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IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY IN CANADA SERIES

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Lisa Chilton
University of Prince Edward Island

RECEIVING CANADA'S IMMIGRANTS

THE WORK OF THE STATE BEFORE 1930

Editor: Marlene Epp,
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University of Waterloo

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Cover image:

Pictured here are Montreal's immigration sheds, where thousands of newcomers would be counselled, accommodated and fed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This photograph was taken in 1911, shortly after a series of improvements had been completed on the facilities. Source:

Library and Archives Canada/PA-178439.

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BOOKLET NO. 34

Introduction

Today most immigrants to Canada arrive by plane. When they land they meet with state officials at the airport who process the paperwork associated with the extensive bureaucracy that regulates Canada's immigration system. It is a process that is largely completed before the immigrant's arrival. The immigrants are then sent on their way. Those who are permitted to stay usually need some sort of guidance and support during the initial stage of their settlement, but they are unlikely to receive that sort of assistance from government agents. Finding and affording short-term accommodation can be financially crippling for immigrants who are not wealthy, while challenges ranging from difficulties with a new language and culture, to understanding Canada's taxation, education and health care systems can prove insurmountable to newcomers. Those who cannot turn to relatives or friends might seek out religious or ethnic organisations with which they are familiar. Also much used by immigrants are the many non-profit organisations that have come to life to answer newcomers' pressing needs in the face of government withdrawal from this form of work. There are government offices, mainly designed to be accessible on-line, that offer guidance and information to immigrants. But government officials are not expected to do front-line supportive reception work for newcomers.

Radical transformations in transportation and communication technology have allowed the Canadian government to step well back from earlier understandings of the relationship between the state and newcomers. From the earliest days of colonial governments' efforts to support and control white settler populations, there have been state-sponsored immigrant reception programmes in the region that would one day become Canada. For early examples one might point to the chaperoning and accommodation of the *filles du roi* in late seventeenth-century New France, the management of Loyalists during and after the American Revolution in late eighteenth-century British North America, or the efforts of both French and British colonial governments to quarantine newcomers during various periods of epidemic. But it wasn't until the middle decades of the nineteenth century that immigrant reception programmes became a normalized feature of governance in Canada. By the beginning of the twentieth century reception had become a multi-faceted, labour intensive area of state work.



Immigrants arriving by train in Winnipeg, 23 February 1927. Source: Archives of Manitoba, Foote Collection 466, N2066.

When the immigrants featured in this photograph travelled to and across Canada in 1926-1927, the whole of their journey was (at least in theory) carefully managed by the Canadian state. Like immigrants today, state-employed immigration officials met with them to fill out paperwork upon their arrival in Canada. Unlike today's newcomers, they would also have been offered temporary accommodation in dormitories, food, and an opportunity to clean themselves and their clothing at a state-run immigration building. On-site officials would have been available to provide advice and information about Canadian conditions and to assist with travel arrangements. The newcomers would have been shepherded onto trains heading westwards, likely accompanied by a matron to assist and protect the women and children, and perhaps some guards to discourage immigrants who had signed work contracts from getting off the train early. At significant transfer points, like Winnipeg, immigrants might again stay in government accommodations while registering for land or seeking employment. By the time the immigrants pictured here arrived in Canada, a veritable army of government employees and their private sector associ-

ates had been established to examine, assist, acculturate and control newcomers. The Great Depression that started in 1929 temporarily put an end to most of the government's immigration work; only work relating to deportation thrived during the 1930s. When immigration began again in earnest after the Second World War, the practices and structures that had been in place before the Depression became the starting point for an updated, revised immigration system, though state investment into reception work waned again after the initial flush of post-World War Two immigration. Today, border control and security issues completely dominate the state's interactions with incoming migrants.

The purpose of this booklet is to provide a history of the Canadian state's relationship with immigrants prior to the Great Depression of the 1930s through an examination of official immigrant reception work and the contexts within which that work was performed. It provides a history of the construction of the state's infrastructure relating to immigration: the development of agencies, the building of institutions, and the regulation of transportation transfer sites. Immigrants' earliest movements in Canada occurred in spaces that were designed by architects of the state and their private sector associates to manage the flow of newcomers. For immigrants, the physical movement of self and belongings was only one aspect of relocation from one country to another. Immigration also involved a series of situations in which an individual's sense of identity might be challenged and reformed, situations in which appropriate "Canadian" norms of behaviour were conveyed and reinforced.

The early years of the Canadian state's transition into a highly bureaucratic manager of migrants involved struggles among various interested parties concerning how and by whom immigrants would be treated. The transition was made more complicated by the fact that the government bodies that might be considered responsible for protecting and controlling immigrants kept changing. In the decades just prior to and following Confederation, there were multiple layers of state bureaucracy involved in managing migrants. In some circumstances immigrants in need of assistance were looked after by local authorities; sometimes it was regional authorities who determined how immigrants would be supported; and sometimes immigration-related concerns came under the jurisdiction of the British Colonial Office or,

later, the Canadian Federal Government. Each of these government bodies differed in their understandings of, and attitudes towards, immigrants. These differences stemmed from the sources of the funds to which each level of government had access and the public interests to which they answered.

Reception arrangements were also complicated by the constantly changing nature of the immigrant population. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the religious, economic, ethnic, and health profiles of newcomers varied greatly. In the 1810s, immigrants passing through Quebec were largely Protestant, poor (but not desperately so) and from the British Isles, though more likely to hail from England than from Ireland or Scotland. While people from England, Scotland, Germany (and elsewhere) of various economic backgrounds and often of Protestant faith, continued to arrive in the Canadas in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the large-scale Famine Irish immigration of the 1830s and 1840s altered the average profile of the Canadian immigrant such that immigrants during this period were assumed (sometimes incorrectly) to be Irish, Catholic, and destitute. By the turn of the twentieth century, the immigrants who crossed the Atlantic were predominantly coming from north, south, and east European backgrounds. Doukhobors, Russian Jews, Mennonites, Ukrainians, Romanians, and Italians augmented the diversity of the already multi-ethnic host society. On Canada's Pacific side, Asian immigrants added further variety to the nation's population. In spite of the fact that emigrants from Britain and the United States of America also arrived in large numbers, the Canadian popular press made much of the "foreign" (ie non-Anglo) nature of this immigration.

