

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

STUDIES IN BELGIAN SETTLEMENT IN MANITOBA

1870-1985

by

Kathleen Jean Ross

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts

Department of Geography

Winnipeg, Manitoba



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Abstract

The Belgians were a small but interesting group who commenced migration to the Canadian West in 1889. This thesis endeavors to discuss the unattractive image of Western Canada propagated by individuals likely to be influential in French-speaking Western Europe between 1870 and 1890. It further discusses the implementation of the Federal Government policy designed to attract Western European immigrants to Western Canada between 1870 and 1890 and the effects on Belgian immigration of the activities of a few committed individuals. It notes the small clique of interest in Belgian recruitment in the Canadian Immigration Branch between 1890 and 1914. Also discussed is the restrictive policy for immigration from Belgium to Canada between 1914 and 1930. The reasons why the Belgians selected the South Western region of Manitoba for settlement are considered and it is established that residential propinquity resulted from their selection of land in Lorne Municipality. Belgian farming trends are reviewed. Belgian acculturation into an Anglo-Saxon society and the loss of the Flemish tongue as the Belgians integrated into South Western Manitoba are also examined.

The data for this study are drawn from secondary sources, archival material and personal interviews. The primary focus of this study is on Belgian migration, rounded out by some research into land settlement and acculturation.

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To Don

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"She travelled alone from Belgium, and as she could speak not one word of English she wore tags on her back and chest giving details of her identity, her destination in this country, and the means by which she was to travel. She was twenty-three days travelling, and in all that time could talk to no one" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 14). It was the second decade of the twentieth century. Her name was Celesta Roels. Her infant son had died in Belgium after her husband's departure for America and now she was making the lonely journey to join him in the Canadian West (Brandt, 1980, 600). Much has been written on the topic of migration for one of the most extraordinary events in the history of humanity was the great migration from northern Europe to America during the nineteenth century. Indeed, after 1771, emigration reached epidemic proportions and, in 1850, for example, over a quarter of a million people left the British Isles for America, the vast majority being Irish labourers and peasants (Guillet, 1937, 34). It was Europe that "more than any other part of the world generated the great migratory movements of the last 150 years. At least 50 and perhaps 60 million people have participated in the great outflow and more than half of these have gone to North America" (Beaujeu-Garnier, 1978, 185-6). The greatest emigration from Europe was in 1913 with a total of one and a half million people emigrating from that continent, the majority of whom migrated to the United States and Canada, and to a lesser extent to Australia and South Africa (Beaujeu-Garnier, 1978, 186-7).

Migration in turn created global settlement patterns and culture

change. In Western Canada, for example, one of the most important decisions that the immigrant had to make on his arrival in this 'Great Lone Land', was where he would settle, and it is important to recognize that settlement decisions were made not only on the basis of the type of terrain but also on the perception that the immigrant had of the world, to which at least one distraught immigration officer attested: "'Almost distracted these people, rebellious, act foolish, will not leave the railroad cars; about 75 struck off walking [to] Regina, perfectly uncontrollable. Nothing but pandemonium, . . . Edmonton. Edmonton or die. Will not even inspect the country. Threaten to kill the interpreter'" (quoted in Lehr, 1974, 61).

Many factors contributed to the problems of decision making. For example, Mennonites, Hutterites, Doukhobors, British, French, Icelanders, Germans, Belgians and Russians, embarked in an era when five or six weeks were required to reach the desired destination (Ewanchuk, 1977, 16). With the exception of the British and French, language was a major problem for immigrants to Canada, and, together with religion and ethnicity, influenced the colonists in land selection (Donnelly, 1968, 57-58). Many settlers were illiterate and destitute and came from virtual bondage in their homeland, all of which compounded the difficulty of settlement in a strange place. Legislation varied from country to country, and in Austria it was even a "criminal offence to offer inducement to emigration," which inhibited the impoverished and least resourceful (Kaye, 1964, 103).

Acculturation and assimilation differed from group to group. Some accepted change with relative ease and prospered both emotionally and financially, while others resisted and even rebelled at the culture shock. At the turn of the nineteenth century acculturation and assimilation

lation were affected by the fact that Western Canada was itself young and nationalistic at that time, and still suffered from the turmoil of Confederation barely thirty years before. Anglophiles, for example, were afire with nationalism, and the French, too, deprecated the 'foreigner'. It was in this milieu that nativism reared its ugly head, adding coals of fire upon the alien immigrant soul. Rare was the man who felt that Canada "had much to gain from the cultural contributions of immigrants" (McNaught, 1959, 47), or who thought: "Those mud-bespattered fellows in the workingman's car--they, too, have their dreams" (Woodsworth, n.d., 133).

From this vast outflow from Europe, the Belgians represented only a tiny fraction of the total, and little has been written about them. Before 1888 only a few individual families migrated to Canada, with the first large contingent of 200 arriving the following year (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 13). Despite language difficulties, it is evident that many settled successfully. As colonists they were generally in reasonable circumstances; some even had "considerable wealth" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 14). Their acculturation and agricultural contribution was considered of such good value to Western Canada that Oliver Assalin, the special agent for the Department of the Interior, was sent to Belgium to establish the influence of the government office there (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 25).

By 1914, due to World War I and the resultant fear of depopulating so small a country, the Belgian Government discouraged emigration and this was responsible for closing the Canadian Government's Office in Antwerp. Thus Belgian immigration decreased to a "total of 265 between 1915 and 1919" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 27). At the cessation of hostilities the Belgian Government declined to issue passports to those

in particular occupations, including agriculturalists. As the Canadian Government's immigration policy placed special emphasis on agronomists, which was an avocation of significance throughout much of North America, Belgian immigration dwindled still further, and it was not until after 1945 that immigration resumed its pre-1915 level (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 28).

Belgian settlement in Manitoba in the early years focussed on the St Boniface area. However, many small communities such as Holland, Bruxelles, Swan Lake, St Alphonse and Mariapolis also emerged in the south western mixed farming region of the province. It is evident that they adapted easily, the Walloons with the French, and the Flemish with the English. Their reputation as hard workers made them much in demand as employees, and their willingness to assimilate assured them of little discrimination from their host state.

1. Aim

The aim of this thesis is to discuss three general themes regarding the movement of people and to apply these themes specifically to a small ethnic group who commenced a trans-Atlantic movement from Europe to North America in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The general themes regarding the movement of people are migration, settlement, and acculturation and assimilation. The ethnic group is Belgian and it hails from one of the smallest countries in Europe and is comprised of Flemish and French-speaking peoples. Their migration at the turn of the twentieth century to the Canadian West was small in numbers, but nevertheless the Belgians became an interesting and productive part of the Manitoba mosaic.

2. Migration, Settlement and Acculturation Hypotheses

The purpose of this section is to outline the hypotheses to be tested.

a) Hypothesis I: During the period 1860-1890 the Roman Catholic clergy and those in positions of influence such as Archbishop Alexandre Antonin Taché (figure 1), generally portrayed Western Canada as a hostile environment (Taché, 1901, 10). It is hypothesized that the image of Western Canada propagated by individuals likely to be influential in French-speaking Western Europe was decidedly unattractive in the decades 1860-1890.

b) Hypothesis II: Immigration was "one of the important purposes underlying the sponsorship of Confederation by the Province of Canada" (Fowke, 1978, 142). The Government's most significant aid to Canadian agriculture during the years following 1870 was to encourage immigration and farm settlement on the prairies (Fowke, 1978, 186-7). It is hypothesized that the Federal Government's implementation of policies to attract Western European immigrants to Western Canada was very weak from 1870-1890, but that the combination of a few committed individuals and a small degree of interest in the Canadian Immigration Branch produced a slight increase in Belgian Immigration to Manitoba 1890-1914.

c) Hypothesis III: By December 1914, immigration to Canada from Belgium was subject to stringent controls (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 26). It is hypothesized that the Canadian Government initially resisted the recruitment of Belgian immigrants between 1914 and 1918 and did not change this policy between 1918 and 1922; that conditions in Belgium during this period also worked against Belgian immigration; and that circumstances did change significantly between 1922 and 1930.

Figure 1: Archbishop Alexandre Antonin Taché
of St. Boniface, Manitoba 1887.



Source: Manitoba Archives N3958.

- d) Hypothesis IV: Some ethnic groups selected specific regions for settlement (Usher, 1975; Wood, 1961). In some cases the area was chosen because it was especially suitable to mixed farming (Smith, 1975). It is hypothesized that the Belgians selected the south western region of Manitoba because it was a desirable area for mixed farming.
- e) Hypothesis V: The French-speaking Belgians, the Walloons, did not migrate to Manitoba in any numbers. However, it is hypothesized that "residential propinquity" (Brunger, 1982, 280; Meyer, 1976, 151) was practiced by Belgian immigrants as a group such that, while many attached themselves to the French-speaking area of St Boniface, others formed a nucleus of Belgian settlements such as Bruxelles, Holland, Swan Lake, St Alphonse and Mariapolis in the south western region of Manitoba.
- f) Hypothesis VIa: Belgian farmers in the St Boniface-Winnipeg area were primarily interested in dairying and market gardening and later became involved in the sugar beet industry (Jaenen, 1984); Hypothesis VIb: Belgian farmers in the Bruxelles, Swan Lake area were mixed farmers before they immersed themselves into the grain growing business (Jaenen, 1984); Hypothesis VIc: Belgian farmers were instrumental initially in organizing the sugar beet industry (Jaenen, 1984); Hypothesis VId: Some peculiarities of Flemish farming techniques were introduced into Manitoba (Jaenen, 1984).
- g) Hypothesis VII: The Belgians acculturated readily and easily into the Anglo-Saxon society. It is hypothesized that they were not adversely affected and that they "suffered little overt discrimination" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 95), even though discrimination was rife in Western Canada at that time (Bridgeman, 1920, 161; 178; 180; 183; 197; 202; 224; Donnelly, 1968, 57-58; 72; 76; McNaught, 1959, 44-47; Silver, 1966, 173-

74; Woodsworth, n.d. 45; 50).

h) Hypothesis VIII: It is hypothesized that the "very characteristics which initially made them so welcome as immigrants, have gradually eroded the Belgian sense of identity and have virtually destroyed the Flemish language among the younger generation" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 96).

3. Study Area

It is proposed in this study to examine the Holland, Bruxelles and Swan Lake area, which is in the south western region of Manitoba, and, in the case of the sugar beet industry, the St Boniface-Winnipeg region of Manitoba (Map 1).

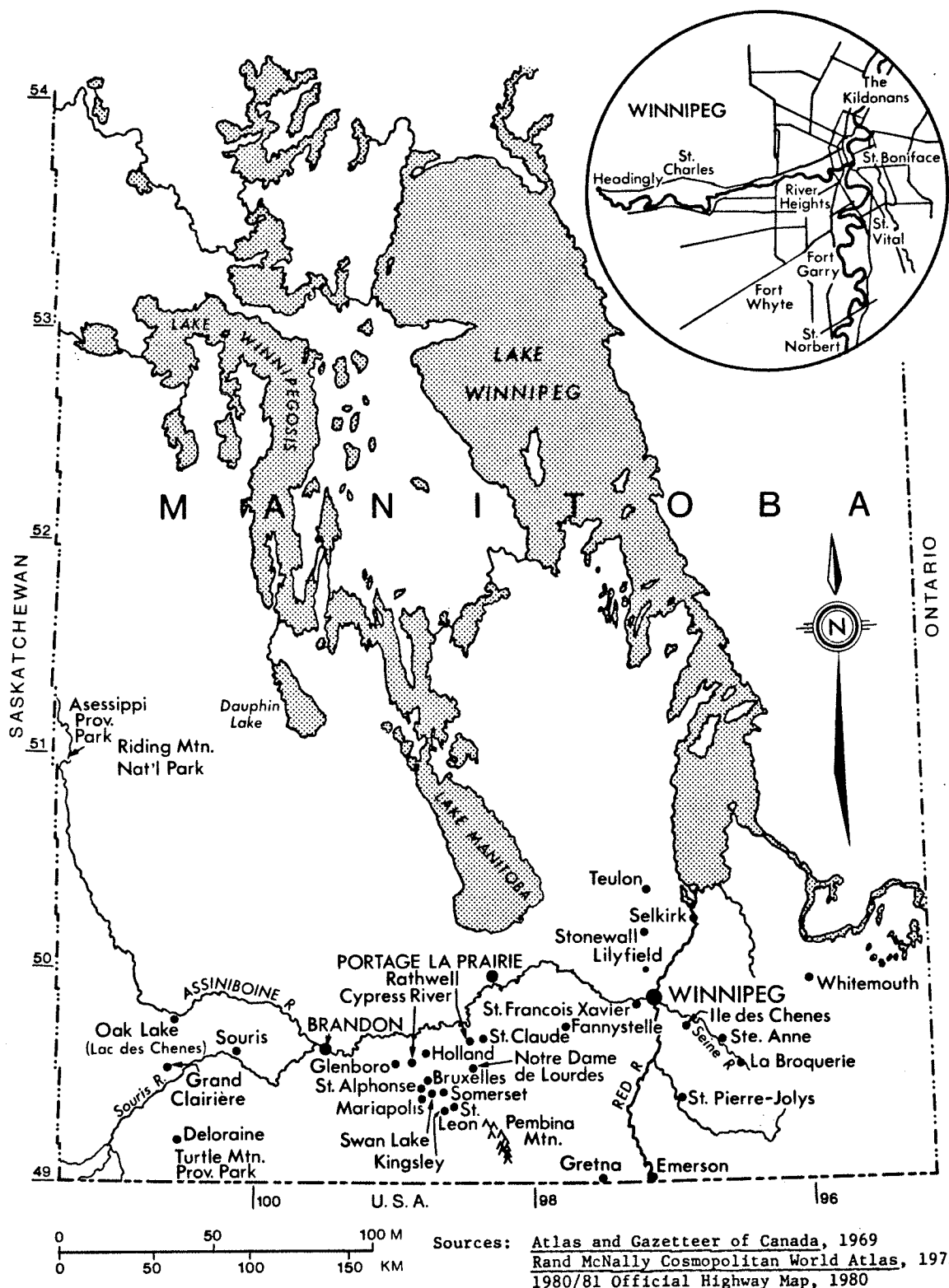
4. Study Period

It is proposed in this study to cover the period from 1870-1985, from the earliest Belgian settlement until the present. Immigrants from a variety of different countries migrated to the central plains of Canada in the latter half of the nineteenth century where they settled and acculturated.

5. Data and Analysis

Two major problems face this study on Belgian immigration. First, prior to 1911, the immigrant population of Belgium was so small that it was not listed separately, but was included with the immigrants from France. Second, prior to 1911, statistics of immigration entrance only indicated the entry port, including American. Thus no accurate method of discovering the precise number of Belgians who came to Canada is available prior to 1911.

The analyses employed in this thesis range from interpretation to specific statistical procedures depending upon the hypothesis being



Map 1

Manitoba

tested and the information being used. The information sources needed to test the above hypotheses and the type of analyses are as follows:

(a) Hypothesis I: The required information is contained in such secondary sources as Begg (1956); Benoit (11, 1904); Dempsey (1973); Dorge (1969-70); Kaye (1967); Morton (1957); Painchaud (1969, 1975c, 1976, 1978); Silver (1966, 1969, 1976); Taché (1901); Wilson and Wyndels (1976).

Research of the files of the Archbishop's Palace at St Boniface were also required (#B(G)0028; #B(G)0031; #B(G)18092; #L41476; #T10138). As well, archival material in the form of Dominion Government Immigration Branch records (files c4655, V1, F1, P1; c4655, V1, F1, P2; c4680, V22, F390); Le Métis (1876) was also researched.

(b) Hypothesis II: The required information is contained in such secondary sources as Fowke (1978); Hall (1985); Lehr (1978); Morton (1938); Morton (1957, 1963); Painchaud (1976); Sifton (1922); Wilson and Wyndels (1976). Archival material was also used in the form of Dominion Government Immigration Branch records (files c4655, V1, F1, P1; c4655, V1, F1, P2; C7381, V232, F132687; c7864, V314, F304470, P1; C10235, V231, F310232; C10633, V548, F805748; C10686, V688, F59953).

(c) Hypothesis III: The required information is contained in archival material in the form of Dominion Government Immigration Branch records (files C4759, V94, F10159, P1; C4759, V94, F10159, P2; C7334, V179, F62659, P4).

The method of analysis for the above three hypotheses is interpretive and through primary data researched at the Archbishop's Palace at St Boniface and the Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

(d) Hypothesis IV: The required information is contained in such secondary sources as Benoit 11 (1904); Dorge (1969-70); Morton (1937; 1957;

1963); Painchaud (1969; 1975a; 1957b; 1975c; 1976; 1978; n.d.); Sifton (1922); Silver (1966); Spence (1876); Taché (1901); Tetrault (1975); Trow (1875); Wilson and Wyndels (1976).

Archival material was also used in the form of Brandt (1975); Le Club Belge (n.d.); St Boniface Historical Society: Les Belges au Manitoba (1894).

In addition to the above there was a three hour personal interview with Yvette Brandt of Swan Lake, May 28, 1985. Mrs. Brandt has a wide knowledge of the history of the Belgians of Lorne Municipality. The method of analysis is therefore interpretive and through field work.

(e) Hypothesis V: The required information is contained in such secondary sources as Brandt (1980); The Canadian Family Tree (1967; 1979); Friesen (1984); McCrorie (1983); Roy (1970).

Archival material was also used in the form of Census of Canada A Volume 1, 1901 (1903); Census of Manitoba, 1926 (1927); Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916 (1918); Sixth Census of Canada 1921, Volume 1, (1924); Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Volume 11 (1925); Cummins Rural Directories 1918; 1923; Rural Post Offices and Rural Routes in the Western Provinces, 1927 (1927); Geographic Board of Canada (1933); Manitoba, Rand McNally & Co., 1898, Manitoba Archives, 614.2 Fbed. [1898]R; Map of Manitoba, Geo. F. Cram, Chicago, 1903, Manitoba Archives, G142, Fbed, 1903,C. The Land Titles Office, Morden Manitoba, Abstract Books. The method of analysis is interpretive.

(f) Hypothesis VIa; The required information is contained in such secondary sources as Brandt (1980); Ensor (1915); 100 years of Agriculture in Manitoba 1881-1980 A Statistical Profile (1981); Lyon (1971); McCormick (1968); McKenzie (1935); Rowntree (1911); Sifton (1922); Wilson and Wyndels (1976).

Archival material was also used in the form of The Emigrant, Volume 1, June 1886 - Volume 11, May 1888; Annual Reports Manitoba Department of Agriculture, 1888-1912 (1912).

In addition to the above there were four personal interviews with Charlie Muys, February 18, 1985; Edmond Bonne, May 14, 1985; Omar Van Wallegham, May 3, 1985; Odiel Dusessoy, February 13, 1985. The above were all intimately connected with the sugar beet business and the dairy business. All were telephone conversations of 30 minutes duration.

(g) Hypothesis VIb: The required information is contained in such secondary sources as Booth (1928); Brandt (1980); Clark (1916); Friesen (1970); Grains and Oilseeds Handling Marketing Processing Canadian International Grains Institute Winnipeg Manitoba (1975); 100 Years of Agriculture in Manitoba 1881-1980 A Statistical Profile (1981); Marketing Canada's Grain Winnipeg Grain Exchange (1963); Marketing Western Canada's Grain (1967); Rowntree (1911); Wilson (1978); Wilson and Wyndels (1976).

Archival material was also used in the form of the Annual Reports Manitoba Department of Agriculture 1888-1912 (1912); The Emigrant, Volume 1, June 1886 - Volume 11, May 1888; St Boniface Historical Society: Les Belges au Manitoba (1894).

In addition to the above there were five personal interviews with Yvette Brandt, May 28, 1985; Albert De Pape, April 30, 1985; Madelaine McKall, April 26, 1985; Stewart Searle, July 28, 1985; Simone Soubry, April 29, 1985. Mr. De Pape has been a member of the United Grain Growers Association for 40 years and the interview with him was a 30 minute telephone conversation. Mrs. McKall is a daughter of the late Emile Soubry of Soubry Grain and the interview with her was a ten minute telephone conversation. Mrs. Soubry is a daughter-in-law of the late Emile Soubry and the interview was again a ten minute telephone

conversation. Mr. Searle is Chairman of Federal Industries and the interview with him took place at Lake of the Woods.

h) Hypothesis VIc: The required information is contained in such secondary sources as Robertson (1968); Western Canada's Sugar Beet Industry (n.d.); Wilson and Wyndels (1976).

Archival material was also used in the form of the Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture, 1888-1912 (1901; 1902); Manitoba Crop Bulletins 1910-1920 inc. No: 98 (n.d.); Manitoba Crop Bulletins 1910-1920 inc. No: 99 (n.d.); The Canada Year Book 1945 (1945).

In addition to the above there were five personal interviews with Edmond Bonne, May 14, 1985; Odriel Dusessoy, February 13, 1985; R. Neufeld, May 16, 1985; Peggy Sellers, August 19, 1985; G. Zednai, May 16, 1985. Mr. Neufeld is employed by the Manitoba Sugar Company and the interview took place at the premises. Mrs. Sellers is the daughter of Colonel Aikens, Chairman of the Manitoba Sugar Company in 1940 and the interview was a 10 minute telephone conversation. Mr. Zednai is employed by the Manitoba Sugar Company; the interview was a 20 minute telephone conversation with some further discussion at the Manitoba Sugar Company office. Added to this there was a 2 hour visit to the Manitoba Sugar Company, 55 Hervo Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba, May 16, 1985 to research some records.

i) Hypothesis VID: The required information is contained in such secondary sources as Brandt (1980); The Canadian Family Tree (1967; 1979); Cowie (1977); Ensor (1915); Hambley (n.d.); Holland Manitoba 1887-1967 (n.d.); Hugget (1969); Lyon (1971); Mallinson (1969); Rown-tree (1911); Wilson and Wyndels (1976).

Archival material was also used in the form of Brandt (1975; n.d.), Misner (1945) and from St Boniface Historical Society Records: Les Belges au Manitoba (1894).

In addition to the above there were two personal interviews with Yvette Brandt, Swan Lake, May 28, 1985 and Albert De Paper, April 30, 1985.

j) Hypothesis VII: The required information is contained in such secondary sources as Benoit II (1904); Berton (1984); Bridgeman (1920); Donnelly (1968); Dorge (1969-70); Frazier (1957); Friesen (1984); Higham (1978); Jaenen (1964); Krug (1976); Martynowych (1978); Morton (1957); McNaught (1959); Painchaud (1976; 1978); Strange (1954); Swyripa (1978); Ware (1949); Wilson and Wyndels (1976); Woodsworth (n.d.).

Archival material was also used in the form of Brandt (1975, n.d.), and from the St Boniface Historical Society Records: Les Belges au Manitoba (1984).

In addition to the above there was one personal interview with Yvette Brandt, Swan Lake, May 28, 1985.

k) Hypothesis VIII: The required information is contained in such secondary sources as Brandt (1980); The Canadian Family Tree (1979); Dawson (1949); Hambley (n.d.); Huel (1983); Irving (1980); Jaenen (1976); Wilson and Wyndels (1976).

Archival material is also used in the form of Brandt (1975); Clough (1945); Eppstein and Leroy (1944). Parish Records of St Alphonse, Manitoba, 1885-1919, photocopy of marriage register; Parish Records of Bruxelles, Manitoba, 1897-1925; photocopy of marriage register.

In addition to the above there were four personal interviews with Yvette Brandt, May 28, 1985; June 19, 1985; Paul Foidart, May 28, 1985;

Emile Kerr, June 7, 1985. The second interview with Mrs. Brandt was at Swan Lake and lasted for 2 hours. Mr. Foidart lives in Bruxelles and is a descendant of the early Belgian settlers of that area. The interview took place in Bruxelles and lasted for 10 minutes. Mrs. Kerr is of Dutch origin and the interview was a ten-minute telephone conversation. The method of analysis for hypotheses VIa, VId, VIc, VId, VII and VIII interpretive and through field work.

6. Introduction to Remaining Chapters of this Thesis

The remainder of this section indicates the work which is covered in the following chapters. Chapter Two reviews the literature emphasizing the themes of migration, settlement and acculturation in general, and how these themes relate to the movement of people from Europe to North America. It serves to introduce the Belgians in general terms. Chapters Three, Four and Five are devoted to the themes of migration, settlement and acculturation but are specifically related to the Belgians. Chapter Six concludes the findings of the earlier chapters; concedes the limitations to this thesis and makes suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND AN INTRODUCTION
TO THE BELGIANS1. Migration, Settlement and Acculturation: Preliminary Discussion

These themes are essential to any discussion regarding the movement of people from one area to another and history demonstrates that population mobility has been commonplace over the centuries (Hudson, 1976, 242). All three themes are interrelated: migration leads to settlement which may be the forerunner to acculturation. For example:

famine, unemployment, poverty and the brutal arm of the law hastened the exodus . . . [of the Irish peasants] . . . But there is a sense of racial destiny in the march from the Old World to the New, and we observe at first hand the adjustment of the immigrant to strange conditions as he proceeded to the interior of the continent and entered upon the hardships of pioneering (Guillet, 1937, VII).

Given a cause in the form of famine, unemployment or poverty, Guillet (1937) expressed clearly the three phases of an immigrant. First the migration "from the Old World to the New"; second, the settlement which embraces the "hardships of pioneering," and lastly, the acculturation or "adjustment of the immigrants to strange conditions." Some flounder, others meet the challenge with equanimity and still others surmount the inevitable obstacles and become progressive and effective elements of the community into which they move. It appears that Belgians coming to Manitoba as a group, "adapted readily to their new homeland and were generally well received by others . . . [and that they] . . . suffered little overt discrimination. Their reputation as hard workers, their individuality, their practicality and their adaptability made them ideal employees" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 96). Their small numbers, their

passive approach to politics and their disinterest in la survivance of their ethnicity thus did not threaten the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 96). They were therefore 'ideal' immigrants from the point of view of the host society. It is the purpose of this section to discuss migration, settlement and acculturation in general terms and then to briefly outline the position of the Belgians as they migrated to, settled in and acculturated to Western Canada in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

2. Migration

"When the Ukrainian peasant looked up, he could see above him riding on his back, the Polish noble, the Romanian boyar, the Jewish inn-keeper lender, and a few of his own people as well; but when he looked down, all he could see was earth and precious little of that" (Himka, 1982, 14). This expressed succinctly some reasons for Ukrainian migration at the turn of the nineteenth century. Weil (1983, 182) suggested that migration was a complicated phenomenon; that the study of it was difficult and that the interpretation of the movement of people was imperfect. White and Woods (1980, 1), inquired why such an event would occur, and Norton (1984, 91) noted that "migrations had origins, obstacles and destinations." It is a fact that man has migrated since time immemorial. The discovery at Olduvai Gorge in 1959 of Australopithecus boisei demonstrated that man roamed the earth over a million years ago. At the time of the latest ice age he crossed the Bering Strait from Asia into North America, moving south to the central part of the continent. Mesopotamia has been called the 'cradle of civilization' and there is evidence that people in primitive crafts migrated with the currents across the Atlantic and the Pacific creating

settlements on the west of South America and on the Pacific islands. Thus the spirit of adventure, nudged by environmental disaster, economic stress and political tyranny has lured man to greener pastures over the millennia. Vance (1972, 194) suggested that basically North America's historical geography was the research of elements that sowed the seeds of migration among men, commencing with the trans-Atlantic journey itself and continuing on through their meanderings over North America.

(a) Ravenstein's Laws: Ravenstein, in his study of migration, listed eleven 'laws' which apply as well today as in the 1880's when his research was undertaken (Grigg, 1977, 41). One of Ravenstein's theories stated that "the inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth, flock into it; the gaps thus left in the rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts until the attractive force of one of our rapidly growing cities makes its influence felt step by step, to the most remote corner of the kingdom" (Ravenstein, 1885, 199). An illustration of Ravenstein's theory was demonstrated by Cartwright (1977, 15) when he described the migration of Scots Catholics from Stormont and Glengarry who became drawn towards colonization schemes in Western Canada. Cartwright (1977, 15) explained that "the emigrating Scots were appreciative of willing habitants to whom they could sell their properties. These French Canadian settlers were mainly from the neighbouring counties of Vaudreuil and Soulange. . . ." Thus the Scots moved from Stormont and Glengarry to Western Canada and the French Canadians moved in to replace them from Vaudreuil and Soulange.

Another example of 'step by step' migration was contributed by

Waring (1981, 377) in his study regarding the emigration of indentured servants in 1683-1775. He stated that "a substantial proportion, perhaps . . . 75 percent of indentured servants bound in London in the period 1683-1775 for service in the colonies in North America and the West Indies were at least two stage migrants, migrating to London and then emigrating to the colonies" (Waring, 1981, 377). Skeldon (1977, 395-6) suggested a variation on this theme. He felt that step migration was a move by one particular immigrant who might be "born in a village, move to a small town, spend several years there, and then move on to a large city" (Skeldon, 1977, 395-6).

As a group, the Hutterites also exemplify step by step migration. An off-shoot of the Anabaptists, this religious group was forced through their beliefs to migrate many times in Europe from Moravia to Slovakia, Hungary, Transylvania, Romania and in 1956, to another transitory migration in Russia (Peters, 1965, 3).

Another Ravenstein's 'law' states that "'the major causes of migration are economic'" (quoted in Grigg, 1977, 43). Ravenstein suggested: "When we inquire into the motives which have led these migrants to leave their homes, they will be found to be various . . . In most instances it will be found that they did so in search of work of a more remunerative or attractive kind than that afforded by the places of their birth" (Ravenstein, 1885, 181). This was demonstrated by Mannion (1974, 15) in his study of Irish migration. He suggested that the migration from Ireland to the three specific areas of Peterborough, Ontario, Miramichi, New Brunswick, and the Avalon Peninsula, Newfoundland was a single evacuation of destitute Irish Catholics who crossed the Atlantic for America in the nineteenth century. He specified that the principal

motive for their migration was poverty at home (Mannion, 1974, 15).

A manifestation of this 'law' can be seen through the quality of life of the Ukrainian peasant in Galicia and Bukovyna in the nineteenth century which clearly expresses the reason for the large migration of Ukrainian peasantry to Western Canada at that time:

For working fourteen to eighteen hours a day, the labourer might receive every twelfth sheaf he cut . . . women and children received considerably less . . . [The Ukrainians] found intolerable a system in which most of what they earned seemed to accrue to the nobles, the innkeepers, the mine owners, the priests--to everyone but themselves (Himka, 1982, 17-23).

Eventually over population and poor economic conditions forced the Ukrainians to work outside the limits of their own country as seasonal labourers. This improved their conditions socially and, paradoxically, bred discontent: for the first time they became alert to the fact that they could improve their lot (Lehr, 1978, 30-31). It is interesting to note that Todd (1981, 252), in his research on out-migration, supported Lehr's findings. Todd (1981, 252) suggested that "the decision to move is based on a change in attitude on the part of the immigrant; what was previously acceptable to him in his home location is no longer so. Yet, this essentially social decision is ultimately related to the economic situation and its changes."

Ravenstein declared that "each main current of migration produces a compensating, counter current" (Ravenstein, June 1885, 199). Gentilecore (1903, 72) referred to the acquisition of territory from one group by another, suggesting that this occurs quite frequently. As an example he cited the early immigrants to North America who had entered a land which had hitherto only experienced the economics of indigenous societies. McQuillan (1979, 54) corroborated this, showing that when the

French Canadians departed from the Mississippi lowlands after the fall of New France in 1760, the British and the Americans moved in to take their place. Thus the region was soon bereft of its peculiar French character. In the same context Jean Bruchesi, a French Canadian historian, stated that the annexation of the West would open the door to general immigration and that the Métis would be afraid of the proximity of an aggressive English minority (Painchaud, 1978, 449). Archbishop Taché was aware that the Métis were not inclined to abandon their nomadic lifestyle for a sedentary occupation such as agriculture, and his fears were well founded, for ultimately they departed, unable to cope with the influx of immigrants to Manitoba (Painchaud, 1975c, 110-11). They were replaced by the English who were confident and sure of their superiority because of their majority in numbers (Silver, 1966, 173-74). Thus the 'compensating counter current' replaced the emigrating Métis in Manitoba.

(b) Obstacles: Economics may be an obstacle to migration (Norton, 1984, 91-4). Mannion (1974, 17) supported this by saying that the labourer-cottier class offered least to his study settlement regions because their incomes were generally £6 annually and seldom surpassed £10. Thus they had little excess for a trans-Atlantic voyage. Norton's (1984, 91-4) obstacle comments can be demonstrated in diverse forms. Allen (1977, 196), for example, described the discrimination against Filipinos in the early part of the twentieth century in the United States. He affirmed that on the West coast where Filipinos were most populous there was racial discrimination between 1929-1934 as these people were observed as a career and housing threat by many Americans.

The decision to migrate is only the commencement of a tragic ordeal for many. There is no doubt that migration was the cause of catastrophe for many as they sought the 'legendary liberty and prosperity' of the New World. Handlin (1951, 55) illustrated the horror of trans-Atlantic journeys in the mid-nineteenth century for those without resources. In "1847, eighty four ships were held at Grosse Isle below Quebec. Of the Irish immigrants who sought shelter beneath the flimsy, exposed sheds, ten thousand died, three thousand so alone that their names were never known" (Handlin, 1951, 55).

Ravenstein's (1885) work served to suggest 'laws' for migration which offer channels through which this theme may be examined. Norton (1984, 91-4) stimulated interest regarding causes for migration and the potential obstacles. The natural outcome of the phenomenon of migration is the choice of location and settlement of the immigrant.

3. Settlement

Man's selection of land was no haphazard choice. Factors such as transportation, the terrain, the perception of the country by prospective colonists, ethnic background, language, religion and occupation all played a role in the settlement process.

(a) Land Selection: The Hutterites left Russia in 1874, prompted by the passing of the Universal Military Training Act in 1872 (Peters, 1965, 3; Hostetler, 1967, 1-2; Laatsch, 1971, 347). They were pacifists and their religion forbade military training so they migrated in some numbers to the U.S.A. However, they first sent emissaries to inspect the country, travelling from New York via Chicago, St. Paul, Duluth,

Moorhead, Fargo and Pembina through to Winnipeg before they made the decision to purchase land in Dakota (Peters, 1964, 40). Others were less organized: the volcanic eruption at Thera which ultimately led to the demise of the Minoan Empire was not planned. But this cataclysm which obliterated central and eastern Crete undoubtedly had an effect on the Mediterranean (Luce, 1969, 73). Societies were uprooted, old dynasties died and entire population groups scattered searching for a suitable place in which to establish themselves. "Phoenician families . . . sailed beyond Gibraltar . . . to . . . the coasts of Spain and Morocco even pushing on into the main sweep of the Canary current to establish bases on the Canary Islands" (Heyerdahl, 1980, 371). The Maya are an example of a people who settled "100,000 square miles of territory, ranging from tropical rain forest in the southern portions to the tropical steppe of Northern Yucatan" (Fuson, 1969, 494). Their selection was efficient for "no other tribe in the Americas had so balanced a wealth of natural resources" (Von Hagan, 1973, 128). Thus their sophisticated civilization reached its peak in 750 A.D. (Fuson, 1969, 511), and endured until the Spanish conquest in 1697 (Von Hagan, 1973, 224).

In the New England colonial period, village settlement offered order, cohesion and economic security (Wood, 1982, 33). When the early French settlers arrived in Canada they found continuous forests interspersed by rivers, thus the first settlements were established along the river fronts (Deffontaines, 1972, 70). This meant that "every farm had wooded land along the river for fuel, building material and fencing, and prairie land away from the river for hay and pasture" (Richtik, n.d., 1). To the early colonists the river was "as essential an element as the very land they tilled . . . The houses were sufficiently close . . .

to produce tightly knit settlement which ensured protection, facilitated transportation by both water and land . . . Thus the river lots provided an element of cohesion in a pioneer community" (Warkentin, 1972, 57). Many settlers avoided open plains in favour of parkland with trees (Wood, 1961, 43). This suggestion was supported by Lehr (1978, 289) with regard to Ukrainian settlement: "There is no doubt . . . that it was the wish of the great majority of Ukrainian pioneers to settle in the wooded environment of the aspen parkland vegetation belt."

b) Ethnicity: There is a natural tendency of particular groups to locate with those of their own ethnic background. For example, Brunger (1982, 280) stated that the "apparent ubiquity of residential propinquity may reflect the vital importance of social institutions as functional elements of society." This theme is reflected in Mgr. Guigues' suggestion to his colleague Bishop Bourget in Montreal when he advised the bishop "to consider quickly the townships of Russell and Prescott for colonization by habitants from his crowded parishes" (Cartwright, 1977, 6). The suggestion was made because large tracts of land were available in these two townships and French Canadians from similar parishes in Quebec were to be inspired to colonize in groups (Cartwright, 1977, 6). The Roman Catholic clergy were particularly prone to the concept of residential propinquity. Archbishop Taché of St Boniface, for example, wanted to build blocks of French Canadian parishes. He knew that the Métis were not inclined toward a quiescent lifestyle, thus he wanted to take advantage of the Manitoba Act of 1870, clause 31, which stipulated that 1,400,000 acres of land should be distributed among the Métis and the Scots and Irish half-breeds. He felt that this was an opportunity to change the Métis habits and to form blocks of French Canadian parishes

(Painchaud, 1975c, 110). The purpose was to promote a strong Catholic front. It was Archbishop Langevin, for example, who dreamed one day of a Catholic Empire in Western Canada (Martynowych, 1978, 127), and Taché who wished to save Metis lands from falling into 'alien' hands (Painchaud, 1976, 27). Clearly the French Canadians did group together because 74.3 percent settled in the district of Provencher and the remaining 25.7 percent spread themselves between Lisgar, Marquette, Selkirk and Winnipeg (Painchaud, 1969, 128). Thus it was that the Western clergy, and Archbishop Taché in particular, assisted the "natural tendency of the French speaking to settle together through active colonization efforts (Painchaud, 1976, 27). McQuillan (1978b, 137) stressed that the characteristics of ethnic identity are language, religion and race, folk culture and territorial identity. In referring to French Canadian ethnicity in the United States, for example in Detroit, Chicago and St. Paul, McQuillan (1979, 64) emphasized that the histories of each parish narrated the drama that French Canadians encountered in trying to create a community in order to preserve their faith, language and national identity. The parish priest serving within the community was significant enough to often mean the difference between their success and failure. Matwijiw (1979, 58) found that specific ethnic groups were inclined to favour specific areas of the city. It was apparent that this fact gave strength in colonization, especially in rural areas. In a similar context Desbarats (1979, 302) noted that "one third of all the Thais present in the United States are unofficially estimated to be living in California, which at the same time acts as an attraction pole for half of the new immigrants." It was further explained that the reason for this settlement pattern by the Thais was due to the fact that

ethnic businesses generally located within the vicinity of their clientele; new residents selected areas in which ethnic businesses were located and new immigrants were also attracted to areas where those of their own ethnic background had previously settled (Desbarats, 1979, 316). Ostergren (1981, 400) stated that it was commonplace for Europeans to reside in conglomerates of their own ethnicity even though they might work in a North American environment. It was felt that the immigrant could inherit two societies: one in which he lived, based on family, church and his ethnic tradition, and the other, a much larger, economic society that was individualistic and competitive (Ostergren, 1981, 411). Raitz (1979, 80) suggested that ethnicity in settlement might be akin to region. For example, he explained that in many ethnic communities religious festivals and traditional meals all maintained a nostalgia with the homeland for the first generation immigrants and taught young people the importance of their heritage (Raitz, 1979, 93).

(c) Group Colonization: Jackson and Layton (1976, 136) found that Mormon villages led to distinctive cultural regions in the United States. Jett (1978, 352) was in accord and in describing Navajo settlement he asserted that it was entirely distinctive and at variance to Hispanic and North American settlement. Jett (1978, 352) considered that Navajo settlement patterns were "core characteristics of Navajo culture." Harris (1975, 1) described British settlement in Ontario, affirmed that British industrialization had completely transformed Southern Ontario and noted that, between 1820 and 1850, 850,000 colonists had settled in Ontario. Thus the impact of this wave of settlement entirely erased the forests and created the predominant prevailing panorama and commun-

ity of rural Ontario. Knapp (1976, 43) described much the same situation in China between the turn of the seventeenth century and 1841. He asserted that during that period in a 900 sq. km. area "50,000 Chinese settlers were at work transforming the wilderness" (Knapp, 1976, 43). The conclusion offered by Hudson (1976, 242) summarized the advantages of ethnic and group settlement. It was affirmed that immigrants brought not only their habits and attitudes but their methods of facing a new life, and that "had there been no foreign influences one might make a case for simple extension of a New England or Northern culture area northward across Minnesota into the Red River Valley and thus directly west" (Hudson, 1976, 264). Hudson (1976) referred particularly to settlement in North America, but this was applicable the world over, to which Norton (1984, 78) attested: "The contemporary cultural landscape of . . . [South Africa] . . . including those areas which are currently in the process of becoming independent, is a mosaic of primarily European and primarily African, aboriginal, regions."

(d) Frontier Farming: Mitchell (1972, 461) asserted that the frontier concept was still pertinent to the geographical study of American history because it stressed the settlement patterns which were significant in the westward movement of population. The frontier concept also emphasized social and economic developments and the changing process of settlement associated with these factors. For example, Guelke (1976, 41-2) discussed frontier settlement in South Africa saying that it was initially thought that the trekboeren were subsistence farmers. However, his research revealed essentially that the most valuable farms were those nearest The Cape and farthest from the frontier. Thus

farmers at the frontier were those who could not afford the valuable farms near The Cape and not necessarily subsistence farmers. Hirst (1970, 258) commented on farm size and location in Tanzania, revealing that farms were generally one to three acres in size and that settlements were so located that they were within 2-4 km., or one hour's walking distance from the farm. Harris and Guelke (1977, 135) ascertained that in the colonies of South Africa and Canada the independent nuclear family was the hub of rural society, and, unlike their European counterparts, they were extremely homogeneous and egalitarian. However, Lemon (1980, 115) disagreed, alleging that recent studies underrated the acquisitiveness of American pioneers. The research developed by Lemon (1980, 118-19) revealed that among these early settlers the acquisition of property was a supreme force as was their single minded absorption with personal position in society. Silver (1966, 257) was in accord and in discussing the early settlement of French Canadians in Western Canada asserted that "the typical frontiersman was attracted to the wilderness . . . by the opportunities it offered for material gain." Indeed, he emphasized that the frontier temperament was one where "any man with 'brawny arms and a brave heart' could be left to succeed on his own initiative" (Silver, 1976, 452). McQuillan (1978a, 57-8) also contended that in the period when manual labour was essential to the success of a farm and was regarded favourably as part of the Protestant work ethic, farm size was considered as a standard for prosperity.

(e) Perception: In 1880 Von Humboldt stated: "in order to comprehend nature in all its vast sublimity, it would be necessary to present it under a twofold aspect, first objectively, as an actual phenomenon, and

next subjectively, as it reflected in the feelings of mankind" (quoted in Saarinen, 1974, 255-6). Within this context, it was Voltaire who referred to Canada as "a few acres of snow" (quoted in Silver, 1966, 30); Archbishop Provencher of St. Boniface who perceived "that agriculture was impossible [in Western Canada]" (Silver, 1966, 100); Shantz (1873, 12) who felt that "the traveler passing his journey westwards from Winnipeg would say that all the land which meets the eye is good farming land"; Trow (1875, 80) who encouraged the tenant farmers of Britain to "go to Manitoba, for . . . no other country on the face of the globe offers greater inducements for those who are engaged in agricultural pursuits" and Hind and Dawson who referred to the West as a "paradise," and having the "rankest luxurious vegetation" (quoted in Silver, 1966, 109). These quotations may be summarized in one word: perception. Presently, "there is a large and growing literature which is concerned with perception and related behaviour . . . Any human landscape is the end product of a large number of individual decisions, each made under different circumstances and often for very different reasons" (Norton, 1984, 79). The perception of a landscape is implicit in a colonist's choice for settlement and it reflects his social values (Jakle, 1974, 27). Thus, the communication of a particular group of colonists to their place of origin will affect the next movement of population from that area (Walker, 1975, 58). Colonizing agents used this method of attracting would-be colonists: they published letters from satisfied Belgian settlers in places of origin (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 17). The Quebecois, too, encouraged their compatriots to the American mills in New England as "news filtered through the old parishes extolling the security of salaried employment" (Cartwright, 1977, 3).

As many as 400,000 French Canadians migrated (Painchaud, 1976, 96).

Thus the perception of New England as an 'ideal' affected emigration from Quebec. Bearing 'perception' in mind it must be noted that Morton (1957, 177) stated that:

over 2000 French Canadians came to Manitoba from the United States between 1874 and 1887. And the flow of settlers from Ontario and the British Isles . . . [contributed] . . . the largest part of an estimated total of 11,500 immigrants in 1879, 18,000 in 1880, and 28,600 in 1881 . . . The census of 1881 was to report a population of 65,954 for the province [of Manitoba] within its new boundaries of that year" (Morton, 1957, 177).

Silver (1969, 17) suggested that the reason that the Ontarians' impressions of the North West were positive was that, unlike the French-speaking population at Red River whose settlers had originated in Quebec, the English-speaking Red River colonists had all come from Ontario. As supplies between 1822 and 1850 had come by way of Hudson Bay directly from Europe, Ontarians had had no previous contact with the West. Hence no stories of misery had infiltrated their ranks. Their first indication of the prairies' potential was a reference made by a Toronto professor who referred to it as a "Paradise of Fertility" (Silver, 1969, 17). French Canadians, on the other hand, had been presented with literature that was far from encouraging. Bishop Grandin's letter indicated the general theme: "At the present time travellers may cross our plains without fear; they do not have to guard their horses and be alarmed about their scalps" (quoted in Dempsey, 1973, 9-11).

Norton (1984, 80) argued that "it is reasonable to suggest that perceptions of unknown or little-known landscapes have been less in accord with reality than have perceptions of relatively known landscapes." This was supported by the fact that the Mormon leaders, want-

ing their flock to settle on marginal sites to the south of the 42nd parallel, because they believed that the land to the north of this was an area that would prohibit crop growing, altered the perception of the Salt Lake Valley to their fellow Mormon followers (Jackson, 1978, 317). "To encourage movement the Mormon leaders found it necessary to claim that the Salt Lake area was no better than the land to the south, a claim which contradicted their early views and which resulted in some marginal agricultural settlement." Their settlement decisions, too, were based on information received from unreliable sources: "'horse thieves, casual travellers and back country stockmen'" and not as a result of previous Mormon settlement in the region (Bowen, 1976, 48). Thus the Mormon leaders' perception was founded on knowledge accrued from dubious origins which purported to describe a little known landscape (for general discussion of Western Canada in this era, see Owram, 1980).

The Palliser triangle was surveyed in the mid-nineteenth century. This 'treeless desert' remained virtually empty for many years. By 1879 it contained 90 squatters (Weir, 1964, 64). The reason for the delay in settlement was that Hind and Palliser had perceived the land as unsuitable for crop growing. Their report is well known: "The country west of the Souris is a treeless desert, in dry season destitute of water and without a shrub or brush thicker than a willow twig" (quoted in Weir, 1964, 64). The settlement of 1900 colonists noted in the 1881 census, and of 18,200 colonists ten years later, was due to a change in official information regarding the region (Weir, 1964, 64). It was botanist John Macoun whose survey was the catalyst. After touring the area he stated that whereas it was once considered to be of no value it was now thought to be "the garden of the south west . . .

Practical men break up the dry and apparently sandy soils and produce crops that astonish the world" (quoted in Weir, 1964, 64). Perception affected the colonization of the northern steppe-land of Tripolitania as well. The Italians felt that the region was best utilized for crop growing, but the Libyans, who ultimately took possession, used it for cereals and pasture land (Fowler, 1972, 640). In the colonization of Virginia the English believed that environment and climate were controlled by latitude so they perceived that America would be as temperate as Europe (Earle, 1979, 365). The settlement of Virginia encountered many problems due to errors of perception (Earle, 1979, 366).

