CHAPTER 10
Western Expansion and the National Policy

What’s Chapter 10 About?
In the last chapter, we talked about reasons that Canada’s government wanted to expand west. People in Ontario wanted farmland. The government wanted to secure the west from an American takeover. It wanted to build a transcontinental railway. In this chapter, we’re going to look at how Canada went about this expansion, and what impacts this expansion had.

Canada’s expansion west came from a political decision — a deliberate plan to spur economic growth and promote settlement. It had impacts on the First Nations and Métis peoples of the west, and on Francophone people in the west. It created a population with roots in many different cultures — a legacy that has shaped Canada ever since.

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- What ideas of citizenship shaped Canada’s western expansion?
- How did immigration shape the demography and economy of western Canada?
- What challenges did immigration pose for peoples already living in western Canada?

This photo, taken in Manitoba in the early 1900s, shows settlers ready to board a train for the west. The train and the settlers both came about because of the National Policy.
POSITION AVAILABLE: Conference Promoter

The Prairie University’s Department of History is looking for a talented individual to promote a planned conference on the settlement of western Canada. This history affects everyone who lives on Canada’s prairies today. The university hopes the conference will attract many members of the public.

The conference will cover these topics:

- What motivated the Numbered Treaties?
- What contributions did immigrants make to the development of western Canada?
- What were the positives and negatives of Canada’s National Policy and western expansion?
- What issues shaped the creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan?

The promotion needs to showcase the central aim of the conference: to present a lively and honest exploration of the past.

To apply for this job, please submit a sample of your work in one of these forms:

- A flyer.
- A radio spot.
- A poster.

Be sure to give the conference a title, and to represent the key perspectives and points each topic will cover.
Getting the West Ready for Settlement

**GET READY**

This section presents information about the chapter-focus question:

**What ideas of citizenship shaped Canada’s western expansion?**

As you read this section, keep track of:

- Key government decisions about the west.
- How those decisions affected First Nations, Canadiens and English-speaking Canadians. Who benefited? Who did not?

This information will help you think critically about these decisions and the society they aimed to build.

**Treaties with First Nations**

In 1871, when British Columbia joined Confederation, Canada’s government promised to link BC to eastern Canada with a railway. Before Canada could begin this project, it had to negotiate treaties — agreements — with the Cree, Nakoda and other First Nations living in the west. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 required this, because it recognized the rights to land of these peoples.

Canada also had another reason for wanting to negotiate treaties: the example of the Americans’ violent expansion west, which was then taking place. The U.S. did not negotiate treaties with First Nations on its western frontier, but instead conquered them in a series of wars. The cost was high, both in dollars and in lives. Some Canadians believe that this decision — to negotiate instead of conquer — reflects a difference between Canadian and American identity. Other Canadians say the negotiations were unfair and inflicted a kind of violence of their own.

The photo, taken in 1907 in southern Alberta, shows tipis of members of the Blackfoot Confederacy.
In 1871, Canada and First Nations began to negotiate what are called the “Numbered Treaties.” These treaties were numbered according to the order in which they were concluded. So Treaty 1 came first, Treaty 2 second, and so on. If you look at the numbers of the treaties, they tell a story about where Canada planned to build the railway.

This map shows the boundaries of Canada’s provinces and territories today. These boundaries didn’t exist when most of the the numbered treaties were negotiated. We have included them to orient you.
Sharing Versus Owning the Land

Canada’s government thought the Numbered Treaties gave Canada ownership of the land. But “owning” was a European idea. The languages of peoples such as the Anishinabe, the Cree, the Nakoda and the Siksika didn’t have a word for “owning.” These peoples understood the Numbered Treaties, and continue to understand them, as agreements to share the land.

One of the things that puzzles us about non-Aboriginal people is their concept of ownership of land and their improper treatment of land since coming to Turtle Island (North America). To us, the land is a legacy, not a commodity. It is every part of our culture. The land from which our culture springs is like water and air. It is one and indivisible. The land is our Mother Earth to be taken care of and which nurtures us in return.

— Gabriel and Clemence Anderson, Elders, Bigstone Cree Nation.
Translated from Cree by Darrell Anderson Gerrits (Osaw Maskwa), 2005.

Oral Versus Written History

First Nations recorded the Numbered Treaties in their oral histories. By contrast, the Canadian government did everything in writing and insisted “if it wasn’t in writing, it wasn’t in the treaty.” Canadian negotiators had little understanding or respect for oral history. They were surprised, years later, when First Nations leaders could recite speeches they had given word for word.

In some treaties, First Nations oral history records promises that the written records do not. Some First Nations people believe Canadian negotiators deliberately skipped these promises in the written record because Canada did not intend to keep them.

Adaptation versus Assimilation

Each of the Numbered Treaties is an agreement between independent nations. Treaty Six, for example, is between the Cree people and Canada. The treaties are permanent agreements. They say: “As long as the sun shines, the rivers flow, and the grass grows.” They are an exchange of promises. First Nations promised to share the land and to uphold peace, order and good government. Canada also promised to share and to keep the peace.

By the 1870s, First Nations peoples knew they faced change. They negotiated the Numbered Treaties to help their peoples adapt, and to ensure their cultures survived. They saw the treaties as permanent agreements between different, independent peoples.

Canada’s government, however, saw the treaties as ways to assimilate First Nations peoples — to get them to give up their traditional ways and adopt British ways. The government believed British ways were superior, and felt First Nations peoples would eventually realize this. Canada’s government did not think of the treaties as permanent, because it did not think of First Nations cultures as permanent.

