

THE GERMANS



IN CANADA

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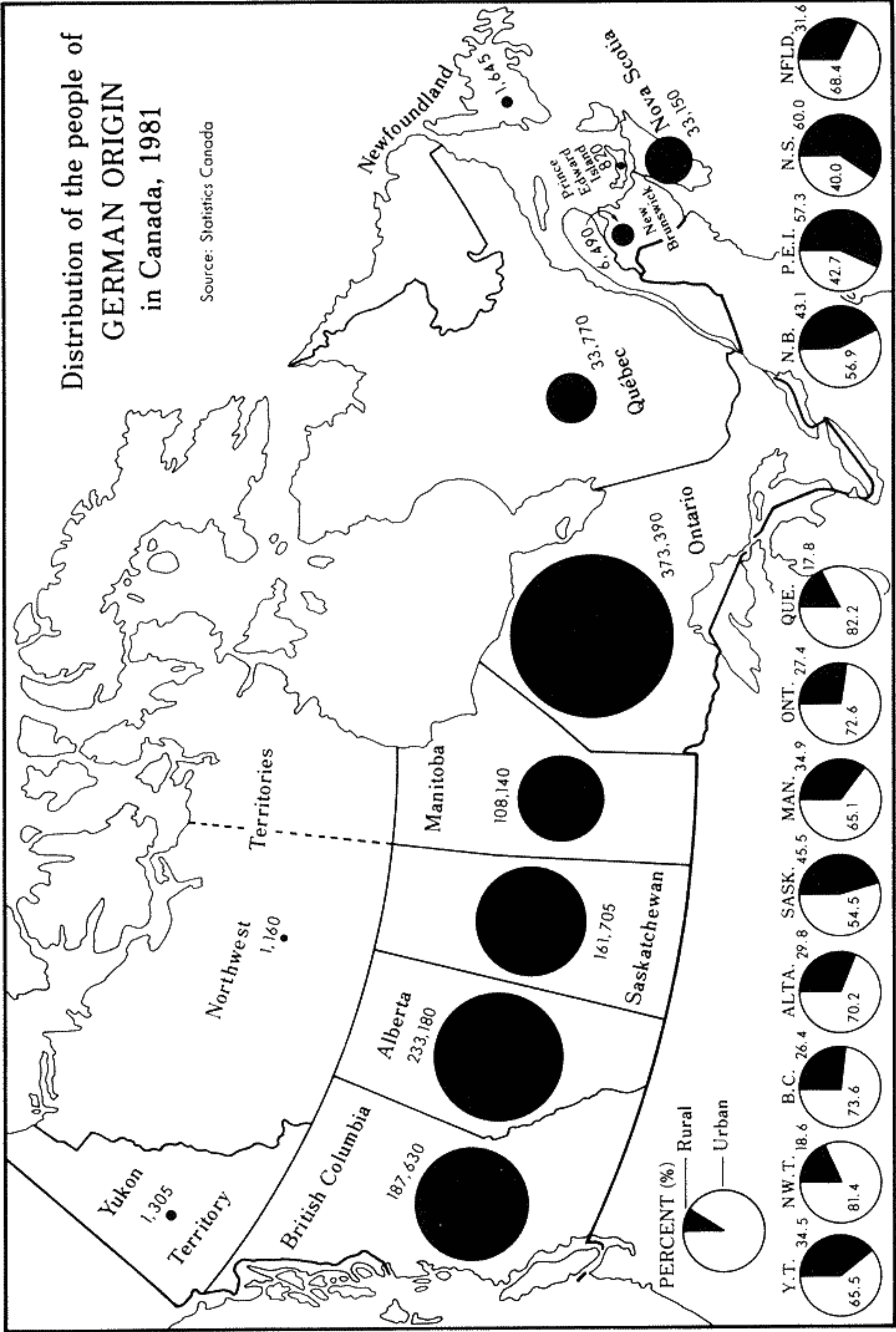
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Distribution of the people of GERMAN ORIGIN in Canada, 1981

Source: Statistics Canada



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I — The German Background

Immigration studies tend to divide immigrants and their experiences in Canada into the categories of old and new immigrants. What is especially interesting about the Germans is that they are both. Germans were present in Canada even before the British conquest in 1759 and they were an integral part of British colonial life in Canada. They were with Cornwallis at the founding of Halifax in 1749 and with Wolfe at Quebec in 1759 and German Loyalists fought on Britain's side in the American War of Independence, helping to create the new provinces of New Brunswick and Upper Canada. They were at the Red River in 1820s, establishing St. Boniface as a German parish, and in British Columbia as settlers and merchants in the 1857 gold rush. By Confederation the Germans comprised 70 percent of the non-British and non-French population of Canada. Although this figure has declined in the face of large scale immigration in the twentieth century, the Germans have remained the third largest ethnic group in Canada, rarely outnumbered as immigrants to Canada in any decade since Confederation except by those from the British Isles.

The shifting geo-political boundaries of the German states prior to their unification and the twentieth-century conflicts between nationalism and ethnicity have played havoc with the concept of a common German identity. Until the creation of modern Germany in 1871 most German-speaking immigrants to Canada came from within the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire, although a significant number came only after first emigrating to the United States. Many did not possess a strong sense of German nationalism, particularly such groups as the Mennonites whose religious dissent and pacifism in sixteenth-century Europe had forced them into exile from the Holy Roman Empire. After 1871 most German immigrants to Canada did not come from within the boundaries of the German state at all, but primarily from German-speaking settlements in Russia, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia.

The first wave of German-speaking immigrants who crossed the Atlantic to settle in the British North American provinces had come from the area in Europe generally designated as "Germany", but more properly defined as "Mitteleuropa". Although technically under the reign of the Holy Roman Emperor, this area had proved too vast for a single ruler to dominate and the Holy Roman Empire had become a congregation of ecclesiastical states; petty declining dukedoms; independent, commercial city-states; another empire (the Hapsburg); and the rising state of Prussia. The Protestant Reformation, following the alleged posting of Martin Luther's famous theses, had further eroded any semblance of unity and put "Germany" into a state of decay. The Wars of Religion (1618-48) confirmed the supremacy of the 300 odd chieftains and their nobles within their states at the expense of the imperial idea and led to extensive internal migration as people moved to live with their co-religionists. They also devastated the economy with the result that a middle class was slow to develop (except in a few of the smaller states in the west) and the demographic increase of the eighteenth century could not be absorbed in the cities as it was in England. Moreover, during the eighteenth century Prussia and Austria struggled to dominate central Europe. That Prussia was Lutheran and Austria Catholic inten-

sified this rivalry. Political divisions, economic difficulties, religious intolerance, and war thus provided strong incentives for emigration to North America.

