

CANADIAN NATIONAL  
CONSCIOUSNESS



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THE <sup>^</sup>ROLE OF METROPOLITAN INSTITUTIONS IN THE FORMULATION OF  
A CANADIAN NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS, -- WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE  
TO THE UNITED STATES

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

-By-

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The following investigation was undertaken in connection with the Canadian-American Relations Study launched by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The object of this monograph is a consideration of those attitudes of Canadians to the United States which have secured definition through the attempt to build up a distinctive national life in Canada. The problem has been approached from two different though complementary points of view. Regionally, Canadian nationalism may be considered as the attempt on the part of local cities to mark out for themselves a metropolitan area of dominance; social-psychologically, it may be considered as the development of an area of sentiment co-terminous with the area of political organization. It is, in short, based, on the one hand, upon the integration of the economic life of the hinterland within the local metropolitan organization; on the other hand, upon the establishment of master symbols of attention in the minds of Canadians distinct from those of the people of Great Britain or of the United States.

The problem in the first instance is essentially one of history. The state of mind of the people of British North America at any given time, the social movements and the forms of social organization growing out of the changing conditions of living, the economic-political relationships of the Canadian colonies or, after 1867, of the Dominion of Canada to countries outside, the development, in short, of the Canadian nation, are facts of an historical order. Upon the presentation of these the historian must have the last word.

Nevertheless it is possible, through a synthesizing of selected facts entering into Canadian national development, to establish conceptually some



of the significant processes involved in the formulation of a Canadian national feeling. The thesis of this report is that Canadian national attitudes take shape and become defined in those various crisis situations in which Canadians find themselves. The public mind is not a static thing. The public is faced continually with the task of making decisions and it is in such decisions that attitudes become defined and the objectives in Canadian national life take shape.

Such definition is not secured without direction. Issues involve interests and result in organization and the formulation of policy. Through the rôle of these organizations, the attitudes of the people not immediately affected are defined and crystallized. Unification is secured by the establishment of symbols which call forth a similar response from all members of the group.

In investigating, then, the attitudes of Canadians to the United States, the concern has been with those issues in which certain interest groups, economic or sentimental, have been affected. The position of the trading groups in the Dominion who depended upon intra-imperial commercial intercourse, of the local manufacturers who were attempting to establish control of the hinterland market, of labour which was complementary to urban industry, of Eastern agriculture which found its market in the near-by Canadian city, of national institutions whose status depended upon the non-participation of Canadians in organizations heading up in the United States, of the many groups in the country whose sentiment attachments were to Great Britain or to the local objects of Canadian life, compelled a formulation of policy which in some way involved the United States. That formulation depended upon the incorporation of the wider Canadian public into the idea systems enunciated by the in-groups, or groups affected.

The national attitudes which became defined in such situations focussed



upon definite objects which had some reference to the United States, such as the annexation bogey, urban life in the large United States cities, the formal cultural invasion of Canada by the United States, or the separate existence of a Canadian historic group. Such attitudes clustered about symbols of mutual identification, objectifying the fact of Canadian national feeling and securing the differentiation of Canada from the United States.

In the selection of the material which has gone into this monograph, there has been no attempt to cover completely the field of evidence. Rather the object was that of bringing forward material which best illustrated the typical response of certain groups to various issues which have arisen. Both the issues considered and the material itself, therefore, have been selected. This study only attempts to set forth a few of those situations in which Canadian attitudes have become defined.

Most of the institutions investigated head up in either Toronto or Montreal and expressions of policy emanating from such sources is essentially of a metropolitan character. The newspaper material employed has been confined entirely to Montreal. This was unavoidable from the point of view of time and, to secure a more complete picture of Canadian metropolitan organs of expression, those of Toronto would have to be covered also. However, it may be fairly claimed that the Montreal newspapers do represent the metropolitan life of Canada in view of the fact that the importing, financial and railway interests are centred here while Montreal shares with Toronto the control of manufacturing.



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PART I

ECOLOGICAL BASIS OF UNION --

GESELLSCHAFT



## CHAPTER I

### FRONTIER AND OUTSIDE METROPOLITAN ORGANIZATION

#### Canada within the Metropolitan Organization of Britain and the United States

Canada's position in relationship to Great Britain and the United States has been of constant concern to the inhabitants of the British North American Dominion. The traditional sentiment attachments based upon the political tie with Great Britain have orientated the attention of the people within the empire scheme of organization. The close geographical proximity of Canada to the United States, however, has drawn the country more and more under the influence of her southern neighbour.

The investigation of that dual relationship is, in the first instance, a problem of history. Here it is possible only to indicate some of the factors which have played a significant part in defining the attitudes of Canadians to outside points of reference. In point of time, the trading interests which grew up about such ocean-land points of exchange as Montreal have been the first to secure the continued relationship of Canada within the imperial trade system. Though an 'outlaw' port until 1821, the position of Montreal since 1763 has been dependent upon the trade flow from the American hinterland to Great Britain through the St. Lawrence channel. The implications of that interest will be indicated in the present chapter.

Political organization of the colonies of British North America was secured, in the first instance, by those interests vested in the maintenance of the colonial structure. The colonies were essentially the frontier of British metropolitan interests -- a hinterland market and source of raw material for the expanding commercial and industrial centres of Great Britain. As such the system of colonial organization was designed to maintain the dominance of such centres. The technique of control, the rôle of the colonies in empire organization, the basis of colonial union, changed with the changing relationships of the industrial and commercial groups in Great Britain; the frontier, in other words, adapted itself to the varying demands of metropolitan organization. Throughout, however, there was maintained some system of contacts between the colonies and the Mother Country.

Those contacts changed, however, as a result of changes not only in the local economy of Great Britain, but in the relationships of the Canadian community to the United States. Throughout the period from 1783 to the present day, the competition for control of markets, especially in the western hemisphere, has been largely one between Great Britain and the rising industrial states of the American Republic. (1) That competition, with its changing base and fronts, has determined, as had the struggle with Spain in the sixteenth, with Holland in the seventeenth, and with France in the eighteenth century determined, the nature of British imperial organization. During the early part of this period Britain continued to depend upon the Navigation Laws to fight the colonies which had turned against her; but the emergence of the South American Republics

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(1) cf. C. R. Fay, Imperial Economy, Oxford, 1934. *passim*.



and the change in the nature of trade brought to an end a policy designed for plantation colonies. For the remainder of the nineteenth century the battle was fought in an open market, in the southern states of the American Union, in the Republics of South America, and in Canada; it was fought by the more rapid development of ocean and land transportation facilities and by the consolidation of commercial enterprises. Latterly, with the rise of industry in what were hinterland markets and the consequent closing of old trade channels, the metropolitan interests of Great Britain have turned once more to the possibility of erecting an economic empire within the boundaries marked out by the Union Jack. This time, however, it is to be a commonwealth empire based upon the separate metropolitan organizations of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa; an empire combined in order to control the internal hinterland market from outside competition.

Within the framework of the imperial system there grew up, in the colonies, certain interests vested in the maintenance of the imperial connection. The most conspicuous of these established themselves about the colonial ports, participating in the twin activities of trade and transportation. They were essentially units in the British metropolitan structure -- outposts in the chain of communications between the frontier and the empire centre. The nature of their activities, such as trading in furs, lumber, wheat, or the promotion of transportation enterprises, changed with the changing nature of the frontier-empire relationship; they continued, however, functionally dependent upon the British metropolitan system. Accordingly there have been built up in the Dominion strongly organized business firms such as the Canadian steamship and railway companies, the interests associated with Canadian ports, the exporting and importing merchants, who have favoured the trade of Canada

with distant countries and especially Great Britain, rather than with the United States.

On the other hand, the more internal trading groups, particularly those associated with the developing agricultural economy, were an integral part of the commercial organization of the Eastern United States. A large part of this group, indeed, in the early years of Canadian colonial history, was made up of merchants who left the crowded New England cities for the more western frontier towns. Moreover, the production and marketing of agricultural commodities, an activity with which the British North American frontier became more and more occupied, depended very largely upon the trade connection with the American Republic. Accordingly the early economic history of the Canadian colonies took the pattern of a competitive struggle between the metropolitan interests of Great Britain and the United States for control of the hinterland market, a struggle which more recently has been qualified only partly by the rise of local metropolitan centres within the Canadian Dominion.

Large scale production, availability of abundant resources, railway construction and rapidly developing hinterland markets all conspired to establish the supremacy of the American metropolitan centres. The consequent change in regional relationships altered the position of the Canadian importing interests in the imperial economy. A mutual wall of tariff protection between Canada and the United States, together with efficient lines of transportation linking up the western States of the Union with the Atlantic seaboard ports, effectively shut them off from controlling United States trade; while, more serious still, the increasing orientation of even the Dominion about the American centres menaced the already established flow of Canadian trade through the St. Lawrence and Maritime ports.



Consequently the interests in Canada vested in the imperial connections have combined with the rising local metropolitan interests in the attempt to establish an organization area free from the control of the American metropolitan centres. Such an area, which would satisfy the needs of the former set of interests, depended upon two things: first, efficient lines of transportation; and, second, a fiscal policy which would encourage the flow of trade through imperial rather than United States channels.

#### The Port of Montreal and Transportation

Montreal, (and in treating of the local interests vested in the imperial system attention will be chiefly focussed upon this port centre), never lost sight of the fact that in the St. Lawrence sea-way, in the condition of her harbour and in the transcontinental railway system lay her position as a trading centre. The warehouses, wholesale establishments and importing offices, backing up from the docks to St. James Street, were the nuclei and marrow of the island city. Although manufacturing had extended her interest and made her an integral part of the local metropolitan organisation, outside trading still played a significant, if not a dominant, rôle in the life of the urban community. Consequently transportation questions occupied a large share of the attention of her citizens, and especially of such organizations as the Board of Trade. "We cannot afford," said Alex McFee, President of the Montreal Board of Trade, "to have Duluth, Buffalo, Portland, Boston and other United States ports handling the freight which Port Arthur, Montreal, Quebec, St. John and Halifax are entitled to, and it is our first duty, as it is the duty of our Government at Ottawa, to so arrange and assist matters that it will be to the advantage of the great carrying companies to provide adequate transportation facilities to cope with the growing requirements of our country." (2)

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(2) Sixtieth Annual Report of the Council of the Montreal Board of Trade, Being for the Year 1902, p. 60-61.

In petitioning the Government to assist the development of railway facilities to care for the increasing business north of Lake Superior and throughout Manitoba and Northwest Territories, the Montreal Board of Trade, in 1902, claimed "that this shortage in transportation facilities is resulting in the diverting of a very large proportion of our northwest freight (amounting in wheat alone to 70 p.c. of the surplus crop) to Duluth, Buffalo and other United States channels, to the serious detriment of our own ports, and consequent loss to Canadians of the many benefits and advantages incidental to the handling of such traffic." (3) The following year the same Board of Trade maintained, in petitioning the Government to make Montreal a free port, that "unless steps are at once taken in this direction, the large amount of freight that would otherwise pass through Montreal will be attracted to rival ports in the United States which have already succeeded in diverting business from the Canadian route." (4)

The Montreal Board of Trade, in 1912, urged upon the Government an immediate commencement of work upon the Georgian Bay Canal, claiming that a deeper Welland Canal would give opportunity "to the large American freight boats to pass through to Ogdensburg, access to which port.....is greatly desired by United States interests" and "That if Canada assists them in this project of diverting trade from Montreal to New York, by building, at a cost of forty to fifty million dollars, a new Welland Canal, it is certain that United States interests will soon construct a connecting canal between Oswego and Troy, a distance in a straight line of about 150 miles, and thereby achieve their object largely at the expense of this country." (5)

In 1921, there was set up a select committee of the Senate at Ottawa, "to enquire into the cause of the diversion of the export grain trade of the

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(3) Annual Report of the Montreal Board of Trade, 1902, p. 15.

(4) Ibid. 1903, p. 13.

(5) Ibid. 1912, p. 23.



Prairie Provinces to New York for shipment." The committee owed its origin to a complaint on the part of the Quebec Board of Trade to the effect that in six years 518 million bushels of western grain had been diverted via Buffalo, and as a consequence the farmers had paid "about fifty million dollars of freight money to the United States railways and United States lake carriers, that would have been paid to our own (Canadian) railways had the grain been sent to Canadian seaports for shipment." (6) In the same year the Government, as a result of deputations of a number of business men, decided upon the deepening of the Welland Canal "as a necessary means of preventing the diversion of Canadian lake traffic into United States channels." (7) "It is a somewhat bitter irony," the Montreal Daily Star remarked editorially eleven years later, "that the completion of the Welland Canal by Canada gives our chief competitors in grain export an advantage which that very canal was intended to divert to ourselves.....The situation seems to be further complicated, so far as Canadian interests are concerned by the report -- if it be true -- that the new elevator at Albany has been leased by Canadian grain interests for ten years. This would mean that Canadian exporters are actually selecting the American route for the shipment of grain in preference to our own -- a choice that has its obvious and unpleasant implications." (8) In urging the improvement of the St. Lawrence waterway, Mr. W. L. McDougald, President of the Montreal Harbour Commissioners, in 1929 claimed that "only in this way can real progress be made in what should be our national effort to carry our export

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(6) The Gazette, Montreal, May 24, 1921, p. 10.

(7) The Gazette, Montreal, Sat. May 7, 1921, p. 12.

(8) The Montreal Daily Star, Wed. Mar. 16, 1932, p. 10.

Mr. A. R. Roberts, Toronto representative of the Canadian Grain Syndicate, confirmed this fact in the following statement: "A syndicate composed in part of Canadian individuals closely allied with the transportation and warehousing of grain, has leased for a term of years a large terminal grain elevator at Albany, New York." (Montreal Daily Star, Fri. Apr. 15, 1932, p. 2.)

products to market through and over Canadian channels, routes and rails." (9)

And, in an address before the St. James Literary Society, Guy Tombs said: "I have recently become thoroughly convinced that Montreal and Canada face two far greater perils than joint ownership in an expensive waterway -- one, the new route via Oswego and Albany now available, and the other the possibility of an alternative seaway, even at double the expense, through New York State." (10)

Montreal's conception of her rôle in the Canadian economy, in short, is based upon her position as a port of entry. She is still striving, as she had striven in the time of La Vérendrye, McGillivray, and the Hon. John Young, to direct the currents of American trade through her channels. Though an industrial revolution has completely altered the Canadian landscape and reared the factory side by side with the counting house, the interest of Montreal, to a very large extent, remains identified with her port. Accordingly she has tended to view herself as a rival of the United States seaboard cities and, as a consequence, of the whole metropolitan organization of the American centres.

It is true that she has conceived of herself as in rivalry also with the other Canadian ports, especially with Vancouver. (11) This rivalry,

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(9) Review of the Port of Montreal for 1929, The Gazette Commercial and Financial Review for the Year 1929, p. 86.

(10) The Harbour of Montreal, an Address given on March 15, 1932, before the St. James Literary Society, Montreal, p. 47. Author's italics.

At a meeting in St. Louis Town Hall, Montreal, in the election of 1921, Mr. J. A. Nadeau, Conservative candidate "stated that he was opposed to the St. Lawrence waterway scheme. He claimed that if such a project were realized at a tremendous cost to the country, the United States would really benefit more than this country. He would, however, favor the construction of the Georgian Bay Canal, which, he said, would be an entirely Canadian waterway." (The Gazette, Montreal, Tues. Nov. 29, 1921, p. 7.)

(11) The following editorial illustrates the port rivalry between Montreal and Vancouver:

"Warning Montrealers that Vancouver has already displaced this city as Canada's leading grain port, Mr. J. A. Paulhus cites facts that may well give us pause.

"Although Vancouver was three times as far from Liverpool as Montreal

however, is inter-regional rather than international. It has not identified itself with, nor employed, the symbols of nation. Consequently it has little significance in the relationships of Canada and the Southern Republic.

Rivalry between the ports of Canada and of the United States, on the other hand, have become very definitely a problem in the relationships of the two countries. The port interests of the Dominion were vested in a system of economic organization in which they were an integral part. The maintenance of that system, which depended upon the establishment of efficient lines of transportation flowing out from the port centres, was a necessary item in the policy of such interests.

#### The Port of Montreal and Trade with the United States

Transportation alone, however, could not effectively guard the control by Canadian ports of American trade. Railways and canals, ocean and lake routes determined the course of traffic within the limits defined by trade regulations and, though affecting their nature somewhat, in the end conformed to the pattern of economic relationships established by such regulations. Consequently the position of the Canadian importing centres depended upon a Government policy which would encourage the flow of traffic through their harbours. In the second place, the policy of

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that city shipped 8,000,000 more bushels of grain last year than the local port, he told a service club the other day.

"This is in striking contrast with conditions in the peak year of 1928 when Vancouver shipped 69 million bushels and Montreal four times that amount.

"What is the remedy? Mr. Paulhus thinks he has one. This is his suggestion: 'Stop talking about the canalization of the St. Lawrence above Montreal; instead deepen the channel from this port to the sea. Build larger elevators. Have the two railways transport the grain right from the prairie elevators to the local elevators.'

"The proposal is worth studying. Nobody wishes to hinder the progress of Vancouver. But it is unfair that the Pacific Coast port should flourish while the eastern ports, like the lean kine of scripture, should suffer for the seven lean years since 1928!" (The Montreal Daily Herald, Sat. Mar. 30, 1935, p. 4.)



national protection hampered the trade between Empire and frontier --- local metropolitan centres were seizing from Britain control of a large share of the hinterland market. The dual aspect of the needs of the Canadian importing interests demanded a Government policy which would discourage trade with the United States while positively encouraging trade with Britain and Europe.