The growth of state infrastructure relating to immigration reception work that occurred between the 1820s and the 1930s was but one branch of activity in a proliferation of new state undertakings spurred on by middle-class reform and nation-building agendas. While initially the hiring of immigration officials and the establishment of immigration-specific institutions were the government's answer to immediate, regionally-limited concerns about contagion and pauperism, these initiatives would ultimately be folded into a complex system of immigrant reception that aimed to boost Canada's population of desirable newcomers and to direct those immigrants to locations where they were considered to be most needed. Costly immigrant reception

programmes were justified by the expectation that they would attract the right sort of immigration, and that quality immigrants would not be tempted to migrate onwards to the United States of America if their settlement in Canada went well. The government's investment in managing the reception of immigrants was also designed to encourage the adoption of "appropriate" cultural attitudes and behaviour by newcomers.

At the same time, the more regulatory side of reception work became increasingly important as the state endeavoured to discourage, reject, and deport those immigrants who were seen to be undesirable because of their physical, mental, or moral health, because of their social origins, or because of their political affiliations. For most immigrants, the reception services provided by the state were largely positive. The provision of free, safe accommodation, food, information, and guidance might be invaluable to newcomers. But the regulatory and restrictive elements of the same services could prove devastating to those who found themselves on the wrong side of state officials' opinions.

The booklet is divided into three temporally and thematically overlapping sections. The first section explores the origins and establishment of quarantine stations and related medical services. Section two reviews the functions that state-employed emigrant agents were supposed to perform when they were first employed by the state in the 1820s and 1830s, and how their work changed over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Section three provides an overview of the history of immigration buildings, with particular attention paid to state-run hostels for immigrants. Through an examination of how immigration agents, immigrants, and members of the public used these spaces, we can gain valuable insights into the evolution of Canadians' relationships with immigrants over a substantial, formative period of our nation's history.

Health Inspections and Quarantine

For most of the nineteenth century, ill health affected a substantial proportion of incoming migrants' earliest experiences in Canada. The very process of migrating tended to bring on sickness. Until steamship travel became the norm towards the end of the nineteenth century, trans-Atlantic voyages took at least six weeks to complete, and although the onset of steamship transportation cut travel time down to as little as two weeks, conditions on board remained conducive to the spread of diseases. While shipping conditions were the subject of numerous government inquiries over the course of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, only some of these investigations resulted in meaningful improvements in conditions for steerage passengers. This reality meant that ports that served as the primary entry points for trade goods and travellers on Canada's east coast and along the St Lawrence River became well used to dealing with migrants in need of medical care.

When unhealthy strangers in want of medical assistance entered port communities, they tapped into an unregulated, unstructured set of care options. For those who could afford it, accommodation and the services of a nurse could be purchased at an inn or the home of a local resident. Friendless newcomers without financial means had to rely upon the charity of private citizens or institutions. In good times, most strangers in need of health care could be integrated into the host community on an ad hoc basis. But when the number of immigrants arriving at these ports increased exponentially in the decades following the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, and then when epidemic diseases such as cholera or typhus arrived with the immigrants, port communities could not handle the resulting crises by traditional means.

The imminent threat of potentially uncontrollable diseases such as plagues, yellow fever, and small pox had long been a motivator behind state action by the time that colonial officials in British North America decided to introduce quarantine institutions and regulations in answer to the cholera epidemic of 1832. State-directed quarantine was introduced as a method to combat the spread of epidemic disease in the fourteenth century, when port cities around the Mediterranean and across Europe responded to the arrival of the bubonic plague via

shared trade routes by establishing aggressive containment practices and legislation. With the expansion of European empires overseas, concerns about the possible arrival of epidemic disease in their colonies led to the creation of institutions, regulations and programs that were similarly designed to limit and contain contagion. Both the British colonies in North America and the colonial administration in New France had plenty of experience with implementing quarantine measures in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, prior to 1832 quarantine was typically seen as a short-term necessity that could be abandoned when the specific disease in question had disappeared. It was only in the 1830s that a quarantine system was established that was designed to outlast a particular epidemic event.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Canadian immigration officials focused their attention on ports catering to transatlantic migrants when contemplating the establishment of substantial quarantine facilities. Because they were the primary entry points to the Canadian mainland from the Atlantic Ocean during the first few decades of the nineteenth century, Quebec City and Saint John, New Brunswick, developed the earliest large-scale medical facilities associated with immigration. After the creation of the Intercolonial Railway, which linked Nova Scotia through New Brunswick to Quebec in the late 1870s, Halifax became an increasingly important port of disembarkation for immigrants. By the end of the nineteenth century the Canadian Federal Government had designated Quebec, Saint John and Halifax as “regular quarantine ports,” for which particularly detailed regulations applied. “Other organized quarantine ports,” identified as those that had established quarantine stations of note in the past, included the ports at Pictou, Hawkesbury, and Sydney in Nova Scotia, the Miramichi in New Brunswick, Charlottetown in Prince Edward Island, and Victoria in British Columbia.

The availability of a serviceable island close to the port meant that some communities had a relatively easy answer to the arrival of contagion. A water barrier could be established between the port communities and potentially contagious newcomers. Quebec, Saint John and Halifax were able to make use of islands, though they were not all of equal quality when it came to establishing quarantine facilities there. The city council of Saint John earmarked Partridge Island as a potential quarantine station at the time of the city’s incorporation in

1785, although the island did not perform that function until 1830. Grosse Isle, just east of Quebec City, was established as a quarantine station in 1832. Both Partridge Island and Grosse Isle met the basic needs of a fully functioning quarantine centre; both islands had a deep harbour, enough space to hold a substantial short-term population, and clean water for drinking and washing. On the other hand, none of the islands close to the Port of Halifax were ideal, with the result that the sick immigrants arriving at this port and the men and women who were employed to look after them experienced a wide variety of extra challenges, including problems with access to fresh water and hazardous conditions for disembarking from ships.