The final stage in the saga of migration and settlement is acculturation. This may vary for different ethnic groups and for individuals within these groups.

4. Acculturation

There are many definitions of this phenomenon which may follow migration and settlement. Herskovitz, (1958, 6-7) said: "Acculturation . . . is a useful term for the process by which aspects of elements of two cultures mingle and merge . . . In acculturation the cultural groups involved are in an essentially reciprocal relationship. Both give and take." Woods (1975, 28) suggested that acculturation was a diffusion which took effect when two previously independent cultures came into uninterrupted contact with each other with enough vigour to promote profound alterations in one or both. Henderson (1978, 1) expanded on these explanations: "Culture change is one aspect of acculturation; assimilation is the ultimate end product of acculturation; and diffusion is the process of transmission and reception of cultural traits." Borrie (1959, 100) suggested that acculturation was dependent

more on the social level. Therefore he hypothesized that if Italians acculturated speedily in Brazil but slowly in Australia the difference must be attributed to the profundity and diversity of adjustments rather than to the fact that the immigrants were Italians. This was supported by Woods (1975, 18) who felt that some individuals were able to adopt innovations more easily than others. The reason for this was that each person was equipped with "varying motivations, values, vested interests and predispositions to change" (Woods, 1975, 18). Ex (1966, 94) elaborated that a man's "psychological equipment and his individual history, contains a collection of variables which are co-determinates for the way in which his adjustment proceeds." Thus individual traits should be taken into consideration when acculturation is in progress. Borrie (1959, 130) also suggested that communication was an integral part of acculturation, such that an immigrant might achieve satisfactory employment, but might still feel alien in his adopted country. Acceptance by the host was the ultimate in integration (Borrie, 1959, 153). Daniel (1975, 61-2) asserted that failure to adapt culturally was evident when the immigrant sensed hostility surrounding him or, conversely, if he perceived that his new situation was so vastly improved that he disdained his homeland. It was only when an immigrant was content in his own culture that he could appreciate the benefits in the host culture. Malinowski (1945, viii) explained that both cultures must be examined to appreciate the nature of a cultural change. In referring to South Africa he felt that the predominant agents of change in culture were the settlers and entrepreneurs, European residents, administrators and missionaries. The correct concept of this change he asserted was "the result of an impact of a higher, active culture upon a simpler, more

passive one" (Malinowski, 1945, viii). Also speaking of Africa, Hunter (1962, 30-1) stated that in less than 100 years of European penetration that continent had been transformed not merely by modern technology but by the assimilation of two alien civilizations and the development of new societies. Further, he alleged that this had been achieved through the good faith and trust between individuals. As examples, he cited the missionaries and explorers because the former came as healers of the sick and the latter, as explorers, often needing aid themselves, and neither group were slave traders.

Some ethnic groups acculturate with greater facility than others. In Western Canada, for example, there was rapid accommodation for Icelanders to the British language and British Canadian ways. By 1900 there were identifiable Icelanders, but not a specific Icelandic community or family centres for culture or newspapers. Thus Icelandic acculturation was accelerated. The Ukrainians, by contrast, were a complex group who did not passively accept the norm of Western Canada. They were sufficiently numerous and aggressive to resist cultural change. By 1931, for example, as much as "62 percent of those between [the ages of] 50 and 64 . . . were [still] illiterate" (Martynowych, 1978, 10). By 1940, they had accommodated themselves to North American technology, accepted North American culture, but were acculturated rather than assimilated (Friesen, 1983). Their settlement and eventual acculturation was therefore a slow process. Ironically it was sometimes impeded by factions of the very people, the intelligentsia, who had assumed leadership and were endeavoring to elevate the Ukrainian peasant from the mires of Galicia and Bukovyna (Martynowych, 1978, 61). Words such as "Our sweat and our blood have more than compensated for any debt we may

have owed Canada for permitting ourselves to be taken in by her [immigration] agents" (quoted in Martynowych, 1978, 253), would hardly have endeared these "foreigners" to the dominant Anglo-Saxon element (Martynowych, 1978, 192). Thus, it is not to be wondered at that 'name calling' ensued, with men such as the Reverend Alfred Fitzpatrick describing them as "a gang of fire-eaters speaking 17 different languages and representing 29 different religions" (quoted in Martynowych, 1978, 192).

The Mennonites resisted acculturation even more than the Ukrainians because of North American godlessness. They first migrated to the Canadian West in 1874, leaving Russia for fear of oppression and of being forced into military service which was contrary to their religion. As immigrants to Canada, they demanded and succeeded in obtaining large blocks of land, being allowed exemption from military service, retaining their own religion and language and gaining permission to remain exclusive. Integration eventually took place because, while they lived in villages and farmed commercially, each quarter section was registered separately in the name of an individual. There was conflict between the expansionists and those who preferred the village system. Ultimately, the communal system broke down because the expansionists took advantage of the option to manage their own quarter sections (Friesen, 1983). This breakdown was responsible for their ultimate acculturation.

The North American Indian is an example of one culture group who largely resisted modification, even after 400 years of European contact (Henderson, 1978, 1). In contrast to this generalization, the Haida, natives of the Queen Charlotte Islands, deferred to cultural change within 125 years of European contact. Their population dropped from

approximately 10,000 to 600 during that period, 6 percent of the estimated number at time of contact. Consequently their lifestyle changed and some seasonal activities were eliminated. Acculturation took place in spite of the fact that Haida time and European time were in constant conflict (Henderson, 1978, 15-20).

Nativism is another problem for some colonists and the issues which arise from an influx of immigrants such as the varying degrees of nativism in the place of destination (Woodsworth, n.d., 50; McNaught, 1959, 45; Donnelly, 1968, 72; Bridgeman, 1929, 224), often compel ethnics to settle collectively for moral support (Raitz, 1979, 79). There was little "give and take" (Herskovitz, 1958, 7) at the turn of the nineteenth century, for example, when Western Canada was being colonized through Sir Clifford Sifton's new immigration policy (Sifton, 1922, 34). French Canadians deplored the arrival of "les deguenilles venus de la Russie" (the Russians who come in rags) (Archbishop Langevin, quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 124), and the Anglophiles demanded why "people of such low character and breeding . . . [were being] . . . inflicted on this fair Dominion" (Bridgeman, 1929, 183).

In 1870, Western Canada was fraught with racial hatred. The Riel Resistance, and the "brutal violence . . . [of] . . . the military organization of the Métis (Morton, 1957, 138); the acts of racial enmity that resulted when Colonel Grant Wolseley's troops arrived (Morton, 1957, 143-5); "the clamours of Schultz and the Canadian Party . . . [and] . . . the cry of the Ontario extremists for vengeance (Morton, 1957, 145), all helped to create an atmosphere in which nativism would blossom. Add to this the fact that Archbishop Taché did not want the English. He knew very well 'ce que ferait une population nombreuse' (what would

increase the population) (quoted in Silver, 1966, 84); that "le nombre des immigrants protestants a été chaque année plus grand que celui des catholiques" (each year, the number of Protestant immigrants was greater than that of the Catholics) (Benoit II, 1904, 283); that the English considered "the future citizen of the North West of Canada . . . [would] . . . have Norse, Celtic and Saxon blood in his veins" (Silver, 1966, 173), and there is ample reason to understand the turmoil within the host country. It was into this maelstrom of unrest in Western Canada that immigrants from many nations poured. Among them were the Belgians.

5. Belgium: Origin of the Immigrants

Modern Belgium covers an area of 11,780 square miles and contains 9.5 million people, making it one of the smallest but most densely populated countries in Europe. Its only natural frontier is the North Sea, being bounded on the south and west by France, on the north by Holland and on the east by Luxembourg and Germany. Since Roman times it has been the junction of German and Latin cultures making Low German (Flemish) and French (with a Walloon dialect) the traditional languages for 2000 years. This ancient cultural division has had two-fold consequences: it has been the origin of much of the indigenous problems of that country while at the same time serving as a source of its charm. Prior to 1790, Belgium did not exist as a separate entity, being known generally as the Low Countries or Flanders. Its boundaries vacillated according to the successes and failures of recurring wars, and Belgium's current borders were not established until 1830. Its only great mineral resource is coal and for many years its two rivers, the Meuse and the Scheldt have provided highways for commerce in the northern part of

Europe. Physically, the coastal region is much like the Dutch polder country, requiring dykes to discourage flooding behind the sand-dunes, an area which is now expertly drained and farmed intensively. Coal mining and agriculture are practiced on the central plateau which is thinly populated and which rises to over 1000 feet. It was from this background then, that one of Manitoba's smallest migrant groups came (Lyon, 1971, 10-11).

(a) Belgian Migration: Prior to 1889, only individual Belgian families migrated to the Canadian West. The first sizeable contingent of 200 did not migrate until 1889, settling by 1892 in Deloraine, St. Alphonse, Swan Lake, Mariapolis and Bruxelles (map 1) (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 24).

Many people assisted in Belgian migration and among the first was Louis Hacault who found conditions so favourable that he eventually migrated himself to Manitoba. The "Return Men" were a less successful group because their system initially increased the colonist's immediate expenses. This eventually became a deterrent. These were settlers whom the government recruited to return to Belgium with the intention of their encouraging relatives and friends to migrate to Canada. Each of the "Return Men" was paid \$8 for each homesteader whom he could convince to pre-pay \$10 to the Department of the Interior as a sign of honest intent to migrate. Upon arrival at his destination in Canada the immigrant's deposit would be refunded plus an additional small sum. After successfully persuading ten settlers to migrate the "Return Man" would receive his fare for his journey back to Canada. In 1890, J. E. Tetu was appointed as the government immigration agent to Belgium and France. He found that the Belgians who wished to migrate were in reasonable cir-

cumstances. Auguste Bodard, another government agent, did much to try and dispel the negative perception of the Canadian West that had permeated the minds of many Europeans. In 1888, La Société de St. Raphael was organized by laymen, and in 1898 Treau de Coeli, a Belgian from Quebec, was appointed as the Government Agent to Belgium and Holland. He found the Belgians well settled in Canada, but discovered that little was known in Belgium of Canada. He concentrated his colonizing efforts on the northern densely populated Flemish industrial areas of Belgium. Thus Flemish urban immigration rapidly outnumbered the Walloon rural immigrants. De Coeli was energetic and an opportunist. He lectured to captive audiences of farm labourers who migrated annually each May to work as farm hands outside Belgium, returning to small two and one half acre plots each Autumn. Thus the prospect of 160 free acres was an effective lure. De Coeli's work brought him special recognition from Ottawa.

In 1898, Archbishop Langevin's encounter in Belgium with Father Delouche resulted in the formation of La Société d'exploration agricole du Canada. The failure of the enterprise resulted in a lost opportunity for Langevin to further increase the French-speaking population of the Western Interior.

The First Great War brought hardship and concern by the Belgian Government for the depopulation of their country. Thus the Canadian Office in Antwerp was closed. When passports were refused for those in specialized occupations, including agriculturalists, a conflict of interests arose with the Canadian Government in that it permitted only farmers with sufficient funds to farm independently to enter Canada. This, together with a personal tax on migration depleted Belgian immi-

gration and numbers only reached their pre-1914 levels after the end of the Second World War (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 13-27). Indeed, from 1916 to 1930 only 706 Belgians came to Manitoba (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 28).

(b) Belgian Settlement and Acculturation: Early Belgian settlement was in St. Boniface and in 1905 Le Club Belge was formed and incorporated. By 1914, plans were underway to establish a separate Flemish Church. Father Kwakman was appointed pastor of the newly formed Flemish Parish of Sacred Heart in St. Boniface in 1916 and by 1917 he had built and incorporated a church. Another sub-parish of St. Francis was established in St. Boniface in 1933. Father Damas, a successor of Father Kwakman, built the Shrine of Our Lady of Lourdes on the banks of the River Seine, a replica of the one at Notre Dame de Lourdes in France (map 1). Interested in the material as well as the spiritual well-being of his parishioners, Father Damas formed the Belgian Credit Union in 1939. By 1964, Father Antoine Hacault was appointed auxilliary Bishop of St. Boniface, under Archbishop Baudoux whose heritage was also Belgian.

Originally Flemish was spoken in all the Belgian parishes but as the Belgian "population **integrated**, the English language gradually became predominant" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 60-61). A request for a Flemish school in St. Boniface in 1906, was denied by the St. Boniface School Board for the lack of a Flemish-speaking teacher. Occasional attempts to establish a library and reading rooms at the Belgian Club have persisted, and courses for instruction in the language have been attempted but have lacked public support. This demonstrates the depth

of integration and acculturation of the Belgian community. "Educationally, the Belgians have achieved well, but frequently at the expense of their traditional language " (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 67).

Initially the Belgians were occupied with agriculture and construction. The early immigrants came from crowded Belgian villages and successfully established themselves in mixed farming near Deloraine, Mariapolis, St. Alphonse, and Swan Lake. Some were impoverished but through dint of hard work and thrift became extremely successful. Horse breeding, for example, was an important and prosperous venture with many Belgians, who established the Napoleon and Percheron breeds in Manitoba. Besides mixed farming, specialized market gardening became important with the introduction from Europe of delicate varieties of fruit such as gooseberries, currants, strawberries and raspberries (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 76). In 1890, a Belgian farmer established the first dairy business in Manitoba, and "Soubry Grain [was] the only Belgian elevator in the Winnipeg area" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 79). Commerce in the form of butchers, bakers, florists, blacksmiths and other small businesses occupied a significant number of Belgians. Their traditional individuality constrained them from developing enterprises able to compete with modern corporate industries (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 79-80).

Culturally, the Walloons were inclined to group with the French Canadians and the Flemish with the English, with the results that the Flemish language is a declining tongue in Manitoba. However, as a people they have been prosperous commercially and adapted to North American ways. Thus they have acculturated with apparent ease and success (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 95-96).

6. Conclusion

Migration is the catalyst which leads to the settlement process in a new environment and this, in turn, precedes acculturation. Many factors contribute to this three-stage process. Much depends on the individual, his ethnic background, his social background, his aspirations, his attitudes and those of his host. It is a step that many millions have taken over the centuries; many have failed but many have succeeded. The enormity of the process can be reflected in one sentence by Beaujeu-Garnier (1978, 181): "It has been estimated that the migrations of the last twenty-five years bound up with the Second World War . . . constitute the greatest population movement of all time--perhaps a hundred million people have been involved." Perhaps Rupert Brooke summarized succinctly the problems of acculturation for the immigrant who enters the New World from the Old:

The maple and the beech conceive no Dryads and Pan
has never been heard among these reed beds. Look
as long as you like upon a cataract of the New
World, and you shall not see a white arm in the foam.
A godless place. And the dead do not return . . .
The land is virginal, the wind cleaner than elsewhere,
and every lake newborn and every day the first day . . .
There walk as yet no ghosts of lovers in Canadian
lanes. This is the essence of the gray freshness and
the brisk melancholy of this land. And for all the
charm of these qualities, it is also the secret of the
European discontent. For it is possible at a pinch
to do without gods. But one misses the dead.

(quoted in McCourt, 1949, 120)

CHAPTER 3

BELGIAN MIGRATION TO MANITOBA

The vast area, formerly known as Rupert's Land, remained virtually devoid of French-speaking immigrants for many years after it had become part of the Dominion of Canada in 1870. This chapter discusses the images of Western Canada propagated by influential French language sources between 1860 and 1890 and also Canadian immigration activity between 1870 and 1930. This inquiry is divided into three inter-related hypotheses and is based on empirical data. An endeavor is made to substantiate the hypotheses from primary and secondary information.

1. Hypothesis 1 (1860-1890)

This suggests that the image of Western Canada propagated by individuals likely to be influential in French-speaking Western Europe was decidedly unattractive in the decades 1860-1890.

"By 1869 Red River had had a government, courts, churches and schools for nearly fifty years. It had become a civilized society largely of mixed white and Indian blood" (Begg, 1956, 2). At that time the Red River Colony was comprised of several social groups. The Métis (Appendix 1) were the predominant element and represented half the population. Several other factions were represented in the settlement at Red River; the local officers of Hudson's Bay Company, the Rupert's Land and Assiniboia Governor, William McTavish, the American Traders, the Free Traders and the English-speaking settlers, most of them of mixed racial origin. One of the most influential groups in the colony, the Roman Catholic clergy, was led by Archbishop Alexandre Antonin Taché, who succeeded Bishop Provencher in 1853. On his return to Red

River in 1870, Taché, who had been in Rome at the time of the Riel Resistance did his best to restore order. The significance of his very presence at Red River can be appreciated if it is understood that while in Rome he received a cable: "'Tell Bishop Taché, government of Canada gladly accept his patriotic offer to go to Fort Garry and request his immediate return'" (quoted in Dorge, 1969-70, 102). Thus Taché presided at Red River where, in 1870, there were approximately 12,228 people living along the shores of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. In addition to this Taché estimated that the Indian community at that time within the borders of Manitoba was 13,000, making a total of 24,228 people. Therefore, in 1870, with the exception of these isolated pockets of humanity "Manitoba was an empty land . . . awaiting the arrival of pioneer farmers to claim and break its fertile acres" (Kaye, 1967, 8). It is understandable then that the Church should become heavily committed to French-speaking settlement in Western Canada. Consequently "on ne saurait pas étudier l'évolution des groupes francophones de l'ouest Canadien sans tenir compte du rôle primordial et de l'esprit dirigeant de Mgr Alexandre Taché" (One cannot study the settlement of French-speaking peoples in Western Canada without taking into account the formidable role and guiding influence of Mgr Taché) (Painchaud, 1975c, 110). Many letters attest to the commitment of the Western clergy to the settlement of the Canadian West by Catholics. For example, Taché wrote to a local priest on November 9, 1892: "Je vous envoie la traduction d'une lettre que je viens de recevoir du Département de l'Interieur au sujet de vos homesteads" (I am sending you a translation of a letter that I have just received from the Department of the Interior regarding your homesteads) (Archbishop's Palace, File #B(G)0028). Another written by

Taché on November 28, 1892, again to a local priest, stated that the C.P.R. had consented to name the new railway station St Claude and that the Company had promised the Church a piece of land on Section 15 near the station (Archbishop's Palace, File #B(G)0031).

After the acquisition of Rupert's Land, Taché feared for the welfare of his Métis flock, describing them as a young nation who, like young trees, needed a guardian to whom they were loosely but firmly attached (Silver, 1976, 458). Thus Taché was determined to keep the West isolated. So it was to gain time that he voiced his well-known comment: "J'ai lu les rapports magnifiques sur ces pays . . . Le livre en main, j'ai vu le pays décrit et je me suis demandé: Qui donc rêve, ou de l'auteur, ou du lecteur?" (I have read the marvellous reports on this country . . . with my hand on the bible, I have seen the country described and I ask myself: who is dreaming, the writer or the reader?) (Taché, 1901, 10). It has been suggested that Taché wrote the above in his Esquisse sur le Nord-Ouest "to hinder annexation by . . . showing . . . how groundless was the high opinion people had been led to hold of the North-West" (Dorge, 1969-70, 97). The Journal of Quebec summarized this negative appraisal saying: "La lecture de ce travail . . . refroidera la zèle des colons qui ont l'intention d'aller se fixer dans le Nord-Ouest. Mgr Taché ne trace pas de ces régions un tableau bien agréable" (The text of this work . . . will dampen the enthusiasm of colonists who want to go to the North-West. Mgr Taché does not paint a very pleasant picture of this region) (quoted in Silver 1966, 82). It was Father Lacombe, one of Taché's chief colonizer priests in Quebec who reported the impact of Taché's deprecation of Western Canada to him in a letter from Montreal in 1876. Lacombe

quoted from a letter that he had received from a potential colonist. In essence it stated that one of the chief difficulties that was being encountered in Quebec was that Taché had spoken out against the colonization of Western Canada in the early years. Lacombe felt that Taché was responsible for the lack of French-speaking immigration and he quoted from the missive in his correspondence with Taché, the content of which is abundantly clear:

'Si cette émigration n'a pas réussi, c'est que Mgr Taché a fait tous ses efforts dans les commencements pour empêcher les gens de s'y rendre . . . Quand on parler de ressources de ce pays, je me rappelle avoir entendu Mgr Taché rire aux éclats et plaindre la naïveté de ceux qui croyaient à la colonisation de la R.R.'

(If this emigration [from Quebec] does not succeed it is because Mgr Taché made such an effort at the beginning to discourage people from going there. . . . When the resources of the country were mentioned I remember having heard Mgr Taché roar with laughter and pity the naïveté of those who would believe in the colonization of Red River). (Quoted in Silver, 1969, 1).

Dorge (1969-70, 95) stated that "in the 1860's [Taché] was very much for . . . the status quo." For many years Taché spoke of his constant devotion and sacrifice which gave the new province a negative appraisal (Silver, 1966, 101). As late as 1881 Le Métis was still endeavoring to explain away Taché's initial discouraging comments on the Western Interior (Silver, 1966, 84). Auguste Bodard, a Canadian Government Agent recruiting colonists in Belgium, had a major problem when lecturing to prospective colonists in that country and that was to "dispel rumours of the negative aspects of Canada" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976. 16).

The Canadian Government was aware that the Metropolitan Government of France had looked upon emigration from France to Canada with some disfavour because A. M. Burgess in a letter to the Honourable T. Mayne Daly stated: "Of course you are aware that, generally speaking,

the opinions of the other side of the Atlantic have been unfavourable to the sending of Agents from this side to promote immigration" (Dec. 9, 1892, C4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). Indeed, this perception of Canada lingered for many years in French-speaking Europe and Bodard stated in letters to Frank Pedley and J. A. Smart that he had defended Canada in general, and Manitoba and the English people of that province in particular, against articles written by M. A. Furenne for the French Chamber of Commerce. Bodard wrote a rebuttal in his pamphlet Colonisation Canadien, saying that: "In Canada all the nationalities work together with harmony to build a great country . . . [and that his] . . . answer to the allegations of 'fanaticisme' of the english people of Manitoba against the french [was that] . . . without the english my french settlers would have starved and . . . the best friends are those who help us" (Nov. 6, 1897, #45709; Nov. 6, 1897, #45827, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). In a letter to Lord Strathcona, Bodard further stated that even the French consul in Montreal, Monsieur Klekowski, had sent negative reports to the French Government regarding Canada. He confirmed that Klekowski had reported that Canada would be a "bad country for French emigrants." Bodard concluded that Klekowski had endeavored to dissuade a new French steamship company from carrying French passengers, saying that the Government of France was opposed to immigration to Canada (April 6, 1900, #113726, c4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). Some negative aspects of the North West must have filtered through to the French-speaking countries for Edmond Fasseaux in 1891 also wrote to A. Hamilton saying, "When the . . . paper in Belgium (Le Patriote) had an article against Manitoba I sent in an answer" (June 10, 1891, #82751, c4680, V22, F390, P.A.M.).

In addition, the European French-speaking people were "not obliged to emigrate as were the persecuted Mennonites and the land-starved Icelanders" (Silver, 1966, 299-300). Consequently when the Germans annexed Alsace-Lorraine in 1870, those who fled sought other areas of the French Empire such as Algeria which was nearer and "did not suffer from the image of a 'few acres of snow'" as did the Canadian West (quoted in Silver, 1966, 300). Literature from the Western clergy generally gave a negative perception of Western Canada. Bishop Grandin, for example, wrote that "grasshoppers destroy everything growing in the soil . . . there reigns real devastation . . . " (quoted in Dempsey, 1973, 9-11). Bishop Provencher who preceded Archbishop Taché at St Boniface, after dining at the Governor's table in Quebec, said, "Nous n'y voyons point du pain, de qui devait durer six ou sept ans" (We never saw bread and this has been going on for six or seven years) (quoted in Silver, 1966, 100). Later, Provencher went back to Quebec and told of "floods, famine, cold, swarms of grasshoppers and that agriculture was impossible" (Silver, 1966, 100).

The press of the day was no better, Le Canadien, for example, wrote that there was fighting in the Western United States and that the Métis were restless at Red River, concluding that the way things were progressing it was not so important to go to a land that was more dangerous than it was fertile (Silver, 1966, 89). Le Pays asked if it was really necessary to colonize these distant places which were three quarters desert and occupied by a hostile population (Silver, 1966, 90). Painchaud (1978, 453) summarized the general frame of mind regarding Western Canada at the very time that the Government was hoping to fill that "lone and empty land": "Behind the official state of mind also lay a set of attitudes which portrayed the Canadian

West as a distant, barren and generally inhospitable country" (Painchaud, 1978, 453).

Besides the fate of the Métis, one other factor weighed on Taché's mind. At the end of the nineteenth century, a theological controversy split the Roman Catholic Church: on the one hand were the Ultramontane 'conservative' Catholics who adhered to the discipline of the Church and who submitted to the political and theological control of the Papacy, while on the other hand were the 'liberals' who favoured a loosening of papal ties and a reduction of the Church's secular role in the affairs of the day. The 'liberals' gained the support of the Government of France, while the Roman Catholic clergy in Canada were generally supportive of the Ultramontane viewpoint. Thus, in Canada, there was general opposition by the 'conservative' Catholics to obtaining immigrants from 'liberal' Europe. In consequence, much more than geographical distance separated France from the French-speaking community in Manitoba. Mgr Taché and his Ultramontane compatriots regarded republican France with misgivings. They were shocked at the spread of secularism and liberalism in that country. "The defeat of France by Prussia in 1870 [for example] led [Taché and the other Ultramontane Bishops] to conclude that God had wreaked his vengeance upon 'impious' France for having forgotten its mission as a great Catholic nation in Europe" (Painchaud, 1976, 298). Jules Paul Tardivel was typical of those who opposed the help of 'liberal' France to reinforce the circumstances of the French Canadians in Anglo-Saxon Protestant North America. "Nous n'avons pas besoin de la France pour lutter contre l'absorption" (We don't need France to wrestle with assimilation) (quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 297).

Taché himself strongly opposed any suggestion that 'good'

European French Catholics might be sought as colonists to the Western Interior to counterbalance the ever-increasing numbers of English: "Je crois que nous ne pouvons guère compter sur l'Europe" (We can hardly rely on Europe) (quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 304). Therefore, in 1874, La Société de Colonisation was formed in St Boniface and, later, another society in Montreal to encourage French Canadians to emigrate to Manitoba (Morton, 1957, 160). Taché was made President of both these (Painchaud, 1976, 20). The importance of the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy regarding settlement in Western Canada at that time can be seen from a news item in Le Métis which stated that La Société de Colonisation de Montréal was a branch of La Société de Colonisation de Manitoba and that it was established in order to help French Canadian immigration in Manitoba. The significance of the news item is that it was stated that both these societies were under the patronage of Mgr Taché, and that the clergy had courageously taken charge of colonization in Manitoba as well as in Lower Canada (Le Métis, 1876, 1).

The degree of clerical influence can be seen from comments such as those by Bishop Grandin of St Albert who said how much he would like to see good French Canadian families settle in Western Canada (Silver, 1966, 20). There was no reference to European French-speaking peoples. The decade between 1881 and 1891 demonstrated that Ontario sent about eight times as great a proportion of its population to Manitoba as did Quebec (Silver, 1966, 55). Benoit (11, 1904, 196) stated that in 1871 Taché wrote to Quebec and to Europe for help: "Vous comprenez assez l'importance de la colonisation chez nous . . . Si nous n'avons point d'immigration catholique, nous sommes perdus à tout jamais: le flot ontarien nous déborder de toutes parts" (You must

understand the importance of colonisation here. . . . If we do not have Catholic immigration we are lost forever: the stream of Ontarians surrounds us on all sides). Painchaud (1976, 301-2) contradicted this, stating that "Mgr Taché had not even considered French immigration to help him consolidate his French-speaking 'block' settlement. He had been content to address himself exclusively to his French-speaking compatriots [in Quebec]." However, Benoit (11, 1904, 196) may have been referring to Irish Catholics (Painchaud, 1976, 304). A letter from Taché to the Bishop of Quebec in 1872 supports this theory: "Bien cher Seigneur et ami . . . si c'est possible envoyez nous du monde. Si nous n'avons point d'émigration catholique nous sommes perdus a toutes jamais. Le flot ontarian va nous deborder de tout part. . . ." (if it is possible send us everyone. If we do not have Catholic immigration we are lost forever. The wave of Ontarians is going to surround us on all sides) (Archbishop's Palace, File #T10138). Another letter, of uncertain date, which suggested that Taché addressed his problem only to Quebec was written by him to the Province of Quebec. Taché repeated that "[il]semble devoir être bientôt noyée par un flot d'émigration hostile . . . [et il suggerait que] . . . dans chaque paroisse du Bas-Canada on assure et facilite au besoin l'émigration d'une ou deux familles vers la Province du Manitoba"([it] seems that we must soon be drowned by a wave of hostile immigration . . . [and he suggested that] . . . each parish of Lower Canada assure and if necessary facilitate the emigration of one or two families to the Province of Manitoba) (Archbishop's Palace, File #B(G)18092).

It was not until much later, after Taché's death in 1894, that his successor, Archbishop Langevin suggested that the means with which to

combat Protestant infiltration was to consider European French-speaking immigration. It appears that by this time Langevin was not even concerned with language as long as the immigrants were Catholic:

Deux moyens se presentent de contrebalancer l'immigration protestante qui nous envahit et menace de noyer notre nationalité . . . Une immigration des pays Catholiques de l'Europe dans notre Nord-Ouest . . . Immigration Catholique . . . C'est le seul moyen de faire contre poids au protestants qui l'on fait venir par milliers de l'Angleterre, de l'Ecosse, de l'Allemagne, de la Norvège et même de la Russie . . . pour y réussir, les Evêques de la province de Québec devraient envoyer une circulaire confidentiale à un certain nombre d'Evêques de France, de Belgique, de Suisse, d'Irlande et même peut-être d'Autriche et d'Italie.

(Two methods should be taken to counterbalance Protestant immigration which surrounds us and threatens to submerge our nationality: . . . An immigration from Catholic countries in Europe to the North-West . . . Catholic immigration . . . It is the only means to counterbalance the Protestants that one sees coming by the thousands from England, Scotland, Germany, Norway and even Russia . . . In order to succeed there, the Bishops of Quebec should send a confidential letter to a number of Bishops of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Ireland and even perhaps Austria and Italy) (Archbishop's Palace File #L41476).

There was, however, opposition in Quebec to a general exodus of the population to Manitoba and Taché was bitterly disappointed over the indifference of Quebec to his plight (Silver, 1966, 170). Author-priests Father Adrien-Gabriel Morice, Dom Paul Benoit and journalists Donetien Frémont and Noel Bernier all agreed that "la belle province must bear much of the blame for the lack of large migration . . . to available lands on the Prairie" (Painchaud, 1978, 453). It was Philippe Roy, High Commissioner to Paris who affirmed that Quebec must accept much of the responsibility for the lack of French representation to Western Canada (Painchaud, 1978, 464). Nevertheless, the Western clergy found many colonists unacceptable. There was no great drive to receive impoverished immigrants from New England for example. Father Lacombe made that abundantly plain: "Nous n'avons pas besoin

d'eux la-bas" (We don't need them from down there) (quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 160).

It was because 'liberalism' was then the vogue in Metropolitan France and this attitude was completely supported by the French Government that the Canadian Government was unwilling to be associated with the 'conservative' Ultramontane Catholics of Canada. Consequently, the Western clergy were supporting an immigration policy that was the antithesis of the prevailing policy of both the French and Canadian Governments (Painchaud, 1976, 355). No precise figures are given except that between 1870 and 1891 65.3 percent of the new French colonists to Western Canada came from Quebec; 31.6 percent came from the United States, so it might be assumed that the remaining 3.1 percent were from Metropolitan France and French-speaking Europe (Painchaud, 1969, 126).

In summary, the Western clergy in general and Taché in particular conveyed the impression that Western Canada was undesirable for settlement between 1860 and 1890. The dissension in the Roman Catholic Church in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the catalyst which united the Eastern and Western 'conservative' Ultramontane Catholic Bishops of Canada against recruiting French-speaking peoples from the 'liberal' Catholics of Europe for settlement in the Canadian West. This, in conjunction with the opinions of influential persons such as Jules Paul Tardivel, editor of Le Monde, portrayed Western Canada as a hostile environment between 1870 and 1890 for prospective colonists.

2. Hypothesis II (1870-1914)

This states that the Federal Government's implementation of policies to attract Western European immigrants to Western Canada was very weak from 1870 to 1890, but that the combination of a few committed

individuals and a small degree of interest in the Canadian Immigration Branch produced a significant increase in Belgian immigration to Manitoba from 1890 to 1914.

The Bureau of Agriculture was established in Canada in 1852 and its first minister was Malcolm Cameron. Apart from supervising agriculture, the function of the Bureau was to increase traffic for the Canadian transportation system. In order to do this it was necessary to encourage immigration (Fowke, 1978, 121). The Bureau of Agriculture, therefore, was actually the first immigration agency in the Canadas (Fowke, 1978, 122). However, efforts to compete with the United States proved unsuccessful because the region selected for colonisation was within the Precambrian Shield. This covered an area of 1000 miles from Northern Ontario to Rupert's Land, which was then under the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Immigration was "one of the important purposes underlying the sponsorship of Confederation by the Province of Canada" (Fowke, 1978, 142). It was proposed that after Confederation the Federal and Provincial Governments would be granted equal jurisdiction over the Department of Mining and Agriculture (Fowke, 1978, 159). But in fact, after 1870, the Federal Government had "exclusive control over the Western territories" (Fowke, 1978, 159). The Government's most significant aid to Canadian agriculture during the following years was to encourage immigration and farm settlement on the prairies:

Land-grant policy, the subsidization of the Pacific railway, the maintenance of immigration agencies and the preparation of immigration literature, . . . and the institution of agents' commissions were all part of the effort expended in this direction . . . As late as 1900 the results of federal encouragement of immigration were a great disappointment (Fowke, 1978, 186-7).

Australia, New Zealand, the Argentine, Brazil and the American rail and

land companies were fierce competitors (Fowke, 1978, 187). In a letter to A. M. Burgess, Auguste Bodard substantiated this:

The Government never spent money to promote seriously that [Belgian and French] emigration . . . no serious agent was ever appointed in France. I gave you the proof that 40,000 French emigrated to Brazil and to the Republic of Argentina in 1890-1891, because those countries had in France many agents, money and pamphlets . . . [in 1889] before beginning my work [almost] no French and Belgians emigrated to Canada . . . it would be easy to bring to Canada a good class of farmers if Canada was better known in France and Belgium" (May 10, 1893, #3182, c4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.).

Four years later, however, after Bodard had been the Government Agent in Paris for a year, he noted to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior: "French and Belgian families left. . . . last year for Brazil and not being satisfied with that country were repatriated to Canada instead of returning to Belgium, best proof of the superiority of Canada" (July 28, 1897, #40573, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.).

By Orders-in-Council on April 25 and May 26, 1871, the Federal Government adopted a land policy. A land act followed on April 14, 1872. This stated that any head of a family or anyone who had reached the age of 21 could apply for a free homestead on the even numbered sections. The patent was not to be issued for three years. The applicant must supply proof of cultivation and settlement to the local agent. Hudson's Bay Lands, timber limits and school reserves could be sold at \$1 per acre with a limit of one section per person (Morton, 1938, 53). On June 14, 1872, the Government proposal to implement immigration was conceived. Immigration districts and agents were organized. Immigration Aid Societies were recruited within these districts, with a capital of no less than \$500. Agents were placed in some important European cities. James Trow was made Chairman of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Immigration and Colonization. It was the responsibility of

the Dominion Government to secure the colonists and that of the various Provincial Governments to provide for them at their place of destination (Morton, 1938, 53-4). Indeed, "very considerable sums were voted by Parliament to promote immigration" (Morton, 1938, 54).

The Federal Government policy to populate the Canadian West together with efforts by independent and church-sponsored groups resulted in contacts being made with French-speaking peoples in Europe, including Belgians. As early as 1872, the Manitoba legislature, including the French-speaking representatives, petitioned Ottawa to take steps to bring Western Canada into prominence in Europe. To this suggestion the Immigration Branch responded positively. Agents had already been dispatched to Alsace-Lorraine and J. A. N. Provencher, who became the principal Government Agent for the North-West of Canada in 1871, was sent to Europe for three months. It was proposed that he should seek immigrants from "Belgium, Alsace, Lorraine, and the contiguous parts of France and Germany" (Painchaud, 1976, 299). He was reminded that he was the representative for all of the Dominion and was instructed to "avoid exaggeration" and to keep in mind the fact that people "fitted only for sedentary callings were not wanted" (quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 299). This enthusiasm was dampened by the Quebec Government who had labelled earlier colonists in that province as "communists" (Painchaud, 1976, 300).

From 1870 to 1885, during the pre-railway settlement period, the federal scheme to settle special reservations really tended to retard settlement (Morton, 1938, 56). Trow, on a visit to Manitoba, surveyed the 9,000,000 acres or 360 townships which constituted that province and stated that "hundreds of intending settlers will not remain in the Province" because vast regions exceeding 3,800,000 acres had been set aside for half-breeds, railways, Mennonites, Indians, schools and

repatriated Canadians (Morton, 1938, 56).

In 1895, Bodard wrote to J. G. Colmer saying that, during the past years, agents sent to France were there for pleasure only, under the pretext of emigration; that there was much poverty in France; that Europeans knew nothing of Canada and that this was the reason they did not emigrate. He concluded: "The French don't emigrate because they don't know anything about Canada and its resources, no serious work having been done in France" (March 23, 1895, #21613, c4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). Bodard further stated to L. O. Armstrong in 1896 that the Brazilian Government was offering free passage from Canada to Brazil, including free housing, tools, seeds and food for one year; that a Brazilian Agent was established in Montreal to gather Europeans just landed, for South America. He concluded that both the Brazilian and Chilean Governments were also offering free passage from France and Belgium to their countries (June 9, 1896, #31610, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). Thus the liberal immigration policies of the Brazilian and Chilean Governments were in direct contrast to the parsimonious approach of the Departement of Immigration for Canada (see Appendix 2). Edmond Fasseaux also referred to French-speaking immigration to South America: "[There] is much to do in Belgium for . . . Canadian immigration, the great emigration for South America is slackening and it . . . only need[s] intelligent and earnest efforts to direct it to Manitoba" (June 10, 1891, #82751, c4680, V22, F390, P.A.M.). This indicated that indeed, there had been heavy emigration to South America from Belgium. Thus the implementation of a Federal Government Policy to attract French-speaking settlers to Western Canada was unsuccessful during the years 1870-1890.

In Canada the essential difference between the Church Policy and that of the State was that while both were concerned with Western Canadian

settlement the Church wanted French-speaking Roman Catholic peoples in the West while the State wanted growth in the West as "nationhood for Western Canada as part of Canadian Confederation" (Painchaud, 1976, 82). The State, however, was in a more strategic position as it possessed both legislative and financial control. Its main objective was to open up the West and when migration from Eastern Canada lagged, mass migration from Eastern Europe was initiated. When Sir Clifford Sifton became Minister of the Interior in 1896:

The tremendous expansion of the Canadian Railway system had in the first instance been inspired by the rapid growth of agricultural settlement in the North-West. Since becoming Minister of the Interior in 1896, Clifford Sifton had whipped the immigration officers and the Canadian Pacific into a search for immigrants in the United States, the British Isles and Central Europe" (Morton, 1963, 402).

Indeed, the Great Canadian migration to the West had begun and Archbishop Langevin "viewed with alarm the influx into the country" (Painchaud, 1976, 41). Nationaliste historians said that the "Federal Government dismissed out of hand the very notion of repatriating the Franco-Catholic element of Canada . . . the Federal officials felt in the years after 1888 that the repatriation movement was marginal compared to the immigration that could be obtained from European sources" (Painchaud, 1976, 253).

Agriculturalists were needed. Immigration offices were set up in Manitoba, for example, to encourage those who came for the annual harvester excursions to stay. "Here indeed . . . was in embryo the immigration policy which Sir Clifford Sifton was later to apply with such brilliant success after 1896 in the federal field" (Morton, 1957, 253). That it was a successful device for populating the West may be noted by the Abbé Bérubé's remark to the Commissioner of Immigration McCreary: "'some 300 or 400 came with the harvesters'" (quoted in

Painchaud, 1976, 267). About one quarter of those who came with the harvesters were persuaded to stay. However, many of these were English, as Archbishop Langevin noted: "'Mais ce sont surtout des Americains et des protestants, bien peu de Canadiens Francais'" (But these are mostly Americans and Protestants, very few French Canadians) (quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 268). It was, for example, Sifton's "policy of selective immigration" which enabled him to "actively . . . [seek] . . . out those he considered desirable" that brought Ukrainians in large numbers to Western Canada in 1896" (Lehr, 1978, 45). This prompted Langevin to comment: "M. Sifton ne favorise guère l'élément français dans son zèle colonisateur il préfère des deguenillés venus de la Russie, des Socialistes" (Mr Sifton, in his zeal as colonizer, hardly considers the French, he prefers the Russians who come in rags, the Socialists) (quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 124).

Sifton's well documented comments regarding immigration to Western Canada demonstrated clearly the difference between the Liberal Government Policy and those of the 'conservative' Catholic Church of Western Canada: "When I speak of quality . . . I have in mind . . . a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and half a dozen children, . . . I am indifferent as to whether or not he is British born. It matters not what his nationality is" (Sifton, 1922, 16). Hall (1985, 300) noted that the 'peasants' that Sifton had in mind were to be found in "Scandinavia, Belgium, Bohemia, Hungary and Galicia." In defending his immigration policy Sifton made it quite clear that it was farmers he wanted not townspeople:

It is said that there are millions of town dwellers, artisans and small shop keepers, labourers and so forth on the continent of Europe who are anxious to come to Canada . . . These people

are essentially town dwellers. They have no idea in the world of going out in a country like Canada and fighting the battle of the pioneer" (Sifton, 1922, 16).

By 1903, it was the material growth of the country which most concerned Sifton. The great urgency of Confederation had been transportation:

'No known country of similar population had presented such tremendous difficulties of distance and material obstacles but the triumph of human energy over nature has been complete . . . The immigration was left to my charge . . . and I may say that it may be regarded as practically solved. The population is increasing faster than we can take care of it' (Hall, 1985, 80-1).

Thus, the Department of the Interior, under Sifton

doubled its efforts to attract immigrants to Canada with ever growing success . . . At last the empty spaces were to be filled and the vacant lands taken up from the Red to the Rockies. One of the great population movements of history was beginning which was to leave the farm lands of Manitoba occupied and the province a polyglot mosaic of diverse people (Morton, 1957, 274).

In the early years French-speaking immigration was sponsored by a variety of people (appendix 3). By the 1890's Government agents also played an important role in emigration from Europe, and Auguste Bodard was one. Secretary to La Société d'Immigration Française between 1887 and 1894, he was an avid colonizer. He made contact with Taché in 1887 and shortly after informed the Archbishop of his intention to circulate a booklet in France, Belgium and Switzerland on the resource potential of agriculture in Western Canada (Painchaud, 1976, 313).

In a letter to L. M. Fortier, J. Arthur Côté commented on Bodard's pamphlet:

I have no hesitation in pronouncing Mr Bodard's pamphlet the best immigrant's guide that I have ever come across and I can only regret that there is not an English version of it. He has compressed more valuable information into 32 pages than one could hope to find in a volume of much larger proportions. He has touched on almost every point likely to be of interest to intending settlers . . . Mr Bodard throughout his whole pamphlet, has not made a single statement with regard to Canada which is not strictly accurate and although he has succeeded in placing before the public a most attractive picture of Canadian farming life no one could possibly charge him with exaggeration (Aug. 28, 1895, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.)-(appendix 4).

With the financial aid of L. O. Armstrong, 50,000 copies of Bodard's booklet were printed and distributed (Painchaud, 1976, 313). It is evident that Bodard and Armstrong were on good terms for Bodard wrote to J. G. Colmer saying that he had read in the Canadian newspapers that the C.P.R. was to appoint emigration agents in Europe. Bodard recommended Armstrong saying that he was an English Protestant who spoke fluent French and thus would be well received in France. Bodard concluded that he would be pleased to introduce Armstrong in France "to prove how the different creeds and nationalities live in peace and in harmony in Canada, to make a great country" (Aug. 31, 1893, c4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). In an earlier letter to the Hon. Edgar Dewdney, Bodard referred to government and C.P.R. pamphlets saying that he was writing letters to persuade good farmers to emigrate, many Belgian, Flemish, French and Swiss having settled in colonies in the N.W.T. (Oct. 14, 1892, #309839, c4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). In 1897, Bodard wrote to James A. Smart and to J. G. Colmer saying that he had no more French pamphlets on Canada. He wanted 100,000 more Guide to Settlers and 100,000 copies of an advertizing scheme for advance passage money for settlers with assets of over \$300, a scheme he had devised with the C.P.R. He planned to send 50,000 of these to French and Belgian agriculturalists (June 23, 1897, #39146; March 28, 1897, #38596; c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). This reflected Bodard's good relationship with the C.P.R.

Bodard's co-operation with the clergy can be seen by the following letters. In correspondence with the Secretary of the Department of the Interior Bodard stated that he had arrived from France with approximately 130 farmers for Manitoba and the N.W.T. Unable to obtain a C.P.R. pass in time to proceed with his party to Winnipeg

he was awaiting the arrival of a Belgian priest on the S. S. Oregon with whom he was going to select a location to establish a colony for the settlers (May 5, 1896, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). In a further letter to L. O. Armstrong, Bodard indicated his intention to choose a location in either Edmonton, Prince Albert, Saskatoon or the Lake Dauphin District for "300 french and belgian families" (June 9, 1896, #13610, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.) (Maps 1 and 2). In a subsequent letter to Lyndwode Pereira, Bodard stated that he had renewed the acquaintance of the Reverend F. Paradis, whom he had met in 1886, when they had discussed immigration. Paradis, a prospective U.S. Agent, was requested by Bodard to send immigrants to the N.W.T. (Nov. 4, 1896, #32067, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). Bodard, a prolific correspondent, and an imaginative agent, then wrote to Paradis with some practical and quite sensitive suggestions:

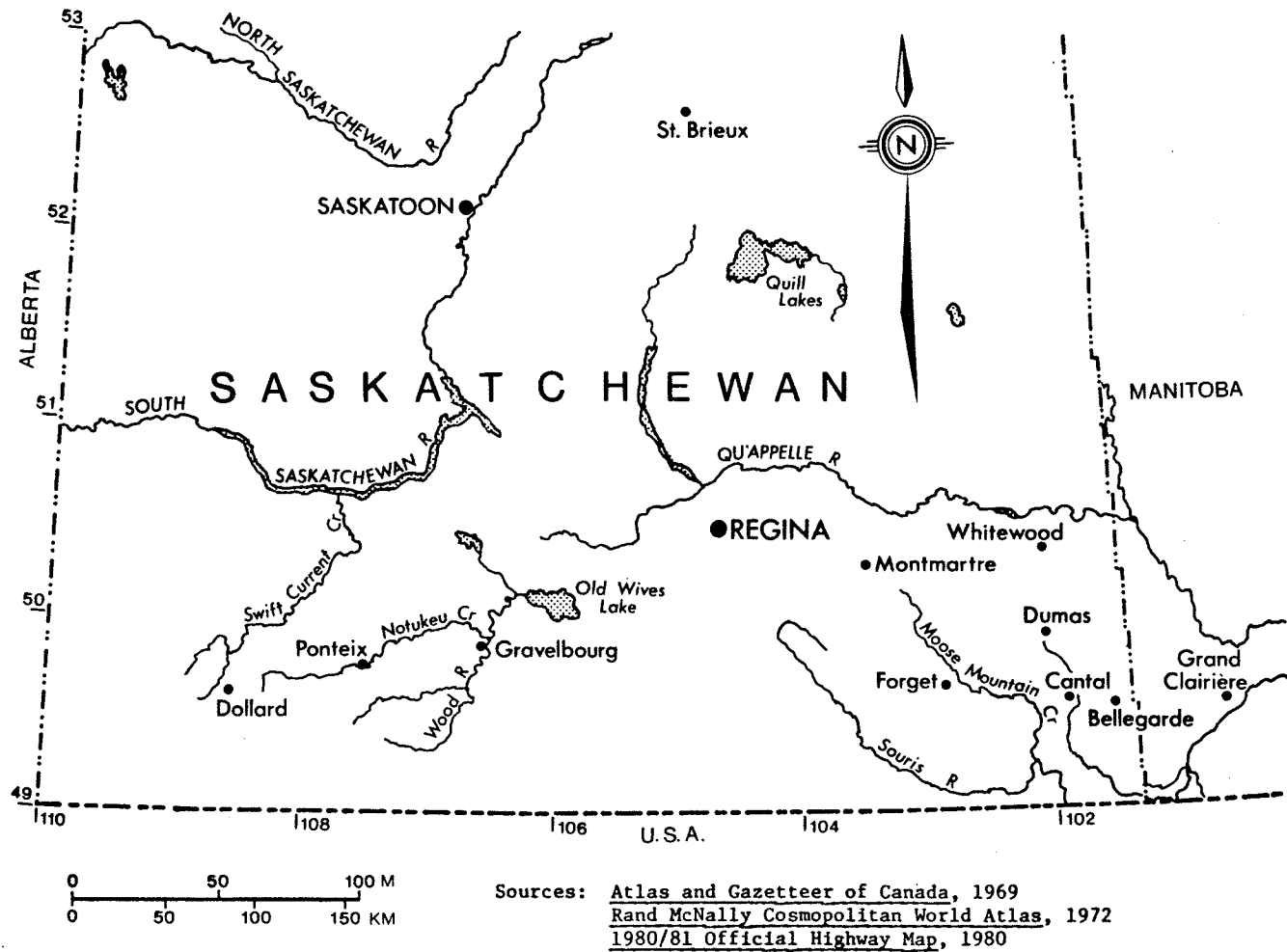
In my opinion, the settlers have more chance on the prairies than in the woods. And the Government works above all to settle the West. In the North-West there is a favourable feeling in regard to immigrants from the United States. . . It would be a useful work to mix the Canadians of the country. Without pilots these strangers will find it more difficult to succeed" (Aug. 19, 1896, #32102, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.).