"My friend, Mr. Waterman (of London, Ontario)," said Thos. White, M. P., of Montreal, in commenting upon the fiscal policy of 1879, "has laid down strongly the view that there should be no differential duties in this country. It is a fact nevertheless that our friends in the United States impose such duties. In framing their tariff they have recognized the principle, which should be recognized in all tariffs, of encouraging the long voyage, and in that way building up the shipping and importing interests of the country. Because, no matter how we may develop our industries and how prosperous they may become, there will still be a large import trade, possibly an increased import trade, because of the increased demands of those people engaged in the home industries; and the policy of the Government of this country ought to be, in addition to developing our industries and those resources which we have in the way of mines, agriculture, &c., to so frame their fiscal policy as to put a premium on the long voyage, and to aid the distribution of imports by Canadian rather than by foreign merchants. We stand in a peculiar position in this country. Our trade with the United States is not a foreign trade in the ordinary acceptation of the term. A man in Western Ontario buys a parcel of goods in New York or in Montreal; there is no shipping employed in either case. He gets his goods as easily from the one city as from the other, the only difference being that, if he gets them from New York, he employs United States railways, while if he gets them from Montreal, he employs Canadian railways." (12)

Accordingly the importing interests have joined with the local metropolitan interests in opposing any form of reciprocal trade agreements with the United States. Mr. Cains, President of the Montreal Board of Trade, denounced the Reciprocity of 1911 "as ruinous to the port of Montreal,..... as suicidal to the trade interests and Imperial aspirations of Canada." (13) In a resolution of 1910 of the Montreal Board of Trade it was laid down, along with other considerations, "that, above and beyond material points, reciprocity with the United States must inevitably tend towards a slackening of the ties that bind us to the Mother Country, and that this Council takes

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(12) Report of Proceedings at the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Dominion Board of Trade, Held at Ottawa, 1879, p. 89-90.

(13) The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1911, p. 38.

the strongest ground against anything that would even remotely work to that end, being convinced that our every interest, either of business or sentiment, requires that Canada shall remain a part of the British Empire." (14)

The Montreal Gazette, in appealing to the French-Canadian vote against Reciprocity, declared that "there is nothing French-Canadian in what will divert trade past Montreal to New York or Boston." (15) Mr. J. W. Johnson, M.L.A. for Hastings, at a meeting of chartered accountants in Montreal, is reported as having urged the necessity of making the Montreal harbour such as to beat Boston, Philadelphia and New York, of deepening the Welland Canal, of maintaining the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes waterways, and of keeping to the imperial route. "We must not," he said, "get too familiar with our neighbours. (applause) .....There is only one nation to whom we owe our great development, and that is the old Motherland, who has lent us two hundred millions every year for ten years. (applause) .....That is the country we are indebted to and the one for which we will fight to defend wherever the old flag flutters. (loud applause)." (16)

The port question became, in short, an imperial and national issue. "Canada," the Montreal Gazette reported an address of the Hon. Mr. McCurdy at St. John, N. B., "would not be a nation until she was self-contained." "It was of great importance, therefore," he had continued, "to see that Canada's exports and imports found their way through Canadian ports." (17) And Mr. Meighen, at Halifax, had declared "that Canadian exports should find their outlet from the ports of Eastern Canada." "In order to do this," he had affirmed, "they must move from west to east, and not from north to south. (sic) They must be carried through Canada and not through the United States." (18) "If we do not," wrote the editor of L'Evenement, "succeed

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(14) Annual Report of the Montreal Board of Trade, 1910, p. 55.

(15) The Gazette, Montreal, Fri. Sept. 8, 1911, p. 8.

(16) Ibid. Sat. Sept. 9, 1911, p. 9.

(17) Ibid. Fri. Oct. 14, 1921, p. 10.

(18) Ibid. Thurs. Oct. 6, 1921, p. 13.

little by little in reconquering our traffic, our difficulties and our servitude will increase to the point where we shall become that 'adjunct' to the United States which is repugnant to us, and which we have already denounced. How can we pretend that Canada is a nation, when we are not even independent, commercially speaking, of a powerful foreigner?" (19)

#### The Port of Montreal and Trade with Britain

It was necessary, however, if the commercial position of the Canadian importing interests was to remain secure, not only to restrict the north-south flow of traffic, but to encourage the flow of traffic between Canada and Great Britain. To accomplish this, such interests turned to

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(19) Quoted in The Gazette, Montreal, Wed. May 25, 1921, p. 10.

The maintenance of ocean traffic through Canadian ports, though a primary consideration of importing interests, was of little less concern to the local manufacturers. To encourage the flow of trade from east to west, it was essential that the millions of bushels of wheat produced in the Western prairies should be carried to Europe through Canadian ports. The law of the two-way traffic was perfectly familiar to the Eastern manufacturers. (Manufacturers' Association, wrote:

In 1906 the Editor of Industrial Canada, official organ of the Canadian/  
"From a national standpoint it is highly desirable that this import trade should be diverted as far as possible into purely Canadian channels.....If Canadians will only stand firmly by the principle of 'Canadian Ports for Canadian Trade', there is no reason why the ports of Halifax, St. John, Sydney, Quebec and Montreal, should not become second editions of New York and Boston.

"Every dollar's worth of freight which Canada imports by way of New York is going to build up United States steamship lines and United States railways.....It is strengthening the hands of Canada's greatest commercial rival, providing that rival with new weapons to be used in the struggle for export trade, and relatively weakening her own grasp on the trade she already possesses. Her commercial and industrial salvation depends upon her controlling the avenues through which her trade passes. If she cannot control the avenues now being employed, she should strain every nerve to divert that trade into channels which she can control." (Industrial Canada, Vol. 6, No. 8, Mar., 1906, p.486.)

"It will be," said W. S. Fisher of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1923, "the truest kind of Canadianism, which would help us more than anything else to join this scattered country together, to use these transportation facilities which we now have running through our own ports, in Vancouver on the west and Halifax and St. John on the east, and why should we not? We are paying millions of dollars for manufactured goods, and are we not at the same time spending many millions of dollars in developing the shipping facilities of ports in a foreign country? Is one not as important as the other?.....We want to develop a united



the principle of Imperial trade preferences, a sort of twentieth century edition of the Navigation Laws, as a guarantee of their position. It was very soon after the inauguration of the National Policy of 1879 that the first significant movement towards closer Empire trade arose in Canada. Organized as the Canada branch of the Imperial Federation League, the movement was the result of the growing opinion, especially in rural Ontario, in favour of a reciprocal trade agreement with the United States; as well as a result of the institution of economic nationalism in the Dominion. It was a reaction, in short, against the increasing integration of American economic life within local metropolitan areas, regardless of whether those areas were national or continental.

The Imperial Federation League in Canada was organized as a means of opposing commercial union with the United States (the parent League, of course, was almost wholly interested in defence). To combat such a movement, the Canadian historian of the League has told us, "it was decided to advocate a Commercial Union of the British Empire as the alternative to the proposition of a Commercial Union with the United States." (20) The League took part in promoting the Chamberlain scheme of Empire Free Trade; an active campaign was launched, meetings were held in the Maritimes, Quebec and Ontario, and a deputation was sent to England to urge upon the Imperial Conference, convening in London in 1902, the taking of a forward step in this direction.

In the same year (1902) a conference of Canadian Boards of Trade, assembled at Toronto, declared in favour of preferential trade within

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country, a country in which the east and west and middle find a common cause, and we can only do that by giving proper consideration to it and to the requirements of each section." (Industrial Canada, Vol. 24, No. 3, July, 1923, p. 119.)

(20) Colonel Geo. T. Denison, The Struggle for Imperial Unity, MacMillan and Co., Limited, London, 1909, p. 85.

the Empire; (21) and resolutions were repeatedly passed at the local meetings of the Board of Trade, especially of Montreal, or introduced at the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, in favour of preferential tariffs. (22)

Unfortunately, however, for the cause of empire trade, the British Government remained wedded to the idea of a free trade empire and refused to return to any such system as that which she had abandoned in 1849. The Chamberlain tariff campaign met with a decided set-back in the elections of 1906. The British tariff preferences of the Laurier Government, as a result, remained as a lone gesture toward closer Empire trade.

The world depression, the intensification of economic nationalism in Europe and the loss of foreign markets, following the collapse of the

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(21) Among the resolutions passed at this meeting were the following:

Preferential trade within the Empire; the increase of the tariff in order to protect the natural products and manufacturers of Canada against the present discrimination under which they suffer; the inauguration of a fast steamship service between various parts of the Empire; the establishment of the domestic rate of postage between Canada and Great Britain in order to encourage the reading of British rather than American literature in Canada; the participation of Canada in the cost of the defence of the Empire; the improvement of Canadian national ports, "Whereas in the consideration of this question it is essential, from a national standpoint, that the trade of Canada should, to the utmost extent possible, be carried on through Canadian channels, and that the exports and imports of our country should pass through the seaports of the Dominion;" the deepening of the canals between Montreal and Lake Erie and Montreal and the seaboard and the granting of Government assistance to the shipbuilding industries.

(Annual Report of the Montreal Board of Trade, 1902, p. 46.)

(22) The following resolutions were introduced by the Montreal Board of Trade at the 1905 meeting of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire: the establishment of Imperial Preference; the contribution by Canada to the defence of the Empire; the establishment of fast steamship services between different parts of the Empire; the establishment of the domestic postal rate on Imperial Publications in order to encourage the reading of British magazines and newspapers in Canada in preference to those published in the U.S.; the gathering and distribution of cable news through Imperial channels so that news would not be sifted in the U.S. before reaching the Canadian reading public; the encouragement of British emigration to the colonies; the inclusion of Newfoundland as a part of the Canadian Dominion; the transference of the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon to the Empire. (Ibid., 1905, p. 49-51.)

Bank of Austria in 1930, threatened, however, the destruction of Britain's free trade Empire and revived the scheme of an Empire protected by trade preferences. In Canada, the movement received considerable impetus as a result of the collapse of the wheat market in 1930 with consequent disorganization of the Dominion's export trade. The insecurity of these large groups of exporting interests, both in Britain and the Dominions, hastened a movement towards the economic re-organization of the Empire which would secure its internal markets for commodities produced within the Empire. The result was the Imperial Economic Conference in Ottawa in 1932.

The scheme of re-organization was not to be a simple revival of the old colonial system; rather it was to be a truly economic commonwealth with each country retaining its separate metropolitan organization but joining in the promotion of intra-imperial trade in those commodities not produced within the individual country but produced in some other part of the Empire. "Between British importer and Canadian exporter, between British exporter and Canadian importer," wrote the editor of the Montreal Daily Star, "there are already natural alliances. Now let us have an Imperial conference between Canadian and British producers, seeking mutual advantage, not mere concessions."

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"What every section of the British Empire needs for its ideal development," said T. B. Macaulay, President of the Sun Life Assurance Co., "is a market, and, in these days of tariff barriers, a preferential market or markets for its surplus products."

"The United States conserves the markets of that country for its own people, while as a contrast, we of the Empire are divided into over thirty sections, each with a tariff against not merely the rest of the world, but against the other parts of the Empire. The people of the United States think nationally, while we, unfortunately, as a rule think only sectionally.....

".....Is it not time, for the sake of our pockets if for no other reason, that we in Canada should begin to think in terms of the whole Empire and its trade possibilities. Recent developments have in truth made it very clear that real and effective trade co-operation between all parts of the Empire has become a vital necessity for the financial benefit of every one of these parts."

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(23) Montreal Daily Star, Mon. Mar. 21, 1932, p. 10.



".....Our object must be to make all sections of the people of the Empire more prosperous, and as a preliminary we must realize that this increased prosperity is not to be secured by injuring our own manufacturing interests. To lower even the intra-imperial tariffs to an extent that would seriously injure them is not to be thought of.

".....Above all, however, our aim should be not the transfer of any of our Canadian manufacturing to Britain or of any of British manufacturing to Canada, but, by co-operation, to transfer to Britain, Canada and other parts of the Empire the production of the vast quantities of articles of all kinds, including foods, which are at present imported into the Empire from other countries. To do this it is not necessary to abolish tariffs between Canada and the Mother Country. What is really needed is a substantial preference, heavy enough to be effective, to all parts of the Empire against outside countries, and this preference must be measured by the advantage given to producers elsewhere, and can be given by Canada quite as well by increasing the general tariff as by reducing the intra-imperial tariff.

".....I have a vision of a time when every part of the Empire, tropics included, will be protected by a substantial tariff on all goods which can be produced within the Empire." (24)

The Conference, in so far as Canada was concerned, was an act of co-operation, though at the same time a contest of strength, between those interests vested in the import and export trade with other parts of the Empire and those interests vested in the maintenance of the local metropolitan economy. In 1932 there was formed, as a branch of the Montreal Board of Trade, the British Trade Association, made up of importers in Montreal. Although the immediate occasion for its organization was to protest against the regulations regarding the value of the pound sterling adopted by the Government at Ottawa following Britain's going off the gold standard (25), the Association took an active part before and during

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(24) The Gazette, Montreal, Fri., Oct. 3, 1930, p. 2.

(25) Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the British Trade Association, Dec. 15, 1932, no pagination.

The point of view of the British importer on this question is well expressed in a letter in the correspondence column of the Montreal Daily Star signed "An Importer":

"Because British goods entered Canada at lower rates than they entered the States, our merchants have been able to build up a mighty healthy trade in imported linens, woollens, china, etc., with American tourists. What have (sic) the present government done to foster this trade? First of all in July, 1930, they raised the tariffs on most British goods of the class sold to the tourists to a point where the difference between the American and Canadian selling price was of very little interest to the tourists. Secondly, after many orders-in-council, in October, 1931, they decided to ignore the current rate of exchange and to charge duty on the pound at par of exchange, and for the misnamed dumping duties, they fixed the value of the pound at \$4.40, resulting in Canadian retail prices on

the Ottawa Conference, pressing the case for closer British trade. (26)

The local manufacturers, on the other hand, represented through the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, though anxious to increase their export trade, had no desire to encourage the sale of British products in Canada which would compete with commodities produced by themselves. "I am not in favour," said Mr. Cahan of Montreal, in voicing the needs of the manufacturing group, "of opening our market wide to any other country (cheers). The prosperity of the city of Montreal is more to me than the prosperity of the city of Manchester, or any other city in England (cheers). The well-being of the working people of this city is more to me than the well-being of the city of Glasgow, or Paris, or Berlin (more cheers). But I do say that, when we have provided our own people with employment here, then for my part I am prepared to give a preference to the British Empire over the producers to the south of us (cheers)."

(27) These sentiments were officially endorsed by the Canadian Manufacturers.

"While we have," said Mr. Elmer Davis, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, "every regard for the Motherland and the rest of the Empire, we must have some consideration that will assist us in the development of our own industry, our own commerce, and particularly our own agricultural activities in this Dominion." (28)

"Canadian standards of living and wages," reads a statement drawn up at the Annual General Meeting of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1930, "are higher than those of the United Kingdom, and it is necessary to ensure sufficient protection to offset the difference; otherwise, our wages and standards will be lowered, or unemployment will be transferred from the United Kingdom to Canada....."

"Therefore, we believe that, in all negotiations concerning British Empire trade, the interests of Canadian producers whether industrial or agricultural, should be properly safeguarded, and that, when this is assured, every practical plan to increase trade among British countries, should be supported, especially in view of the fact that many foreign countries have been restricting their purchases of Canadian products by means of increased

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British goods reaching the American level." (Montreal Daily Star, Tues., April 19, 1932, p. 10.)

(26) Private Interview, President of the Association.

(27) The Gazette, Montreal, Fri., May 23, 1930, p. 14.

(28) Industrial Canada, Vol. 31, No. 3, July, 1930, p. 179.

tariffs and import regulations." (29)

The movement for closer trade relations with Britain was hastened by, and secured its justification in, the fact that economic nationalism was the established policy between Canada and the United States. The failure on the part of the two countries in the latter years of the 19th century to arrive at a mutually satisfactory system of reciprocal trade agreements encouraged the policy of Imperial trade preferences instituted by the

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(29) Industrial Canada, Vol. 31, No. 3, July, 1930, p. 104, continues on p. 145.

As early as 1900 the Canadian Manufacturers' Association had interested itself in the question of British trade, protesting, in that year, against the increase of the preference on British goods. Its resolution to the Government illustrates the policy of the local manufacturers:

"(Resolved), that Canadian manufacturers were not opposed to British manufacturers having a preference in the Canadian market provided that the preference acted against the foreign manufacturers, and that there was still sufficient protection to enable Canadian producers to compete in their own market." (Industrial Canada, Vol. 1, No. 1, June, 1900, p. 2.)

In reporting the result of the interview with the Government in this connection, Mr. W.K. McNaught, Toronto, said:

"We tried to press upon the Government very strongly that, so far as the manufacturers of Canada were concerned, what they wanted was adequate protection against any other country; that we were quite willing; (sic) in fact, we were anxious to see a preference given to British goods; but when that protection was given, we wanted protection to all Canadian industries. While we wanted to see trade with the Mother Country cultivated and helped as far as possible, we thought it should be done at the expense of the foreign manufacturers, not at the expense of our own." (Ibid. Vol. 1, No. 4, September, 1900, p. 44.)

"Whatever may be said," wrote the editor of Industrial Canada in 1903, "about the wisdom or unwisdom of granting the preference in the first place without any compensation, to withdraw it now would create a very unfavourable impression in Britain. It is true that the present tariff hits some of our manufacturers very hard and will injuriously affect many others when hard times come, but the way to remedy the evil is not to abolish the preferential tariff, but to so increase the general tariff that even with a British preference of 33 1/3 % the minimum tariff will be high enough to safeguard Canadian interests.....In most lines our manufacturers have far more reason to fear United States competition than British competition....."

"Very few Canadians would object to a tariff as high as the United States tariff against foreign countries, but it would not be popular to make the tariff against Britain equally high. Consequently Canadian manufacturers cannot get sufficient protection against their rivals in the United States unless the British preference is maintained." (Industrial Canada, Vol. 3, No. 9, April, 1903, p. 394.)



Laurier Government. Those preferences, in turn, acted as a reason for opposing closer trade relations with the Southern neighbour. "The McKinley tariff of 20 years ago," declared W. L. Edmonds, Liberal candidate in East Toronto, speaking against Reciprocity in 1911, "was the blow that killed the reciprocity propaganda as far as Canada is concerned. With the killing of reciprocity was born a new ambition. That ambition was the cultivation of an enlarged trade with Great Britain. The results which have followed the efforts put forth in that direction prove its wisdom." (30) Ten years later The Gazette declared editorially: "Tariff legislation in the United States will make that country a less accessible market for Canadian farm-stuffs.....The promising field for Canada's export trade lies within the British Empire." (31)

The final attempt to institute an Empire policy of trade preferences was carried forward on a wave of imperial sentiment, not only in Britain but in the Dominion, which found expression in the form of Empire weeks, British trade ships, newspaper propaganda and public addresses. (32) That feeling in Canada took the pattern of compensatory attitudes because of the loss of the United States market. "What is needed," said Professor Stephen Leacock, addressing the Montreal Rotary Club, "is economic co-operation within the Empire. We don't need the United States. With that great republic we are, and we must always remain, on the most friendly terms. But the time has come to give them one of the friendliest jolts they ever got. The time has come to show them in the friendliest way that this new American dominance won't do." (33)

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(30) The Gazette, Montreal, Sat., Sept. 9, 1911, p. 1.