As a first point of interaction between the host community and newcomers, quarantine was bound to prove difficult. The trying circumstances precipitating emigration, and the multiple challenges of trans-Atlantic travel, including infectious disease, hunger, and seasickness, took an enormous toll on the mental and physical health of immigrants, even before their arrival at Canadian ports. Conditions of care at the quarantine stations, especially during periods of epidemic, could be extremely poor. Even when quarantine occurred in less trying circumstances, the hospital care immigrants received at such institutions differed greatly from traditional responses to illness with which immigrants would have been familiar. This was especially the case for immigrants who came from cultures, and who spoke languages, different from those of their caregivers. Quarantine hospital care was fundamentally alienating. Where it was possible to do so, an important part of the quarantine program was the removal of sick individuals from the company of their healthy kin. In the middle of the nineteenth century, during periods of epidemic when the large numbers of sick immigrants overwhelmed the state's ability to cope, quarantine practices became especially inhumane. After being cleared of contagion by a quarantine doctor, immigrants were forced to move on, regardless of whether or not they still had family in quarantine. This kind of separation could end up being more or less permanent depending on the family's financial circumstances and how well the patients fared.

The negative results of enforced hospitalisation could extend well beyond the people who had migrated together. An individual's hospitalization could also have a significant impact upon those who had



Laundry room at the Hospital and Immigration Detention Centre at Quebec, ca 1911. Source: William James Topley Collection, Library and Archives Canada, PA-010436, MIKAN 3330522.

remained behind in the sending societies, or those who were waiting for the immigrant to arrive further inland. Once admitted to one of the hospitals, a written record of a patient's clothing, possessions and money was made and this property was to be either returned to the convalescent upon discharge, or sent to next of kin in the event of the patient's death. In many cases family back home had pooled their resources to send the individual to Canada to further the interests of the family as a whole. Once established in their new environments, immigrants were expected to send back money either to finance the migration of other family members, or to improve the living conditions of those who had been left behind. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that patients' property was not safe at these institutions. The theft of patients' property could redirect substantial financial resources originally intended for kinfolk. Similarly, property that would have gone to family in Canada or further afield was sometimes willed to institutional caregivers who had provided emotionally vulnerable, ill and dying patients with psychological support in their hours of greatest need. In such cases, temporary surrogate kin in the form of nurses or doctors were favoured over absent relatives.

The primary function of state-run quarantine stations was to protect the host community from incoming epidemic disease. The perceived need to do so ensured that philosophical and financial objections to the government's interference with the free market and individuals' freedom of movement were overcome. Members of urban host communities in the British North American colonies became convinced that agencies and institutions ought to be established, and paid for with tax dollars, because the risks involved in receiving newcomers without an institutionalized buffer zone were too serious to be left unchecked. The head taxes imposed on immigrants, ostensibly to pay at least a part of the associated costs, served the added function of discouraging the immigration of impoverished newcomers. Irish immigration plummeted when head taxes were substantially increased after the disastrous immigration season of 1847. Later in the nineteenth century, this practice of using head taxes to discourage the immigration of particular classes of migrants was used to drastically cut the numbers of Chinese immigrants who could enter Canada.

Quarantine stations received migrants in transit, not newcomers already present in the urban centres when they became ill. During the same period that the quarantine stations were created, other health-related facilities and programmes for newcomers were also established. For example, the first hospital created specifically to provide for immigrants in the Saint Lawrence region was founded at Quebec in 1823. A new, much larger Quebec Marine and Emigrant Hospital replaced it in 1835. Unlike the quarantine station at Grosse Isle, this hospital received newcomers who were there for a variety of reasons: they were suffering from physical injuries, they had non-contagious maladies, they had developed disease symptoms after arriving on the mainland, or they had experienced some sort of serious mental breakdown. The Quebec Marine and Emigrant Hospital also contained a maternity ward, where hundreds of immigrant women gave birth.

The nineteenth century also saw the creation of institutions with more specific disease-related functions. In British Columbia, state authorities established an isolation centre in 1891 on D'Arcy Island, a short distance from Victoria, to contain individuals found to have leprosy. All of the 49 people suffering from leprosy who were held there over the next 33 years were immigrants, though not necessarily recently arrived, and almost all were Chinese. From 1906, when the

federal government took control of the leprosy quarantine site, the island ceased to be a life-long prison, but rather a holding cell, as the government's policy shifted towards repatriating (a process that was actually more like deporting) the ill Chinese, many of whom had been in Canada for more than a decade by the time they were sent back to China. In 1924 the D'Arcy Island leprosy centre was closed, and the remaining patients were sent to an island situated in closer proximity to Victoria's quarantine station at William Head.



One of the men confined to D'Arcy Island because he was suffering from leprosy is photographed here with supplies that had just been delivered. Supplies were delivered every few months, in combination with a doctor's visit. Interactions between the inhabitants of the island and the outside world were limited to these hasty visits. Housing is evident in the background. Source: British Columbia Archives, F-05162.

The fact that Chinese people with leprosy were “repatriated” by immigration officials after 1906 is in keeping with larger changes that were occurring in federal government attitudes regarding the roles to be played by immigration reception programmes during this period. Starting in 1906, the Federal Government introduced a series of immigration policy reforms that widened the responsibility of immigration officers to detain and reject prospective immigrants. From this point onwards, more invasive examinations of immigrants' physical, mental, and moral health were central to immigration agents' work. The state no longer focused first and foremost on discovering and responding to evidence of contagious diseases in immigrant popu-

lations. Medical inspections became more invasive, health problems and various disabilities were increasingly used as justifications for denial of entry, and even racial differences were made the basis of medically-justified exclusionary tactics during this period. In keeping with this new state orientation, the sections of immigration buildings that were designated as medical detention centres gained prominence in the buildings' plans.

There are a number of reasons for the timing of what arguably became an international obsession with the physical and psychological 'quality' of migrants around the turn of the twentieth century. The effective professionalization of medical doctors, and especially of psychiatrists, the growth of the social sciences and social work professions, and the particular nature of nation-building endeavours during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries came together with an unparalleled movement of peoples to make national social engineering a much-favoured focus of public debate. The Canadian government responded to the highly publicized concerns of medical experts and other interested parties about the arrival of mental 'defects' and people with past histories of personal or familial mental 'fragility' by creating legislation that allowed for the exclusion and deportation of such individuals. In Canada, a series of acts (1902, 1906, 1910), borrowing heavily from other states' work in the area, served as key moments at which such legislation came together. Out of this evolved a highly bureaucratized, relatively inflexible, system of medical examinations and consequences.