On another occasion, Bodard wrote to A. M. Burgess, regarding some correspondence that he had had with Sir Wilfrid Laurier in which Belgian settlement had been discussed. Bodard stated that he was leaving for Manitoba and the N.W.T. to select land for and to look after his settlers and that Laurier had approved. He stated that he had to meet a Belgian priest and two Belgian delegates in order to organize a farm for Belgian orphans. Bodard concluded that he felt responsible for the settlers because the Government did nothing regarding their establishment, specifically mentioning the Belgian delegates and their farm (Sept. 21, 1896, #31360, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.).

Bodard worked indefatigably for Western settlement, travelling back and forth from Europe, conveying immigrant families to their destinations in Canada. By 1890 La Société d'Immigration Française was recognized as a Dominion Government Immigration Agency. Many journals, Le Colonisateur Canadien, Le Bulletin de la Société Franklin, Le Tour du Monde, Le Lyon Republican and L'Indicateur Savoisien received contributions from Bodard. His greatest service to the French-speaking cause was acting as liaison between Church leaders in the West and the would-be French-speaking colonists in Europe. The introduction of Dom Paul Benoit of the Chanoines Réguliers de l'Immaculée Conception to Taché indicating the advisability of that group to assist as colonizers is an example of this type of co-operation. He conveyed to Taché requests for the founding of a parish for the Savoisians in Canada; a need for houses in La Broquérie, Manitoba, for 400 Belgian families and a request to establish French families in the St Leon, Manitoba region, to name but a few (map 1). Bodard claimed that he was transferring between 450-500 French-speaking families a year to Canada, but it is not possible to make a quantitative assessment of his statement (Painchaud, 1976, 316).

There are many references to settlers being sent or escorted by Bodard from French-speaking Europe to Canada through his immigration work, but when requested to give specific lists and figures Bodard was unable to comply. The examples below may serve to illustrate this research. The Montreal Daily Witness recorded Bodard's report in which he said that there had been an increase of 250 French, Belgian and Swiss immigrants in 1892 when compared with the previous year; that about 800 immigrants had arrived in March 1892, two-thirds of whom were destined for Manitoba and the N.W.T. Bodard attributed the increase to good

crops in the previous year and also to letters from satisfied settlers encouraging friends and relatives to emigrate (Appendix 4). Bodard stated that three or four new Belgian and French settlements had been established in Assiniboia that year because Manitoba was nearly devoid of good homesteads. Some farmers had settled in the old colonies of Lourdes, St Leon and Cypress River and a new Belgian settlement had been established at Bruxelles, Manitoba, with the help of a Belgian priest (map 1). Red River parishes such as Oak Lake, Grand Clarière and Whitewood had received many settlers (maps 1 and 2). He concluded that the cost of settling in Prince Albert and Alberta was from \$50 to \$60 more per family than to settle in Manitoba (Montreal Daily Witness, Friday, July 15, 1892, c4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). In his annual report to La Société d'Immigration Française Bodard stated in 1892 that for the past three years he had brought from 450 to 800 French, Belgian and Swiss farmers to Manitoba and the N.W.T. by way of the Allan, Dominion and Hanna Lines (Montreal, 1892, c4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). During that time he was not a Government Agent (Dec. 6, 1892, c4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). Many other letters provide figures in a general way but furnish no specifics such as names or sources and the destinations listed are broad. For example, one to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior stated that Bodard had come from France on the S. S. Sarnia of the Furness Line with "about 130 passengers nearly all farmers for Manitoba and the North-West Territories and 15 farm labourers for Montreal" (May 5, 1896, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). Another report in the Montreal Star stated that Bodard had arrived the night before with a party of 90 settlers, adding that these were the first French settlers of the current year to arrive in Montreal, all but 15 being destined



Map 2

Saskatchewan

for the N.W.T. (Montreal Star, May 12, 1897, #37400, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). The Winnipeg Free Press printed the same news two days later and described the settlers as "a fine, sturdy class of people, well adapted to settlement in the country as they are thoroughly conversant with agricultural pursuits." (Winnipeg Free Press, May 15, 1897, #37607, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.).

While these immigrants were all classed as French, it must be remembered that:

prior to 1901 the Belgians in Canada were too small a group to be listed separately and were therefore grouped with immigrants from France. Furthermore, prior to 1911, the immigrant entrance statistics are indicated by port of entry, including American ports. There is thus no accurate methods of determining the actual numbers of Belgians arriving yearly in Manitoba until 1911 (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 21-2).

Therefore, many of the above listed immigrants could have been Belgians.

Bodard himself wrote from St Albert to J. A. Smart confirming that he had arrived with the above settlers via New York, escorting them to Montreal, Winnipeg, Rathwell, Lake Dauphin, Edmonton and Prince Albert, (May 20, 1897, #37783, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.) (Map 1). Two months later, Lyndwode Pereira wrote to Bodard for specific details regarding numbers, names, places of origin and destination of immigrants (July 13, 1897, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). Bodard explained in detail his reasons for being unable to comply. He stated that it was difficult to supply precise numbers of the French and Belgian settlers. The reasons Bodard gave appeared logical:

I don't sell tickets of passage, I give only information on Canada to the intending settlers. Many leave without my knowledge, principally from Belgium. They address themselves to the ticket agents of various steamship companies, they leave from Europe through ten ports of embarkation and I am often surprised to meet in Canada people I thought were still in France and Belgium, and in Canada I have not the time each year to make the census of the newcomers in the French and Belgian colonies.

He went on to say that he thought that 300 French and Belgians had come

over in the last four months. Many came via New York because the Government of France favoured that port. In conclusion, Bodard stated that the Department of Immigration was in a more favourable position to ascertain the precise number of settlers because they received reports from all the ticket agents of Europe. Bodard felt that four-fifths of those who emigrated would have read his pamphlets before emigrating. He stipulated that he did not encourage single men or city labourers, but only farming families (July 21, 1897, #40316, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.).

The Canadian High Commissioner in London, Lord Strathcona, attested to the energy and enthusiasm of men like Bodard and his figures regarding immigrants comply with the above research, all numbers being very general. Strathcona stated: "Mr Bodard and Mr Foursin claim to be working with energy in France--east and west--and in Belgium . . . they expect to send out 300 to 400 persons during this year, practically the same number as sent out in 1897" (March 28, 1898, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). In 1898, however, the results were disappointing with only 80 immigrants arriving. Bodard confirmed this to J. G. Colmer, giving the reason as poverty among the people. He hoped for better results through the advance passage plan made with the C.P.R. (April 14, 1898, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). In May of the same year, Bodard confirmed to Frank Pedley that only 56 immigrants would be coming over, three quarters of whom he would be escorting to Manitoba and the N.W.T. (May 3, 1898, #58685, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.) (Appendix 2).

'Return Men' were another group of men who were employed by the Federal Government to persuade their fellow countrymen to emigrate and settle in Canada. These men, immigrants themselves, would return to their place of origin and encourage friends and relatives to emigrate.

They worked on commission. Each man was paid

\$8 for each eligible homesteader who could be convinced to deposit \$10 as a sign of good faith with the Department of the Interior. Upon arrival in Canada the settler would be returned his \$10 deposit and would receive a small additional sum. After getting ten people under the scheme, the 'Return Man' would then be paid his passage back to Canada (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 15).

Edmond Fasseaux was one such. He replaced the Abbé Jean Gaire. Fasseaux made three trips to Belgium in the early 1890s. Each time Fasseaux returned with about 50 colonists for Father Gaire's settlement at Grand Clarière or other settlements at Cantal and Bellegard in 1892 and 1893 respectively (Map 2). Within the next five years Forget and Dumas were also established (Painchaud, 1976, 334) (Map 2). L. A. Hamilton of the C.P.R., approved of the work being done by Fasseaux, for he noted that Fasseaux had returned from Belgium with a good sized party of 44 agriculturalists whom he had located on the south side of Oak Lake. He added that Fasseaux had done "excellent work" in Belgium and was returning the same year. He concluded that Father Gaire of Oak Lake settlement rejoiced at Fasseaux's success (March 12, 1892, #395134, c4680, V22, F390, P.A.M.).

John Enns of the Allan Lines also commented on the success of 'Return Men' stating that the "French gentlemen" from the North-West had encouraged a "large number" of colonists from France and Belgium; that they were currently arriving with 100 colonists on the Carthaginian booked through to Manitoba. Enns stated: "The more good men of Mr Fasseaux's stamp that come over, the more will emigration from France and Belgium be encouraged" (March 19, 1892, #292426, c4680, V22, F390, P.A.M.). Another letter from D. Treau de Coeli to the Department of Immigration noted that he was extremely satisfied with the work of 'Return Men' Sebastian Deleau and Edmond Colleaux saying that a number of emigrants would leave shortly

for Canada with Colleaux (N.D. #148163, c7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.). Two more epistles signed by 19 heads of families representing 76 prospective emigrants demonstrated that would-be settlers were grateful to Agents and 'Return Men' who escorted them to their destinations. This sizeable group had sold their properties and were emigrating due to the encouragement of men such as Colleaux (Nov. 3, 1891, Nov. 3, 1901; C7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.). It is clear too, that de Coeli was very satisfied with the work of Deleau and Colleaux when they assisted him in the Luxembourg (Belgium) area. De Coeli himself had just canvassed Flanders and a large number of emigrants was expected as a result of their combined efforts (Jan. 22, 1901, #140502, c7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.).

Colleaux is indicative of those who worked energetically for Canadian immigration. He wrote to Sir Clifford Sifton stating that the Belgians were excellent farmers and would make good settlers; that they lived in an over-populated small country, and that Canada had much to offer these people. Having prepared lectures in advance, Colleaux thus accompanied de Coeli in the Walloon region where large crowds had gathered at de Coeli's meetings. The catalyst that had inspired emigration was that Colleaux, a 'Return Man' was known to prospective emigrants, thus they were prepared to accept the propaganda addressed to them by de Coeli. Colleaux stated that "hundreds" wished to emigrate who would have assets of more than \$2000 on arrival in Canada. He then requested a travelling allowance in order to be able to select land for prospective emigrants. He felt confident of escorting 150 families to Canada the following spring (N.D. c7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.). Colleaux then communicated with Frank Pedley saying that during the winter he had stayed in the "overcrowded

agricultural districts of the country [of Belgium] teeming with people anxious to emigrate . . . a very large portion favoured Canada. . . . Some were anxious to grow wheat only, others preferring mixed farming." He concluded that de Coeli had advised him to visit Assiniboia, Saskatchewan and Alberta and that he would go provided that he receive some remuneration (June 28, 1901, c7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.) (Appendix 2). Colleaux' communication with J. Obed Smith demonstrated the co-operation of the 'Return Men' with the Roman Catholic clergy in selecting suitable land for prospective French-speaking colonists. Colleaux and the Reverend J. Morard toured an area south of Brandon and Whitewood "in the direction of Montgomery and Pipestone Creek" (July 29, 1901, c7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.) (Maps 1 and 2).

An example of the impact of the work of 'Return Men' may be seen from a letter to Deleau, from a prospective emigrant, Isadore Marlier of Laiche, Luxembourg, Belgium: "Sir: From the time you gave me a lecture at Florenceville on how to emigrate to your new country, farming free homesteads etc., I have decided with my family to leave Belgium at the beginning of 1903. I will sell this year, all I have. . . . If perchance there were still free homesteads in your neighbourhood . . . think of me and keep me posted." (Jan. 24, 1902, #215522, c7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.). De Coeli, in a letter to W. W. Cory, emphasized the influence that 'Return Men' might wield with regard to persuading would-be colonists to emigrate. He particularly noted that in Belgium "would-be emigrants are very cautious and reflect sometimes for years if friends or relatives who preceded them do not induce them with their success." He commenced his letter by suggesting that the Government put on salary four Belgians who had returned temporarily to Belgium to sell property

which they had left unsold when they originally departed for Canada (Dec. 19, 1906, #589450, c7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.) (Appendix 2). Colleaux and Deleau further established the significance of 'Return Men'. In a letter to the Hon. F. Oliver, they stated that from 1873 there had been almost no emigration of Walloon Belgians until the spring of 1901 when Colleaux and Deleau had returned from their first tour of the Walloon Provinces with de Coeli. Colleaux stated that

the Belgian peasant does not readily believe the words of a man whom he does not know, but he allows himself to be easily convinced by a countryman whom he does know, whom he has seen leave the country, and whom he has seen return after long years of absence, in perfect health and enjoying comforts unknown to the majority of them.

He then requested to be sent over with Deleau to work in Belgium for Canadian immigration (Aug. 27, 1907, c7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.).

De Coeli succeeded Bodard as Canadian Emigration Agent in Paris in 1898 and started by working in Belgium (Dec. 30, 1899, #102751, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.) (Appendix 2). Like Bodard, de Coeli corresponded with the Department and, like Bodard, he demonstrated enthusiasm for his work. In communication with James A. Smart, de Coeli stated: "Emigration propaganda in Belgium . . . is returning the best results. Already the number of Belgian emigrants at this time of year, is more than double that of last year, and serious enquiries continue coming into the office in large numbers." He continued that 70 Belgians and 50 Dutch had left on March 17 [1904] on the Allan Line; 42 Belgians and 20 Dutch via the C.P.R. Line, adding that every steamer had some Belgian and Dutch colonists and that he felt that this success would encourage others (March 31, 1904, #50953, c7864, V314, F304470, F1, P.A.M.). De Coeli also stated to Smart that there was a "serious lack between Belgians in Canada and those at home" and that consideration should be given to a small publication in Belgium which would

commence a liaison between those who had become successful colonists in Canada and those who were indecisive (March 31, 1904, #307595, c7864, V314, F304470, Pl, P.A.M.). De Coeli then suggested the publication of an eight page pamphlet written half in French and half in Flemish printing letters from satisfied Belgians, as a means of encouraging Western Canadian immigration from Belgium (May 27, 1904, #318933, c7864, V314, F304470, Pl, P.A.M.) (Appendix 4). De Coeli also denoted the type of propaganda which aggravated the Belgian Government such as a large poster produced the previous year by a Canadian Delegate which read: "WHY REMAIN SLAVES IN YOUR COUNTRY WHEN YOU CAN BE FREE AND INDEPENDENT?" (Oct. 28, 1904, #59943, c7864, V314, F304470, Pl, P.A.M.). Besides Homestead Regulations, de Coeli felt that the most effective part of any paper which advertized settlement in a foreign country was the correspondence of satisfied colonists (Jan. 4, 1905, #357014, c7864, V314, F304470, Pl, P.A.M.). This was precisely the same appraisal that Bodard had made a decade before (Appendix 4).

De Coeli's enthusiasm and dedication, like Bodard's, can be seen from a letter de Coeli wrote in his paper appealing to satisfied Belgian colonists to contribute to the publication: "When we see the thousands and thousands of strangers who constantly arrive from all the countries of Europe and even from the U.S. to take possession of this land which is so fertile, does it not seem to you that it is the duty of all of us to give some assistance in order that our Belgians may have their share of this great wealth" (N.D. #58043, c7864, V314, F304470, Pl, P.A.M.). De Coeli asserted that he received many letters as a result of this appeal (July 13, 1906, c7864, V314, F304470, Pl, P.A.M.). De Coeli's paper Canada West was well received by Le Pays Financier in which it was stated that interesting and

pertinent information could be found for potential immigrants to Canada, regarding the building of railways, the opening of new settlements, crop reports, immigration regulations, homestead regulations and letters from satisfied settlers. The review concluded: "This interesting paper is a real credit to Mr Treau de Coeli" (Translation of Le Pays Financier Economical and Colonial, Bruxelles, April 14, 1910, #A237007, c7864, V314, F304470, Pl, P.A.M.). Shortly after, de Coeli confirmed that due to the extra propaganda in Belgium "magnificent" results were being obtained that winter in Belgium. He suggested that this should be followed with the "exhibition of our products at Liege [which] would be a revelation to Belgium and would entirely do away with the hesitation which still keeps back a great many" (April 19, 1904, c10235, V231, F310232) (Appendix 2). Smart then corresponded with the Hon. Sidney Fisher and with the Hon. Clifford Sifton reiterating de Coeli's thoughts regarding Canada's being represented at the Liege Exhibition and also suggesting that de Coeli be Canada's permanent representative at the exhibition. Smart added that de Coeli had been doing

very effective work in Belgium and would appear to be on very friendly terms with the Government of that country as evidenced by the concessions that have been made by the latter in favour of Canada in the matter of our emigration propaganda . . . [for example] . . . the exemption of duty on literature coming from Canada, the reduction of 50% on railway fares for emigrants . . . [and] the distribution . . . of some of our immigration printed matter (April 29, 1904; Dec. 20, 1904; #352531, c10235, V231, F310232, P.A.M.).

The High Commissioner's Office in London informed the Hon. Frank Oliver that the Canadian Exhibit was the focal point at the exhibition at Liege and that it was constantly surrounded by visitors; that there was much demand for literature and that visitors came from Germany, Holland,

France and Flemish and Walloon Belgium, thus representing five languages (Appendix 2). It was further suggested that a new pamphlet entitled Canada in a Nutshell be issued to fill the demand for literature (July 1, 1906, #406265, c10235, V231, F310232, P.A.M.).

Another diligent Agent was Auguste Van Den Broeck. E. B. Williams, the Special Commissioner at the Canadian Emigration Office at Antwerp wrote to the Hon. Frank Oliver saying: "I have pleasure in introducing Mr. Van Den Broeck who has been one of the best workers that I have had anything to do with in connection with the last campaign. . . . He never stopped night or day and is a leader of a very large number of Belgians and Hollanders." He then recommended Van Den Broeck as Agent in Belgium, stating that a great number of people, including the Belgian Consul had signed a petition to that effect (Nov. 20, 1908, c10633, V548, F805748, P.A.M.). An example of Van Den Broeck's dedication can be seen in a letter from W. D. Scott to J. Obed Smith. Scott stated that Van Den Broeck wished to travel second-class on the Atlantic crossing in order to be with his party of emigrants even though he was entitled to a first-class passage by the Department (Dec. 16, 1908, #813564, c10633, V548, F805748, P.A.M.). Lists of numbers were again very general. One missive listed a "party of 72" immigrants, for example, brought over by Van Den Broeck in 1909. No mention was made of nationality, and it cannot be assumed that they were French-speaking for Van Den Broeck spoke of correspondence with "Frenchmen, Hollanders and Belgians." Other communications referred to the number of immigrants by family. For example, 71 families were destined for Edmonton, 20 families for Lethbridge, one family for Montreal and three families for Portage La Prairie and Fernie. Of this total of 95 families only

13 were actually noted to be Belgian (April 7, 1909; Dec. 1908; Jan. 1909, #02821; N.D. #10633; N.D. A210004; c10633, V548, F805748, P.A.M.). (Appendix 5).

When de Coeli died in 1914, J. Henry Stanford was appointed to the Antwerp office. However, at the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 the "office was destroyed" and there was no longer an agency at Antwerp. This situation lasted for the duration. Stanford joined up and the Department continued his salary "as provided for all officers going on active service" (Aug. 21, 1914, #374538; Feb. 15, 1915, #88758; May 14, 1915, #8018; c10686, V688, F59953, P.A.M.).

In summary, the function of the Bureau of Agriculture in 1852 was initially dedicated to increase traffic for the transportation system. As the arrival of immigrants would increase transportation, the settlement of Western Canada was an implicit part of Confederation. Agricultural settlement on the Prairies was a significant step taken by the Federal Government. However, competition from other countries such as Brazil and Chile between 1870 and 1890 demonstrated that the implementation of the Federal Government Policy to attract Western European immigrants to Western Canadian farms was weak between 1870 and 1890.

Agents such as Auguste Bodard and D. Treau de Coeli made considerable contributions in time and energy to Western Canadian immigration between 1890 and 1914 which produced a significant increase in Belgium immigration to Manitoba during that period. Some 'Return Men' such as Sebastian Deleau, Edmond Colleaux and Edmond Fasseaux were also useful subscribers to the work of the Canadian Agents in France and Belgium. The Belgians were not treated separately before 1901, thus it was not possible to substantiate the very general figures quoted by Bodard and de Coeli. Nevertheless, Statistics Canada indicated that Belgian

immigration, though small, increased between 1901 to 1914 (Appendix 5). The constraints imposed by the Department of Immigration Policy between 1890 and 1914 may have been detrimental to the work of Immigration Agents in France and Belgium during that time. It is possible too, that these economic considerations had some impact on emigration from those countries to Western Canada throughout that period.

3. Hypothesis III (1914-30)

This suggests that the Canadian Government initially resisted the recruitment of Belgian immigrants between 1914 and 1918 and did not change this policy between 1918 and 1922; that conditions in Belgium during this period also worked against Belgian immigration; and that circumstances did change significantly between 1922 and 1930.

It is evident that in 1914, when World War I was imminent, there was a reluctance on the part of the Belgian Government to allow Belgians to emigrate. Sidney W. Pugh wrote to J. Obed Smith saying: "There were very few callers at the office [of the Canadian Immigration Agent, Treau de Coeli] and the correspondence was very small indeed." Pugh indicated that the Canadian Government propaganda and resources were not being utilized to the full and that de Coeli should be replaced by a younger man. Having said this, Pugh then stated that his opinion "must be viewed in the strong and certain light that the Government of Belgium while not distinctly averse to emigration is by no means in favour of it" (N.D. #B05568, c4759, V94, F10159, P1, P.A.M.). Immediately after the declaration of war Smith indicated to Col. Pelletier that there had been enquiries from many families regarding emigration from Belgium and France to Canada; that he could not predict the policy of those Governments regarding emigration in the post-war years. He continued that the

British Government,

in answer to enquiries from the Belgian Government had offered the victims of war the hospitality of the British nation. . . . The War Refugees Committee dealing with those from Belgium principally, had already dealt with 3000 refugees and others were passing through at the rate of three or four hundred a day, while the British Government had given warning . . . that within the next ten days the Committee might expect sixty thousand more. (Sept. 15, 1914, #B42312, c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.).

The Canadian Government resisted the temptation to capitalize on the situation regarding refugees fleeing from war-torn Belgium for several unrelated reasons. W. D. Scott confirmed to W. W. Cory that it would be "suicidal" on the part of the Canadian Government to encourage emigration from Belgium to Canada because of the current high unemployment in Canada. He added that neither the French nor Belgium Governments would consider Canada's motives patriotic should she encourage the departure of their able-bodied men; that they would be needed in post-war reconstruction of France and Belgium. Scott felt it was important to differentiate between immigrants and refugees:

This letter does not refer to immigrants but to refugees. The British Government have offered the hospitality of the British Nation to refugees from Belgium and France . . . there are perhaps 100,000 more now in England and it was thought that perhaps the Quebec Government might be able to help the British Government in taking care of them. (Oct. 3, 1914, #53650, c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.).

Scott repeated this to Theo Hamel in Quebec, emphasizing that these Belgians should be regarded as refugees, not as immigrants (Oct. 7, 1914, #888115, c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.). Even so, Scott stated that only employable refugees such as "those skilled in agriculture, and who would be self-supporting" should be considered. The provinces selected for this project were "Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia" (Oct. 16, 1914, #56570, c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.).

Smith emphasized that Canada must refrain from embarrassing the British Government regarding the hospitality that had been offered by them to Belgian refugees. He stated that any attempt to "emigrate Belgians to Canada . . . would . . . mean a permanent loss to Belgium [and thus it might appear] that the Government of Great Britain in offering hospitality and refuge had taken advantage of the situation to people the Overseas Dominions of the British Empire." Smith felt that it was essential that Canada should not "even remotely raise such a sentiment" (Sept. 23, 1914, #B43948, c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.). Scott then wrote to W. F. Cockshut, stating that "everybody in Canada, from patriotic motives would like to do something for the Belgians" and that there would be "no objection" to anyone who might "become a permanent asset to this country" emigrating to Canada (Nov. 6, 1914, #62383, c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.). Smith confirmed to Scott that the United States was encouraging Belgian refugees to settle on the farm lands of Minnesota. Smith added "it is not a question of helping the refugees but rather of taking advantage of the present distress in Belgium to get agriculturalists." Smith felt that this might be justifiable for a neutral country such as the U.S.A. but for Canada, as an ally, "it would not be proper" (Sept. 23, 1914, #B43958, c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.).

The Manitoba Free Press was in favour of Canada taking advantage of the situation saying that the Belgians were "excellent farmers, splendid mechanics, thrifty, industrious citizens and will be a big factor in the development of the country they settle" (The Manitoba Free Press, Oct. 29, 1914, c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.). Many other publications favoured capitalizing on Belgian refugees and endeavoring to persuade them to emigrate from Belgium to Canada

as the Belgians had a reputation as excellent farmers and good colonists (Le Devoir, Montreal, Quebec, Oct. 2, 1914; LaTelligencer, Belleville, Ontario, Sept. 30, 1914; The Standard, Kingston, Ontario, Oct. 22, 1914; The Spectator, Hamilton, Ontario, Oct. 22, 1914; The Gazette, Montreal, Quebec, Oct. 22, 1914; c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.). Added to this, many private citizens both from Belgium and Canada wrote to the Department of Immigration suggesting schemes whereby Belgian refugees could be accommodated in Canada. For example, one from Andrew McKinley in Paris to J. Murray Clarke, stating that The Princess Ghika of Belgium and her friends would be happy to help find homes for refugees in Canada (Oct. 15, 1914, #57566, c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.). Another from A. R. Davidson of Winnipeg to the Hon. Robert Rogers stating that \$1 million had been raised in Minnesota in order to settle 1000 Belgian refugee families and that surely Canada could do the same (Oct. 26, 1914, #56564, c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.).

Scott's response to W. W. Cory was negative. He stated that it would be improper to encourage able-bodied men to leave Belgium without the consent of the Belgian Government; that the only refugees needing immediate attention were "women with children and aged men, who are destitute financially and are not such classes as could be made use of or settled upon the land. . . ." (Nov. 13, 1914, #65583, c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.). Scott communicated with Arthur S. Barnstead stating that Belgian immigration was not to be encouraged except for domestics as the labour market was overcrowded at the present time (Nov. 17, 1914, #88118, c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.). Thus the Department firmly refused to encourage immigration and many letters within the Department attested to this. Scott's comprehensive letter further

confirmed the Belgian Government's opposition to Belgian emigration:

The Government of Belgium has . . . called upon all able-bodied men to join the colours, and of course in the face of this we cannot offer the slightest inducements to Belgian men. The only class we could get would be older men, women and children . . . unless we can, with the approval . . . of Belgium secure a class of people likely to become a permanent asset to this country we would be better to continue sending our supplies to the Belgians in need instead of incurring the cost of [their] transportation to Canada. . . . It is felt by the Department at the present time and until the war situation is further developed, it would be better not to take any steps towards encouraging this movement.

The same instructions were sent to J. Bruce Walker in Winnipeg (Nov. 17, 1914; Nov. 17, 1914; c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.). J. Obed Smith in London supported the action taken by the Department as can be seen from his letters to P. R. Bryce. Smith concluded: "We could in no sense propagandize amongst these people when the British Government, the Belgian Committee and the Belgian Ambassador are opposed to any such action being taken" (Nov. 23, 1914, c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.). Smith then elaborated to Scott on the further restrictions of the Belgian Government. He confirmed that the Belgian Minister had stated that "owing to the already serious depopulation of Belgium, caused by the war, it is not the wish of the Belgian Government that refugees of either sex should emigrate to Canada, or any distant part, when their return at the end of the war would be doubtful." Smith concluded that this would preclude any plans that the Canadian Government might have envisaged regarding the hiring of domestic servants among the refugee population of Belgium. (Dec. 17, 1914, c4759, V94, F10159, Pl, P.A.M.). Scott then communicated this to Minelles Dechêne, the Minister of Lands and Forests in Quebec, to H. A. MacDonell, the Director of Colonization, to W. W. Cory, Minister of the Department of Immigration and to Charles E. Kaiser of the Canadian Government Employment Agency.

"In accordance with the wish of the Belgian Authorities the Government of Canada is not encouraging by assistance or otherwise the emigration of persons from among the Belgian refugees. Moreover, the Government of Belgium is anxious to get the whole of the Belgian population back to their native country at the end of the war" (Jan. 8, 1915, #888115, c4759, V94, F10159, P1, P.A.M.).

Much correspondence ensued all through the war years regarding Belgian refugees. Canadians from Halifax to Vancouver, expressed a desire to assist. These include the wish to help homeless Belgian children; an offer for boys to work on Canadian farms; for Belgian refugees to work on the beet fields of Ontario; for Belgian girls to work as domestics; to help establish farmers and to take in soldiers deemed unfit for battle. To all these and more Scott replied in the negative (Jan. 18, 1915; April 10, 1915; June 8, 1915; June 14, 1915; June 2, 1915; Feb. 18, 1918; c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.). Many Belgians also wrote applying for immigrant status as agriculturalists after the cessation of hostilities. To this latter group Scott's response was in the affirmative (Jan. 11, 1916, c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.). By the end of October 1917, the Belgian Government still refused to allow farmers to emigrate. G. de Ramaix, Councillor for the Minister of the Belgian Legation to Canada, wrote to the Secretary of State, the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour saying:

Under the present circumstances the Government of the King [of Belgium] estimates that it ought to continue in opposition to the emigration of our agricultural population of which it will have such need at the moment of liberation. . . . [Thus] I have been charged . . . [that] the Britannic Government . . . will abstain from favouring . . . the emigration of our agriculturalists. (Oct. 13, 1917, #9079, c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.).

Many letters between 1918 and 1922 attest to the unwillingness

of the Department to oppose the Belgian Government Policy on emigration at the cessation of hostilities in 1918. Smith even refused to send emigration literature to interested Belgian families. (N.D. B541146, c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.). By May of 1919 Smith again wrote to Scott stating that the Belgian Government was intending to restrict passports for specific employments, but that to the present date all enquiries had received passports (May 12, 1919, #B567350, c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.). In the same month of 1919, E. Follet, the Belgian Consul General enquired of Smith the reason why some Belgians in possession of passports were being refused immigration status to Canada if they departed via England (May 20, 1919, c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.). Smith responded that those possessing Belgian passports were entitled to leave Belgium but that this did not necessarily entitle them to enter Canada. He explained that Canada was not seeking immigrants at this time and therefore those for whom Canada had no occupation were likely to be denied admission (N.D. c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.)

In 1919 the Canadian Immigration Policy was one which did not seek immigrants. F. C. Blair then outlined Canada's Immigration Policy for 1919 to F. Gobert:

During the period of reconstruction only agriculturalists with sufficient capital to enable them to commence farming operations on their own account and farmers going to relatives or friends with whom they are guaranteed employment are advised to come to Canada . . . immigration of persons who would be factors on the labour market is not desired. Persons who were domiciled in Canada and left this country to join the Belgian forces will be readmitted and no particular formalities are necessary" (July 15, 1919, #37523, c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.).

Blair then stated in a memorandum in 1919 that the Agent General for Quebec, resident in Paris, had suggested the appointment of an Immigration Agent in Belgium. Blair dismissed the proposition because "the

Belgian Government is not likely to favour such an appointment" (July 25, 1919, #30748, c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.). In response to enquiries from Dr. R. S. Thornton to the Hon. James Calder, regarding immigration of Belgians, Blair again wrote qualifying Canada's position. He stated that Canada was not encouraging immigration because the Belgian authorities did not want to lose their population and Canada was not in a position to receive large numbers of immigrants unless they were agriculturalists with capital who could farm independently. He added that Landing Letters issued from the London office were distributed to facilitate the emigration of agriculturalists and domestics only (July 24, 1919; N.D. #40855; c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.).

In 1919 Blair sent a memorandum to Calder which demonstrated that Canada's interest in Belgium regarding immigration dated back more than twenty years to the time of the appointment of D. Treau de Coeli in July 1898 at Antwerp; that the war years had closed the Canadian Agency; that there had been "considerable agitation" in Canada regarding aid to Belgian refugees; that presently Canada had no agent in Antwerp; that the Belgian authorities, in view of their great losses, had looked upon emigration with disfavour; that while currently the Belgian Government's attitude had not changed there appeared to be some emigration from Belgium to Canada. Blair felt that the current movement of Belgians towards Canada was related to the number of Belgians already settled in Canada who wanted to bring friends and relatives over. Also, Canada had been "widely advertized" by soldiers, some of whom had married Belgians (Feb. 3, 1920, #78714, c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.).

In 1920, H. M. Mitten was recommended for the appointment of Government Agent at Antwerp (March 11, 1920, #59602, c4759, V94,

F10159, P2, P.A.M.). In the same year, J. Obed Smith confirmed that the attitude of the Belgian authorities had softened in that they did not seem averse to the emigration of farm workers and domestics. He concluded that the Department while not actually seeking immigration had not discouraged it in the above-mentioned classes (April 7, 1920, #902168, c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.). The Consulat Général de Belgique au Canada then requested immigration literature from W.D. Scott, but none was available for distribution. Scott, nevertheless, promised the material as soon as possible (June 1, 1920, #B694270; June 15, 1920, #40516; c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.). The attitude of the Belgian authorities remained protective, however, for it was stated that no Belgian passports would be issued unless an affidavit could be produced by the emigré confirming the name of his employer in Canada. This was to ensure his employment on arrival (June 1, 1920, c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.).

In 1922 the Department confirmed to M. Goor in Ottawa that an office had been opened in Antwerp in 1920, with a view to assisting prospective Belgian emigrants to comply with the Canadian regulations (June 13, 1922, #62659, c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.). In the same year a memo was sent to the Hon. M. Stewart suggesting that the Department open offices at Prague, Warsaw, Hamberg, Bucharest, Budapest, Vienna, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Paris, Christiana (Norway), Stockholm, and Copenhagen. The memo suggested that all passports of prospective immigrants to Canada "should bear a notation by our offices that the immigrant holding same complies with the immigration regulations and will be admitted to Canada provided on arrival he is found to be physically, mentally and morally fit" (March 27, 1922, #101427, c7334,

V179, F62659, P4, P.A.M.).

In response to a notice in the Toronto Times which stated that Canada was presently only seeking immigrants from Great Britain, United States, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries, F. C. Blair wrote to W. L. Griffith refuting this. He confirmed that Canada had a high regard for Belgian settlers. He stated that Canada welcomed settlers from the Mother Country, United States, Belgium, France, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland and Switzerland. He considered that it had been a "difficult and delicate matter to open an office at Antwerp [but that] cordial support and hearty recognition" had been received by the Department from the Belgian authorities. He continued that due to population losses suffered by Belgium between 1914 and 1918, the Department had thought it would be "unfair to encourage the migration of her people to Canada unless that course would be favoured by the Belgian Government." He concluded that any surplus Belgians would be welcome in Canada (May 17, 1922, #62755, c7334, V179, F62659, P4, P.A.M.).

The same month the Governor General, at the request of the Acting Minister of Colonisation announced the following regulations regarding immigration to Canada. It was stated that the Department would admit agriculturalists with sufficient means to farm independently upon arrival in Canada; farm labourers; female domestic servants; the wives and families of legally admitted and financially independent immigrants; the nationals of any country with which Canada had a special agreement regarding immigration; any British subject who was financially independent until he could obtain employment and any American who could prove that his occupation could be useful in Canada (May 9, 1922, c7334, V179, F62659, P4, P.A.M.). Blair then wrote to Goor explaining the reason for the opening of a

Canadian Immigration Agency in Belgium. He confirmed that the Agency was opened to protect intending emigrants by keeping them informed of the Canadian Immigration Regulations. The Agency also served to protect Canada against receiving immigrants who might not meet Canada's Immigration requirements. As well, by servicing emigrants efficiently, ports of sailing were less congested (June 13, 1922, #32905, c7334, V179, F62659, P4, P.A.M.). Blair then wrote to Mitten stating that the Department had been in communication with the Consuls General of France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Italy Roumania and Poland, stating the above reasons for the opening of agencies in their countries (June 15, 1922, #62735, c7334, V179, F62659, P4, P.A.M.). In July of the same year, Mitten wrote to A. E. Rawlinson demonstrating Canada's general immigration activity in Europe during the post World War I years: "I think that you and I have shipped more continentals to Canada than any other two men during the last 18 months" (Aug. 3, 1922, #B07833, c7334, V179, F62659, P4, P.A.M.).

By 1925, E. B. Williams, at the Canadian Immigration Office at Antwerp, confirmed to Blair that: "Governments will not grant passports unless assurance of farmwork is guaranteed in Canada to their nationals and as most of these have no relatives . . . in Canada it will be necessary for me to have a letter from the Department stating that Mr Gelley, Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg, will furnish the men with situations on farms. . . ." He concluded that he was confident that Canada could obtain all the farm labourers she required from "the Scandinavian countries, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Germany, Poland and the Baltic Provinces" and that these immigrants would be in a position to finance their own

transportation. (Oct. 9, 1925, #902168, c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.). In 1926 Thomas Gelley suggested to A. L. Jolliffe that Belgian colonists be excused the deposit generally required by immigrants at the port of entry. The reason he submitted was that "Belgians, generally, are able to look after themselves. They will never accept advice and are very suspicious." He noted too that they "belong to the preferred countries" (Dec. 22, 1926, #269380, c4759, V94, F10159, P2, P.A.M.).

In summary, just prior to the outbreak of World War I the Belgian Government, while not opposed, was not in favour of the emigration of its people to Canada. The British Government offered hospitality to many thousand Belgian refugees during the war years. The Canadian Government refused to accept Belgian refugees for several reasons. It was decided not to risk increasing the current high unemployment figures in Canada. Further, France and Belgium might consider Canada's motives unpatriotic if she encouraged the emigration of their able-bodied men at a time when every man was being called for military service. Also, it was felt, that should Canada offer sanctuary to Belgian refugees it might appear that Britain was endeavoring to populate her overseas Dominions through Belgium's misfortune. Canada considered that it was important to distinguish between immigrants and refugees. Thus Canada was prepared to accept only those who would become 'permanent assets to the country', such as agriculturalists or domestic servants. The Belgian Government did not wish her refugees to 'emigrate to Canada or any distant part' in the event that at the war's end they might never return. By 1917, the Belgian Government still refused to allow agriculturalists to emigrate to Canada. Between 1918 and 1922 the Canadian Government was still unwilling to oppose the wishes of the Belgian

Government which continued to strongly resist emigration from Belgium to Canada. Canada's policy by 1919 was to accept agriculturalists of independent means only and an Agency was established in 1920. At this time the attitude of the Belgian authorities softened in that farm labourers and domestics were allowed to emigrate; thus, the Department, while not actually seeking immigration, did not reject the above classes. The Department regulations stated that financially independent Belgian agriculturalists, Belgian farm labourers and female domestics, as well as the wives and families of the above categories would be desirable immigrants to Canada. British Nationals and Americans with suitable occupations would also be favoured.

Essentially, the Canadian Government intentionally resisted the recruitment of Belgian immigrants between 1914 and 1918. This policy did not change between 1918 and 1922 and conditions in Belgium between those years worked against emigration from that country. However, circumstances did change between 1922 and 1930 in that many agencies were opened across Europe by Canada. A distinct immigration policy regarding Belgium was developed by Canada. This encouraged immigration in specific fields. Agriculturalists of independent means, farm labourers and female domestics were the favoured categories. All of the above were permitted to migrate with their immediate dependents. (See Appendix 5 for Statistics Canada figures on Belgian Immigration between 1900 and 1930).

CHAPTER 4

BELGIAN SETTLEMENT IN MANITOBA

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss certain aspects of Belgian settlement in south western Manitoba, in particular their choice of the south western region as their destination, residential propinquity in Lorne Municipality by early Belgian colonists and their interests in agriculture. This inquiry is divided into three hypotheses. The first (hypothesis IV) suggests the reason that the Belgians selected the south western region of Manitoba for settlement. The second (hypothesis V) submits that the Belgians established residential propinquity in Lorne Municipality. Hypothesis VI is sub-divided into four parts which are interrelated in that they all deal with aspects of agriculture. Hypothesis VIa comments on dairying and market gardening in conjunction with Belgian agriculturalists; VIb discusses mixed farming in Bruxelles and Swan Lake by Belgian farmers and their apparent lack of interest in grain growing in the early days of settlement; VIc is concerned with the sugar beet industry in Manitoba and its relationship to Belgian farmers; VId comments on the peculiarities of Flemish farming in Manitoba.

1. The Background to Belgian Settlement in South Western Manitoba:
Hypothesis IV, 1889-1929

Hypothesis IV suggests that the Belgians selected Lorne Municipality in the south western area of Manitoba as their destination because they felt it was especially good for mixed farming. In discussing the Belgians' choice of destination in Manitoba in the early years of settlement it is important to understand the sparsity of the population in

that province in those early years and to appreciate the influence wielded by the Roman Catholic Church in the settlement of Catholic peoples at that time.

In 1870, in Manitoba, the population numbered 11,963 people. These were scattered throughout Red River, the Catholics outnumbering the Protestants by a small margin: 6,247 to 5,716 (Morton, 1957, 145). The settlement defined precisely was: 558 Indian, 5,757 Métis, 4,083 English and Scots half breeds and 1,565 Whites (Morton, 1957, 145). By 1881, with the influx of immigrants and the extension of the new provincial boundaries, the numbers grew to 65,954 (Morton, 1957, 77). At this stage there were no Belgians in the Province of Manitoba.

The influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the settlement of Western Canada has already been emphasized (Archbishop's Palace File #B(G)0028; #B(G)0031). The power that was wielded by Archbishop Alexandre Antonin Taché, of St Boniface, the senior Roman Catholic prelate in Western Canada and the foremost authority on Catholic settlement in the West from 1870-1894 has also been stressed (Painchaud, 1975c, 110). Morton (1937, 104) confirmed: "that Bishop Taché and his clergy nourished a 'little Quebec' policy is certain." Tetrault (1975, 8), himself a member of the Oblate Order confirmed that the raison d'être for the Catholic Church was indeed the building of a Catholic Empire: "St. Albert owes its existence to the vision and apostolic zeal of two outstanding Canadian personalities: empire builders they should be called. The first is the Right Reverend Alexandre Taché, O.M.I., Bishop of St Boniface, whose organizational genius and boundless activity exerted a most beneficial influence from the Great Lakes to the Rockies. The second is Father Lacombe, O.M.I.,

a famous pioneer missionay. . . ." That Catholic priests used their influence to advance Catholic settlement has also been stated (Painchaud, 1976, 160). The clergy's preference for French-speaking peoples has been noted (Silver, 1966, 20), and Taché's plea to Quebec for French settlers affirmed (Benoit II, 1904, 196). The Catholic clergy were in constant fear of being overwhelmed by "la vague d'immigration de nationalités étrangères au pays" (the wave of foreign immigration into the country) (quoted in Painchaud, 1975b, 28). It was Langevin who remarked that "immigration must be encouraged more than ever, especially French immigration. . . . All Catholics are welcome but the French doubly so" (quoted in Painchaud, n.d., 5).

