and electric light; there are trains and busses and tram cars. If living in the country, there are in most parts good roads to travel on to market. Though the postman will not come round and deliver letters every day, there are a few places where there is mail twice a week, and in many places there is daily mail.<sup>119</sup>

The presence of these British characteristics enabled immigration handbooks to advertise that the social world of Western Canada was not only suitable to the British way of life, but was ultimately, "more tolerable." In particular, "the less irksome social restrictions imposed by society" made Western Canada a desirable site for resettlement.<sup>120</sup>

Education and schools were similarly utilized by immigration handbooks to redefine the social world of Western Canada as a British space. At the turn of the century in Great Britain, education was understood as a fundamental feature of the British way of life.<sup>121</sup> Metropolitan culture in these last decades of the nineteenth century, particularly the notion that education was crucial in the development of good character, was reflected in the pages

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<sup>119</sup> Government of Manitoba, Manitoba, Official Information for Investors and Settlers, Winnipeg: 1893, 21-2.

<sup>120</sup> Government of Manitoba, Manitoba, Official Information for Investors and Settlers, Winnipeg: 1893, 21-2.

<sup>121</sup> Stephen Heathorn, For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender, Class, and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880-1914, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

of immigration handbooks. The immigration handbook the Dominion of Canada stated that "the school system is of very perfect character. In all parts of the country the children of the poorest, as well as those of the well to do, find free schools, at which excellent education may be obtained; and the advantage is very generally used. The road to higher schools and colleges is also easy and open."<sup>122</sup> Immigration handbooks even went so far as to assert that the school systems of Western Canada did more than merely reproduce British ideals; schools in Western Canada even achieved higher grades than those in the metropole. According to a handbook issued by the Province of Manitoba, "the education of the whole people is the rule to a far greater extent than in the United Kingdom; it is in fact, almost universal."<sup>123</sup>

In 1911, the handbook Canada West: The Last Best West contained a section that provided intending immigrants with answers to questions considered to be the most important when considering immigration. Prefaced by a statement from then-Superintendent of Immigration, W. D. Scott, this section stated that, "owing to the number of questions daily, it has been deemed advisable to put in condensed form, in addition to the foregoing information, such questions as most naturally occur, giving the answers which experience denotes as appropriate, conveying the information commonly

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<sup>122</sup> Department of Agriculture, Dominion of Canada: Information for Emigrants, Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1872, 2.

<sup>123</sup> Province of Manitoba, Dominion of Canada: The Province of Manitoba, 1879, 14.

asked for."<sup>124</sup> A majority of the questions dealt with the agricultural potential of the region, the climate, and the soil, but resettlers were also provided with information that immigration handbooks used to extend their redefinition of Western Canada as British:

QUESTION: Are there any schools outside the towns?"

ANSWER: School districts can not exceed five miles in length or breadth, and must contain at least four actual residents, and twelve children between the ages of five and sixteen. In almost every locality, where these conditions exist, schools have sprung up.<sup>125</sup>

Immigration handbooks advertised that the presence of British law, order, and systems of government in Western Canada could be used to further redefine this terrain as a British space. With "modifications," stated the Department of the Interior in 1897, "the representative and governmental institutions" of the West were "modelled after those in Great Britain."<sup>126</sup> Immigration handbooks advertised that "as if by magic," Western Canada reproduced the governmental systems of the metropole. Moreover, "the criminal law in Canada" was also "copied very closely from the English statutes."<sup>127</sup> In 1893, the government of Canada boasted that "life and property are safer than in England, Scotland, or Ireland," and "personal

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<sup>124</sup> Department of the Interior, Canada West: The Last Best West, Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1911, 38.

<sup>125</sup> Department of the Interior, Canada West, 1911, 39.

<sup>126</sup> Department of the Interior, Manitoba and the North-West Territories, Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan in which are included the newly discovered gold fields of the Yukon. Ottawa: 1897, 7.

<sup>127</sup> North Western Canada, 1880, 35.

assaults, such as the British papers record everyday in the year, are seldom heard of out there”<sup>128</sup>

Acton Burrows further demonstrated how immigration handbooks were used to redefine the social world of Western Canada. Burrows confirmed for the intending British immigrant that their imperial status would be protected in this colonial space, while illustrating how this status was intimately connected to the presence of metropolitan institutions. “To the British emigrant to Canada,” wrote Burrows,

it must be a source of great satisfaction to know that he is not expatriating himself that he is not about to renounce his allegiance to the land of his birth and become the subject of another and perhaps unfriendly nation. In coming to Canada...he will enjoy all the privileges of monarchical government.<sup>129</sup>

“Through her connection to Great Britain,” stated one immigration handbook, Western Canada was able to possess both “stability and strength.”<sup>130</sup> This sturdy relationship between metropole and colony, when advertised in association with the entire set of “ornaments of empire” made the lure of Western Canada unbeatable. “All the advantages of British connection,” asserted G. H. Wyatt, combined with the “rich soil, a healthy and a pleasant climate, law and order” offered incredible temptations to the intending British immigrant. “To a very slight degree,” observed Wyatt, the resettler does not “change his mode of life nor his companionship. He goes among his own people, to a condition of life and society the same as those he leaves

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<sup>128</sup> Government of Manitoba, Manitoba, Official Information for Investors and Settlers, Winnipeg: 1893, 21-22.

<sup>129</sup> North Western Canada, 1880, 34.

<sup>130</sup> Canada: A Handbook of Information, 1877.

behind....A fact to be remarked is that the farmer who migrates from the British Island to any part of Canada does not change his flag."<sup>131</sup>

### **"Under the Proud Flag of Great Britain"**

In attempts to redefine the social world of Western Canada immigration handbooks relentlessly hoisted images of, and references to, the Union Jack. The presence of the Union Jack in Western Canada was meant to assure intending immigrants that even in this outpost of empire, the empire remained strong. Moreover, the "proud" Union Jack was unarguably the most recognizable symbol of British authority. It was a symbol of all that the imperial world understood as British – freedom, patriotism, virtue, whiteness, respectability, and civilization. The Union Jack became the conduit for the messages of empire. The Union Jack redefined Western Canada as distinct from the United States and freed from the perceived menace of Aboriginal societies. Forged from multiple kilns, the Union Jack fused the various ancestors of Great Britain – the Scottish, English, and Irish – into a unified symbol designed to represent the British Empire writ large.<sup>132</sup>

"Health, happiness and freedom" were all successfully reproduced and enjoyed under the flag "that's braved a thousand years," exclaimed handbook

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<sup>131</sup> G. H. Wyatt, Dominion of Canada: Manitoba, The Canadian North-West and Ontario, Toronto: 1880, 7.

<sup>132</sup> The Way to the Stars, Ottawa: Boy Scouts Association of Canada, 1963.

author Thomas Spence.<sup>133</sup> In 1872, the Department of Agriculture explained that not only did the “sun never set on the British Empire” but “no people on earth enjoy a better ordered liberty than those who live under its flag.”<sup>134</sup> The importance of the Union Jack for redefining Western Canada also appears in a handbook published by the Province of Manitoba in 1886. The handbook, Free Homes in Manitoba and the Canadian North West, advertised that “under the British flag, in the Dominion of Canada, there is to be had by any man for the asking” numerous opportunities to better his condition.<sup>135</sup>

Emanating a glow of modernity and civilization, the Union Jack was used by immigration handbooks to identify the Britishness of Western Canada for those in the metropole. Immigration Agent J. W. Down demonstrated how the watchful gaze of the Union Jack protected resettlers in Western Canada. “The colony is not more than 20 days journey from Old England,” wrote Down,

and it will be a matter of great satisfaction to those who may go to know that they will live under the proud flag of Great Britain, and [they] will continue to be loyal and prosperous subjects of her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.<sup>136</sup>

The Union Jack, when utilized in connection with other “ornaments of empire,” maximized immigration handbooks’ attempts to redefine Western Canada as

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<sup>133</sup> Thomas Spence, Useful and Practical Hints for the Settler on Canadian Prairie Lands and for the Guidance of Intending British Emigrants to Manitoba and the North-West of Canada: With Facts, Winnipeg: Manitoba, 1879, 5.