At the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the energy that governments in Canada put towards managing immigrants was in response to public concerns about the potential for the spread of epidemic disease. In spite of the fact that quarantine measures were never fully effective, there was enough confidence in quarantine that it was embraced as a necessary state intervention. When the first Canadian Immigration Act was passed in 1869, quarantine regulations and other health matters dominated the state's official concerns relating to immigration; legislation relating to other forms of protection and care for immigrants was secondary. The state's mid-century experiments with medical interventions became the base upon which a multi-faceted system of medical inspection, quarantine, border control, and deportation would grow. As this system expanded, more investment was also

put into other aspects of immigrant reception. People in positions of power in the Canadian government envisioned a system of immigrant reception that might both support the state's efforts to recruit excellent citizens and discourage prospective newcomers of the wrong racial, cultural, or social profile. The next two sections of this booklet explore how these aspects of state engagement impacted arriving immigrants.

Immigration Agents and Interpreters

When the state first became involved in systematically managing immigration, it was within a context where a variety of charitable organisations were already engaged in immigrant reception work. After the end of the Napoleonic Wars (1799-1815), as immigration to British North America began steadily to increase, the number of people needing assistance upon arrival became a pressing issue. In response, emigrant societies run by volunteers were established at significant ports throughout the colonies. An early example of this relationship between the state and voluntary organisation comes from Lower Canada. The primary agency for the support of migrants needing temporary accommodation (not medical care) at Quebec City in the early nineteenth century was the Quebec Emigration Society, founded in 1818. Its Montreal counterpart was established in 1831. Both of these organisations received state subsidies because they provided services that might otherwise have fallen to local government bodies at greater cost. Their efforts delayed and then supplemented the work performed at the state-run facilities at these locations.

Charitable emigrant societies had specific aims: to assist needful newcomers, especially families with children, without letting them become dependent upon charity and without encouraging them to stay in the city in which they found themselves upon landing, where competition for work would be strongest. The emigrant societies provided poor but seemingly respectable immigrants with short-term accommodation and food, information and guidance. They also paid for transportation that would deliver newcomers to destinations further inland. These societies assisted thousands of immigrants in these ways during the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s. But as the number of immigrants arriving in British North America climbed, the pressure on

specific communities increased to the point where local societies run by volunteers could no longer cope, even with financial support from government sources. Government agencies began to take on the work of managing immigrants at their ports of arrival, but they did so in a context where volunteers would continue to play important roles in the care and support of newcomers.

In 1828, the first official emigrant agent was hired to manage immigrant reception at the port of Quebec. Over the course of the next quarter of a century, men would be employed at various ports throughout the British North American colonies as full-time emigrant agents working in the service of the British crown. After a difficult period of transition, the Canadian colonial government fully took on the employment of these agents in 1854. The original emigrant agent stationed at Quebec was Alexander Carlisle Buchanan, Sr, who was followed by his nephew, Alexander Carlisle Buchanan, Jr, in 1838. The younger Buchanan held the title of Chief Agent for the Superintendence of Emigration to Canada until 1868. In 1833, Anthony Bewden Hawke was appointed the Chief Emigrant Agent for Upper Canada, a position that would ultimately come under the supervision of the head agent at Quebec. Hawke served as an emigrant agent until 1864. A similar post was established in New Brunswick in 1831. From 1843 to 1855, Moses Henry Perley held this post.

Perley, Hawke, and Buchanan Jr became highly respected authorities on British North American immigration during their tenure of these positions, and their work in the field of immigrant reception during the very difficult middle decades of the nineteenth century fundamentally shaped the state's management of immigration through the transition from colonial to national status. Buchanan and Hawke were influential in developing ties with British and American agents and activists in the field of immigration management. In all three cases, the knowledge gained through their frontline reception work with immigrants allowed them to push back when higher authorities endeavoured to implement policies that they felt were injurious to "respectable" immigrants. In the case of Perley, the push back against his superiors also included his efforts to protect First Nations communities from what he saw as ill conceived and unregulated immigrant incursions into Native lands in New Brunswick. Perley served as New Brunswick's Commissioner of Indian Affairs for most of the

1840s, and was an influential voice in the creation of New Brunswick's Indian Act of 1844. However, he was stripped of this role in 1848 when his outspoken criticisms of the government's inaction against illegal squatters on First Nations' lands became intolerable to his superiors. The agents who would follow him were far more likely to unabashedly facilitate the process of Native land appropriation.

Emigrant agents (later referred to as immigration agents) performed an increasingly wide range of migration-related activities on behalf of the state after the middle of the nineteenth century. It was the agents' responsibility to check for abuses by transportation companies and various other operators working at the points of departure and arrival that were resulting in malnourished, diseased, and misinformed immigrants. They were expected to facilitate the orderly movement of immigrants out of the port cities towards available farmlands and towards vicinities in need of labour. Like some charitable emigrant societies, the emigrant agents used the funds generated by head taxes on immigrants first implemented in 1832 to cover the costs involved in this work. They were also bureaucrats, producing ever-larger quantities of paperwork that documented migration trends and associated government costs.

One area of immigration reception work that grew exponentially after the middle of the nineteenth century related specifically to the protection and care of female travellers. In the 1840s, small groups of philanthropists and social reformers began to put pressure on government bodies to establish special protocols for dealing with unaccompanied women in transit. This lobbying went together with the creation of privately funded supportive programs for this special category of newcomers. Over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, feminist activists and social reformers highlighted female-centred immigration concerns – and especially concerns associated with young single women's vulnerability to sexual predators while on the move – in publications and various other public and private forums. In 1882 an organisation named the Women's Protective Immigration Society opened a hostel for single female immigrants in Montreal. It became the first in a series of women-only, non-denominational hostels situated in major urban centres across Canada. The hostels were technically private institutions, but they were heavily supported by government funding and their services were strongly promoted by official immigration agents. This practice of financially and otherwise

supporting the voluntary efforts of philanthropic organisations was the government's preferred method of dealing with gender-based concerns in immigration. But by the beginning of the twentieth century the Canadian government was employing its own female immigrant recruiters, and in 1920 it established a Women's Division within the Canadian Department of Immigration and Colonization.

Another aspect of immigration work that grew substantially between the middle of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century was border control. It is clear that the emigration agents of the mid-nineteenth century did not see themselves as gatekeepers. However, they did play important roles in shaping immigration regulations through their efforts to alert the government about what they saw as the "shovelling of paupers" out of Britain into the colonies. In this, though, their focus was more oriented towards the exposure of misguided poor law guardians, corrupt shipping companies, heartless landlords, and con artists working the ports than on problematic individual immigrants.