(31) Ibid. Mon., May 23, 1921, p. 12.

(32) At this time McGill University, in line with the general trend of feeling, adopted the policy of charging a higher tuition fee to outside students but the same fee to students of other parts of the Empire as to students of Canada.

(33) Montreal Daily Star, Tues., Nov. 5, 1929, p. 4.

"So long," writes the Montreal Daily Star editorially, "as we had a tame and docile Government in Ottawa, which never thought of retaliating when our people were struck, we were struck with impunity and with an almost thoughtless carelessness. Our big neighbour to the South hardly knew when we were hit by his actions. There was nothing to call his attention to the circumstance. We never did anything to show that we felt it necessary to take defensive measures. If we did not mind, why should he? If his politicians could curry favour with a section by barring out our copper or our lumber, why not do it? They would never hear from Canada about it.

"But now that Canada has adopted what the Americans call a 'retaliatory' tariff and now that the Ottawa agreements threaten to cut down American imports by many millions, Uncle Sam is taking notice. He is not angry, for well he knows that we are only following his example. He freely admits the justice of our course. But he also realizes that he can no longer destroy a Canadian business with an off-hand gesture merely to quiet some clamant local interest, with complete confidence that he will lose nothing by it. Those happy days are over. Canada has called to her assistance the powerful commercial interests of the great Empire to which she belongs, and Imperial agreements have been reached which will staunch the wounds inflicted by Washington and strengthen our ability to 'take our own part'." (34)

Canada, in a sense, felt she had to make a choice between becoming a part of the American economic hegemony or, with the other members of the Empire, building anew an imperial structure which would secure her position as a separate metropolitan organization on the American Continent. "It is either federation or separation," said Lt.-Col. George Drew, at a meeting of the Montreal Women's Club. "We cannot wait for a precedent to give us the lead. The United States, Germany, France and Russia, too are working to build up their forces and capture the markets of the world while we are standing by and trying to do individually what we could accomplish so much better together." (35)

The recent revival of Reciprocity discussion, however, would seem to indicate that Canada has not yet secured her position completely independent

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(34) Montreal Daily Star, Wed., Oct. 26, 1932, p. 10.

And A. M. Carmichael, Progressive Member of Parliament for Kindersley, said "that he liked the conference agreements and intended to support them because economically speaking, they administered a sound thrashing to the United States." "To judge from the applause," wrote the House and Lobby columnist of the Star, "there were many in the House who were imbued with a like spirit towards their brothers to the South."

(Montreal Daily Star, Fri., Oct. 28, 1932, p. 14.)

(35) The Gazette, Montreal, Tues., Oct. 7, 1930, p. 9.

of the metropolitan organization of the United States. She remains, in a very real sense, a part of the metropolitan economies of both the United States and Britain. At the same time there is being established, within the country itself, a local metropolitan organization which promises an increasing integration of economic life within national bounds. The frontier relationship is disappearing and in its place is arising a relationship based upon such local metropolitan organization. A protective tariff policy signified this re-orientation of Canadian economic life; the Ottawa Economic Conference marked its definite recognition in the politics of Empire.

## CHAPTER II

### FRONTIER AND LOCAL METROPOLITAN ORGANIZATION

#### Local Metropolitan Organisation and Transportation

The expansion of modern commercial organization has revolutionized the regional relationships of the Western World. Old lines marking off local units have disappeared while new boundaries, the peripheries of expanding metropolitan centres, have arisen. The areas of control have both confirmed and broken down the political relationships existing between Canada and Great Britain and Canada and the United States. The rise of industry within the Dominion has limited the participation of the Canadian frontier region in the metropolitan organizations of Britain and the United States; on the other hand, the influence of London on the one side, and New York and Chicago on the other, in marking out areas of control with little regard to national boundaries, has prevented the complete economic orientation of Canada within a scheme of local metropolitan dominance. She has tended to remain, in some measure, a frontier on two fronts, serving the needs of the metropolitan economies of Britain and the United States.

The opening of the American West shifted the advantage of market control from the British to the rising United States industrial centres. This shift was emphasized by the increase of tariff barriers, following the Civil War and the development of rapid means of land transport. Trade between centres within the Continent increasingly took the place of trade between American and European centres. Large-scale manufacturing began



with, and has remained dependent upon, railway construction. The natural water routes of North America favoured the production and marketing of primary export commodities; railways, on the other hand, made possible the diversification of production and internal trading, the essential pre-requisite of a metropolitan economy.

Land transportation linked the Western and Northern markets with the Eastern United States. Chicago, guarding the entrances to the West by way of the Upper Mississippi Heights, was the natural centre of transportation between West and East. Not only was its situation central but it stood in the path of a productive belt reaching into the Great American Plains.

That expansion had little regard for the separate political connections of the region lying west of the Red River and north of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. The Red River was a natural artery of traffic from the central states of the Union and the whole North-west was regionally an extension of the Great American Plains. Lines of steel were thrown across the Continent and threatened to tap the Saskatchewan River. Almost at the last moment the British transcontinental railway turned south at Brandon and ran across the relatively unproductive southern part of the Northwest Territories in order to head off the dominance of the American States.

The needs of the metropolitan economies of Britain and the United States determined the direction of such transportation lines; those lines, in turn, were the determinants of zones of trade activity and of trade routes. Railways brought the regions they penetrated into contact with the established centres of trade and industry. New centres of exchange grew up to administer to the needs of the re-organized regional areas. Beginning as points of activity in the metropolitan organizations of

Britain and the United States , their function was that of acting as links in the chain of communications integrating the economic life of the hinterland with the outside centres.

At first the activities of such centres had to do chiefly with trade and transportation. However, the accumulation of capital and the organization of business enterprises encouraged the development of manufacturing. Such manufacturing was a suburban extension of the larger metropolitan centres. It proved advantageous to manufacture many commodities in the outlying regions because of the proximity of the market and the availability of raw materials. Not all of these enterprises, of course, were branch plants of metropolitan factories. Many were established by local entrepreneurs who had accumulated their capital in trading. These traders -- import jobbers, wholesale merchants, etc. -- were, in the first instance, units in the metropolitan organizations of the outside centres and it was through such connections that they first established themselves. Other enterprises were originated by such tradesmen as blacksmiths and furniture makers who simply turned their shops into factories by additional capital equipment.

Manufacturing in Canada, though there were a few scattered enterprises in Montreal and Toronto as early as the 'fifties, began after the federation of the colonies in 1867. Because of her proximity to the Pennsylvania coal fields and to the rich agricultural peninsula of Western Ontario, Toronto established the lead in industrial production. Commencing as little more than blacksmith or village furniture shops, the railway construction of the 'sixties and 'seventies opened to these small factories a market reaching into the deep Canadian hinterland. The development tended, for a time, to intensify the regional conflict between Toronto and Montreal. The latter city remained an integral part of the world dominated

by the Atlantic basin. Latterly, however, with the exploitation of the abundant hydro-electric power of Northern Quebec, the industry of manufacturing has widened its base and caused a re-alignment of regional relationships. Montreal, as a result, drew nearer to Toronto, and, figuratively speaking, the ends of St. James and Bay Streets joined to become the heart of a new manufacturing centre. Though not a unit, they became a unity.

The changed relationship of the Eastern region manifested itself in a rising national consciousness and interregional competition. The trader who turned manufacturer no longer was anxious to maintain those links of communication between the Canadian hinterland and outside metropolitan centres. His position depended upon control of the local market. It meant the establishment of local metropolitan organization.

Such establishment depended, in the first instance, upon transportation. The direction of routes and shifts in railway tariffs reflected themselves in the costs of manufactured products; these costs, in turn, determined the competitive strength of Canadian industries. Regional organization arranged itself about the main arteries of communication. Accordingly local metropolitan control could be established only by a system of transportation which placed the local industries in an advantageous position in serving the hinterland market. "The salvation of our great national industries," said R. Robson, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, "depends upon the development of strong home markets, under our own control and despite tariff barriers, our home markets never can be under our control unless we bring our means of internal communication to the highest degree of efficiency." (1)

Because Canada was sprawled out across the northern half of the con-

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(1) Industrial Canada, Vol.10, No. 3, October, 1909, p. 248.

continent, with the various regions separated from one another by long stretches of barren land and of water, the problem of transportation centralization was a peculiarly difficult one. "In a country like Canada," said the Hon. J. D. Rolland, in his presidential address before the meeting of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1908, "whose inhabitants or, at any rate, whose inhabited portion consists of a strip of land three or four hundred miles wide stretching away across the continent, it is of the first importance that we should try to keep our great highways of commerce running in an easterly and westerly direction..... Our North-Western Provinces are rapidly being covered with a perfect network of railways, leading down to the border." (2)

The problem was particularly acute in regard to the Western market. Agriculture production on the Prairies depended upon low costs. That was secured by procuring the tools of production in the cheapest market and by shipping the wheat exports by the most economical trade routes. Both conspired to favour the north-south connection with the United States industrial centres. "At the present time," wrote W.R.S. in Industrial Canada, "a large percentage of the western carrying trade of the country is being done through United States channels. Unless we wish to have that business fall more largely into the hands of a foreign nation during the next ten years a vigorous policy will have to be adopted by the federal government to increase not only the avenues of transportation from west to east, but also to improve and make more adequate the shipping facilities on the Atlantic seaboard, so that the enormous future ocean-borne business of the west will be able to find a free and convenient outlet without resorting to the ports of a foreign nation. This is Canada's greatest public need at the present time, for without ample inland transportation

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(2) Industrial Canada, Vol. 9, No. 3, October, 1908, p. 213.



and adequate facilities for getting rid of what that transportation brings, we will never be able to hold the carrying business which the rapid development of the west is sure to create during the next few years." (3)

Transportation was a government enterprise. Government assistance was necessary because of the enormous capital investment involved in a country so large and sparsely populated as Canada and because of the fact that private enterprise, left to itself, would have selected those natural transportation routes which crossed the border into the United States. Consequently the demands of interests whose position depended upon the direction of transportation routes translated their needs in terms of government policy. "Our public men," writes S. Morley Wickett, a Toronto manufacturer, in Industrial Canada, "know full well what a unique and singularly delicate problem is that of our trade relations; a narrow strip of country a couple of hundred miles wide, by three thousand six hundred miles long, loosely filled with seven and a half millions, adjoining a country with a hundred million speaking the same language and rampantly ambitious in everything connected with commerce and industry.....As for us, the circulation of goods from East to West may be called the life blood of our Dominion, and transportation our heart action." (4)

#### Local Metropolitan Organization and the Canadian Consuming Public

Other factors besides transportation conspired to favour the expansion of United States metropolitan organization into the Canadian Dominion. The close similarity of conditions in the two countries, the fact that areas of activity and culture cut across the boundary line, meant that the people on

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(3) Industrial Canada, Vol. 3, No. 11, June, 1903, p. 484.

(4) Ibid. Vol. 11, No. 9, April, 1911, p. 944.

both sides had very much the same wants. The manufacturers of the United States, organized on mass-production lines, did not have to adapt their commodities to satisfy different tastes on the part of their Canadian consumers. "Similarity of race, language, customs, etc. and intimate social intercourse," wrote the publicist of the Canadian Reconstruction Association, "have withheld from Canada that important but 'invisible' protection which many countries in Europe and elsewhere have had in their efforts to maintain their industrial independence and establish themselves as economic units." (5) "We have," complained a member of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1903, "been Americanized in the goods we use.....There is hardly a lock on your door that is not an American patent, or cutlery or anything else that you use which has not been Americanized, and by what? By our tariffs in the past." (6)

Such similarities meant not only that consumers' wants were the same but that the same advertising organs issued by United States producers reached the Canadian as well as the United States publics. "The close relationships between the people of Canada and the United States and their similarity of preferences and customs," the same publicist of the Canadian Reconstruction Association wrote, "add greatly to the difficulties of developing separate industrial organizations in Canada. United States styles and colors very largely determine the vogue for the Dominion. Advertising in the great publicity mediums of the United States reaches the Canadian as well as the United States consumer. The United States advertiser pays largely on the basis of circulation in the United States and the added advertising in Canada is secured at small additional cost." (7)

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(5) Canada and Reciprocity with the United States, Bulletin issued by the Canadian Reconstruction Association, October, 1921, p. 16.

(6) Industrial Canada, Vol. 4, No. 3, October, 1903, p. 112.

(7) Buy Canadian Products, May, 1921, p. 7.

### Local Metropolitan Organization and the Fiscal Policy of Protection

Those advantages could be offset only by restrictions on the entry of American magazines and by a fiscal policy which would give the Canadian manufacturer an advantage in the home market. The question of magazines will be dealt with in a later chapter. (8) The fiscal policy was designed to integrate the various regions scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific into a national system of economy. In point of time, the market of the Maritime Provinces was the first concern of the Canadian manufacturers.

"If the gentlemen from the Maritime Provinces (said W. H. Howland of Toronto) were determined to secure their own interests, without regard to those of Ontario, it certainly shewed that Confederation was not a desirable thing for Ontario. He believed Ontario paid nearly one-half the taxation of the whole country, and he thought its interests should receive an impartial consideration. The Maritime Provinces were, of course, the best market for the grain of Ontario, but Boston and New York were much nearer than Toronto; and, of course, if people could get what they wanted close at hand on equal terms, they were not likely to send to a distance; the merchants on the sea-board, therefore, had refused to buy from Ontario producers, until they could under-sell the Americans. He thought it most unfair that the Americans should build their huge wall of protection, and at the same time furnish one part of our country with what another part could supply.....All he wanted was, that there should be a narrow line of protection, just sufficient to encourage inter-Provincial trade -- as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick would certainly deal with the United States, unless Ontario could offer some inducement. The Dominion must be fastened together in some way, and the only way in which that could be done was by the bonds of trade." (9)

Since the turn of the present century, following the rapid immigration of European settlers, the attention of the Eastern industrialists has been directed mainly to the market lying west of the Red River. "Upon the people of Eastern Canada," wrote W. Sanford Evans, in Industrial Canada, "two facts about the Canadian West cannot be too strongly impressed. The first is that the West is entering upon a period of unexampled development; and the second is that the United States is to be a chief factor in this development..... There is not an important business interest in the Western States that is not now 'sizing up' the prospects of Western Canada.....The facts to be noted with regard to the United States people and the Canadian West are, therefore, that

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(8) Chapter Nine.

(9) Annual Report of the Dominion Board of Trade, Ottawa, 1871, p. 34.

from the United States is almost certain to come the great proportion of the immigration; that American capitalists are going to make most of the money out of exploiting settlement; that the same or other United States capitalists will establish elevators, buy grain, manufacture it and do anything else in connection with the products of the West that there is money in, and that Canadians do not fully cover; and that they will also manufacture for the Canadian West, and even go into the wholesale distributing business if Canadians do not keep up with the demands of the times." (10)

That could be prevented only by the integration of the West into the Eastern Canada metropolitan organisation. "We must establish," said Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, addressing a Board of Trade banquet at Toronto, "such relations between the merchants and manufacturers of Eastern and the merchants and consumers of Western Canada as will make the trend of traffic and social intercourse in Canada east and west." (11) To accomplish this, the policy of fiscal protection was necessary. "It should not be forgotten," reported the Tariff Committee of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, "that this Dominion represents merely a narrow strip of populated country, stretching for four thousand miles along the northern boundary of the United States, in which country, throughout that whole distance, there are great industrial centres close to the Canadian border. The shorter freight haul from such centres to the Canadian West, as compared with the longer haul from Canadian industrial centres to the same points, would give those United States' manufacturers commanding advantages in our home markets, advantages which could not be offset except for our protective customs law." (12)

The Canadian fiscal policy, as a consequence, has been directed almost wholly against the industries of the southern Republic. "I do not think," said William Thompson of Toronto, as early as 1874, "we have much to fear

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(10) Industrial Canada, Vol. 3, No. 1, August, 1902, p. 22.

(11) Ibid. Vol. 8, No. 12, July, 1903, p. 1104.

(12) Ibid. Vol. 20, No. 3, July, 1919, p. 196.



from the competition of the mother country; nor would I desire to see, in the arrangement of the tariff, aught done to weaken the tie that binds us to Great Britain. But I do feel that so long as we live alongside of the great manufacturing nation of the United States, which is able to flood our markets with their goods whenever they happen to have a surplus stock, — and that, too, to the great injury of our home industries, — we need a moderate protection against that country." (13) This view was endorsed by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, in a Tariff Memorial presented to the Government in 1906. "While we do not favour," it reads, "any discrimination against the United States as compared with foreign countries, yet the proximity of the Great Republic with its gigantic combinations of capital, its keen business men, and its constant surplus production, subject the manufacturers of Canada to competition which, unless properly safeguarded, means certain ruin." (14)

It is partly true, of course, as the apologists of Canadian economic nationalism continually insist, that the policy of the United States Congress in prohibiting the entry of Canadian commodities into the southern market forced fiscal protection upon Canada. "For thirty years," said Mr. R. J. Youngs, a member of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, in 1910, "we sought for reciprocity at Washington, and we sought in vain; refused and repulsed we looked to ourselves, to the great natural resources which we have within our own borders; instead of building our railways from north to south we built them from east to west; we have stretched across our continent three great transcontinental systems; we have deepened our canals and waterways; we have subsidised steamships to carry our products across the seas; we have opened up our Great West; we have erected our own tariff wall and have given a preference to the Mother Country. In short, we have

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(13) Annual Report of the Dominion Board of Trade, Ottawa, 1874, p. 112.