<sup>134</sup> Department of Agriculture, Dominion of Canada, 1872, 7.

<sup>135</sup> Free Homes for all in Manitoba and the Canadian North West, Winnipeg: 1886, 1.

<sup>136</sup> Down, The Manitoban and Great North-West Colony, 1877, 6.

a British space. In Western Canada, wrote G. H. Wyatt, the [re]settler will find "as good farmers, as good houses, as good schools, and as good neighbours as they have here. They will also remain under the British flag."<sup>137</sup>

In addition to preserving the relationship between the motherland metropole and her young Dominion, the Union Jack was also used to distinguish Western Canada from the American frontier. One of the few studies to critically consider the role that flags performed in fashioning the imperial character of a region is Adam Arenson's examination of the Klondike Gold Rush between 1898 and 1901. Arenson suggests that the Union Jack and Stars and Stripes operated, not only as powerful symbols of conquest in the North, but also as signifiers of the region's complex imperial character.<sup>138</sup>

In 1903, the "Harvest Supplement," a handbook printed by the Manitoba Daily Free Press reproduced the testimonies of numerous American resettlers who had recently immigrated to Western Canada. American resettlers were urged by the newspaper to respond to the question "how do you like living under the Union Jack?" The responses of these men regarding their experiences in Western Canada were then reprinted on the centre two pages of the "Harvest Supplement." It is apparent, stated the handbook, that these American resettlers, who, once "had prejudices against the country" have since their arrival, benefited from the shelter of the British flag. Resettler C.C. White

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<sup>137</sup> Wyatt, Dominion of Canada, 1880, 8.

<sup>138</sup> Adam Arenson, "At the Periphery and the Center: Race, Nation and Self-Fashioning in the Klondike, 1898-1901," a paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association's Annual Meeting, The University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, June 3-5, 2004.

commented that he was "more than pleased" with his land and Henry Laughlin related that he "wouldn't exchange it for the whole of Lake country!" The unanimous testimonies of these resettlers illustrated for intending immigrants that, in the Dominion of Canada, under the British flag, the offer of "free and fertile farms, just and liberal laws, educational and religious advantages, and the best of social conditions" were "ornaments of empire" worthy of consideration when immigrating to Canada.<sup>139</sup>

The images of Union Jacks flapping proudly throughout Western Canada symbolized more than the imperial connection between Canada and Great Britain or the distinctions between Canada and the United States. The presence of the British flag also promoted the removal of Aboriginal people from the colonial landscape and enabled immigration handbooks to redefine this once native land as British. Edward John Eyre, a mid-nineteenth century explorer and Colonial Office official, who worked in Australia, New Zealand, and Jamaica, remarked that the British flag served as "a sign to the savage that the footstep of civilised man has penetrated so far."<sup>140</sup> Likewise in South Africa, Nhlanhla Maake has recently suggested that flags served as "symbolic erasures" of indigenous inhabitants on the sub-continent and advanced the imperial character of the region.<sup>141</sup> Immigration handbook author Nicholas

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<sup>139</sup> "The Harvest Supplement," Manitoba Daily Free Press, Thursday, 8 October (1903) 7-8.

<sup>140</sup> As quoted by Hall in, Civilizing Subjects, 38.

<sup>141</sup> Nhlanhla Maake, "Inscribing Identity on the landscape: national symbols in South Africa," in Kate Darian-Smith, Liz Gunner, and Sarah Nuttall. Text, Theory, Space: Land, Literature, and History in South Africa and Australia, London and New York: Routledge, 1996, 146.

Devereux Ennis observed that "in Canada you do not realise you are in a strange land, being under the English flag, and all the people or their ancestors having come from the British Isles."<sup>142</sup> Ennis advertised a shared white ancestry for all those resettling and resettled in Western Canada, inevitably removing all Aboriginal people from the region and further redefining this space as British and "open for settlement."

Immigration posters often supplemented the extravagant advertising campaigns of the Government of Canada. The image reproduced below indicates the complex relationship that existed between Canada, Great Britain, and the United States at the close of the nineteenth century. In letters of crimson red the original masthead of the poster announced that: "40, 000 MEN NEEDED in WESTERN CANADA to harvest 400, 000, 000 BUSHELS OF GRAIN." Dominated by the figures of two men, the image represents the ideal American and Canadian resettlers. On the right of the image stands the Canadian. Dressed in British military regalia, his attire demonstrates how militarism and Britishness, and thus manliness and character building, were all intimately connected within the British imperial world.<sup>143</sup> In the left corner, dressed in overalls stands the American resettler, detached from the Western Canadian landscape, the British Empire, and the Canadian by a mythic ravine.

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<sup>142</sup> Nicholas Devereux Ennis, Important Information for Intending Settlers in Manitoba. Liverpool: Turner and Dunnett, 1872, 39.

<sup>143</sup> See, Mark Moss, Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001; Robert MacDonald, Sons of the Empire: Boy Scouts and the Frontier Movement, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.



Immigration Poster – Soo Line Railway Company, late 1890s  
National Archives of Canada

Five flags communicate various attributes of the imperial world that framed this image. The first two flags are positioned within the vicinity of each resettler and the commodities that their country produced. Lying limply across the American's manufactured goods is the Stars and Stripes. Across the ravine a Canadian resettler beckons the American to cross and return to the empire. Standing alongside sheaves of wheat and other produce that immigration handbooks advertised as profitable ventures in Western Canada, the Canadian displays not only his produce, but also a Union Jack.

Reading the imperial message of this immigration poster alongside the contents of immigration handbooks further illustrates how immigration

promoters advertised the position of Western Canada within the imperial world of Great Britain. Often depicted by immigration handbooks as the colony gone astray, the United States was advertised to the metropole as an undesirable, unfriendly, and unhealthy space for British immigrants. Such descriptions were often supplemented by statements which asserted that the United States was "full-up" with immigrants. "In the United States and Eastern Canada," stated the "Harvest Supplement," "practically all the land available for crop purposes under natural conditions is now under some form of cultivation, but in [Western Canada] there are enormous acres of unoccupied land which are in every way suitable for agricultural exploitation."<sup>144</sup> "In every respect" – yield, weight, and value – claimed Acton Burrows, "North West Canada is ahead of any of the American States as an agricultural region."<sup>145</sup> Not only was there no more land available in the United States, but the quality of the American soil was also suspect.

Then take the productiveness of the soil. As we have remarked before, no land produces so much wheat to the acre as that in the Canadian North West....The comparative returns, based on official statistics, throw the boasted results of farming in the United States altogether in the shade.<sup>146</sup>

It is clear that the geographies of the Western North American continent as portrayed within the image are topographically inaccurate. As a result, the aspects included within the image become increasingly significant. The Canadian resettler stands at Winnipeg, the hub of Western Canadian

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<sup>144</sup> "Harvest Supplement," (1903), 15.

<sup>145</sup> Burrows, North Western Canada, 68.