Gatekeeping, the process by which restrictions against the entry of certain categories of immigrants were imposed, would only become an important part of most agents' work after the turn of the twentieth century. At the middle of the nineteenth century, Canada's border with the United States of America was porous and almost completely unregulated. Only railway crossings of the Canada-USA border were fitted with immigration agents, who were expected to observe, advise, and reject would-be immigrants. Ocean port entry points were monitored more closely than inland points of entry during this period, but even at the ports, state agents aimed to record immigrants' details rather than to scrutinize them for possible deportation cases. By the end of the nineteenth century border controls had gained a higher priority for the state, and in the years around the turn of the century serious efforts were made to create a more efficient regulatory body that would work in collaboration with its counterpart in the United States. This shift towards gatekeeping was initially the result of a protest against how immigration agents were performing their work by high profile, media savvy doctors and social reformers who were convinced that a complete overhaul was needed of how immigrants and immigration should be managed, because too many immigrants of the wrong class, ethnicity, or health profile were coming in. However, by 1918 ideological concerns had become an additional, very serious

consideration for immigration officials, who were instructed by their superiors to bar from entry and deport all newcomers associated with left-wing social activism.

During the first few years of the immigration agencies' existence, their structures and functions were malleable. In fact, some of the work that they performed related to people who later would not have come under their charge, such as mariners and military personnel. From the 1850s the flexibility that the agents had been allowed started to disappear. The confederation of the colonies in 1867 involved a re-examination of the roles of immigration agencies and their relationships to various levels of state structure. As part of the post-Confederation discussions about jurisdiction, it was established that the federal government would be responsible for the hiring and supervision of immigration agents, the creation and maintenance of immigration buildings, and, from 1874, all overseas recruitment. The provinces became responsible for providing immigrants with food, medical care, and further inland transportation, if necessary. This division of responsibilities meant that while the immigration agents were selected, directed, and paid by officials in Ottawa, they would work in an environment where provincial and local authorities were responsible for looking after the basic needs of immigrants who could not afford to pay for health care or other services. Sometimes these more local players had very different understandings of how immigration should be managed.

By the end of the nineteenth century the state structure associated with managing migration had grown to the extent that it would provide large numbers of men with careers in this service. From coast to coast, at every major port, Canadian-American border post, railway transfer station, and fast-growing urban centre, immigration agents were stationed to receive immigrants. There was a significant amount of nepotism and political expediency associated with the creation of positions and the hiring of agents. Yet many of the agents were clearly heavily invested in their work as a social or political cause.

This was perhaps especially the case with agents who were associated with specific ethnic groups. For them, promoting the interests of their fellow countrymen and women or co-religionists was an important motivation behind taking up immigration reception work. A good example is Cyril Genyk, a Ukrainian immigrant in Winnipeg, who was hired to serve as an immigration agent and interpreter in 1896.

He would work in the employ of the federal government in this capacity first on a part time basis, and then full time, until 1911. Genyk was an enthusiastic, highly capable spokesperson for, and counsellor of Ukrainian immigrants. Part of his counsel involved encouraging Ukrainians' assimilation into mainstream Canadian society, a form of counsel that did not always receive a welcome in his community.



It is likely that Cyril Genyk, Ukrainian translator and immigration agent, is one of the men present in this photograph of the immigration office at Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1907. All immigrants arriving at Winnipeg would have been processed and advised here. Those needing accommodation would have been sent on to the adjoining accommodation buildings. By the 1880s, Winnipeg was recognized as the centre for Dominion immigration services for the West. Source: William James Topley Collection, Library and Archives Canada, C-075993, MIKAN 3366031.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, as the number of European and Asian immigrants arriving at Canadian ports increased, the need for interpreters became more pressing. Genyk, who could communicate with immigrants speaking a variety of different European languages, was hired to represent the government to all immigrants passing through his jurisdiction. By contrast, interpreters of

Asian background serving in British Columbia were hired with the sole responsibility of interpreting with Japanese or Chinese immigrants. While these interpreters might be involved in a wide range of activities as a part of their duties, they were technically not supposed to be *managing* migration on behalf of the state. Positions of official power within the immigration system were generally reserved for “white” Canadians.

As biographical information on most of the interpreter-agents demonstrates, serving as an official of the Canadian state frequently put interpreters into awkward relationships with their own ethnic communities. Immigrants who could not communicate directly with the Anglo-Canadian officials who would determine their fate were reliant upon the honesty and goodwill of their interpreters. Some interpreters used their positions with the government to extort and coerce immigrants, which made them very unpopular with the resident immigrant communities. Interpreters could also make themselves unpopular by informing their superiors of illicit activities within these communities. David Lew (David Hung Chang), an interpreter who created many enemies as a result of how he abused his position as an intermediary between immigrants and the Canadian government, probably paid with his life when he was murdered in Vancouver in 1924. On the other hand, Lee Mong Kow, who served as the Chief Interpreter for Chinese immigrants from 1889 to 1920, seems to have weathered the storms associated with his efforts to straddle the two worlds of the Chinese immigrant community and the official Canadian culture. While he likely gained notoriety in some circles for informing the government about what he represented as prostitution rings in the Chinese community, his reputation for honesty and integrity in his work was well celebrated by members of his ethnic community as well as by his employers.

The immigration agents, interpreters, and other front-line workers in the state’s system of immigration reception played important roles in the establishment of immigrants’ earliest impressions of Canadian society. These state employees’ attitudes and actions towards the newcomers could confirm a newcomer’s sense of alienation, or support their expectation that they would be treated with dignity and compassion. As the following section will illustrate, the establishment and management of immigrant reception institutions could also influence how immigrants might understand their place in Canada.

Immigration Buildings

The earliest state-funded immigration offices, which were often merely ground level rented rooms in portside buildings, were established in conjunction with the hiring of full-time immigration agents. Over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the physical structures that were established by the state to receive immigrants at the most important immigration transition points in Canada evolved into multi-faceted reception centres. For example, the immigrant reception facilities that were opened in Toronto in 1870 consisted of seven buildings, each with their own administrative or service function, sprawled over six and a half acres of property. In the 1920s, the new reception facilities at Pier 21, in Halifax, and the revitalized institution at Saint John, New Brunswick, were featured in immigration recruitment literature as indicators of Canada's particularly enlightened attitude towards newcomers. Of special note in the promotional information was the fact that these institutions included separate children's nurseries, complete with cots, play spaces and state-of-the-art child and clothing washing facilities, all of which were managed in collaboration with the Red Cross.