**What the Treaties Promised First Nations**

**Education**

**Health care**
- Pitikwahanapiwiyin and Mistahimaskwa, leaders of the Plains Cree First Nations, negotiated this provision as part of Treaty 6. Health care also became part of the negotiations for Treaties 8, 10 and 11.

**Reserves**
- Lands set aside for the exclusive use of First Nations.

**Rights to Hunt and Fish**
- Access to fish and game on all lands at all times.

**Farming assistance**
- Provision of tools and seed.

**Payments**
- Small annual payments of money.

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**Canada’s Perspective: Assimilation**

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**First Nations’ Perspective: Adaptation**

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**RESPOND**

To what extent did cultural differences complicate treaty negotiations? Find and explain at least one example.
**Residential Schools and Assimilation**

Canada’s government established residential schools as a way to meet its treaty promises to provide First Nations with education. It also saw residential schools as a way to force the assimilation of First Nations children. The schools separated children from their families, and disrupted children’s connections to their languages and traditions. Residential schools hurt many First Nations children and communities.

> When I went to school, I could only speak Blackfoot. We used it all the time at home. Of course, when we went to school we were not allowed to speak it anymore. I got hit for speaking Blackfoot. I always dreaded going back to class, because I knew what was going to happen.

— Adapted from a recollection of a Kainai Elder, as recorded by Makai’stoo (Leo Fox) in *Kipaitapiiwhisnooni: Alcohol and Drug Abuse Education Program.*

Today, many First Nations people work hard to reverse the damage of residential schools and pressures to assimilate.

> Our peoples need their identity to remain distinct in this country. I was raised by the Elders and I am grateful for all they have taught me and continue to teach me. I am especially thankful for my fluency in the Bush Cree language: *Sakaw Nehiyanwin.* Without my language, I would not be able to understand my culture and the way we, as people, relate to our Mother, the Earth, and all her creations.

— Darrell Anderson Gerrits (Osaw Maskwa), Bigstone Cree Nation.

**RESPOND**

1. **How would you depict the link between identity and language?**
   Create a graphic that shows your understanding of the link.

2. **The government of Canada, and many of the churches and religious orders involved in residential schools, have apologized to Canada’s First Nations and made reparations. Based on this chapter, what did these groups need to apologize for?**

This photo shows Cree students at a residential school in Hobbema, Alberta, during the early 1900s. In what way does this photo illustrate that residential schools put pressure on the identity of these students?
Canada’s government struck this medal to commemorate Treaty 8 in 1899. It was presented to the First Nations leaders who negotiated Treaty 8.

Cree painter Gerald McMaster created this painting in 1990. It shows John A. Macdonald, Canada’s first prime minister.

**RESPOND**

1. Examine the medallion. It describes a perspective on one of the Numbered Treaties — Treaty 8. Whose perspective? Choose three words that characterize Treaty 8 from this perspective. Use evidence in the medallion to explain your choices.

2. The painting describes another perspective on the Numbered Treaties. What does the artist suggest about treaty-making by comparing John A. Macdonald to someone trick-or-treating on Halloween? Choose three words that characterize the Numbered Treaties from this perspective.

3. Formulate at least one reason why understanding the difference in time between these two images is important.

4. Describe at least one way that the Treaty 8 medallion represents an agreement that remains current today.
A Period of Rapid Change

After the signing of the Numbered Treaties and the completion of the railway in 1885, the west was poised for change. The open plain where Aboriginal peoples hunted and trapped was about to become a huge network of farms, roads and railway towns.

What pressures did this rapid change place on First Nations and Métis peoples?

Settlers flooded the prairies.

In 1871, First Nations and Métis people had formed the majority of the population of western Canada. By 1921, they formed a small percentage of the population.

The buffalo had been a staple food for the peoples of the west.

RESPOND

The charts on this page describe rapid changes that affected Aboriginal peoples in the west.

1. In what ways do you think these changes affect Aboriginal peoples’ relationship to the land? Use the charts to describe two examples.
2. Why is this a particularly important question for Aboriginal peoples?
3. Why is gradual change easier to manage than rapid change? Use a real or possible event in your own life to explain.
IDENTITY THEN AND NOW

An Interview with Kayla Moosewah

In 2004, Kayla Moosewah won an Alberta Aboriginal Youth Achievement Award for her efforts to honour and uphold her Cree traditions.

Kayla Moosewah is a young woman who, despite having a rocky start in life, is searching for her Cree identity in the most positive ways she can find.

“As a kid, I had no one to teach or guide me,” Kayla recalls. “Then my Métis foster grandmother and Métis foster mom came into my life. They helped me to get in contact with my birth family so that I could go through with my traditional women’s ceremony.”

Just as her foster grandmother and foster mother encouraged her, Kayla hopes to become an Elder so she can guide young women into womanhood one day. Her caring soul, cultural knowledge and high academic achievement have already been recognized by the Métis Nation of Alberta, and the teenager says she is still overwhelmed by the attention she’s received since accepting the Aboriginal Youth Achievement Award in 2004.

“A film crew came to my small community to make a video about me, and I’ve been interviewed a couple of times, too. I’m okay talking to people in small groups, but do you know how scary it is to speak in front of your whole school — grades kindergarten to nine?”

Kayla is fast adjusting to her new role, but understands she has a lot more learning to do regarding cultural traditions. At a lakeside camp not far from her home, she entered a sweat lodge for spiritual ceremonies and listened to teachings and ancient stories in the glow of a night campfire. She also hopes in the future to listen to Elders speaking to her live on school computer webcams.

“I’ve learned about the four directions and the colours associated with them,” she explains, citing the symbolism present in many
traditional teachings. “When I do beadwork now, I know what the colours stand for. The Elders share the deep meaning behind everything our people did.”