The French Revolutionary and the Napoleonic wars intensified these pressures. The western German states, more urban, literate, and middle class, at first tended to welcome the Revolutionary ideals of France and the United States, while Prussia and Austria remained adamantly opposed to them. Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine united Germany politically but under "foreign" rule, which came to be resented and led to a rise in German national feeling, especially after Prussia's defeat at *Jena* in 1806. As fortunes shifted in the war, Germans were conscripted first to fight for Napoleon, and then against him. The defeat of Napoleon initiated a period of political reaction in Europe, symbolized by the Treaty of Vienna (1815), which restored traditional rulers in many areas and gave reactionary Prussia and Austria effective control within the new, loose confederation of German states. Political reaction combined with economic problems — especially the threat of cheap industrial goods which undermined the position of German artisans — to create unrest. Despite the evolution of a customs union among the German states, in the 1840s increased population pressure, recurring crop failures, poor harvests and the potato blight led to starvation and poverty in many of the south German states. The result was the creation of a class of landless, often desperate people — the *Auswanderer* (emigrants). When a banking failure in Vienna combined with the crop failures, the fuse of revolution was lit throughout Europe, spreading from west to east in 1848. Not coincidentally, it was during this period of political and economic difficulties that German immigration to North America reached its peak.

Between 1846 and 1851 more than half a million people left Germany. Political unrest after the 1848 revolutions heightened the migratory impulse and in the three years between 1853 and 1855, 500,000 people left annually, almost all of them for the United States. Few chose Canada since they knew little about the British colonies, lacking even a general knowledge of their basic geography. Direct transportation had been unavailable and shipping agents in Liverpool frequently misled non-English-speaking immigrants. The failure of agriculture in the south German states, however, forced the governments of Wurttemberg, Baden and Hesse to abandon their traditional opposition to emigration in the face of the unprecedented scale of poverty. The previously illegal operation of shipping agents, brokers, and immigration and colonization societies was not only officially admitted, but encouraged and facilitated and British North America was advertised for the first time. Beginning in 1848 there were departures from Bremen to Quebec and by the mid-1850s a German immigration agent had arrived at the port of Quebec. The Quebec route, however, continued to suffer by virtue of its association with Liverpool. The expense of the Hamburg and Bremen route to Quebec also restricted the number of immigrants; in the 1856 shipping season, for example, only 438 passengers came from Bremen and 3,188 from Hamburg. The lack of readily-available inexpensive land in Canada in the 1850s also discouraged those immigrants who did arrive.

The majority of the Germans arriving at this time were farmers who had cultivated their own land in Germany or small shopkeepers and artisans. In Baden, Wurttemberg, the Rhenish Palatinate, Hessen-Darmstadt and Hessen-Kessel in the southwest as well as Hanover, Oldenburg, Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg in northwestern Germany, a large part of the land-owning population stood

on the verge of hunger. Emigration allowed them to preserve or to improve their social and economic status. The continued predominance of the German guild system, which bound most of the skilled craftsmen to the workshop of their master and severely restricted both economic and social mobility also ensured a continuing emigration of skilled craftsmen. Most of the German immigrants reached Canada with some savings of their own and many were able to acquire land or to establish themselves in a trade. Rarely were German immigrants subject to the poverty, disease and despair which characterized so many of the Irish famine immigrants of this period.

The number of immigrants directly from Germany remained very low in comparison to the awesome figures of those emigrating to the United States. Although the American Civil War disrupted immigration and the 1868-1870 wars in Europe retarded the exodus of people from the German States, the 1880s witnessed a movement of population from Germany in previously unimaginable numbers. While the industrial expansion in Germany after the mid-1880s provided new employment opportunities, cyclical unemployment in the 1890s and again at the turn of the century resulted in a massive migration to North America. For the period between the unification of Germany in 1871 and the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 American records indicate the arrival of 3,163,747 German immigrants. By comparison, during the same period only 39,900 emigrants from Germany chose British North America as their destination.

The overwhelming attraction of the United States was related to the tie of families that had emigrated previously as well as to the dream of economic prosperity. At the same time, it remained difficult to make prospective German emigrants aware of Canadian opportunities. When Sir Charles Tupper, Canada's High Commissioner to Great Britain, visited Germany in 1883, at a time when 200,000 Germans were emigrating annually to the United States, he discovered that Canada was still practically unknown to European steam ship agents. Furthermore, agents of foreign countries were not allowed to solicit immigrants. The Hamburg-American line, sailing directly to New York, controlled 94 percent of the emigration, leaving little opportunity for contact with Canada. Since the German government, supported by a strong nativist press and by large landowners in districts where immigration had been heaviest, was strongly opposed to emigration, advertising that openly encouraged emigration was prohibited. German steamship agents also hesitated to book passengers to Canada by indirect steamship lines since their licences stated explicitly that they had to book passengers to North America by the "direct" route, which generally excluded Canada. It is perhaps not surprising under these circumstances that many of the Germans who settled in the Canadian West came as members of religious groups — as Lutherans, Baptists, Mennonites or Roman Catholics — after a considerable period of residence in the United States.

Following World War I, a third wave of German-speaking immigrants came to Canada. Some were German nationals but most came from the agricultural areas of eastern Europe that were not part of Germany and many were political refugees. The vast majority were agricultural labourers and they settled predominantly in rural parts of Canada. During the great depression of the 1930s the number of German immigrants declined to a trickle but after World War II a fourth wave surged across the Atlantic. In the 1950s Germans formed nearly 15 percent of all the immigrants to Canada. Since East Germany prohibited

immigration, the immigrants came overwhelmingly from the Federal Republic of Germany and many possessed high levels of education and technical skills. As the German economy recovered in the post-war period, the number of Germans coming to Canada declined but they continued to form a significant proportion of the total number of western European immigrants.

II — The First-Wave: German Immigration, 1749-1870

Although a handful of Germans served in the military establishments of both New France and Louisbourg, the first wave of immigrants to Canada was recruited by the British Government. In 1749 the British decided to establish a major naval base at Halifax and a permanent settlement to support the rudimentary fortifications. Displeased at the calibre of British settlers, Colonel Edward Cornwallis, aware of the success of the German-speaking immigrants at other settlements within Britain's maritime colonies, petitioned the British Government to recruit "foreign Protestants" from Switzerland and Germany. Known to be skilled agriculturalists, loyal to the Hanoverian monarch, and as Protestants impervious to the blandishments of French Catholicism, German settlers under the English flag would mean political ascendancy in the struggle to gain absolute control over the Atlantic region. The German settlers were given the same rights and privileges in Nova Scotia as His Majesty's natural born subjects and by 1750 several hundred "Germans" had disembarked from ships in Halifax harbour. They had come from a number of German states, although mainly from the central and south German states of the Palatinate, the Duchy of Wurttemberg, the Landgravates of Hesse, and several smaller states near the river Main. Over the next two years, 1,825 German-speaking colonists arrived in Halifax. Many were people of little means who had signed contracts for their passage and were set to work as labourers to help build the fortifications. In the spring of 1753 many of them were resettled down the coast from Halifax along the South Shore to Lunenburg. The Gottingen Street district and St. George's Church, however, attest to the continued German presence in Nova Scotia's capital.