<sup>146</sup> Free Homes, 1886, 3-4.

expansion. The growing concrete jungles of Calgary, Edmonton, Regina, and Portal are scattered across the landscape, and mark centers of industry, modernity, and civilization. The urban spaces on the American frontier are far more ambiguous; in fact, they remain nameless and become one smoggy, degenerative, industrial space, analogous to handbooks' descriptions of the metropole. In the distance, representing the bookends of the prairies, loom the Rocky Mountains. A handbook published by the Government of Canada in 1886 commented that the Rocky Mountains in Canada were the most spectacular of wonders:

It is a wonderful sight to see the sun rise and set on the very horizon as it were a sea of prairie vegetation. The approach to the mountains from the prairies is the most remarkable in the world. I don't want to give an exaggerated idea of their grandeur but you will probably think they are the finest in the British Empire.<sup>147</sup>

Completing this abstract geographic interpretation of Western North America is a replica of the Union Jack resting peacefully atop the Canadian landscape. This Union Jack watches over Western Canada, acknowledging Britain's imperial gaze while simultaneously advertising to the metropole the redefinition of this space as British.

Two additional flags appear within the image and further indicate the position of Canada and the United States in the imperial world of Great Britain. Hovering in the clouds above the American frontier is a murky representation of the Star Spangled Banner. By appropriating the entire landscape south of the mythic ravine, this flag asserts American authority

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<sup>147</sup> Free Homes, 1886, 5.

over this whole space and simultaneously advertised that this territory was distinct from the more northerly landscape of Western Canada branded with the Union Jack. A final flag crowned the entire image. The fifth flag, the top half of a "proud" and "brave" Union Jack, is at rest in the heavens. The divine location of this British flag fused various facets of the British imperial world. First, its position in the heavens reflects Great Britain's providential mission to bring civilization and God to the "uncivilized" regions of the globe. By arching over the skies above both Canada and the United States, this Union Jack articulated the history and imperial connection that existed between these two colonial spaces and Great Britain. And lastly, by linking the histories of Canada and the United States to empire, the image advertised the power of the British Empire, justifying the resettlement of these "vast" and "vacant" lands and the displacement of their Aboriginal populations.

Immigration handbooks encouraged the movement of British subjects from the metropole to Western Canada by advertising that the social world of this outpost of empire mirrored that of Great Britain. Handbooks advertised that resettlers would be able to retain their connection to empire, and achieve independence, prosperity, and a home, more quickly and easily than if they remained in Great Britain. Moreover, this chapter suggested that immigration handbooks relied upon a variety of characteristics to redefine Western Canada as a British space. This chapter considered not only, to borrow Adele Perry's apt phrase, "whose world was British," but what "ornaments of

empire” made it so.<sup>148</sup> Immigration handbooks advertised that Western Canada effectively reproduced the legal, social, educational and religious conditions of the metropole in their attempts to redefine this space as British: a space distinct from the United States and one that was not Aboriginal. These “ornaments of empire” were used to encourage imperial migration, perpetuate imperial ties, and promote the British character of Western Canada, all the while refracting the awkward and complex position that Canada occupied within the British Empire as a space that was – almost British, but not quite.

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<sup>148</sup> Adele Perry, “Whose World was British?” paper presented at *The Fort Garry Lectures in History 2*, 30 April 2004, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada.

## Chapter 3

### **“No money, but muscle and pluck”! Cultivating Manliness for the Fields of Empire**

In 1878, Thomas Spence, a clerk of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba and immigration handbook author, encouraged “any man, whatever his station in life may be, who is able and willing to work and has any adaptability for agricultural pursuits” to immigrate to the Canadian prairies.<sup>149</sup>

On the 14 July, 1900, twenty-two years after Thomas Spence published his Useful and Practical Hints for the Settler, Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier, defending his Liberal government’s immigration policy to the House of Commons endorsed similar sentiments. “It is not the policy of this government to bring out paupers,” explained Laurier, “but I know of no restriction against able-bodied men who are willing to work and can work.”<sup>150</sup>

This chapter examines what immigration handbooks advertised as the masculine characteristics, traits, and behaviours that the metropole imagined as “normal” and “appropriate” displays of imperial masculinity, and then considers how these imaginings were reproduced for the imperial man in the colonial space of Western Canada.<sup>151</sup> In order to promote a form of imperial

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<sup>149</sup> Thomas Spence, Useful and Practical Hints for the Settler on Canadian Prairie Lands and for the Guidance of Intending British Emigrants to Manitoba and the North-West of Canada, Manitoba: 1878, 8.

<sup>150</sup> Debates, House of Commons, 1900, 10187.

<sup>151</sup> Graham Dawson argues that in the construction of masculinity, imaginings are aspired to without ever having been actually achieved, or even being achievable. Graham Dawson, “The Blond Bedouin: Lawrence of Arabia, imperial adventure and the imagining of English-British masculinity,”

masculinity for Western Canada, immigration handbooks advertised that metropolitan gender constructs were reproduced in this outpost of the British Empire. Designed to appeal to lower class men tagged as unmanly within the metropole, immigration handbooks advertised that in Western Canada these British men would be able to remake their masculinity. Immigration handbooks devoted a significant amount of space to discussions of agriculture and its benefits, the establishment of a home, and the healthiness of the climate. As a result, these factors were seen as central to the brand of metropolitan imperial masculinity that immigration handbooks advertised at the *fin de siecle*. Appealing to the imperial imaginations of men, who in Great Britain were unable to achieve this ideal of masculinity, immigration handbooks encouraged and influenced lower status, British men, with “no money, but muscle and pluck” to emigrate to Western Canada where their fractured masculinity could be reset.

#### **“A pound or two in his pocket”**

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, immigration handbooks did not prohibit resettlers from entering Canada based upon their capital. Handbooks, however, recognized that the more capital a resettler had sped his ability to become a successful agriculturalist in Western Canada. Nonetheless, the resettler with only a “pound or two in his pocket,” full of pluck, muscle, and a desire to increase his lot was identified as superior

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in,” In Michael Roper and John Tosh, Eds., Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800, London: Routledge, 1991.

to the immigrant with an abundance of capital and an undesirable character. In the colonial space of Western Canada with its "less irksome social restrictions," stated a handbook authorized by the Province of Manitoba in 1893, the *unmanly* British subject from the metropole could prevail over Britain's rigid class hierarchy. This constrained his ability to possess a home and land that in turn, inhibited his ability to become a man.<sup>152</sup>

In 1898, the Department of the Interior issued a handbook that contained "Settlers' Opinions of the Country." One resettler testified that he felt "every confidence in recommending Canada to the notice of all classes of British agriculturists, but especially to young, strong men, with or without capital, who are blessed with habits of sobriety, industry, and perseverance."<sup>153</sup> In the Canadian North West, observed William Riddle, "comfort and prosperity" awaited any man "with patience, pluck, and perseverance...no man need be afraid of making a good thing of [immigrating to Canada]."<sup>154</sup>

In all reality, the capital of intending immigrants may have been a substantial inhibitor when considering the move from the imperial island of Great Britain to the Canadian prairies. In 1897, Members of Parliament in the Canadian House of Commons outlined the economic class of immigrants that were desired to resettle Western Canada.

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<sup>152</sup> Government of Manitoba, Manitoba, Official Information for Investors and Settlers, Winnipeg: 1893, 21-2.

<sup>153</sup> Department of the Interior, Canada: As a Home for the Scotch Agriculturist, Ottawa: 1898, 21.

<sup>154</sup> G. H. Wyatt, Dominion of Canada. Manitoba, The Canadian North-West and Ontario, Toronto: 1880, 12.

...A good deal could be done by judicious management to attract that class of tenant farmers from Great Britain who are possessed of considerable capital. Those farmers are required to possess a certain capital before renting a farm in England, and the amount of capital that they are required to possess there before renting would be sufficient....to buy them comfortable farms here...<sup>155</sup>

The pages of immigration handbooks, however, told a different tale. They were quick to reaffirm for the intending immigrant that amounts of capital did not predetermine one's success.