This realization is the key to Kayla’s interest in her ancestry. She understands that Cree traditions are rooted in honour and integrity and predicts young people will benefit from the opportunity to learn what she has from knowledgeable people.

“If you think being Aboriginal doesn’t mean anything, you’re not being fair to yourself,” Kayla says, describing how much her own life improved once she embraced her heritage.

Kayla is just beginning to understand the void many young people experience when disconnected from their culture. She admits to feeling unloved and abandoned as a child, but she has come to realize that her own birth parents missed out on learning “knowledge of the heart” — how to create loving relationships and how to nurture themselves and their children.

“I felt that I grew up on my own,” Kayla says. “I know what it feels like to think no one cares about you. Kids today just need to know someone loves them. You can give all kinds of workshops, but when it comes down to it, kids just need to feel they are okay and that they are worthy of being loved.”

**RESPOND**

1. What evidence is there in Kayla Moosewah’s life that people recognize and appreciate her identity? Find two examples.

2. Describe an instance of how recognition and support for your own identity has made a difference to you.

3. Why does it matter whether other people appreciate your identity?
What Role Did the North West Mounted Police Play in Canada’s Expansion West?

The government of Canada founded the North West Mounted Police in 1873, following a massacre of thirty-six Nakoda people at Cypress Hills in what is today southern Alberta. A group of Canadian and American traders had committed the massacre over an argument about some horses.

It was the latest tragedy in a long series of troubles in the west. For years, traders from the United States had been moving into territory claimed by Canada. They had established a headquarters near present-day Lethbridge, called Fort Whoop-Up, where they offered alcohol and repeating rifles in exchange for buffalo robes and furs.

Why would American traders in Canadian territory make Canada nervous? What other problems did it create?

Canada’s government sent Lieutenant Colonel Robertson-Ross to investigate the situation in the west in 1873.

The demoralization of the Indians, danger to the white inhabitants, and injury resulting to the country from this trade is very great. Year after year, this shameful traffic causes bloodshed among the Indians. It is indispensable for the peace of the country and welfare of the Indians that this traffic in spirits and firearms be no longer permitted. One regiment of mounted riflemen, 550 strong, would be a sufficient force to support the government in establishing law and order, preserving the peace of the North-West Territories, and affording protection to the surveyors, contractors, and railway labourers about to undertake the great work of constructing the railway.

— Adapted from the Robertson-Ross report to Canada’s government, 17 March 1873, pages 27–28, 30.

The first regiment of the North West Mounted Police (NWMP) assembled in Dufferin, Manitoba, in July 1874, and began the long march west. By the time the force arrived at Fort Whoop-Up in October, the American traders had already left.
The NWMP established its first headquarters at Fort Macleod, in what is today southern Alberta. By the end of 1874, it had established six forts in the west.

Members of the Blackfoot Confederacy had participated in the trade out of Fort Whoop-Up. Issapoomahksika of the Blackfoot Confederacy spoke to Colonel Macleod about the situation.

_In the coming of the Long Knives, with their firewater and quick-shooting guns, we are weak and our people have been woefully slain and impoverished. You say this will be stopped. We are glad to have it stopped. What you tell us about this strong power which will govern with good law and treat the Indian the same as the white man, makes us glad. My brother, I believe you and I am thankful._


The NWMP developed a trust with First Nations that helped them keep peace in the west as the railway advanced and settlers arrived. They advised First Nations, such as the Blackfoot Confederacy, to conclude treaties with Canada’s government.

**RESPOND**

1. Canada’s government created the NWMP partly to ensure that First Nations would accept the construction of a railway through the west. What evidence of this motive can you find in the report from Lieutenant Colonel Robertson-Ross?

2. Examine Issapoomahksika’s speech. Find two reasons that he welcomed the presence of the NWMP. What aspects of the report by Lieutenant Colonel Robertson-Ross does his speech confirm? Why is this valuable?

3. Issapoomahksika spoke Blackfoot, so his speech comes to us through a translator. Translation is an interesting and difficult job. For example, a _puzzle_ in English is a _casse-tête_ in French — a “head breaker.” But a translator would not usually choose “head breaker” as the English for _casse-tête_. What words in the translation of Issapoomahksika’s speech seem like unusual choices? How might these choices reflect bias?
The National Policy

In 1873, John A. Macdonald lost a federal election because of the “Pacific Scandal.” Macdonald’s government was accused of accepting a bribe in awarding the contract to build the railway to BC — the Canadian Pacific Railway. The businessman who won the contract, Sir Hugh Allan, had contributed $350,000 to Macdonald’s Conservative party.

In 1878, Macdonald stormed back to power, winning a landslide election based on the National Policy. The policy set out a three-part plan for Canada’s future.

1. Promote Canadian Industry
Macdonald wanted Canadians to buy Canadian products, even when American products were often much cheaper. He proposed to put a tax, or tariff, on American goods sold in Canada.

2. Finish the National Railway
Canada had promised a railway to connect BC with eastern Canada in 1871, when BC joined Confederation. Macdonald wanted to keep that promise. He also wanted the railway to take settlers to the west and bring their crops to the east.

3. Settle the West
Macdonald planned to bring European immigrants to Canada by giving them free land. These settlers would grow grain for Canada and for export, and would buy products from Canadian industries. Macdonald planned to locate the new farms and communities close to the railway. In this way, the west would become the centre of agricultural production for Canada. The settlement of the west was a key objective of the National Policy.
The Chinese Railway Workers

Canada’s government recruited many men from China to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). By 1885, the railway employed nearly fifteen thousand Chinese construction workers in British Columbia. The workers tried to send their savings home to China, and to bring their loved ones and family members to Canada, but this was usually impossible. The railway paid Chinese workers much less than it paid other workers.