Taken downshore to Lunenburg by a flotilla of chartered New England vessels, the new German settlers soon became economically viable and expanded their influence as far inland as New Germany and along the coast to Liverpool. With an agricultural hinterland, Lunenburg was economically self-sufficient, but the community was isolated from subsequent waves of immigration from Germany. Without a continuing flow of German-speaking immigrants, without German teachers for their schools or German-speaking preachers for their churches, the settlers at Lunenburg inevitably began to be assimilated into the English culture. There was a tendency at a very early date to Anglicize certain German names and the architecture of the German settlements of Lunenburg county, although distinctive, reflected the dominant English colonial taste common to the other British colonies along the Atlantic coast. Within a century of their leaving Europe, German settlers in Lunenburg were transformed from agrarian peasants to successful commercial fishermen, from German speaking to heavily accented English speaking citizens, sustaining a Lutheran oasis in what would become a predominantly Baptist and Anglican area of Nova Scotia. Lunenburg county Germans would come to lose even a clear sense of their European origins and assume a new world identity. By the twentieth century only a rapidly dis-

appearing accent (which seemed to draw as much from New England as Old Germany), and a few distinct culinary products, the occasional Bible in German script and a fierce spirit of independence remained to betray their German origin.

The dismemberment of the first British Empire by the American Revolution created the circumstances that led to a renewed German immigration to the British colonies in North America and made possible new German inland settlements in New Brunswick and Upper and Lower Canada. As many as one-third of the United Empire Loyalists arriving in Upper Canada were German-speaking. Many had been involved in the fighting in upper New York State either as Hessian mercenaries or with Butler's Rangers and the Royal Yorkers under John Johnson. Settling in scattered areas along Lakes Ontario and Erie, these Loyalists received land grants from the Crown as a reward for military service. The largest number of German-speaking settlers to move into Upper Canada in the aftermath of the Revolution, however, were neither Loyalists nor soldiers, but pacifists from Pennsylvania. Descended from the early German immigrants from the Palatinate area of Germany or from the German Swiss who had migrated to Pennsylvania to join William Penn and the Quaker settlement, they were attracted to Upper Canada by the prospect of uncleared, inexpensive land and an opportunity to practice their religion freely while retaining their traditional exemption from bearing arms. Known as the Pennsylvania Germans or sometimes Pennsylvania Dutch, they were generally members of the dissenting religious sects such as the Amish, Dunkers, and Quakers, and most prominently the Mennonites.

The Pennsylvania Germans had stoutly resisted cultural absorption into the colonial American mainstream. With close family, religious and regional ties, they were characterized by a strong cultural conservatism. Although there is no evidence that they were persecuted in the United States, they were criticized for their failure to support the American War of Independence and they welcomed the opportunity to create their own settlements in the new British territories. The migrations of the Pennsylvania Germans covered half a century from the mid-1780s to the 1830s. Settling first near Niagara in Welland County, in Dundas, and as far along Lake Ontario as the Bay of Quinte, they quickly and quietly established their prowess as agriculturalists. In 1805 the Mennonites also purchased a major bloc of more than 60,000 acres along the banks of the Grand River. Known as the German Company Tract, this land and the surrounding townships became a major German-speaking settlement in the heart of the British lands of Upper Canada. The strong ethnocentric drive of the Mennonites prevented the assimilation of this part of the province in the decades to come.

Like Edward Cornwallis in Halifax, John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, invited these German settlers because he believed that they would make a significant contribution to the economic stability of his fledgling colony and could be counted on to remain loyal to the British monarch. Advertising for settlers in Pennsylvania, Simcoe also attracted the attention of William von Mall Berczy, who had set out from Germany in 1793 with more than one hundred settlers and who had landed in the state of New York. Berczy brought his followers to Upper Canada where they constructed Yonge Street, the first north-south road and the gateway for the future economic development of the province. Their settlement in the upper reaches of York county flourished and confirmed the Germans' reputation as pioneers, while Berczy became a

much sought-after architect, engineer, and landscape and portrait painter.

Again war would directly influence the destiny of the Germans in the British American colonies. The economic dislocation in Europe caused by the long Napoleonic wars, the social upheaval in the aftermath of peace, and major changes in the landholding practices in the German states forced many small farmers off their traditional lands. Skilled craftsmen and artisans found their economic and social status threatened. The beginning of industrial development and economic concentration, combined with the decline of artisanal trades, and the weakening of the "hometown" economic system, especially in the southwest, created a mood of unease and uncertainty in the German states. Many others were also simply weary of war. The result was an unprecedented migration from the German states to North America. More than six million would migrate to the "New World" in the century between 1815 and 1914.

Many Germans who set out on the perilous thirteen week crossing by sail to North America were young, single men seeking to avoid military conscription. Often, however, entire families emigrated, selling their land and paying their own passages. Far from being destitute, many had decided to emigrate in order to preserve or enhance their social status. Arriving mainly in New York and Philadelphia, these German agriculturalists, artisans and craftsmen journeyed toward the American mid-west. A few, learning about the availability of land in Upper Canada in areas where the German language was spoken, crossed the Niagara River near Buffalo for the newly developing settlements near Waterloo township. Others continued on to Pennsylvania and there joined with German-Americans coming to the British province. There appears to be no religious or socio-economic pattern behind the migration to Upper Canada; German Lutherans tended to predominate but German-speaking Roman Catholics also came in significant numbers. One result of their arrival was that by 1833 the area surrounding the original German Company Tract was cleared and settled, a German newspaper had been initiated and a variety of German religious congregations formed. In the midst of this activity the central village in the original Mennonite settlement was re-named Berlin to commemorate the presence of so many newcomers from Germany.

German immigrants arriving at the port of Quebec were routinely re-directed to Ontario and particularly to the German speaking community at Berlin. The presence there of German newspapers, German schools and the major German religious congregations — Lutheran and Roman Catholic, Mennonite and Evangelical — did much to ease the adjustment to life in British North America. The possibility of acquiring agricultural land in the nearby townships led to the creation of new German settlements in Grey, Bruce and Perth counties. Villages such as Breslau, Petersburg, Baden and New Hamburg soon developed to the east and west of Berlin along the line of the Grand Trunk railway, providing opportunities for German artisans and craftsmen. These new German immigrants dramatically changed the urban characteristics of Berlin. A village of some 1,000 inhabitants in 1853, Berlin soon accommodated more than 100 tradesmen and artisans. This wave of immigration resulted in the rapid development of a diversified economy built on the often unique skills and trades brought by the immigrants. They also gave the town a predominantly conservative social attitude, a remarkable degree of religious toleration and an unusually strong sense of local loyalty reinforced by the belief that one's personal identity was not

related to the abstract concept of the nation state, but found in the life of a familiar community.