According to immigration handbooks the character of the immigrant was of more value than his capital. Western Canada, a handbook reissued annually by the Department of the Interior in the late 1890s, (until it was replaced with Canada West<sup>156</sup>) recognized that "it [was] difficult to lay down a hard and fast rule as to the amount of capital necessary to start farming."<sup>157</sup> The North Atlantic Trading Company established in 1897 required that the head of each family arrive in Canada with at least \$100.00 in hand.<sup>158</sup> Immigration handbooks printed throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century all advertised that between \$400.00 and \$1000.00 was necessary if one was to immigrate to Western Canada and become successful. The handbook Western Canada reiterated that success within this colonial space was not intimately connected to his social status. Rather, attaining a form of

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<sup>155</sup> Debates, House of Commons, 1897, 2815.

<sup>156</sup> The Canada West and Canada East handbooks became the norm in the early 1900s as a response to the anxieties in other regions of Canada, unhappy with the federal government's fixed gaze on the resettlement of Western Canada.

<sup>157</sup> Minister of the Interior, Western Canada: Manitoba, Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Northern Ontario, Ottawa: 1899, 32.

<sup>158</sup> Valerie Knowles, Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1990, Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992, 65.

metropolitan manliness in Western Canada "depend[ed] upon the energy, experience, judgement and the enterprise of the person concerned."<sup>159</sup>

The handbook Information for Immigrants published by the Province of Manitoba in 1878 included a table which outlined the amount of capital required, for what it identified as a "comfortable start" in Western Canada. Accompanying the chart was a detailed description which categorized intending immigrants into two tiers: the first tier – "a comfortable start" – commenced at \$465.00.

<b>A Comfortable start:</b>	
One yoke of oxen.....	\$120.00
One Wagon.....	\$80.00
Plough and Harrow.....	\$25.00
Chains, Axes, Shovels, etc.....	\$30.00
Stoves, Beds, etc.....	60.00
House and Stable, say.....	<u>\$150.00</u>
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$465.00<sup>160</sup></b>

The second tier – "large scale farming" – according to the handbook required a capital of \$800.00 to \$1000.00. This extra capital would have enabled the resettler to secure additional land and commence more sizeable agricultural endeavours on the prairies. A similar table was reproduced by the British Colonial Office which suggested that the intending immigrant arrive with capital of about \$600.00.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>159</sup> Western Canada, 1899, 32.

<sup>160</sup> Department of Agriculture, Province of Manitoba and North-West Territory of the Dominion of Canada: Information for Immigrants, Ottawa: 1878, 57.

<sup>161</sup> Colonial Office, Information for Emigrants to the British Colonies Issued by the Colonial Office, Great Britain: Colonial Office, 1880, 7.

Although immigration handbooks provided financial information for intending immigrants, they continued to advertise that the setback of having little capital could easily be overcome by the "energetic man" who looked "cheerfully" upon his future in Western Canada. "Many such men have taken up the free grants," noted the British Colonial Office in 1880,

and then have hired themselves out to labour, cultivating their own land during spare time, and employing a man at harvest when necessary. By this means they are able to stock and cultivate their farms in a few years with the results of their own labour and profits of their harvests, and there are many men in Canada now in positions of independence.<sup>162</sup>

That same year, G. H. Wyatt penned a handbook for the Government of Canada that reinforced the above testimony of the Colonial Office. "With land secured, a small house erected," observed Wyatt, "a few farming tools and livestock, oxen, cows, hogs and poultry, in a country of fertile soil and genial climate, a man is thenceforth independent."<sup>163</sup>

Immigration handbooks advertised Western Canada as a colonial space where, regardless of social status, the resettler would be able to achieve the metropolitan ideal of imperial masculinity. Any barrier presented by little capital could be easily overcome by thrift, pluck, muscle, and hard work; together, these qualities enabled resettlers to cultivate healthy, moral and successful bodies through which to attempt their mimicry of imperial masculinity. As the handbook Western Canada and others have suggested, there were numerous "openings [for] the poor man if he will work and exercise

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Colonial Office, Information for Immigrants, 1880, 7.

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Wyatt, Dominion of Canada, 1880, 6.

economy, for after a year or two of hard work he finds himself in possession of a home, all his own, and free from the harnessing conditions of a rented or mortgaged farm."<sup>164</sup> The importance that immigration handbooks ascribed to owning a home and land will be explored in the subsequent section, which suggests that these factors were perceived as central to metropolitan imperial masculinity. Consequently, they were vital to the mimicry of these imaginings of masculinity within this colonial space.

### **"By far the prettiest and best house"**

The pages of immigration handbooks outlined for both British men in the metropole and colony familiar displays of manliness which included the process of clearing the land, building and owning a home, and starting a family. Kathryn McPherson has recently demonstrated that immigration handbooks reproduced an image of the resettler woman within or near the vicinity of the home. Immigration guides, McPherson argues, restricted white female resettlers to the home, the front porch, or garden, while white male resettlers were depicted in the fields, near barns, or lingering by the forests.<sup>165</sup> McPherson concluded that the home framed images of white resettler femininity in the Canadian West. However, imperial masculinity as advertised

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<sup>164</sup> Western Canada, 1899, 47-9.

<sup>165</sup> Kathryn McPherson, "Domesticity and Disease: Disciplining Healthy Bodies in the Colonization of the Canadian West," a paper presented at *Germ, Selves, Rules: the Gendered Body, State, and Colonialism in Western and Northern Canada*, Canada Research Chair in Western Canadian Social History Colloquium, The University of Manitoba, 21 November 2003.

within the pages of immigration handbooks was similarly associated with the home. In the handbook North Western Canada, Frank Middleton advised any man,

who wishes to secure a home for himself not to be influenced by the lingo for those chicken-hearted fellows who turn back at the first mud-hole they come to, or can be chased by a mosquito....Any man with ordinary intelligence and a little pluck cannot fail to make himself a comfortable home in a few years by coming to the Great North West.<sup>166</sup>

Yet another resettler reflecting upon his experience in Western Canada wrote that this "is a country that any young man can make himself a house and be independent and comfortable by house and industry."<sup>167</sup>

In Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850 Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have shown that studying the "properly" ordered British household can illustrate the positions that both men and women occupied within the home. The "home," Davidoff and Hall assert, was "as much a social construct and state of mind as a reality of bricks and mortar."<sup>168</sup> Immigration handbooks did not reflect the domestic relations deemed appropriate within the ideal British home. Rather, these handbooks revealed the significance that the imperial world placed upon this construct of the "home" by insisting that a man must possess his own home. "True manliness," observes Catherine Hall in her magnum opus, Civilizing Subjects,

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<sup>166</sup> Department of Agriculture, Dominion of Canada: The Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territory, Information for Intending Immigrants, Ottawa: 1879, 38.

<sup>167</sup> Western Canada, 1899, Testimonies.

<sup>168</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850, London: Hutchison Education, 1987, 358.

encompassed "...the capacity to establish a home, protect it, provide for it and control it: all of these were part of a man's good standing. Indeed, domesticity was integral to masculinity."<sup>169</sup>

Homes in the latter third of the nineteenth century, observes Adele Perry, were a generative social force that affected a variety of experiences including both gender and familial identities. The imperial world understood the home as something of a mirror, argues Perry, "a powerful reflector of people's character."<sup>170</sup> G. H. Wyatt's enquiry, "who does not wish for a home of his own?" suggests the connection between imperial masculinity and the home.<sup>171</sup> This question by Wyatt is significant because it demonstrates how Canadian immigration promoters comprehended the relationship between male resettlers and their homes. Moreover, Wyatt described a "universal yearning" among the classes of mechanics and workers in Britain to obtain their own home and farm in Canada. This yearning was identified by Wyatt as the "home instinct" – for "a man who labours with this end view is a happier man, a better husband, a kinder father, and a more valuable citizen."<sup>172</sup>

That the establishment of a home was an important aspect of resettling in Western Canada was further suggested by the guidelines that the

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<sup>169</sup> Catherine Hall, Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002, 27.