When the CPR was completed, many Chinese Canadians helped establish lumber and cannery industries in British Columbia. But they faced discrimination wherever they went.

Prime Minister Macdonald echoed this discrimination:

"The Chinese are foreigners. When a Chinese person comes here, he intends to return to his own country. He does not bring his family with him. He has no common interest with us. He gives us his labour and gets his money, but he does not invest it here. He takes it with him and returns to China. He has no British instincts or British feelings or aspirations, and therefore ought not have a vote."

— Adapted from the Commons Debates, 1885, page 1852.

In 1885, Canada’s government passed a law to restrict Chinese immigration to Canada. The law stated “any person of Chinese origin entering Canada must make a payment of $50.” This is about $2,500 in today’s money. As immigrants from China continued to arrive in Canada, the government increased this “head tax.” Despite this, between 1885 and 1920, more than eight-two thousand Chinese people paid the tax and emigrated to Canada.

RESPOND

1. John A. Macdonald’s comments about Chinese people were not controversial when he made them. What does this say about the idea of citizenship that dominated Canada at the time?

2. Why would these comments be controversial today?

3. In what way do the facts about Chinese immigration on this page contradict the statements Macdonald makes?
IDENTITY THEN AND NOW

An Interview with Kevan Jangze

Kevan Jangze was pleased to hear in 2005 that Canadian Pacific Railway officials had named a Kamloops interchange after his grandfather Cheng Ging Butt.

“I only wish my father would have lived to see it. He spent a lifetime bringing attention to Canada’s discrimination against the Chinese,” says Jangze of his father, Bevan, who was born here and passed away in 2003. “I know it bothered him when he read the words ‘not a Canadian citizen’ stamped on his birth certificate. He wondered ‘if I’m not a Chinese citizen, and not a Canadian citizen, then what is my nationality?’”

Most Canadians know about the high death toll and inhuman working conditions Chinese railway workers faced when they came to Canada, as portrayed in the film Canadian Steel, Chinese Grit. Kevan Jangze played an instrumental role in the film’s production because he wanted people to know how unfairly the federal government treated his people.

“As a non-citizen, my father was not entitled to own property. It was only after he volunteered to fight in Word War II that he was promised Canadian citizenship. Even then, it still took two or three years after his return for it to happen.”

Jangze’s own grandfather left behind starving villagers in China, which was struggling with colonial pressures from Japan, Britain, the United States and Germany. He came to western Canada, a place for which he was ill-prepared.

“Sandals and burlap clothing don’t cut it in the mountains in the winter. He made one-tenth of what European workers made, and when he lost a finger in an explosion, he thought ‘this is probably not worth it.’”

He quit and started his own businesses. He ran a dry goods store, tended a cherry orchard, and built and cared for a temple in a town called Yale. In Vancouver’s Chinatown, he founded the Cheng Association, an organization that helped new immigrants.

Grandfather Cheng’s children faced government restrictions that prevented them from gaining an equal footing in mainstream society. Barred from entering professions such as law or teaching, they ran commercial enterprises such as laundries, grocery stores and restaurants — and saved their money.
Kevan Jangze’s generation has benefited from this fortitude, focusing on education, academic achievement and hard work. From politics to business, from medicine to the arts, Chinese people today contribute to the integrity and richness of Canadian society.

Jangze says a lot of doors have opened for Chinese-Canadians since his grandfather’s time.

“My son is sixteen now, and life is open to him. In many ways, he’s more Chinese than I am. He’s up on pop culture in China and can tell you who the latest singers are. He’s aware of what happened here in Canada, but it’ll mean more to him when he’s older. I think more people should know, too. If they do, it will prevent discrimination like that from happening in the future.”

**RE S P O N D**

Canada’s government has not always shown respect for people of different collective identities.

1. What aspects of Kevan Jangze’s family history reflect this?

2. What evidence in this interview shows that the past is an emotional subject for Kevan Jangze?

3. What reason does Kevan Jangze give for knowing this aspect of Canadian history?

This is a head-tax receipt. Canada required Chinese people entering the country between 1885 and 1923 to pay this tax.
The ceremony marked the end of a decade-long project. Canada now has the largest continuous railway in the world to date.

This map shows the boundaries of Canada’s provinces and territories today. These boundaries didn’t exist when most of the Numbered Treaties were negotiated. We have included them to orient you.
CRAIGELLACHIE, BRITISH COLUMBIA, Sunday, November 8, 1885 — Yesterday, Donald A. Smith drove home the final spike in the Canadian Pacific Railway. With his final blow, he officially united Canada with a ribbon of steel stretching from sea to sea.

Some onlookers joked that Smith should have left the job to the experts. “He may have helped finance the railway,” chuckled one worker, “but he hasn’t had much experience with a hammer. It was a good thing they had a spare spike, since he bent the first one!”

W.C. Van Horne, the railway executive responsible for overseeing the entire project, was on hand to make a speech. His “speech” consisted of a single sentence: “All I can say is the work has been done well in every way.”

Behind the Scenes

It’s an important moment in Canadian history. What do people have to say? This reporter toured the scenes behind the famous photo for some points of view.

The photo doesn’t show a single Chinese railway worker, even though there would be no railway without them. The Chinese workers built the line through the Rockies — the most difficult terrain. And they did the most dangerous jobs, too.