By Confederation a preponderance of Ontario's Germans — 115,189 of 158,108 or 72.8 percent — and nearly 60 percent of all the Germans in Canada had come to live near Waterloo county. Berlin and the surrounding counties seemed to be overwhelmingly Germanic. Berlin's Germans dominated the town's economic and political life and incoming German immigrants were easily absorbed into the cultural ethos of the community, proudly electing Hugo Kranz a German immigrant to Berlin in the 1850s as their Mayor in 1869 and as the first 'German' Member of Parliament at Ottawa in 1878.

The Germans in Ontario had no reason to suspect that the emphasis on their unique German culture might come into conflict with a pan-Britannic vision of Canada's future. Quite the opposite was true. German virtues and the German presence in Canada were openly praised and the German community encouraged to retain its cultural separateness. During a vice-regal visit to Berlin, "Canada's German capital", the Governor-General, the Marquis of Lorne, and his wife, the Princess Louise, spoke with lavish praise of the German character and of the German fatherland and reminded the audience of their relationship to the ruling family of Imperial Germany. Indeed, the consanguinity of the German and British Royal families seemed to assure the place of the Germans in Canada. In this benign context German culture appeared to flourish. *Saengerfeste* (song festivals) were regularly held, drawing together thousands of Germans from across the province and the neighbouring American states, and the works of such great German composers as Handel and Mendelssohn were frequently performed. *Turnvereine* (sports clubs) and similar institutions were commonplace. German newspapers had been available since the 1830s and even in 1900 more than 80 percent of Berlin's population worshipped their God in the German language.

The waning of German immigration to Ontario, however, resulted in the creation of a community that contained many who were still German-speaking, but who had never known Germany. Daily newspapers in the English language came to take the place of the German weeklies and the German language in the schools gradually declined. In the 1890s two nationalistic German papers failed to sustain even a minimum subscription; only the *Berliner Journal*, which eschewed all forms of intense German nationalism and emphasized its concern for German Canadians, survived. After 1870, as German immigrants flowed into the Canadian west, Ontario gradually lost its pre-eminence as a centre of German culture.

III — The Second Wave: Western Settlement 1870-1914

The opening for settlement of Manitoba and the western lands in the 1870s attracted a new and significant wave of German-speaking settlers quite different in background and experience from those who had settled in the eastern provinces. For the new Dominion of Canada, the settlement of the western lands was an essential part of the nation-building process begun at Confederation. The Dominion Lands Act of 1872 provided generous terms for permanent settlers and, not surprisingly, the Canadian government looked once again to the Germans as prospective immigrants. In the United States and in Canada, the Germans possessed an enviable reputation for success both as pioneers and as

agriculturalists. The Macdonald government was convinced that Germans were particularly well-suited to the challenges of Western settlement. In addition, they were members of the northern, Teutonic 'race' and they were related to the British by the blood-line of the Royal family.

As part of its program for western settlement, in 1872 the Macdonald government appointed William Hespeler, a native of Baden and a successful Canadian businessman, as a special Immigration Agent in Germany. On behalf of the Canadian government, Hespeler was authorized to travel to Berlin and to the Ukraine in order to investigate the possibility of bringing large numbers of German-speaking settlers to Canada. With permission from the German government, he successfully recruited in Alsace and Lorraine, where the ravages of the Franco-Prussian war had been especially severely felt and whence immigrants to Canada had come in the past. In 1872 he travelled to the Ukraine, where leaders of a Mennonite colony in Southern Russia had asked the British monarch for the provision for land in Canada. Hespeler also visited settlements of German Lutherans and German-speaking Hutterites in Bessarabia, Cherson and the Crimea peninsula in the hope of inducing them to come to Canada. In 1873 a group of Mennonite delegates crossed the ocean under Hespeler's leadership. By 1874, 284 Mennonites had settled in Manitoba and by the end of the decade more than 7,000 had taken out land. In 1882 the German Emperor Wilhelm I formally appointed Hespeler German Consul in the province of Manitoba to attend to the interests of the Emperor's German subjects emigrating to the Canadian west. By 1900 some 25,000 German-speaking settlers had taken up residence in western Canada and by 1914 there were 151,900. Ontario now contained fewer than half of Canada's German-speaking subjects.

What made Canada particularly appealing to the Mennonites was the Canadian government's willingness to set aside large areas of land where they could settle as a community, retaining their language, their religion and an exemption from military service. They were also promised control of their own schools and transportation credits from Hamburg to Fort Garry of up to \$35.00 per adult. The land reserve set aside for the original Mennonite settlers, containing 8 townships, was located in southern Manitoba. In 1874 they applied for a subsequent bloc settlement and a reserve containing 17 townships was officially created by Order-in-Council. By 1890 the Mennonites had outgrown the land available in Manitoba and had also been rent by internal religious dissensions and divisions. Fearing their emigration to the United States, the Canadian government set aside a second large area, comprising 42 townships, near Rosthern, 40 miles north of Saskatoon.

The complexity of the German ethnic identity of these early western settlements was evident in the 1886 census of Manitoba. Although the number of settlers of German ethnic origin in the province was 11,086, only 528 listed their place of birth as Germany. More than 5,724 had been born in Russia and Poland while 2,322 had been Americans by birth. The German-speaking Mennonites from Russia had been joined by Mennonites from the states of Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota and the Dakotas and successful group settlements and abundant groups resulted in a further influx of Mennonites and German Lutherans from the United States. The German Lutherans, who took up land at Walderssea at the southern tip of Lake Manitoba and who were originally from Galicia, were joined by other Lutherans from the Crimea, East Prussia and Vohynia.

German-speaking Roman Catholics from southern Russia also began homesteading in the prairies; they began the group settlement which led ultimately to the formation of the German American Land Company which entered into an agreement with the Dominion Government. A bloc comprising 50 townships was set aside for them and another 108,000 acres were purchased from the North Saskatchewan Land Company. German Catholic settlers were also attracted by extensive advertising in German papers in the United States; in fact, fewer than 10 percent of the settlers in the German Catholic colonies probably came directly from Germany and the average settler had spent twenty years or more in the United States before emigrating to Canada.