(14) Industrial Canada, Vol. 6, No. 8, March, 1906, p. 493.

bent all our energies to develop ourselves as an important part of the great Empire to which we belong. It is too late, gentlemen, at this hour, and with the great future now before us -- too late to listen to the siren song which comes to us from our great neighbour to the south." (15)

This view was endorsed by the President of the Association, Mr. John Hendry, at the same meeting of 1910. "Canada to-day," he said, "stands in no need of reciprocity with the United States. Forced by their policy of rigid isolation to look elsewhere for markets, we have cast about us and have found those markets. Some of them we have built for ourselves with a protective tariff, by means of which we have provided ourselves with a population of consumers within our own borders. Others we have found by joining hands with Mother England who, unlike the United States, was glad to come to our assistance in our time of trouble." (16)

Yet such considerations were more of a justification than a cause of the Canadian fiscal policy. Reciprocity was continually rejected by the manufacturers, allegedly on the ground that the particular treaties were 'unfair' to Canada, actually because any form of reciprocity in manufactured products meant the domination of the Canadian market by the American industrialist. The truth would seem to be that the United States tariff, affecting as it did chiefly the exporting interests of agriculture and lumber, persuaded the public of Canada to support the establishment of the local metropolitan hegemony. The farmer or the lumberman, in other words, in many cases supported the tariff against the United States because he was 'sore' regarding the prohibition against the entry of his products into that country. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the protective tariff strengthened the position and made possible the expansion of the Canadian industrial community.

The result was that the Canadian industrialists acquired a vested interest

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(15) Industrial Canada. Vol. 11, No. 3, October, 1910, p. 332.

(16) Ibid. p. 273.

in the maintenance of such a fiscal system. The policy of protection had a cumulative effect in that it encouraged the expansion of industry which in turn demanded the widening of the base of protection. The investment of capital in manufacturing enterprises was undertaken under the aegis of the fiscal system with the result that any change in that system could be only in one direction. There were continually springing up new industries demanding protection because of their 'infancy', while the older industries justified continued protection because of their expanding capital outlays.

#### Labour and Local Metropolitan Organization

Although seeking, however, the aid of Government to protect them from outside competition, the manufacturers were careful not to permit any regulation which would interfere with the free functioning of industrial enterprise. They have promoted the rigidification of the area of metropolitan control only in so far as it was necessary for the fullest existence of the manufacturing industry. Clustered about these basic metropolitan interests have been such organizations as the transportation companies. Railways, with manufacturing, depended upon a fiscal policy which would integrate the movement of trade within the country. "The railways," according to a statement issued by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, "opposed the reciprocity agreement of 1911 with the United States on the ground that such an agreement would build up north and south traffic at the expense of east and west traffic, and would depreciate the value of the huge investments in our transportation systems." (17) Metropolitan dominance, in short, meant the dominance of the powerful industrial and transportation interests operating within the metropolitan area.

The altered orientation, however, within the metropolitan centres as a result of the rise of new urban interests, such as an organized labour

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(17) Industrial Canada, Vol. 21, No. 5, September, 1920, p. 78.

and small business class and their demand, in turn, for protection from outside competition promises a greatly increased rigidification of metropolitan control and, in the end, of the line marking off Canada from the United States. Canadian labour has identified itself with the industrial life of the country; it has, in short, become metropolitanized. By attaching itself to the national industrial organization, it has come to associate its welfare with that of the local economic set-up.

It is but natural that the machinist working in, for instance, the Massey Harris plant at Toronto should be<sup>as</sup> interested in protecting the products of that Canadian industry as the management itself. Jobs depend upon the maintenance of manufacturing; labour has, therefore, just as much a vested interest in manufacturing as has the industrialist. It is true that labour is migratory and, up to recent times, could emigrate to the American industrial centres in search of work. Such movements, however, mean the giving up of an established home, status in a settled community and the certainty of employment for the chance of securing work in some United States city. "I have a stake in the country," said one labour representative. "I have raised children. I have three and we feel that we are an essential part of the country." (18) These become interests, vested, in the mind of the worker, in the established system, and any change of such a system would call forth defensive acts on the part of labour. "We are," said the late Mr. J. T. Foster, President of the Montreal Trades and Labour Council, "fully aware of, and widely awake to, the fact that we depend for our existence upon the development and expansion of the Canadian industrial establishment. We consider it is our heritage, our inalienable right as citizens of the Dominion to build our homes and to plan for the future in the rearing of our families on Canadian soil. We believe that it is the duty of the Government to so manage our fiscal policy

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(18) Information Service, Canadian Reconstruction Association, No. 92, January 19, 1921, no pagination.



that the Canadian workman will not be compelled through idleness in industry to migrate to foreign lands to find employment and earn his living." (19)

Consequently the position of labour has become dependent upon the maintenance of the national fiscal policy. As a result of protection, according to a correspondent writing in the Montreal Gazette, "a large part of the population of the country is engaged in manufacturing," and "it must be remembered," he goes on to say, "that most of these workmen are unfitted for any other form of employment, -- so that any drastic change in the tariff would result in widespread distress." (20)

Tariff regulations, in other words, have determined the nature of industrial organization and the division of labour in the Canadian community. The consequence had been specialization of techniques with corresponding occupational complexes. "It is too late," wrote Tom Moore, President of the Trades and Labor Congress, "to discuss whether Canada should or should not be an industrial country.....Nearly one-half of the working population of Canada is now engaged in manufacturing or in the distribution of manufactured products, and their interests demand the same consideration and protection from the state as that of any other class." (21) The editor of the Canadian Congress Journal endorsed this view. "The facts are," he wrote, "that whilst no worker likes tariff duty and would much prefer to see universal free trade, that whilst the U.S.A. (abbreviated in text) denies Canadian products free entry to that country, and whilst we still desire to develop Canada as an industrial country in competition with the well developed mass production factories of the U.S.A. (abb.), a measure of protection is an absolute necessity." (22)

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(19) Information Service, Canadian Reconstruction Association, No. 86, December 7, 1920, no pagination.

(20) The Gazette, Montreal, Sat., Oct. 29, 1921, p. 12.

(21) Canadian Congress Journal, official organ of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, Vol. 4, No. 1, June, 1925, p. 11.

(22) Ibid. Vol. 3, No. 4, April, 1924, p. 33.

Labour has, however, gone further and demanded not only protection for the commodity but for the workers' market. There have, for the past thirty years, been organized protests against foreign labour competition, culminating in Alien Labour Acts and attempts to divert immigrants into agriculture rather than into industry. "The present immigration policy of Canada," complained the editor of the Montreal Gazette in 1921, a depression year, "is not based upon the desire to increase production. It is a barrier, created at the bidding of organized labor for the purpose of establishing something in the nature of a nationwide closed shop. It is being applied as such and to the exclusion of productive labor." (23) "There has been," the same editor wrote a week later, "an official disposition to hamper immigration rather than to encourage it, and there is something more than a suspicion that this tendency is attributable to the influence of organized labor, fearful of what it calls dilution." (24) The same principle is suggested in a news dispatch of The Gazette: "The entry of Polish immigrants who would compete with Canadian workmen will be prevented, while the Britishers whose coming will be encouraged will be of the rural type. It is not thought, therefore, that Canadian unions will prove hostile to the plan." (25)

Actually, of course, the great body of immigrants entering Canada between 1921 and 1929 found their way into urban industry and construction work. The conditions of employment were such, however, that there was little organized expression on the part of labour against such an influx. It was depression and resulting unemployment which threw into bold relief the havoc wrought in the local labour market by the 'dumping' of workers from foreign countries. Essentially, to labour, the nature of the problem was the same as that faced by manufacturers when outside producers flooded

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(23) The Gazette, Montreal, Friday, Oct. 21, 1921, p. 12.

(24) Ibid. Saturday, Oct. 29, 1921, p. 12.

(25) Ibid. Saturday, Nov. 19, 1921, p. 1.

the local market with manufactured commodities. The result has been a constant agitation for, and in some measure the securing of, immigration regulations designed effectively to shut out the immigrant worker.

In the skilled occupations the dissatisfaction has received even more crystallized expression, partly because, here, the protection afforded by immigrant regulations has been less complete and partly because of the more highly organized character of such groups. Tradesmen, nurses and others have demanded protection, through the machinery of the state, against outside competition. A correspondent writing in the Montreal Daily Star expressed the opinion that the Government "should look ahead and prepare to protect Canadians now employed in Canadian industries against the influx of foreign experts which will follow the establishment of foreign industries here under the new tariff;" (26) while another correspondent objected "to the large number of non-Canadian experts engaged on the staffs of our colleges and universities." (27) In a memorial presented to the leaders of all parties in the House of Commons, the National Council, Native Sons of Canada, declared that: "Whereas we believe that experts have been brought into this country to do work that could be done by those already in Canada, we, therefore, urge upon the Government the necessity of a still further and more particular investigation being made in each case before such alleged experts are brought in to work in Canada." (28)

#### The Urban Middle Class and Local Metropolitan Organization

In recent years the conception of local metropolitan organization has widened, to some extent, to include the large number of people of the urban middle class whose position has become insecure in an international

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(26) Montreal Daily Star, Weds., Oct. 19, 1932, p. 10.

(27) Ibid. Fri., March 31, 1932, p. 10.

(28) Memorial Presented by the National Council, Native Sons of Canada, to the Leaders of All Parties in the House of Commons. No pagination.

economy of laissez-faire. Depression, again, has aggravated the situation and intensified the general unrest. Such people are coming to interpret their needs in terms of the national economy and to feel that the protection of their position can be secured only by a greater rigidification of metropolitan and, in the end, of national organization. They have seized upon international trade and finance as the scape-goat of their ills and are demanding protection from this "devouring octopus". It is little wonder indeed, that the Canadian whose savings had been "devoured" in the Wall Street stock market crash of 1929 should seize upon international finance as the explanation of his personal misfortune.

There has been, as a result, a new psychology of Canadian investors; a psychology, it is true, which is the result of depression conditions but one which promises an element of permanency. Canadians are thinking in terms of a national investing market. "It is unfortunately the case," writes a correspondent in the Montreal Daily Star, "that the local market is dominated by New York, and the results of this we now realize." (29) This feeling the editor of the Star sums up in the cryptic sentence: "The depression has taught us to borrow at home." (30)

The exchange relations between Canada and the United States, too, and the fact that the value of the Canadian dollar fluctuates with that

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(29) Montreal Daily Star, Sat., Nov. 16, 1929, p. 10.

(30) Ibid. Fri., Oct. 21, 1932, p. 10.

This view was advanced by the editor of Industrial Canada as early as 1908, in referring to the financial depression of 1907. "some Canadians," he wrote, "have been hit, and hit hard, but that was through investments made on the American stock market. If their experience has the effect of teaching them the wisdom of investing their surplus cash in good, substantial Canadian enterprises, it will, in the end, prove a good thing for them and for this country. The stock markets of the United States burn up a great deal of good Canadian money that could be safely and profitably invested at home." (Industrial Canada, Vol. 8, No. 7, February, 1908, p. 546.)

of the American, has given rise to dissatisfaction with the present situation and the feeling that Canada should have greater internal control over exchange or should be associated more closely with the London financial market. "When Canada," writes a correspondent in the Montreal Daily Star, "buys its exchange through a foreign medium, i.e., New York, there must be a big national financial loss. There should be men in Canada, with great international financial experience and able to take a national viewpoint, who could inaugurate this (a Montreal-London Exchange direct). It would rank us financially as a nation, not as a subsidiary of New York." (31) Such a policy has been popularized, by addresses and articles, during the past two or three years by Professor J. P. Day of McGill University. (32)

It is, however, in such movements as the Native Sons of Canada that this conception of the self-contained financial nation has received its most decided expression. "We must," said Major Lavery, of Montreal, former second vice-president of the Native Sons, "eliminate from our land the tentacles of the worldwide Overheading Money-changing Octopus which draws our finance abroad in investments, dividends, interest, and speculative profits, for the cruel diversion of a purely paper-empire without a single tangible asset in its whole make-up. Other nations have been forced to declare for financial independence, and Canada must join in the suit for a period of intensely local nationalism to rid the world of the general international Octopus.....Here is a good place to say again

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(31) Montreal Daily Star, Thursday, Oct. 15, 1931, p. 12.

(32) cf. his paper before the meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, 1934, Proceedings, Vol. vi, p. 263-71.



that we must forbid the export of dividend, interest, speculative profits, and Canadian-made capital abroad." (33) This view was endorsed by I.S.

Henri, also of Montreal, in a public-news-letter:

After all these lessons, let it be far from "The Native Sons of Canada" to export a dollar of our capital, or allow it to be exported, in order to exploit Chinese, Hindu, and other cheap labor abroad, and then bring their product here into departmental stores, and other competition with our present skimpy manufactures, and also further break down the home payroll.

Far be it from "The Native Sons of Canada" to accept the alleged capital of the foreign exploiter in order that he may drive Canadian residents to work at slavery pay and conditions for him to build him a mansion abroad.....

Far be it from "The Native Sons of Canada" to try to use "Foreign Trade" in the modern octopus-sense of exploiting our neighbors. If we are still tempted to try some more of the octopus duplicities, we shall always continue to get the worst of it, for we are predominantly an agricultural country. And it is like irritating the sore of our folly to remind ourselves of our present hell of suffering, which is burning us up, on account of departing so far from our old ideal of minding our own business at home, growing and manufacturing for home need only. Let us bring back home our earlier ideal of "the self-sustained and self-contained life" which balanced our happiness so much better.....(34)

#### Agriculture and Local Metropolitan Organization

The collapse of the world markets for agricultural products and the financial insecurity resulting therefrom has extended the feeling of unrest and the dissatisfaction with international trading to the great

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(33) A New Year Message, Private MSS. of Major Lavery.

(34) News Column of the Native Sons of Canada, Open Letter addressed to Major Salluste Lavery, LL.B., K.C.; italics mine.

The following resolution was passed by the Native Sons of Canada, assembled in annual meeting:

"Your Committee wishes to draw attention to one aspect of discrimination against Canadians, that is widespread, but apparently does not come home so directly to the average Canadian. It is, so to speak, an indirect form of discrimination and one to which unfortunately many well-meaning Canadians have become accomplices by contributive patronage. We refer to the support of foreign investments in financial and commercial activities that should be entirely in the hands of Canadians. Our suggested remedy is complete cessation of support by withholding patronage from such activities as directly or indirectly aim to garner the earnings of Canadian Labor and convert them into increased dividends to foreigners." (Eleventh Session Native Sons of Canada, Quebec, Aug. 15-17, 1932; no pagination.)

body of agriculturists of the Dominion. One result of this, as indicated in the preceding chapter, was the movement towards the establishment of a sheltered market in Great Britain. It also gave rise, however, to the tendency on the part of farmers to think more in terms of home markets and less in terms of world markets. Among those agriculturists, of course, who are organized for production in the home market there has been no great shift of opinion. They are essentially a unit of the local metropolitan organization. Consequently they are equally as dependent as the manufacturers upon the fiscal policy of protection. H. B. Savage, for instance, of the United Farmers of Quebec, declared that the farmers of Quebec "were protectionists, and on such an important question as the tariff did not mean to follow blindly the lead of the Western farmers." (35)

Even the western farmers, however, although their position depends upon the maintenance of contacts with world centres of commerce, are interpreting their situation in relationship to the national economy. The efforts of the Government to solve the marketing problem, the administration of relief in Southern Saskatchewan, the growing importance of the domestic market for the Parklands farmer and the fact that many of the problems which beset the agriculturist -- such as taxation, credit and railway rates -- are, or have the appearance of being, national questions, have served to create a greater reliance on the part of the frontier agricultural community upon the machinery of state. It is, in short, conceiving itself as a part of the metropolitan organization. It is not unusual to hear western farmers discussing with vigour the folly of permitting Argentina to ship cheap beef into the Eastern market, while displaying little concern for the high price of farm machinery resulting from protection. In other words, while the farmer is coming to look upon the

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(35) Election meeting in 1921 in Montreal, The Gazette, Mon. Nov. 28, 1921, p. 7.

the price of a binder as an established thing, the competition of Argentine beef in the Ontario market is something he is losing. That is not to say that the great body of Western farmers have identified themselves completely with the principles of economic nationalism. It is not possible here, because of lack of evidence, to indicate to what extent there has been such a tendency. Certainly, however, the western agricultural community is coming to feel itself more and more a part of the local metropolitan organization.

#### National Planning and Metropolitan Organization

The present depression, in short, by threatening the economic security of large groups of people in the Canadian Dominion, has caused them to look for protection within the organization of the local economy. The attempt to meet these demands has introduced greater rigidities and "the development of rigidities has strengthened the growth of nationalism and in turn of regionalism." (36) Rigidities of capital charges, railway rates and interest levels in Canada have brought about the attempt "to restrict production and to maintain railway rates, interest levels and other indications of rigidity, in order to avoid the vicious circle of inflation on the ground of attracting capital." (37) The recent reform measures of the Ottawa Government are indications of a continued trend in this direction, and it is not likely that there will be any decided departure from such a movement.

Within industrial and commercial organizations there has been a noticeable willingness to formulate some conception of an integrated planned economy. The chaotic conditions of competition, and the attempt of smaller firms to remain within the field of production at the cost of labour

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(36) H. A. Innis, Economic Nationalism, Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association, Vol. vi, p. 24.

(37) Ibid. p. 25.

conditions, have encouraged such groups to abandon, in some measure at least, the doctrines of laissez-faire in business organization. At first planning was conceived of as the function of the business organizations themselves. Latterly, however, it is coming to be realized by business groups that such co-ordination can only be secured through the machinery of the state. More especially, the retail merchants, faced with the competition of large-scale chain organization, are looking to legislation to secure their position.

All such movements are yet tentative and undefined. It is not the intention of this monograph to do more than indicate the general tendencies and the general direction. The critical situation has, in some measure, dis-established traditional relationships and left the situation in a state of flux. It is very likely that out of that situation will emerge a much more integrated local metropolitan organization.

### CHAPTER III

#### LOCAL METROPOLITAN ORGANIZATION AND TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL

##### The Formal Organization of Metropolitan Interests

Canadian manufacturers secure the articulate expression of their needs by means of association. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association is a purely economic institution called into being as a means of attaining certain common interests in which the members share. Its rôle and functions are defined for it by the purposes of its being. Policy, for it, is a matter of opportunism. Its relations with the Government, its affiliations, open or otherwise, with other institutions, its educational campaign, among labour, agriculture or the general public, are governed by the exigencies of the moment. To accomplish its ends, it has to seek and secure public sanctions. "Whether we like it or not," said a Toronto manufacturer, "we Canadian manufacturers as a class are formed, by the trend of public sentiment, to stand together." (1)

The first Canadian Manufacturers' Association arose out of the depression of the early 'seventies. Up to this time, according to Industrial Canada, the official publication of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the few men who represented the manufacturing industries of Canada "wielded no political power and had no political influence whatever." (2) The crisis, caused by the depression, "demanded prompt and organized action, and in defence of their interests a number of manufacturers banded together for the purpose of awakening public interest and formulating a sentiment, the demand of which should result in a radical change of policy on the part of the Government." (3) Meetings of the manufacturers for

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(1) Industrial Canada, Vol. 13, No. 1, August, 1912, p. 77.