I’d be very surprised if anyone in this photo were Canadien. The railway project has challenged Francophones’ place in Confederation. Canada’s government used the railway to crush the second Métis uprising and to it has sentenced Louis Riel to hang. The railway stands for the power of English-speaking Canadians in the west.

Representatives of First Nations should appear in this photo and share this moment of history. When First Nations negotiated the treaties, they promised to share the land. They showed their commitment to this promise by allowing the railway to go through.

The railway has been a disaster for the Métis people. I don’t believe a Métis person would agree to appear in this photo, even if asked. The government ignored the many petitions the Métis sent, asking for rights to protect their communities. It decided that the railway would plough through their rights and their lives.

It’s just amazing! The railway is one of the greatest engineering feats of the world, and a tremendous political feat as well. Canada promised to link BC to the east — and, against the odds, it has. Canada is really a country now, and can prove it to the United States. You could say Canada owes its existence to this remarkable railway.

RESPOND

What if Beatrix Chronos interviewed a member of your class about this famous photo?

With a group of classmates, prepare a list of good questions that Beatrix Chronos might ask one of you about this famous photo. Remember that good questions seek information beyond simple yes-or-no answers. Formulate at least one good question to explore each of these topics:

- The ideas of citizenship the photo reflects.
- The historical context of the photo — in other words, the circumstances, and accepted values and attitudes, that shaped what’s in it.
- The positives and negatives of the decision to build the railway.

Then, as a class, improvise “on-the-street” interviews based on your questions. Take turns playing a reporter from History Happens, stopping classmates for their opinions.
Impacts of Immigration on Western Canada

GET READY

So far, this chapter has discussed the decisions Canadian politicians made to ready the west for settlement. This section describes the decisions that brought settlers into the west. It concentrates on these chapter-focus questions:

How did immigration shape the demography and economy of western Canada?

What challenges did immigration pose for peoples already living in western Canada?

As you read, look for:
- Examples of the diverse peoples who came west.
- Examples of what they did. How did they make their living?
- Examples of how they affected First Nations peoples and Francophones.

Advertising for Immigrants

After John A. Macdonald introduced his National Policy in 1878, people began moving into the west. Many people, however, also left the region for the United States. By 1890, only two percent of Canada’s population lived in the west.

This situation would change under the new leadership of Wilfrid Laurier. In July 1896, Laurier became Canada’s prime minister — and its first Canadien one. Like Macdonald, Laurier wanted a strong, prosperous Canada. He continued to make settling the west a priority. Laurier also understood that a populated west would stop any U.S. expansion into the area.

Canada printed pamphlets and posters to attract immigrants in the late 1800s and early 1900s.
Clifford Sifton — Laurier’s Minister of the Interior — began an advertising campaign to attract immigrants. The campaign targetted the United States, Britain and many parts of Europe, but not countries with French-speaking populations, such as France, Belgium or Switzerland. The campaign was unique for its day. Sifton’s department placed posters and pamphlets — written in many languages — in train stations, immigration offices, fairs and exhibitions across the U.S. and Europe. These colourful media described Canada’s west in glowing terms.

**RESPOND**

1. Examine the images on pages 326 and 327. In your opinion, are they designed to inform, persuade or entertain? Back up your conclusions with evidence from the posters.

2. Is the design of these posters appropriate, in your opinion? Why or why not?
Recruiting British Peoples for the West

Sifton and the Canadian government still believed that “British was best.” Sifton hoped to populate the west with English-speaking Canadians from Ontario, as well as farmers from Britain. Although immigrants ultimately came from many countries, people of British heritage still made up more than half the new settlers who arrived in the west between 1891 and 1930.

Canada’s government and the Canadian Pacific Railway published advice such as this in pamphlets promoting British emigration to Canada. This advice came from settlers in Manitoba in 1886:

**Mrs. A. Bethune, of Archibald, Southern Manitoba.** — Families should first husband their finances to the greatest extent possible, only buying for the first year or two those articles they cannot possibly do without, and don’t pay anybody for anything you can do yourself. Be sure your farm is high and dry before you spend a dollar on it. On arrival, get your garden planted with the necessary vegetable seeds, look after your garden well, have your cellar frost-proof, get a few little pigs from your neighbours, and buy nothing you can raise; buy a cow and feed her well; and if you don’t get along in Manitoba, you won’t do so anywhere else, I’ll assure you.

**Mrs. N. Brown (Rev.) of High Bluff, Manitoba.** — This is a splendid country for industrious people, but everyone coming here should know how to work. There is nothing here that I consider any drawback to people who wish to make a good home for themselves. Of course they must not expect the same luxuries and social advantages of older countries.
Mrs. G. Butcher, of Russell P.O., Shell River, Manitoba. — Don’t be prejudiced in your minds in favour of English methods of cooking, baking, washing, etc., or be too proud to ask advice when you come. You will find new methods more suited to the country and your altered circumstances. Every housekeeper here learns to be baker, laundress, tailoress, soap and candle maker, and dairywoman... Learn to knit, bring plenty of good woollen underclothing... and boys’ good tweed suits. Boys’ clothing here is difficult to find.

RESPOND

1. When people migrate from one country to another, they often experience rapid change. What evidence of rapid change can you find in the advice on pages 328 and 329?

2. Confederation had established Canada as a bilingual, bicultural society. In what way did Clifford Sifton’s immigration policies and advertising campaign challenge that idea?
How does immigrating affect the identity of individuals?

The Topic
The government encouraged millions of people to immigrate to Canada as a way to populate and develop the west. Canada still has an official policy of encouraging immigration.

How does immigration affect the identity of people who leave their homelands to come to Canada?