<sup>170</sup> Adele Perry, "From "the hot-bed of vice" to the "good and well-ordered Christian home": First Nations Housing and Reform in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia," Ethnohistory, 50:4 (Fall 2003) 593.

<sup>171</sup> Wyatt, Dominion of Canada, 1880, 5.

<sup>172</sup> Wyatt, Dominion of Canada, 1880, 6.

Government of Canada used to select, perfect, and assign homesteads.<sup>173</sup> In addition, the testimonies of resettlers themselves demonstrate the attention that male migrants gave to their homes. Thomas E. Jackson illustrated for readers how he improved his lot since his arrival in Western Canada. Upon arriving in Western Canada Jackson recollected that: "I built a shack about as small as it was possible, but I had to make it due for a time, then I built a second house....and last year I built a brick house which has cost \$3000."<sup>174</sup> J. B. Clapp, a resettler from the Melita region of Manitoba, likewise used his surplus income to improve his house. "The first season's crop when threshed and marketed, realized enough to pay all my bills," stated Clapp. With the remaining income Clapp declared that he "finish[ed] and paint[ed] [his] house."<sup>175</sup> The attention that these resettler men ascribed to their homes by improving them both structurally and visually suggests awareness with the notion that homes were viewed by the imperial world as public reflectors of masculinity.

Despite attempts to transcribe metropolitan ideas about manliness to Western Canada, alternative sites of masculinity were in fact created within this colonial space. As recent studies of colonialism demonstrate, homo-

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<sup>173</sup> Perfecting was the process whereby the resettler had to reside at the home built upon his land for at least six months a year for a three year period. He was not able to make up for a missed portion of one year by residing longer the next year. Department of the Interior, Canada: Hints to Settlers in Manitoba and the North West Territories, Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1897, 8-9.

<sup>174</sup> Western Canada, 1899, 28.

<sup>175</sup> The Canadian Pacific Railway, What Farmers Say: The Experience of Farmers Cultivating the Land of Manitoba, Assiniboia, Alberta and the Saskatchewan, 1892, 6.

social domestic relations were a familiar characteristic on the prairies and in many white settler societies throughout the empire. At the core of these societies was the all-male household, which became a key component in maintaining the homo-social culture that legitimized everyday displays of masculinity.<sup>176</sup> The creation of homes without white women, as John Tosh explains, signaled a "revolt against domesticity" and challenged the increasingly hegemonic concepts of gender and the family. Tosh argues that at the end of the nineteenth century, domesticity and manliness within the British Empire were taking on new constructions, centering on the relationship between men and home. Emigration and imperial expansion, assert Tosh, provided young British men with opportunities to distance themselves from the imperial masculinity of the metropole and "react" against this imperial ideal.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Bettina Bradbury, "Marriage in White Settler Societies," The British World Conference II, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, July 2003. See specifically Chapters 1 and 3 in, Adele Perry, On the Edge of Empire: Gender, race and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001; Cecilia Danysk, "'A Bachelor's Paradise': Homesteaders, Hired Hands, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1880-1930," in Catherine Cavanaugh and Jeremy Mouat eds., Making Western Canada: Essays on European Colonization and Settlement, Toronto, Garamond Press, 1996, 154-85. Marlene Epp's study of female Mennonite immigrants explores how femininity is reconstructed in female homosocial space, Marlene Epp, Women Without Men: Single Female Mennonite Refugees of the Second World War, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

<sup>177</sup> John Tosh, "Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class: The Family of Edward White Benson," in Michael Roper and John Tosh, eds, Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800, London: Routledge, 1991, 67-69. Specifically on domesticity in Canada, see, Cynthia R. Comacchio, The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850-1940, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

The "imperial vulnerability" that Adele Perry has identified with the many and varied efforts to transform the settler colony of British Columbia also existed within the pages of immigration handbooks.<sup>178</sup> The handbook, North Western Canada, contained the testimony of a young English resettler who wrote emotionally about the home that he and his brother shared. The testimony of this young Englishman suggests how imperial masculinity stemmed from the relationship that he had with his home. "I have got my own house now," stated the young resettler,

and am keeping bachelors' hall along with my younger brother...if I get a chance next year to get it photographed I will have it taken and then send you one. It is pronounced by the people around to be by far the prettiest and best house in this part of the country, which gives me much pleasure, considering that I was my own architect and worked at it myself from the time we took the timber out of the bush till we moved into it.<sup>179</sup>

This resettler's masculinity, even when filtered through the alternative site of the all male household, continued to reflect the man/house relationship that immigration handbooks advertised as the imperial ideal in Western Canada. Moreover, the pleasure that this resettler experienced when he discussed the home that he and his brother built and shared, enabled him to hold up their homo-social home as a trophy of their manly endeavours.

Ann Laura Stoler has suggested that the gender and racial relationships created in the colonies were "homespun handiworks" that

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<sup>178</sup> Perry, On the Edge of Empire, 195.

<sup>179</sup> Department of Agriculture, Dominion of Canada, 1879, 38.

manufactured difference between metropole and colony.<sup>180</sup> The testimony of a young English settler suggests how life in the peripheries was not simply mimetic of the metropole. The attachment that he had to his home signals that, even in this outpost of empire, the relationship between men and the home persisted, even if new and innovative in its construction.

**“A Man is a Man if he is willing to till the soil”**

Requests for tillers of the soil, tenant farmers, and farm labourers in the pages of immigration handbooks may have yielded higher returns than the wheat fields of Western Canada. Nicholas Devereux Ennis, author of the handbook Important Information for Immigrants, illustrated for readers the interconnectedness of masculinity with discussions of the land and the home. “[It] should be borne in mind that all the houses in this country are occupied not by tenants, dependants, or serfs as in many parts of Europe,” stated Ennis, “but by industrious and intelligent farmers and mechanics, the bone and sinew of the land, who own the ground upon which they stand, build their houses for their own use, and arrange them to satisfy their own peculiar wants and gratify their own tastes.”<sup>181</sup> In 1877, John W. Down wrote that

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<sup>180</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, “Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th Century Colonial Cultures,” American Ethnologist, 16:3 (1989) 634-60 and Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler eds., Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

<sup>181</sup> Nicholas Devereux Ennis, Important Information for Intending Settlers in Manitoba: Respecting a quarter of a million acres of select farming and stock-raising land in the county of Minnedosa, little Saskatchewan, Liverpool: Turner and Dunnett Printers, 1882, 22.

“those who have free arms, and free aspirations, and who wish to emancipate themselves from the iron bonds of poverty, which unfortunately encircle the agricultural population of [Great Britain]” should immigrate to Western Canada. “It is watered by streams of crystal purity,” observed Down, “and indeed, nothing is wanting but the labour of a man to turn this beautiful prairie into a land of fertility and promise.”<sup>182</sup> Elizabeth Vibert argues that prevailing over the land as well as the building of a home, as described by immigration handbook authors, became exhibits of manliness across the nineteenth century.<sup>183</sup>

Immigration handbooks designed to promote the resettlement of the Okanagan Valley did much more than encourage the growth of fruit farming in British Columbia, argues Jason Patrick Bennett. Through their connection to the land, fruit farming in the Okanagan and wheat raising on the prairies radiated “a significant sexual element in [their] invitation for men to tend the fertile earth” as they were advertised in immigration handbooks.<sup>184</sup> Handbook author Thomas Spence seduced the resettler with flirtatious and sexualized descriptions of the Canadian prairies. “Feeling himself every inch a man, as he gazes upon the unclaimed acres which shall reward his toil, the settler breathes a freer air, his bosom swells with prouder purpose, and his strong

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<sup>182</sup> J. W. Down, The Manitoban and Great North West Colony: Explanations of its Advantages and Objects, Bristol: Jeffries and Sons Printers, 1877, 6.