(2) Ibid. Vol. 2, No. 4, November, 1901, p. 81.

(3) Loc. cit.



this purpose were held as early as 1871, but were first of a tentative character and no permanent organization was formed. In 1873 a meeting was held at a provincial fair at London, for the purpose of discussing various matters of interest. It was resolved to form a manufacturers' association. At subsequent meetings the organization of the association was completed and on February 20, 1874, a gathering of manufacturers took place at Rossin House, Toronto, the object of which meeting, as explained by one of the delegates (Mr. Joseph Simpson), elected president of the new association, "was to consider what measures should be taken to secure an increase in the tariff and to promote the manufacturers' interests generally." (4) A report, submitted by the general committee, recommending a definite set of duties on different articles, "which were or might be made in Canada," was adopted. The Association was re-organized in 1875 as the Ontario Manufacturers' Association. Its objects were laid down as follows:

To secure by all legitimate means the aid of both public opinion and governmental policy in favor of the development of home industry, and the promotion of Canadian manufacturing enterprise.

To enable those in all branches of manufacturing enterprise to act in concert as a united body whenever action in behalf of any particular industry or of the whole body is necessary.

To maintain Canada for the Canadians. (5)

"Down to 1878," the Chronicle in Industrial Canada continues, "when Sir John A. Macdonald was returned to power, the efforts of the Association were chiefly directed along the lines marked out to the bringing about of a tariff system which would protect home industries. In fact, it may be safely said that to the organization afforded by the Association was mainly due the triumph of this policy in 1878." (6) After 1879 the Association "devoted itself to the guarding of the cause of protection in Canada and dealing with tariff grievances of individual industries." (7) Its work

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(4) Loc. cit.

(5) Loc. cit.

(6) Ibid. p. 82.

(7) Loc. cit.

branched out in many other directions besides that of tariff, such as the encouragement of export trade and the advocacy of technical education, all aiming at the development of the manufacturing industries in Canada. In 1887 the name was changed from the Ontario Manufacturers' Association to the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, thus making it, in name, a Dominion organization. In 1900 it received a new lease of life when it was thoroughly re-organized, its work extended along other lines such as transportation matters, and its area widened to include the hitherto independent association in Montreal and newly formed branches in other parts of Canada. As such the organization became, and has remained, the recognized and accepted organ of expression for the large body of manufacturers scattered across the Dominion.

Playing a vital rôle in the organization of the needs of the local metropolitan communities, though earlier identified with the interests of the outside metropolitan organization, are the Boards of Trade, especially of Montreal and Toronto. Indeed, the first chapter on Canadian political life could well begin with a consideration of these organizations. Here is to be found the story of the reckless Montreal fur 'kings' who sought to bring the American fur market to their feet; of the Montreal merchants of a later date who fought the Responsible Government agitation against the old colonial system; of the Toronto merchants who, when their representative in the legislature had been expelled year after year, finally made him their mayor; and here, to-day, is found the root, the fountain-spring, of Canadian national life, with its diversified economic interests and its straggling and disunited geographical landscape. The Board of Trade still expresses the vital needs of local community life; and the local community stands closest to the individual citizen.

It is essentially a community mouth-piece; its raison d'être is the

championship of the community business interests. As such, then, there is not necessarily a common interest to provide a bond of union between different Boards of Trade. Such a bond of union can only be based upon the realization of common problems and is more apt to be in the form of co-operation of interest organizations than community organizations. Nevertheless the Boards of Trade have attempted to reach out and form a national organization. The first attempt, in 1871, resulted in the Dominion Board of Trade, which was so torn with sectional strife that it passed out of existence eight years later. Between 1879 and 1925 the Boards contented themselves with incipient conferences which never attempted to bring about any permanent organization. The formation, however, in 1925 of the Dominion Board of Trade which a year later changed its name to the Canadian Chamber of Commerce witnessed the revival of the idea of co-operation within a permanent organization. But conditions had vastly changed in the intervening forty-five years. In 1871-79 the Boards of Trade were virtually the only trade organizations in existence; consequently the Dominion Board had to take the whole brunt of the conflict between sectional interests. In 1925, practically every interest had its own individual organization. The Chamber of Commerce, as a result, contents itself with very general questions of business concern.

The local Boards of Trade form the ground-base of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. It co-ordinates all the Boards and, representing the great bulk of Canada's organized trade, it aims at a national scope for its activities. "The primary function of the Chamber," said William Birks of Montreal, "is to obtain a matured judgment of business on national economic questions and to present and interpret these views to the agencies of the Government and to the public.....The National Chamber stands for the larger loyalties and the wider interests. The parish politician may struggle with

the parish pump but the Canadian Chamber expects to create a national view point for Canadian business." (8)

Clustered about these basic metropolitan institutions -- the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the Boards of Trade and the Canadian Chamber of Commerce -- there have grown up a variety of organizations representing the more specialized interests of particular groups. The Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, the Association of Boot and Shoe Manufacturers, the lumber associations, to mention only a few, rise in pyramidal fashion within the industrial metropolitan structure. For the most part, they are affiliated with or, at any rate, allies of the more highly organized industrial institutions.

#### The Canadian Industrialists and the Wider Community

Such organizations exist to get things done. The nature of their activities is governed by the interests of the group they represent, adapted to and qualified by the demands of policy. In the end the objective sought is that of control. The position of the industrial group depends upon the nature of the fiscal policy. Its determination can be secured only by controlling the formal actions of legislative bodies. That means, in effect, directing the currents of public opinion.

It is no easy task to seek out of the maze of institutional organization, interlaced as it is both as to personnel and policy, the secret fountains of control. How far the member of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association brings the attitudes of his Association to Church with him, and how far the church-goer, in turn, brings the attitudes of his Church to the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, it is impossible to say as it involves the whole question of the relationship of the

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(8) Resumé of the Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention, Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Vancouver, September 12, 13, 14, 1927, p. 107.

individual to the various institutions of which he forms a part. There is inevitably a constant interaction both within and between the various institutions which attempt to give expression to the particular interests of individuals. The nature of that interaction, the influence of one institution upon another and of individuals upon the various institutions, depends upon the prestige position of such institutions and individuals in the community.

Modern Capitalism, especially on the American Continent, has endowed the possessors of wealth with a stamp of social superiority which gives them, and the organizations to which they belong, an influence not commensurate with their numbers. While labour unionism and agricultural organization have done much to break down such patterns of social evaluation, there is even yet a great deal of prestige attached to the ownership of wealth. Such ownership makes possible a display which is not possible for groups less wealthy. The large Board of Trade building in Montreal, the Christmas parade of the T. Eaton Company, strike the public imagination in a way that the dingy office of a labour union or a demonstration of workers could not possibly do. The former excite a feeling of reverence, awe, at worst envy; the latter a feeling of pity, patronage, or possibly fear. Capitalists command by precept and attract by imposing edifices, show windows, pageants and advertising; workers must command by sheer strength of numbers, and attract by a demonstration of the justice of their cause.

The manufacturers (along with the railway, banking and other business executives) are, in short, leaders in fashion and opinion. The configuration of symbols, points of confidence in the minds of the general populace, pattern themselves upon the definition of the needs of the expressive group within the community. In those situations in which many people have but



vague and undefined feelings the organized group is able to formulate and direct the currents of opinion.

Such a group is essentially rational in character. It has few illusions regarding its position within the community. "My politics to-day," said one manufacturer, "are my business." (9) The nature of its activities, impersonal and secular for the most part, tends to remove any play of sentiment from the formulation of policy. It is an interest rather than a sentiment group.

Yet, because of the fact that their Associations have taken on much of the character of a society, with beliefs, notions and attachments to traditional ideas and forms of action, the industrialists are not at all times self-conscious of their relationships with the wider community. Their conception of their needs has become grounded in custom and belief. Considerations of pecuniary advantage are sustained by, and secure justification in, social attitudes based upon experiences outside of the limited occupational world of the industrialist. A manufacturer is no less a descendant of a United Empire Loyalist because he is a manufacturer. His conception of his group loyalties, of the boundaries of the group with which he identifies himself, is the product of a social heritage which carries in its train the manifold experiences of an historic as well as an occupational group.

It is only in time of crisis, when the person's conception of his position in the community comes into conflict with his needs as a manufacturer, that a re-definition of the stock of beliefs is necessary. The eighteen Liberals of Toronto, in 1911, had to choose between their traditional loyalties and their needs as manufacturers when Government representatives of the Party they supported negotiated a Reciprocity agreement with

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(9) Industrial Canada, Vol. 4, No. 3, October, 1903, p. 125.

the United States which jeopardized, or so they thought, their position as manufacturers. (10) Even then the choice, in their minds, was between two loyalties lying outside of their own particular field of activity, between loyalty to the Liberal Party and loyalty to what they conceived to be the National Interest. Change of loyalty in time of crisis, in other words, though aroused and motivated by vested interest in the system of economic relationships, is justified on the wider plane of community valuations — and that, most likely, quite unself-consciously.

Ordinarily the adjustment of the person to his status as manufacturer causes no great re-organization of his traditional attitudes. The American who has established a factory in Canada suffers no severe mental conflict when he contributes money to carry on a Made-in-Canada or nationalist campaign. His new interest determines his attitudes to such questions. Although four of the five companies which presented a memorandum to the Tariff Committee in 1921 were branches of United States firms, they all agreed that "the protective tariff has been the primary factor in the development of this industry in Canada." (11)

Such people may even become attached to their new homeland. In 1911 Mr. Morley Wickett could write that "of the recent Presidents of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association three were heads of branches of United States Houses; but in these cases it need hardly be said they were none the less Canadian." (12) They become attached, to some extent at any rate, to those very symbols they attempt to instil in the public mind.

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(10) cf. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 47.

(11) Canadian Reconstruction Association, Information Service, No. 91, January 12, 1921, no pagination.

(12) Industrial Canada, Vol. 12, No. 2, September, 1911, p. 166.

The shift of loyalties is illustrated in an article appearing in The Canadian Magazine by Francis Bell, entitled "What Price Loyalty". The article has to do with Mr. J. Allan Ross, the President of the Canadian Wrigley Co.

"He is, of course, president and active head of the Canadian Wrigley

The manufacturing group, in short, in part defining the symbols and national objectives of the community in which it is located, in part is controlled by the mores and beliefs of the wider community.

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Company. He is also a director of the Dominion Bank and of the Canadian National Exhibition. These three things alone suggest prestige, public service and influence; they connote also a distinct change in Allan Ross's nationalistic outlook.....

"When Allan Ross first came to Canada the last thing that would have occurred to him was the possibility that he might change his allegiance. The eagle looked to him as far too impressive a bird to exchange for such a hemmit as the beaver. Yet in 1918 -- he was then in his early thirties -- he went to Washington as a member of the Canadian War Mission, whose specific purpose was to exact the best price possible from Uncle Sam for Canadian munition supplies for the United States Army.

"Within nine years Allan Ross had become so infected with the virus of Canadiana that his condition had become chronic; it had caused a revolution in his mental attitude.....

" 'I got a great "kick" out of making them pay,' Mr. Ross said to me. 'I had been disappointed and irritated because the United States had kept out of the war at the start, and I revelled in the chance to settle what I regarded as a sort of personal score.'.....

"Wrigley has rewarded Allan Ross in many ways, conspicuous and otherwise, for his brilliant success in the Canadian field, and he cemented the only affiliation Ross has with the land of his birth a few years ago when he appointed him a vice-president of the parent company.....

"But the inevitable happened. The call came to Allan Ross to move to Chicago, to re-emigrate, to return to the city of his birth and wipe clean his Canadian slate. He was faced with probably the most dramatic, most difficult and most poignant problem that any business man of Allan Ross's calibre in this country ever has had to solve; he found himself torn between two of the most deep-seated of masculine sentiments, loyalty to an aged chief who had opened for him the way to a remarkable business career, and devoted allegiance to his adopted country.

"Allan Ross told me that he has no intention of making a choice. He has found a compromise that serves, at least for the time being. It is arduous, entails much mental and physical strain but he is prepared to see it through.

"He has become the world's champion international 'commuter'. He uses the International Limited as though it were a suburban train bringing him into Toronto from his home at Oakville.

" 'I've 'commuted' more than fifty thousand miles already this year between Toronto and Chicago,' he said. He was referring to 1931.....

"He told me that he spent three days a week in Toronto and four days in Chicago, as a general rule, dividing the latter frequently with New York. He travels, of course, at night. And while he is in Toronto he is in constant and direct telephone communication with the famous Wrigley Tower.

" 'I've had all kinds of inducements to move to Chicago,' he said, 'many interests of various sorts, and certainly a much easier existence. But I'm going to stay here. I am a Canadian, my loyalty is to Canada, my home, friends and the personal contacts I have made over many years are here. My two children were born in Canada, and Mrs. Ross, though she is a Chicagoan by birth, is absorbed in her Canadian environment. Besides this'-- with a wave of his hand he indicated the big factory and administrative plant,

Be that as it may, the objectives and attitudes of the various publics in the community do come to be defined upon the basis, if not in the terms, of the interests of the organized and expressive groups. The needs of such groups are first given articulate expression through organization. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association, for instance, attempts to define for the individual manufacturer his position with relation to the wider community. In this way a common definition is secured from which can be evolved a common policy. The realization of the objectives of that policy is dependent upon the control of the system of economic relationships, upon the control, in short, of public opinion.

That is secured by means of propaganda. The manufacturing group recognizes the value of attempting to mould the opinion of the general public and, although it may make direct representations to the legislative

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the creation of his own efforts -- 'this is my baby.'.....

"I am not an Imperialist -- that is in the popularly accepted meaning of that term," Mr. Ross told me. "I believe firmly in the British Empire. But I also hold that the economic relationship between the various parts -- as distinct from the sentimental -- should be on an honest, four-square business basis, bargain for bargain. Great Britain apparently has laid the foundation of a tariff, and it is a good thing. I believe in tariffs -- a high tariff against the United States, a tariff against the Old Country, too.

"Canadian problems are not American problems; and with all respect for the wonderful institutions and inspiration England has given us, they are not British problems; they are distinctly Canadian problems. Therefore, I say, Canada First."

"Allan Ross's views are not merely idealistic; his expressions are not just lip service or gorgeous platitudes. He applies them actually to the conduct of the business of which he is the head. The Wrigley plant uses an enormous quantity of chickle. At one time it was obtained from Mexico. But long ago Allan Ross switched his company's patronage to British Honduras. He believes in applying to Canada the doctrine expounded the other day at Birmingham by the Prince of Wales -- 'Buy British' -- buy at home first and in Empire countries second. If Canada cannot supply requirements, perhaps some other part of the Commonwealth can. And incidentally in trading with British Honduras the Canadian Wrigley Company is bolstering the pillars that support the Canadian National steamships." (Francis Bell, "What Price Loyalty", The Canadian Magazine, Vol. 77, No. 1, January, 1932, p. 7 and 21.)

authorities, it depends in the end upon securing the support of public opinion in the achievement of its objectives. The extent of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association's success is determined very largely by the measure of confidence it secures from the public. "Let us ask for public opinion," said J. H. Fortier, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, "a fair share of influence in the councils of the nation in order to enable us to be better trustees (of the people's savings). Let us go to the people, talk to them personally, vindicate the sincerity of our motives and the soundness of our policy. Let us use the press to carry further our message of good will and our cordial desire to co-operate. Let us educate the country to the dangers of class movement in politics." (13)

The most effective form of persuasion is directly personal. In the intimate contacts of the primary groups, notions and opinions are transferred from individual<sup>to individual</sup> without any self-conscious feeling on the part of any of the participating parties. The luncheon meeting, the golf club, the ballroom even, are discussion forums where views are aired and opinions crystallized. The Pullman smoker, daily, decides the vexatious issues facing the world. It is important, therefore to consider the informal as well as formal relationship of the manufacturing group to the institutions

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(13) Industrial Canada, Vol. 26, No. 3, July, 1925, p. 130.

In an account of the discussion at the 1924 annual meeting of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, Industrial Canada writes: "Mr. White was convinced that the only way to reinstate protection was by political action. A new generation of voters had arisen who knew nothing about the conditions prior to the National Policy.....The women now possessed the franchise.....The education of all these voters was exceedingly important.....He hoped that the Canadian Manufacturers' Association would go ahead with its program of education, particularly so far as the young people and the farmers were concerned. If the people could be convinced the protective principle was the correct one, protectionist candidates would get the votes." (Ibid. Vol. 25, No. 3, July, 1924, p. 133-4.) And Mr. Shaw, in 1925, had said that the manufacturers "must have the assistance of the politicians and apparently they could not get this assistance unless the politicians were educated to the needs and demands of the country." (Ibid. Vol. 26, No. 3, July, 1925, p. 126.)



and publics of the wider community.

The ramifications of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association are wide-spread. Its membership alone is about four thousand and when it is remembered that this membership is representative in the sense that each firm has usually only one and seldom more than two members in the Association, some notion of its direct influence can be gained. At least a few Canadian Manufacturers' Association members are to be found in the major organizations of the urban communities. Of the 559 members of the Montreal branch of the Association, 257 are members of the Montreal Board of Trade, 163 of the Montreal Canadian Club and 26 of the Montreal Branch of the Royal Empire Society. (14) On the Committee of the National Council of Education which organized the Educational conference in Montreal in 1926, five of the members belonged to the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, while one was the wife of a member and six others were members of firms represented in the Association. (15) Moreover, many of the remaining members of the Committee represented fields of business activity, such as banking, transportation and insurance, closely allied both in personnel and interest to manufacturing. The Board of Governors of McGill University, the Protestant School Commission, the patrons of the Y. M. C. A. and the various other institutions of a social or educational character call upon very much the same group of community leaders. Such men lend their prestige to the organization, they secure in return goodwill and influence. They are the élite in community life and many of the community

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(14) It should be pointed out that many members of such organizations belong to firms represented in the Canadian Manufacturers' Association by someone else. For instance, the Thorp-Hambroek Company Limited of Montreal is represented in the Canadian Manufacturers' Association by Mr. Hambroek while Mr. Thorp is a member of the Board of Trade. It is impossible to take such cases into consideration.