Getting Started
Work with a group of classmates to plan this inquiry, and to retrieve information. Here are some ideas to get you started:

- Immigrating often brings rapid change. How does rapid change affect the identity of people?
- To what extent do people seek to maintain their language and culture in a new land?
- What useful information does this chapter contain?
- Where could you find other useful information?
- Who could you interview about this topic? How can you ensure their privacy?

Your Goal
On your own, track your experience with processing information. Be sure to take the following steps and answer these questions:

- **Make connections.** Compare the experiences of the people on whom you have collected information. What experiences do people have in common? Do any have experiences that stand out as different?
- **Focus your inquiry.** What new questions emerge? Which are most relevant and interesting?
- **Record information.** What graphic organizer will help you record patterns and related information?
- **Revisit the process of retrieving information.** What information needs do new questions create?

Finishing Up
Based on your research, select one experience that shows something important about the impact immigrating has on identity. Be prepared to explain your choice in class.
Recruiting Canadiens for the West

Sifton’s policies caused the people who already lived in the west to wonder how they would fit in.

By 1889, Bishop Vital Grandin of St. Albert was becoming concerned. Father Lacombe had established St. Albert in 1861, and it had become a centre of Canadien and Francophone Métis settlement in the west. Clifford Sifton’s immigration campaign, however, seemed uninterested in fostering Canadien culture. Bishop Grandin wrote a letter, addressed to the bishops of Québec, asking them to encourage Canadiens and Catholics to settle in the west.

The growing immigration, which comes to us each year since our entry into Canada, is composed mainly of Protestants and others. Though once we were numerous, we are no longer the majority, and the current of Catholic immigration in our North West will make us no more than a small indistinguishable dot, which they will attempt to erase and make disappear completely.


The bishops agreed, but they did not want to depopulate their own parishes. Instead, they suggested that a group of missionary-colonizers recruit Canadiens living in the northeastern United States to move to western Canada. Missionary-colonizers, such as Jean Gaire, Pierre Gravel and Jean-Baptiste Morin, established Francophone communities in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Many settlers formed communities near Edmonton in what is today Alberta, including Villeneuve, Morinville and Beaumont.

Respond

Examine the excerpt from Bishop Grandin’s letter. Bishop Grandin is concerned about the impact of immigration on Francophone Catholics in western Canada.

1. Imagine you could interview Bishop Grandin about his concerns. Brainstorm questions that would help you better understand and explain Bishop Grandin’s perspective on immigration to western Canada.

2. Choose your two best questions and present them to the class. Explain why you think these are good questions, and what you hope to learn by asking them.
Throughout western Canada, Catholic religious orders established and operated hospitals. This is Holy Cross Hospital in Calgary in 1911, established by the Francophone Grey Nuns.

**Les Franco-Albertains Agissaient!**

Canadiens were active in the development of western Canada.
- During the mid-1800s, Canadien missionaries established several settlements in the west. For example, Father Lacombe established St. Albert in 1841. Father René Remas founded Notre Dame des Victoires, a mission at Lac La Biche, in 1852, where several Canadien families settled to farm in 1857.
- The Oblates, a Catholic religious order, established colleges in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba to offer higher education in French, such as Collège St-Jean in Edmonton. Collège St-Jean is today Faculté St-Jean, a faculty of the University of Alberta that attracts Francophone students from across Canada.
- Francophones founded newspapers in Alberta such as *L'Ouest canadien* (The Canadian West) and *Le Courier de l'ouest* (The Western Courier) which reported local, provincial and national news.
Le magasin général LaRue et Picard

LARUE & PICARD SONT À OUVRIR ACTUELLEMENT UN STOCK CONSIDÉRABLE DE MARCHANDISES SÈCHES, HABILLEMENTS, GROCERIES, ETC.

LARUE & PICARD ARE NOW OPENING UP A LARGE STOCK OF DRY GOODS, CLOTHING, GROCERIES, ETC.

So said the advertisement Stanislas LaRue and Joseph-Henri Picard placed in the Edmonton Bulletin on August 31, 1889, when they opened their general store LaRue & Picard in Edmonton. Their store became the store of choice for many Edmontonians. It offered all kinds of clothes, including shoes, boots, hats, gloves, ladies’ dresses, men’s suits and coats, as well as groceries. In addition to staples such as flour and salt, the store sold “fancy foods” such as canned fruit and dried walnuts. The store offered free delivery to all parts of Edmonton before 6:00 P.M.

As prominent business owners in Edmonton, Stanislas LaRue and Joseph-Henri Picard became active in community affairs. They supported the Société Saint-Jean Baptiste in Edmonton and were members of the parish council of their church, Saint-Joachim. The Catholic Church played an influential role in Francophone communities in the west as elsewhere. A Catholic person’s reputation depended on their standing in the church. In 1889, they helped to set up the Board of Trade, later renamed the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce. In 1893, Picard was elected an alderman in Edmonton. For almost twenty-five years, he represented Edmonton’s Francophone community on the city’s council.

This store was on the corner of Jasper Avenue and 104 Street in Edmonton, in the heart of what is today Edmonton’s downtown.
IDENTITY THEN AND NOW

An Interview with Franco-Albertaine Michelle Chamberland

Michelle Chamberland’s part-time job in a small-town grocery store can be boring at times, especially when business is slow, but it gives her the opportunity to make conversation with customers — in French.

“I really go out of my way to speak to the children who come in,” says the 15-year-old, who lives in the Francophone community of Legal, Alberta. “I want to make sure they don’t lose their interest in speaking the language. Sometimes, I speak French to their parents or other older people. They turn to me shaking their heads and say ‘Oh, I lost my French.’ That scares me, because I know how easy it is to let it go.”