It has been stated that in 1870 Taché was determined to keep the West isolated because he did not want an influx of English to the Western Interior (Silver, 1966, 84; Taché, 1901, 10; Dorge, 1969-70, 95). It was hoped by the clergy that the Métis would merge with the French colonists who came to Western Canada after the annexation of the West. Thus Taché ensured that the "rights of Assiniboia were embodied in a bill. . . . A guarantee of land titles and a local grant of 1,400,000 acres . . . [was] . . . allotted in reserves to the unmarried children of half-breed families" (Morton, 1957, 141). However, Taché noted that the Métis were not inclined to give up their nomadic life to settle for agriculture (Painchaud, 1975c, 110). It was only a matter of time before the Métis moved to Saskatchewan having lost or sold their rights to property to speculators (Painchaud, 1975a, 2). The remainder farmed the core locations of St. Francois Xavier, St. Norbert and St. Anne (Painchaud, 1975a, 4) (map 1). The French settlement pattern was that, in general, they were drawn to these three Métis settlements: "les

Canadiens-français s'étaient groupés autour des réserves de la Société de Colonisation et des vieux centres métis près de Ste Anne et de St Norbert" (The French Canadians grouped themselves around the reserves of the Colonization Society and the old Métis centres near St. Anne and St. Norbert) (Painchaud, 1969, 127). In addition, reserves identical to those granted to the Mennonites in 1874 were established for French Canadians after 1876 (Painchaud, 1975a, 4). About 1878, they turned to the region of Pembina Mountain, St. Leon and Somerset being the first in the chain. Dom Paul Benoit added to these and also founded Notre Dame de Lourdes and St. Charles (map 1). This established a strong foothold in that area for Europeans, in particular for the Swiss-French. Almost all the European French-speaking peoples settled in Manitoba, the exceptions being those who responded to Bishop Pascal's call for settlers in Saskatchewan. The European French did not necessarily ally themselves to French Canadians because they were not especially interested nor militant in the Canadiens' cause for 'la survivance' (Painchaud, 1975a, 4). Both Church and State wanted agriculturalists (Painchaud, 1976, 18; Sifton, 1922, 16; 34). Taché wanted farmers with means who might be persuaded to buy land that the Métis had relinquished to speculators. Father Lacombe suggested that it would be "une belle occasion de faire tomber entre les mains de nos terres de nos Métis qui s'éloignent" (a great opportunity for our people to take up the lands of our departed Métis) (quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 27). The clergy's efforts were sometimes hampered, however, because many settlers wanted homestead land instead of improved lots which were costly. Good land increased in value ten times between 1873 and 1882 (Painchaud, 1976, 85). That the Catholic Church owned much valuable land is attested to by Trow (1875) who asserted, nevertheless, that the river lots sold rapidly. "Late at night we arrived

at St. Boniface, the residence of Bishop Taché, adjoining which the Catholic cathedral towers above all others. The site is beautiful. On the east side of the Red River, at the confluence with the Assiniboine, the [Catholic] mission holds possession of several thousand acres of the best agricultural land in the Province. The lots adjoining the river sell rapidly for \$1000 per acre" (Trow, 1875, 35). Painchaud (1976, 20) asserted that in 1874, when La Société de Colonization was formed in St. Boniface and Taché was made the honorary president, Senator Girard asked him which lands he preferred in Manitoba and Taché's request for the region east of the Red River was denied because of its extreme value and consequent high demand (Painchaud, 1976, 20). The Department of Agriculture suggested that colonists should have enough capital for the basics of life; provisions, tools and furnishings for one year, totaling about \$560 (Spence, 1876, 27). This was a sizeable sum one hundred years ago. It was clear that the Catholic Church desired that the French-speaking peoples should settle separately from other people. This can be seen in a letter from Bishop Legal to Dom Paul Benoit:

"Malheureusement nos catholiques ne sont pas assez hâtés de s'emparer des terres et bon nombres de protestants se sont placés au milieu d'eux; mais on peut espérer que, dans la suite, plusieurs de ces protestants se sont mal à l'aise au milieu de catholiques cederont leurs terres, et seront remplacés par des catholiques" (Unfortunately our Catholics have not been quick enough to settle the land and a good number of Protestants are living among them; but it is to be hoped that eventually many Protestants will be ill at ease among the Catholics and will give up their homesteads, and they will be replaced by Catholics) (quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 330). Thus Archbishop Taché, his successor Archbishop Langevin,

Bishop Grandin of St. Albert and his successor Mgr Legal, and, from 1890-1921, Bishop Pascal of Prince Albert, all assisted the "natural tendency of French-speaking [peoples] to settle together through active colonization efforts" (Painchaud, 1976, 28). Taché had aspired to establishing the new colonists around the old Métis settlements of the Red River Colony which he felt would strengthen a particular area by forming 'blocks' of French. Langevin, on the other hand, favoured 'chain' settlements such as Grand Clarière, Forget, Gravelbourg, Ponteix and Dollard which formed connecting links from one region to another (map 2). However, the French did not settle in 'blocks' like the Mennonites, nor did they settle independently like the English. They settled in units based on the social cohesion of the parish. The Alberta Bishops Grandin, Legal and Pascal favoured 'chain' settlement because this would connect the West to Manitoba which had had the advantage of a previously established community at Red River.

Clerical disapproval could mar the chances of successful settlement. For example, a group which was financially sponsored by Comtesse d'Albuféra for the establishment of Fannystelle received little support from the Western clergy. This settlement was organized through La Société d'Immigration Française and La Société St. Raphael of Belgium with the aid of Senator T. A. Bernier of Manitoba, Belgian journalist Louis Hacault and French publicist Claudio Janet. Hacault moved to Manitoba himself and Bernier spent five years planning. "Bernier's own notes on the beginnings of Fannystelle . . . [stated] . . . that the colony's leaders received very little sympathy from the outset, 'pas même celle de Mgr Taché et de son clergé'" (not even that of Mgr Taché and his clergy) (quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 309). However, Bernier and

Hacault did much for the French-speaking European settlement in the Canadian West. They worked with institutions such as La Société d'Immigration Française and La Société St. Raphael of Belgium. Even though these were non-clerical movements those involved endeavored to co-operate "with the local clergy in the West who helped incoming immigrants select lands in existing or newly created parishes. At the same time this network depended on priests and other sympathizers in France and Belgium to refer prospective settlers to them" (Painchaud, 1976, 305).

By contrast, Auguste Bodard, secretary of La Société d'Immigration Française, was one who received the support of Taché because he wanted French-speaking Catholics to increase in number so that they might influence the elections: "'Si nous voulons . . . avoir d'influence en temps d'élection, il faut avoir des groupes de nos nationaux un peu partout' [if we want to have influence at the time of the elections we must have groups of our nationality everywhere] . . . with sentiments like those it is not surprising that Bodard enjoyed the full support of the clergy" (quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 315). As secretary of La Société d'Immigration Française, and on good terms with Taché, Bodard informed the Western clergy that he planned to advertize a publication on the opportunities for agriculture in the Canadian West in specific areas of Switzerland, France and Belgium. His letter to Taché explained that, due to their paucity of numbers, the society was giving special consideration to the problems of the French-speaking peoples of the West. Bodard hoped that they would be successful in making "du Manitoba comme de la Province de Québec un grand pays de langue française, ce qui est la but de la Société" (Manitoba like Quebec, a large French language country, which is the aim of the Society) (quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 311-12). Bodard felt that it was important to have a brochure for the

purpose of advertising because the C.P.R. had recently discontinued publication of Le Colonisateur Canadien. Twelve months later Bodard's excellent rapport with L. O. Armstrong, the C.P.R. colonizing agent, resulted in the railway company underwriting the cost of publishing 50,000 copies of one of Bodard's bulletins regarding settlement conditions in the new areas of south western Manitoba which the abbés Gaire and Royer were promoting. Thus Bodard distributed propaganda brochures on Western Canada "among the agricultural class in France, Belgium and Switzerland. Leaflets went out under the signature of clergymen who were members of the Société and who put prospective settlers in touch with Bodard. Whenever possible, Bodard himself travelled to Europe and returned to Canada with a contingent of families bound for the West" (Painchaud, 1976, 312-13). Occasionally special brochures were distributed to those of wealth informing them of investment possibilities in Western Canada. It has already been stated that Bodard, as the Society's secretary from 1887-1894, published many articles on colonization in various journals (Painchaud, 1976, 313). Bodard was not directly involved in settlement per se; the colonists that Bodard conveyed to the West were greeted as settlers by other clergy such as the abbés Telesphore Campeau, Gabriel Cloutier and J. M. Jolys. Bodard's most significant service, however, was to put European groups in touch with the Western Church leader; French-speaking priests who were interested in founding parishes in Western Canada were introduced to Taché. It was Benoit, for example, who informed Taché that the Chanoines Réguliers de l'Immaculée Conception were willing to colonize. Benoit proposed, on the authority of the Bishop of Annecy, to establish in Canada, a parish of the Savoisiens, to construct for 400 Belgian

families near Labroqu rie, Manitoba, and to transport French colonists to the area of St. Leon. Bodard stated that he had been responsible for between 450 and 500 immigrants yearly (Painchaud, 1976, 313-14).

Manitoba's first Belgian colonists began to arrive in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Some individual Belgians migrated to Manitoba in the year 1888 (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 13). It was in June of that year that Charles Louis Menu, his wife, son and brother arrived settling in Ile-des-Ch nes and St. Pierre respectively, and later moving to St. Boniface (Le Club Belge, n.d., 5) (map 1). The following year, several more Belgians reached that province and settled in the Ile-des-Ch nes/St. Boniface/St. Vital region (Le Club Belge, n.d., 5-7) (map 1). It was in 1889 that the first large contingent of 200 came, in part through the labours of Father Cloutier who worked as a colonizing agent for the Archbishop of St. Boniface. Of these, numerous Belgians settled in rural areas where French-speaking peoples were already established (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 13). "The Dominion Intelligence Officer in Winnipeg . . . noted in particular that southern Manitoba was especially suited to mixed farming to which Belgian farmers were well accustomed" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 13).

It was during the last two decades of the nineteenth century in the course of Bodard's tenure as secretary of the Society, when he was circulating information through his brochures on Western Canadian settlement, that the south western region of Manitoba was opening up under the supervision of the abb s Gaire and Royer. It is evident that Bodard's bulletins met with some success because many of the early Belgian settlers came to that region. Father Willems of Roulers, Western Flanders, for example, who had been cur  of Bruxelles, Manitoba, for almost two years,

was requested by the Minister of the Interior to amass a number of letters from satisfied Belgian colonists and to return to Belgium with them to publicize the opportunities for settlement in Manitoba. This request was then authorized by Taché. Thus Father Willems wrote:

Mr. Minister: I am well aware of the honour that you have bestowed on me: to make my activities known and to encourage emigration toward fertile Manitoba. On the eve of my departure to my native land, in order to let people know of the riches of this region and to bring back, I hope, many colonists, I have managed to fulfill your request to amass a number of letters from the colonists themselves which attest to the success of their settlement and their respective ideas on their new country. . . . This has been authorized by His Eminence, the Lord Bishop Taché, the illustrious Archbishop of St. Boniface, the great colonizer, and unequivocally the Grand Old Man of the North West. (Translation: Les Belges au Manitoba, 1894, 4-5)

From the above excerpt it is evident that the Government as well as the Church were interested in stimulating Belgian settlement in Western Canada and in particular in Manitoba. Willems collected thirty letters from the newly settled colonists who offered their reactions to locating in Manitoba to prospective Belgian emigrants. Willems' letter further ascertained that many Belgians were coming to Manitoba and were being placed in flourishing new colonies. He cited Bruxelles, Saint Alphonse, DeLorraine, Grand Clarière, Lac des Chenes in Manitoba (map 1), saying that some Belgians had located as far west as the Edmonton/Wetaskawin region in Alberta. (Les Belges au Manitoba, 1894, 4-5). The reference to Taché reemphasizes the high regard in which the Archbishop was held and the power that was wielded by this remarkable man with regards to settlement in Western Canada, in particular French-speaking settlement. Excerpts from some of the letters compiled by Willems demonstrated that mixed farming was the choice of occupation in Lorne Municipality on arrival in Manitoba. For example, one written by M. L. Hacault, senior

staff writer for the Courrier de Bruxelles dated December 4, 1893, to M. L'abbé Willems, stated: "I shall first say that the country around Saint Alphonse and Bruxelles . . . offers . . . indisputably the greatest agricultural and pastoral resources. It is suited above all to what is known as mixed farming: agriculture and animal husbandry combined" (Translations: Les Belges, au Manitoba, 1894, 6). Another letter written by Auguste De Pape emphasized the opportunities in Manitoba and illustrated the chain reaction such missives would induce among prospective immigrants:

After having worked in many places, finding the earth fertile, the climate healthy and the region pleasant and having carefully considered everything, I have come to the conclusion that we can here . . . be assured of a good future because the work is financially rewarding. This is why I no longer hesitate to advise my parents to come and join me with all our family as soon as possible in order that they may become established in the new Belgian colony of Bruxelles. (Translation: Les Belges au Manitoba, 1894, 9)

De Pape's origins had been in Lambeke-les-Escloo, Eastern Flanders. Others who submitted letters hailed from places in West Flanders, the Province of Hainaut which lies adjacent to France, and as far east as the south eastern corner of Belgium in Luxembourg. Thus the range of correspondents covered a large section of Belgium and therefore the possibility of circulating the news of the mixed farming region of south western Manitoba to Belgian families who might contemplate emigration was fairly broad.

Brandt (1975) further established that many Flemish-speaking Belgians came to the south western region of Manitoba. The notes made by the Reverend Hyacinthe Lapointe substantiated Belgian settlement in the region of St. Alphonse for example:

In 1889, many Flemish-speaking Belgians started coming to St. Alphonse, so there was a need for a priest

who could speak Flemish as well as French. Rev. Gustave Willems came to preach a retreat in 1892. He was a Flemish-speaking Belgian . . . In 1890 there were 142 of Flemish origin in the parish. In 1895 there were only 30 unclaimed Homesteads in the area: there were 1200 inhabitants, 4 schools, a large general store and a smaller store, also a post office. (Quoted in Brandt, 1975, 135-6)

The Reverend T. Campeau, parish priest of St. Alphonse supported the fact that many Belgians migrated to the south western region of Manitoba. The letter indicated that the Belgians had arrived on the heels of the French Canadians, much in the manner that Taché and his successor Archbishop Langevin had planned. Written to T. A. Bernier, mayor of St. Boniface, and in 1891, a senator, the letter stated:

The region north of St. Alphonse received the first French Canadian colonists . . . Then in 1888 some Belgians came. The majority of the parishioners were of Belgian descent so the new parish was named Bruxelles after the capital of their homeland. A school was built in 1890. Rev. Gustave Willems, a Flemish-speaking Belgian arrive in 1892 . . . On the 10th of May 1897, Rev. Willems was named priest of St. Alphonse. In 1899, on the 17th of November, Rev. Hubert Heynen came as a priest. At this time the parish consisted of 35 families which took in what is now Swan Lake, Holland, Cypress River and Glenboro. In 1905 there were 80 families consisting of 200 French-speaking parishioners. (Quoted in Brandt, 1975, 143) (map 1)

Belgian historian Yvette Brandt (1985a) suggested that many Belgian colonists migrated to the south western region of Manitoba because some colonists sponsored others. Thus the newcomer would naturally settle where his sponsor had settled. Brandt (1985a) also confirmed that many would migrate to the region because a relative had immigrated first and, as the Minister of the Interior had envisioned, Father Willems' amassed letters would encourage would-be settlers by the good reports of the farming potential of the region. It was Brandt's (1985a) opinion that farming was "the very soul of the community."

2. Conclusion to Hypothesis IV

In 1870, Manitoba was virtually empty with the population divided almost equally between Protestant and Catholic. Archbishop Taché and the Western clergy influenced settlement in Western Canada. Taché wanted to keep the West isolated because he was afraid that the Catholics and his Métis would be outnumbered by the Protestants. Failing isolation the Western Clergy desired French-speaking Catholic settlement in Western Canada. It was hoped that the French-speaking colonists would colonize around the old Métis settlements. Thus Taché was instrumental in securing 1,400,000 acres of land for the unmarried children of half-breed families. However, the Métis preferred their nomadic lifestyle and the majority soon departed further west having sold their land titles to speculators. Those who stayed remained in St. Francois Xavier, St. Norbert and St. Anne and the newly arrived French-speaking people grouped around these old Métis centres. After 1876, some reserves were established for French Canadians similar to those of the Mennonites. By 1878 the new French-speaking colonists moved toward the Pembina Mountain region to St. Leon and Somerset. Dom Paul Benoit founded Notre Dame de Lourdes and St. Charles which enabled the European French to establish a foothold in the West. Most European French settled in Manitoba, the exceptions being those who emigrated to Saskatchewan. European French did not necessarily ally themselves to the French Canadians because the Europeans were less militant and less interested in La Survivance, the French Canadian cause. Both Church and State wanted agriculturalists. The Church hoped that all new French-speaking colonists would settle on land abandoned by the

Métis. However, some preferred homestead land because it was less expensive. The Catholic Church owned much valuable land on the east side of the Red River which, however, sold rapidly in spite of its high price. When Taché was made president of La Société de Colonization, Senator Girard refused his request for more of the same. The Catholic Church wanted the French-speaking peoples to settle apart from those of the Protestant faith. Thus the French settled in units based on the parish system.

Clerical disapproval could mar satisfactory settlement. In establishing Fannystelle T. A. Bernier had little help from Taché and the Western clergy. However, Bernier successfully worked with institutions such as La Société d'Immigration Française and La Société St. Raphael of Belgium. By contrast, Auguste Bodard, who was secretary of La Société d'Immigration Française received the support of Taché because he wanted to increase the French-speaking population of Western Canada in order to influence the elections. Bodard circulated literature advertising Manitoba to the agriculturalists of Switzerland, France and Belgium. This was done with the aid of L. O. Armstrong, the C.P.R. colonizing agent, whose company underwrote the expense of printing 50,000 brochures. Between 1887 and 1894, during Bodard's tenure as secretary of La Société d'Immigration Française, Belgians commenced immigration to the south western region of Manitoba. At this time both the State and the Church were promoting settlement in Western Canada and Father Willems, the curé of Bruxelles, was asked by the Minister of the Interior to amass a number of letters from satisfied Belgian colonists of that region to take to Belgium with him in order to publicize settlement in the Canadian West and in particular in the south western region of Manitoba. This

was authorized by Taché, who was recognized as the great colonizer and the Grand Old Man of the West by Willems. Of the 30 letters researched all promoted settlement in south western Manitoba, extolling it as a land of opportunity and one where mixed farming was an important agricultural investment.

The above research has therefore revealed that there were several reasons for Belgian immigration to the south western region of Manitoba. The Catholic Church wanted French-speaking settlers and, failing to attract those from Quebec, finally turned to Europe; Belgium, France and Switzerland. The work of laymen, such as T. A. Bernier and Auguste Bodard, influenced European French-speaking settlement to the West and in particular, Bodard's aggressive approach of circulating leaflets promoting settlement which coincided with the period in which Belgians had commenced to migrate. Ultimately the letters amassed by Willems and transported to Belgium promoting colonization in south western Manitoba may have been the catalyst which put in motion extensive movement of Belgians because the authors of these missives originated across the breadth of Belgium.

Belgian historian Yvette Brandt (1985a) suggested that some migration to the south western region of Manitoba could be attributed to the sponsoring of newcomers by those already settled; to relatives immigrating to the area where their kinfolk were already established and that Willems' letters could be a factor influencing migration. Brandt (1985a) ascertained that agriculture was the heart of the Belgian fraternity in south western Manitoba. Accordingly, no one significant fact contributed to the intensive settlement of the south western region of Manitoba by Belgians, but rather many factors which occurred over time. Thus, the

hypothesis that the Belgians selected the south western region of Manitoba because they felt it was especially good for mixed farming cannot be unreservedly supported; the influence of the Roman Catholic Church was also a factor.

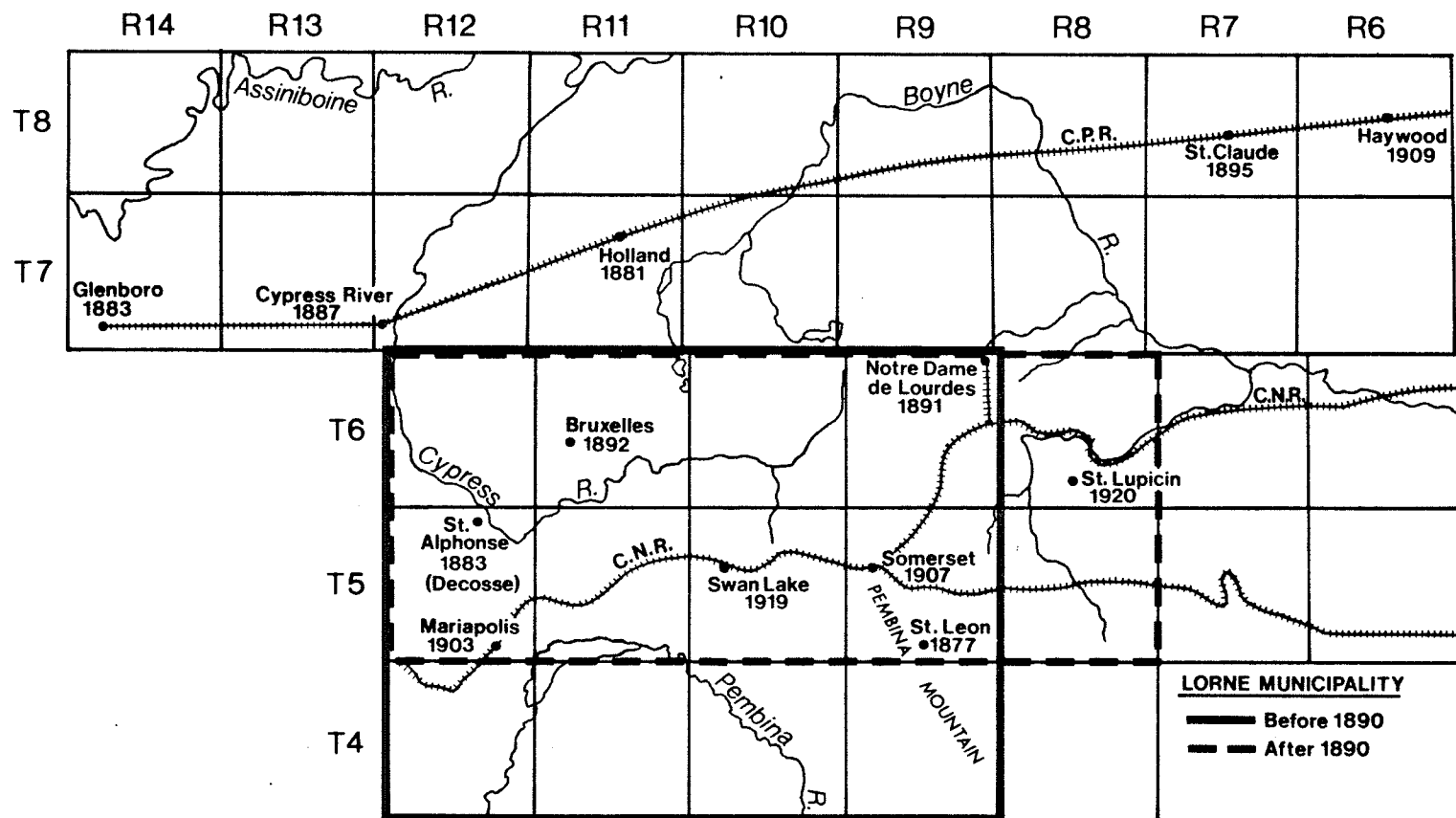
3. Belgian Settlement in Lorne Municipality: Hypothesis V , 1889-1929

Hypothesis V submits that there was residential propinquity of Belgians in Lorne Municipality. In researching residential propinquity of Belgians in Lorne Municipality several factors are of interest: the physical background of the prairies; the foundation of the various parishes within the sectional survey; the change in the size and shape of Lorne Municipality before and after 1890; the two Belgian cultures, both Flemings and French, and some of the hardships encountered by the early Belgian colonists.

"Modern commentators would describe the pre-1840 prairie west as part of another age, a separate era in the history of the world" (Friesen, 1984, 5). It has been said that the Western Interior is composed of three vast steps, much like those of a staircase. These prairie levels are divided by gently rising slopes. The first has an average height of 800 feet, corresponding to the lowest part of Glacial Lake Aggasiz; the second, averaging 1,600 feet, can be found amid the Manitoba Hills and the Missouri Coteau; the third level extends between 2,200 and 4,000 feet and ranges from the base of the rocky Mountains north east to the Athabasca region (Friesen, 1984, 5). It is the second level in the Pembina Mountain country that Belgian colonists began to settle in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Before 1872 only trappers and missionaries, Indian and Métis hunters had explored the Pembina

Mountain region. Its wooded hills remained unoccupied until 1877 when the first colonists arrived (Roy, 1970, 14). It was not until 1871 that surveyors commenced their work and from 1872-1876 all of the Pembina Mountain region was staked and divided into subdivisions, sections and quarter sections (Roy, 1970, 11). The foundation of the parishes of the Pembina Mountain region took place over a period of 43 years: St. Leon 1877-1878; St. Alphonse 1883; Notre Dame de Lourdes 1891; Bruxelles 1892; St. Claude 1895; Mariapolis 1903; Somerset 1907; Haywood 1909; Swan Lake 1919 and St. Lupician 1920 (Roy 1970, 8). Specifically, these parishes are within eight townships, T5R12, T5R10, T5R9, T6R11, T6R9, T6R8, T8R7 and T8R6 (map 3). Bruxelles was settled by Belgians in 1892 and soon acquired a postal station. It was named for the capital of Belgium and is in T6R11. Mariapolis acquired a post office in 1891 and is in T5R12. Swan Lake became eligible for a postal station in 1881 and is in T5R10. Somerset was settled by people from England and is in T5R9, acquiring a post office in 1881. St. Leon was named for Pope Leo XIII (1810-1891), obtaining a post office in 1879 and is in T5R9. Lorne was named for the Duke of Argyll, who was the Marquess of Lorne and served as Governor General of Canada from 1878 to 1883, visiting Manitoba in 1881. St. Alphonse, known as Decosse before 1887 was a Roman Catholic colony in T5R12. Glenboro, Cypress River and Holland which are not in Lorne Municipality are in T7R14, T7R12 and T7R11 respectively, Glenboro being named by an early Scottish settler, James Duncan and acquiring a post office in 1883. Cypress River and Holland established post offices in 1887 and 1881 respectively, the latter being named for A. C. Holland, the postmaster (map 3).

Lorne Municipality, in which it is proposed to study the residential propinquity of Belgian colonists who came to the Canadian West



Sources: Roy, 1970
 Brandt, 1980
 Geographic Board of Canada, 1933, Manitoba Archives

Map 3

Lorne Municipality before and after 1890 showing early settlements.

from 1887 to 1929, covers T5R12, T5R11, T5R10, T5R9, T5R8, T6R12, T6R11, T6R10, T6R9 and T6R8 (map 3). Before 1890, Lorne Municipality embraced an area which included Townships 4, 5, 6, and extended from Ranges 9-12 west of the principal meridian (map 3). After 1890, the size of Lorne Municipality became smaller; T4R9, T4R10, T4R11 and T4R12 west of the principal meridian were eliminated from the municipality. However, T5R8 and T6R8 west of the principal meridian were added (map 3). Thus, before 1890 the municipality extended over 12 townships whereas after 1890 it covered 10 townships.

Belgian pioneers represent two cultural elements in Belgium. The Flemings, a Teutonic people, speak the Dutch tongue, Flemish, and live in the northern region of Belgium. The Walloons, on the other hand are basically a Celtic people, who speak French and live in the south and south eastern part of Belgium. Both Flemings and Walloons are Roman Catholic, though the Flemings in general are more conservative in the observance of their religion (The Canadian Family Tree, 1979, 20). With French as their mother tongue, most of the Walloons who migrated to Canada and who arrived in Quebec City and Montreal remained in the Province of Quebec. The Flemings, however, being required to learn a new language, English, were generally more flexible regarding the region in which they settled. It is interesting to note that regardless of the language barrier more Flemings than Walloons migrated to Canada (The Canadian Family Tree, 1967, 41). By 1916, for example, there was a total of 2,049 Flemings in Manitoba which represented .5 percent of the total population of the province while only 195 Walloons had migrated to Manitoba, representing .05 percent of the total Manitoba population (Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916, 1918, 248). "Manitoba attracted

the largest number of Belgians. Settlements grew up around Winnipeg and St. Boniface and to the south west at such towns as Bruxelles, St. Alphonse and Swan Lake where the population is still largely Belgian" (The Canadian Family Tree, 1967, 41).

There were many hardships encountered by the early colonists and "The art of homesteading, of breaking sod and converting a semi-arid plain into a fertile bread basket, of enduring extremes of climate, of defying setbacks and rejecting failure, is perhaps one of the most dramatic and heroic moments of modern Canadian history" (McCrorie, 1983, 20). The first colonist to come to this region was Daniel Fraser from Quebec and he settled on Section 16 of T5R9 in 1877 (map 3). There he built himself a sod house with one window which was covered with hide to enable some light to penetrate the dwelling. Two months later others followed; Joseph Charbonneau from Massachusetts and Olivier and Frederic Lafrendière, father and son from Ontario (Roy, 1970, 14-15).

The first large number of Belgians arrived as a group in 1889 to Western Canada, in part due to the work of Father Cloutier who was a colonizing agent of Archbishop Taché (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 13). Those who came before that date travelled individually and their numbers were few. Twelve of these early Belgian colonists migrated and settled in Lorne Municipality in the Pembina Mountain district. Brandt (1980) gave capsule information regarding these hardy settlers and the courage and stoicism which was a part of the pioneer spirit can be seen from the excerpts extracted from this history on pioneering Belgians.

All the earliest pioneers encountered hardships; in 1887 Alphonse Baccus migrated and homesteaded on Section 36 T6R12 (Brandt, 1980, 334). In the same year John Pierre Kergen came, crossing the Atlantic on a

cattle ship with his wife and five children and settled on the south east quarter of Section 28 of T6R11. Auguste Vermière was another who came in 1887, purchasing a quarter section from the C.P.R. in the St. Alphonse region. He cleared the land and built his log cabin in 1898. He borrowed a team of oxen to enable him to journey to Bruxelles for his wedding ceremony (Brandt, 1980, 648-49). Joseph Vos migrated in 1888 to the St. Alphonse area, applying for a homestead on the south west quarter of Section 16 of T6R11, but he died of blood poisoning the following year as a result of a wound on his leg (Brandt, 1980, 648). Francis Deschouwer, his brother-in-law Baptiste Pouteau, and a friend, Mr. Schepper, came together in 1888, the latter being the first of the Flemish colonists in the area. Francis Deschouwer settled in the St. Alphonse region, his wife and five children arriving the following year; his brother-in-law took a homestead near Swan Lake, but Mr. Schepper returned to Belgium the following year (Brandt, 1980, 426). In 1888 Arnold Foidart, his wife and three children took a homestead on the south west quarter of Section 22 of T6R11; soon after their fourth child died (Brandt, 1980, 449). The same year, Theophile Dropsy and Hector LeRoy arrived together, settling near Bruxelles and clearing the land in order to build a log cabin. Wild game and fruit were available in plenty to supplement their provisions, but hardship was commonplace and ingenuity became a necessity; beef tallow was burned instead of candles and a brew of boiled barley replaced coffee while wood ashes were used to scrub floors (Brandt, 1980, 533-4). Alphonse Lecoq came to Western Canada in 1888 as an orphan, ultimately buying the north west quarter of Section 33 T5R11 (Brandt, 1980, 530). Jean Schumacher with his wife and six children came the same year settling on the south west quarter

of Section 16 T6R11 (Brandt 1980, 609). Families were larger but life expectancy was shorter. Of the twelve Belgian names verified in Brandt's (1980) history, six settled in T6R11, one settled in T6R12, one settled in T5R10, one settled in T5R11, one settled in T5R12 and one bought land from the C.P.R. Only one returned to Belgium. Thus the Bruxelles region (T6R11) was favoured by Belgians in the early days of settlement (map 3).

Much research has been conducted on residential propinquity by various scholars. It was argued by Brunger (1982, 265) for example, that "migrant settlers preferred areas occupied by people of similar background to themselves." McQuillan (1978b, 141) agreed, suggesting that "the congregation of immigrants from a similar European background was based on communication, convenience and neighbourly help." Raitz (1979, 79) was in accord, stating that "in periods of conflict or hardship that accompany immigration or radical political change, the ethnic finds his peers to be a source of stability and reassurance." It was Brunger's (1982, 267) work that examined "the same group of Irish as Mannion [1974] although from a different viewpoint. The transfer of social institutions as reflected in the pattern of geographical propinquity . . . [was] . . . of prime interest in . . . [his] . . . study." The purpose of this study is to examine residential propinquity in early Belgian colonists who were essentially agriculturalists.

In order to establish residential propinquity by Belgians in the Municipality of Lorne and its immediate environs, 338 names were taken from the 818 names in the Lorne family histories and statistics compiled by Brandt (1980, 324-665). These 338 were all the names for which country of origin was stated. Only the names of heads of families were used regardless of the size of the families which ranged from single to four-

teen. It was found that out of the total of 338 names 162 or 47.9 percent were of Belgian origin (appendix 6). The majority of these settled in Bruxelles and St. Alphonse (table 1). These 162 names represented specific percentages of the total population of the towns of Bruxelles, St. Alphonse, Swan Lake, Mariapolis, Kingsley and Holland in 1927 (table 1; map 1). Of the remaining 176, those of British origin numbered 86 or 25.4 percent; those of French origin numbered 77 or 22.7 percent; and those from other countries numbered 13 or 3.8 percent (appendix 6).

Table 1: Belgian Settlement in Lorne Municipality 1887-1929

	<u>Belgians</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Belgian % of Total</u>
Bruxelles	42	150	28
St. Alphonse	43	80	53.75
Swan Lake	34	175	19.42
Mariapolis	10	125	8
Cypress River	7	140	5
Kingsley	4	Figures not available	-
Holland	3	252	1.19
No Name Given	19	-	-

Total population of Manitoba, 1926, 639,056

Total Belgians in Manitoba 1926 5,526

Belgians numbered .87% of the total Manitoba population

Sources: Canada Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Manitoba 1926, 1927, p. 40.

Rural Post Offices and Rural Routes in the Western Provinces, 1927, pp. 7-8.

In addition to the above research ancilliary information regarding the residential propinquity of Belgians in south western Manitoba

was reviewed. This research was on a more general scale than the above. Two Districts of Manitoba, Numbers 7 and 8, named Lisgar and MacDonald respectively were examined (Manitoba, Rand McNally & Co., 1898, Manitoba Archives, 614.2 Fbed [1898] R). It was found that in 1901 there were 358 people of Belgian origin in Lisgar (Census of Canada A, Volume 1, 1901, 1903, 286). Of the three municipalities and two villages within Lisgar the distribution was as follows: Argyle 2; Dufferin 1; Carman (village) 2; Gretna (village) 6 and Lorne 347 (Census of Canada A, Volume 1, 1901, 1903, 286). Thus Lorne contained 96.92 percent of the Lisgar population that was of Belgian origin.

At the same date, District Number 8, MacDonald, contained 54 people of Belgian origin (Census of Canada A, Volume 1, 1901, 1903, 286). By 1903, Lorne Municipality had been reassigned to the District of MacDonald (Map of Manitoba, Geo. F. Cram, Chicago, 1903, Manitoba Archives, G142, Fbed, 1903C). Thus, by 1916, the number of people of Belgian origin in Lisgar had dropped to 54, whereas the number in MacDonald had risen to 656 (Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916, 1918, 142). By 1921, Lisgar contained 102 people of Belgian origin, whereas MacDonald supported 1,418 (Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Volume 1, 1924, 376-7). Lorne Municipality included 1,278 people of Belgian origin (Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Volume 1, 1924, 488).

On a wider scale residential propinquity may be noted provincially in the percentage distribution by birthplace of the total population for each province for 1911 and 1921. Manitoba had the highest proportion of Belgians of any provinces in Canada (Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Volume 11, 1925, 242-3) (table 2). Thus in 1911, those of Belgian origin selected Manitoba by a margin of .23 percent over their second choice of

Alberta and in 1921 the difference was .26 percent.

Table 2: % Distribution of Belgian Settlers for each Province

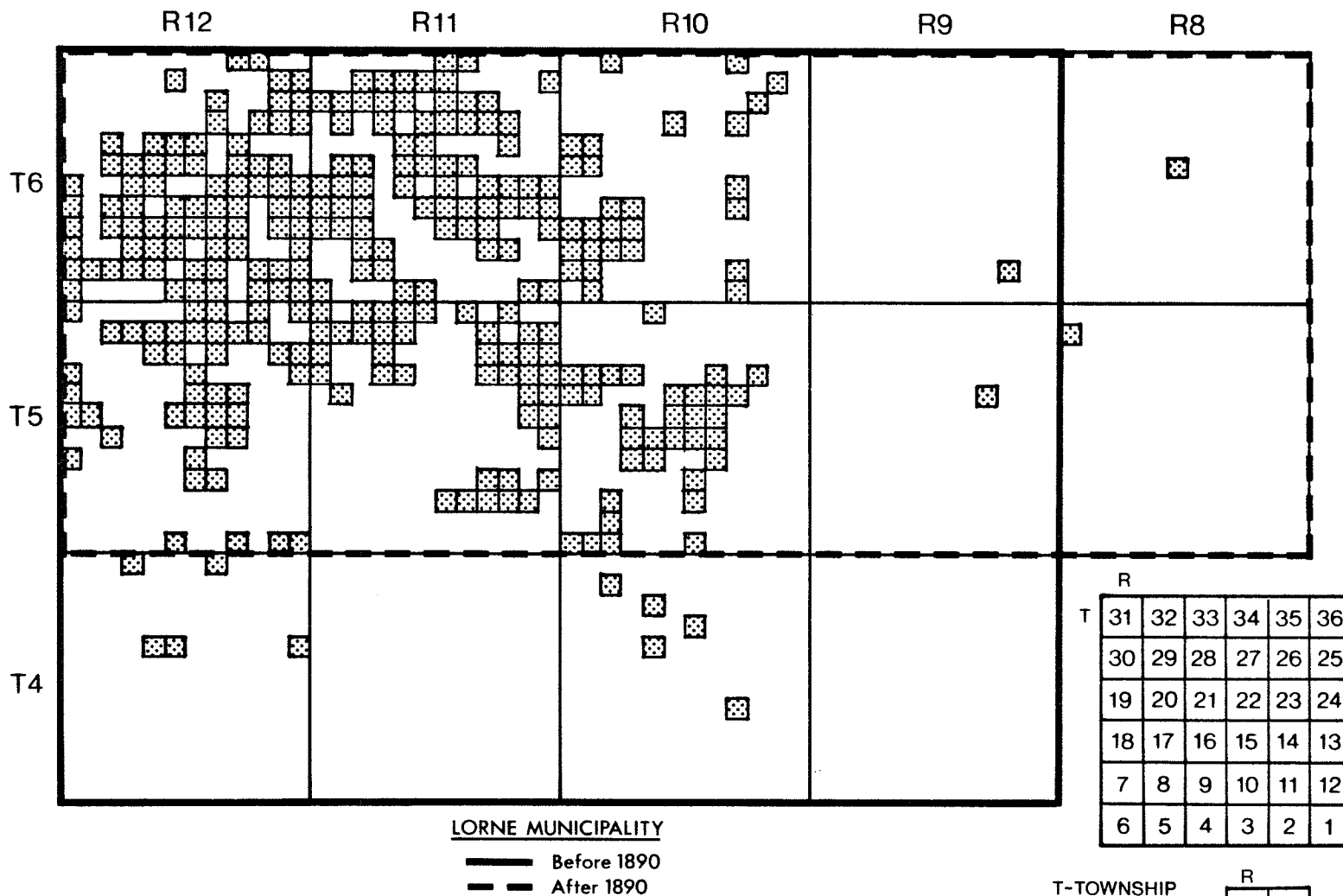
	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>
Prince Edward Island	-	-
Nova Scotia	.12	.11
New Brunswick	.02	.03
Quebec	.07	.10
Ontario	.02	.08
Manitoba	.50	.54
Saskatchewan	.26	.28
Alberta	.27	.28
British Columbia	.20	.15
Yukon	.15	.12
Northwest Territories	.03	.01

Source: Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Volume 11, 1925, 242-3.

Further evidence of residential propinquity can be seen from the research of Brandt (1980, 58-61, 62, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80); Cummins Rural Directories, (1918, 1923), Manitoba Archives, and the Land Titles Office Abstract Books, Morden, Manitoba. Of the 162 Belgians researched, 112 settled in that region and owned 305 quarter sections. All but 14 of these quarter sections were in T6R10, T6R11, T6R12, T5R10, T5R11, T5R12 (figure 2 and appendix 7).

4. Conclusion to Hypothesis V

Between 1887 and 1929, 47.9 percent of the names taken from the publication compiled by Brandt (1980, 324-665) for the Municipality of



Sources: Brandt, 1980
 Cummins Rural Directories, 1918 and 1923, Manitoba Archives
 Land Titles Office, Abstract Books, Morden, Manitoba

T-TOWNSHIP
 R-RANGE

	R	
T	NW	NE
	36	
	SW	SE

QUARTER
 SECTION

Figure 2: Residential Propinquity of Belgians in Lorne Municipality.

Lorne were of Belgian origin. In 1901, 96.92 percent of those in the District of Lisgar could be attributed to those of Belgian origin living in Lorne Municipality. In 1903, when Lorne Municipality was reassigned to the District of MacDonald the number of people of Belgian origin in MacDonald rose from 54 in 1901 to 656 in 1903 and to 1,418 in 1921. On a wider scale, by the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century, Belgians showed a preference for settlement in Manitoba over any other province in Canada. Thus it could be concluded that the Belgians established residential propinquity in Manitoba in general and in Lorne Municipality in particular.

5. Introduction to Hypotheses VIa, VIb, VIc, VI d

In 1889, at the time of their initial arrival in south western Manitoba, Belgian immigrants were advanced agriculturalists and relevant literature suggests that immigrant groups may contribute to creating a distinctive visible landscape. Thus an endeavor is made to discover whether the Belgians created such a landscape in Manitoba with respect to agriculture. It was argued by McQuillan (1978b, 138) for example, that "cultural geographers have been attracted by the folk artifacts and elements of material culture in the landscape that distinguished one immigrant area from other immigrant areas in North America." However, Mannion (1974, 30) found that:

few elements of the South-east Irish farmyard tradition ever crossed the ocean. All major components of the farmyard--the number of buildings, their form, disposition and the materials of construction--were radically altered. Most new forms or ideas about outbuildings were borrowed from pre-existing local New world traditions and the factors influencing change were environmental and economic. At the operational centre the farm, the farmyard complex reflected the patterns of farm production

and was sensitive to their changes; it was also an important indicator of the immigrants' adaptation to a new physical environment.

Regarding Ukrainian settlement Lehr (1978, 19) argued that when the Ukrainian peasant immigrated to Western Canada his behaviour "was often profoundly affected by the conditions existing in the homeland at the time of [his] emigration." He suggested that:

it was the wish of the great majority of Ukrainian pioneers to settle in the wooded environment of the aspen parkland vegetation belt. In this respect the general zone of Ukrainian settlement was a direct reflection of the resource perception and environmental desires of the great majority of Ukrainian immigrants. The myth that they were forced to accept the poorer woodlands because all the open grasslands had been taken by earlier settlers has long enjoyed an undeservedly wide currency. Yet it was the grassland environment of the open prairie which was the last to be fully settled, and it is clearly evident that they did not select the wooded country simply because no other land was available. (Lehr, 1978, 289)

As this brief literature review shows, some ethnic groups created distinctive landscapes. The discussion which follows considers this general possibility for the specific case of the Belgians in Manitoba. Specifically Jaenen (1984) has suggested that Belgian farmers in the St. Boniface-Winnipeg region may have become committed to beet growing as well as to market gardening and dairying; that Belgians in the Bruxelles-Swan Lake-Somerset area were mixed farmers before they became interested in the grain growing business; that the Belgians may have been instrumental in organizing the sugar beet industry in Manitoba, and that the Belgians may have brought some specialties of their Flemish farming techniques with them to Manitoba. For purposes of clarity the subsequent discussion is divided into four sections.

6. Dairying and Market Gardening

The dairy industry and market gardening were an integral part of

the history of Manitoba, and indeed, part of the history of the Belgian colonists who migrated to that province in the last two decades of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this section an endeavor is made to demonstrate that dairying and market gardening were part of Manitoba's economy and to make manifest the role played by some Belgian colonists.

(a) The Dairy Industry and Market Gardening in Manitoba: The introduction of cattle to Manitoba occurred in 1813 when Lord Selkirk shipped some animals with his settlers to that province (Fifty Years of Dairying in Manitoba, 1935, 13). Records indicate a large shipment of 300 head to the Western Interior in 1823 which were sold to Red River colonists for \$30 each, an enormous sum at that time. By 1838, the numbers had grown to 3,269 in Assiniboia (McCormick, 1968, 7). This marked the beginning of the dairy industry in the Western Interior. Even at that early stage, the dairy industry was one of which the local newspaper could boast: "Few even in Manitoba are aware of the present importance of the dairy products here and the rapid advance they are making. There are now about fifty thousand cows in the province" (The Emigrant, Volume 1, June 1886-Volume 11, May 1888, 1). To encourage dairy farmers still further another consideration was suggested by the media of the day: "One of the great inducements we offer farmer settlers is the plentiful and general supply of excellent wildgrass that furnishes cheap summer and winter food stock" (The Emigrant, Volume 1, June 1886-Volume 11, May 1888, 34). The Manitoba Dairy Association was formed in 1886 and much was achieved during the next 50 years which demonstrated the success of a growing dairy industry in that province (Fifty Years of Dairying in

Manitoba, 1935, 13-34). By 1881, there were an estimated 9,077 dairy farms in Manitoba and the figures continued to rise until 1941, when the estimated number was 58,024 (100 Years of Agriculture in Manitoba, 1881-1980 A Statistical Profile, 1981, 9).

That Manitoba wanted farmers can be seen from an early report entitled "Who should come to the North West: Manitoba and the territories want farmers with or without capital . . . The country wants workers on the land" (The Emigrant, volume 1, June 1886-Volume 11, May 1888, 45). Special crops such as buckwheat, field peas, flax seed, sunflowers, canola, rye, vegetables, potatoes, sugar beets, mustard seed and forage seeds were also an important facet of Manitoba's agriculture. Environmental factors were considered favourable in the southern regions of the province for the development of these varieties of agricultural produce (100 Years of Agriculture in Manitoba 1881-1980 A Statistical Profile, 1981, 17). The tradition of mixed farming dates back to the early days of settlement. A report from J. J. Golden, Superintendent of Immigration for Manitoba to the Minister of Agriculture in 1912, for example, stated: "The chief attractive feature of our Province . . . lies in the fact that it possesses all the essentials of an ideal mixed farming province and this quality alone gives Manitoba a most enviable prestige" (Annual Reports Manitoba Department of Agriculture, 1888-1912, 1912, 267). Another report noted the link between dairy farming and mixed farming: "The wholesome sign of our country is the steady gradual adoption of mixed farming, the only safe system for a country, and one giving the most results of the least labour, and of this system the most important link is the dairy. Already cheese and butter factories . . . are springing up in different sections, some of the former

. . . with encouraging results" (The Emigrant Volume 1, June 1886-Volume 11, May 1888, 1). The fact that wild fruit was available in abundance in the early years of settlement was indicative of the suitability of the soil for market gardening and the press made note of this: "All over the country are found in varying quantity, but often in lavish plenty . . . Plums . . . currants . . . raspberries, strawberries, gooseberries, cranberries, blueberries, [and] cherries in variety" (The Emigrant, Volume 1, No. 3, August 1, 1886, 49). The news media was a proponent of agriculture in the newly acquired territories and promoted the success of market gardening in its columns as an important aspect of the agricultural industry in the Western Interior: "Anyone who has visited the agricultural exhibition held yearly at different points all over the North West must have admired the liberal display of vegetables in extended variety, and perfect growth . . . All the common kinds . . . grow here in a size and quantity seldom seen elsewhere except under very favourable conditions" (The Emigrant, Volume 1, No. 3, September 1st, 1886, 81).

It was into this farm oriented environment that many thousand settlers immigrated at the end of the nineteenth century. Sir Clifford Sifton, who became Minister of the Interior in 1896, made it abundantly clear that agronomists were those who were desired by Canada:

I am of the opinion that about 500,000 [farmers] could actually be put on the land in the next ten years . . . In Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Bohemia, Hungary and Galicia there are hundreds of thousands of hardy peasants, . . . farmers for ten or fifteen generations, who are anxious to leave Europe and start life under better conditions in a new country. These men are workers. They have been bred for generations to work from daylight to dark. . . . We have some hundreds of thousands of them in Canada now and they are among our most useful and productive people. (Sifton, 1922, 33-4)

(b) The Agricultural Tradition in Belgium: Agriculture was an inherent part of the Belgian tradition. On the Flemish plains of northern Belgium, for example, Flemish farms were small, intensively cultivated, generally family oriented, being less than three acres in size. They produced "flax, sugar beets, hops, tobacco, cattle, butter, cheese, fruits, cereals, potatoes and cut flowers, plants and market gardening, including early vegetables and asparagus, Belgian chicory . . . and hothouse grapes" (Lyon, 1971, 137). By 1907, there were 497 co-operative dairies in Belgium with 52,380 members who possessed nearly 150,000 cows and sold produce valued at almost £1.5 million (Rowntree, 1911, 239). By the last decade of the nineteenth century there were societies for the improvement of cattle breeding while Government appointed dairy experts and a research station at the Government Agricultural College at Gembloux (Rowntree, 1911, 236; 242). Progressive farmers, the Belgians formed the co-operative agricultural movement for the purpose of insuring houses and livestock, for improving animal breeding, for the provision of cultivators, to enable farmers to purchase seeds and manure and for the handling of dairy products (Ensor, 1915, 213-4). By 1911 Belgium had developed a highly successful market gardening business. The industry was able to provide the Belgian population with all the fruit and vegetables it needed. As well, the country was able to export £480,000 more fruit and £230,000 more vegetables than she imported and her population was 589 people per square mile (Rowntree, 1911, 189). The Belgians' success as market gardeners was not due to protection through tariff nor to an advantageous climate but to the intensive manner in which they farmed: "When the cultivation of soil becomes so intensive that individual care is given to every plant, it is no longer called

farming, but gardening, and this is what is occurring in Belgium"
(Rowntree, 1911, 190).