The development of these German-speaking colonies along religious rather than strictly nationalistic lines differentiated the Germans from those ethnic groups for whom a national church became a hallmark of ethnic identity in the face of the forces of assimilation. As religious distinctions became less meaningful, the necessity of maintaining the German language and German customs seemed less critical than for many other ethnic groups in the west. Since so many settlers had come from the United States or from outside the boundaries of Germany, most of them were only marginally involved in Imperial German social questions, intellectual trends or politics.

Because of their predominance in the rural areas of Canada's western provinces, the tendency is to overlook the numerous Germans who settled in the major cities of the west such as Winnipeg, Regina and Calgary. Each city had its immigrant section, named "Germantown" as the Germans were often the first as well as the largest of the ethnic groups to settle in the cities. By 1911 Winnipeg's German population was 8,912 or 6.5 percent of the city's total. Although Calgary's German population was only 2,608 in 1911, this represented 6.0 percent and was the largest non-British segment of the society. The Germantown sections of these cities were often intolerable slums. In Regina's "East End" members of some 22 separate nationalities were packed into an area 6 blocks square. Here in dwellings that were little more than shacks immigrants lived in the squalor of filth and disease whilst struggling to adapt to life in Canada.

On the other hand, the pattern of settlement in British Columbia more clearly resembles the experience of Germans in Ontario. As in Ontario, the Germans were the largest non-Anglo Saxon group in the province. German settlers were an integral part of the first major emigration to British Columbia in 1857. Most were from southwest Germany and often they were shopkeepers and merchants or skilled artisans. German immigrants continued to arrive in the 1860s and 1870s, frequently taking out land as pioneer settlers in the interior of the province. Others quickly became part of the urban middle class, first in Victoria and then in Vancouver. German businessmen, shopkeepers, artisans and professionals brought with them much-needed skills and trades which flourished as the province developed. German clubs and ethnic organizations soon followed. The *Germania Sing Verein* in Vancouver, much like Berlin's Concordia Club, encouraged the development of a strong German musical and cultural tradition and also became a notable social club, transcending ethnic boundaries. Throughout the period before the World War I, British Columbians of German ancestry were prominent in the province's social and political life and were part of its small establishment. Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken was one of those who brought the province into Confederation. Others became wealthy merchants,

business leaders and educators.

Unlike Ontario, British Columbia continued to receive significant numbers of German immigrants in the early years of the twentieth century. Germans and their culture were both welcomed and encouraged. Members of the German ethnic group moved into positions of leadership in the society of British Columbia. Some married into the province's "old families"; others were members of prominent German aristocratic families, bringing with them close connections with Imperial Germany. In Vancouver, German investment bankers, German Barons and German Counts entertained expansively. Only a serious economic slump on the German stock exchange in 1911 followed by the major international crises preceding the war marked the beginning of the end of this most remarkable era. Canada's declaration of war against Germany in August 1914 completed it.

When Queen Victoria died in 1901, nothing seemed more distant than a conflict between the British and the German empires. In Berlin, Ontario both Victoria's and the Kaiser's birthdays were civic holidays, and both *Die Wach am Rhein* (The Watch on the Rhine) and God Save the Queen were played at every festive occasion. A statute to Kaiser Wilhelm stood resplendent in the town's newly created Victoria Park, a visible focus of the memories of the greatness of the fatherland. In February 1914, past and future mayors and parliamentarians gathered in Berlin to raise their glasses in a toast to Wilhelm II of Germany's 55th birthday. This was the last birthday party for the Kaiser in Canada's German capital. As the war clouds darkened in Europe in the summer of 1914, a shadow was cast upon Berlin and upon Canada's Germans.

IV — The Third Wave, 1914-1939

The Great War 1914-1918 marked an end to the age of innocence for Canada's Germans. From being a much favoured people within the nation, overnight they were villified as the enemy. This was a war not just against Germany, but against "Germanness", and it was no longer possible to be both a German and a Canadian. Indeed, German-Canadians no longer felt at ease speaking in their mother tongue. German-language church services were halted and the Canadian government moved to suppress all German language newspapers across the country. German schools were immediately closed. It was no longer possible to proclaim as W.H. Breithaupt had in 1916 in Berlin, Ontario, that "we are Germans and proud of it". Within a few months Berlin, Ontario, in fact, ceased to exist; it was renamed Kitchener, after Britain's famous general in the war against Germany. In Western Canada the names of Koblenz, Bremen, Prussia and Kaiser also disappeared from the map. The sense of pride in being German was replaced by feelings of anxiety and uneasiness. Immigration from Germany ceased abruptly and before the war's end some 8,500 German-Canadians and Austro-Hungarians would be interned.

The legacy of the war was sharply illustrated in the 1921 census by the unwillingness of many Canadians to admit their German origin. Many German-speaking Canadians rapidly acquired new ethnic affiliations. Between 1911 and 1921 the number of Canadians of German ethnic origin declined by 108,892. By contrast the number of Dutch more than doubled from 55,961 to 117,505, the number of Austrians nearly tripled from 44,036 to 107,671, and the number claiming Russian affiliation rose dramatically from 44,376 to 100,064. In Nova

Scotia, where the German settlements had been established for more than a century and a half, the German population suddenly decreased by 10,000 or more than 30 percent. In Ontario where the Germans had been present since the inception of the province the German population also decreased by more than 30 percent and similar patterns appear in Quebec and New Brunswick where the total number of Germans had been very small. In Manitoba the number declined by a staggering 43.6 percent, while in British Columbia the percentage was 38.7.

No doubt there are many explanations for this phenomenon, not least of which is the unsatisfactory nature of census categories. Many of those who had previously been identified as German had been born either in Austria, Hungary or in Russia and although German-speaking felt it entirely appropriate to separate themselves from a German ethnic identity. Others such as the Mennonites had never resolved the distinction between their religion and a separate ethnic identity. Still others, such as those in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, had been so far distanced from their German origin that they could easily see themselves as being "Dutch" as opposed to "Deutsch", a distinction which also appealed to many in Ontario who seemed to use the phrase Pennsylvania Dutch and Pennsylvania Deutsch interchangeably. In the urban areas the racial tensions were perhaps more highly charged. Soldiers with fixed bayonets on the streets of Berlin, Ontario were doubtless an intimidating force leading many to reconsider the importance of their ethnic identity. The rural areas of Saskatchewan and Alberta, however, stand in marked contrast to the pattern across Canada. In neither province was there a marked decline in the number identifying their origin as German. This is all the more surprising since only 12 percent of the German population of Saskatchewan had been born in Germany while 52 percent had been born in Austria-Hungary and 33 percent in Russia; and only 16 percent in Alberta had been born in Germany, while 57 percent had been born in Austria-Hungary and 27 percent in Russia. Nor do religious affiliations seem to have made an appreciable difference since both Saskatchewan and Alberta had significant numbers of Mennonites and Lutherans who clearly chose to retain their German ethnic identity, whereas many in Manitoba did not.