<sup>183</sup> Elizabeth Vibert, Traders Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters on the Columbia Plateau, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997, 107.

<sup>184</sup> Jason Patrick Bennett, “Apple of the Empire: Landscape and Imperial Identity in the Turn-of-the-Century British Columbia,” Journal of the Canadian Historical Association, New Series, Vol. 9, (1998) 72.

arms achieve unwonted results."<sup>185</sup> Such sexualized descriptions of the land, argues Bennett, suggest "a heterosexual union between earth and farmer, man and woman as the ideal [for] the new community."<sup>186</sup>

These seductive images of the land as female, when fused with descriptions of resettlement as male penetration into virgin territories, made immigration handbooks highly sexualized texts indeed. Ann Laura Stoler observes that "probably no subject is discussed more than sex in colonial literature" and immigration handbooks were no exception.<sup>187</sup> Handbooks spoke of the "remarkable ease" under which the "virgin prairies" could be brought "under cultivation."<sup>188</sup> In 1879, a handbook printed by the Province of Manitoba gave a very clear description of how to "break" in the virgin Canadian prairies. "Before the prairie is broken, the sod is very tough and requires great force to break it, but after it has once been turned, the subsequent ploughings are very easy."<sup>189</sup> Patrick A. Dunae has shown that even some highly sexualized statements made by resettlers themselves were not included in immigration handbooks because of their immoral nature. Handbook author Alexander Begg, while asking resettlers about the best time

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<sup>185</sup> Spence, Useful and Practical Hints for the Settler on Canadian Prairie Lands, 19-20.

<sup>186</sup> Jason Patrick Bennett, "Apple of the Empire: Landscape and Imperial Identity in the Turn-of-the-Century British Columbia," Journal of the Canadian Historical Association, New Series, Vol. 9 (1998) 72.

<sup>187</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Colonial Cultures," American Ethnologist 16:3 (1989), 635.

<sup>188</sup> Government of Canada, Manitoba the Home of Agriculturalists, Ottawa: 1890, 19

<sup>189</sup> The Province of Manitoba, Dominion of Canada, 1879, 18.

to break the "virgin soil," stumbled across a few bad eggs. Although the response reprinted below did not appear in the section of Free Homes for All in Manitoba compiled by Begg,<sup>190</sup> it illustrates in highly sexualized terms how one Dublin resettler conceived the "virgin soil" of the prairies.

The ex-Dubliner at Fisher Creek who, in reply to the question "Which is the best time for breaking the virgin soil?" wrote: "In my opinion, night is the best time to break a virgin, but if opportunity favoured, anytime would do: I would not be particular..."<sup>191</sup>

These sexualized invitations by immigration handbooks to "till the soil" advertised to intending male immigrants that in Western Canada their masculinity would be protected and their heterosexual appetites satisfied by this erotic virgin landscape.

The "virgin" land and an agriculture life offered low class British men from the metropole, restrained by poverty and social status, the ability to remake their masculinity by immigrating to Western Canada.<sup>192</sup> One handbook printed in 1893 remarked that a "man is a *man* if he is willing to till the soil."<sup>193</sup> Another claimed that the "unsuccessful immigrant in Canada [was] the man who [would] not work. Those who [would] stay on the land, and

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<sup>190</sup> The Canadian Pacific Railway, Free Homes for all in Manitoba and the Canadian North West, Winnipeg: 1886.

<sup>191</sup> Patrick A. Dunae, "Promoting the Dominion: Records and the Canadian Immigration Campaign," Archivaria, No. 19 (1984-85), 86.

<sup>192</sup> Thomas Brydon, "Protestants and Paychecks: London Poverty and the Religious Influences Series," a paper presented at New Frontiers in Graduate History, York University, Feb 26 -28, 2004.

<sup>193</sup> [My italics], Minister of the Interior, Letters from Settlers in Canada: Official and Other Information for Intending Settlers in Manitoba, the North-West Territories, British Columbia, and the Other Provinces of Canada. Euston, NWT: Mc Corquodale and Co., 1896, 45 and Government of Manitoba, Manitoba: Official Information for Investors and Settlers, Winnipeg, 1893, 21.

work, [could] not help getting on.”<sup>194</sup> By fusing agriculture, heterosexuality, and manliness, immigration handbooks advertised that farming was an occupation that would enable lower class, unmanly men from the metropole the opportunity to perform imperial masculinity within Western Canada. However, agriculture as discussed in immigration handbooks was not only advertised as beneficial to the unmanly British immigrants. According to Sarah Carter agriculture was believed to be the “solution” that could dispossess the Indian’s nomadic lifestyle. In the late nineteenth century, it was understood that agriculture fostered virtue, sobriety, respect, independence, diligence, and hard work in Aboriginal people. In addition, the scientific community viewed agriculture as a key step in man’s evolutionary process, marking progress from savagism to barbarianism to civilization which, as a result, identified the Indian farm as a training ground for civilization and citizenship.<sup>195</sup>

The Aboriginal people of the Canadian North West rarely appeared outright in the pages of immigration handbooks, and therefore, when they did emerge their presence needs to be recognized. In 1882, Nicholas Devereux Ennis included in his handbook a discussion of the benefits that an agricultural life was believed to provide for the Aboriginal people that lived in Western Canada. “The Indians themselves have become labourers, they have been removed to large reserves, and have been raised into the dignity

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<sup>194</sup> Mrs. George Cran, A Woman in Canada, London: John Mile, 1910, 98.

<sup>195</sup> Sarah Carter, Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, Kingston/Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990, 18-20.

of cultivators," wrote Ennis. "Many of them have houses in place of wigwams, they have schools and churches, they have in short, been adopted into the great family of civilized man."<sup>196</sup> Agriculture became a key element that immigration handbooks used to distinguish white, British resettlers from the Aboriginal people in whose midst they dwelt.

The life of an agriculturist was also advertised as beneficial to the non-British or "foreign" immigrants that the Department of the Interior, under the authority of Clifford Sifton, began to entice to resettle in Western Canada in the late 1890s. Although categorized by critics as undesirable due to their Eastern European origins, the *good character* of these immigrants enabled them to participate in the idealized agricultural lifestyle of immigration handbooks. Such a lifestyle, comments Sarah Carter, had a "mystical power" to it.<sup>197</sup> As the 1899 issue of Western Canada demonstrates,

any part of the Province that is desired to visit, will give sufficient evidence to satisfy all that those who have followed farming as a pursuit and given it anything like ordinary attention have made it a success. This not only applies to English-speaking people, and those who have hitherto been farmers, [but] to foreigners and to those who have gone out into the country without any previous experience in farming.<sup>198</sup>

Immigration handbooks promoted that these imaginings of manliness which included success at agriculture, the male penetration of the "virgin" land, and heterosexuality could transform even the poorest and unsuccessful migrant into a prosperous, successful, and industrious imperial man. As the

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<sup>196</sup> Ennis, Important Information for Intending Settlers in Manitoba, 1882,

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<sup>197</sup> Carter, Lost Harvests, 20.