(c) Belgian Agriculture in Manitoba: Hypothesis VIa 1889-1982:

Hypothesis VIa suggests that Belgian immigrant farmers in the St Boniface-Winnipeg area were primarily interested in dairying and market gardening and later became involved in the sugar beet industry in Manitoba. Given Sir Clifford Sifton's land oriented immigration policy, given the fact that the dairy industry and market gardening are an integral part of Manitoba's history and economy and given, in particular, the farm oriented background of the Belgian people, and essentially their penchant for the dairy industry and market gardening, it is not surprising that many of the early Belgian settlers chose the land as a vocation. In fact, from the total of 162 Belgian names researched in Lorne Municipality (chapter 4, hypothesis 5), 102 had ancestors who had settled in that area between 1887 and 1929, and who had worked on the land either as farmers or as farm labourers, 11 had other occupations and 49 did not stipulate their vocation (Brandt, 1980, 327-665). These 102 represent 63.5 percent of the total and 90 percent of the total of those whose vocation was known. Wilson and Wyndels (1976, 76) stated that "many pioneer dairy farmers in the province [of Manitoba] were Belgians, some of whom went into the dairy business. In 1890, for example, Constant Bossuyt bought the Northeastern Dairy." This was the first dairy to be located in Winnipeg and the Belgian owners renamed it the Manitoba Dairy. The soil in the vicinity of Winnipeg was the source of fertile land which provided lush pasture for cattle utilized in the industry. It was within the environs of Winnipeg that Belgian dairy farmers found

an extremely profitable market for their products. This enabled them to farm in pastureland ideally suited to the dairy industry, the Red River Valley. Thus "the first dairies were located in Stonewall, the Kildonans, St. Boniface, St. Vital, Fort Garry and River Heights [and] Belgians were the largest single group of dairymen in Winnipeg" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976 , 77) (map 1). For a period of about thirty years the early farmers delivered 'loose milk'. More stringent controls requiring bottled milk increased the cost of delivery, thus many Belgian dairymen made alternative arrangements by simply producing milk and shipping their product to larger dairies such as the St. Boniface Creamery, Crescent, Standard or Modern Dairies. Compulsory pasturization later drove a number of small dairymen out of business. Increasing urbanization also took its toll as dairymen sold out to land brokers, while others disposed of their businesses on retirement, reducing the number of Belgian dairymen presently to less than six from a maximum of over fifty in earlier years (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 76-9).

A number of Flemish dairy farmers settled in the Fort Garry region of Manitoba at the beginning of the twentieth century. Part of this area now represents the Linden Woods Housing Development on the west side of Waverley Street. The first of these dairymen was Gustave Muys who migrated with his brother from Belgium to Manitoba in 1909. Mr. Muys' entire family worked in the family concern. Gustave Muys built the first modern dairy and named it Model Dairy. A son, Charlie Muys, remained on the old homestead continuing in the family tradition, and his son, Robert Muys, is now a dairyman. This represents three generations of dairymen. Besides the Muys, it was ascertained that ten more Flemish farmers settled in the Fort Garry region soon after 1909, all

within approximately one mile of each other: William Van Wallegham, Theophile Anseew, Cyriel Deschouwer, Rene Gobert, Oscar Van Wynsberg, Buddewin Van Wynsberg, Mr. Van Coeli, Jules Van Tornett, Camille Knock-aert, and Mr. Anseew. It was affirmed that some of these dairymen may have considered the sugar beet industry after first being dairy farmers. (Muys, 1985). Another interview, however, revealed that while Emerick Bonne was a dairy man before he turned to the sugar beet business his son, Edmond Bonne, was inclined to believe that none of the above mentioned dairymen were ever involved in sugar beet growing. Mr. Bonne ascertained that all had either retired as dairymen, sold out or established their sons as dairymen in their stead (Bonne, 1985). This statement was supported by Omar Van Wallegham, a dairyman himself for many years. Mr. Van Wallegham's family hailed from West Flanders, the heart of the dairy industry in Belgium. His father, Adolphe, and three uncles Jules, Camille and Alphonse were all dairymen in the Fort Rouge area of Winnipeg, commencing in 1902, ten years after migrating to Manitoba (Van Wallegham, 1985).

Sugar beet growing was an industry that could be combined with market gardening (Bonne, 1985). It was affirmed that the Belgians who became sugar beet farmers at the time of Leon Dusessoy, one of the original ten pioneers, were originally market gardeners and not dairymen. Their interest in beet growing evolved through their interest in market gardening (Dusessoy, 1985).

(d) Conclusion to Hypothesis VIa: At the turn of the nineteenth century Sir Clifford Sifton's immigration policy favoured farmers. Thus farming became an integral part of the development of Manitoba, with

dairying and market gardening being of special interest to many immigrant farmers from Europe, including the Belgians. The soil of Manitoba lent itself well to the harvest of fruits and vegetables as could be seen from the variety of wild fruits available to the early settlers. Dairying was a tradition in Belgium for many years prior to the emigration of some dairy farmers from that country. Experience with small properties and the ability to farm them intensively enabled Belgian farmers to continue the tradition in Manitoba. Thus Belgian settlers developed dairying and market gardening in that province. Some Belgian colonists commenced dairying in Manitoba after migrating to the Canadian West. The Van Walleghams and the Muys represented early dairy farmers pursuing this occupation in 1902 and 1909 respectively. It was ascertained that dairy farmers were unlikely to become engaged in the sugar beet industry. However, Belgian farmers who commenced growing sugar beets at approximately the same period as Leon Dusessoy, one of the ten pioneers, had been market gardeners first. This sequence was recognized as feasible. Accordingly, Belgian settlers were primarily interested in dairying and market gardening, only later a few became involved in the sugar beet industry and these were not dairymen. Thus, the hypothesis that Belgian farmers were primarily interested in dairying and market gardening and later became involved in the sugar beet industry can only be partially supported. Dairymen, it was revealed, generally remained dairymen, whereas some market gardeners turned to the sugar beet industry.

7. Mixed Farming

Mixed farming was an inherent part of the history of Manitoba and

played an important role for the early settlers before the wheat industry emerged as one of the great assets to the economy of Western Canada. Similarly, mixed farming was an important aspect of the economic structure of Belgium in the latter half of the nineteenth century but grain growing declined in Belgium during the same period. This section endeavors to indicate the role played by the early Belgian colonists in conjunction with mixed farming and wheat growing in Manitoba.

(a) Mixed Farming in Manitoba: It has already been stated that market gardening was considered an important industry in the early years of settlement in Manitoba (100 Years of Agriculture in Manitoba 1881-1980 A Statistical Profile, 1981; Annual Reports Manitoba Department of Agriculture 1888-1912, 1912, 267). The Emigrant (1886-1888) extolled the advantages of Manitoba to prospective colonists and the main thrust of the reporting was clear: Manitoba, in the early years of settlement, was mixed farming country. The several references in that journal to mixed farming supported the fact that almost any agricultural product could be grown, bred or reared on the soils of Manitoba. For example, on hog rearing: "There can be no mistake about it, the hog is the animal for the poor farmer to raise . . . I am of the fixed opinion that in Manitoba there is a better field for profitable hog raising than any other point of the American continent" (The Emigrant, Volume 1, June 1886-Volume II, May 1888, 18). Beekeeping was reported to be lucrative: "There are over a dozen bee men in Manitoba and the Territories who have been keeping bees for some time and whose reports are very favourable to this fascinating and profitable industry" (The Emigrant, Volume 1, June 1886-Volume 11, May 1888, 49). Poultry were touted as another entrepreneurial vocation: "Fowls are the most

important sources of income . . . select a good breed suitable for this country . . . they will give the best returns and most pleasure of any livestock . . . for the Northwest . . . is peculiarly adapted for poultry keeping with profit" (The Emigrant, Volume 1, June 1886-Volume 11, May 1888, 81). Other suggestions included specialization in pure-bred cattle; horse breeding; tobacco culture; cattle breeding; flax growing; maize growing; hop producing (The Emigrant, Volume 1, May 1886-Volume 11, June 1888, 65, 49, 49, 65, 49, 81, 81), and wheat: "Manitoba and the North West will become the chief granary of the North American Continent . . . 'the Northwest is the most magnificent country for wheat and for cereals . . . wheat is the very finest quality'" (quoted in The Emigrant, Volume 1, June 1886-Volume 11, May 1888, 30). The spin-off from agriculture was meat packing: "Another field for men of large capital lies in the curing and packing of meats . . . economy dictates that [surplus cattle and hogs] should be cured or packed here and there is a colossal fortune awaiting the man . . . which will grapple at once with this question in a practical way and on a large scale" (The Emigrant, Volume 1, June 1886-Volume 11, May 1888, 40). The news media then, generally reported on the successes of mixed farming and exhorted newcomers to try the same. The general theme conveyed that Manitoba was admirably suited to mixed farming.

(b) Mixed Farming Practices in Belgium: In the first decade of the twentieth century Rowntree (1911) researched Belgian agricultural practices in much detail and he found that "one of the most striking facts in connection with Belgian agriculture . . . [was] . . . its intensity" (Rowntree, 1911, 172). That Belgium was an agricultural country may be demonstrated by the fact that in 1895 almost 5 million acres or 64 per cent of the country was under cultivation. There were societies at the

national level for the improvement of horse breeding, cattle breeding, rabbit breeding, pig breeding, bee keeping, horticulture, poultry farming, hop growing and the cultivation of beets. Farms as small as 2.5 acres grew rye, oats, wheat, spelt, meslin, barley or buckwheat (Rowntree, 1911, 175, 235, 575). Rowntree (1911) discussed the agricultural population in some detail, arguing that the reason for the high proportion (66.6 percent) of Belgians engaged in agriculture who were either tenant farmers, owners, or families of farmers, could be attributed to the subdivision of land. Thus, he felt that these people were essentially interested in the financial results of the property at the year's end, as opposed to the labourers (33.3 percent) whose interest was merely the weekly remuneration (Rowntree, 1911, 215). He submitted that almost nine-tenths of the small holdings in Belgium were under 25 acres and were managed entirely by the farmer and his family (Rowntree, 1911, 215). Thus "no matter what item of her food supply . . . [was] . . . considered Belgium's exceptional ability to feed her people . . . [was] . . . manifest" (Rowntree, 1911, 186). Rowntree's (1911) findings ascertained that agriculture, and mixed farming in particular, was an important aspect of the Belgian economy at the end of the nineteenth and in the early years of the twentieth centuries.

During the same period Rowntree (1911) established that there was a marked decline in the cultivation of cereals for human consumption, notably wheat (Rowntree, 1911, 172). The growth of this cereal had declined by 25.5 percent between 1846 and 1895 (Rowntree, 1911, 173). However, Rowntree (1911) was able to demonstrate that the average yield per acre of wheat had increased from 11.50 cwts. in 1871 to 1880 to 18.25 cwts. from 1900 to 1906 or 49.5 percent (Rowntree, 1911, 174). Belgian

census records determined that while the production of cereals in general had increased from 1846 to 1895 by 20 percent, that of wheat had decreased for the same period by 10 percent (Rowntree, 1911, 182).

When compared with Great Britain, France and Germany, Belgium's production of wheat, rye, oats, sugar beets and potatoes was superior in every case (Rowntree, 1911, 179). Thus it appears that while Belgium's cultivation of cereals had declined at the turn of the nineteenth century when compared with its own past records, the production, when compared with three other neighbouring countries was still superior and the yield per acre of wheat had increased. Therefore it could be concluded that while wheat cultivation had declined Belgian farmers were still efficient wheat growers.

(c) The Significance of Wheat Production in Canada: Wheat did not become a crop of any significance to Canadians until the last half of the nineteenth century. The early pioneers in the Western Interior were inhibited in their efforts to grow wheat due to the bitter winters, pestilence and rudimentary farming methods. Nevertheless, the soil and climate were entirely suitable to spring wheat production and relatively quickly the prairies became one of the greatest wheat growing regions known to man (Grains and Oilseeds Handling Marketing Processing Canadian International Grains Institute Winnipeg Manitoba, 1975, 449). Settlement was linked to wheat. As spring wheat and dry farming techniques developed, as world wheat demand increased and prices rose, as transportation and milling improved, so settlement in Western Canada increased from 17,000 in 1897 to 311,000 in 1911 and by 1914 the greater part of the remaining agricultural frontier had been settled (Marketing

Western Canada's Grain, 1967, 11). Ultimately flour and wheat developed into vital commodities for export: "From a crop of 50 million bushels . . . in 1904, wheat production in Western Canada increased nearly 400% in less than 10 years to 209 million bushels . . . in 1913. In recent years the annual crop has averaged over 600 million bushels" (Grains and Oilseeds Handling Marketing Processing Canadian International Grains Institute Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1975, 449). Much has been written on the topic of wheat production in Western Canada and it has been stated that "no commodity has contributed more than wheat to the wealth and export of [Canada]" (Marketing Canada's Grain Winnipeg Grain Exchange, 1963, 1). Further research reveals that "wheat production in Manitoba has been the largest single item in the agricultural economy of the province during the century. It is one of the easiest crops to grow and store and, during the past 100 years, has been one of the most stable crops in terms of production and income" (100 Years of Agriculture in Manitoba 1881-1980 A Statistical Profile, 1981, 17).

Given that mixed farming was hailed as an important industry in Manitoba in the early years of settlement; given that it was an equally important part of the economy of Belgium and that the Belgians were experienced intensive farmers; given that wheat cultivation had declined in Belgium and was still in the early stages of production in Western Canada, it is logical that the early Belgian colonists were principally interested in mixed farming when they settled in Manitoba.

(d) Hypothesis VIb 1889-1985: Suggests that Belgian colonists in the Bruxelles and Swan Lake region were mixed farmers before they immersed themselves in grain growing. On immigrating to the Canadian West Belgian

colonists undertook many occupations, but their prime interest was agriculture. Many hailed from overcrowded Belgian villages and it was their natural tendency to become farmers when they settled in Manitoba (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 69). "The majority took up mixed farming in the areas around St. Alphonse, Mariapolis, Swan Lake and Deloraine" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 69). Belgians soon demonstrated that they had been bred to the industry: "Those engaged in mixed farming soon earned respect for their industry, and as many of them were financially solvent, it was not long before substantial farms were acquired" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 69). To demonstrate their willingness to work and adapt to mixed farming in Canada it is worth recording that within 18 months of settlement one Belgian pioneer recalled: "I built a house, stable and granery and I bought two horses, a cow, calf, plough, wagon, sleigh, 3 pigs and two dozen chickens. I cultivated 12 acres the first year, and prepared 20 more for sowing the following year, 32 acres in all" (Translation: Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 69).

New types of husbandry were introduced to the mixed farming industry in Manitoba by the Belgians. Horse breeding was one aspect of this occupation at which Belgians were extremely successful; the introduction of the Percheron and the Belgian was a progressive and profitable step for Belgian farmers. The large size, docility and patience of these animals identified them as suitable for agriculture. The Federal and Provincial Governments approved the breeding of them and provided assistance by organizing local clubs and stud service (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 76). In discussing the local Fair, the minutes of the Lorne Agricultural Society of October 15, 1886, gave special mention to the Clydesdale horses owned by George H. Couch and R. Shewfelt of Kingsley,

to cattle owned by Francis De Roo, to shorthorns owned by Raymond De Roo and to Belgian horses bred by Arthur Lambaert of Mariapolis, whose success had become known throughout the province, even reaching the Horse Fair in Toronto (Brandt, 1980, 130).

The primary source of immediate cash before stock and grain became important was cordwood. It was chopped in the bush camps and brought by ox sleigh to Deerwood and Manitou for shipment to Red River. The advent of the C.N. Railway to Altamont in 1889 meant that many thousand cords were hauled from the local camps and stacked in strategic positions near the track to await transportation (Brandt, 1980, 120).

The abbé Willems of Belgium, who had been curé of Bruxelles for two years, assembled thirty letters attributed to Belgian colonists from the Lorne district which clearly stated that the area was suitable for mixed farming. Willems was requested to return to Belgium by the Minister of the Interior in order to publicize settlement in Manitoba. Two of these letters will suffice in order to demonstrate the feasibility of mixed farming in Manitoba. Alphonse Baccus, of Grand Mesnil, Belgium, wrote from Bruxelles, Manitoba, on November 19, 1893: "Right now my position is secure. At the end of my property is my house . . . all around me are my granery, . . . my stable and my cowshed, inside are three horses, one cow, one calf, six pigs and a number of chickens. Regarding tillage: 30 acres are cultivated; 20 more are ready for digging and ploughing, and these 50 acres, already a beautiful piece of land are entirely surrounded by barbed wire" (Translation: Les Belges au Manitoba, 1894, 8). The second, from Joseph Massoz, also of Grand Mesnil, Belgium, written from Bruxelles, Manitoba on November 24, 1893, clearly conveyed that mixed farming was a lucrative enterprise in Manitoba: "I have 35

acres under cultivation, the rest of my land is comprised of woods and hay; I have built a house, a granery and several stables; . . . and I have beside, all I need for agriculture, I keep 9 long-horned cattle and 4 horses. Six years of experience in this country have proved to me that animal husbandry combined with agriculture pays the best" (Translation: Les Belges au Manitoba, 1894, 9). Each of the thirty letters compiled by Willems discussed mixed farming in some detail and this was well recommended by the early Belgian colonists as an efficient method of becoming established in a new land. References were made to cattle, horses, pigs, poultry, ducks, oats, potatoes, yellow beets, red beets, carrots, onions, peas, cabbages, tobacco, dairying, lumber, hay, the amount of land under cultivation and grain being raised for poultry (Les Belges au manitoba, 1894, 4-26). Only one letter made a reference to grain: "Already the hard work of the Belgians has converted them to beautiful rich fields of wheat" (Translation: Les Belges au Manitoba, 1894, 10).

The earliest references to flour mills were from 1878 to 1887 in St. Leon. However, these dates were prior to the arrival of the first Belgian immigrants to Manitoba (Brandt, 1980, 109-11). The availability of better transportation through the railway increased the importance of grain exportation. Thus warehouses for storing grain were constructed. The Lindsay Milling Company, Dominion Elevator, Farmers Elevator Company, United Grain Growers, Ogilvie Milling Company, Federal Grain Company, Swan Lake Flour Company (owned by Mr. Gardiner and Simon Hodgeson), Maple Leaf Company and Five Roses were some elevator and milling companies mentioned as operating in southern Manitoba from 1887 to 1913 (Brandt, 1980, 109-11, 121, 139-43, 145-6). W. E. Holliston, R. G.

Swain, James Armitage, A. W. Whiteford and Gordon Holliston were listed as agents; G. B. Gordon was a warehouse owner; Edouard Labossière managed the grain grinder at Somerset; Louis St. Malo and Arthur Larriée were credited with excellence in wheat farming; the Woods Brothers owned an elevator in the early 1900s and George G. Hambley ascertained that wheat was grown in his father's fields (Brandt, 1980, 121, 137-8, 153, 164-5, 139-43). In Somerset "agriculture . . . overshadowed all other means of earning one's living" (Brandt, 1980, 151). Wheat was being grown in the latter half of the nineteenth and in the early years of the twentieth centuries with a yield of 36 bushels an acre in Manitoba. In some cases as much as 41.8 and 42.2 bushels per acre were produced (Brandt, 1980, 164-5). "There was such a variety and excellence of Manitoba products: . . . wheat, oats, barley, peas, flax, corn . . . and all vegetables grew in abundance. Manitoba wheat was in great demand. Mills from Ontario were paying 20 cents more a bushel for it, because of its good quality. Manitoba and the North West were the only places that produced this quality of grain" (Brandt, 1980, 165). Nevertheless, Belgian names were not connected with the management of a mill in the capacity of owner or agent, nor with the sale of grain at the end of the nineteenth or during the first decade of the twentieth centuries.

Mariapolis recorded its first Manitoba Government Elevator in 1913, while Swan Lake leased one in 1917. Both these were built by the Winnipeg Elevator Company. The latter was eventually taken over by Federal Grain in 1928. N. M. Paterson built an elevator in 1923 and a second was built in 1925 by the United Grain Growers, and a third by Manitoba Pool in 1928. The first indication of Belgian involvement at

the management level was in 1921; of the 26 names on the local boards of the United Grain Growers Association, 3 were Belgian, De Roo, Brandt and Roeland. Victor De Roo bought an elevator in 1928 (Brandt, 1980, 274-5). At the same time, Soubry Grain, dealing in cereals, feeds, flour and grain was founded in 1928. This was "the only Belgian elevator in the Winnipeg area . . . [which] served the needs of most Belgian farmers and dairymen. It was located on Archibald Street in the heart of St. Boniface's old Belgian town" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 79). By 1899, there were 447 elevators in Western Canada; 256 of these belonged to three large companies, 95 were owned by two milling companies, and independents, whether millers, grain dealers or groups of farmers were proprietors of the remaining 96 (Clark, 1916, 8). Thus only 21.47 per cent of all elevators were individually owned in the early stages of production. By 1926-7 these small farmer owned elevators accounted for more than half the grain handled in Western Canada or 220 million bushels out of a total of 420 million bushels (Booth, 1928, 1). Some of the first companies to be drawn into the Western grain elevator business were milling firms such as the Ogilvie Milling Company which built its first elevator at Gretna in 1881; The Lake of the Woods Milling Company, 1887, which was linked to George Stephen and Sir William Van Horne of the C.P.R., and James Richardson and Son, founded in Kingston, Ontario in 1857 (Wilson, 1978, 14). In the last three decades of the nineteenth century Western Canada, and in particular Manitoba, had evolved into a grain growing region with the production of grain, its growing and its shipping, becoming the two main occupations (Friesen, 1970, 130). However, Belgians were not directly involved in the ownership and management of grain elevators in the early years of their

settlement.

De Pape (1985) ascertained that Belgian farmers did not become involved in the grain growing industry until approximately 1900 to 1910; that elevators were introduced to the Lorne district about 1910; that these were generally owned by the Government, United Grain Growers, Federal Grain or Wiley-Low and that Manitoba Pool was established there by 1928. While Belgian farmers did not own any elevators at that time they utilized those that were in the district for their grain. One reason for the time lapse between the arrival of the early Belgian settlers and their interest in grain was practical. De Pape (1985) whose father was a Belgian colonist in 1894 in the Lorne district, stated that the land was bush country. This had to be cleared and the process was slow as the work was manually done. Wood was cut down and transported to Holland, Manitoba, by oxcart to the C.N. Railway line. At that time there was no C.P.R. line in the Swan Lake-Somerset area, thus the distance travelled by oxcart to Holland from Swan Lake was considerable and retarded the settlement process. De Pape (1985) was born in the district and has spent a lifetime in Manitoba with 40 years experience in the grain business.

Stewart Searle (1985) chairman of Federal Industries Limited stated that Belgians have not been involved in the grain business (Searle, 1985). Emile Soubry, the founder of Soubry Grain, emigrated from Roulers, Flanders, to Manitoba in 1910. On arrival in St. Boniface he started a grocery business in order to become established in Manitoba and it was not until 1928 that he immersed himself in the grain business with the founding of the Soubry Grain Elevator. The company dealt in cereals, feeds, flour and grain and it was to supply his Belgian company

that the grain elevator was established in Winnipeg (McKall and Soubry, 1985). Brandt (1985) confirmed that in the early years of settlement mixed farming was the choice of Belgian colonists but that at the present time animals are rare and all the agriculture is in grain (Brandt, 1985a).

(e) Conclusion to Hypothesis VIb: Manitoba was considered admirable mixed farming country in the early years of settlement between 1870 and 1900. Farming was encouraged by the media of the day which suggested many ways in which the newly arrived immigrant might become financially established. Belgians in their homeland were intensive farmers, working small plots of land to produce much variety in crops and animal husbandry. Wheat production had declined in Belgium by the end of the nineteenth century, but was still superior in production when compared with the three neighbouring countries of Britain, France and Germany. In the Canadian West, wheat was only emerging as an industry at the turn of the nineteenth century. On immigration to the south western region of Manitoba, Belgians, on the whole, settled for mixed farming and were generally extremely hardworking and successful as colonists. The many letters from early immigrants compiled by M. l'abbé Willems at the request of the Minister of the Interior attested to this fact. It was found that grain growing, flour milling, grain warehouses, elevators and their owners or agents did not involve Belgians until 1921 when three Belgian names appeared on the local boards of the United Grain Growers Association and Soubry Grain established the first Belgian owned elevator in the Winnipeg area in 1928. The reason for the delay between the arrival of the first Belgian farmers in Manitoba and

their participation in the grain business was practical in that the land was bush country which had to be cleared manually. Thus the process was slow. Other Belgian settlers sought financial security through trade before turning to grain. In recent times Belgian farmers in the Lorne district have relinquished their tradition of mixed farming for grain growing. In essence, Belgian farmers who migrated to Manitoba in the early years, between 1889 and 1900, continued in the tradition of mixed farming of their homeland until it became practical for them to produce grain. Thus the hypothesis that the early Belgian settlers in the Bruxelles-Swan Lake region were mixed farmers before they turned to grain growing can be supported.

8. The Sugar Beet Industry

The sugar beet industry developed slowly in Manitoba, taking about 100 years from the time that the first experiments were carried out to the opening of a plant in Manitoba in 1940. By contrast it was a progressive industry in Belgium in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This section endeavors to demonstrate the role that Belgian colonists played in the development of the sugar beet industry in Manitoba. While the majority of all sugar consumed in Europe is produced from sugar beets, 85 percent of the sugar consumed in Canada is produced from sugar cane. The remaining 15 percent can be attributed to sugar beets, with Alberta and Manitoba being the prime sources. Indeed, all the sugar beets grown and manufactured in Manitoba and Alberta are utilized in their entirety by the three Prairie Provinces (Western Canada's Sugar Beet Industry, n.d., 2-3).

(a) The Sugar Beet Industry in Manitoba: The sugar beet industry in Manitoba initially developed slowly. The area for the introduction of sugar beet farming was within a 100 mile radius of Winnipeg (Robertson, 1968, 52). One hundred years elapsed from the earliest reported efforts to generate sugar from beets at Red River in 1840 to the opening of a progressive sugar plant in 1940 (Robertson, 1968, 69).

The earliest attempts to grow sugar beets were unsuccessful as several early commentators stated. J. J. Hargrave, for example, noted that in the first years the Beetroot Sugar Company was one which left only debts; H. Y. Hind reported that sugar was made from the ash-leaved maple tree on the banks of the Assiniboine (Robertson, 1968, 48). By the end of the nineteenth century:

at the request of the Winnipeg Board, the Department [of Agriculture] experimented during the season in raising sugar beets. . . . Each grower had two plots alongside each other, 20 x 22 feet each, planted with a different variety of Beets, each grower having two kinds. They were in most cases grown by market gardners. . . . The season was too dry in the early parts to give them a proper early start. So discouraging was it that several farmers who got seed did not sow it, while some that sowed it cultivated it down thinking it useless to leave it.

(Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture,
1888-1912, 1901, 251).

A further report the following year was no better:

The experiments made in 1900 were unfavourable on account of the dry season. . . . If a season like the present one that is favourable for every kind of crop in Manitoba is unfavourable to the growth of sugar beets, farmers will no doubt prefer a bountiful harvest even though the season may not be favourable for the growth of sugar beets.

(Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture,
1888-1912, 1902, 301).

These two reports are substantiated by a cryptic comment twenty years

later: "Roots continue to be very little grown" (Manitoba Crop Bulletins 1910-1920 inc., No: 98, n.d., 11). This statement was further supported by a 1920 report from the same source: "Roots are very little grown, and 1920 was not a favourable season for those that were sown" (Manitoba Crop Bulletins 1910-1920 inc., No: 99, n.d., 13). In 1918, the Winnipeg Board of Trade, under Michael Scott, crusaded for beet growing in Manitoba and a breakthrough came in 1924 when it was discovered that maturity was an essential ingredient of successful beet growing (Robertson, 1968, 51). "Seed was distributed to 180 farmers within 100 miles of Winnipeg bounded by Portage La Prairie, Teulon, Whitemouth and Emerson (map 1). A supervisor was appointed and sample beets collected from 141 farmers" (Robertson, 1968, 52). Ironically, the depression encouraged the fledgling industry because at that time wheat had almost no value and eggs and milk were being discarded. In order to establish the industry beet seeds and machinery were provided free and labour was furnished by the farmer, his family and many thousand unemployed during the depression years. By the autumn of 1930, 516 tons had been produced in Headingly, Lilyfield, Selkirk and Stonewall (map 1). The following year, 2,540 tons of beets had been harvested on 369 acres by 26 pioneers in Selkirk, Gretna and Emerson. The highest yield was 10.6 tons per acre and the smallest 3.68 tons with a mean of 6.8 tons per acre. Lack of greater tonnage per acre was attributed to the lack of experience on the part of the farmers with fertilizers and correct methods of seeding being cited (Robertson, 1968, 52). In spite of the availability of money from Holland and a government commitment of \$600,000, the interest of a British group and a Montreal group, no beet factory materialized in the 1930s (Robertson, 1968, 61).

With the advent of World War II refugee capital surfaced from Europe to help launch the sugar beet industry in Manitoba. One industrialist, Albert Flagenheimer, was prepared to invest \$1 million in machinery and equipment; the Canadian Government had already promised \$600,000 and a group of Manitoba investors planned to raise the rest (Robertson, 1968, 63). Construction commenced, 450 Manitoba farmers signed up and profits of \$30 per acre were estimated. Manitoba received the project enthusiastically; "'We are fortunate that there are many farmers from the Old World--Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ukrainians, etc.,--settled in the district, who are familiar with beet cultivation'" read the first report to the shareholders (quoted in Robertson, 1968, 65). This was in 1939, 50 years after the first large contingent of 200 Belgians came to Canada (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 13). As well, by 1941, it was clear that Manitoba was the second choice of Belgians for settlement in Canada (The Canada Year Book 1945, 1945, 105-6) (table 3). Nevertheless, Belgians were not mentioned as part of the experienced group of 'Old World farmers' who would "'be regarded as our key men who will educate their neighbours in beet culture'" (quoted in Robertson, 1968, 65). The reason for this may have been that numerically the Belgians only represented a very small percentage of the total population of Manitoba. In 1941, for example, they only signified .92 percent of Manitoba's population (The Canada Year Book, 1945, 1945, 106) (table 3). Thus compared with more visible groups, such as those from Eastern Europe, it is possible that they may have been overlooked.

The outbreak of World War II was a severe blow to the sugar beet industry in Manitoba. Flagenheimer's machinery, prepaid, could not be delivered from Germany. However, later that year two wealthy investors,

Table 3: Racial Origins of the Population by Provinces and Territories, 1941, Belgians

<u>Province</u>	<u>Number of Belgians</u>	<u>Percent of Canadian Total</u>
Prince Edward Island	3	0.01
Nova Scotia	828	2.78
New Brunswick	282	0.94
Quebec	4,182	14.07
Ontario	8,575	28.86
Manitoba	6,715	22.60
Saskatchewan	4,250	14.30
Alberta	2,919	9.82
British Columbia	1,930	6.49
Yukon	21	0.07
North West Territories	6	0.02

Total number of Belgians for Canada in 1941, 29,711.

Source: The Canada Year Book 1945, 1945, 105-6.

Total population of Manitoba in 1941, 729,744.

Total population of Canada in 1941, 11,506,655.

Source: The Canada Year Book 1945, 1945, 106.

Baron Kronacker of Belgium and Baron Neuman of New York appeared on the scene. "The company was disbanded from its original charter and reformed as the Manitoba Sugar Company. It issued 15,000 shares at \$100 each-- between them Kronacker and Neuman controlled almost half the company. The majority was owned by a group of Manitobans. In addition to this \$1.5 million, the company had the \$600,000 government guarantee" (Robertson, 1968, 70). The new building was finally opened on October 2, 1940 (Robertson, 1968, 71). The outbreak of hostilities had created a

demand for Canadian produced sugar and land speculation demonstrated the expectation of economic prosperity (Robertson, 1968, 70).

Robertson (1968, 79) stated that French Canadians who had lived for many years along the Red River just south of Winnipeg represented "many of the original farmers," but that their interest waned early due to the heavy wet land which was unsuitable for beet farming (Robertson, 1968, 79). The Mennonites, too, were cited as those who were the first beet growers who struggled in the early days without machinery. The Ukrainians and Dutch were also reported as those who remembered beet growing in their homeland. But no account was given of Belgian participation by Robertson (1968, 79).

(b) The Sugar Beet Industry in Belgium: In Belgium, in contrast to Manitoba, sugar beets were one of two agricultural industries that had developed greatly between 1846 and 1895 (Rowntree, 1911, 182). From 1900-1914 "in Oostkezk (West Flanders near Bruges), the growers managed upon an average to get 20 tons of sugar beet [per acre] as against 12½ tons in the rest of Belgium" (Rowntree, 1911, 178-9). This demonstrated that Belgians had been efficient sugar beet farmers for almost 30 years prior to the inception of the industry in Manitoba.

(c) The Belgian Contribution to the Sugar Beet Industry in Manitoba: Hypothesis VIc, 1889-1985. Hypothesis VIc suggests that Belgian farmers who settled in the Winnipeg area were initially responsible for organizing the sugar beet industry in Manitoba. Belgian participation in the sugar beet industry in Manitoba was small due, in part, to the fact that numerically, the Belgians represented a scant fraction of the population

of Manitoba in 1941, 0.92 percent (The Canada Year Book, 1945, 1945, 106) (table 4). However, Belgian farmers, though extremely small in number, did participate in the sugar beet industry in the early years. Leon Dusessoy was one of ten pioneers honoured at the Annual Meeting of the Beet Growers Association in 1965 (Robertson, 1968, 176). His son, Odriel Dusessoy, confirmed this and himself continues beet farming in the Fort Whyte, Manitoba, region (Dusessoy, 1985). Further inquiry revealed that there were "many Belgians" in the sugar beet industry from the early years, Gustave Vermeulen and Emerick Bonne being two names cited to the writer (Bonne, 1985). Bonne (1985) confirmed that he first worked for his father, ultimately going into the business himself in 1962. He stated that beets were a cash crop and could be combined with mixed farming, potatoes, onions, grain being grown as a side line. Research at the Manitoba Sugar Company revealed that there were 15 Belgian sugar beet farmers in Manitoba from 1940 to 1949; 28 who joined the industry from 1950 to 1959 and 9 who started farming sugar beets after 1960 (Manitoba Sugar Company, May 16, 1985). From the confirmed list (table 4) it can be seen that 9 of the 52 Belgian sugar beet growers terminated farming sugar beets before 1960; another 38 ceased to farm sugar beets before 1985; the remaining 5 are still farming sugar beets. Only one of those who commenced farming sugar beets from 1940 to 1949 is still with the industry. The paucity of Belgian participation is corroborated by Peggy Sellers, daughter of Colonel Aikens, Chairman of the Manitoba Sugar Company in 1940 (Sellers, 1985). Records of the Manitoba Sugar Company showed that there were three Belgian farmers out of a total of 450 registered with them in 1940. This represented 0.66 percent of the total (Manitoba Sugar Company, 1985).

Table 4: Belgian Sugar Beet Farmers

<u>Commenced Farming</u>	<u>Name of Farmer</u>	<u>Number of Acres</u>	<u>Location of Farm</u>	
1940	Dusessoy, Leon	5	Fort Whyte	✓
1940	Maes, Mrs. G.	5	Fort Whyte	✓
1940	Overwater, Ren.	5	Vermette	*
1942	Desimpelaere, A.	5	Fort Garry	*
1942	Lanoo, Adiel	5.5	Fort Whyte	✓
1942	Vandenberghé Bros.	5	Fort Garry	*
1943	Overwater, Jack	15	Charleswood	
1945	Desimpelaere, G.	4	Fort Garry	*
1946	Lanoo, Marguerite	18	Fort Garry	✓
1946	Vereecke, Leon	2	Fort Garry	*
1946	Vermeulen, G.	5	Fort Garry	*
1947	Overwater, John	5	Pacific Jet. Manitoba	*
1947	Overwater, Neil	5	Pacific Jet. Manitoba	*
1948	Lanoo, August	3	Fort Garry	*
1948	Vandenberghé, Geo.	1	St. Germain	✓
1950	Bonne, Emerick	4	Fort Garry	✓
1950	Callens, Mrs. L.	3	Fort Garry	✓
1950	Claeys, R.	7	Fort Whyte	✓
1950	DeMeyer, N.	10	Fort Garry	✓
1950	Desimpelaere, L.	5	Fort Garry	✓
1951	Bonne, Edmond	5	Fort Garry	✓
1951	Vijverman, Hippoliet	3	Fort Garry	✓
1951	Visser, John	15	Winnipeg, R. R. 1	✓
1952	Baeyens, R.	25	St. Boniface	✓
1952	Bonne, Mrs. M.	2	Fort Garry	✓
1952	Claeys, G.	4	Fort Whyte	✓
1952	Dusessoy, Odier	7	Fort Whyte	
1952	Vandenberghé, Joe	20	St. Germain	✓
1952	Van Boxstael, Jean	15	Brunkild	✓
1952	Van Wynsberg, A. J.	8	Fort Garry	✓
1953	Bonckamp, H.	3	St. Boniface	✓
1953	Lanoo, Mrs. E.	4	Fort Whyte	✓
1953	Overwater, C. & J.	40	Winnipeg	
1953	Van Aert Bros.	37	St. Pierre	✓
1954	Bakker, J. W.	18	Old Kildonan	✓
1954	Van Wynsberg, C. H.	10	Fort Garry	✓

<u>Commenced Farming</u>	<u>Name of Farmer</u>	<u>Number of Acres</u>	<u>Location of Farm</u>
1955	Bonne, R. & R. Allen	20	Fort Garry ✓
1955	Bruinooge, N. F.	44	Portage ✓
1955	Van Synsberg, W.	5	Winnipeg ✓ (690 Brock)
1956	Desimpelaere, G. & A.	70	Fort Garry ✓
1959	Bruinooge, D.	35	Portage ✓
1959	Brick, Mrs. M.	5	Fort Whyte ✓
1959	Lanoo, Arthur	4	Fort Whyte ✓
1962	Bonne Bros.	80	Fort Garry ✓
1966	Lanoo, Gerard Ltd.	20	Fort Whyte ✓
1974	Bonne, Robert	50	Winnipeg ✓
1974	Bonne, Ron	15	Winnipeg ✓
1974	Bonne Farms	150	Lot 61, Lee Blvd.
1974	Dusessoy, Gerald	15	Fort Whyte
1975	Overwater, Tom E.	25	Winnipeg ✓
1976	Bonne, James	25	Winnipeg ✓
1981	Overwater, Albert J.	45	Charleswood ✓

* concluded sugar beet farming before 1960
✓ concluded sugar beet farming before 1985
all others are still sugar beet farming

N.B. The name Overwater is included in the above list because Mrs. Overwater was Belgian.
All names were verified as being Belgian by R. Neufeld and G. Zednai: Manitoba Sugar Company, May 16, 1985.

Source: Manitoba Sugar Company Records.

In spite of problems which arise from an industry in its infancy, the company's net profit in the first year was \$100,385. However, severe cold and much rain set the course for disaster. In 1941 one quarter of the harvest worth \$200,000 was left in the ground. A labour shortage and a lack of harmony between the beet growers and the company regarding an increase in the share of the profits by the farmers did not

encourage the industry to prosper in the early 1940's and 1945 was the worst year for the sugar beet industry (Robertson, 1968, 82, 84-94). By 1952 the capital investment in the company was divided between three parties; Baron Kronacker of Belgium, Baron Neuman of New York and the Manitoba group. The latter agreed not to sell to Kronacker and Neuman. Robertson (1968, 117) stated that the "Canadian investors were more willing to sell to a Canadian company than to Belgian capitalists." This would indicate that both Kronacker and Neuman were Belgian. Thus, the Manitoba group sold to the British Columbia Sugar Refining Company which took over the Manitoba Sugar Company (Robertson, 1968, 117).

(d) Conclusion to Hypothesis VIc: The sugar beet industry in Manitoba developed slowly. In 1924 it was discovered that the maturity of beets was an essential ingredient to successful sugar beet farming. Seed was distributed to 180 farmers within a radius of 100 miles of Winnipeg. The average yield in the early stages was 6.8 tons per acre. However no beet factory materialized in the 1930's. In Belgium beet growing developed greatly from 1846 to 1895. The average tonnage was 20 tons per acre in West Flanders and 12.25 tons per acre in the rest of Belgium.

With the advent of World War II refugee capital of \$1 million, surfaced from Europe and the Canadian Government promised \$600,000 in order to launch a sugar beet industry in Manitoba. Construction commenced and 450 farmers signed up to grow sugar beets. The outbreak of World War II prevented the delivery of machinery from Europe. However other wealthy investors, Baron Kronacker of Belgium, Baron Neuman of New York and a group of Manitobans managed to launch the company with a \$1.5 million investment. The Government added its guaranteed \$600,000

to this and the new building was opened in 1940. The demand for Canadian produced sugar increased due to the outbreak of war. French Canadians, Mennonites, Ukrainians and Dutch farmers were mentioned as participants in the sugar beet industry. Belgian farmers were part of the industry, though their numbers were small. Out of 450 farmers who signed up when the factory was opened, very few were Belgian; between 1940 and 1948 only 15 Belgian names appeared on the card file of the Manitoba Sugar Company, 3.3 percent of the total.

While sugar beet growing was a successful industry in Belgium and certainly some Belgian farmers were part of the early contributors to the sugar beet industry it cannot be stated that Belgian farmers initially organized the sugar beet industry. While two Belgian industrialists were responsible for part of the capital required to launch the project Manitobans held more than half the shares and ultimately sold to the British Columbia Sugar Refining Company. Thus even Belgian capital was not solely responsible for the ultimate future of the Manitoba Sugar Company. Therefore, it must be conceded that while Belgians played a part both financially and agriculturally it has been ascertained that they were not the principal players. One reason for this was that the Belgians were numerically so small that they could not hope to compete statistically with other more numerous and visible ethnic groups who participated in the sugar beet industry. Thus the hypothesis that the Belgians initially organized the sugar beet industry in Manitoba cannot be supported.

9. Other Agricultural Talents

Flemish farmers were knowledgeable farmers in their own country.

They were cognizant of and innovative in the practice of agriculture with the result that otherwise useless areas of land became productive. In Canada, in general, some of this experience was utilized to good advantage. This section endeavors to evaluate Flemish farming practices in Manitoba in conjunction with the difficulties of early settlement in a harsh land.

(a) Belgian Agricultural Education: That the Belgians were skillful and experienced mixed farmers at the turn of the nineteenth century has been demonstrated in the previous section of this chapter (Rowntree, 1911, 172, 174, 175, 186, 215-7, 235, 575). The reason for their success was in part due to the agricultural education to which Belgian farmers had access. This facility was extremely comprehensive: farmers' daughters, for example, were able to attend schools where agriculture was taught; primary schools gave agricultural education; there were continuing education evening classes and travelling schools which taught dairying and agriculture. Responsible for these programmes were 27 government experts and their assistants, agronomes de l'Etat, who resided and worked throughout the country. The success of these courses, 80 percent of the rural farming population attended, was attributed to the fact that the agronomes knew the local people. Thus there developed a rapport between farmer and lecturer. Specific options were emphasized such as methods of cultivation, soil and crop suitability and manure types. A direct consequence of this agricultural education was the use of artificial manure of which the Belgians used more per acre than any other single country at that time. The result was that moors and wasteland were modified into profitable farmland (Rowntree, 1911, 219-225).

Ensor (1915, 211) confirmed that Belgians used more chemical manures to the square mile than any other country. Cowie (1977, 173) revealed that Belgium's 3,700,000 acres of agricultural land supplied 80 percent of all domestic food requirements. Huggett (1969, 207) also confirmed that the "national agricultural industry supplied about 80 percent of . . . [Belgium's] food requirements." Mallinson (1969, 73) stated that in 1870 Belgium remained the most progressive European horticultural country, citing the sugar beet industry as one which had made particular strides through the introduction of mechanization. Misner (1945, 148-9) reported that 2,500,000 people were on farms in 1930 and that 58 percent of Belgium was under agriculture and 4.2 percent under horticulture, the average farm size being 4.4 acres.

Belgian farming techniques and ingenuity were put to the test in their own country. Two erstwhile useless areas of Belgium owe their present productivity to some of these skills. The coastal polder country and the sandy stretch south of this were at one time unproductive. The polder region of Belgium, almost at sea level, has been retrieved from the sea through enormous effort by man. Dyke maintenance is financed through a special tax levied on every land owner in the vicinity for that purpose. Thus rich meadows replaced the swamp land, producing barley, horse beans, oats, peas, wheat, winter barley, beets and potatoes. Equally productive, the sandy regions have become "the fertile plains and fat meadows of Flanders" (Rowntree, 1911, 5). Much manure and continuous care are required to maintain the sandy wastes as fertile lands (Rowntree, 1911, 4-5).

(b) Belgian Farmers' Expertise in Canada: In Canada "Belgians have probably made their greatest contribution . . . as farmers" (The Canadian

Family Tree, 1967, 42). The early Belgian settlers were attracted to Western Canada, but in the 1920's many settled in the south western region of Ontario when sugar beet farming and tobacco growing was their forte (The Canadian Family Tree, 1967, 42). It was in Ontario that the Belgians were so financially successful that they were able to buy their own land in a relatively short time, establishing their families and becoming community leaders (The Canadian Family Tree, 1967, 43). Some Belgians brought with them specific agricultural skills. For example at Grand Beach, Ontario, Gerhard Vander Bussche, a successful tobacco farmer who had emigrated from Belgium prior to World War II, purchased a 1000 acre marsh which was considered unfit for agriculture. He then arranged for colonists to emigrate from Belgium to Ontario and together they successfully drained the swamp eventually growing top-grade vegetables. The area, renamed Klondyke Gardens, became the source of first-grade produce for the markets of Toronto, Hamilton, Detroit and Baltimore (The Canadian Family Tree, 1967, 43). In Quebec a group of Belgian tobacco growers formed a settlement in Joliette County and grew tobacco in the once abandoned sandy areas of that region (The Canadian Family Tree, 1967, 43). Both these transformations were similar to those of the polder region and the sandy soils just south of it in their homeland.

Given that in the latter half of the nineteenth century Belgian farmers were exposed to the advantages of special educational opportunities in agriculture and that their success as farmers was due, in part, to these comprehensive studies; given that in Ontario and Quebec in the first half of the twentieth century, some peculiarities of Flemish farming demonstrated successful innovations in agriculture it is appropriate to hypothesize that the Belgians transferred some of their agricultural

expertise from Belgium to Manitoba.

(c) Belgian Farmers in Manitoba: Hypothesis VI d 1889-1985. Hypothesis VI d suggests that Belgian immigrant farmers brought peculiarities of Flemish farming with them to Manitoba. Successful farmers in their own country, the Belgians were sagacious enough when they came to Manitoba to utilize past experience from home to their advantage as agriculturalists in Western Canada. An endeavor is made to demonstrate that besides past experience, perseverance, thrift and the ability to adapt, were important ingredients when settling a new land.