In terms of the assistance given to immigrants at these buildings, the provision of temporary accommodation, free of charge, was often particularly significant. The physical process of migrating to Canada involved multiple stages, each of which might be delayed by the lack of direct routes and convenient travel schedules. As emigrants moved from home, to port of arrival in Canada, to their final Canadian destination, they found themselves in situations where temporary housing was required while they recovered from their previous travels and awaited the beginning of the next stage of their journey. In periods of unanticipated immigration crisis prior to the mid-nineteenth century, government authorities were sometimes forced to provide temporary accommodations because it was impossible for the local host communities to do so. In the case of the Loyalists who arrived in British North America during and after the American Revolution (1775-1783), tent encampments were established. As discussed above, immigrants arriving with epidemic diseases were housed at quarantine stations. But for the most part immigrants arriving in Canada prior to the middle

of the nineteenth century were expected to find their own accommodation while in transit.

As the number of immigrants arriving in Canada started to grow after 1815, an unregulated and sometimes fraudulent private industry was established around the need to find accommodations and transportation for these newcomers. At the same time, charitable community-based associations were established to offer assistance, including temporary accommodation, to the most needy and deserving of the immigrants. In the first half of the nineteenth century, some of these voluntary organisations drew funding from the government to build and maintain sheds for the accommodation of immigrants. It was only when the promotion and facilitation of large-scale immigration became a state priority after Confederation in 1867 that government-run accommodation facilities for immigrants became a standard part of official immigration services.

Government-operated hostels for in-transit immigrants (known as immigrant sheds in the nineteenth century, and then as immigrant halls) were established at the most important ship and train disembarkation sites across Canada in order of perceived need for their services. The earliest state-run immigrant hostels evolved out of the sheds that had been founded by charitable organisations in Quebec City, Montreal, Kingston, and York (Toronto) in the 1820s and 1830s. After Confederation, the responsibility of building and maintaining these institutions was fully assumed by the federal government, with the result that decisions about where they would be placed and how much financial support they would receive were made in Ottawa. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century there were state-run hostels for newly arrived immigrants scattered from one end of the country to the other.

These institutions, which performed a variety of functions beyond the obvious provision of temporary accommodation for newcomers, need to be understood in relation to the work of the immigrant agents described in the previous section. Typically, the buildings that contained the hostels were also the institutional centres of the immigration agents' work. These immigration buildings were the local level bureaucratic centres for the processing and implementing of new immigration policies. At ocean ports and at Canada-USA border locations they functioned as institutional points of entry into Canada,

where immigrants were questioned and physically examined before being permitted to continue their journeys. The immigration agents ran employment agencies, bringing local employers together with immigrant labourers. In parts of Canada where large swaths of land were still being allocated to newcomers, it was often at these institutions that the ownership paperwork would be processed.

In theory, immigrant sheds in the Atlantic Provinces, in Central Canada, in the Prairies, and in British Columbia were supposed to perform the same function. By providing free accommodation and bureaucratic assistance, they were meant to play an important supportive role in the Canadian state's efforts to stimulate and facilitate large-scale immigration and settlement, and to oversee the early stages of immigrants' proper acculturation to Canadian social norms. To a significant degree, immigrant sheds across the country did perform this function. But the ways in which they did so differed according to their placement within Canada's geographical, social and political landscapes. It was common knowledge that peopling the West was the federal government's priority. From Confederation, federal government settlement programmes favoured western expansion, and by the turn of the century the Prairie Provinces were the focus of large-scale promotional campaigns and extensive administrative investment. Investment into institutions designed to accommodate newcomers en route to Prairie destinations reflected this bias in that they received far more bureaucratic attention and financial investment than did institutions located in eastern parts of Canada where local governments desired to promote immigration, but could get little federal support for their immigration projects.

The contexts within which immigration buildings were located profoundly affected how they functioned and thus the sorts of experiences that immigrants would have had while located there. For example, the age of the community in which an immigration building might be located determined its relationship with its host community. In Canadian terms, Quebec City, Montreal and Saint John were relatively old, well-established communities with long histories of managing migrants by the turn of the twentieth century. While this did not ensure that immigrants would find well-run, comfortable hostels upon their arrival at these port cities, they could be sure that a formal structure of reception services, including some sort of state-funded tem-

porary accommodation, would be in place. The interaction between the residents of these urban centres and the people who temporarily occupied space at their immigration buildings was clearly defined by the early 1900s. Most of the immigration buildings' occupants were people who would move onwards to destinations south of the border or further into Canada. By the turn of the century, the inhabitants of these communities could assume that the immigrants would pass into and out of their city with minimal inconvenience to themselves. Unless the system broke down for some reason, the people of Saint John, Quebec City and Montreal had little interest in how these institutions were organised.

By contrast, the people who inhabited newly settled communities on the Prairies were fully aware of the problems associated with the need to house and manage incoming migrants. The experiences of people in Virden, Manitoba, and North Battleford, Saskatchewan, may be considered illustrative Prairie examples. The first settlement at Virden was established in 1882. After the railway arrived in 1883, immigrants began to arrive in large numbers. By 1906 an estimated 300 to 400 people per year were moving into the area, many of whom had nowhere to stay upon their arrival. The building of the railway through the North Battleford area in 1905 similarly set the agenda for immigration there. North Battleford grew astoundingly quickly, from village status to city in seven years. Some of the migrants moving into these communities en masse were sojourners, seasonal labourers who would move on at the onset of cold weather. Others were immigrants desirous of settling in the area. Both Virden and North Battleford in these early years lacked the sorts of government structures and public resources that could soften the impact of large-scale immigration.