(15) There were 92 members in all, of which 29 represented some field of business activity.

objectives and representations are defined in terms of the patterns of evaluation which establish the position of the élite.

Equally important is the rôle of wives of the manufacturers. Such women, with social prestige and oft-times wealth behind them, play a leading part in the direction of women's organization. For instance, one hundred and thirty members of the Women's Section of the Montreal Canadian Club are wives of members of the Montreal Branch of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. (16) The support of some cause, whether it be that of education, health, nationalism, morality or temperance, provides an outlet for such urban women whose servants have relieved them from the care of the home. It is natural, therefore, to expect them to support those causes and policies which have become defined in the economic milieu of the members' husbands.

It is not suggested that there is any sinister, or even deliberate, relationship between such institutions. The fact that there is a considerable interlacing of membership is perfectly natural; but interlacing determines the relationship, to some extent at least, of activities between such institutions. It accounts, in part, for the fact that organizations often endorse policies which the economic associations advocate. In estimating, therefore, the intricate relationships between the various institutions of metropolitan Canada, it is necessary to pay attention not only to the specific rôle which each plays in the community, but to the interaction and interplay of each upon the others. The definition of the attitudes of the general public, the control, in the end, of the system of social relationships, is found within that situation of interacting associations.

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(16) There are, of course, a large number of the members of the Women's Canadian Club who are daughters, nieces, etc., of members of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, but it is impossible to estimate the number.

### Metropolitan Control and Organized Propaganda

To secure such control, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association instituted nation-wide campaigns, many of them directed by subsidiary organizations. Such was the Protective Tariff Educational Campaign which was launched in 1902. The Hon. W. S. Fielding, according to the editor of Industrial Canada, was responsible for the idea. "During the past year," wrote the editor of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association's publication in 1903, "an effort has been made to educate the people on this question (of tariff). The campaign was begun at the suggestion of Hon. W. S. Fielding." (17) Its origin was explained by the Tariff Committee, in reporting to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1902:

It was after the meeting of our most important deputation with the Government that their assurance along this line led your representatives to question very seriously as to whether steps should not be taken by the Association to educate the people of Canada regarding the importance of our manufacturing industries; exhibiting to them the excellency of Canadian goods and urging upon them a preference for home-made manufactures. From this arose the movement known as 'the Educational Campaign', which has already been begun.....

In the opinion of your Committee, therefore, the pressing duty of the hour is to do all that lies in our power to educate the public regarding tariff requirements and the advantages of using Canadian products, and thus pave the way for a real Canadian tariff framed for the benefit of Canadians generally.

In view of these facts your Committee beg to recommend that the hearty sympathy and financial support of every member of the Association be given to the Educational Campaign Fund, and that a strong and united effort be made for a general revision of the Tariff, bringing all the influence possible to bear upon the Government towards that end. (18)

During the year 1903 the "Canadian Industrial League" was organized in connection with the Educational Campaign. A membership of 30,000 was secured, pledged not only to buy Canadian goods but to support by their vote and influence the election of members to Parliament who would stand

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(17) Industrial Canada, Vol. 4, No. 4, November, 1903, p. 201.

(18) Ibid. Vol. 3, No. 2, September, 1902, p. 82.

for the protection of Canadian industries. (19) The campaign came to an end in 1905 and it was not until 1909 that the idea was revived. In that year the Commercial Intelligence<sup>Committee</sup>/of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association recommended the adoption of an advertising campaign. The Committee proposed to have 'Made in Canada' principles taught in schools throughout the Dominion "because of the close association between the Made in Canada idea and the sentiments of loyalty and patriotism, which it is the duty of our schools to encourage"; to give practical encouragement to 'Made in Canada' exhibitions; to solicit the assistance of commercial travellers; to contract for advertising space in newspapers all over Canada; to arrange for lectures and moving picture entertainments; to establish show rooms in all the principal cities; to locate information bureaus. The suggestion regarding the press is significant. Quoting from the report:

Papers to which contracts were given for this kind of advertising could not very well refuse to advocate the idea in their editorial columns. To ensure these editorials being weighty enough to produce an effect, manufacturers should have in their employ an editor who would not exactly write editorials for the various papers, but who would furnish them with suggestions

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(19) Industrial Canada, Vol. 10, No. 3, October, 1909, p. 300. The editor of Industrial Canada gave the following account of it:

"The Canadian Industrial League is an organization which aims to encourage a spirit of national co-operation among workers in the various industries of Canadian farms, forests, fisheries, factories, mines, railways and the mercantile and professional classes dependent on them. It includes Canadians of both political parties who believe in tariff protection for all Canadian industries, the use of Canadian ports in preference to foreign ports, the improvement of Canada's internal and external transportation facilities and Government regulation of railway rates. 'Made in Canada' is the watchword of the League, and every member signs a declaration agreeing to support by his vote and influence the principle of tariff protection for Canadian farming, mining and manufacturing industries, and promising to give the products of Canadian labor the preference over foreign products in making purchases.....

"The aim of the Canadian Industrial League is to raise the question of protection for home industries above party politics, to make protection the established policy of the country so that no matter which party is in power the workingmen of Canada may have steady employment and our farms a certain home market, while our manufacturers may be sure that if they invest their capital in the extension of their industries it will not be lost by some sudden change of the political situation." (Industrial Canada, Vol. 5, No. 8, March, 1905, p. 479-480.)

as to how the subject might be treated.....

To give point to these editorials, to make it topical as it were, a watch might be kept over all important meetings of Boards of Trade, labor organizations, teachers' associations, etc., and an effort made to have them pass resolutions supporting the Made in Canada principle. This would then be the local editor's cue to touch upon the subject once more, and to utilize one of the outlined editorials which had previously been supplied him.....

The published reports of these lectures (arranged by the Campaign Committee) would again furnish local editors with a cue for another leader. (20)

The following year the Commercial Intelligence Committee reported on their deliberations regarding the educational campaign. At the April meeting of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association executive the proposal has been discussed "but at that time the reciprocity issue was beginning to loom up large on the horizon and it was felt that if the Association were prepared to go into anything on so large a scale there were other objects upon which it might direct its energies to more advantage." (21) However the Committee proposed a plan to advertise in thirty-two city dailies, twelve weeklies, sixty-two town dailies, eight religious papers, fifteen miscellaneous publications and the various trade journals. The cost of such a campaign would be approximately \$25,000 a year. (22)

The election the following year, however, caused the postponement of the campaign. At the annual meeting of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1911 the Commercial Intelligence Committee reported that the campaign was "overshadowed by what were then regarded as bigger issues and the proposals were consequently allowed to stand in abeyance." (23) Nevertheless work was carried on in a quiet way -- contractors were kept in touch with, displays were made at exhibitions, and aid was given to Made in Canada exhibitions organized by the Daughters of the Empire and other societies. A small hanger embodying Made in Canada sentiments in the form of a creed was issued and plans were under way for supplying a neatly-framed copy of one

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(20) Industrial Canada, Vol. 10, No. 3, October, 1909, p. 296-7.

(21) Ibid. Vol. 11, No. 3, October, 1910, p. 264.

(22) Ibid. Vol. 11, No. 3, October, 1910, p. 263.

(23) Ibid. Vol. 12, No. 4, November, 1911, p. 400.



of these to every school in Canada. However, much of the work which the Committee had proposed to do had been taken over by the Canadian Home Market Association, which was devoting itself largely to a campaign of education in furtherance of the Made in Canada principle. (24)

It is not necessary to follow through in detail the working out of the Made in Canada campaign during the following years. The idea of Made in Canada trains, touring the country displaying the products of home producers, was employed as early as 1912. (25) In 1915 a campaign was launched in which advertisements and cartoons appeared in hundreds of Canadian newspapers. (26) Organizations such as the Canadian Reconstruction Association (27) and the Produced-in-Canada associations were launched to direct propagandist campaigns. The radio, films, pamphlets, circulars, bulletins, advertisements in newspapers, the back of pay envelopes, cards put in pay envelopes, Produced-in-Canada exhibitions, Produced-in-Canada Weeks, were a few of the many agencies adopted. (28)

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(24) Industrial Canada, Vol. 12, No. 4, November, 1911, p. 400.

(25) Ibid. Vol. 12, No. 10, May, 1912, p. 1151.

(26) Ibid. Vol. 16, No. 3, July, 1915, p. 360-64.

(27) It was organized in 1918. Writing in Industrial Canada, John C. Kirkwood said of it:

"The Association will endeavor to supply facts and statistics affecting agriculture, manufactures, labor, transportation, and markets in the confidence that if the people are informed, our parliaments will be strengthened to resist doubtful proposals, and enabled more easily to maintain the national interest against any class or sectional interest.

"It is not denied that the inception of the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association has had its origins in selfish objectives. In a sense it is a defensive or protective association, organized to safeguard industry from possible inimical and baneful legislation. At the same time the men who compose the Association are citizens as well as manufacturers, men of eminence and distinction in their own communities and in larger ones, on whom the country relies for the conduct of big industrial enterprises, and are true Canadians.....They are patriots with a sincere desire to see Canada built up in all good and true ways." (Ibid. Vol. 19, No. 2, June, 1918, p. 45.)

(28) The following quotation, from the Report of the Quebec Division of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, illustrates the nature of the campaign:

"Last year, we held in the City of Montreal the largest Produced in Canada Exhibition ever held in Canada.....

"Last year in the Province of Quebec, our Produced in Canada Association (Quebec) Inc. held over fifty meetings.....

Significant was the carrying of the Made in Canada campaign into the schools. "I think," said a member of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, in 1915, "we are commencing at the wrong end. In our schools is the place where we ought to train the children. We ought to take a lead from the Germans' book and train them in the school -- train them from the time they are five years old, when they go to the kindergarten -- to believe in nothing else but Made-in-Canada goods. We ought to importune our Education Department for each Province to make that part and parcel of the curriculum of their schools -- that they should be put into even the Sunday schools along with the Shorter Catechism and the Ten Commandments. They do that in Germany; they are taught from the first day they go to school to believe in buying everything that is made in Germany. We can do it equally well here, and we can do it to far greater effect, because we can raise our children here to think there is nothing else but Canada and goods made in Canada." (29) At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Toronto Branch of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1921, J. Allan Ross, of the Canadian Wrigley Company, suggested that the provincial ministers of Education should be approached with a view to their having every publisher of Canadian school books insert a page in such books, with the caption "Buy Made-in-Canada Goods", towards creating a Canadian sentiment in the minds of the scholars. (30)

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"We have been able in practically every city in the Province of Quebec, including the City of Montreal, to have a Canadian Goods Clause placed in every municipal contract..... We are also negotiating now with the various School Boards through the Province, and intend to have a similar clause placed in their contracts. The Government of the Province of Quebec has also placed a Canadian Goods Clause in all its contracts, so that from a public standpoint we have been pretty well protected.

"A short time ago a large university was being built by public funds in the City of Montreal, and imported brick was specified. The action of the Building Committee in doing this was attacked, and I am pleased to say that the building is now being built of Canadian brick.....All over the Province we are constantly policing public buildings that are going up." (Industrial Canada, Vol. 31, No. 3, July, 1930, p. 183.)

(29) Ibid. Vol. 16, No. 3, July, 1915, p. 372.

(30) Ibid. Vol. 22, No. 2, June, 1921, p. 72.

## CHAPTER IV

### METROPOLITAN ORGANIZATION AND PUBLICS OF INTEREST

#### The Conception of a National Interest

Local metropolitan control becomes institutionalized and is given overt expression through the organization of the political public. While the fountain springs of control are to be found within the various publics of interest and sentiment, its release is lodged within the hands of the body politic. Consequently the needs of particular groups must be translated into government policy; they must be re-defined in terms of the needs of the general political public.

The manufacturers seek to foster the belief that the interests of manufacturing are the interests of the public. From such a conception arises the ideology of a classless society. The manufacturers maintain that protection is not a narrow selfish policy designed to benefit them at the expense of other classes in the community but rather that it is in the interests of all classes -- labour and agriculture as well as manufacturing. In this they accept the philosophy that a man's best interests must necessarily be the best interests of his neighbour; as one manufacturer so aptly puts it: "If I do well others must do well also." (1) Certainly the manufacturers do not admit, though many of them are realists enough to recognize, the validity of the class struggle. Their philosophy based upon the theory of natural harmony of interests, it is not surprising that they should advance the idea that the tariff should not be a party but a national issue. To them tariff is a question at issue between Canada and outside countries, not a question at issue between classes within Canada. "Party politics", writes the editor of Industrial

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(1) Industrial Canada, Vol. 3, No. 2, September, 1902, p. 84.

Canada, "has surely sufficient accompanying evils without throwing open to its temptations and leaving at its mercy a National question, upon the solution of which depends the whole future of our Dominion.....In these days of opportunity, when our United States cousins are capturing our markets and laying jealous eyes upon our splendid resources are we to place a party label upon the important issues of national development?" (2)

The manufacturers, in short, conceive of their position in terms of the national interest. They very wisely do not identify themselves, organized as the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, with any political party, as such identification would mean casting in their fortunes with the fate of that party. "The disadvantages", said J. H. Fortier, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1925, "of throwing our lot with one party alone is (sic) quite clear; it creates opposition to our ideals and is sure to hurt the best interests of the country when that opposition climbs to power." (3) Rather the manufacturers attempt to embody their objectives within the policies of both parties or, perhaps more accurately, to raise such objectives above the plane of parties entirely and cause them to become the accepted principles of the national community. To secure such an orientation it is necessary to identify them with master symbols accepted by the general public. "I want this Canada," said Mr. Fortier, "this country of ours, I want the public and all classes of this country, to know that this Association is not working for its own little selfish interests.....All the members, officers and officials of this Association of ours should endeavor to prove to the public that the interests of the country at large are our own interests, and that the success and prosperity of this country of ours are our own success and our own prosperity which will revert and come back to us." (4)

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(2) Industrial Canada, Vol. 3, No. 2, September, 1902, p. 42.

(3) Ibid. Vol. 26, No. 3, July, 1925, p. 129.

(4) Ibid. Vol. 27, No. 3, July, 1926, p. 98.

### Urban Publics and a Community Interest

The conception, however, of what are "the interests of the community at large", the conception, even, of what is the individual's best interest, will depend very largely upon the way in which he views his position, and the position of the groups with which he identifies himself, in relationship to the outside world. "There is in Canada", writes Britton Cooke, "scarcely a vestige of real public opinion; its place is usurped by 'popular' opinion, or more often by sectional and class opinion. We think in classes and communities, heterogeneously.....The responsibility falls, I claim, upon the farmer, for his overactivity, and upon the city dweller, for his indifference, though of the two, the city dweller is the greater sinner.....Rural opinion without its counterpart, urban opinion, claims everything for rural interests." (5) What is meant, in effect, is the absence of an urban public opinion organised about those objectives defined within the field of activity of the industrialist. Compared with the agricultural community, with its common traditions, loyalties and universe of discourse, the urban community lacks a principle of unification. Such a principle can be established only through a conception of an urban interest.

Accordingly the manufacturing group has interpreted its aspirations in master symbols appealing to the general population and has identified the existence of industry with the existence of the urban community. "If the programme (Reciprocity) is carried out," wrote the editor of the Montreal Daily Star in 1911, "Montreal will wake up some fine morning to find itself a mere geographical expression on an out-of-date map." (6)

"Excepting Toronto," wrote the editor of Industrial Canada in 1905, "no city in Canada has greater reason to fear reciprocity with the United States than Winnipeg. If there were no tariff restrictions between Canada

(5) Industrial Canada, Vol. 14, No. 10, May, 1914, p. 1264-65; transcribed by Britton Cooke in the Canadian Courier.

(6) Montreal Daily Star, Tues., Sept. 5, 1911, p. 10.

and the United States, the whole Canadian North-West would become tributary to St. Paul and Minneapolis.....Under the stimulus of unrestricted reciprocity the railway system of the North-West would centre in St. Paul and Minneapolis.....

"In the old days of the Red River Settlement St. Paul and Minneapolis did a considerable business in what is now the Canadian North-West. If there had never been a tariff wall between the two countries much of the trade that has built up Winnipeg would have gone to enrich the manufacturers and merchants of the Minnesota cities.

"Winnipeg's future greatness as a milling, manufacturing and railway centre depends upon the maintenance of protection. Any weakening of the protective tariff will help the twin cities of Minnesota to take trade from Winnipeg. Any strengthening of the tariff will make it easier for Winnipeg to hold its position as the metropolis of the Canadian North-West." (7)

"I verily believe", said Robert McLaughlin, of the McLaughlin Carriage Company, Limited, "that if this pact (Reciprocity) becomes law it will ultimately be a staggering blow to our industries, our men, and all our towns and cities whose very existence depends on the prosperity of our manufacturers, and the employment of a full force of their workmen." (8)

It was maintained that the tariff, by encouraging the establishment of United States branch factories in Canada, made for the growth of the local cities. "Our policy", declared Mr. George Perley, at Lachute, Quebec, in the election of 1911, "is to make them do their manufacturing here and thus build up our towns and cities." (9) The issue became defined as one between Canadian and United States cities, "between", in the words of Mr. Meighen, "larger Canadian industrial centres or depopulated Canadian towns." "Doubtless," Mr. Meighen continued, "the free traders would find pleasure in a greater Buffalo or a greater Chicago." (10)

Within the country the issue was one between town and country, between that set of interests based upon the exchange and manufacture of commodities in urban centres and that set of interests based upon the production in the open fields of exportable agricultural produce. Consequently tariff became the sine qua non of urban life. "Without it," said Mr. Meighen, "we would

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(7) Industrial Canada, Vol. 5, No. 6, January, 1905, p. 361.

(8) The Gazette, Montreal, Thurs., Sept. 7, 1911, p. 4.

(9) Montreal Daily Star, Fri., Sept. 1, 1911, p. 6.

(10) The Gazette, Montreal, Fri., Nov. 11, 1921, p. 2.



be a scattered series of peasant provinces contributing to the greatness of the U. S." (11) Certainly the urban configuration of the Canadian community would have conformed more closely to the general metropolitan pattern of the United States.