In 1931, in Holland, Manitoba, the breeding of the Belgian Percheron was organized and the Belgian Horse Breeders Club was formed. Arthur Lambaert of Mariapolis, Theo Baete of Swan Lake and later, Michael De Pape of Holland were three well-known horse breeders who owned many magnificent stallions during the early part of the twentieth century (Holland Manitoba 1877-1967, n.d., 167-9). Wilson and Wyndels (1976, 75) ascertained that "as mixed farmers Belgian immigrants introduced new types of husbandry to Manitoba. In particular, . . . two new breeds of horse: the Belgian and the Percheron. The first Belgian . . . was owned by the Lambaert brothers of St. Alphonse; the first Percheron . . . by a syndicate in Swan Lake and [it] was later sold to a Winnipeg firm for a handsome profit." These two breeds had originated in Belgium and France. The demand for them encouraged Belgian farmers to commence horse breeding and ultimately they produced a strain that compared satisfactorily with those bred in their native land. It was stated in the previous section (Chapter 4, hypothesis V c . . .), that the Federal Department of Agriculture approved the enterprise as financial assist-

ance was offered by the Government to the various Horse Breeders Clubs in Manitoba (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 76). Hambley (n.d.) supported Wilson and Wyndels (1976), citing Charlie De Pape and the Lambaert brothers as successful horse breeders, the importation of Belgian stock stallions and the demand for the Percheron as excellent work horses due to their gentleness of character (Hambley, n.d., 194, 34, 144, 143). It is worthy of note that in Belgium, at the turn of the century, horse breeding was an agricultural pursuit considered to be of national importance. Indeed there were "three large national societies for improving the breed of horses" at that time (Rowntree, 1911, 235). Thus, successful breeders in their own country, Belgian farmers in Manitoba revived a national skill. In the last decade of the nineteenth century the Holland Agricultural Society in Manitoba, planned and succeeded in holding an annual fair in the vicinity of that town. Horses and cattle were exhibited and eventually many excellent herds were bred. August and Charlie De Pape of Belgium were among the five most well known breeders (Holland Manitoba 1877-1967, n.d., 131).

Brandt (1980, 130) noted the success of some early Belgian farmers as cattle breeders (Hypothesis VIb). Hambley (n.d., 34) stated that cattle exhibited by Francis De Roo and his sons, in particular the short-horns owned by Raymond De Roo, "made a name all over the province." Elaborating, Hambley (n.d., 193-4) stated that Charlie De Pape exhibited good cattle but that the short-horn cattle raised by Raymond De Roo received recognition at Brandon Provincial Fair and at Stock sales for prize animals. Coincidentally, by the end of the nineteenth century, one of the three "most striking facts in connection with Belgian agriculture . . . [was] . . . the great development of cattle breeding"

(Rowntree, 1911, 172). Again, it appears that an important agricultural trend from Belgium was pursued in Manitoba by Belgian colonists.

The importance of agriculture in Belgium and the expertise of Belgians as agriculturalists, in particular in the field of market gardening, has been discussed at some length in Hypotheses VIa and VIb (Lyon, 1971, 137; Rowntree, 1911, 172, 186, 189, 190). That Manitoba has suitable country for mixed farming, especially for market gardening can be seen from an excerpt of a report by Theobald Bitsche of Swan Lake on December 20, 1886:

The land is extremely fertile. I have been in Manitoba for eight years . . . and have recorded the weather daily and compared it with the weather reports from Europe with the following conclusions. The summers in Manitoba are warm enough for the harvesting of wheat, oats, barley, flax and peas. Vegetables such as potatoes, turnips, beets, carrots, radishes, cabbage, cauliflower and many others grow better here than anywhere else I have seen. The wild hay is bountiful and of very good quality. (Brandt, 1975, 129)

Wilson and Wyndels (1976) noted that in Manitoba "in addition to mixed farming Belgians also engaged in market gardening in both the urban and rural areas of the province. Like many European groups, they introduced the new strains of market garden produce. The Andries family . . . [for example], developed . . . specialized varieties of currants, gooseberries, raspberries, and strawberries" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 76). Brandt (1980) also reported that in St. Alphonse "all types of vegetables grew in abundance, a cabbage weighed 40 pounds, a potato weighed 4 pounds . . . tobacco was grown satisfactorily "and there was an abundance of wild fruits of many varieties (Brandt, 1980, 165). A letter from Pierre Martin Lacombe, a Belgian immigrant of 1893, written from Bruxelles, Manitoba, on December 5 of that same year testified to successful

market gardening: "In 1893 . . . we harvested 100 bags of wheat, 48 bags of barley, 6 bags of oats, 250 bags of potatoes, 5 bags of peas, 4 bags of onions, 200 pounds of tobacco, 40 bags of cabbages, 20 bags of yellow beets, 10 bags of red beets and 12 bags of carrots. I cleared 40 acres and I have 10 of them cultivated" (Translation: Les Belges au Manitoba, 1894, 25). That the early Belgian colonists exerted themselves in order to become established can be attested to from their correspondence. A letter from Joseph Hutlet of Halanzy, Luxembourg, written from Manitoba on February 19, 1892 conveys the general impression of stoicism and hard work which was universal among these people: "After our voyage I had 700 francs left; at present we have 6 head of cattle but they are not all paid for yet, a house, a granary, 3 barns and a chicken house. This winter we are hauling wood to Holland to pay for the lumber used for the buildings. We have cleared and planted only 8 acres of land, because we must work out during harvest time to pay for the cattle. I honestly say that we must work very hard in order to get established" (Brandt, n.d., 20). Thus the innate tendency of Belgian farmers for market gardening and the knowledge that the land could be productive, together with their willingness to work, enabled the Belgians to develop mixed farming and market gardening in Manitoba successfully.

With 517 co-operative dairies in Belgium by 1907, it can be seen that the dairy business was an integral part of Belgium's agricultural economy at the turn of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Rowntree, 1911, 240). Similarly, dairying by the Belgians was significant in Manitoba (The Canadian Family Tree, 1979, 33). It has already been noted (chapter 4, hypothesis VIb) that Belgian farmers were

committed to the dairy industry (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 76-7; Muys, 1985). Broadly speaking their method of operation was independence. Farmers seldom possessed more than 50 cows; they sold individually their assets in butter, milk and cream; they used tokens as a method of trade; some catered to commercial establishments, and many engaged in door-to-door delivery commencing with the handling of 'loose milk' (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 77-8). This much resembled the system of the small co-operative dairies of their homeland of which there were 337 out of a total of 517 (Rowntree, 1911, 240). Thus Belgians pursued the tradition of dairying from Belgium to Manitoba practicing much the same methods they employed in their homeland. In general, Belgians were agriculturalists who "specialized regionally--tobacco culture in southern Ontario, beet growing in Alberta and Ontario, dairying in Manitoba, small fruit growing in British Columbia and market gardening in Quebec" (The Canadian Family Tree, 1979, 33).

While Belgian farmers regenerated many successful agricultural industries from Belgium to Manitoba, this was due for the most part to previous experience and much exposure to agriculture both historically and practically rather than to the importation of any peculiarities of Flemish farming to that province (De Pape, 1985). De Pape (1985), the son of an early Belgian colonist who migrated to Manitoba in 1894 and who farmed in Lorne Municipality, stated that the Belgians did not bring any peculiarities of Flemish farming with them to Manitoba. With much exposure to farming, including 40 years in the grain business, De Pape (1985) suggested that Belgian farmers had the ability for thrift and hard work and that they had learned to adapt rapidly to the soil and climatic conditions of Manitoba and had been experienced farmers

in Belgium. This was substantiated by Belgian historian Yvette Brandt and her husband Bob Brandt, life-long residents of Swan Lake. The key to success in Belgian farming was thrift, hard work, an extensive previous knowledge of farming and a willingness to adapt (Brandt, 1985a).

(d) Conclusion to Hypothesis VI d: In Belgium, at the turn of the nineteenth century, Belgian farmers and their families were exposed to special agricultural courses which were provided by government experts, agronomes de l'Etat, to farming communities. During these classes specific options were emphasized; cultivation methods, soil and crop suitability and manure types. This enabled Belgium to become an extremely progressive horticultural country which was intensively farmed. Their skill as farmers enabled Belgians to convert erstwhile wasteland into profitable farmland including the coastal polder region and the sandy area just south of this. In Ontario, Belgian colonists repeated with success skills they had learned in their homeland; the draining of a marsh and the transformation of sandy wasteland into cultivable farmland. Mixed farming, horticulture, dairying and horse breeding were among several successful agricultural industries in Belgium. These occupations were established successfully in Manitoba by the Belgians. While Belgians were successful in pursuing their agricultural talents from their homeland to Manitoba, this was due more to thrift, hard work, the ability to adapt and to their competence as farmers, rather than to the importation of any peculiarities of Flemish farming to that province. Thus the hypothesis that the Belgians brought peculiarities of Flemish farming with them to Manitoba cannot be supported.

Thus McQuillan's (1978b, 138) argument regarding "folk artifacts

and elements of material culture in the landscape that distinguished one immigrant area from other immigrant areas in North America" does not seem to be applicable to the Belgians in Manitoba. It would appear that Mannion's (1974, 30) findings could more easily be related to the Belgians: "few elements of the south-east Irish farm yard ever crossed the ocean. All major components of the farm yard . . . were radically altered. Most new forms or ideas . . . were borrowed from pre-existing local New World traditions and the factors influencing change were environmental and economic." Research for this section has revealed that indeed the Belgians adapted extremely well. They inherited the farming tradition from home and were sagacious enough to avail themselves of the advantages of a new country while being tenacious and hardworking enough to overcome the tremendous difficulties associated with early settlement in a harsh climate. They did not look back, and did not cling to the old ways except to bring with them their knowledge of farming. Lehr (1978, 289) felt that the Ukrainians were drawn to the aspen parkland similar to that of home. When the Ukrainian peasant immigrated to Western Canada his behaviour "was often profoundly affected by the conditions existing in the homeland at the time of [his] emigration" (Lehr, 1978, 19). Relating to this, the Belgians settled in the south western region of Manitoba in part because they were shepherded there through Archbishop Taché's plans for 'blocks' of French-speaking Catholic settlement. However, once there, they realized the potential for mixed farming and wrote in great detail to friends and relatives encouraging them to come to the south western region of Manitoba. It appears though, that unlike Mcquillan's (1978b) findings, the Belgians did not create a specific cultural landscape when they moved into the south western

region of Manitoba. To some degree this could be attributed to the paucity of their number but the reason that appears to be more plausible is that they adapted so readily to their new environment. The next chapter discusses acculturation and an endeavor is made to substantiate the findings from this chapter in the context of the attitude of Belgian colonists to accommodating themselves to their new environment.

CHAPTER 5

BELGIAN ACCULTURATION IN MANITOBA

The Belgians appear to have acculturated readily into Western Canada and do not seem to have been adversely affected or to have suffered much discrimination during the years of settlement. The traits which made them so welcome as immigrants to Canada gradually eroded the Belgian sense of identity and the Flemish language has virtually ceased to exist in Manitoba, especially among the current generation. This inquiry is divided into two hypotheses which are interrelated in that they deal with the successful acculturation of Belgians in Manitoba and the resultant loss of their mother tongue, Flemish. The hypotheses are based on empirical data (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 95). An endeavor is made to substantiate them from available secondary information, some primary information and some personal interviews.

1. Racial Disunity in Western Canada in the Early Years of Settlement

"The most notable feature of the thirty-seven races that now inhabit Western Canada is their ability to get along together with pervading friendliness and good will" (Strange, 1954, 25). Benoit (II, 1904, 1) noted the same phenomenon at Red River Settlement in 1869, saying that Taché felt that nowhere in the world was there greater harmony between peoples of different origins than at Red River Colony. The Riel Resistance, the murder of Scott and the advent of settlers from Ontario, many of whom deplored the needless death of Scott and who sought revenge on behalf of the Anglophones, all contributed to destroy the concord. Peace was eventually restored due, in some measure, to

the appointment of Adams G. Archibald as Lieutenant Governor of the new Province of Manitoba (Morton, 1957, 145). This, combined with the influence of Archbishop Taché, helped to restore order to the troubled new province. The weight of Taché's influence has been cited (Dorge, 1969-70, 102); and Taché's foresight has already been demonstrated (Morton, 1957, 143). It was into this restless, turbulent milieu that many thousand immigrants streamed after 1870. Indeed, in three or four decades the Anglophiles were still afire with nationalism. A single word may be attributed to the emotions which arose during that period: nativism. The meaning of the word is the "intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign . . . connections" (Higham, 1978, 4). Nativism was a practice that reared its ugly head in Western Canada at the end of the nineteenth century as immigrants streamed to the prairies. There were the rabid nativists such as the Reverend Wellington Bridgeman who stated that the British in the West wanted the Austrian Bishop Budka "and his eighty thousand people [to] get their passports and go straight back to Austria" (Bridgeman, 1929, 224); the fierce nationalists such as John W. Dafoe: "This [loyalty to Canada] is an obligation which rests on every new settler who comes to Canada . . . unless he is prepared to be a Canadian first . . . he should pack his trunk and go back home where he belongs" (Donnelly, 1968, 72); and those like J. S. Woodsworth whose philosophy contained contradictions (McNaught, 1959, preface). These ranged from: "We need more of our own blood to assist us to maintain in Canada our British traditions and to mould the incoming armies of foreigners to loyal British subjects (Woodsworth, n. d., 40), to the avant garde concept that Canada "had much to gain from the cultural contributions of the immigrants" and

that "true prosperity . . . [could not] . . . be measured by the volume of trade or bank clearings. It consist[ed] in the social and moral welfare of the people" (McNaught, 1959, 47, 46). The influence of these three men doubtless affected the lives of many thousand newcomers to Western Canada. Wellington Bridgeman, a vehement nativist, would have preferred an empty land to accepting a 'foreigner' on Canadian soil; John W. Dafoe, an avid nationalist, welcomed the newcomers but wanted to pattern them into an Anglo-Saxon mould not for what he believed was right for the strangers, but for what he was certain was right for the country; J. S. Woodsworth, possessed a compassion which precluded nativism, but was nevertheless a nationalist because he felt that the moulding would suit the stranger and not the reverse. This is testimony to the fact that newcomers to Western Canada might meet with hostility. At this juncture it seems pertinent to mention that it was not only the prerogative of the English to deprecate the 'foreigner'. Michel Brunet, the Quebec historian, for example, accused the English of obstructing French colonization by subsidizing European foreigners who had "la plasticité psychologique nécessaire pour se soumettre à leur Canadian domination" (the malleability to be dominated by the Anglophones) (quoted in Painchaud, 1978, 449). Archbishop Langevin, referred to the Ukrainians as "the Russians who come in rags, the socialists" (quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 124), and Langevin revealed the real motive behind the Roman Catholic Church's support of bilingual schools, stating that it was "le meilleur moyen de conserver leur foi" (the best method of keeping their faith) (quoted in Martynowych, 1978, 132). It was Langevin, too, who "dreamt of a 'Catholic Empire' in the West" (Martynowych, 1978, 127); Ware (1949, 479) attested to the influence of the Roman Catholic

Church as a factor in preserving the culture of the French speaking peoples in Canada: "Among the French of Canada, the Catholic Church has undoubtedly been the strongest factor in preserving their cultural community intact."

Throughout the nineteenth century more than 50,000,000 Europeans forsook Europe. One reason for this vast migration was an increase in population and an economic crisis created by harvest failure. Approximately 38,000,000 migrated to the United States and 'large numbers' were received by Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Frazier, 1957, 10). In the early years of settlement of the Canadian West "Canada was just too small and too little known . . . to win an international reputation as an immigrant destination" (Friesen, 1984, 249). In the United States there was opposition to ethnicity. For example, in a speech to which he gave the title 'Americanism' Theodore Roosevelt said, "There is no room in the country for hyphenated Americans. Our allegiance must be purely to the United States" (Krug, 1976, 8). By contrast, it was Sir John A. Macdonald who was the expounder of the principle that to be British an immigrant was not obliged to be English; that there would be no American 'melting pot' in Canada; that in diversity there could be unity; that beneath one crown there could be plurality in society (Jaenen, 1964, 8-9). It was Robert England who wrote: "We cannot compel people to accept our standards, our customs and our ways. The work of assimilation must not be a work of putting into bondage. It must be a task of emancipation. It must be a challenge and a call to wider perspectives, saner ideals, better habits and customs, but greater responsibility" (quoted in Swyripa, 1978, 37). Friesen (1984) suggested that the adjustment of an immigrant to new eventualities is seldom achieved by

instinct as anyone who has migrated from one place to another will vouch. He suggested that it is possible that the trauma of migrating may leave its mark on an individual for many months or even years; the trauma of moving may vary according to individuals; the inclination to depart and seek new horizons is implicit in the migrant's attitude to start anew; while adaptation may be difficult for many, it is nevertheless an undertaking in which most are able to succeed (Friesen, 1984, 255-6).

2. Belgian Acculturation in Manitoba: Hypothesis VII, 1889-1985

Hypothesis X 1889-1985 suggests that the Belgians acculturated easily into Western Canada. In discussing the ability of the Belgians to acculturate successfully into Manitoba it is important to understand the milieu into which they settled and to appreciate that the many groups which composed the Manitoba Mosaic were not always in harmony. Bearing in mind the nationalistic zeal of the Anglophones in the early settlement of Western Canada; the bias of the Roman Catholic clergy toward any but the conservative French-speaking settlers in the Western Interior and the multiplicity of physical and emotional difficulties with which an immigrant had to contend, it is interesting to note that the Belgians:

as a group . . . adapted readily to their new homeland and were generally well received by others. While to some extent the Walloons tended to merge with the French-speaking population, the Flemish Belgians mixed equally well with the English-speaking groups and later tended to adopt the English language. With a gradual trend toward assimilation into the dominant English culture, the Belgians suffered little overt discrimination. Their reputation as hard workers, their individuality, their practicality and their adaptability made them ideal employees. Moreover, their comparatively small numbers, their generally passive role in politics and their lack of concern for ethnic identity posed no threat to provincial society. (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 95)

This research has revealed that there was much that was positive in the makeup of the early Belgian settlers. Many immigrants suffered incredible hardship even as late as 1927 in order to acquire the means with which to establish themselves. One who arrived at that time left a detailed description of his first two years in the Canadian West. The following excerpts may convey a measure of the stoicism and determination which was part of the Belgian temperament in adversity:

I was so happy . . . to hear strangers speaking the Belgian language . . . in June 1927, I began to work in the hayfield . . . We pitched hay for fourteen hours a day with a fork but without gloves. I got eleven blisters on my hands . . . the next day I got a pair of gloves and continued working there for a month . . . In December 1927 men were needed to clear bush from Cranberry Portage to Flin Flon, for a new railroad. Twelve of us Belgian greenhorns, all inexperienced bush workers, took a half mile bush clearing job . . . We slept in tents and ate in the bunkhouse . . . It was very cold, almost 40 below practically every day . . . [We slept] with all our clothes on, just taking off our boots at night . . . In April . . . about two hundred workers, . . . boarded the train for Nelson. That's as far as the train went. We walked the rest of the way [to Churchill]. Four of us with our heavy packsacks walked seventy-two miles through muskeg and snow . . . It was June before the snow was gone . . . It was truly a wilderness, with swamps, muskeg, millions of insects, isolation of hundreds of miles from towns, hard and tiresome work, sometimes in water up to our knees. After six months . . . the hardship could easily be forgotten because the pay was so good. (Quoted in Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 70-4)

In the last decade of the nineteenth century many Belgians migrated to the south western area of Manitoba in the Lorne district. It has already been stated that several of these early colonists contributed letters to Father Willems of Bruxelles in order that he might circulate them among prospective Belgian colonists when he returned to Belgium. This was done in 1894 at the request of the Minister of the

Interior, M. La Rivière, and authorized by Archbishop Taché of St. Boniface (Les Belges au Manitoba, 1894, 4). The purpose was to encourage immigration to south western Manitoba. Of the thirty letters assembled by Father Willems not one contained any derogatory comments regarding the country, the people, the hardships or the climate, the latter being radically different to Europe. A number referred to the hard physical labour of clearing the land, but in each letter was conveyed the immense satisfaction incurred upon having achieved a particular degree of success in a relatively short time. This attitude appears to be representative: it is the prevailing theme throughout Belgian settlement--hard work--thrift--in a land of opportunity. The following excerpts from letters from some of these early Belgian colonists in Father Willems' parish of Bruxelles and its environs may serve to support the above statement. For example, one letter from L. Hacault recounted his material success such as a house, a dairy, some cattle, the amount of acreage cultivated and the value of his property. He concluded with:

As for me personally, I do not regret at all having come here to settle in Bruxelles, Manitoba with my family (my wife and six children) . . . They are in good health, and . . . like me, look to the future with confidence, in spite of the trials and tribulations of the moment. We know that Rome wasn't built in a day and that one cannot create a heritage even in Manitoba without prior costly, long and laborious work. But all things considered, we will, I hope at a future date, receive a real benefit, God willing. (Translation: Les Belges au Manitoba , 1894, 6-7)

Another missive from Joseph Massoz, written in 1893, stated the material success of his newly acquired homestead, thus demonstrated the positive trait with which the Belgians seemed to be imbued: "I find the air of this country fresh and invigorating. Belgians established here are much

better off than they could ever hope to be in Belgium. Canadians are noted for their hospitality which they offer to strangers" (Translation: Les Belges au Manitoba, 1894, 9). A third excerpt from this collection of letters from Alphonse Baccus, also from Bruxelles should be sufficient to demonstrate the enthusiasm of this interesting group. Like the other correspondence, this letter discussed in detail the material gains of a 160 acre quarter section. It then concluded with: "It is my firm conviction that Belgians can be very successful in Manitoba and I invite all my fellow country-men who intend to emigrate to choose Canada in preference to all others" (Translation: Les Belges au Manitoba, 1894, 8).

Further evidence of optimism and a willingness to work and find a good future in their new homeland can be seen in a letter from the Reverend T. Campeau of St. Alphonse to Senator T. A. Bernier: "The Belgians were very pleased with what they found here--good rich soil, much of it already broken up and ready for cultivation. They had the finances to buy this land from the original Homesteader who had cleared it and then moved away to another area. Here in Manitoba the farmer was looked upon as a worthwhile worker and individual, whereas back in Belgium, the farmer was looked down upon. A good labourer could earn \$100 to \$125 per month during the harvest season, and occasionally even up to \$150 . . ." (quoted in Brandt, 1975, 145). In another letter written by Joseph Hutlet, he bore testimony to the willingness of spirit of the Belgian settlers to work hard and to accept the deprivations of the early pioneers in the expectation that it would eventually bear fruit. Again, there is no suspicion of self pity or complaint:

After our voyage I had 700 francs left, at present we have 6 head of cattle, but they are not all paid

for yet, a house, a granary, 3 barns and a chicken house. This winter we are hauling wood to Holland to pay for the lumber used for the buildings. We have cleared and planted only 8 acres of land, because we must work out during harvest time to pay for the cattle. I honestly say that we must work very hard in order to get established. However, if we were all well established, we could live comfortably; I estimate the value of my farm with the improvements at 2000 to 3000 francs. (Quoted in Brandt, n.d., 20)

This attitude is in direct contrast to that of the Ukrainians, for example, who found acculturation to Canadian ways difficult. The socialist faction of the intelligentsia, the leaders in Ukrainian settlement, were convinced, for instance, "that the Canadian wage labourer in general, and the Ukrainian immigrants in particular, were 'free white slaves' and 'white niggers' . . . who were being . . . 'devoured one by one every hour by the capitalist order', they tried to impress the immigrants with the fact that they had absolutely no reason to be grateful to the Canadian Government. 'Without us Canada would still be an infertile desert'" (quoted in Martynowych, 1978, 252-3). It seems reasonable to assume that with this attitude in a new country whose own patriotism was still strong, many Ukrainians would meet with hostility from the 'natives'. Indeed, at the turn of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was little tolerance of 'foreign ways' in Western Canada. Those who settled and acculturated willingly would be accepted much more readily than those who opposed the mores and customs of the country. Berton (1984, 59) said:

At the turn of the century there were no discussions about 'roots', no talk of 'multiculturalism', little pandering to national cultures, and certainly no reference to a Canadian mosaic. The key word--the only word--was 'assimilation'. Assimilation meant conformity: in dress, in language, in customs, in attitudes, in religion. It meant, in short, that every immigrant who arrived in the West was expected

to accept as quickly as possible the Anglo-Celtic Protestant values of his Canadian neighbours.

In spite of their eagerness to adapt and their paucity of numbers which enabled them to keep a low profile more easily than other ethnics who came by the score, Belgians were not immune to the intolerance that continued to prevail in Western Canada at that time. In 1928 Bishop Lloyd of Saskatoon founded the National Association of Canada which was aimed at keeping Canada British. In criticism of the Government's Railway agreement which was responsible for the transportation of immigrants across Canada Lloyd wrote: "During the last two years and a half the agreement has been in force the railways have dumped into this country an alarming number of European undesirables. Belgians have jumped in 1927 to 2,149 . . . If this has done so much harm to the blood of this country in the last two and a half years, the next two and a half years will be much more harmful . . ." (quoted in Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 45). Understandably, the Bishop's sentiments drew protests from the Belgian community. However, Lloyd continued his criticism with: "It is far better to get Old Country Britishers and teach them agriculture than fill the country with this Continental flood and try to civilize them . . ." (quoted in Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 46). As the Belgians had been especially named in this judgement they felt compelled to respond and consulted the Belgian Consul. However, no letter of protest was published. Wilson and Wyndels (1976, 46) stated, "Their indignation must quickly have subsided . . . A more positive reaction to prejudice lay in continued participation in community and particularly patriotic activities. The annual Armistice Day ceremonies served to remind other Manitobans of the losses suffered by the Belgian Canadians during the First World War." There can be no greater loyalty to

Canada than this. It seems to the writer that this attitude is representative of the Belgian community; they appear to have deliberately endeavored not to take offence and, more importantly, they have been determined to integrate and become part of the community into which they chose to settle.

Like many thousand other immigrants who settled the prairies in the early years the Belgians, on arrival in Manitoba, cleared the bush by hand with a hoe. This was known as a pioche and the work was referred to as 'grub hoeing'. It was strenuous labour and was undertaken by many, time and again, in order to accumulate enough capital with which the newcomer might eventually settle a homestead himself, build a house and barn and be able to establish mixed farming. Walloons were the very earliest settlers but were relatively few in number. More numerous were those who came later from the region of Brussels, East and West Flanders. It was emphasized to the writer that these Flemish colonists wanted to learn English (Brandt, 1985a). A further indication of their desire to become integrated with the dominant Anglophone society was their resistance to the overtures of the Roman Catholic priests. The reason for this appeared to be that these Flemish colonists having made the decision to leave Belgium felt that independence was implicit in their resolution to leave their homeland. Thus they resisted clerical influence in Manitoba (Brandt, 1985a). This, to the writer, reemphasized their natural desire to integrate.

3. Racial Disunity and Language Barriers in Belgium

In discussing the "characteristics which made . . . [the Belgians] so welcome" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 95) it is necessary to understand

the disunity regarding language in their own country and the possible repercussions this may have had on their settlement in Western Canada. In 1930, approximately 3,400,000 Belgians spoke Flemish while about 3,000,000 spoke French. Only just over 1,000,000 spoke both languages (Clough, 1945, 108; Eppstein and LeRoy, 1944, 32-3). This linguistic demarcation runs roughly from Dunkirk (France) in the east, to Liège in the west. Flemish is spoken to the north and French to the south. However, pockets of French-speaking Belgians live in Antwerp, Ghent, Louvain, Mechlin and most importantly, in Brussels where half the city speaks French (Clough, 1945, 108). Dual language in Belgium has historical origins. French was the tongue of the aristocracy and consequently of the Court at Brussels (Eppstein and LeRoy, 1944, 33).

"French was fashionable . . . Flemish bourgeois admired things French and tried to pattern their social life after Parisian styles. Concomitantly, a disdain for Flemish and Flemish culture developed, although Flemish was employed for local affairs by the provincial estates and by the cities of the Flemish provinces" (Clough, 1945, 108-9). Thus, between 1792 to 1815, the 23 years that France ruled, she proceeded to take advantage of this language prestige in order to Gallicize the country. By 1815, French had superceded Flemish in schools, law courts, in senior government positions and intellectually, in Flemish areas of the Belgian Provinces. Conversely, when the United Kingdom of the Netherlands was formed King William imposed the Flemish language through Flanders in the schools and courts and for official business. While Flemish officialdom accepted this, lawyers who had been trained in French and the Flemish bourgeois who had admired 'things French' balked. Thus, in 1830, when a group of French-speaking leaders endeavored to re-

establish French as the entire country's official language some Flemish-speaking people supported this revolution. Eventually, the French language became universal in schools, universities, business, government, courts, by the police and in the army. World War I was a turning point for the Flemish Movement. It was not until 1930, however, that the Flemish Movement gained its major language concessions (Clough, 1945, 109-123). Thus Belgium has been fraught with language controversy for more than two centuries. These extenuating circumstances may have been the catalyst which enabled the Belgians to adapt so "readily to their new homeland" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 95).

4. Belgian Acculturation in Manitoba Language and Tradition

Hypothesis VIII, 1889-1985 suggests that "The characteristics which initially made . . . [the Belgians] so welcome as immigrants have gradually eroded the Belgian sense of identity and have virtually destroyed the Flemish language among the younger generation" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 95).

(a) Language: It was in Swan Lake that August Vermière who spoke Flemish "courted and married a French girl who could not speak the language of Flanders so their courting had to be done in English which they were both learning to speak" (Hambley, n.d., 200). This expresses succinctly the attitude of the Belgian immigrants who came to Manitoba. It has been previously noted that the Flemish people wanted to learn English (Brandt, 1985a). A measure of the rapidity of acculturation can be seen when it was noted that only once, in 1906, did the Belgian Club invoke the bilingual clause of 1897 which stated, "where ten of the

pupils in any school speak the French language (or any language other than English) as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French (or other such language), and English upon the bilingual system" (quoted in Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 61). The Marian Brotherhood of St. Boniface were requested to select a teacher who could instruct the class in Flemish. Even in 1906, only 17 years after the first large contingent of Belgians came to Manitoba no such instructor could be found, so the petition was rejected (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 61-2).

In discussing the language problem in Belgium Irving (1980, 8) stated that in 1884 the Catholic Party (essentially Flemish supported) came into power and changes in support of Flemish grievances were introduced. The Flemings of Flanders had an immediate problem; with certainty they opposed the use of French, but they were also reluctant, as supporters of the Catholic Party, to choose the Dutch language as it was the language of Protestant Netherlands although their own Flemish tongue contained three or four dialects which made the selection of Flemish problematic. Ultimately Dutch became the language of Flanders (Irving, 1980, 8). This was substantiated by Emile Kerr (1985) who elaborated that the Dutch and Flemish-speaking people could understand each other perfectly, Flemish being a southern Dutch dialect. Brandt (1985a) stated that all Flemish towns had different dialects. It seems reasonable to assume that, if the Flemings were opposed to the use of French in Belgium, they would be unlikely to use it in Manitoba where they were embarking on a new life. Again, if Flemish dialects had caused problems in Flanders, then it is conceivable that English was chosen as the only logical alternative on settling in the Canadian West.

Wilson and Wyndels (1976, 43) substantiated this saying that "to the traditional linguistic conflict of French and Flemish was added the encroachment of the English language. This encroachment was rapid and came about for both a positive and a negative reason." For example, in an effort to keep a liaison between the Belgians of Manitoba and their homeland, the Belgian Club arranged for the preservation of these ties through the Gazette van Detroit. This paper was originally published in Flemish but eventually appeared in both English and Flemish (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 42). It has also been asserted that as English was the foremost language of Manitoba it increased in popularity expediently, especially among the current generation, but it expanded too, due to the traditional language barriers in Belgium (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 43). Brandt (1985a) stated that there was no conflict in Manitoba between Walloon and Fleming. It was in 1928 that the Belgian Club by-laws were written in English and by 1943, all business conducted at the club was reported in English. Language still caused problems at the national level meetings of the Belgian Club in Ottawa though. A Manitoba representative at an Ottawa meeting wrote:

The predominance of the use of the French language plus the undercurrent tense feeling between the Flemish faction and the Walloon faction at these meetings prompted me to address the meeting expressing my feelings on this matter and requesting that the remaining portion of this meeting, plus all future meetings, be conducted in the English language basing my request on the fact that the English language be used as the common denominator of the other two languages. This request was met with a great deal of criticism directed at me from the President as well as other members present. My reaction . . . was to point out the fact that I represented a 3,000 member club and a negative reaction to my request could influence me into making an unfavourable report to my committee which may have a bearing on our further participation in the Council. More serious discussion took place on this matter and the participants who had addressed the

meeting and each other in the French language suddenly started to speak English. This complete change in attitude also influenced the election which took place immediately after the discussion. A Flemish President was elected who conducted the remaining portion of the meeting in English and also stressed the fact that all future meetings would be conducted in English with Flemish and French translation available on request. (Quoted in Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 43-4)

Nevertheless at the Sacred Heart Church in St. Boniface when Father Peter celebrated mass as a tribute to the liberation of Belgium in 1944, he gave his address in three languages (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 44).

(b) Tradition: In the years immediately following the settlement of the first large contingent of Belgian colonists to Manitoba it was considered necessary for the parish priest to be able to speak both languages, Flemish and French. "In several parishes of French, Flemish and English-speaking settlers, the clergy were unable to satisfy all the linguistic groups and the Flemish speakers were most often discriminated against by the predominantly French-Canadian clergy and hierarchy" (The Canadian Family Tree, 1979, 30). Thus the Reverend Gustave Willems came to Manitoba in 1892 (Brandt, 1975, 135). Willems was appointed parish priest of St. Alphonse and Bruxelles from 1897 to 1899 at the request of the Flemish community. He was succeeded by Mgr Hubert Heynen who was born in Schimmert, Holland (Brandt, 1975, 143-5). The appointment of a Dutch priest to a Flemish community in Manitoba supported Irving (1980, 8) and Emile Kerr (1985) who both maintained that Flemish and Dutch were one and the same language. It was during this period that there was some friction between the Flemish and French in Manitoba. Three sisters, members of Les Chanoinesses Réguliers des Cinq Plaies taught school at

St. Alphonse and noticed "some discontent" between the colonists of Flemish and French descent (Brandt, 1975, 145). The priest who succeeded Heynen was the Reverend Charles Deutschler who was born at Herbsh in Basse-Alsace in 1867. His term at St. Alphonse commenced in 1904. His successor, the Reverend Boniface Diederichs, was named parish priest in 1912. Diederichs was born at Barry, Minnesota, in 1885. The Reverend Gerard De Ruyck, born in 1909, succeeded Diederichs as parish priest of St. Alphonse from 1947 to 1957 (Brandt, 1975, 146-7). Thus it appeared that Belgian settlers were relinquishing their ties with Europe when choosing a priest. But it is evident that this was not the case, for the man who succeeded De Ruyck, the Reverend Alex Hunfeld, was born in Utrecht, Western Holland. He accepted the responsibilities of St. Alphonse in 1957 (Brandt, 1975, 147). Thus spiritually it seemed that the Flemish-speaking Belgians required ties with their mother land. This is born out by Brandt (1985a) who stated that the Flemish people wanted to keep their traditions.

Brandt (1985b) stated that many Belgians had intermarried with Canadians of other ethnic groups which was inclined to make their own identity less perceptible (tables 5 and 6). Wilson and Wyndels (1976, 47) substantiated the proliferation of intermarriage among Belgians and other ethnics, saying that while the Belgian community wanted its homogeneity this was difficult to achieve because many Belgians had married into other ethnic groups. It is possible that intermarriage occurred in part due to Taché's settlement pattern. His plan to encourage the French from Quebec to settle in the West was a failure, thus he adopted the policy that was:

continued and intensified by his successor, Archbishop L. P. Adélard Langevin . . . under whose leadership the missionary colonizers had the dual role of attracting

new colonists and administering the sacraments to their settlers. These intrepid colonizers greatly influenced the existence of Western Canada's French Catholic settlements. They publicized the advantages of the prairies in special reports and in their correspondence to friends and relatives in Eastern Canada and Europe. Also, they sought out colonists and settled them in communities across the West. (Huel, 1983, 43)

The parish register of St. Alphonse listed seven Flemish/French marriages between 1892 and 1919 out of a total of 164 or 4.2 percent (table 5). Two were British/French, making a total of 5.4 mixed marriages.

Table 5: Flemish-French Marriages between 1892 and 1919, St. Alphonse

05-01-1892	McKay, Charles	-	Gosselin, Charlotte
04-02-1894	Poncelet, Lucien	-	Dekelver, Guilalmine
07-10-1897	Simpson, David	-	Morrin, Virginie
12-27-1897	Deurbrouck, Joseph Noel	-	Martin, Marie
04-29-1907	Lefebvre, Georges	-	Jeannotte, Hermeline
10-04-1910	Javoinx, Jean Urbain	-	Huybrecht, Alice Zoe
07-02-1912	Van Canwelaert, Leopold	-	Langevin, Nora Henriette
11-04-1912	Goedert, Eugene	-	Schumacher, Eleanore
05-05-1919	Halleman, Pierre Jean	-	Cossin, Alexandrine

Source: Parish Records of St. Alphonse, Manitoba 1885 to 1919, photocopy of the marriage register.

Brandt, Swan Lake, June 19, 1985.

The parish register of Bruxelles listed eighteen Flemish/French marriages between 1893 and 1925 out of a total of 109 or 16.9 percent (table 6).

Table 6: Flemish-French Marriages between 1893 and 1925, Bruxelles

1893	Dekelver, Joseph	-	Choque, Marie Celestine
1896	DePape, Clement	-	Hutlet, Marie
1897	Ledoyen, Joseph	-	Schumacher, Marie Simone
1901	Choque, André	-	Dekelver, Georgina
1903	De Vos, Jean Baptiste	-	Vander, Elst
1906	De Steurn, Oscar	-	Hacault, Marie
1911	Brizard, Albany	-	Simoens, Marie
1913	Doyon, Joseph	-	Lombaert, Lucie
1917	De Vos, Jean	-	Uyttenbrock, Bertha
1917	Van De Spiegle, Arthur	-	De Vos, Alice
1919	Desrosiers, Alphonse	-	Deurbrouck, Clémence
1920	Hacault, Ferdinand	-	Lompuen, Hélène
1921	Blomme, Emile	-	De Voe, Germaine
1921	Mangin, Joseph	-	Simoens, Ernestine
1924	Temmerman, Emile De	-	Leroy, Rachel
1924	Hacault, Jean	-	Simeons, Alice
1925	Marginet, Alberic	-	Hutlet, Louise
1925	Simoens, Albert	-	Mangin, Hélène

Source: Parish Records of Bruxelles, Manitoba 1897 to 1925, photocopy of the marriage register.

Brandt, Swan Lake, June 19, 1985.

Dawson (1949) stated that the Roman Catholic Church has been associated with encouraging cultural and linguistic sentiments among some ethnic groups, citing French Canadian nationalism on the Canadian Prairies. Ethnicity in settlement was natural but among French Canadians "it was

reinforced by the sponsoring institution, a land-settlement organization or a nationalistic society. Furthermore, leaders in these homogeneous communities were active in stimulating the entry of population elements possessing their own ethnic background" (Dawson, 1949, 486). Belgians, both Flemish and Walloon, were traditionally Roman Catholic, the Flemish being more conservative in the observance of their religion (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 49). There was circumspection on the part of the Western clergy regarding the liberal, and to some degree anti-clerical attitudes of some European Catholic colonists, in particular those of the Walloons and the French (The Canadian Family Tree, 1979, 30). Thus intermarriage between Flemish Belgians and French Canadians would be acceptable to the conservative Ultramontane Western clergy without whose blessing little could succeed: "Action in all spheres depended on clerical leadership and that action without the support of the clergy was generally doomed to failure. The cases of defiance of clerical direction are exceptions to the rule" (Jaenen, 1976, 33). Huel (1983) stated that the Western clergy wanted to duplicate the traditions of Quebec in the Western Interior. This could only be accomplished by establishing parishes which would become the core around which the cultural and religious lives of the parishioners revolved (Huel, 1983, 43). Brandt (1980, 171-2) stated that "the beginnings of many communities throughout Western Canada had their origin in the work of the Roman Catholic clergy under the leadership of the Archbishop of St. Boniface." Taché presided at religious functions where settlers of different ethnic groups might attend: Roman Catholicism would be the common denominator. For example, "on the 1st of August 1892, Archbishop Taché confirmed 57 children from St. Leon, St. Alphonse and

Notre Dame de Lourdes at Somerset. . . . At this time there were 90 churches and chapels in the diocese of St. Boniface . . . " (Brandt, 1975, 144). Brandt (1975, 144) indicated that the population of Bruxelles was mixed: "In 1921 the population of Bruxelles was 600 all French and Belgians"

(c) The Flemish Language Today: Wilson and Wyndels (1976) asserted that "there is little evidence of a strong linguistic revival today [of the Flemish language]" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 96). From time to time the Belgian Club has made an effort to provide tuition in Flemish. In 1926 and again in 1930 classes in Flemish were organized. But during the latter year classes were cancelled within 12 months due to lack of support. Eventually in 1973 further plans were made to revive the Flemish tongue. But it seemed doubtful whether enthusiasm for a revival of the language could be maintained (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 63). At the present time no Walloon is spoken in the Lorne District. After World War II Flemish was seldom used in the homes of Belgian-Canadians, though some of the older generation still speak the language (Brandt, 1985a). Flemish is, in effect, a dying tongue with the current generation (Foidart, 1985). In essence, Brandt (1985a) summed up the language issue by saying, "Flemish people want to keep their traditions, but they do not care about the language--they do not regret the loss of the language" (Brandt, 1985a).

(d) Conclusion to Hypothesis VIII. In Manitoba the Belgians rapidly accommodated to the English language. English was spoken in homes where the parents represented both Flemish and French cultures. The

speed with which acculturation took place was seen by the fact that the Belgian Club only once invoked the bilingual clause. Only 17 years after the first Belgians migrated to Manitoba the Marian Brotherhood could find no Flemish-speaking instructors for the school. When the Catholic Party came into power in Belgium the Flemings had a problem selecting a language. This was principally due to the several Flemish dialects from which a choice could be made. Ultimately Dutch became the common tongue. English was selected as the common tongue in Manitoba because it was the dominant language in Canada and because the Flemings were not inclined to revert to French in their adopted country after the controversy of language in their homeland. The Belgian Club of Manitoba championed the use of English. However, traditionally, the Belgians were extremely loyal to their homeland. Their priests were often native Europeans and were fluent in Flemish, French and English. Intermarriage with other ethnic groups sometimes hindered Belgian homogeneity. Many colonists settled in parishes according to the settlement pattern of the Western clergy. Traditionally Belgians were Roman Catholic, the Flemish being more conservative in the observance of their religion. This would have been commended by the Ultramontane western clergy who criticized the 'liberal' Catholics from Europe. Thus intermarriage between Belgians and French Canadians could be expected. The parish was the core to the religious and social lives of the people. Today there is little enthusiasm for a revival of the Flemish language. No Walloon is spoken and after World War II Flemish was the expertise of the older generation. Essentially Flemish Canadians want to retain their traditions but do not regret the loss of their language. Belgians had crusaded for the use of their language in their homeland. However,

on migrating to Canada, where the dominant tongue was English, they learned English. This demonstrated the same pragmatism that they displayed as pioneer farmers: they cleared the land and commenced mixed farming. Above all, they accepted that which Canada had to offer and rose to the occasion. Today, they have no regrets: they integrated so well that many died for Canada in both World Wars. They cherish their homeland, but they are Canadian.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

1. Conclusion

There are three phases for the immigrant: first, the migration from the old country to the new; second, the settlement in which he selects a destination and, third, acculturation which may embrace many obstacles. Environmental disaster, economic stress and political tyranny represent some reasons for the movement of people. Some make several moves before reaching a final destination, as in the case of the indentured servants. At times, as one group moves out, another group may move in to replace the first, as the British moved in to replace the departing Métis. While economics may be a cause of migration, as research on the Ukrainians has revealed, conversely, it may also be an obstacle as it was for the labourers with insufficient funds to purchase a trans-Atlantic fare. Land selection can be an important factor for migrants as can be seen from the consideration it assumed for the Hutterites. Conversely, a choice of destination may be haphazard as the destruction of the Minoan Empire evinced. Migrants are inclined to settle among those of their own ethnicity, as the French Canadians did. In some cases, group settlement, like the Mormons, seems appropriate. The frontier concept stressed specific patterns regarding the movement of people. Frontier farmers, the early pioneers, may have been the hub of rural society, but it is debatable as to whether they were egalitarian. Perception plays a major role in settlement, greatly affecting a colonist's decision to move, his land selection and his treatment of it on arrival at his destination. Acculturation may

be described as a process of reciprocity for the two cultural groups involved, the host and the immigrant. Some ethnic groups acculturate more easily than others. Acceptance by the host and serenity by the immigrant are the ultimate in acculturation. In Canada at the turn of the nineteenth century both English and French deprecated the foreigner. Nevertheless, Belgian settlement to Manitoba, though small, was successful.

In 1870, Archbishop Taché was the senior Roman Catholic prelate in Western Canada, wielding great power both spiritually and politically. For this reason Taché played a significant role in the settlement of French-speaking Catholic peoples in Western Canada. His desire for seclusion in the West, his protective attitude regarding his Métis flock and the Western Bishops' suspicion of the Anglo-Saxon element compelled him to convey the impression that the Western Interior was unattractive for settlement. Taché's initial comment that he had read the description of the West, that he had seen the West and that he wondered who could be dreaming, the writer or the reader, shocked would-be colonists. It sowed the seeds of doubt within their hearts. Auguste Bodard had a major problem in dispelling the rumours of the negative aspects of Western Canada when lecturing in Belgium. Letters from those employed by the Department of the Interior in the last decade of the nineteenth century indicated that French-speaking Europeans looked askance upon settlement in Western Canada. Having failed to keep the West isolated Taché sought French-speaking settlement from Quebec. However, it was the English who poured to the West. This was the irony that haunted French-speaking settlement to the Western Interior between 1870 and 1890. The theological controversy which rent the Roman

Catholic Church in the nineteenth century united the 'conservative' Ultramontane Catholics of Quebec and Western Canada in that both groups were opposed to seeking French-speaking 'liberal' Catholics from Western Europe for settlement in the Canadian West. Lack of support from Quebec and an influx of English from Ontario forced Taché to search elsewhere, but he nevertheless found many unsuitable. Insufficiency of capital was one reason for his discrimination. It is debatable whether he even turned to Europe at this juncture. In general, the image of Western Canada as propagated by individuals likely to be influential in French-speaking Western Europe was decidedly unattractive in the decades 1870-1890.

Between 1890 and 1914 the implementation of policies for immigration by the Department of the Interior was very weak. Auguste Bodard, for one, substantiated the fact that the Belgians and French did not emigrate because they knew little or nothing of Canada and that competition from other colonizing nations such as Brazil and the Argentine was too great. This was due, in part, to the fact that those countries were much more generous with their settlement schemes than Canada. Added to this, the Federal Government was parsimonious to an extreme with their agents, discouraging some dedicated men such as Bodard to the point of resignation. As well, the Department treated such minor items as the cost of printing pamphlets for distribution at an important Fair, such as the Liege Exhibition, which the local rural population was known to attend, in a niggardly manner. This type of frugality would have curtailed rather than promoted propaganda regarding colonization of the Western Interior. Also, after 1896, when Sir Clifford Sifton became Minister of the Interior the main thrust of Western Canadian settlement was concentrated on the "stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on

the soil whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations It matters not what nationality he is" (Sifton, 1922, 16). Thus the Government became less selective regarding nationality. It was farmers who were wanted and mass migration from Eastern Europe was initiated. It was, in fact, Sifton's "policy of selective immigration" which enabled him to "actively . . . [seek] . . . out those he considered desirable that brought Ukrainians in large numbers to Western Canada in 1896" (Lehr, 1978, 45). However, French-speaking Settlement, including that of the Belgians, progressed between the years 1890-1914 due to the dedication of agents such as Auguste Bodard and Treau de Coeli. Some 'Return Men', including Edmond Colleaux and Sebastian Deleau also displayed remarkable loyalty despite the almost negligible encouragement they received at the hands of the Department. Bodard was a loyal employee, his appreciation of his appointment as agent was unbounding: "I cannot forget and will never the support you gave me on this occasion" (Dec. 6, 1892, C4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). Four months later, on hearsay alone he was accused by the Department of encouraging "farmers with limited capital" to migrate to the Canadian West (April 28, 1893, C4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). Within two years his expense account was reduced by 70 percent. Bodard stated that he had personally paid several hundred dollars in bills because they had not been authorized by the Department. Meanwhile, Bodard had defended Canada and Manitoba on more than one occasion against slurs, initiated an advance passage scheme between the Government and the C.P.R. for immigrants with assets of over \$300, written many hundred letters, travelled all through France and Belgium and conveyed many French-speaking peoples to Western Canada. It would be interesting to consider what this man might have achieved

had he been given one word of encouragement from the unimaginative bureaucracy which employed him.