After the repeal of war-time restrictions on immigration in 1923, a new stream of Germans found their way to Canada. German-speaking Mennonites, driven from their homes by the new communist regime in Russia, were among the first to flood into Canada. Thousands of ethnic Germans fleeing Soviet Russia in the 1920s were given German identification papers and a large number were shipped to Canada at German expense. Between 1923 and 1928, 18,877 Mennonites were settled by the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization. Other German settlers followed at a rate of 18,000 per year. By 1930 over 90,000 new Germans had been admitted to the country, a majority of whom were Catholics. Over 80 percent of the newly-arrived migrated to the prairie provinces — a significantly higher percentage than in the decade before the war. Of the country's 473,544 Germans in Canada in 1931, 271,352 or nearly 60 percent now lived in western Canada; 44 percent of the latter were from Russia, 18 percent from Austria-Hungary, and 18 percent from the United States, while only 12 percent had come directly from Germany.

The decision of the United States to impose a quota on immigration from Germany and Canada's willingness to open its doors after 1923 gave Canada an unusual status in German eyes, and for the first time the Dominion became the

“preferred nation” for German immigrants. Internal circumstances also favoured Canada. Extensive railroad links with the west aided migration and both the Canadian government and the railway companies enjoyed the close cooperation of numerous church organizations such as the Lutheran Immigration Board, the Canadian Lutheran Immigration Aid Society and the Association of German Canadian Catholics. During this period more than 70 percent of the German immigrants were farm labourers, most from the agricultural regions of northeastern Europe. Those who chose Canada did so because they did not wish to seek employment in the industrialized urban centres of the United States; they wished to preserve their independent existence as farmers and the rural social status that had begun to be eroded in Germany. Many others, of course, were political refugees from eastern Europe. They were often described as ethnic Germans, comprising those groups who had first migrated east during the previous century. The overwhelmingly rural orientation of this wave of German immigrants was evident in 1931 when Saskatchewan recorded 129,232 settlers of German ethnic origin, more than 77 percent of whom were in rural areas. In Alberta the German settlers, although fewer in number (only 74,450), were also predominantly farmers with 76 percent residing in the rural areas of the province. By contrast, in British Columbia, which received comparatively few of the new immigrants, 45.6 percent of the German population lived in urban communities in 1931.

Although the large influx of German immigrants after 1918, and more especially after 1923, broke the Canadian isolation from Europe that had existed since 1914, there was no attempt to re-create the German culture which had been so much a part of Canada in the pre-war years. German newspapers had been replaced by the local English language dailies. The German clubs that had survived the war were exclusively social clubs, carefully avoiding all talk of politics or European affairs. The language of the streets and of the shops was English and even in their homes people were guarded in their use of German. Moreover, the immigrants were anxious to create a new life in Canada while many of the older generation were now equally content to play their part as Canadians.

The rise of Adolph Hitler and the creation of the Third Reich brought a renewed nervousness to communities like Kitchener. Attempts to organize a Swastika Club failed completely and the lack of enthusiasm for the *Deutsche Bund Canada*, a small militant pro-Nazi group, forced that group and its leader to move its headquarters to Montreal, where the presence of the German Consul-General and continued contacts with Nazi Germany held out at least a glimmer of hope, even though the German population numbered only a few thousand. Nor were the Nazi activists destined to have much greater success among the Germans in western Canada, even with the presence there of an active, pro-Hitler German Consul in Winnipeg. The Nazi movement in Canada had a very limited success and then only among a fringe group of young, economically marginal, recent German immigrants, caught up in a new land with all the personal and spiritual anxieties created by the Great Depression. By far the greater majority of the Germans identified themselves as German-Canadians, whose fate was tied to that of Canada.

TABLE I: GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

	Total German Immigration	% of Total Canadian Immigration
1901-1910	20,942	1.28
1911-1920	18,200	1.079
1921-1930	72,980	5.96
1931-1940	4,850	3.09
1941-1950	15,978	3.23
1951-1960	235,637	14.99
1961-1970	75,523	5.21

TABLE II: PEOPLE OF GERMAN ORIGIN IN CANADA

	Total Population	Male	Female	% of Canadian Population
1871	202,991			5.82
1881	254,319			5.88
1891	insufficient data			
1901	310,501			5.78
1911	403,417			5.60
1921	294,635	153,603	141,033	3.35
1931	473,544	247,844	225,700	4.56
1941	464,682	240,481	224,201	4.04
1951	619,995	316,576	303,419	4.43
1961	1,049,599	533,990	515,609	5.75
1971	1,317,200	667,925	649,270	6.10

V — German Immigration since 1939

The shockwaves created by the outbreak of World War II were strongly felt among the German communities in Canada. Over 800 Germans were interned and all German Canadians who had entered Canada after 1922 — whether Canadian citizens or not — were forced to register as enemy aliens. Yet the attitude toward German Canadians was less hostile than during World War I. Many of them were clearly Canadians and they participated fully in the war against Hitler. Recruits joined the Canadian armed forces and financial support was rarely surpassed in the most Anglo-Saxon of communities. German clubs quickly and voluntarily suspended their meetings in an ironic show of support for Canadian democracy. The absence of highly organized or visible pro-Nazi sympathy in the 1930s, except perhaps in some areas of Winnipeg and in Saskatchewan, meant that there was no need for agonizing reappraisals within the German community and recriminations were rare. Since the great majority of German Canadians had been in Canada for several decades and only a small minority were from Germany itself, most people of German background were indifferent to German politics even if they were deeply proud of their German background. Their group consciousness was cultural and not nationalistic. At the beginning of the war only 16,000 of those who identified themselves as German by ethnic origin were not Canadian citizens. With little or no evidence of a Nazi threat in Canada, indeed with little evidence of sympathy for the Nazi cause, the Government released the great majority of the German internees by 1941. At the end of the war only 89 remained. Naturalized German-Canadians were permitted from 1943 on to join the Canadian armed forces and the schism which had rent Canadian society during the Great War did not recur. That is not to suggest that there were no tensions. Outbreaks of anti-German feeling did occur across Canada in the early years of the war. The Canadian Government acted to arrest German-Canadians suspected of Nazi sympathies, not on the basis of any evidence, but rather to assuage public uneasiness. The all too obvious innocence of those arrested reassured the public and confirmed the positive role of German-Canadians in the development of the nation.