<sup>198</sup> Western Canada 1899, 43.

testimony of Mr. Jackson suggests, there was no better place to achieve this imperial ideal than in Western Canada. "I think," recollected Jackson, "that this is fair showing that we have a good country for farming, and any man that is a farmer can't help but prosper."<sup>199</sup>

### **"The healthiest climate under the sun"**

The British imperial world of the late nineteenth century believed that the climate could affect the morality, cleanliness, and health of an individual. This concern for a healthy body provided immigration promoters with the opportunity to advertise that a new, healthy life in Western Canada was one of the most lucrative reasons for leaving the "slums" and "crowds" of the metropole. Living in the slums was little more than living in an "unplanned wilderness," a space where both gender and race were degraded and degenerated, observes Anne McClintock.<sup>200</sup> In tandem with such a discourse, immigration handbooks advertised that the climate of the Canadian North West was the healthiest, not only within the British Empire, but also in the world. "There is no country under the sun where unaided muscle, with a plucky purpose, reaps greater rewards than under the bright skies and helpful atmosphere of this fair land," wrote Thomas Spence.<sup>201</sup> Similarly, a handbook

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<sup>199</sup> Western Canada, 1899, 28.

<sup>200</sup> Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest. London: Routledge, 1995, 43-48.

<sup>201</sup> Thomas Spence, The Prairie Land of Canada; Presented to the World as A New Field of Enterprise for the Capitalist, and New Superior Attractions and Advantages as a Home for Immigrants, Montreal, Gazette Printing House, 1879.1879, 19.

issued by the Department of Agriculture in 1872 illustrated the effect that the climate had on male resettlers, both physically and morally. “[A] man in changing his country should have some ambition, [he] should feel that it is his duty, to plant his family in a climate, where they may become a vigorous and healthy race; and such races are found pre-eminently in the zones of wheat and grasses.”<sup>202</sup>

The beneficial qualities that the Western Canadian climate was believed to provide resettlers linked the transformative aspects of a “healthy climate” to social purity, citizen making, and nation building endeavours of the period.<sup>203</sup> However, not every colonial wilderness was as conducive to the reproduction of good health as the Canadian prairies. Ann Laura Stoler observes that in the tropics imperialists believed that those who stayed “too long” would become victim to a gamut of maladies that ranged from fatigue and physical breakdown, to racial degeneration.<sup>204</sup> This concern was further heightened, observes Stoler, when extended to white women whose abilities to reproduce the “white race” were called into question through extended periods of time in the tropics.<sup>205</sup> Immigration handbooks manipulated these discourses of degeneracy and advertised that the British immigrant was much more suited to healthy climate of Western Canada than the degenerative

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<sup>202</sup> Department of Agriculture, Dominion of Canada: Information for Emigrants, Ottawa, 1872, 8.

<sup>203</sup> Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Press, 1991.

<sup>204</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, 68.

<sup>205</sup> Stoler, Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power, 72-3.

social conditions of the metropole or such unhealthy tropical colonies. In Western Canada, observed Thomas Spence,

the settler's countenance in the pure, dry, electric air, will be as fresh as the morning. His muscles will be iron, his nerves steel. Vigour will characterize his every action; for climate gives quality to the blood, strength to the muscles, power to the brain....Indolence is characteristic of people living in the tropics, and energy of those living in the temperate zones.<sup>206</sup>

When immigration handbooks advertised the healthiness of Western Canada, they relied upon the expert testimony of church officials, soldiers, and doctors to legitimize notions that the climate was an agent of masculinization. "The climate is a good one for the development of a man," explained Dr. James Paterson, Chief Officer of Health of Manitoba in 1899. This "is shown by the fact that those who have come here during the last 20 years have not deteriorated, but stand today as the equal of any other man in mental or physical vigour, independent in thought and action."<sup>207</sup> Dr. Harvey J. Philpot, after spending seven years in Canada engaged in the medical profession, validated his impression of the exceptional healthiness of the Canadian climate in the following fashion:

As a race, the Canadians are fine, tall, handsome, powerful men, well built, active, tough as pine knot, and bearded like pards. The good food, upon which they have been brought up, with the invigorating climate, appears to develop them to the fullest proportions of the *genus homo*.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Spence, The Prairie Land of Canada, 1879, 6.

<sup>207</sup> Western Canada, 1899, 9.

<sup>208</sup> Acton Burrows, North Western Canada, Its Climate, Soil Productions, with a Sketch of its Natural Features and Social Condition, Winnipeg, 1880, 12.

Promoting a discourse that fused healthiness, climate, and masculinity, immigration handbooks advertised that Western Canada was a colonial space unlike any other.

In The Age of Light, Soap, and Water, Marianna Valverde argues that, even if immigrants coming to Canada were perceived as impure or unhealthy by their contemporaries in the metropole, the Canadian climate had the ability to transform these immigrants into better, healthier citizens.<sup>209</sup> The guidebook Useful and Practical Hints for the Settler, authored by Thomas Spence, claimed that “there are hundreds of robust men in Manitoba today who came here physical wrecks, who now bear grateful testimony to the salubrity of the climate, the purity of the atmosphere and the presence of other conditions that make this Province one of the healthiest places in the world.”<sup>210</sup> In 1899, a handbook published by the Department of the Interior recognized the transformative capabilities of the Canadian climate. A young resettler who had just returned to the prairies from a visit ‘home’ commented that “it was only when [he] visited England that [he] began to appreciate the [Canadian] climate.” He testified that the pure air and healthy winters were “physical restorers.” In addition, he stated that the climate “made [his] blood circulate” and enabled him to acquire both “vim and energy.”<sup>211</sup>

In 1886, the Canadian Pacific Railroad produced a handbook that relied upon the “testimony of actual settlers” to illustrate for those considering

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209 Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap, and Water, 116.

210 Spence, Useful and Practical Hints for the Settler, 1878, 8.

211 Western Canada, 1899, 12.

immigration the wealth, resources, and prospects that waited in Western Canada. According to the handbook, the most crucial question when considering immigration was: "Are you satisfied with the country, the climate, and the prospects ahead of you?"<sup>212</sup> Of the over two hundred 'respondents,' eighty-four simply replied 'Yes' to the question, while others provided additional comments. Resettler G. McGill replied that, "So far as climate, it is more desirable than Great Britain or Ireland on the whole. Winter is clear, dry, and healthy; no need of umbrella, mud-boots or top coat round home." John Kemp noted that the climate and country "are first class."<sup>213</sup> In 1897, reiterating the importance of climate to immigration endeavours, a handbook published by the Government of Canada stated that the first question a "sensible man" asked when considering immigration is: "What is [Canada's] climate?"<sup>214</sup> Despite this healthy promotion of the Canadian climate within immigration handbooks, relatively few historical studies consider the climate as a significant factor affecting the formation of cultural and social relations.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> The Canadian Pacific Railway Company, Plain Facts About the Canadian West, 1884, 42-46.

<sup>213</sup> CPR, Plain Facts, 42-46.

<sup>214</sup> Department of the Interior, Manitoba and the North-West Territories, Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan in which are included the newly discovered gold fields of the Yukon, Ottawa: 1897, 6.

<sup>215</sup> Barbara Kelcey, "Jingo Belles, Jingo Belles, Dashing through the Snow: White Women and Empire on Canada's Arctic Frontier," PhD Dissertation, The University of Manitoba, 1994; Myra Rutherford, "'If Only We Had Some Sort of Communal Wash and Bath-house': Southern Nurses and Northern Bodies, 1945-1970;" Mona Gleason, "Small Bodies of Knowledge: Building the 'Healthy Child' in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Canada;" and Kathryn McPherson, "Domesticity and Disease: Disciplining Healthy Bodies in the Colonization of the Canadian West;" papers presented at "Germs, Selves, Rules: the Gendered Body, State, and Colonialism in Western and Northern Canada,"

Nonetheless, the climate, as advertised by immigration promoters, was considered a significant determinate of health and became an essential component in the remaking of healthy, strong, and "first-class" masculine bodies in Western Canada.