### Women and the National Interest

The end result of such propaganda is the establishment of a conception of a stereotyped relationship which integrates the various interests of the different publics within a common idea system. An important public appealed to is that of women. Much of the buying for the home is done by the wife; moreover, she can be more readily aroused to the patriotic duty of buying goods produced in Canada. "The women of Canada", wrote the editor of Industrial Canada, "can do more than the men to reduce our huge importations of foreign manufactures. Women are the real captains of finance. Where they do not hold the family purse-strings they at least influence them. They buy much, and they cause their admirers, fathers, husbands and brothers to buy more. If they resolve to buy Canadian goods our industrial battle is half won. What are they doing? From Ottawa comes the report that the Household League wants 'Made-in-Canada' goods. The Daughters of the Empire, always patriotic, are calling for their own country's manufactures. Many other women's associations are taking up the cry.....Let the women lead the way, the men must gladly follow." (12)

"They (the manufacturers)", said Mr. Elmer Davis, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, at the Annual Banquet of 1930, "also have a selfish interest in the ladies, because as all of us men present know, one of our maxims is: 'Use produced in Canada goods' and there is no greater purchasing element in Canada than our ladies.....It was my privilege here in Toronto, about seven or eight months ago, to address a gathering of some four or five hundred of them, presenting to them the reasons for the adoption

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(11) The Gazette, Montreal, Mon. Nov. 7, 1921, p. 8.

(12) Industrial Canada, Vol. 15, No. 3, October, 1914, p. 268.

of this slogan to favour produced in Canada goods. They received this idea wholeheartedly, enthusiastically, and they have gone out and spread that slogan and that doctrine throughout their organizations and throughout Ontario and throughout rural Canada." (13)

Women are appealed to in support of the tariff as a means of maintaining the security of the home. "In the present election," wrote the editor of the Montreal Gazette, in 1921, "the women of Canada ought to have no difficulty in reaching a conclusion as to which policy to support. Nowhere does prosperity mean more than in the domestic circle and nowhere do the difficulties incident to commercial and industrial depression appear more quickly or occasion more genuine distress." (14) In a meeting in the election campaign of 1921 at which Mr. Meighen spoke, the Montreal Gazette reported that "enthusiasm prevailed throughout showing that Mr. Meighen has struck the popular imagination, not only in regard to the men, with his call for a protective tariff policy, but also that (of) the women with his emphasis on the fact that protection means prosperity in the home." (15)

#### Railway Stock and Bond Holders

Cutting across the urban publics and the publics of women are those publics more closely identified with a pecuniary interest. The railway

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(13) Industrial Canada, Vol. 31, No. 3, July, 1930, p. 200.

The report of the December, 1930, meeting of the Executive Council of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association illustrates the nature of the campaign among women's organizations. "For some months," it reads, "the Committee had been carrying on experimental work respecting the Produced-in-Canada idea in conjunction with the women's institutes of Ontario. For the purposes of the experiment the textile industry was covered and 50,000 pamphlets dealing with the linen, cotton and woollen industries were distributed to the women's institutes in Ontario. In addition special lectures had been delivered in many parts of the Province based on the information gathered from the pamphlet and from visits to various textile factories."

(Industrial Canada, Vol. 31, No. 9, January, 1931, p. 174.)

(14) The Gazette, Montreal, Sat., Nov. 26, 1921, p. 12.

(15) Ibid. Sat., Nov. 5, 1921, p. 5.

stockholders, labour and the agriculturists make up the great body of the Canadian voting population. Though such people, and especially those who have investments in the railway companies, are concerned to some extent with other enterprises, in the end their outlook is determined very largely by their immediate interest. Consequently an appeal to that interest was essential in gaining support for the idea of fiscal protection.

The railway stock and bond holders, who include that large body of small investors not closely identified with any particular set of activities and who, as a result, have no clear notion of their position in the community, readily associate themselves with that enterprise in which they have made investments. As indicated in the previous chapter, the transportation system of the Dominion lies at the base of the industrial metropolitan structure; at the same time that system is dependent upon the maintenance of the structure which has grown up about it. Transportation and industry exist in a relationship of interdependence. Consequently the industrialists of the local metropolitan organization, availing themselves of this common basis of interest, could make a good case for the support of that body of the public financially interested in the railway. "No class of the community", wrote the editor of Industrial Canada in 1903, "would receive more benefit from the adoption of a policy of adequate protection for Canadian industries than stockholders of the great railways. Every industry established in Canada makes traffic for the railways." (16)

"To any thinking man," wrote the editor of Industrial Canada, in 1904, "it must be evident that a reciprocal arrangement with the United States that would cause trade to flow north and south instead of east and west must prove disastrous alike to the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern Railways. The greater the business between

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(16) Industrial Canada, Vol. 3, No. 10, May, 1903, p. 433.

the eastern and western Provinces the better it will be for the Canadian transcontinental railways. On the other hand any increase in business between Canada and the United States means extra traffic for United States railways. A reciprocity treaty that would enable the big industrial centres of the United States to supply Canadians with manufactured goods and drive Canadian manufacturers out of business, would ruin the great Canadian railways." (17) This view was supported by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association President, Mr. W. S. Fisher, in 1922. "The transportation systems", he said, "have been developed on the East and West principle. Their welfare is dependent on the maintenance of adequate duties between Canada and the United States, as every reduction in these duties increases North and South traffic at the expense of East and West traffic." (18)

The fact that the greatest mileage of Canadian railways is now in the hands of the Government has increased the range of the manufacturers' propagandist appeal. Not only Canadian Pacific Railway stockholders but the great tax-paying public would be affected by any shift of trade routes which would throw traffic into the hands of the American railways. "If the tariff wall between Canada and the United States", wrote the editor of Industrial Canada, "is broken down and traffic is encouraged to move north and south, what will happen to our east and west transcontinental railway? .....Reciprocity, or free trade with the United States, of course, means an increase in north and south traffic at the expense of east and west traffic. The people of Canada now own two of our transcontinental railways, and will be taxed to pay any deficit which may arise through loss of traffic." (19) "Our railways", wrote S. B. Brown, manager of the Transportation Department of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, "over fifty percent of which are owned by the people of Canada, are absolutely dependent upon conditions which will assure the movement of

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[17] Industrial Canada, Vol. 5, No. 5, December, 1904, p. 310.

[18] Ibid. Vol. 23, No. 3, July, 1922, p. 145.

[19] Ibid. Vol. 19, No. 12, April, 1919, p. 48.

traffic largely east and west." (20)

In the campaign against the Reciprocity agreements of 1911 the question of the Canadian transportation system came in for a great deal of discussion.

"Mr. J. J. Hill", quoting from the Canadian Annual Review for 1911, "was pictured by opponents of Reciprocity as a huge octopus reaching out to grab Canadian trade and compete dangerously with Canadian railways and a vast traffic was in future to be carried south instead of east and west." (21)

"The Canadian railways", according to the argument advanced by the Toronto News (Sept. 14, 1911), "would be the stub ends of American systems. That narrowness of our country, against which we have always repined and to repair which we have resorted to such heroic measures, would assert itself. Our traffic would make a short run to the frontier and then be on American soil. Who would be employed on the American railway -- the American or the Canadian railway man? Speaking broadly the subsidiary and dependent industries would tend to grow on the American rather than on the Canadian lines, at the great centres rather than on the stub lines." (22)

Ten years later, the editor of the Montreal Gazette, in reviewing the reasons why Reciprocity was rejected by the Canadian people, wrote that "it would, further, have sacrificed, in large measure, the enormous investment of public and private capital represented in the great east-and-west transportation systems of the Dominion." "If there were", the editor goes on, "good grounds for the rejection of reciprocity in 1911 there are even stronger grounds for rejecting the tariff proposals put forward by the two Opposition groups, the Farmers and the Liberals in 1921.....The railway plight in which the taxpayer now finds himself supplies one of those arguments, two great transcontinental systems which were, for the most part, under private control

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(20) Industrial Canada, Vol. 25, No. 9, January, 1925, p. 107.

(21) Canadian Annual Review, 1911. p. 251.

(22) Ibid. p. 252.

in 1911, have become charges upon the public treasury. If they are ever to be rescued from the financial slough, which is their present state, they must have business upon which to live. They cannot live upon a business diverted by means of the tariff into a north and south movement. The public, in this respect, have a new interest to protect; the National Railways are their concern, for it is out of their pockets that the deficits must be paid." (23)

"Have Mr. Crerar and his supporters", the same editor asked, "given thought to the disastrous consequence to the railways of wiping out manufacturing industries, and reducing their traffic to a haul of finished foreign products?" (24)

The interests of transportation, in short, are identified with, because railways are an integral part of, the local metropolitan organization. The policy of tariff protection, in such a conception, is essential for all such interdependent interests. It is truly national in the sense that within such a system of economic relationships has been built a railway structure which depends for its continued existence upon the maintenance of the established foundation. "It is pertinent also to observe", writes the editor of the Montreal Gazette, "that the railway question and the tariff issue are inseparably interwoven, inasmuch as the future salvation of the National Railways, dependent as it must be upon the maintenance and growth of east and west traffic, cannot be ensured except through the instrumentality of the National Policy." (25)

#### The Public of Labour

Very similar to the position of the railway stockholders, in that they have a vested interest in a field of activity which has grown out of the established local metropolitan organization, are the workers in industry and

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(23) The Gazette, Montreal, Tues., Nov. 15, 1921, p. 12.

(24) Ibid. Mon., Oct. 10, 1921, p. 10.

(25) Ibid. Mon., Dec. 5, 1921, p. 12.



transportation. Much has been done by labour unionism to give to the employee a characteristically labour point of view but, outside of the purely economic relationship with his employer, he still receives many of his attitudes from the people who employ him. The showing of films in the factory club rooms, the distribution of leaflets in pay envelopes, the issuance of a company news sheet, are a few of the many ways by which company employers define the confusing issues of community organization for the people who work for them. (26) The objective of such propaganda is to establish a recognition, on the part of labour, of the identity of interest between it and the industrialists.

"I think, gentlemen," said Mr. Bulman, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, in addressing the Annual Meeting of the Association in 1919, "that if the laboring men knew what this Association did, what its work was, they would realize that this Association in its efforts for the development of industry in Canada was as much for the working man as for the owner of the factory. We are in no sense a union as they understand a union, but I think as time goes on and labor, real labor, in Canada, understands this Association, they will look upon it as the best friend they have in the country. We leave bargaining between capital and labor to the Employers' Association and other organizations, and the efforts of this Association in a broad way are for the development of industry in Canada, and, if the development of industry in Canada does not mean more jobs, more wages and improvement in their conditions, then we have not succeeded." (27)

In short, the attempt is made to demarcate the interest of the manufacturer as an employer from his interest as a promoter of industry; in the latter capacity, organized in the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, he is in a position to meet labour on a common interest. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association and the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, together with such organisations as the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, become, in a sense, a constellation of institutions operating within separate areas of personnel but participating within a single area of interest. "Employers and employees", Mr. S. R. Parsons of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association had stated in 1924, "would have to work together

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(26) cf. Industrial Canada, Vol. 31, No. 8, December, 1930, p. 52; Vol. 31, No. 10, February, 1931, p. 42.

(27) Ibid. Vol. 20, No. 3, July, 1919, p. 209.

when it came to another election. If, as employers, the members of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association did not bring about that condition it would be largely their own fault. Employees could undoubtedly be educated to such an extent that they would vote with the manufacturers for a policy of protection, in order to maintain employment." (28) Another member of the Association, writing in 1930 to the editor of Industrial Canada, expressed the belief that "it would be good policy at the present time for manufacturers to call their staffs together and point out to them the importance of buying Produced-in-Canada goods in order to maintain and increase employment in industry." (29)

The appeal of the manufacturers to labour is a purely pecuniary appeal. It is made to the interest of the worker in holding his job. An issue of a paper called the Vim of the Canadian Cycle and Motor Company had contained a front page article on Made-in-Canada with the title: "How Would You Like To Be Out of a Job?" (30) This appeal is illustrated in the advertisements

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(28) Industrial Canada, Vol. 25, No. 3, July, 1924, p. 133.

The manufacturers, however, did not always succeed in winning over the support of labour to the policy of protection. In 1911, at the annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress being held in Calgary, the Executive reported that "it believes that the reciprocity agreement between Canada and the United States is in the interests of the Canadian people." "If other proof of this were wanting," it continued, "the fact that the Canadian Manufacturers' Association is against it would be sufficient to prove it must be of some value to the workers." (The Gazette, Montreal, Tues., Sept. 12, 1911, p. 9.)

Since the Great War there has been a much closer rapprochement between the two organizations. In 1919 the Executive Council of the Trades and Labor Congress co-operated with the executive of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in a conference called by the Government to study the principle of tariff protection as a means of solving unemployment and, following such initial co-operation, the two organizations promoted in common the Produced-in-Canada campaign. (Canadian Congress Journal, Vol. 5, No. 3, March, 1926, p. 32.) The two organizations were again working side by side in the Empire Shopping Week Campaign, first launched in 1928.

(Canadian Congress Journal, Vol. 8, No. 4, April, 1929, p. 25-26.)

(29) Industrial Canada, Vol. 31, No. 7, November, 1930, p. 55.

(30) Ibid. Vol. 22, No. 1, May, 1921, p. 55.

appearing in the Canadian Congress Journal, a few of which are reproduced here:

BUY  
CANADIAN GOODS

and give that man  
back his job.  
Buying goods pro-  
duced in Canada  
means full dinner  
pails and a stable  
pay envelope.

THE BRONSON COMPANY

OTTAWA , CANADA

SEVENTY

NEW INDUSTRIES

During the past two years,  
this Company has been  
instrumental in locating  
seventy industries in Mont-  
real, which give employ-  
ment to 2,617 workers.

MONTREAL LIGHT HEAT AND POWER

CONSOLIDATED

CANADIAN WORKMEN

BUY MADE IN CANADA GOODS  
AND  
AID OUR RUBBER INDUSTRIES  
TO  
KEEP CANADIANS EMPLOYED

CONGOLEUM CANADA

LIMITED

::

1270 St. Patrick Street  
Montreal, Canada

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MADE IN CANADA

BY CANADIANS

FOR CANADIANS

In the Reciprocity election campaign of 1911 the attempt was made to demonstrate to labour that freer commercial intercourse with the United States would deprive the Canadian worker of his position. "We are doing", said Mr. W. H. Rowley, of the E. B. Eddy Company, in addressing the employees of the company, "at present an immense business all over Canada, and we feel certain that if the reciprocity vote goes through we will not be able to continue this business on the scale we do now; we will not be able to employ so many men and women as we now do.

Vote for reciprocity and you vote away your own means of subsistence." (31) Huntley Drummond of the Canada Sugar Refining Company in Montreal "publicly warned his employees against this 'unwise and dangerous' Agreement." (32) And Mr. J. R. Booth, Lumberman of Ottawa, "advised his 2,500 employees to vote against Reciprocity." (33) Mr. H. C. Bellew of Montreal, in speaking at an Eastern Township Conservative meeting of 1911 "drew attention to the infantile soapstone industry which his syndicate had just commenced, and which will mean a wage roll of over \$200,000 per annum for Stukely laborers, teamsters and farmers, and which had a very good show of being closed up should the (Reciprocity) pact carry." (34)

Following from the appeal to the security of the worker, his desire to hold his job, arises the conception of a Canadian standard of living superior to that of other countries. That standard of living could be maintained only by preventing the entry of goods produced in countries employing labour at a lower wage scale. "If", asked Mr. Meighen, at Lachute, Quebec, in 1921, "we do not let workmen in from Japan, from India, or China, from cheap living countries, tell me how you are going to justify a course which would let the goods they make come in without any tariff." (35) The Canadian Manufacturers' Association employed this argument in opposing imperial trade agreements which would throw open the Canadian market to British producers. "Canadian standards of living and wages", according to a statement issued by the Association, "are higher than those of the United Kingdom, and it is necessary to ensure sufficient protection for Canadian production to offset the difference; otherwise, our wages and standards will be lowered, or unemployment will be transferred from the United Kingdom

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(31) The Gazette, Montreal, Sept. 20, 1911, p. 5.

(32) Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 203.

(33) Ibid. p. 204.

(34) The Gazette, Montreal, Thurs., Sept. 14, 1911, p. 7.

(35) Ibid. Mon., Nov. 7, 1921, p. 8.

to Canada." (36) Whether or not there is any basis of fact in the conception of the higher standard of living of Canadian workmen, its significance is rather that it has become a matter of belief.

That belief becomes associated with the whole position of labour in the Canadian community. In the end, the job and the standard of living centres in, and is sustained by all the sentiments associated with, the home. Here is the symbolization of the worker's desires, hopes and ambitions. Not only his security but his status is objectified in the home. Accordingly, the appeal to labour has been an appeal to that basic desire to maintain one's position in the local social community: a tariff would force the manufacturers of the United States to establish factories in Canada and this would provide employment for Canadian labour; whereas, without a tariff, Canadian workers would be compelled to give up their established homes and emigrate to the United States in search of employment.

"While United States products", wrote the editor of Industrial Canada, "have been coming into Canada, Canadian men and women have been going to the United States. Canada has for many years been exchanging men for goods. Some bales of goods come in; a man goes out; for if we do not provide employment at home to suit the varied talents and tastes of our people they will go abroad to seek work.....at least three-fourths of those who leave Canada for the United States go to seek employment in the cities and towns of that country, and many Canadians are actually occupied in the United States producing goods for consumption in Canada. If there had been in force in Canada during the last thirty years a policy of protection as thorough and consistent as that which has so wonderfully developed the United States, there would be very few Canadians over the border to-day." (37)

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(36) Industrial Canada, Vol. 31, No. 3, July, 1930, p. 104.

(37) Ibid. Vol. 3, No. 5, December, 1902, p. 234. Punctuation as in text.