The absence of extremely bitter ethnic tensions within Canada made the post-war adjustment of German immigrants easier. Just before Christmas 1946 the Canadian Society for German Relief was organized in Kitchener and by Christmas 1947 the first German refugee families began arriving. Canada's record in war-torn Europe was quite remarkable. As early as June 1947 the Canadian government, taking independent action, provided by order-in-council for the admission initially of 5,000 displaced persons. With the support of the International Refugee Organization more than 50,000 displaced persons arrived in Canada between July 1947 and November 1948. The need was great. In 1949 Western Germany had 9,400,000 refugees, a great many of whom had been expelled from the former German provinces east of the Oder-Neisse line, which were now incorporated into Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and other eastern European countries. In addition, there were 1,500,000 fugitives from the Soviet zone of Germany, including Berlin. Known as the *Völkerwanderung* of post-war Europe, some 7,600,000 of these refugees and displaced persons were of German ethnic origin.

The Canadian government's willingness to receive some of the displaced persons created an enormous amount of good will in Germany. In 1950 when Ger-

man citizens of the Reich were again allowed entry to Canada, a surprisingly high number of immigrants began to consider Canada as a first choice. Of those granted visas to Canada in the immediate post-war period 60 percent were native Germans, 30 percent residents of the now Polish parts of East Germany and 10 percent were from Czechoslovakia, Romania and Eastern Europe. Canada's removal of the restrictions on former enemy aliens caused a major increase in immigration. Between 1946 and 1955, 145,198 immigrants arrived from the Federal Republic of Germany and another 144,060 would come to Canada between 1956 and 1967.

The Germans emigrating to Canada during these years conform to the general characteristics of other northern European immigrants. A majority (56 percent) were married, widowed or divorced, often travelling with their families, and 40 percent were between the ages of 25 and 34. Like immigrants from the United Kingdom, the German-speaking immigrants had a significantly higher level of formal education than most other groups. In fact, their education level was comparable with or above that of the Canadian-born population. Perhaps because of their relatively high average level of education, by the 1960s the Germans had the highest proportion of the post-war European immigrants who spoke English.

Although communities of "Old Germans" such as those in Kitchener readily accepted hundreds of German speaking refugees, the newer German immigrants also merged with the general immigration streams in Canada. Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver were their primary destinations. The "old" German areas, apart perhaps from Kitchener, did not draw large concentrations. Indeed, Saskatchewan and Manitoba were noticeably absent as choices of destination. By the 1970s there was a significant decline in the number of German immigrants to Canada as the German "economic wonder" of the 1950s and 1960s continued unabated. Nonetheless, in 1981 those Canadians who identified themselves as of German ethnic origin constituted Canada's third largest ethnic group.

VI — A Comparative Perspective

The presence of Germans, whether with Cornwallis at Halifax, Simcoe at York or Helmcken in British Columbia, marks them as a charter group within the Canadian context. Their success in the Nova Scotia fishery, in business and agriculture in Ontario, as pioneers on the prairies, and in agriculture, the professions, business and the trades in British Columbia testifies to their remarkable versatility. Germans were especially popular as immigrants in Canada. Rarely were they touched with the stigma of poverty, disease and squalor. Even those who emigrated in the midst of the famine of the 1840s were generally self-sufficient; those who were not numbered in the hundreds, not the thousands, and were quietly absorbed into the Canadian community. The Germans were considered as preferred immigrants. They were also distinguished from other immigrants by virtue of their racial unity with Anglo-Saxons and the consanguinity of the British and German royal families. As late as 1911 the Governor-General, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, and his Duchess, the former Princess Louise Marguerite of Prussia, were saluted by Germans across Canada in celebrations that flew the Union Jack and the German flag side by side. Even in so Anglo-Saxon a community as Victoria, British Columbia, the German culture was welcomed. As a result, German-Canadians were encouraged to retain their language, customs and tradition. The bloc settlements granted as early as 1874

TABLE III

TOTAL NO. (and %)

DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLE OF GERMAN ORIGIN IN CANADA

	Atlantic* Provinces	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	British Columbia	Northern Territories
1901	45,545 (14.6)	6,923 (2.20)	203,319 (65.4)	46,844 (15.08)	5,807 (1.80)	2,063 (0.60)
1911	42,538 (10.5)	6,145 (1.50)	192,320 (47.6)	140,020 (34.70)	11,880 (2.90)	417 (0.10)
1921	29,004 (9.8)	4,668 (1.50)	130,545 (44.3)	122,979 (41.70)	7,273 (2.40)	167 (0.05)
1931	30,039 (6.3)	10,616 (2.20)	174,006 (36.7)	241,760 (51.00)	16,986 (3.50)	137 (0.02)
1941	16,604 (3.5)	8,880 (1.90)	167,102 (35.9)	249,458 (53.60)	22,407 (4.80)	231 (0.04)
1951	32,059 (5.1)	12,249 (1.90)	222,028 (35.8)	297,820 (48.00)	55,307 (8.90)	1,095 (0.17)
1961	55,320 (5.2)	39,457 (3.70)	400,717 (38.1)	433,369 (41.20)	118,926 (11.3)	1,810 (0.17)
1971	52,645 (3.9)	53,870 (4.00)	475,315 (36.0)	534,170 (40.50)	198,310 (15.0)	2,885 (0.20)

*Newfoundland statistics are not included until 1951

to German immigrants in the western provinces also assisted in the maintenance of a separate ethnic identity.

Not everyone welcomed these developments. The Manitoba legislation of 1890, which abolished the Roman Catholic school system and the French language, was as much a reaction to the claims for similar rights of ethnic groups such as the Germans as it was against French Canadian "particularism". Mennonites in Ontario and in the West sought to distinguish themselves as a separate people and were not always pleased to be considered as Germans, even though they clung tenaciously to the German language, and the Mennonites from Russia — ironically labelled as *Russlaender* by those Mennonites who had preceded them to Canada — were more German than many of those who had migrated from Pennsylvania. Longstanding German and Polish rivalries in Europe were also transferred to Canada and Polish Catholics disliked the secondary place that they were forced to take in many parishes in Ontario and Manitoba dominated by German Catholics. The Hutterites and Doukhobors also sought to distinguish themselves from the German community. The bitter dislike of Germans engendered by World War I brought to the surface many of these resentments and marked the end of an era in Canadian life.

It had sometimes been said that but for their unfortunate tendency to speak German, Germans would make splendid Englishmen. After the Great War many of them did. The ease with which Schmidt became Smith, Braun became Brown and Biehn became Bean testifies to the assimilation of many German Canadians. Even in Berlin, Ontario, where the German elite had early dominated urban life and where an overwhelming pride in the community's German identity was the town's hallmark, observers long noted how a typically "Canadian" community had evolved from a settlement so completely "foreign". There was little in their architecture — except in the style of some bank barns in the rural areas — that spoke of an outstanding German heritage. Businessmen and merchants built homes in the high Victorian styles so common to other Ontario communities. The earlier German settlers had emigrated in a pre-nationalist era and their diverse religious backgrounds precluded the development of a single national religion such as the Poles or the Italians had on their arrival in Canada.