The agents assigned to manage immigration in these sorts of environments leaned heavily upon a system of billeting immigrants with members of the resident community. Tired of billeting the immigrants, the locals tried to convince the government to support the establishment of purpose-run hostels. In the case of Virden, the community offered the government their abandoned schoolhouse for an immigration building if the government would commit to supplying wood and paying the necessary fire insurance. The community of North Battleford offered the government a variety of buildings for a hostel,



The government run immigration shed at Yonker, Saskatchewan. Source: Library and Archives Canada, PA 021217.

including a skating rink, a curling rink, and barracks abandoned by the North West Mounted Police. Even when the government made the decision to build structures designed specially to receive immigrants in these communities, the relief afforded to the locals and to the immigrants was short lived due to the continued pressure of numbers. Only five years after a new building had been opened in North Battleford it was found to be inadequate in terms of size and public health officials labelled it a serious health hazard. The problems relating to reception in that area were on a scale that would no longer be experienced at well-established urban centres further east.

The state's giving and withholding of funds for immigration reception facilities sometimes highlighted the fact that Canada's immigration policies were based upon racial and ethnic preferences. Those preferences could result in significant regional disparities. For example, in 1892 the federal government decided to close its accommodation centre for new immigrants in Vancouver and Victoria after a fact-finding session on the numbers, profiles, and intended destinations of those who used the facilities. Ten years later immigration

officials based in Ottawa rejected a new round of requests from Vancouver City for assistance in accommodating newcomers. During the same period, the federal government invested heavily into the immigration buildings at Saint John, New Brunswick. Whereas east coast Saint John experienced a series of upgrades in its accommodation facilities, the federal government's top immigration officials sent a clear message to the country's principle port city on the west coast that Ottawa would not solve the crisis resulting from overcrowded and under-funded facilities at Vancouver. The nature of Atlantic and Pacific migrations to Canada differed in many respects, but they especially differed in terms of the origins of their immigrant populations. For the most part, the east coast and St Lawrence entry points to Canada received immigrants from Europe; the west coast ports received large numbers of Asian immigrants against whom there was comparatively fierce, unguarded prejudice from most of the public and at all levels of government.

Demands by British immigrants, supported by government officials, that these institutions should both reflect and reinforce the ethnic hierarchies at play in Canadian society may be found in a variety of locations. At the immigration buildings situated at Halifax, Saint John and Winnipeg separate living spaces were provided for immigrants of British background so that they would not have to mingle with "foreigners." When trying to cut costs, government officials sacrificed the comforts of non-British immigrants first on the premise that they were less sensitive to deprivation than Britons. Gendered assumptions about the special needs of British women resulted in much more comfortable and visually attractive furnishings in their quarters. For example, unlike the British men and all "foreign" immigrants, British women did not sleep in bunk beds in their dormitories.

Access to government-funded services was also meted out in a discriminatory fashion, designed to reinforce the ultimate aims of the immigration programmes. Thus, for example, a Ukrainian family was denied access to the medical facilities usually provided for immigrants at Winnipeg because they had refused to leave the city and settle on the land. According to the Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg, the decision to refuse medical care was based upon the principle that government reception services should be reserved for immigrants who were behaving according to plan. Similar examples



A carefully staged photograph taken in the women's dormitory at the immigration sheds, Saint John, New Brunswick, 1920s. This was probably the British women's dormitory, as the beds are single cots rather than bunk beds. Source: Library and Archives Canada, C-045083, MIKAN 3624196. Photographer: Isaac Erb and Sons.

of heavy-handed efforts to impose particular destinations, lifestyles and occupations on newcomers may be found throughout the correspondence of government agents with their superiors in Ottawa. If the use of immigration buildings and the services they contained could be used to force immigrants into compliance, then immigration officials felt well within their mandate to do so.

Canada's immigrant reception buildings were physical embodiments of the centrality of large-scale immigration to the ongoing development of the Canadian nation. The experiences that immigrants had when using, or trying to use, the immigration facilities established at key points of arrival in Canada were designed to emphasise certain relationships between the state and new immigrants, and between different categories of immigrants. The meanings that immigrants gave these experiences would have depended upon the cultural and psychological baggage that they brought with them, and the range of experiences that were gained in the aftermath of that initial introduction to Canadian society and the Canadian state.

Conclusion

By the middle of the nineteenth century various government bodies in Canada had committed to providing a basic set of immigrant reception services. By the end of the century these services included the provision of a very rudimentary form of health care, protection and guidance in transit, and short-term accommodation at key ports and railway stations. The services provided by the state also included an increasingly bureaucratic management and recording of immigrants' movements.

Over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the state infrastructure associated with immigration grew exponentially. Yet from an individual immigrant's point of view, this growth of the state did not necessarily mean access to ever improving facilities and services. Specific government-funded reception services grew and shrank with the ebbs and flows of immigrating populations at particular locations, and with the changing priorities of government bodies. Moreover, immigrants were treated differently within the immigration reception system according to their race, ethnicity, religion, gender, and class. Ironically, those who had greatest need of the government's services were often the immigrants least likely to be favoured by the agents with whom they had to engage in order to receive those services.

The Canadian state's establishment of purpose-built institutions for the reception of immigrants at all key disembarkation points in Canada occurred within the context of a larger system of organisations – government, business and voluntary – that worked to facilitate and manage the movement of migrants. The fact that the state's own infrastructure grew over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not necessarily undermine the need for the services provided by businesses and voluntary organisations. Large numbers of newcomers made use of the services provided by the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Salvation Army, the Travellers' Aid Society, and various religious, ethnic and women's organisations, all of which worked closely (though sometimes discontentedly) with the government's immigration agencies. Transportation companies such as the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Canadian National Railway and some of the larger shipping com-

panies worked so closely with the Canadian government on particular aspects of managing immigration that they almost functioned as arms of the state.

Just as it is important to contextualise the state-run reception facilities within the larger field of reception services provided by businesses and voluntary organisations, so too it is useful to understand the larger international context of Canada's work with immigrants. Immigration buildings of the sort that were established across Canada during the second half of the nineteenth century were not exclusively Canadian constructs. Facilities such as these were used in a wide array of locations experiencing mass immigration during this period. The Canadian government frequently looked south of the border to find models that could be used, and lessons that could be learned, regarding the management of these institutions. But it also worked within a British Empire-wide system of migration management, where the use of hostels for the reception and processing of incoming migrants was standard.

Immigration officials kept tabs on the immigration work being performed in other places through direct correspondence with their American and overseas counterparts, through the collection of news articles, and through the insights of their agents at work in other countries. They also worked with an extensive network of voluntary organisations and businesses involved in the promotion of international migration to ensure that Canada's international reputation would be as positive as possible. The government was especially concerned about Canada comparing favourably with regions that competed for immigrants with the sorts of socio-economic profiles considered most desirable in Canada (notably, British and western or northern Europeans, farmers, and domestic servants). Within the highly competitive field of international migration, the quality of a nation's reception services could make a difference.