Michelle says she even finds herself struggling just a bit to buckle down to her formal studies in French each September, after being away from it only for the summer holidays.

“There’s a little adjustment I have to make when I get back to school work, even though I speak French all the time. It’s something you can easily lose if you don’t keep it up.”

In Legal, Michelle attended École Citadelle, a Francophone school for Francophone students offering classes from pre-school to grade nine. Since graduating into grade ten last year, she has risen at 6 A.M. to catch a bus that takes her to a Francophone school in Edmonton, one-and-a-half hours away.

She admits the long trip into the city is tiresome “especially if the traffic is bad,” but she is committed to completing her education in a Francophone school.

“I could have finished in an English school, but that’s not who I am. I know I’m making my parents and my grandparents proud because I’m continuing in French. Plus, I know there are good opportunities for me when I graduate from school as a Francophone, bilingual person. Being bilingual is an advantage for many jobs.”

Michelle says she thinks and counts in French, so it’s only natural she would speak French with her friends, and even strategize in French on the soccer field, where she plays her favourite sport.
“Some coaches of other teams aren’t too happy with us planning our moves in French, but it’s an advantage when the other team can’t decipher it,” Michelle says.

Her immediate family is solidly involved in their close-knit community, and keeps up with provincial and national Francophone activities through a French newspaper subscription. Every summer, friends and relatives look forward to the annual Fête franco-albertaine, a weekend event hosted by a different Francophone town every year.

“This year it was in Bonnyville, and some of my friends whose parents weren’t going actually biked there, they wanted to go so bad!” Michelle exclaims. Bonnyville is about 200 kilometres northeast of Legal.

“Everyone goes to Fête franco-albertaine — from grandparents down to little kids. We play baseball and volleyball, and there’s dancing and entertainment. It’s all in French and celebrates the best there is about our culture and history.”

Recently, Michelle was impressed by the way a local group of artists expressed their commitment to Francophone unity in Canada.

“Our art club created paintings that illustrated ‘hands.’ On opening night, our gallery was hooked up by webcam to other art clubs who had made paintings with the same theme. You could see the colourful paintings lined up, linked ‘hand-to-hand,’ right across Canada. The art show was called “Uniting Francophone communities across Canada” and what a strong statement it was, for me!”

**RESPOND**

Suppose Michelle Chamberland were coming to your community to play in a soccer tournament. She will be billeting at your house. What would you ask her about her identity as a Francophone?
Eastern European Peoples Begin to Arrive

Eastern European immigrants contributed greatly to the economic and industrial growth of Canada’s west. They formed a new labour force in the west, and also a new market for goods from the factories of eastern Canada. They built farms and increased the production of grain and agricultural products.

Ukrainian People

Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypiw were the first Ukrainian people to come to Canada. The two farmers docked at Montréal on September 7, 1891, before moving on to western Canada. The land impressed them, and they returned to Ukraine to tell their friends they would be settling permanently in Canada’s west. They also encouraged more Ukrainian people to come to Canada.

Within a few years, many Ukrainian people began to arrive in Canada. They first settled in what is now Alberta, then in Manitoba and later in what became Saskatchewan. From 1 000 Ukrainian people in 1896, the number rapidly increased to 27 000 in 1900 and to about 200 000 in 1914. This became the largest population of Ukrainian people outside Ukraine.

RESPOND

Examine the photo from the Ukrainian Heritage Cultural Village. Historical re-enactors, such as the person in the photo, study the historical contexts of the events and people they portray. Historical context is about circumstances, and accepted values and attitudes, that shaped people’s actions at a particular time in history. Create two questions you could ask this re-enactor that would expand your knowledge of Ukrainian settlers in Alberta.

This historical re-enactor is at the Ukrainian Heritage Cultural Village in east central Alberta. In what way can re-enacting the past affirm the collective identities of Canada’s diverse peoples?
Russian and Polish Peoples

Most Russian immigrants came in groups by special arrangement between the Canadian and Russian governments. Several thousand Russian Jewish people came in the 1890s. Most settled in cities such as Montréal, Windsor, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver.

In 1899, 7,500 Doukhobor people emigrated from Russia to Canada and settled first in Saskatchewan, and then later in British Columbia. They worked hard to develop their prairie homesteads. In Grand Forks, British Columbia, they started a brick factory, a flour mill, a cannery, and several bee colonies.

Between 1895 and 1913, 119,600 Polish people arrived in Canada. Most were rural and small-town people from Austrian-occupied territories in Eastern Europe. A large number became farmers in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Some Polish people went to work in the new coal-mining industry that had opened up in the west — at Drumheller, for example. They often had to settle, however, for poorly paying jobs. Some joined unions and political groups to protest their working conditions and to fight for better wages.
IDENTITY THEN AND NOW

An Interview with Tatiana Cheladyn

Fifteen-year-old Tatiana Cheladyn has studied Ukrainian in Ukraine.

“I really liked seeing the old buildings and the countryside. And the young people are way ahead of us in fashion, because of the Italian and French influence,” she says. “The food took a bit of getting used to, though. I wasn’t too sure about having a cold meat platter for breakfast.”

Tatiana is the fourth generation of her family to be born in Canada. Tatiana’s grandmother helped establish the first Ukrainian bilingual school in Edmonton, which Tatiana attended until grade three. Her mother is a celebrated watercolour artist who paints strong cultural images.

Tatiana performs with the Viter Ukrainian Dancers, the junior performing ensemble of Edmonton’s acclaimed Ukrainian Shumka Dancers. She explains that shumka means “whirlwind,” (viter means “little wind”) in Ukrainian, and the name relates to the colourful, energetic dance called “Hopak,” which always delights crowds.