These generalizations must be carefully qualified. Many of the Germans coming from eastern Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century had been exposed to the rapidly developing German nationalism and had been affected by *Volkish* thought, feeling themselves acutely a part of a German nation which transcended state boundaries. In western Canada their German nationalistic spirit, however, was muted by a number of practical factors. The vast majority of the settlers were peasants and what they sought in Canada was what they could not secure in eastern Europe, namely farmland for themselves and for their children. The overwhelmingly agrarian nature of their settlements — next to the Scandinavians, the Germans in western Canada were the most rural of all immigrants — militated against the development of the more strident forms of nationalism. Nor did Canada attract many German intellectuals. Although the isolation of the settlers often made it difficult for non-German influences to impinge upon them, the process of assimilation was accelerated by anti-German feelings generated during and after World War I and by the increasing difficulty of obtaining competent German school instructors. Often when the choice was between language and religion in the schools, religion predominated.

The inexorable processes of urbanization and industrialization also influenced the assimilation and acculturation of Canada's Germans. In 1931 only 26.3 percent of the Germans in the prairie provinces lived in towns or cities; by comparison in Ontario more than 60 percent were urban and in Quebec more than 85 percent. By 1981 the great majority of German-Canadians lived in urban centres, even those residing in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. This pattern is also obvious in the way Canada's Germans participated in the labour force. In 1931 Germans in Canada were over-represented in the agricultural sector by 21.1 percent relative to their proportion of the population. By contrast, Italians in 1931 were over-represented by 26.1 percent in the unskilled category and under-represented in agriculture by a stunning 27.6 percent. By 1961 a fundamental change in the occupational status of the Germans in Canada had occurred. They were now only 8.8 percent over-represented in agriculture, few were in primary and unskilled occupations, and the others were spread evenly throughout the professions and trades.

In the period since World War II the process of assimilation and accommodation has continued with great rapidity. With many of the post-war immigrants seeking either skilled or semi-skilled employment, settlement in urban areas was inevitable. Since a great majority of the new immigrants were married and had children of school age, their adaptation to English (69 percent by 1961) was the highest of all the post-war immigrant groups. The relatively high educational level before emigrating to Canada (63 percent had 9-12 years or more of formal education) both enhanced their economic progress and assisted in their assimilation. By the 1960s the overwhelming majority of Germans in Canada had come to read English-language newspapers and periodicals while only 12 percent read only their ethnic language papers. A significant number also belonged to clubs which were attended by native-born Canadians. Germans were among the best integrated, least vocal and the least politically active ethnic groups in Canada.

In a survey done in the 1970s Canadians were asked to rank various ethnic groups in terms of social standing. The Germans were ranked significantly below the British, the English Canadians, French Canadians and many of the other Western and North European nations. Such a ranking did not truly reflect the social and economic reality of the life of many Germans in Canada. Although the ranking may illustrate the influence of international politics on the status of an ethnic group within Canada, it is far more likely that after two centuries of continued existence in Canada, of inter-marriage, integration and assimilation, many German Canadians had ceased to be regarded as German and had entered the mainstream of Canadian life. Although they could still identify their ethnic origin as German for the purpose of the census, they and their children considered themselves to be Canadian and were so considered by most Anglo-Canadians.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Gordon Craig's *The Germans* (New York, 1982), and Hajo Holborn's *A History of Modern Germany, 1840-1945* (Princeton, 1969) provide a general introduction to the European background. Although dealing primarily with the United States, Imre Firenzi's *International Migrations, Vol. I and II* (New York, 1929) is an essential source book. Mack Walker's *Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885* (Cambridge, 1964) and Takenoki Inoki's *Aspects of German Peasant Emigration to the United States, 1815-1914* (New York, 1981) offer an interesting comparison of immigration theories. Woodruff D. Smith's *The German Colonial Empire* (Chapel Hill, 1978) and Maurice R. Davie's *World Immigration* (New York, 1945) place the German immigration experience into a larger context. The most complete study of German immigration to Canada is unfortunately available only in German. These two volumes by the German scholar, Heinz Lehman, offer a detailed account of German settlements in Canada: *Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada, Band 1: Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada* (Stuttgart, 1931) and *Das Deutschtum in Westkanada* (Berlin, 1939). Similar in style and conception, Gottlieb Leibbrandt's *Little Paradise: Aus Geschichte und Leben de Deutschkandier in der County Waterloo, 1800-1875* (Kitchener, 1977) was recently translated by G.K. Wiesenborn. It offers a detailed study of the Germans in Waterloo County. W.P. Bell's *The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1961) is a classic study dealing with the early German settlement on the Atlantic coast. M. Bird and T. Kobayaski's *A Splendid Harvest* (Toronto, 1981) is not only a fine study of the impact of the German tradition on the visual arts in Canada, but it provides an excellent synopsis of German settlement patterns across Canada and a comprehensive review of the secondary literature.

Studies of German religious sects are of particular importance in understanding the German tradition in Canada. Although few have been published, F.H. Epp's two volume account of the *Mennonites in Canada* (Toronto, 1974 and 1982) indicates the wealth of material available. H.K. Kalbfleisch's work on the German language press and specifically his *The History of the Pioneer German Language Press of Ontario 1835-1918* (Toronto, 1968) provides an insight into the process of acculturation. Jonathan F. Wagner's *Brothers Beyond the Sea, National Socialism in Canada* (Waterloo, 1981) draws on a great deal of unpublished and archival material as well as an impressive array of secondary sources in order to assess the Nazi movement in Canada from both a German and a Canadian context. Studies of prominent German communities such as Bruce Ramsey's *History of the German Community in British Columbia* (Winnipeg, 1958) and John English and Kenneth McLaughlin's *Kitchener: An Illustrated History* (Waterloo, 1983) provide detailed insight into the nature of German life in Canada.

In addition to the classic volumes by C.A. Dawson, *Group Settlements: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (Toronto, 1936) and R. England's *The Central European Immigrant in Canada* (Toronto, 1929) more recent studies such as H.M. Troper's *Only Farmers Need Apply* (Toronto, 1972), Donald Avery's *Dangerous Foreigners* (Toronto, 1979) and Gerald Friesen's *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto, 1984) offer new insights into the experience of German immigrants in the western provinces. Two periodicals

merit special attention: *Canadian Ethnic Studies* and even more importantly, *The German-Canadian Yearbook (Deutschkanadisches Jahrbuch)*. These are indispensable resources for any study of the Germans in Canada and provide numerous suggestions for further research. Indeed, the first evidence of this new style of research is evident in the 1984 study edited by Walter E. Reidel, *The Old World and the New, Literary Perspectives of German-Speaking Canadians* (Toronto, 1984) and in Peter Liddell, ed., *German Canadian Studies: Critical Approaches* (Vancouver, 1983).



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