From the onset of the Great Depression until after the Second World War, the Canadian government invested little in the way of financial or human resources into helping newcomers to manage the migration and settlement process. Immigration almost dried up completely during the 1930s and early 1940s, and the few immigrants who did arrive faced deportation if they demonstrated a need for state support. When Canada opened up again to large-scale immigration after

the Second World War, government officials charged with overseeing immigration reception drew upon institutional memory for direction. Medical inspection facilities were re-established, immigration agents were again hired in large numbers to document and inform incoming migrants, and social services were reinstated and expanded to answer the needs of newcomers who had lived through the horrors of war.

When the mass migrations of Europe's displaced persons began to be overshadowed by the large-scale migration of people who were more obviously stimulated by economic incentives in the 1960s, and then as travel to Canada was increasingly likely to be via airplane rather than by ship, the Canadian state's priorities in terms of reception work began to shift again, this time away from hands-on support and more firmly towards the selection, documentation and regulation of newcomers. Those aspects of reception work that lower-income newcomers often found most valuable upon arrival in Canada – the short-term accommodation and associated on-site information bureau – began to disappear. By the latter part of the twentieth century, only state-sponsored refugees would be offered temporary accommodation, but that accommodation would increasingly be located in motels and low-end hotels rather than government facilities. By the end of the twentieth century, the Canadian government had again off-loaded most of the work of receiving newcomers onto fee-for service business partners and charitable non-government organisations.

Further Reading

Receiving Canada's Immigrants: The Work of the State Before 1930

Studies useful for gaining a general overview of the state's management of immigration in Canada include Lisa Chilton and Yukari Takai, "East Coast, West Coast: Using Government Sources to Study Immigration History," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 47:93 (May 2015): 7-23; Lisa Chilton, "Managing Migrants: Toronto, 1820-1880," *Canadian Historical Review*, 92:2 (June 2011): 231-62; Helen I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America: The First Hundred Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961); Freda Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988 [1972]); Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Dundurn, 2007); Robert Vineberg, "Welcoming Immigrants at the Gateway to Canada's West: Immigration Halls in Winnipeg, 1872-1975," *Manitoba History*, 65 (Winter 2011):14-22; and Robert Vineberg, *Responding to Immigrants' Settlement Needs: The Canadian Experience* (New York: Springer, 2012). For the period following the Second World War, Franca Iacovetta's book, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006) is essential reading. The immigrant reception work performed by the Canadian government is also well presented in the on-line and physical presentations on display at the Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Halifax: See <https://www.pier21.ca/home>.

Histories of the immigration of specific categories of immigrants (women, children, or temporary workers, for example), or immigrants belonging to specific ethnic groups, often pay some attention to the state's reception work. Booklets in the Canadian Historical Association's "Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada" series can be a good starting place for information about the state's management of incoming migrants. For examples of works that address the reception of special categories of immigrants within specific ethnic groups, see

Franca Iacovetta, "Ordering in Bulk: Canada's Postwar Immigration Policy and the Recruitment of Contract Workers from Italy," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 11:1 (1991): 50-80; and Noula Mina, "Taming and Training Greek 'Peasant Girls' and the Gendered Politics of Whiteness in Postwar Canada: Canadian Bureaucrats and Immigrant Domestic Workers, 1950s-1960s," *Canadian Historical Review* 94:4 (December 2013): 514-539. A good example of a study that focuses upon the complicated roles that could be played by state-employed intermediaries, see Lisa Rose Mar, *Brokering Belonging: Chinese in Canada's Exclusion Era, 1885-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010). For information concerning the management of female migrants, see Lisa Chilton, "Female Immigrants and the Canadian state, 1860s through the 20th century," in John Belshaw, *Canadian History: Post-Confederation* (Vancouver & Victoria: BCcampus OpenEd, 2015), and Rebecca Mancuso, "Work 'Only a Woman Can Do': The Women's Division of the Canadian Department of Immigration and Colonization," *The American Review of Canadian Studies* (Winter 2005): 593-620.

For information concerning the state's medical interventions in the lives of in-coming migrants, see Bruce Curtis, "Social Investment in Medical Forms: The Cholera Scare and Beyond," *Canadian Historical Review* 81:3 (2000): 347-379; Ian Dowbiggin, *Keeping America Sane: Psychiatry and Eugenics in the United States and Canada, 1880-1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); Fiona Alice Miller, "Making Citizens, Banishing Immigrants: The Discipline of Deportation Investigations, 1908- 1913," *Left History* 7:1 (2000): 62-88; Walter Sendzik, "The 1832 Montreal Cholera Epidemic: A Study in State Formation" (M.A. thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1997); Isabel Wallace, "Komagata Maru Revisited: "Hindus, Hookworm, and the Guise of Public Health Protection," *BC Studies* 178 (Summer 2013): 33-50.

Marianna O'Gallagher's book, *Grosse Isle: Gateway to Canada 1832-1937* (Quebec: Livres Carraig Books, 1984), remains the most comprehensive work on the quarantine station off of Quebec City to date. Mark McGowan's booklet, *Creating Canadian Historical Memory: The Case of the Famine Migration of 1847* (Canada's Ethnic Group Series, Booklet No. 30, Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 2006), provides a fascinating historiographical perspective on this history. For information concerning quarantine work at Halifax, see Ian Cameron, *Quarantine, What is Old is New: Halifax and the Lawlor's Is-*

land Quarantine Station: 1866-1938 (Halifax: New World Publishing, 2007); and concerning British Columbia's quarantine work, see Peter Johnson, *Quarantined: Life and Death at William Head Station, 1872-1959* (Vancouver: Heritage House, 2013).

Studies of the state's efforts to secure Canada's borders against "undesirable" immigrants include Christopher Anderson, *Canadian Liberalism and the Politics of Border Control, 1867-1967* (Toronto and Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012); Donald Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896-1994* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995); Bradley Miller, "A carnival of crime on our border': International Law, Imperial Power, and Extradition in Canada, 1865-1883," *Canadian Historical Review* 90: 4 (Dec. 2009): 639-69; and Barbara Roberts, *Whence They Came: Deportation from Canada, 1900-1935* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988).

IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY IN CANADA

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