Between 1914 and 1918 the Canadian Government resisted the recruitment of immigrants to Western Canada because, owing to World War I, refugees were streaming from the centre of hostilities in Belgium to England. Had the Department accepted refugees it felt it might embarrass the British Government by making it appear that England might be trying to populate her overseas dominions with refugees fleeing war-torn Europe. The Department felt that Canada must distinguish between colonists and refugees. At the same time the Belgian Government refused to allow its able-bodied men to leave the country. Firstly, they were needed to aid the war effort and, secondly, the Belgian Government did not wish its population to go so far afield that at the cessation of hostilities many might settle in their adopted land and never return. Between 1918 and 1922 conditions for immigration between Belgium and Canada did not change significantly: the Belgian Government resisted the emigration of its farming population, while Canada did not seek immigrants except for farmers with independent means. By 1920 Canada was becoming more widely known to Belgians. This was due, in part, to servicemen who had participated in the European theatre during World War I. Domestic servants were now added to the list of desirable immigrants by Canada. By 1922, the Government opened an office in Antwerp with a view to assisting would-be Belgian emigrants. In the same year Ottawa opened offices in many leading European cities. The Governor General then issued a statement regarding immigration to Canada. This confirmed that independent farmers, farm labourers, domestic servants, their respective families and those persons of independent means would be admitted as Canadian immigrants. Further it was stated that any British subject who could

maintain financial independence until he could obtain employment, and any American who could prove that his occupation might be required in Canada would both be acceptable categories for immigration to Canada. Thus immigration from Europe was again implemented after 1922 and in July of that year the Canadian Agent, H. M. Mitten, confirmed that there was much activity regarding immigration to Canada at the Canadian Agency in Antwerp. Thus the position changed from almost no immigration to Canada from Belgium during the War years to the acceptance by Canada of financially independent farmers from Belgium after 1919 to a much broader policy by both countries between 1922 and 1930.

The Belgians, representing two cultural groups, the Flemings and the Walloons, settled in the south western region of Manitoba, in Lorne Municipality and its environs. The reason that they chose the south western region of Manitoba was due in part to the influence of the Catholic Church directing them to other Catholic settlements in order to form 'blocks' of French-speaking peoples or 'chains' of the same in order to connect the West to Red River. No sooner had some Belgians settled than others followed because they had relatives or friends to support them on arrival. This situation was encouraged through letters from satisfied Belgian colonists, circulated by Father Willems in Belgium, at the request of the Minister of the Interior and authorized by Archbishop Taché. Each letter lauded the agricultural potential of Manitoba, and, in particular, extolled the opportunities for mixed farming in the Lorne district. There is no doubt that these letters were an inducement to potential immigrants. Brandt (1985a) clearly substantiated all the above possibilities. The Flemings, who dominated Belgian settlement, colonized small towns such as Bruxelles, St. Alphonse and Swan Lake. In

general, between 1911 and 1921 they favoured Manitoba over all the other provinces and Lorne Municipality within Manitoba. Dairying and market gardening were specialities of agriculture for the Belgians in their homeland. Belgian dairymen in Manitoba generally remained in that field, but some market gardeners ultimately turned to the sugar beet industry. In the early days of settlement in Manitoba, Belgian agriculturalists directed their efforts to mixed farming. Manitoba was a region entirely suited to this occupation. The reason for the Belgians' delay in participating in the grain business was practical: the bush land had to be cleared manually and cash crops were needed for immediate financial stability. At the present time the majority of Belgian farmers are in grain. While agriculture was a tradition with the Belgians and sugar beet farming an occupation with which they were familiar in their homeland, they were participants but not instrumental in establishing the industry either financially or agriculturally in Manitoba. Even though the Belgians were expert farmers in their homeland and brought some expertise with them to Canada such as tobacco and sugar beet farming in Ontario, the modification of a marsh to the Klondike Gardens, the conversion of sandy acres to profitable farm land in the Richelieu Valley and the breeding of horses and prized cattle in Manitoba, it was revealed that they did not bring any peculiarities of farming with them to Manitoba. Rather, it was emphasized that the reason for their success as farmers was hard work, thrift, a tradition in agriculture and a willingness to adapt.

The Belgians were relatively unaffected by the nativism that ran rampant in Western Canada in the early days of settlement. There was much that was positive in the make up of the early Belgian colonists. Many suffered great physical hardship but Willems' collection of letters

indicated that these pioneers were uncomplaining, only eager to succeed in the new country. This demonstrated that if assailed they ignored any insults and worked the harder within the community. In time many gave their lives for Canada in both World Wars. It is the opinion of this writer that they were a distinct group. However, the very qualities which made them so attractive to the host country also undermined the Flemish language. The Belgians wanted to learn English, but this deprived them ultimately of their mother tongue which is seldom spoken now. Inter-marriage has diluted their ethnicity and the likelihood of a revival of the Flemish language is minimal. Nevertheless, this unassuming, hard-working and extremely loyal people appear to be unaffected. They are Canadians and care not so much for language and ethnicity, but rather cherish the traditions of the old country while living purposeful lives in the new.

2. Limitations

Any research must have limitations and there are some of significance in this thesis. For example, the number of Belgians entering Canada prior to 1901 was too insignificant to be separately recorded and was thus registered with European French immigrants. This made research on the early settlers difficult. Similarly, before 1911, the statistics for immigrant entrance were specified at ports of entry which included American ports. Thus any method of determining annual arrivals of Belgians to Manitoba would be inaccurate prior to that date. Further, this research has been limited to one ethnic group whose numbers were extremely small and whose settlement covered a small area of Manitoba. Also, only a part of the area settled by the Belgians was discussed in some detail, namely, Lorne Municipality. The St. Boniface region was

ignored except for the sugar beet industry. Lack of in-depth information on the topic of perception prevented the writer from conveying the impressions that these people had of Canada prior to their immigration other than that Canada was a 'land of opportunity' which was a very general perception held by many Europeans. While a study of residential propinquity did in fact establish that the Belgians in Lorne Municipality chose quarter sections reasonably close together in six townships in that Municipality, it failed to demonstrate precisely what motivated their choice: whether their selections were prompted for financial reasons, kinship links or, for example, the type of terrain. Research revealed that in general those Belgians who settled in Lorne Municipality were Flemings and thus they hailed from northern Belgium. However, this inquiry did not pin-point the small towns and villages from which the Belgian colonists migrated. Finally, it was found that while conducting personal interviews there are occasions when contradictions occur, depending on the perception of the interviewee. Thus, inaccuracies sometimes ensue.

3. Suggestions for Future Research

It is suggested that further work could be done in researching the present day settlements of Belgians in Manitoba. An inquiry could be made in the St Boniface region regarding the Walloons to determine if indeed they were among the earliest Belgian immigrants to Manitoba; if they were merchants rather than agriculturalists like their counterparts in the Lorne district; what occupations they undertook; if they integrated with the French Canadians as positively as the Flemings did with the English in Lorne. It would be interesting to discover the perception that the Belgians enjoyed of Canada prior to their immigration

to the Canadian West: if they came for the social equality which North America seemed to offer; if economic conditions in their homeland were such that they perceived that any move must be an amelioration of their immediate situation; or if the dual language question in Belgium was the catalyst which encouraged so many Flemings to migrate and ultimately to integrate so expediently choosing English as their new tongue. If material were available it would be satisfying to understand why certain Belgians chose specific quarter sections in the six most favoured townships of Lorne Municipality; whether terrain, economics or kinship and friendship were the most important factors governing their selection. Lastly, regarding Belgian immigration, it would be stimulating geographically to identify the small towns and villages from which these people came; whether the majority migrated from specific towns or if they were from scattered villages throughout the north western section of Belgium.

Having completed a minor inquiry regarding a small ethnic group migration to Western Canada future researchers might consider researching a group who came in vast numbers, namely the English. It is the understanding of the writer that much has been written on the topic of some ethnic groups who presently make up the Manitoba mosaic: the Ukrainians, Icelanders, Mormons, Mennonites and the French. However, it is believed that relatively little attention has been ascribed to the English who came in such numbers in the latter half of the nineteenth century that Archbishop Taché was moved to say that unless Latin immigration increased greatly the Catholics in Western Canada would be drowned under the wave of Anglo-Saxon Protestants!

It is hoped that this paper may contribute to a better understanding of the Belgian colonists who migrated to Manitoba in the latter half of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. While it

must be conceded that much more could have been achieved this inquiry has demonstrated that in the early years Western Canada projected an image which was unlikely to attract a proliferation of colonists from distant parts of the world; that the implementation of policies by the Department of the Interior for the Canadian Government were very inadequate; that nevertheless, some loyal colonizers made valiant efforts to secure French-speaking colonists for Western Canada; that World War I virtually immobilized immigration to Canada from Belgium; that little or no change occurred between 1918 and 1922 but that policies regarding immigration to Canada changed significantly between 1922 and 1930.

Research also revealed that residential propinquity can occur, that land selection is an important aspect of settlement, and that acculturation is easier to accept for some ethnic groups than others. The Belgians migrated at a time when Manitoba was sparsely populated. Those who settled in Lorne brought their agricultural talents with them and set about 'taming' a small area of this 'Great Lone Land'. Like many immigrants from many ethnic groups, they suffered much in the early years of settlement. One trait, however, seems to set them apart: they wanted to integrate. Speaking a tongue which was foreign to the host nation they rapidly learned English and it seems to the writer that they made an exceptionally speedy transition from being 'immigrants' to becoming 'Canadians'. Research has revealed that Belgian immigration, though small, was successful.

APPENDIX 1: Reference of Names and Terms in Chapter 3 and Appendix 3.

Ambrosy, L. Ambassador of the Imperial Austro-Hungarian Embassy,
Washington, D.C.

American Traders: Retailers and Saloon keepers, not fur traders. They
expected Red River to ally itself to the Americans.

Armstrong, L. O. C.P.R. colonizing agent.

Balfour, The Right Hon. A. J., Secretary of State.

Ballen, R. Hambourg. American Line employee.

Barnstead, Arthur S. Secretary to the Bureau of Immigration and Industries,
Halifax, N. S.

Bégin, Bishop. Bishop of Quebec who opposed emigration of French from
Quebec.

Benoit, Dom Paul. (see Father Paul Benoit). He felt that Quebec was
responsible for the lack of migration to Western Canada.

Benoit, Father Paul. Priest of Chamoines Réguliers de l'Immaculée
Conception. Later became Dom Paul Benoit; colonizer and biographer
to Archbishop Taché of St. Boniface; established a settlement at
Notre Dame de Lourdes.

Bernier, Noel. Journalist and grandson of Senator T. A. Bernier. He
felt that Quebec was responsible for the lack of French migration
to Western Canada.

Bernier, Senator T. A. Mayor of St. Boniface and in 1891 a Senator.
Grandfather of Noel Bernier.

Berube, Abbé. French Canadian priest in Western Canada.

Blair, F. C. Secretary to the Department of Immigration, Ottawa.

Bodard, Auguste. Secretary to La Société d'Immigration Française between
1887 and 1894. An avid colonizer and Canadian Government Agent
in France in 1892.

Bryce, P. R.

Burgess, A. M. Department of the Minister of the Interior, Ottawa.

Calder, The Hon. James. Minister of Immigration, (1919), Ottawa.

Cameron, Malcolm. First Minister of the Bureau of Agriculture in 1852.

Canon, P. Bonus Agent, Antwerp, Belgium.

- Clarke, J. Murray. Superintendent of Immigration, Toronto.
- Cloutier, Abbé Gabriel. Archbishop Taché's chief advisor on colonization.
- Cockshut, W. F. M.P. for Brantford, Ontario.
- Colleaux, Edmond. 'Return Man'.
- Colmer, J. G. Secretary to the High Commissioner, Department of the Interior, Ottawa.
- Cory, W. W. Deputy Minister of the Department of Immigration.
- Coté, J. Arthur. In charge of the Immigration Branch, Department of the Interior.
- Courtney, J. M. In the Department of the Minister of Finance.
- d'Albuféra, La Comtesse. A French countess who gave financial assistance for the establishment of Fannystelle settlement.
- Daly, The Hon. T. Mayne, Q.C. Minister of the Interior for Canada.
- Davidson, A. R. Private citizen, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- de Bussenheim, Count Frédéric-Louis Walbott. Secretary to La Société St. Raphael of Belgium.
- Dechene, Minelles. Minister of Lands and Forests, Quebec.
- de Bricy, Count. He supported Belgian emigration and was known to Fasseaux.
- de Coeli, Treau. Canadian Immigration Agent to Belgium, 1898-1914.
- de Cuverville, Vicomte Jules. A French nobleman who proposed the establishment of a French village in Western Canada. This was approved by Taché.
- de la Bodérie, Genty. An envoy of Comtesse d'Albuféra of Fannystelle.
- de la Londe, Count Arthur. European count, spiritually committed to assist in the settlement of Western Canada by the French.
- de la Mothe, Henri. French journalist who came to Canada to assess immigration possibilities.
- Deleau, Sebastian. 'Return Man'.
- Delouche, Father. Priest appointed by Archbishop Langevin to organize Belgian immigration to Western Canada.
- de Ramaix, G. Councillor for the Minister of the Belgian Legation to London.

de Rubempré, Prince. He supported Belgium emigration and was known to Fasseaux.

de St. Exupery. Le Comte. An envoy of Comtesse d'Albuféra of Fannystelle.

Dewdney, The Hon. Edgar. Minister of the Interior.

English-speaking Settlers. Kildonan Scots and Scots and Irish half-breeds. They were opposed to the annexation of Red River Colony by Canada.

Enns, John. General Passenger Agent for Allan Lines, Liverpool.

Fabre, Hector. Canada's Commissionaire Général in Paris, 1882.

Fasseaux, Edmond. A 'Return Man' who replaced the abbé Jean Gaire when exhaustion felled the latter while working as a colonizer.

Fisher, The Hon. Sidney. Minister of Agriculture, (1904), Ottawa.

Follet, E. Belgian Consul General, (1919), in London.

Fortier, L. M. Assistant to the Superintendent of Immigration, Ottawa.

Foursin, Pierre. Secretary to Hector Fabre.

Free Traders. First Group, led by Dr. John Christian Schultz.

Fremont, Donetian. Journalist. He felt that Quebec was responsible for the lack of French-speaking migration to Western Canada.

Furenne, M. A. French Chamber of Commerce.

Gaire, Abbé Jean. Priest who emigrated from Europe and settled in Western Canada at Grand Clarière. He retired as a colonizer in 1906.

Gelley, Thomas. Commissioner of Immigration, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Ghika, Princess. Belgium Princess interested in assisting Belgian refugees, 1914-1918.

Gobert, F. Acting Consul General for Belgium (1919).

Godts, G. M. 32, Barin St., Montreal, Representing La Société St. Raphael.

Goor, M. Consul General for Belgium in Ottawa.

Grandin, Bishop. Bishop of St. Albert, Alberta.

Grandin, Mgr. (see Grandin, Bishop of St. Albert). Director of St. Boniface College and later became Bishop of St. Albert, Alberta.

Griffith, W. L. Office of the High Commissioner in London.

Hacault, Louis. Belgian journalist with Courrier de Bruxelles.

Hamel, Theo. Canadian Government Agent, 103 St. John St., Quebec.

Hamilton, L. A. Land Commissioner for the C.P.R.

Hockin, R. H. Citizen at Oak Lake.

Hudson's Bay Company. Formed in 1670 by the Company of Adventurers who were granted the fur trade monopoly and the administrative responsibility of Rupert's Land by England.

Jannet, Claudio. French publicist in Metropolitan France.

Joliffe, A. L. Commissioner of Immigration, Ottawa.

Kaiser, Charles E. Canadian Government Employment Agency employee.

Klekowski, M. French Consul in Montreal.

Labelle, Curé Antoine. French Canadian priest who assisted T. A. Bernier with an introduction to Claudio Jannet.

Lacombe, Father Albert. One of Archbishop Taché's chief colonizer priests.

Langevin, Archbishop A. He succeeded Archbishop Taché as Archbishop of St. Boniface when Taché died in 1894.

LaRivière, A. A. N. Ottawa.

Laurier, Sir Wilfred. Prime Minister of Canada 1896-1911.

'Liberal' Catholics. They sought to diminish the power of the Church in the affairs of State, thus they gained the support of the Government of Metropolitan France.

Local Officers of Hudson's Bay Company. They were opposed to the annexation of Red River Colony in 1870.

MacDonell, H. A. Director of Colonization.

Marlier, Isadore. Prospective Belgian emigrant from Luxembourg.

McCreary. Commissioner of Immigration in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

McKinley, Andrew. Canadian soldier in Paris, World War I.

McNicoll, D. C.P.R. General Passenger Agent, Montreal, Quebec.

McTavish, William. Rupert's Land and Assiniboia Governor. He resented being ignored by the British and Canadian Governments. He was opposed to the annexation of Red River Colony by the Canadian Government in 1870.

Métis. French half-breeds representing half the community at Red River Colony in 1869. The progeny of fur trader and Indian, who considered themselves a 'new nation'. They were opposed to the annexation of Red River Colony by Canada in 1870.

Mitten, H. M. Canadian Government Agent at Antwerp, Belgium (1920).

Morard, Rev. J. Roman Catholic priest who helped Colleaux search for land suitable for prospective French-speaking colonists.

Morice, Father Adrien-Gabriel. A priest who felt that Quebec was responsible for the lack of French-speaking migration to Western Canada.

Oliver, The Hon. F. Minister of the Interior (1910).

Paradis, Rev. F. of Verner, Ontario who applied for the position of Canadian Agent to the U.S.A.

Pedley, Frank. Superintendent of Immigration, Ottawa. He succeeded W. D. Scott.

Pelletier, Colonel. Agent for Quebec Province in London.

Pereira, Lyndwode. Assistant Secretary to the Department of the Interior, Ottawa.

Proulx, Abbé J. B. French Canadian priest associated with the curé Antoine Labelle who assisted T. A. Bernier with special introductions in Europe.

Provencher, J. A. N. Government colonizing agent in Europe, representing North Western Canada in 1871. He spent three months in Europe.

Provencher, Bishop R. N. Founded the mission church in St. Boniface in 1818, and became bishop in 1822. He was the predecessor to Archbishop Taché.

Pugh, Sidney W. European Inspector of Agencies (1914).

Rawlinson, A. E. C.P.R. Passenger Agent at Antwerp, Belgium.

Red River Colony. Established in 1812 by Lord Selkirk at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. The colony was created in order to alleviate distress among the Scottish crofters and Irish cotters at the time of the Agricultural Revolution and to provide a place of retirement for retired Hudson's Bay Company officials.

Riel Resistance. Resistance against the annexation of the Red River Colony by Canada in 1869. Also known as the Riel Rebellion. It was led by the Métis leader, Louis Riel.

Rogers, The Hon. Robert. Acting Minister of the Interior (1914).

Roman Catholic Clergy. The most influential group at Red River colony.
They opposed the annexation of Red River Colony by Canada in 1870.

Roy, Philippe. Canadian High Commissioner to Paris. He felt that Quebec was responsible for the lack of French settlement in Western Canada.

Schyns, G. Booking Agent, Antwerp, Belgium.

Scott, W. D. Superintendent of Immigration. He succeeded F. Pedley.

Sifton, Sir Clifford. Minister of the Interior for the Liberal Government in 1896, who promoted the settlement of Western Canada.

Smart, J. A. Deputy Minister of the Interior.

Smith, J. Obed. Assistant Superintendent of Emigration, London.

Speers, C. W. General Colonizing Agent, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Stanford, J. Henry. Canadian Immigration Agent, Antwerp, Belgium, 1914.

Stewart, The Hon. M.

Strathcona, Lord. (Donald Smith). High Commissioner for Canada in London.

Taché, Archbishop Alexandre Antonin. Head of the Roman Catholic Church in Western Canada at the time of the annexation of Red River Colony by Canada in 1870. Archbishop of St. Boniface from 1853-1894 when he died. Taché was well educated and wielded much power regarding French-speaking settlement in Western Canada. He was opposed to the annexation of Red River Colony by Canada in 1870. He was highly regarded in Ottawa and an Ultramontane Catholic.

Tardival, Jules-Paul. Editor of Le Monde. An Ultramontane Catholic and a fierce Nationaliste.

Thornton, Dr. R. S. Minister of Education in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Trow, James. Chairman of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Immigration and Colonization.

Tupper, Sir Charles. High Commissioner in London 1884-1896. Prime Minister of Canada 1896.

Ultramontane Catholics. 'Conservative' Catholics who opposed French-speaking European colonization of Western Canada. In general they represented Canadian Catholics.

Van Den Broeck, Auguste. Canadian Immigration Agent (1908).

Walker, J. Bruce. Assistant Superintendent of Immigration in Winnipeg, Manitoba, to W. D. Scott.

Williams, E. B. Special Commissioner at the Canadian Emigration Office at Antwerp, Belgium.

Appendix 2: Constraints imposed by the Department of Immigration

Some Government Agents worked efficiently in France and Belgium for Canadian immigration and it is the opinion of this writer that more might have been accomplished with regards immigration from France and Belgium had the Department of Immigration imposed fewer constraints on their Agents and been more liberal with the "very considerable sum [which had been] voted by Parliament to promote immigration" (Morton, 1938, 54). For example, it was suggested to A. M. Burgess by A. A. C. LaRivière that Auguste Bodard be taken on by the Department as Agent for Canada in Europe "on the most liberal terms possible." LaRivière explained that Bodard was a native Frenchman, secretary to La Société d'Immigration Française and that he had already worked on immigration in France and Belgium "for some years." Bodard was on cordial terms with the French Government which allowed him access to rural areas without restrictions, which was a privilege granted only to those in good standing with the authorities (July 7, 1892, c4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). However, it was not until six months later that Bodard was appointed as Agent at a salary of \$1200 per annum, his re-appointment the following year being contingent upon the success of his current year in Europe (Dec. 3, 1892, c4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). Bodard was overwhelmed with gratitude: "I cannot forget and will never forget the support you gave me on that occasion. I will be in Ottawa on Friday and will be glad to see you, receive from you all the necessary instructions and give you all the information in my power" (Dec. 6, 1892, c4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). Four months later, upon receiving a negative appraisal from another Agent, Pierre Foursin, regarding the improbability of "French farmers with limited capital" such as those amongst whom Bodard was working, emigrating to Canada, Lyndewode Pereira wrote to

Bodard threatening to terminate his appointment if Foursin's intimations were true (April 28, 1893, C4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). It was only when Bodard explained to Burgess that Foursin was envious of Bodard's appointment and that five years earlier Foursin had plagiarized a list of 80 names of French-speaking immigrants whom Bodard had secured for emigration that he was able to retain his position as Agent. Bodard added that Foursin had "turned people away from Manitoba saying that it was a 'bad country'" (May 19, 1893, #3182, C4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). When Bodard asked permission to print 25,000 French pamphlets for the Antwerp Exhibition, the Department responded in the affirmative provided that the cost did not exceed \$12 per thousand (N.D. #11868; March 16, 1894, #11939; C4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). By 1894, in a letter to Sir Charles Tupper, Bodard protested the reduction of his expense account from \$2,000 to \$600 per annum stating that it would inhibit his work, that he was the only Agent for 40 million people and that there was "work for ten." He stated that the previous winter he had travelled constantly in the countryside canvassing in the villages of Belgium and France where he hoped to work until June 1895 because he felt that: "Canada . . . [was] . . . a better country than France for nearly half the inhabitants and for all of the Belgians." He considered that two years of work was essential to show some results. He said he had, to that date, spent \$3,000. He stated that he "paid personally several hundred dollars in gratuities of all kinds, advertising, printing, freight, and pamphlets by express . . . I paid those expenses because they were not authorized by Ottawa and necessary to ensure the success of my work" (June 30, 1894, C4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). A year later Bodard explained his lack of travel, saying that he had exceeded

his travel allowance of \$50 per month in the early part of the appointed year. He did not go to Antwerp until October and November 1894 and had to spend \$250 of his own money on expenses (March 23, 1895, C4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). Bodard again wrote to J. G. Colmer explaining that his limited allowance had curtailed his travelling but that he had received 1500 letters in the past six months (June 10, 1895, #23047, C4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). In a further letter to Colmer, Bodard explained that his expenses had been subsidized by the Dominion, Alan and Hansa Lines in France and Belgium because the Department of Immigration had cut his expense account from \$2,000 to \$600 per annum. He considered that accepting the subsidy was in the "interest of Canada" and that with less money his work would not have been as effective as 1893-94. With this assistance he had "obtained good results and perhaps avoided some complaints on my work" (Aug. 13, 1895; #24111, C4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). A year later, in spite of the fact that Bodard's travelling expenses had been decreased by 70 percent he was prepared to escort 20 to 30 families to Canada with "no expenses beyond continuation [of his] ordinary allowance" (March 18, 1896, #28150, C4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). Bodard then suggested his 'free passage scheme' in which it was proposed that the C.P.R. advance sea and rail passages to 100 Belgian immigrant farming families with assets of at least \$300 per family. A mortgage would be taken out on their homesteads for the money advanced and they would be allowed four to five years to repay the loan. If this was successful the scheme could be repeated with 200 to 300 families (Sept. 21, 1896, #31360, C4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). A further letter from Bodard to D. McNicoll stated that Bodard had 300 French and Belgian families with assets of between \$300 and \$500 prepared

to emigrate (June 21, 1896; #31610, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). However, the Department turned down Bodard's scheme (Oct. 19, 1896; #31746, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). In a letter to Sifton, Burgess stated:

Mr. Bodard is a man somewhat lacking in discretion, but on the whole, I regard his work in France and Belgium as having been productive of fairly good result and it might be well to permit him to return to his field of operation, but on the distinct understanding that in the future he will take care to avoid the mistakes of the past summer and confine himself strictly to his own work (Feb. 3, 1897, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.).

At the bottom of the letter that Sifton had just received from Burgess in which it was stated that Bodard was a "productive" agent, Sifton wrote: "Let him stay on and return to France and bring out his proposed party-- no obligation being incurred to retain his services after July 1, 1897. C.S." (Feb. 3, 1897, c4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). The ultimate irony was that within the same month the Department agreed to endorse Bodard's scheme (Feb. 2, 1897; Feb. 20, 1897; #34260, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). A month later Bodard wrote to Colmer saying that he had been unable to avail himself of a French steamer put at his disposal so that he might escort a group of colonists each with assets of over \$300, under the scheme with the C.P.R., because he had not received "the permit to mortgage the homesteads for the amount advanced" (March 28, 1897, #38596, c4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.). In a report to Lord Strathcona, Bodard suggested three problems faced by Agents working for the Department of Immigration. All related to costs. He stated that Agents now refused to work for Canada because there was no profit in it; that once the Government had paid \$5.00 per head bonus and "now they do absolutely nothing." Secondly, he felt that the Canadian Government did not pay Agents an adequate travelling allowance. Lastly, he stated that the French and Belgian farmers were poorer and that the cost of settlement in Manitoba and the N.W.T. was too expensive for them at \$300 per family;

that those with assets of \$400 or \$500 did not wish to spend \$300 on sea and rail passage. For this reason they either did not emigrate or they remained in Quebec (N.D., #58205, C4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). Bodard resigned in 1900 and the reason he gave was inadequate remuneration. "I don't receive enough money from the Government to do a useful work and to show good results: for the last three years I spent more than I received. . . . For these reasons I think it is . . . best for me to offer my resignation as emigration agent in France. . . . I intend to leave with a party of emigrants for Manitoba and the N.W. . . . " (April 6, 1900, #113726, C4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.). In a final letter to Lord Strathcona, Bodard stated that in 1893 and 1894 he had almost enough money and obtained good results; that he had "sent more Belgian and French emigrants to Canada than any other agent in France." He repeated that with an expense account of \$50 a month he could not do the same work. In conclusion he stated: "With [this] system French emigration will decrease every year . . . the government will only obtain results if the emigration agents there have enough money to work" (July 30, 1900, #122171, C4655, V1, F1, P2, P.A.M.).

Bodard was not the only one to be faced with a penurious government. G. M. Godts of Montreal wrote to the Minister of Agriculture in Ottawa saying that the St Raphael Society for the protection of Belgian and German emigrants wanted to promote emigration to Canada and wished to send six farmer delegates to Canada the following spring to appraise the land. He requested the support of the Department of Agriculture (Jan. 26, 1895, C4771, V108, F19230, P.A.M.). This request was refused because it was stated that the Government could not afford the expenses for a Belgian/German delegation (Feb. 12, 1895; March 22, 1895; C4771,

V108, F19230, P.A.M.). A letter from R. Ballen of the Hamburg-American Line to Colmer demonstrated the short-sighted approach of the Government. Ballen stated that the St Raphael Society was "highly respectable" and he concluded with: "I think it would have been the only way to promote emigration to Canada if the St Raphael Society . . . had been met with the greatest liberality" (Sept. 3, 1895, C4771, V108, F19230, P.A.M.). Three years later the High Commissioner in London was still urging Sifton to support the six farmer delegates from Belgium and Germany (March 23, 1898, C4771, V108, F19230, P.A.M.).

Sebastian Deleau and Edward Colleaux were two 'Return Men' who were affected by the stringent measures which were taken by the Department regarding remuneration. C. W. Speers, the General Colonizing Agent at Winnipeg recommended Sebastian Deleau as a 'Return Man' (March 1, 1889, #76335, C7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.). This was rejected by Frank Pedley for "lack of funds" (March 10, 1899, #76336, C7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.). It was not until almost two years later after one more refusal to Deleau and a communication with Prime Minister Laurier that Deleau's services were finally accepted. Deleau was to receive a salary and travelling expenses while Colleaux, on the other hand, was only granted the latter. (May 10, 1900, #59953; Aug. 2, 1900; Dec. 8, 1900; C7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.). A year later R. H. Hockin of Oak Lake appealed to J. M. Courtney for a salary for Colleaux, saying that he could not work without a salary; that transportation alone was insufficient (April 29, 1901, C7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.). Colleaux' success in Belgium has already been stated (N.D. 148163; Nov. 3, 1901; Nov. 3, 1901; N.D. [Colleaux to Sifton], C7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.). Having returned to Canada, Colleaux, on the recommendation of Treau de Coeli, the Canadian Agent in Paris, suggested to Frank Pedley that he (Colleaux)

research the Alberta and Saskatchewan region for settlement for prospective Belgian colonists from "overcrowded agricultural districts" who had charged him with making a reconnaissance of the area. These Belgians planned to emigrate (June 28, 1901, #162062, C7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.). Colleaux was granted \$25 per week for a limit of four weeks in which to make his survey (July 5, 1901, C7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.). In 1901, 1902 and 1906 Colleaux was refused employment with the Department (Oct. 23, 1901; July 28, 1902; Jan. 25, 1906; C7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.). De Coeli then appealed to the Department to place four Belgians, already immigrated to Canada, but who had temporarily returned to Belgium to sell their property, on the Department's payroll. De Coeli said he needed men to help him "organize lectures, distribute literature, put up posters, etc." This was refused (Dec. 19, 1906; Jan. 7, 1907; C7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.). In 1909, Sifton wrote to W. W. Cory suggesting that Colleaux be sent to Belgium, saying that in 1904-05 Colleaux:

brought out about fifty families . . . all as a result of his own work, and they have all become permanent settlers and made good in their own surroundings. In the district where he resides there is a considerable quantity of land of the highest quality which would be taken up by the people that he would bring out and the result would be a very good improvement to the district. This was rejected (Jan. 30, 1909; Feb. 5, 1909; C7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.).

Finally, in December, 1909, Deleau's services were engaged for three months only, as a farmer delegate (Dec. 2, 1909; Dec. 7, 1909, C7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.). This constituted a delay of eight years for the rehiring of a 'Return Man' who was known to be a successful agent and no reference to an appointment for Colleaux could be found. De Coeli's letter to the Department in 1901 again confirmed the success of Deleau's work (April 14, 1910, C7381, V232, F132687, P.A.M.).

In 1905 De Coeli noted that a Belgian newspaper had reported that

the Canadian Government had refused at first to take part in the Exhibition at Liege, only reversing its decision due to pressure from Quebec (Jan. 4, 1905, #35744, C7864, V314, F304470, P1, P.A.M.). The Montreal Daily Herald then asserted that Canada had made a good showing at the Liege Exhibition (July 22, 1905, #405095, C10235, V231, F310232, P.A.M.). However, a delay in forwarding colonization literature by the Department handicapped those responsible for advertising Western Canada and "a very large percentage . . . [of the 1.5 million present in July] . . . were of the rural classes from Holland, Germany, France and Belgium (Sept. 1, 1905, #414622, C10235, V231, F310232, P.A.M.).

Between 1907 and 1914 Bonus Agent P. Canon worked in France and Belgium under De Coeli. According to the Department a bonus was only allowed to the Agent if the emigrant stated that he was leaving to farm in Canada. Many letters in this section attest to the constant disputes and delays between the Department and Canon regarding his bonus claims (Feb. 7, 1907; Feb. 1, 1908; May 21, 1908; June 23, 1908; July 22, 1908; June 24, 1909; Dec. 17, 1909; March 31, 1910; April 20, 1910; C10318; V439, F662572, P2, P.A.M.). It is evident that on occasion, the Department was even unjust in its assessment of the integrity of the Agent. One letter from De Coeli in defense of Canon confirmed that statements regarding the occupations of the emigrant were "filed by the emigrants themselves . . . that he [Canon] does not wish to be suspected of having put in bogus claims. He is anxious to know if there is any means by which he could come to a correct statement of claims satisfactory to the Department" (Oct. 17, 1907, #733713, C10318, V439, F662572 P2, P.A.M.).

Booking Agents were forbidden to encourage emigrants to Canada if

they were actually destined for the United States. G. Schyns, Booking Agent at Antwerp, was accused of this infraction by L. Ambrosy of the Imperial Royal Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Washington, D.C. (N.D. #704329, C10399, V458, F699035, P2, P.A.M.). On hearing of the accusation J. Bruce Walker wrote to W. D. Scott defending Schyns saying he came well recommended from the firm of Donaldson Brothers of Glasgow. Nevertheless, without any contact with Schyns, Walker had Schyns' name struck off the list of Bonus Earning Agents and advice of this action was sent to Donaldson Lines (Nov. 26, 1907, #748351, C10399, V458, F699035, P2, P.A.M.). Schyns vehemently denied the accusation. This violation of the rules allowed an emigrant to evade the required medical examination. Schyns stated that he was well aware of the rules and that in fact the Donaldson Lines insisted that their passengers have two doctors' certificates, not merely the required one (Mar. 5, 1908, #782309, C10399, V458, F699035, P2, P.A.M.). One year later, Scott wrote to Schyns in a cavalier manner, stating that if Schyns felt that he had been unfairly dealt with he had better correspond with J. Obed Smith in London (March 1, 1908, C10399, V458, F699035, P2, P.A.M.). There was no question of Schyns receiving help from Ottawa. No evidence was found from any correspondence which could substantiate the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador's accusation, but it was three years before Schyns was reinstated (Sept. 7, 1910, C10399, V458, F699035, P2, P.A.M.). It was not until 1911, that letters from de Coeli to Scott indicated that Schyns was once more applying for the passenger bonus (Feb. 21, 1911, A36851, April 4, 1911, A458018; July 25, 1911, A311559; Sept. 20, 1911, A534581; Nov. 3, 1911, A540035; C10399, V458, F699035, P2, P.A.M.).

Conclusion: From 1892-1914 it appears that some agents working

in France and Belgium lacked the support of the Department of Immigration both morally and physically. The Department's frugal approach with the funds at its disposal may have discouraged some good agents as in the case of Bodard who resigned because his travelling expenses were cut by 70 percent per year. As well, Deleau and Colleaux were successful 'Return Men'. Many letters attested to this. Nevertheless, the Department continually refused or deferred the rehiring of these men even though they had been responsible for escorting many Belgians to Canada. Normally, as well, it seems that the Department too often behaved in an accusatory manner and that the Agent was regarded as guilty without being questioned. The cases in point being those of Bodard and Foursin, Canon and the bogus claims, and Schyns and the austro-Hungarian Embassy. It was unfortunate, too, that the Department was unwilling to support the St Raphael Society delegation when they had been so well recommended and were prepared to promote emigration from Belgium and Germany to Canada. Again, it was only pressure from the Quebec Government that forced the Department to support the Liège Exhibition. Even then an adequate stock of advertising material was not supplied. With 1.5 million people from Holland, Germany, France and Belgium, the majority of which represented the rural population which attended Liege in July, this was an embarrassment to those responsible for the Canadian exhibits.

It is the opinion of this writer that between 1892 and 1914 some agents engaged in French and Belgian emigration were discouraged by the constraints and in some cases, by the denigration, of the Department. This combined with the parsimony entertained by the Department did little to enhance the opportunities for emigration for those in France and Belgium at that time.

Appendix 3: Some non-governmental groups and individuals who sponsored European French-Speaking Immigration to Western Canada

European French-speaking immigration was sponsored by a variety of people and representations were made from Europe. Henri de la Mothe one-time French journalist in Algeria, journeyed to Canada in 1873 in order to assess the country for settlement. His report showed a preference for the West over Quebec, but nevertheless, his assessment indicated that it would be unwise to rush to the North-West of Canada at that time without serious thought (Painchaud, 1976, 300). This type of literature was damaging to emigration from Europe and "the issue of continental immigration for Canada remained a controversial one throughout the 1870s" (Painchaud, 1976, 301). Thus the literary impressions of European journalists only added to the problems of the thorny and unpopular policy of European French-speaking immigration to Canada in the 1870s--there was as yet no rapprochement between the old 'conservative' Catholics of Canada and the new 'liberal' Catholics of France--it was not until the 1880s that Taché made contact with interested parties in both France and Belgium (Painchaud, 1976, 302). This was done through organizations such as La Société St Raphael (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 20). Even though Hector Fabre, Canada's Commissionaire Général in Paris in 1882 was a government appointment there were still two types of agencies in Europe: those appealing to the 'good' Catholics and those appealing to the "more adventurous class of Frenchman and Belgian" (Painchaud, 1976, 302).

Some wealthy French who were spiritually committed to help the church expand offered financial help (Silver, 1966, 299-300). Count Arthur de la Londe was one who travelled to Canada, made plans to

transport French families and sent money to Taché to buy lands for him to keep out the English (Painchaud, 1976, 32). Another group sponsored by Comtesse d'Albuféra, established a settlement called Fannystelle with the aid of Senator T. A. Bernier of Manitoba, Belgian journalist Louis Hacault and Belgian publicist Claudio Jannet (Map 1). Hacault moved to Manitoba himself. This was organized through La Société d'Immigration Française and La Société St Raphael of Belgium, the latter being formed in 1888 (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 30). Bernier spent five years planning. He wanted to "combat the false impressions created by exaggerated accounts of frosts, droughts, a paucity of timber and water and other dire calamities" (Painchaud, 1976, 309). From 1880 to 1894 laymen and lay organizations were responsible for much of the emigration of French-speaking Europeans to Western Canada (Painchaud, 1976, 305). Between these dates people were less influenced by the church, but it was still difficult to colonize without church support. For example, the five years that Bernier spent endeavoring to establish Fannystelle were "troublesome years" (Painchaud, 1976, 308). A manuscript from Bernier's notes for Mgr Taché's biography by Dom Benoit indicated that the project had very little support: "pas même celle de Mgr Taché et de son clergé" (not even that of Mgr Taché and his clergy) (quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 309). Bernier's work in Manitoba, and that of Belgian journalist Louis Hacault, and societies such as La Société d'Immigration Française and La Société St Raphael represent non-clerical settlement and effort (Painchaud, 1976, 305). They co-operated with the clerics and assisted immigrants in land selection. However, they were dependent on church-oriented colonizers in Belgium and France to refer them to prospective colonists. Bernier

first went to Manitoba in 1880, shortly after becoming the first Mayor of St Boniface. His presentation to the Congrès National in 1884 regarding the role of the French-speaking population in North America gave him enough publicity that he was referred by the curé LaBelle to Claudio Jannet the French publicist in Metropolitan France. Jannet helped Bernier obtain French colonists for Canada. Shortly after their introduction Jannet's journal Paris-Canada proclaimed the departure of the first colonists. Thus Bernier became the emissary between Europe and the Canadian West. His pamphlets were distributed in the Paris office of Pierre Foursin who was secretary to Hector Fabre, Canada's Commissionnaire Général. Bernier was an efficient agent. It was he who contacted the curé LaBelle and the abbé J. B. Proulx before they departed for Europe. His work prompted the arrival of le comte de St Exupery and Genty de la Bodérie who were envoys of La comtesse d'Albuféra of Fannystelle settlement, to which Bernier later became so intimately committed. In 1888, he wrote a booklet, Le Manitoba Champ d'Immigration in which he sought to refute much of the poor publicity regarding Western settlement (Painchaud, 1976, 309). He was instrumental in co-ordinating groups such as La Société St Raphael of Belgium with Western Canada, and plans were afoot to assign him as a representative of the Belgian Society in Manitoba. He desired permission to make contact with groups in Belgium and France who might be interested in Western colonization and he needed approval from both Taché and Ottawa before he departed in 1891 (Painchaud, 1976, 311). However, this was his last journey, for he retired from active colonization shortly after becoming a Senator.

Count Frederic-Louis Walbot de Bassenheim, secretary of the Société St Raphael of Belgium approached the Director of St Boniface College in 1888 regarding Belgium immigration. T. A. Bernier was the liaison there. Mgr Grandin and Walbot de Bassenheim discussed financial security and loans for Belgian colonists as it was evident that Grandin felt that poverty was a serious problem for many colonists. It is clear that Belgian immigration must have increased because by 1896 there was a need for Flemish-speaking priests (Painchaud, 1976, 316). Edmond Fasseaux made reference to Walbot de Bassenheim and others of his ilk as being of great assistance to Belgian emigration. Fasseaux stated that he had communicated with "the best families that earnestly occupy themselves with emigration. Among others [the] Prince de Rubempre, Count de Bricy, and Count de Walbot of St André Le Bruges . . . [he] encourages emigration to Canada and as his services are free and disinterested they have great weight and do much good for the country" (June 10, 1891, #82751, c4680, V22, F390 P.A.M.).

Another Belgian, Louis Hacault, a journalist with the Courrier de Bruxelles, became interested in Belgian settlement through the curé LaBelle. Hacault visited Manitoba and returned to Belgium delighted that "le Manitoba convient parfaitement à la colonisation belge" (Manitoba was perfectly suited to Belgian settlement) (quoted in Painchaud, 1976, 317). Proof of his pleasure was his own settlement there in 1892.

The Vicomte Jules de Cuverville was another young man whose proposal to establish a French village in Canada met with the approval of Taché. Preliminary discussions emphasizing the need for agriculturalists were negotiated through Taché's chief advisor on colonization the abbé

Gabriel Cloutier. This showed "clearly how the climate of opinion had changed from that of the 1870s. In the fifteen year period after 1880, the church greatly benefitted from its contacts with European colonization societies. What is striking is the role played by laymen, both present in the West and those acting as agents in Europe" (Painchaud, 1976, 318).

There was, however, a web of agents who addressed themselves to French-speaking colonization without regard for religious affiliation. One in particular was Hector Fabre, the Commissionaire Général in Paris. Disliked by the Ultramontanes of Canada, he was nevertheless committed to the expansion of European-French settlement in Western Canada. His main thrust was lecturing to La Société de Geographic Commerciale de Paris in 1884 promoting the cause of Western settlement in Canada (Painchaud, 1976, 319).

Another important group of colonizers consisted of "clergymen of European birth, education and training" (Painchaud, 1976, 321). Their knowledge of Europe and their circle of friends among the clerics of Belgium and France in conjunction with their understanding of the requisites for colonization in the Canadian West made them a valuable asset to colonization schemes. Indeed between 1890 and 1907 they were the most reliable agents of French-speaking colonization to the Western Interior. Father Benoit was one of these. In the spring of 1891 he brought 30 families to Manitoba to establish Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes. From then on Benoit and the Chanoines Réguliers played a major role in Franco-Catholic settlement in the West. For example, forty-eight homesteads were taken in the St Claude area and by 1893 Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes had grown to 481 people (Map 1). This included 31 Belgians.

By 1895 the number had grown to 567 in total and the Belgians had increased to 20.

Abbé Jean Gaire was another who emigrated from Europe in April 1888 returning to Europe in 1889 and back once again in the following spring with 80 settlers. Exhaustion prevented future excursions but in his place went Edmond Fasseaux who was an "official 'Return Man'" (Painchaud, 1976, 334). Gaire retired as colonizer in 1906 and the reason, while not clear, appears to be related to the financing of his many trips to Europe. In response to a request for funds in 1905 he was advised that the Department could no longer assist him. His effort at recruiting Catholic French settlers was a failure because the numbers were so small. However, he did advance new areas for settlement for Franco-Catholics and augmented members to the 'chain' of Catholic parishes reaching West from Red River. "Thus, at St Albert under Bishop Grandin and Abbé Morin, at Grand Clarière under Abbé Gaire, at Montmartre, St. Brieux, and Gravelbourg, French [speaking] communities were created" (Friesen, 1984, 20) (Map 2).

Father Delouche was another who was approached by Archbishop Langevin to organize Belgian immigration to Canada in 1898. Delouche planned to form a company, La Société d'Exploration Agricole du Canada, to raise the funds with which to purchase land in Western Canada. It was at this time that Treau de Coeli was named Canadian Immigration Agent to Belgium and a general mood of optimism prevailed. However, illness and financial crisis caused a debacle and fruition of the project was never realized.

After 1896 when the Liberals came into power in Ottawa the "conservative-leaning Church was excluded from political favours" (Painchaud,

1976, 354). After 1907 no colonizers of note, such as Dom Benoit and the abbé Jean Gaire surfaced to work as diligently for the Franco-Catholic cause and the years prior to the First Great War were relatively inactive for French-speaking European Catholic settlement in Western Canada.

APPENDIX 4: Letters from satisfied Belgian colonists published in
Auguste Bodard's pamphlet Le Colonisateur Canadien.

J. B. Flick, Grand Clarière, Manitoba, 28 mar. 1891.

Autrefois de Sommethonne, près de Virden, Luxembourg, Belgique:

"Monsieur: C'est avec plaisir que je vous donne mon opinion personnelle du district du Lac des Chênes. L'homme qui immigre pour cette partie doit surtout avoir en vue la culture. Le climat y est sec et très sein. Le froid plus vif qu'en Belgique et supportable . . . La terre y est donc bien fertile et facile a cultiver . . . Partout des belles prairies naturelles rendent très productif l'élevage des animaux . . ." (Sir, it is with great pleasure that I give you my personal opinion of the region around Lac des Chênes. The man who migrates to this area must above all plan to farm. The climate is dry and very healthy. It is colder than in Belgium but bearable . . . The earth is very fertile and easy to cultivate. . . Everywhere the beautiful natural prairies make stock breeding a productive business . . . (C4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.).

Alexandre Javaux, Oak Lake, Manitoba, 23 août, 1891.