Immigration handbooks published by British, Canadian, and provincial institutions at the close of the nineteenth century advertised the colonial space of Western Canada as a place where the unmanly British citizen could achieve ideal, metropolitan, masculinity. Handbooks identified masculine roles, traits, and behaviours considered appropriate within the metropole and advertised that these ideals were replicated in Western Canada. Although produced to encourage the resettlement of Western Canada, immigration handbooks reflect the broader social world of the metropole and the imperial imaginations which fashioned them, rather than simply conveying knowledge about the outpost of empire they were designed to represent. In addition, immigration handbooks created a market for a brand of metropolitan imperial masculinity within this settler-colony, while encouraging immigrants to replicate metropolitan ideals within this colonial space. Immigration handbooks identified an array of manly characteristics that the resettler had to exhibit if he wanted to become a good Canadian citizen and ideal imperial man. In the Canadian North West having little or no capital did not affect the resettlers' ability to aspire to these advertised images of imperial masculinity.

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Canada Research Chair in Western Canadian Social History Colloquium, The University of Manitoba, 21 November 2003.

Owning a home, being a successful agriculturalist, ploughing the fertile soil, and benefiting from the genial climate of Western Canada all symbolized how the intending immigrant's masculinity could be remade in this outpost of the British Empire. In addition, industry, strength, muscle, and pluck further defined the masculinity of a resettler, not his capital. For unlike the metropole, no rigid class system regulated access to manliness in Western Canada. Male resettlers were offered a variety of opportunities to build a home, secure land, and embark upon agricultural practices. Together these virtues served as road signs for the resettler en route to independence and prosperity, and indicated for the aspiring imperial man the direction to ideal manliness.

## Conclusion

### Still – “Open for Settlement”? Advertising Gender, Race, and Empire

“Congratulations! You are taking a big step,” exclaim the first lines of A Newcomer’s Introduction to Canada, the current edition of immigration handbook published by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.<sup>216</sup> On the cover, there is a striking image of a red and white Canadian flag blowing in the breeze. Looming over the flag are the lyrics from the first verse of the Canadian national anthem – “O Canada! Our home and nat[ive land] glorious and free!” However, the phrase “native land” is incomplete and fades into the blue skies that frame the image. At first glance, the public face of this current immigration handbook does little to suggest Canada’s imperial past – or does it?

At last, the significance of my title. The quotation which appears in the title – “Most of our country is wild and unspoiled” – was obviously gleaned from the pages of an immigration handbook. Evoking images of the colonial landscape with its uncivilized wilderness and vast and vacant regions, longing for the arrival of European colonizers, this line reflects not only the connection between empire and language, metropole and colony, but it confirms for Canadians the significance of imperialism to our past. This citation was not penned by Thomas Spence, G. H. Wyatt, or Immigration Agent J. W. Down; nor was it printed under the authority of Clifford Sifton. The phrase, “most of

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<sup>216</sup> The Government of Canada, A Newcomer’s Introduction to Canada, Ottawa: 2003, ii.

our country is wild and unspoiled," actually appeared in the 2003 handbook issued by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.<sup>217</sup>

A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada reminds Canadians that, even in these *post-colonial* times, empire matters. One hundred years separate this handbook from those analyzed in this thesis, yet it seems evident that as Canadians we are not that far removed from our colonial pasts. Let us now return to the cover of this handbook, which flaunts the young yet "proud" maple leaf. Recall the flawed reproduction of the first line of the Canadian national anthem – Our home and nat...glorious and free – that reflects the marginal space that Aboriginal people occupied and continue to occupy within the Canadian nation. Moreover, the words disappear gradually into a clear blue sky, an image which perpetuates the imperial belief that Aboriginals were, and remain, a vanishing race. The language of empire becomes even more visible when we consider the complete reproduction of "Our home" on the cover. The home was central to imperial understandings of gender, the family, and nation, I argued in Chapter 3, and its inclusion on the cover of the 2003 handbook upholds this fascination of the imperial imagination that both the home and nation were to be "glorious" and "free".

The language of immigration handbooks, both past and present, suggests the centrality of imperialism to Canada, and Canadian history. In the last decades of the nineteenth and the first of the twenty-first century, immigration handbooks continue to advertise that "comfort and prosperity"

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<sup>217</sup> The Government of Canada, A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada, Ottawa: 2003, 29.

and "a new life" wait in Canada. In addition, A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada includes discussions of the geography, history, climate, and environment, where and when to immigrate, how to establish a home, and information about the "Canadian Way of Life".<sup>218</sup> Regarding the structure of French Canadian immigration handbooks, Serge Courville has observed that even if there were various ways to present colonization in the nineteenth century, there was only one conventional "matrix" that content could be arranged around in relation to time, place, and prospective readership.<sup>219</sup> Courville's assertion is made ever more potent when we consider that this matrix, infused with colonial gender and racial ideals in the nineteenth century, continues to be used to entice intending immigrants to Canada.

Immigration handbooks constitute one aspect of the large scale immigration campaigns embarked upon by the government of Canada in the waning decades of the nineteenth century. Although produced to encourage migration from metropole to colony, immigration handbooks, simultaneously reflected and constituted the imperial world of which they were a part. They provided intending immigrants with information not only about Western Canada, but about the empire writ large. Furthermore, these handbooks demonstrated how Canada perceived its awkward position with the British

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<sup>218</sup> A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada, 2003, 7, 13-15, 23, 26, 29, and 31-34

<sup>219</sup> Serge Courville, "Part of the British Empire Too: French Canada and Colonization Propaganda," a paper presented at *The British World Conference II*, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, July 2003.

Empire, while revealing the importance of imperialism to immigration, Aboriginal, and Canadian histories.

In Chapter 1, I examined how immigration handbooks used cartography to redefine and reorganize the landscape of Western Canada. In attempts to remake Western Canada as a desirable site for resettlement, immigration handbooks emphasized the "vast" and "vacant" features of the territory. Though such means immigration handbooks were able to erase Aboriginal people from the landscape, position them within anachronistic space, and promote the territory as open for settlement. Chapter 2 positioned both metropole and colony within one analytical frame in order to consider how immigration handbooks utilized specific "ornaments of empire" to redefine the social world of Western Canada. I argued that immigration handbooks exploited the imperial imaginations of those in the metropole in attempts to advertise that Western Canada was neither American nor Aboriginal, but was rather a respectable, white, British space. Imperial masculinity and acceptable displays of manliness in Western Canada were explored in Chapter 3. Immigration handbooks, I argued, appealed to men living in the metropole who were tagged as unmanly and encouraged them to resettle in Western Canada. The ability to own a home and land, combined with the mastery of the land and climate enabled resettler men to achieve a metropolitan ideal of masculinity in this outpost of empire.

Immigration handbooks published and distributed to advertise Western Canada as a desirable space for British immigrants were solidly entrenched

within the British imperial world of the late-nineteenth century. They were infused by colonial gender and racial constructs and advertised the “advantages” and “attractions” to life in the Canadian West. Designed to be both familiar and intriguing to those in the metropole, immigration handbooks had to advertise that aspects of metropolitan life were reproduced within this colonial space. Through this reverse imperial gaze, immigration handbooks provided intending immigrants with practical and useful information, while carving out for intending immigrants the gender and racial ideals which were deemed appropriate for this edge of the British Empire. Immigration handbooks are more than sources of information about Western Canada and Great Britain. They contain a well of information, which, when teased out, suggest how metropolitan ideals, colonial realities, and the tensions that arose in-between were understood, maintained, and refracted by the peripheries.

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