“In the Hopak dance, the dancers really show off their tricks,” she explains. “The men high-kick and jump, and the women are swirling. But there are many different styles of dance that come from the different regions of Ukraine, and I think there’s one for almost everything people did in their lives — a dance for weddings, for harvesting, for the seasons, for friendship.”

Tatiana is excited to be returning to Ukraine soon, to study choreography and work with Ukraine-born dancers. “I can’t wait,” she says, anticipating a return to the European customs she discovered during her first trip.

RESPOND

1. Collective identity comes from sharing a language, culture and history with a group of people. What aspects of Tatiana Cheladyn’s life reflect the collective identity of her family?

2. How does society benefit from respecting and recognizing the collective identities of diverse peoples? Think of at least two examples.
BUILD THE BIG PICTURE

This textbook has often talked about “push” and “pull” factors that affect the movement of people. To what extent did good agricultural land “pull” people to western Canada? This map shows the distribution of the best agricultural land in western Canada.

Soils of Canada’s Prairies

RESPOND

1. Look at the population density map of Canada in the Skills Centre at the back of this book. What kind of data does this map contain?
2. Compare the population density map with the map of agricultural land on this page. To what extent do the two maps correspond?
3. What other geographic features might correspond to population density patterns in western Canada?
Creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan

When Canada took control of the North-West Territories in 1869, Canada's government appointed the territory's government. In 1875, it passed the North-West Territories Act, which said the federal government would hand over power to the territory's people as the settler population of the territory increased. The act established an elected assembly that accepted representatives from settlements with more than 1,000 people.

In 1891, Canada allowed the elected assembly to take over. This accomplished a goal for the territory that Louis Riel had petitioned for in 1885. Why do you think the federal government rejected the proposal then, but accepted it now?

Through their assembly, the people of the territory could now make decisions about schools and roads, and other services. But the territory's government could not raise money through taxes and loans. Only provinces had that power. So, the assembly of the North-West Territories passed a motion demanding provincial status.

Frederick Haultain — the premier of the North-West Territories — championed the cause of provincial rights. Haultain took his campaign to Ottawa and asked Prime Minister Laurier to make the whole area one large province. Laurier thought the territories were too large an area for one provincial government to administer. In 1905, Canada's government created two provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Education and Language Rights

Education and language rights became a controversy during the creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The issue had been growing for some time, as settlement shifted the west towards a majority Anglophone population.

Francophones wanted rights for Catholic separate schools spelled out and guaranteed in the acts, as a condition of Alberta and Saskatchewan becoming provinces within Confederation. Anglophones argued that the new provinces should have complete control over education.
A Timeline of Language and Education Rights in the North-West Territories

1875 – North-West Territories Act
• Establishes public funding for Protestant schools and Catholic schools.
• Gives official status to English and French as languages of the territory’s assembly.

1892 – Haultain Resolution
• Frederick Haultain, leader of the territory’s assembly, proposes a resolution to remove French as a language of the assembly. The resolution passes, but is not signed into law.

1892 – Mowat Resolution
• David Mowat, a member of the elected assembly from Regina, proposes a bill to require all schools in the territory to teach in English.
• The assembly votes to allow instruction in French only for grades one and two. All other instruction must be in English.

1905 – Alberta Act, Saskatchewan Act
• Create publicly funded separate Protestant and Catholic schools.
• Accept restrictions on French as a language of instruction.

As to language, French people are not foreigners. They were the first Canadians. They loved their language and would teach it to their children. But they were not less loyal citizens or true Canadians, as has been proved on many a battlefield.

— Antonio Prince

All schools should be taught in the English language. We will never have true patriotic feeling in the country until there is one language.

— David Mowat, member of the North-West Territories assembly, 1892.

RESPOND

1. The idea of citizenship that shaped Confederation said that both Francophone and Anglophone Canadians “belonged.” In what way did the Haultain resolution challenge this idea?

2. Examine the reaction of Antonio Prince. What emotions does it convey? Construct a timeline of events of Francophone history that explains his reaction. Check pages 384 and 385 of the Skills Centre for tips on making timelines.

3. How do you think the measures adopted in 1892 affected Aboriginal peoples and their languages?
Chapter 10 Review

WHAT DID CHAPTER 10 EXPLORE?

- Why different peoples have different perspectives on the Numbered Treaties.
- How the National Policy influenced the development of western Canada.
- How the Canadian Pacific Railway and immigration affected peoples in western Canada.
- How the creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905 affected the rights of Francophones.

Check for Understanding

1. Describe examples of how one of the following decisions of Canada’s government affected First Nations, Canadiens and English-speaking people:
   - The Numbered Treaties.
   - The creation of the North West Mounted Police.
   - The National Policy.
2. To what extent did Clifford Sifton’s immigration policies to populate western Canada contribute to Canada’s diverse cultural communities?

Demonstrate your Knowledge

3. Historical context is about the circumstances, and accepted values and attitudes, that shaped events in the past. What are the most important things to understand about the historical context of the creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan? Choose what you consider the top two points, and describe them. Explain why you chose them.

Apply your Skills

4. Part of critical thinking involves determining the validity of information. Choose one of the advertisements for immigrants on pages 326 and 327. In what ways do these ads reflect bias? Despite their bias, these ads represent important information about the past. Why?

Take Stock

5. In this chapter, you interpreted and combined information from two maps: a population density map and a map showing the best agricultural land in western Canada. Describe two challenges you encountered in completing this map activity. What steps did you take to overcome these challenges? How would you rate the steps you took as an effective way to meet the challenges? Why?