Autrefois de Lorrette, St. Denis, Luxembourg, Belgique: "Monsieur Bodard à Montréal: Je prends la liberté de vous dire que je suis satisfait du pays du Canada. Depuis que je suis arrivé, je gagne très bien ma vie, et je m'amuse très bien, aussi . . . je suis intentionné de faire venir ma femme et je devrai retourner pour cela et j'ai un peu de bien a vendre. Je desirai savoir combien me couterait un billet d'aller et retourner j'usqu'en Belge à Anvers." (Mr. Bodard in Montreal: I want to tell you that I am satisfied with Canada. Since my arrival my life has greatly improved, and I have been happy also . . . I intend to bring my wife over and for this reason I must return. I also have

some property to sell. I would like to know the cost of a return ticket to Anvers, Belgium) (C4655, Vl, Fl, Pl, P.A.M.).

Letain Rempelle, Oak Lake, Manitoba, 10 octobre, 1891, de

Chassepierre, province de Luxembourg, Belgique: "Monsieur Bodard: Je suis arrivé de Belgique au mois de mai dernier avec mon fils, sa femme et ses enfants, pour voir le pays de Canada. Après avoir visité la contrée et consulté nos compatriotes, je me suis décidé à métablir au lac des Chênes à Oak Lake; où j'ai acheté un terre de la Cie de la Baie d'Hudson pour \$6 de l'acre. Je retourne cette semaine en Belgique chercher ma femme et un de mes fils et vendre mes propriétés pour revenir au Manitoba, au mois de mars prochain. Je suis agé de 60 ans et je trouve bien plus d'avantages au Manitoba pour l'avenir des mes enfants et on est établis au milieu de colons parlant français." (I arrived from Belgium last May, with my son, his wife and their children to see Canada. After having looked around the countryside and talked to fellow Belgians, I have decided to settle at Oak Lake. I have bought land from the Hudson Bay Company for \$6 an acre. This week I am returning to Belgium for my wife and one of my sons in order to sell my property and return to Manitoba next March. I am 60 years old and I find that there are many more advantages in Manitoba for the future of my children and we shall settle among people who speak French) (C4655, Fl, Fl, Pl, P.A.M.).

Description of Western Canada in a booklet published by La Société d'Immigration Française of which Auguste Bodard was the Secretary.

"La culture mixte. L'élevage du bétail et les mines dans le grand ouest du Canada. Qui devrait aller dans le district d'Alberta, le grand ouest du Canada . . . Avantageusement situé dans un pays mi-partie boise, mi-partie en prairies, St. Alphonse a pris un accroissement

rapide depuis ces dernières années. En 1882, il y avait seulement dans cette localité deux familles parlant français; en 1887, leur nombre était de 50. Il y avait alors dans la paroisse 65 propriétaires et 300 personnes de l'ange français; l'établissement de 50 familles belges et quelques familles polonaise qui sont arrivées en 1888, les nombres colons de Belgique et de la Province de Québec qui y ont pris des terres en avril 1889 ont doublé . . . Presque tous les Belges établis à St. Alphonse se livrent à l'agriculture et sont extrêmement satisfaits de leur position . . . La plupart des familles fixées à Saint-Alphonse y sont arrivées très pauvres; toutes jouissent maintenant d'une honnête aisance acquise par leur travail . . . La neige du Canada n'est désagréable comme celle de France, de Belgique et d'Angleterre, elle est sèche et humide, elle ne mouille pas; elle protège le sol et le féconde. Au contact du froid elle durait et forme de magnifiques routes glacées qui permettent au boucheron de pénétrer partout dans la forêt pour y exploiter le bois et au cultivateur de venir apporter ses denrées au marché. L'hiver c'est la saison des affaires de l'activité et de l'animation; l'époque des visites, des promenades au grand air, de veillées; les traîneaux remplacent les voitures à roues, le soleil brille presque toujours d'un vif éclat, quoique sans chaleur, et c'est parce que l'absence de neige nuisait aux communications que le commerce se plaignait du magnifique hiver de 1889" (Mixed farming, animal husbandry and mining in the Great Canadian West. Who should go to the district of Alberta, the Great Canadian West? . . . Advantageously situated, in partly wooded and partly prairie region, St. Alphonse has grown rapidly in recent years. In 1882, there were only two families in the area who spoke French; in 1887, the number had increased to fifty. Soon there were 65 land owners and 300 French-speaking people. Fifty Belgian families and several Polish

families arrived in 1888. Belgian colonists and those from Quebec Province had doubled by 1889. . . . Almost all the Belgians are farmers and are extremely happy with their position. . . . Most of the families who arrived at St. Alphonse were extremely poor. Now they enjoy a good living due to their work. . . . The snow in Canada is not unpleasant as it is in France, Belgium and England. It is dry and warm and does retard growth; it protects the earth and soil fertility. The cold hardens the snow and forms marvellous ice roads which enable the woodsman to go anywhere in the forest to cut wood and take these products to market. The winter is also the party season; the time to visit and to walk about and to spend social evenings with neighbours; trains have replaced carriages; the sun shines brilliantly, even though it is without warmth, and it is because the snow does not spoil communications that commerce was so good in the winter of 1889) (C4655, V1, F1, P1, P.A.M.).

Letters from satisfied emigrants published in Treau de Coeli's paper in Belgium

Mai 20 1905, M. Foidart de Liège (écrit de St. Alphonse, Manitoba).
 "Cher Monsieur, je suis arrivé au Canada le 19 septembre, 1889, j'ai pris un homestead à Bruxelles, Manitoba, puis j'ai acheté un autre en 1895 pour 800 piastres; il a maintenant un valeur de 5,500 dollars. Je possède quatre chevaux et tous les machines nécessaires. Je suis sur le point d'acheter un troisième terre" (Dear Sir, I arrived in Canada on September 18, 1889, I bought a homestead at Bruxelles, Manitoba, then I bought another in 1895 for 800 piastres; it is now worth \$5,500. I own four houses and all the machinery I need. I am on the point now, of buying a third property . . .) (C7864, V314, F304470, P1, P.A.M.).

Mai 20 1905 Désiré Nick, de Beurang (Luxembourg). "Je suis arrive à Mariapolis (Manitoba) en 1890 possédant environs 12,000 francs. J'ai acheté un terre avec peu de culture, de batisses . . . chevaux, machines agricoles, boeufs, vaches, etc. En 1892 j'ai fait l'acquisition d'une terre voisine de la mienne pour 300 piastres . . . " (I arrived in Mariapolis in 1890 with 12,000 francs. I bought a farm with a house, horses, agricultural machinery, beef cattle, cows etc. In 1892, I acquired some neighbouring land for 300 piastres . . .) (C7864, V314, F304470, Pl, P.A.M.).

Amedee Van de Ponsele (Flandre) (de Deloraine, Manitoba). "Mes trois années d'expérience au Manitoba m'encouragent à faire un appel aux Belges, surtout à ses fermiers travailleurs qui sont obligés de payer des fermages trop élevés à leurs propriétaires. Compatriotes, votre deliverance est en vos mains, vous n'avez qu'à le vouloir et vos chaines tomberont d'elles-mêmes. Ayez un peu de courage, une ferme voulanté de reussir et un but bien defini; vous serez sûrs de partager notre succes." (My three years experience in Manitoba encourage me to make an appeal to Belgians, especially to the hard-working farmers who are obliged to pay a high rent to the landlords. Friends, your freedom is in your hands, you need only to have the will and your chains will fall off by themselves. Have a little courage, a strong will to succeed and a well planned goal; you will surely share in our success). (C7864, V314, F304470, Pl, P.A.M.).

An extract from West Canada Manitoba, a paper published by Treau de Coeli during his tenure as Canadian Agent in Antwerp.

"Le rapport du Ministre de l'Agriculture prouve que la culture mixte augmente annuellement. L'installation des beurreries et fromageries

a donné les meilleurs resultats . . . Winnipeg, une population de 157,383
. . . on parle dans cette ville de 50 langues ou dialects differentes."

(The report of the Minister of Agriculture states that mixed farming
increases annually. The establishment of butter and cheese factories has
shown the best results. Winnipeg has a population of 157,388 . . . and
in this town one can speak 50 different languages and dialects) (C7864,
V314, F304470, P2, P.A.M.).

Appendix 5: Statistics Canada figures on Belgian Immigration between 1900 and 1930

Belgian immigration to Canada was too insignificant to be registered separately prior to 1901. It was therefore assembled under immigrants from France. "Furthermore, prior to 1911 the immigrant entrance statistics are indicated by port of entry, including American ports. There is thus no accurate method of determining the actual number of Belgians arriving yearly in Manitoba until 1911, although it is possible to estimate the number of people of Belgian origin living in the province" (Wilson and Wyndels, 1976, 22).

In 1871 there were 12,228 people registered in Manitoba besides the estimated 13,000 Indian population attributed to Taché (Kaye, 1967, 227-8). Of these the foreign born were 248 from Britain, 178 from Ontario, 166 from the United States, 111 from Quebec, 10 from British Columbia, 9 from France and 27 from other countries (Census of Canada, Volume IV, 1665-1871, 1876, 386-7). No Belgians were registered (Table 7A).

By 1881, the total population of Manitoba was listed as 62,260. Of these, 38,285 were of British origin; 9,949 were of French origin and 10,953 more were of origins other than Indian (Census of Canada, Volume 1, 1880-1881, 1882, 296-9). Again, no Belgians were mentioned (Table 7B).

By 1891, the population of Manitoba was numbered at 152,506 (Census of Canada, 1890-91, Volume 1, 1893, 118). Of these 108,017 were Canadian born, whereas 44,489 were foreign born (Census of Canada, 1890-91, Volume 1, 1893, 332-3). Of the foreign born 28,014 were born in the British Isles, 474 were born in France and none was shown as born in Belgium (Census of Canada, 1890-91, Volume 1, 1893, 332-3) Table 7C).

POPULATION OF MANITOBA 1871, 1881, 1891

Table 7A

1871	Number of people registered for Manitoba	Estimated number of Indians
	12,228	13,000

Foreign Born

1871	Britain	Ontario	U.S.	Quebec	B.C.	France	Other
	248	178	166	111	10	9	27

Table 7B

1881	Total Population of Manitoba	British Origin	French Origin	Origins other than Indian
	62,260	38,285	9,949	10,953

Table 7C

1891	Total Population of Manitoba	Canadian Born	Foreign Born
	152,506	108,017	44,489

Sources: Census of Canada, Volume IV, 1665-1871, 1876, 386-7;
Census of Canada, Volume 1, 1880-1881, 1882, 296-9;
Census of Canada, 1890-1, Volume 1, 1893, 118; 332-3.

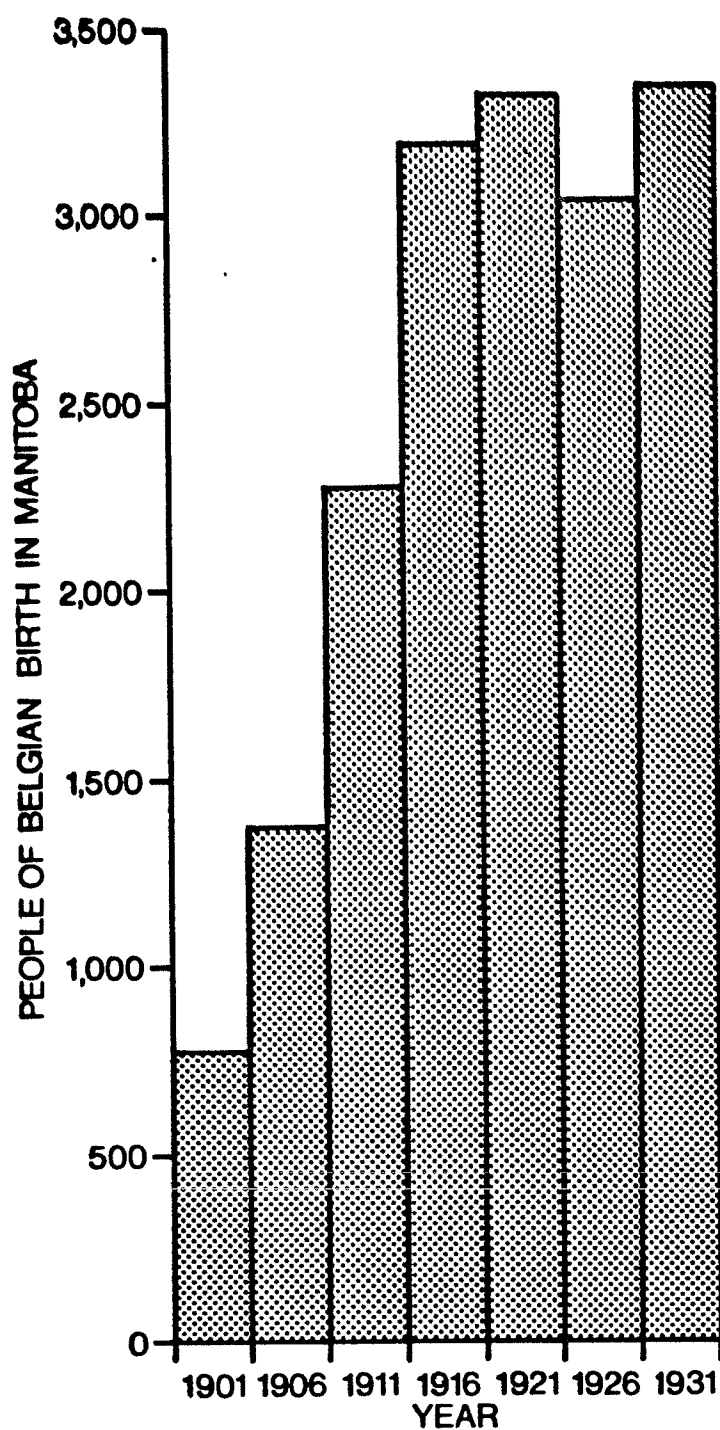
The first mention of Belgians in Canada was found in the Canadian Census of 1901 which listed a total of 2,280 people born in Belgium and living in Canada in that year, with 790 registered for Manitoba (Census of Canada A, Volume 1, 1901, 1903, 416) (figure 3).

The 1906 census listed 1,394 people born in Belgium as living in Manitoba (Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1906, 1907, 88-9). This demonstrated an increase of 604 people born in Belgium and living in Manitoba (figure 2). A steady annual increase in the number of Belgian born living in Manitoba can be seen from the years 1901-1906. The figures are as follows: 1901, 23 migrated; 1902, 58 migrated; 1903, 118 migrated; 1904, 176 migrated; 1905, 178 migrated and in 1906, 210 Belgians migrated to Manitoba. (Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1906, 1907, 96). Thus Belgian immigration to Manitoba slowly increased between 1901 and 1906.

By 1911, there were 2,286 people of Belgian birth recorded as living in Manitoba (Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, 1913, 379). This was an increase from 1,394 in 1906 to 2,286 in 1911, making an increase of 892 people of Belgian birth living in Manitoba by 1911 over 1906. Thus immigration of Belgians to Manitoba increased from 1906-1911 (figure 3).

The number of people of Belgian birth recorded as living in Manitoba in 1916 was 3,198 (Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916, 1918, 216). This was an increase from 2,286 in 1911 to 3,198 in 1916, making an increase of 912 people of Belgian birth living in Manitoba by 1916 over 1911 (figure 3).

Records are not available to show the number of people of Belgian birth living in Manitoba for 1921. However, the number of people of



Sources: Census of Canada A, Volume 1, 1901, 1903
Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1906, 1907
Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, 1913
Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916, 1918
Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Volume 1, 1924
Census of Manitoba, 1926, Part 1, n.d.
Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Volume 1, 1936
 Manitoba Archives

Figure 3: People of Belgian Birth in Manitoba.

Belgian origin born in Canada for 1921 was 1,982 (Sixth Census of Canada 1921, Volume 1, 1924, 561). If this number (1,982) is subtracted from the total number of those of Belgian origin living in Manitoba in 1921 which was 5,320 (Sixth Census of Canada 1921, Volume 1, 1924, 276-7), then the total of those that remain is 3,338. Thus, this number (3,338) represents the number of Belgians living in Manitoba in 1921 who were born in Belgium and countries other than Canada. Thus the number born in Belgium and living in Manitoba is 3,338 or somewhat less, depending on how many were born elsewhere than in Canada and Belgium. Therefore migration to Manitoba by those of Belgian birth dropped from 1916-1921 (figure 3).

By 1926 the total number of Belgians whose birthplace was Belgium, by then residing in Manitoba was 3,044 (Census of Manitoba, 1926, Part 1, n.d., 82). This was a decrease of 294 people in 1926 over 1921. This represented a drop in migration for those of Belgian birth migrating to Manitoba (figure 3).

By 1931, the total number of Belgians residing in Manitoba, whose birthplace was Belgium was 3,365 (Seventh Census of Canada 1931, volume 1, 1936, 530). This was an increase in migration of people of Belgian birth to Manitoba from 1926-1931 over 1921-1926 (figure 3). Therefore, the period when the number of people of Belgian birth who migrated to that province was relatively inactive was from 1916-1931.

APPENDIX 6: Belgian Origin - 162, in Lorne Municipality 1887-1929

<u>Page</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Name of Immigrant</u>	<u>Number in Family</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Reason for Migrating</u>
327	1920	Adrienssens, Domien	6	Flanders	Swan Lake	Farm hand	Brother here
330	1912	Andries, Victor	1	Knesselaere	Mariapolis	Farmer	-
334	1887	Baccus, Alphonse	1	Grand Menille	Bruxelles	Farmer	-
334	1904	Ballegeer, Henri	12	Oedelhem	Bruxelles	Farmer	-
341	1914	Beernaerts, Rene	1	Oedelhem	St.Alphonse	-	-
342	1913	Bertouille, Nestor	2	Brussels	Swan Lake	Farm hand	-
343	1901	Bertouille, Victor	1	Everbeke	St.Alphonse	Farmer	-
349	1908	Blomme, Alphonse	9	Belgium	-	-	-
349	1908	Blomme, August	2	Moosele	Swan Lake	Farmer	-
657	1913	Bockstael, Guido	1	Belgium	Swan Lake	Farm hand	-
607	1908	Bogaert, Desire	1	Belgium	-	-	Friend here (L. Schamp)
351	1902	Bonne, Emeric	2	Belgium	-	Dairy Farmer	-
355	1923	Brandt, Cyriel	2	Knesselaere	Swan Lake	-	Cousin here (Octaaf Brandt)
354	1920	Brandt, Octaaf	1	Knesselaere	Swan Lake	Restauran- teur	-
360	1895	Buydens, Frederick	9	Everbeke	St.Alphonse	Sugar beet Farmer	Foreman of sugar beet factory in Belgium
364	1890	Buydens, Joseph	4	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farmer	-
364	1903	Cabernel, Alois	2	Everbeke	Bruxelles	Farm hand	-
365	-	Cabernel, Nestor	5	Belgium	-	Farmer	-
376	1912	Chevalier, Camille	7	Everbeke	St.Alphonse	-	Relative here
382	1892	Cleutinx, Emiel	5	Brussels	-	Farmer	-
383	1909	Cnudde, Evarist	5	Eeokloo	St.Alphonse	-	Book about America
394	1907	Cousin, Jules	1	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farmer	-
398	1911	DeBacker, Jules	1	Aalter	Cypress River	-	-
399	1920	De Baets, Jules	1	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farmer	-
399	1910	De Blonde, Alphonse	2	Knesselaere	St.Alphonse	Farm hand	Came with Brother
399	1910	De Blonde, Phil.	1	Knesselaere	St.Alphonse	Farm hand	Came with Brother

<u>Page</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Name of Immigrant</u>	<u>Number in Family</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Reason for Migrating</u>
400	1914/20	De Ceuleneer, Cyriel	3	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farm hand	Returned- came back
402	1914	De Decker, Richard	2	Belgium	St.Alphonse	Farm hand	Many going to Canada
404	1903	De Grouwe, Kamiel	5	Belgium	St.Alphonse	Farmer	Heard of riches in America
406	1905	De Gueuldrie, Jean F.	1	Belgium	Bruxelles	-	-
406	1913	De Jaeger, Henri	1	Knesselaere	St.Alphonse	-	-
406	1913	De Jaeger, Victor	1	Knesselaere	St.Alphonse	-	-
407	1915	De Koninck, Joseph	1	Nedevbrackel	St.Alphonse	-	-
407	1914	De Koninck, Victor	1	Belgium	St.Alphonse	-	-
410	1920	Deleu, Cyriel	5	Wervick	Holland	Farmer	Cousin here
411	1893	Delichte, Constant	9	Aaltar	St.Alphonse	Farmer	Brother here
414	1904	Delichte, Henricus	5	Knesselaere	St.Alphonse	-	-
411	1892	Delichte, Leonard	5	Knesselaere	St.Alphonse	Farmer	-
487	1895	Delpart, Vic	2	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farmer	Came with B.Haegeman
416	1911	Demare, Edward	1	Belgium	Kingsley	Farmer	-
416	1912	Demare, Emile	1	Belgium	Kingsley	Farmer	Brother here
416	1912	Demare, Maurice	1	Belgium	Kingsley	Farmer	Brother here
416	1911	Demare, Victor	1	Belgium	Kingsley	Farmer	-
418	1893/94	De Pape, Ange	9	Belgium	St.Alphonse	Farmer	-
419	-	De Pape, Charles	1	Lembeke	Swan Lake	Farmer	-
423	1919	De Pauw, Triphon	1	Belgium	St.Alphonse	Carpenter	-
424	1898	De Roo, Francis	8	Lembeke	Swan Lake	Farmer	-
425	1923	De Ruyck, Emile	8	Ruiselede	St.Alphonse	Farmer	-
426	1888/89	Deschouwer, Francis	6	Belgium	St.Alphonse	Farmer	-
428	1900	Desmet, Octave	1	Somergem	St.Alphonse	-	-
428	1920	De Smet, Philamon	2	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farm hand	-
430	1910	De Stoop, Rene	1	Belgium	Mariapolis	Farmer - Restauranteur	-
431	1890	Deurbrouck, Frederick	1	Bieveene	Bruxelles	Farmer	-
431	-	De Vlieger, Amedee	1	Belgium	St.Alphonse	Farmer	-

<u>Page</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Name of Immigrant</u>	<u>Number in Family</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Reason for Migrating</u>
431	-	De Vlieger, Edmond	1	Belgium	St.Alphonse	-	-
431	-	De Vlieger, Emile	1	Belgium	-	-	Brother here
432	1900	De Vloo, Achille	1	Alverigem	Swan Lake	-	-
432	1913	De Vloo, Cyrille	2	Alverigem	-	Farmer	-
432	1896	De Vos, Guilliaum	1	Andergheim	Bruxelles	Farm hand	Land of plenty
432	1896	De Vos, Jacques	1	Andergheim	Bruxelles	Farm hand	Land of plenty
432	1896/1902	De Vos, Jean Baptiste	3	Andergheim	Bruxelles	Farm hand	Land of plenty
487	1895	De Wolf, Joe	1	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farmer	Brother here
433	1913/25	Mr. De Wulf	3	Belgium	Swan Lake	Farm hand	Came with B.Haegeman
							Returned, married, came back to Canada
433	1910	D'Hont, Stanilas	10	Belgium	Bruxelles	-	-
434	1920	D'Hoore, Theophile	3	Belgium	Swan Lake	Farmer	-
435	-	D'Huyvetter, Bruno	1	Belgium	St.Alphonse	Farm hand	-
343	1913	Dobbelaere, Bruno	3	E. Flanders	Swan Lake	-	Uncle here
437	1911/19	Dousselaere, Camiel	5	Ouelm	Swan Lake	Waiter	Two trips war intervened
533	1888/90	Dropsy, Theophile	2	Belgium	Bruxelles	-	-
473	1912	Dubelaire, Charles	1	Belgium	Mariapolis	Farmer	Came with 3 others -
							M. Goethals
473	1912	Dubelaire, Joseph	1	Belgium	Mariapolis	Farmer	Came with 3 others -
							M. Goethals
448	1895	Fifi, Joseph	2	Feschoux	Swan Lake	-	-
449	1888	Foidart, Arnold	5	Liège	Bruxelles	Mechanic	-
457	1902	François, Adolphe	2	Belgium	Bruxelles	-	-
467	1910	Geirnaert, Camille	1	Somergem	-	-	-

<u>Page</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Name of Immigrant</u>	<u>Number in Family</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Reason for Migrating</u>
472	1893	Godard, August	1	Mix-le-Tige	Cypress River	Homestead	-
472	1917	Goderis, Camille	5	Belgium	Swan Lake	Carpenter	-
473	1912	Goethals, Maurice	1	Knesselaere	Mariapolis	Farmer	Came with J. & C. Dubelaire
473	1913	Goethals, Victor	1	Belgium	Mariapolis	Farmer	Brother here M. Goethals
475	1892	Goovaerts, Frederick	1	Bruxelles	Bruxelles	Farmer	-
482	1890/92	Hacault, Louis	9	Bruxelles	Bruxelles	Pioneer/ Lawyer Formed Parish	To establish a parish
487	1895	Haegeman, Benjamin	2	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farmer	Came with V.Delpart & J. De Wolf
488	1902	Halleman, P. Jean	1	Antwerp	Swan Lake	Municipal Council/ Politics	-
496	1929	Heirman, Ferdinand	2	Exaeda	Swan Lake	-	-
503	1892	Hutlet, Jean Joseph	12	Halanzzy	Holland	Homestead	Came with E. Mangin
512	1887	Kergen, John Pierre	6	Halanzzy	Bruxelles	Homestead	-
512	1912	Ketsman, Henry	2	Belgium	-	Farmer	-
514	1908	Knockaert, Desire	1	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farm hand	-
530	1888	Lecoq, Alphonse	1	Luxembourg, Belg.	Bruxelles	Homestead	-
531	1892	Ledoyen, Joseph	3	St. Remi, Belg.	Bruxelles	-	-
533	1888/90	Le Roy, Hector	4	Belgium	Bruxelles	-	Wife, sister of T. Dropsy
534	1920	Lippens, Bernard	2	Lembeke	Bruxelles	Farmer	-
578	1914	Mr. Maes	5	Destelberg	St. Alphonse	-	-
547	1892	Mangin, Emile	2	Belgium	Bruxelles	Homestead	Came with J. Hutlet
550	1913	Marent, Romain	2	Merkham	Bruxelles	Farmer	-

<u>Page</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Name of Immigrant</u>	<u>Number in Family</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Reason for Migrating</u>
550	1920	Marginet, Aime	2	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farmer	Followed brother E. Marginet
550	1920	Marginet, Alberic	1	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farmer	Followed brother E. Marginet
550	1920	Marginet, André	1	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farmer	Followed brother E. Marginet
550	1920	Marginet, Charles	1	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farmer	Followed brother E. Marginet
550	1913/20	Marginet, Edmond	1	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farmer	Heard of opportunity in Canadian West
550	1920	Marginet, Paul	1	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farmer	Followed brother E. Marginet
552	1892	Martens, Edward	3	Belgium	St.Alphonse	Farmer	-
552	-	Martens, Henri	9	Belgium	St.Alphonse	-	Better living
428	1910	Nattheews, Theophiel	3	Belgium	Mariapolis	-	-
555	1906	Mauws, Alphonse	7	Ruyssede	Swan Lake	-	-
564	1913/15	Mestdagh, Edmond	4	Belgium	Swan Lake	-	-
564	1912	Mestdagh, Marinus	4	Knesselaere	-	Farmer	-
571	-	Mortier, Camille	2	Belgium	St.Alphonse	-	-
575	1907	Nerynck, Alphonse	3	Ypres	St.Alphonse	Farmer	-
576	1893	Nick, Désiré	2	Libin	-	Homestead	-
583	1913/20	Plaitin, Clement	4	Everbeek	St.Alphonse	Farmer	Two trips because of W.W.I
588	-	Poncelet, Joseph	1	Belgium	St.Alphonse	-	-
426/588	1888	Pouteau, Jean Baptiste	1	Everbeke	Swan Lake	Homestead	-
592	1894	Renaud, Joseph	1	Belgium	Bruxelles	Farmer	Age 14, alone Aunt here
595	1894	Rigaux, Henri	1	Belgium	Cypress River	Tailor/Homestead	Great opportunity

<u>Page</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Name of Immigrant</u>	<u>Number in Family</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Reason for Migrating</u>
596	1896	Rigaux, Joseph	7	Belgium	Cypress River	Tailor	-
598	1895	Roeland, Francis	8	Belgium	St.Alphonse	Homestead	Advantages in Canada
600	1910/12	Roels, Jan	2	Maldegem,Belg.	Swan Lake	Farmer	-
601	1898	Rosier, Alfred	2	Everbeke	St.Alphonse	Homestead	-
605	1913	Saelens, Henri	1	Belgium	Swan Lake	Homestead	-
607	1908/09	Schamp, Levin	12	Loochrste	Swan Lake	Farm worker	Friend here came with D. Bogaert
426	1888	Mr. Schepper	1	Belgium	St.Alphonse	-	Returned
609	1888	Schumacher, Jean	8	Luxembourg, Belg.	Bruxelles	Homestead	-
611	1904	Sierens, Angelus	10	Belgium	St.Alphonse	Farmer	-
613	1903	Simeons, Remi	6	Everbecq	Cypress River	Homestead	Relatives here
620	1909	Spitaels, Pierre	1	Overboelaere	Bruxelles	Homestead	-
623	-	Stevens, Hector	2	Belgium	-	-	-
629	1910	Mr. Temmerman	8	Knesselaere	Bruxelles	Farm labour	-
633	1921	Timmerman, Joseph	2	Belgium	Swan Lake	-	War restriction. Had to come in 1921
637	1920	Van Achte, Aloise	9	Destledonk	Swan Lake	-	-
638	1894	Van Cauwenberghe, Petrus	7	Belgium	Bruxelles	-	-
639	-	Van Damme, Alphonse	1	Belgium	-	Farm hand	Came with brother O. Van Damme
639	1912	Van Damme, Maurice	1	Belgium	Cypress River	Farm hand	2 brothers here, A. & O. Van Damme
639	-	Van Damme, Odriel	1	Belgium	-	Farm hand	Came with brother A.Van Damme

<u>Page</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Name of Immigrant</u>	<u>Number in Family</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Reason for Migrating</u>
639	1912	Van De Kerckhove, Frederick	8	Belgium	St.Alphonse	Farm hand	Brother T. Van Kerckhove here
341	1913	Van De Kerckhove, Ida	7	Knesselaere	Swan Lake	-	Husband died widow, came with children
473	1912	Van De Kerckhove, Theophiel	1	Belgium	Mariapolis	Farmer	-
641	1920	Van Den Bosch, Edwardus	14	Antwerp	-	-	-
641	1900	Van Den Bussche, Louis	1	Maldegem	St.Alphonse	-	-
642	1908/14	Van De Vennet, Rene	2	Belgium	St.Alphonse	Farmer	-
640	1905	Van De Velde, Jules	1	Everbeke	St.Alphonse	-	Cheap land "seek fortune"
641	1913	Van De Walle, Ferdinand	8	Maldegem	-	-	-
642	1910/12	Van Deynze, Petrus	4	Maldegem	Mariapolis	Homestead	In search of land
644	1893	Van Hooland, Francis	12	Belgium	St.Alphonse	-	-
645	1913	Van Woensel, Petrus	1	Heistopden Berg Prov. Antwerp	Swan Lake	Carpenter	-
646	-	Verbrugge, Henri	12	Belgium	-	-	-
646	1914	Verdonck, Henry	2	Knesselaere	St.Alphonse	Farm hand	Brother and sister here
647	1912	Vermeesh, Joseph	1	W. Flanders	Swan Lake	Homestead	
648	1887	Vermiere, August	1	Knesselaere	-	Farmer	Married widow Vos
650	-	Vermiere, Gustave	1	Belgium	-	-	-
650	1920	Verstraete, August	3	Belgium	Cypress River	Farmer	Brother of T. Verstraete
651	1926	Verstraete, Theophile	2	Belgium	St.Alphonse	Farmer	Brother of A. Verstraete
651	1913	Verstraeten, Abraham	1	Etichove, Belg.	Swan Lake	Farm hand	Left for USA came with Bockstael

<u>Page</u>	<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Name of Immigrant</u>	<u>Number in Family</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Reason for Migrating</u>
651	1913	Vervynck, Joseph	2	Belgium	Swan Lake	Farmer	-
648	1888	Vos, Joseph	3	Belgium	St. Alphonse	Died	-
640	-	Vrinden, Berminde	10	Belgium	Swan Lake	-	-
483	1892	Williams, Father Gustave	1	Belgium	Bruxelles	Help Louis Hacault	To establish a parish
655	1927	Willeman, Alphonse Frans.	1	Baarle Hertog.	Mariapolis	Homestead	-
655	1927/29	Willeman, Louis	2	Belgium	Holland	Farm hand	-
661	1912/17	Wittevrongel, Camiel	2	Knesselaere	Swan Lake	Hotel, Farming P.O. Store	-
662	1905	Wytinck, Victor	1	Ertuelde, Belg.	St. Alphonse	-	-
665	1904	Zeghers, Louis	3	Belgium	Swan Lake	-	-

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398 Daudin, F.
400 Decosse, J. A.
430 Desrosiers, J.
436 Diemel, J.
437 Donze, H.
437 Doyon, J.
438 Dubuc, N.
440 Durand, J. E.
447 Espenell, F.
456 Fouasse, J. M.

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460 Gaboury, J.
462 Gagnon, A.
465 Garneau, O.
466 Gaucher, N.
477 Grenier, F.
479 Gueret, E.
495 Hebert, E.
509 Jayet, F.
510 Jubinville, N.
516 Labossière, E.
521 Lacerte, J. A.
522 Lafrenière, J.
523 Lamoureux, G.
524 Landreville, J. G.
525 Landry, E.
526 Langlois, F.
527 Lavoie, A.
529 Leblanc, O.
532 Lemieux, R.
532 Lemoine, F.
537 Lusignan, J.
537 Lussier, F.
542 Mabon, G.
542 Macaire, A.
543 Madec, F.
544 Major, C.
545 Malo, L.
551 Marion, O.
551 Martel, P.
553 Martin, J. B.
554 Maurice, O.

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566 Monchalin, P.
569 Moreau, H.
570 Morin, A.
575 Nadeau, H.
579 Pantel, J. P.
582 Pellerin, J.
584 Poirier, J.
590 Préjet, J. B.
591 Rainault, J.
601 Rondeau, E.
604 Routhier, F.
627 Talbot, J. N.
628 Tardiff, H.
632 Thevenot, P. F.
636 Tremblay, A.
630 Therrien, E.

Other Countries of Origin - 13, in Lorne Municipality 1887-1929

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356	Brick, N. (Germany)
408	Delaquis, X. (Switzerland)
475	Goring, G. (Netherlands)
479	Grift, M. (Holland)
480	Gutscher, V. (Ontario)
498	Hilhorst, J. (Netherlands)
515	Koppen, B. (Holland)
567	Montag, R. (Germany)
605	Sala, J. S. (Spain)
608	Schenk, M. L. (Ontario)
652	Wagner, A. (Ontario)
653	Warning, T. (Netherlands)
664	Zavade, L. (Czechoslovakia)

Source: Brandt, 1980, 324-665.

APPENDIX 7

Townships in Lorne Municipality
showing quarter sections
on which Belgians settled

- Sources: (i) Brandt, 1980
(ii) Cummins Rural Directories
1918, 1923, Manitoba Archives
(iii) Land Titles Office
Morden, Manitoba

Sec. _____ Twp. _____ 4 Rge. _____ 10 W. _____ P. Mer

31	32	33	34	35	13	14	15	18
	Henry Marthens				12	11	10	9
					5	6	7	8
					4	3	2	1
30	29	28	27	26				25
		A.P. Moos Victor de Jaeger	Victor Andreas					
19	20	21	22	23				24
		Victor de Jaeger						
18	17	16	15	14				13
				Levine Schamp				
7	8	9	10	11				12
6	5	4	3	2				1

Sec. Twp. 4 Rge. 11 W. P. Mer

31	32	33	34	35	13	14	15	16
					12	11	10	9
					5	6	7	8
					4	3	2	1
30	29	28	27	26				
19	20	21	22	23				
18	17	16	15	14				
7	8	9	10	11				
6	5	4	3	2				

Sec. _____ Twp. _____ 4 Rge. _____ 12 W. _____ P. Mer

31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Camel Giernatt

Camel Giernatt

A. Vermiere

A. Siens

Jules Van de Velde

Sec. _____ Twp. _____ 5 Rge. _____ 8 W. _____ P. Mer

A. Vermiere	31	32	33	34	35	13	14	15	16
						12	11	10	9
						5	6	7	8
						4	3	2	1
	30	29	28	27	26				25
	19	20	21	22	23				24
	18	17	16	15	14				13
	7	8	9	10	11				12
	6	5	4	3	2				1

Sec. _____ Twp. _____ 5 _____ Rge. _____ 9 _____ W. _____ P. Mer

						13	14	15	16
31	32	33	34	35		12	11	10	9
						5	6	7	8
						4	3	2	1
30	29	28	27	26					25
19	20	21	22	23	Emile DeMare				24
18	17	16	15	14					13
7	8	9	10	11					12
6	5	4	3	2					1

Sec. Twp. 5 Rge. 11 W. P. Mer

F. Buydens 31	J. Fifi 32	Jos. Buydens 33	A. Lecoq 34	H. Mathens 35	F. De Roo 36
R. Rosier J. Fifi	J. Fifi	Jos. Buydens	F. Van Hoor H. Mathens	F. Van Hoor A. Faamont	F. De Roo L. Schamp D. Bogaert
R. Van Vennet 30	A. De Blonde 29	A. De Blonde	H. Mathens 28	A. Mauns A. De Blonde 26	F. De Roo 25
H. Ballegoon 19	A. De Blonde	H. Mathens	A. Mauns	C. De Pape 23	A. Vermise A. Van Achte 24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Sec. _____ Twp. 5 Rge. 12 W. _____ P. Mer

31 V. Wyltink J. Boorm- esch.	32 R. De Decker	33 A. Sierens A. Sierens	34 P. Van Covens- berge H. De Lichte A. Francis- A. Martens. K. De A. Francois H. Martens	35 C. De Lichte J. B. PouToao J. B. PouToao	36 A. Rosier
30 H. De Jaeger	29	28 Mrs. Van de Kerkhove A. Sierens H. De Lichte	27 C. De Loo A. De Vlieger J. Hutlet	26 P. Maes	25 H. Martens H. Martens
19 E. De Vlieger E. De Vlieger A. Vermine	20	21 P. Van Deynze	22 A. Sierens C. Vloo- De Vlieger F. Vande Walle F. Roeland F. Roeland A. De Vlieger G. De Vlieger E. Vlieger	23	24
18 J. De Vos H. Martens	17 N. Cabernet	16	15 P. Van Deynze J. Van de Velde H. Martens P. Van Deynze P. Van Deynze	14 J. Van de Velde	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4 P. Van Deynze	3	2 H. Martens	1 F. Buydens A. De Vloo F. Buydens A. De Vloo

Sec. Twp. 6 Rge. 8 W. P. Mer

						13	14	15	16
31	32	33	34	35		12	11	10	9
						5	6	7	8
						4	3	2	1
30	29	28	27	26	25				
19	20	21	22	23	24				
		A. Rosiere							
18	17	16	15	14	13				
7	8	9	10	11	12				
6	5	4	3	2	1				

Sec. Twp. 6 Rge. 10 W. P. Mer

31	J.J. Cousin	32	33	34	Comie Willems-ongel	35	36
30		29	28	27	O. Brandt	26	Ed. Brandt
H. Soelens	J. De Koninck		Hy. Soelens		O. Brandt		25
19	Ed. Mesiaugh	20	21	22	23	24	
Tan Roels	Tan Roels						
18		17	16	15	14	13	
	Ed. Vandenbossch	Ed. Vandenbossch			Timm. Eiman Bros.		
H. Ballegeer	P.J. Hallenmans	L. Vandenbussche	L. Vandenbussche				
H. Ballegeer	T. Van der Kerkhof	T. Van der Kerkhof	T. Van der Kerkhof	9	10	11	12
Alp. DeBlonde	Alp. DeBlonde						
6	5	4	3		2	1	
Alp. DeBlonde					Joe Timmerman		
					Joe Timmerman		

Sec. _____ Twp. 6 Rge. 12 W. _____ P. Mer

31	32	33 P. De Smet	34	35 J. Hallemans J. Hallemans	36 A. Baccus A. Baccus
30	29	28	27 C. Chevalier C. Chevalier	26 A. Baccus	25 A. De Pape A. De Pape
19	20 L. Schamp L. Schamp	21 F. Van de Walle L. Schamp	22 L. Schamp D. Bogard	23 F. De Schouwer J. R. Schumacher	24 J. R. Schumacher
18 H. Stevens	17 J. Rigaux H. Martens	16 A. de Vlioger F. Van de Walle V. Bertouille J. Van de Velde M. Maes	15 A. Godard A. Godard	14 F. De Schoewer C. Chevalier J. De Koninck H. Martens E. Chevalier A. De Blonde	13 P. Van Covenbergh P. Van Covenbergh J. De Koninck H. Caillaud J. De Koninck
7 J. De Backer H. Rigaux A. Van Damme	6 O. De Smet K. De Grouwe	5 K. De Grouwe V. Wytrick	4 V. Wytrick V. Wytrick	3 H. Stevens H. Rigaux J. De Baet N. Stevens H. Rigaux J. De Baet F. Buydens	2 R. Simeons R. Simeons R. Van der Vemet
8 M. Van Damme M. Van Damme O. Van Damme	7 D. De Smet O. De Smet	6 V. Wytrick	5 C. De Grouwe H. Martens K. De Grouwe A. Maes	4 A. De Vloo A. De Vloo	3 R. De Stroop C. Delicht J. B. Buydens A. Cabernet A. Rosier

APPENDIX 8: Dominion Government Immigration Branch Records.
 The following is a list of microfilm reel numbers and
 letters contained therein (Provincial Archives of Manitoba).

C4655, Volume 1, File 1, Part 1

28 mars 1891; 23 aout 1891; 10 octobre 1891; July 7 1892; July 15 1892;
 Oct. 14 1892 #309839; Dec. 3 1892; Dec. 6 1892; Dec. 6 1892; Dec. 9 1892;
 Montreal 1892; April 28 1893; May 19 1893 #3182; May 19 1893 #3182;
 Aug. 31 1893; March 16 1894 #11939; June 30 1894; March 23 1895 #21613;
 March 23 1895; June 10 1895 #23047; March 18 1896 #28150; Feb. 1 1897;
 March 28 1897 #38596; June 23 1897 #39146; April 6 1900 #113726; April 6
 1900 #113726; N.D. #11868; N.D. #58205; N.D.

C4655, Volume 1, File 1, Part 2

Aug. 13 1895 #24111; Aug. 28 1895; May 5 1896; May 5 1896; June 9 1896
 #13610; June 9 1896 #31610; June 21 1896 #31610; Aug. 19 1896 #32102;
 Sept. 21 1896 #31360; Sept. 21 1896 #31360; Oct. 19 1896 #31746; Nov. 4
 1896 #32067; Feb. 2 1897; Feb. 3 1897; Feb. 20 1897 #34260; March 28 1897
 #38596; May 12 1897 #37400 (Montreal Star); May 15 1897 #37607 (Winnipeg
 Free Press). May 20 1897 #37783; July 13 1897; July 21 1897 #40316;
 July 28 1897 #40573; Nov. 6 1897 #45709; Nov. 6 1897 #45827; March 28
 1898; April 14 1898; May 3 1898; Dec. 30 1899 #102751; July 30 1900
 #122171.

C4680, Volume 22, File 390

June 10 1891 #82751; June 10 1891 #82751; June 10 1891 #82751; March 12
 1892 #395134; March 19 1892 #292426.

C4759, Volume 94, File 10159, Part 1

Sept. 15 1914 #B42312; Sept. 23 1914 #43958; Sept. 23 1914 #1343948;
 Sept. 30 1914; Oct. 2 1914; Oct. 3 1914 #53650; Oct. 7 1914 #888115;
 Oct. 15 1914 #57566; Oct. 16 1914 #56570; Oct. 22 1914; Oct. 22 1914;
 Oct. 22 1914; Oct. 26 1914 #56564; Oct. 29 1914; Nov. 6 1914 #62383;
 Nov. 13 1914 #65583; Nov. 17 1914 #88818; Nov. 17 1914; Nov. 17 1914;
 Nov. 23 1914; Dec. 17 1914; Jan. 8 1915 #888115; N.D. B05568.

C4759, Volume 94, File 10159, Part 2

Jan. 18 1915; April 10 1915; June 2 1915; June 8 1915; June 14 1915;
 Jan. 11 1916; Oct. 13 1917 #9079; Feb. 18 1918; May 2 1919 #567350;
 May 20 1919; July 15 1919; July 24 1919; July 25 1919 #30748; Feb. 3 1920
 #78714; March 11 1920 #59602; April 7 1920 #902168; June 1 1920 #B694270;
 June 1 1920; June 15 1920; June 13 1922 #62659; Oct. 9 1925 #902168;
 Dec. 22 1926 #269380; N.D. 541146; N.D.; N.D. #40855.

C4771, Volume 108, File 19230

Jan. 26 1895; Feb. 12 1895; March 22 1895; March 23 1895; Sept. 3 1895.

C7334, Volume 179, File 62659, Part 1

March 27 1922 #101427; May 9 1922; May 17 1922 #62755; June 13 1922 #32905; June 15 1922 #62735; Aug. 3 1922 #B07833.

C7381, Volume 232, File 132687

March 1 1889 #76335; Nov. 3 1891; March 10 1899 #76336; May 10 1900 #59953; Aug. 2 1900; Dec. 8 1900; Jan. 22 1901 #140502; April 29 1901; June 22 1901; June 28 1901 #162062; July 5 1901; July 29 1901; Oct. 23 1901; Nov. 3 1901; Nov. 3 1901; Nov. 3 1901; Jan. 24 1902 #215522; July 28 1902; Jan. 25 1906; Dec. 19 1906; Dec. 19 1906 #589450; Jan. 7 1907; Aug. 27 1907; Jan. 13 1909; Jan. 30 1909; Feb. 5 1909; Dec. 2 1909; Dec. 7 1909; April 14 1910; N.D. #148163; N.D. #148163; N.D. (Colleaux and Sifton); N.D.

C7864, Volume 314, File 304470, Part 1

March 31 1904 #50953; March 31 1904 #307595; May 27 1904 #308933; Oct. 28 1904 #59943; Jan. 4 1905 #35744; Jan. 4 1905 #357015; 20 mai 1905; 20 mai 1905; July 13 1906; April 14 1910 #A237007; N.D. #58043; N.D.; N.D.

C10235, Volume 231, File 310232

April 19 1904; April 29 1904; Dec. 20 1904 #352531; July 22 1905 #405095 (Montreal Daily Herald); Sept. 1 1905 #414622; July 1 1906 #406265.

C10318, Volume 439, File 662572, Part 2

Feb. 7 1907; Oct. 17 1907 #733713; Feb. 1 1908; May 21 1908; June 23 1908; July 22 1908; June 24 1909; Dec. 17 1909; March 31 1910; April 20 1910.

C10399, Volume 458, File 699035, Part 2

Nov. 26 1907 #748351; March 1 1908; March 5 1908; Sept. 7 1910; Feb. 21 1911 #A36851; April 4 1911 #A458018; July 25 1911 #A311559; Sept. 29 1911 #A534581; Nov. 3 1911 #A540035; N.D. #704329.

C10633, Volume 548, File 805748

Nov. 20 1908; Dec. 16 1908; Dec. 1908; Jan. 1909 #02821; April 7 1909; N.D. #10633; N.D. #A210004.

C10686, Volume 688, File 59953

Aug. 21 1914 #374538; Feb. 15 1915 #88758; May 14 1915 #8018.

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