The sentimental appeal is well illustrated in the following letter quoted

In referring to the migration of young men over the border, Mr. J. A. Sullivan, a Conservative candidate in Montreal in the election of 1930, said: "We have got to keep youth in Canada, and that is the purpose of Mr. Bennett." (38)

### The Public of Agriculture

The great agricultural public does not conform so readily as labour to the needs of metropolitan organization. Yet the support of this group, or at any rate a section of the group, is essential in the securing of the integration of Canadian economic life. Such integration is possible only if a balance is established between the primary and secondary producers within the country, so that exchange of commodities between the two is reciprocal. At that stage the maturation of local economic life is complete. Of course, even among the industrialists, there is no desire to integrate local economic life so completely that commercial intercourse with the outside world is cut off entirely. Economic nationalism is rather a movement expressing the needs of only those producers who depend upon the domestic market for the sale of their commodities. Because Canada entered into the stage of

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in the editorial columns of Industrial Canada from the Montreal Family Herald and Weekly Star:

".....I love my two boys, my only sons, and they are living in a big city of the United States. My heart is aching to have them home again in some Canadian city. I am afraid they will marry American girls and settle down there, almost forgetting their mother. I have a neighbor whose son went to the United States years ago. At first he wrote to her often. Then he got married and after a few years he was divorced and married again. He has children by both wives. Isn't it dreadful? Divorces are so common over there. You will say, 'what has all this to do with the question of high tariff?' I will tell you just what. I got a letter two weeks ago from one of my boys. They both work in the same factory. The letter said: '.....Over one-third of the work done in our great factory now is for export to Canada and our Canadian trade is increasing every year. I often think while living in the United States I am making things for Canadians. I guess there would be quite a lot of branch factories started in Canada if the tariff should be raised and there would be lots of work for Canadians at home.' Now, Mr. Editor, do you see why I am interested in the tariff question? I want my boys to come home, because I think Canada is a purer and better country. They will be better men here. I don't mean they are not good now. They are both good boys, but I am afraid of the future." (Industrial Canada, Vol. 4, No. 1, August, 1903, p. 12-13.)

(38) The Gazette, Montreal, Tues., July 1, 1930, p. 7.



industrial development very late in the 19th century, that need has been primarily felt by the manufacturing group.

Urbanization, however, and with it the creation of greater local markets for primary producers, has emphasized the importance to agriculture of internal trading. The significance of this shift in the local metropolitan organization was dealt with in a preceding chapter. Here it is important to point out that such re-organization, though not necessarily a result of, has been based upon a conception of a common interest between manufacturers and agriculturists. "The farmer", wrote the editor of Industrial Canada, "is not opposed to the manufacturer. Increased manufacturing means increased population, and higher prices for the products of the soil. The manufacturer is not opposed to the farmer, but rather dependent upon him. There is a home market for both in which each is mutually dependent upon the other. Then why not stand together?" (39)

The farmers, especially those of Ontario and Quebec, have a market in Canada which they would lose under a system of free trade. "If Canada's industries", Mr. Meighen had said in 1921, "were destroyed by American competition, the home market of the Canadian farmer went down to destruction also." (40) "Let me ask the Ontario farmer", said Sir Thomas White in 1921, "whether today, with the Fordney tariff law in effect, they would be better off with industrial centres like Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton and other cities and towns with diminished populations and with existing industries crippled or wiped out? It is the greatest advantage to the farmer to have a home market of which he can be certain." (41)

In the Reciprocity elections of 1911, Mr. Robert McLaughlin, head of the McLaughlin Carriage Co. Ltd., asked the Ontario farmer, "are you going to jeopardize this splendid market for 80 per cent of your products for a possible ,

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(39) Industrial Canada, Vol. 2, No. 10, June, 1902, p. 354.

(40) The Gazette. Wed., Oct. 12, 1921, p. 9.

(41) Ibid. Sat., Nov. 12, 1921, p. 2.

but by no means assured better market for the remaining 20 per cent of your products?" (42); while Dr. Pickel, in the same election, endeavoured to show "that the farmers would lose far more than they would gain by opening the Canadian home-consuming markets to the importation of the farm products of the United States." (43) At a meeting at Campbellford, Ontario, in 1921, the Hon. Mr. Stewart maintained that the interests of farmers were not opposed to those of Canadian industries as the agricultural community must have a market and the home market would vanish if the industries were destroyed. "It must be remembered", he said, "that there are 675,000 people in Canada actively engaged in manufacturing, and they, with their dependents, constitute a community of over two million people." (44)

"If the conditions of agriculture", wrote the editor of the Montreal Gazette, during the election campaign of 1921, "are to be made better in Canada, there is one obvious and sure way of doing it, namely by enlarging the home market in Canada, a market which Mr. Crerar's policy aims to destroy."

(45) At Toronto, during the same election, Hon. Edmund Bristol had declared that "Free Trade would wipe out the home market of the Canadian farmer." (46) The conception of the balanced economy was endorsed by Mr. Taschereau, Premier of the Province of Quebec. "It may be", he said, "that for many years to come the tariffs of foreign countries will close their markets to our products both manufactured and agricultural. We must then become, in a far larger measure, the consumers of our own goods. Now the agricultural interests cannot prosper, cannot survive without great centres to receive and distribute their products. Our towns, on the other hand, cannot increase and support their work people unless the rural folks buy their manufactured goods." (47)

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(42) The Gazette, Montreal, Thurs., Sept. 7, 1911, p. 4.

(43) Ibid. Thurs., Sept. 7, 1911, p. 5.

(44) Ibid., Nov. 3, 1921, p. 2.

(45) Ibid. Wed., Nov. 16, 1921, p. 12.

(46) Ibid. Sat., Oct. 29, 1921, p. 1.

(47) Ibid. Fri., Sept. 23, 1921, p. 8.

The frontier agricultural community, however, unlike the Eastern agricultural area, is the antithesis of local metropolitan organization, and any attempt to force trade to move within the bounds of the national state results in a restriction of export productive activity. At times the manufacturing group admit the validity of this claim but counter that if the economic development of the country is to be healthy, a price must be paid for local industrial growth. In other words, the export industry must be taxed to support new industries producing for the home market; only in this way can a proper balance be established between urban and rural development. The export farmer, in a sense, is called upon to invest part of the profits from the sale of his products from which, in the more distant future, he will realize dividends in the form of larger domestic markets. Such manufacturing industries, moreover, will provide openings for those sons of the western farmers who either are not able, or have no desire, to establish themselves in agriculture. "Manitoba and the Canadian North-West", wrote the editor of Industrial Canada in 1903, "should profit by the experience of the Eastern provinces. All the loyalty of their ancestors to the British Empire did not prevent the young men of the East from emigrating to the United States. Unless home industries are provided for the sons of the men who are now settling in the Canadian Northwest they too will drift back to the land of their fathers." (48)

At other times, impatient at the movements for free trade, the manufacturers, and with the manufacturers those various interests vested in the system of tariff protection, attacked the policies of Western agriculture. "The Canadian manufacturers", wrote the editor of Industrial Canada, "have every reason to expect a more friendly feeling from the farmers of this country. The manufacturers have always urged the adoption of every measure

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(48) Industrial Canada, Vol. 3, No. 8, March, 1903, p. 354.

designed to advance the interests of the farmer.....In view of all this, is it any wonder that the Canadian manufacturer should be surprised and pained to find the Canadian farmer misrepresenting him, and declaring that he is actuated by selfish and unworthy motives?" (49)

"We have opened land in the Canadian West," said Mr. Cahan in 1911, "and have handed it over to these farmers. They have waxed rich, and in ten years have gathered in more wealth than they could have amassed in any other country in the world in twenty-five years. Now, they want more, and even make their demand to the detriment of the rest of the country." (50) "The farmers", Mr. Meighen had said in the election campaign of 1921, "were unwilling to bear their part, too, in the great cost of building up Canada. The Eastern provinces had been bled white in constructing railways through to the west, and now the farmers objected to bearing their share of the long haul, and desired to trade with the United States in order to save freight." (51) "It should not be forgotten", wrote a correspondent in the Montreal Gazette, "that but for the people of Eastern Canada to-day the rich wheat fields of the West would be fallow, and there would not be any farmers out there selling wheat for \$2 or \$3 per bushel -- or any other price." (52)

"In the West", Hon. J. B. M. Baxter had said in 1921, "had grown up a selfish movement, which had for its basis free trade. These men demanded free implements because they used them themselves. They really had no regard for the farmers of the East." (53) After pointing out that the five most important Ministers in the Liberal Government represented the three Prairie Provinces of Canada, the Hon. Mr. Cahan, in the election campaign of 1930, declared that "these five ministers control the Government, and direct its financial<sup>and economic</sup> policies." "They have", he continued, "for the past

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(49) Industrial Canada, Vol. 8, No. 6, January, 1908, p. 474.

(50) The Gazette, Montreal, Tues., Sept. 12, 1911, p. 2.

(51) Ibid. Fri., Nov. 11, 1921, p. 2.

(52) Ibid. Fri., Oct. 21, 1921, p. 12.

(53) Ibid. Thurs., Oct. 6, 1921, p. 13.

ten years held the solid bloc of the province of Quebec in strict control by bit and bridle, while framing their tariff policies in conformity with the free trade views of their western supporters." (54) "Is it not time for Quebec," asked J. A. C. Brumbay, of Montreal, in the same election, "to awake to a realization of its true status, instead of being driven like lambs by a western minority?" (55)

Such statements, however, were made within the industrial milieu and were not intended to be heard by the western farmer. The manufacturers and those political leaders participating in the wider arena of Dominion politics were careful, when speaking to the frontier public, to frame their objectives in a vocabulary which did not antagonize the special interests to whom they addressed themselves. "I think", said a western member of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, "it would be well for the Manufacturers' Association to study the psychology of the farmer and put on some sort of educational campaign.....You know yourself that the man who stays in a locality is probably not as broad-minded as the man that is able to get about a bit, and probably it is the duty of the Manufacturers' Association to lead in the matter of trying to show the proper spirit." (56) Such an appeal had to be embodied in a formula which would satisfy the interests of the out-group. "If it is true", said one manufacturer, "we want higher protection, for heaven's sake don't let us go into the rural and agricultural communities and give them this dose in such unpalatable form; surely some sugar-coating can be put upon it, and instead of its being a plea for more protection, let it be a little more on the lines of a friendly discussion on raising the revenue." (57) More recently has been enunciated the formula of a fair or reasonable tariff. "I have always deplored", said one manufacturer in 1930,

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(54) The Gazette, Montreal, June 24, 1930, p. 4.

(55) Ibid. Friday, June 20, 1930, p. 15.

(56) Industrial Canada, Vol. 20, No. 3, July, 1919, p. 225.

(57) Ibid. Vol. 11, No. 3, October, 1910, p. 290.

"the statement made by many manufacturers that they are looking for high tariff.....A member stated last night that we should educate the public. As long as the manufacturers of this country talk high tariff we are educating the public the wrong way. If we can educate the farmers in the West to recognize that we are only asking for a reasonable tariff.....we will go a long way towards bringing them to see matters as we see them." (58)

On the whole the manufacturing group attempt to establish the formula of the national interest, claiming that agriculture would benefit equally with manufacturing from a policy of protection. It is argued that the largest market for farm products is the domestic market, that the low freight rates on west-east traffic (making possible the export of Canadian grain) can only be maintained by maintaining the east-west traffic. "The development of many new industries", said W. S. Fisher, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, in 1922, "has provided traffic from industrial centres to the grain-growing areas. This traffic moves throughout the entire year and contributes in a very substantial way to the total revenues of the transportation companies. Nothing is more certain than that our transportation services could not have obtained their present magnitude and efficiency without the industrial expansion which provides return loads for the trains that carry farm products from the Prairies. But for this, the freight rates on agricultural products from the Prairies would have been so high that the western farmers could not ship their produce to the sea." (59)

"It (protection)", wrote the editor of the Montreal Gazette, "has afforded him (the Western farmer) direct protection for the products of his industry, and it has made possible a steady, sound national growth and development in which he has shared equally with other classes. Out of the

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(58) Industrial Canada, Vol. 31, No. 3, July, 1930, p. 173.

(59) Ibid. Vol. 23, No. 3, July, 1922, p. 145.



system of protection grew the agencies which contributed most to the building up of the Canadian West." (60) In a letter to the President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association read at the annual meeting of 1930, Mr. W. K. George, a past President of the Association, after pointing out that what the manufacturers wanted was a "competitive" rather than a high tariff, declared "that much more and continuous publicity should be given to the percentage of the agricultural products which are raised in Canada and which are actually consumed in Canada, which condition is, of course, due to the towns and cities of Canada -- the development of which is in many cases entirely, and in all cases almost entirely, due to their industrial development." (61)

In the end, the clash between the interests of the export West and the metropolitan East can only be resolved by the integration of the western interest into that of the local metropolitan economy. As suggested in a preceding chapter there are indications that agriculture is making such an adjustment; the mono-export character of western economy is giving way to a more extensive and varied interchange of commodities within the region. Such economic maturation had made possible its greater incorporation within the national economy. "We do not want", Mr. W. J. Bulman, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, had said as early as 1919, "to see Eastern Canada devoted chiefly to industry and Western Canada mainly to agriculture. Industry and agriculture should flourish side by side in all parts of Canada." (62) This view was endorsed by another manufacturer at a later date. "It is", said Mr. L. L. Anthes of Montreal, "by these industrial communities growing up in the different Provinces that public opinion is formulated, and I think the greatest asset of the Canadian manufacturers at large would be to establish themselves in the Western parts of Canada, and

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(60) *The Gazette*, Montreal, Fri., Oct. 7, 1921, p. 12.

(61) *Industrial Canada*, Vol. 31, No. 3, July, 1930, p. 175. Italics in text.

(62) *Ibid.* Vol. 20, No. 3, July, 1919, p. 171.

then in ~~time~~ we would become a real voice in our country." (63)

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Pari Passu with increasing maturation of Canadian economic life has come an increasing maturation of cultural life. The National Interest, formulated by the metropolitan groups of the Canadian community as a definition of the interests of various publics in relationship to the wider community, has taken on a meaning apart from, and become an objective transcendental to, local ambitions. Instead of being a re-definition of publics of interest, it has become the interest of the nation public. Such a rendering was implicit in the interpretations of group interest, discussed above. Interwoven and intermingled are those appeals to the deep-laid sentiment attitudes, to the desires for participation and recognition in social activity, to the fears, affections, and feelings of insecurity, of the Canadian people. Economic satisfactions, alone, are not sufficient to mobilize various publics within a common system of social organization. Such satisfactions flow into the broader stream of wants and desires and from the interplay of these various forces emerge the forms of social organization with their sustaining idea-systems.

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(63) Industrial Canada, Vol. 31, No. 3, July, 1930, p. 191.

PART II

SENTIMENT BASIS OF UNION --

GEMEINSCHAFT

## CHAPTER V

### LOCAL METROPOLITAN ORGANIZATION AND THE IDEA OF NATION

Local metropolitan organization was justified in, and sustained by, the conception of nationhood. Industrial production and marketing depended upon operation on a national scale, upon disregard for provincial boundaries and local groupings, upon, in short, the secularization and individualization of Canadian life. Capital, the management of industrial enterprise, labour, the factory plant itself, made obsolete the social patterns based upon a frontier-colonial organization. Industrialism had to seek support in a conception of political relationships wide enough to permit the free operation of the forces of capital expansion, not so wide, however, but that it would provide protection from the dominant industrial enterprises of outside centres. Such a conception was found in the idea of the nation-state.

#### Provincial Groupings and National Organization

In essence, Canadian nationalism was expansive. The regional consciousness of the rising industrial centres was a consciousness based upon the ambitions of cabinet and machine manufacturers who saw in an expanding hinterland market the opportunity of securing greater profits. The rapid railway building of the 'sixties and 'seventies and the increase of agricultural production in Western Ontario provided the framework for a structure built within the local metropolitan economy; but such a structure lacked a foundation without the establishment of a political-sentiment area bringing together the various provincial groupings of the Dominion. Such groupings were thrown together into a federation to satisfy the needs of British metropolitan organization; with the gradual disappearance of these needs

that relationship was in danger of disintegrating into its constituent elements. It could be maintained only by means of intra-national bonds of transportation and trade.

"There is", said W. H. Howland of Toronto, in 1876, "still a more important matter involved in this than merely the trade question -- a matter which, I think, was more in the minds of the framers of Confederation than anything else. There is no doubt that the theory of Confederation was to bring together these separate Provinces, to destroy the old provincial lines, to encourage trade and industry among them, and to increase the communication between them until we should become one country. The design was to make our people forget the provincial lines, and instead of thinking of old Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia as separate countries, to make them realize the fact that the Provinces were portions of Canada, and that they themselves were all Canadians. To accomplish that, certain duties were imposed, with a view to making trade flow from Province to Province, and I have no doubt those who originated that policy were free traders. Now, the practice of Confederation has been different. The duties were imposed, it is true; but the feeling was so strong on these fiscal points that they were taken off again, and the result has been that the Provinces have returned to the old state, -- trade flows through the old channels. New Brunswick is New Brunswick still, Nova Scotia is still Nova Scotia, and old Canada is Canada East and West as before. I do not consider the Provinces to-day to be anything more than a bundle of sticks loosely tied together; and we can well afford to sacrifice money, if need be, to pay increased taxes, and have a fiscal policy which many may object to, if we can only accomplish the larger object of having one country and a united people. That is what I call a national policy.....I think we would all feel we were doing our duty in returning to what was intended by the framers of Confederation, by putting on just sufficient duty to keep our industries in full working order, to make the natural products of the country flow from Province to Province in Canadian vessels, and develop the vast resources of our country." (1)

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(1) Report of the Dominion Board of Trade, Ottawa, 1876, p. 137-8.

"I hold", said the same manufacturer the following year, "that we are failing in carrying out the idea of Confederation. I hold that the effect of our legislation has been to leave us pretty much as we were before Confederation, instead of drawing us closer together and making us one country. There is no better test of that than the fact that when any Nova Scotian or New Brunswicker speaks of coming to the Western Provinces, he does not say he is going to Ontario or Quebec, but he is going to Canada. Until we can make the people of this country feel thoroughly that we are one people, and that our interests are united, I am satisfied that we are not carrying out the intention of the promoters of Confederation, and that we will not succeed in our efforts to build up a nation. As far as protecting the different interests of the country is concerned, my idea is, that the expense to Ontario of a tax on coal will be very small. It is only a matter of finance. The fact that it is a little quicker and more convenient to get American coal, is all that prevents us from having Nova Scotia coal now. By utilizing our vessels, and our own coal and iron, the result would be to make this country a great nation -- a nation that not only ourselves will be proud of, but one that all the countries of the world will respect." (Ibid. 1877, p. 119.)

"Viewing this question in a practical light," said William Lukes of

### National Organization and United States Industrial Invasion

Because Canadian industrialism entered upon the American scene late in the stage of industrial development, the nationalism of the Canadian frontier region has been directed against the invasion of United States industry. The maturation of United States industrial and commercial life following the Civil War and the organization of the North American Continent in relation to The Atlantic seaboard rather than English centres of dominance have tended to orientate the British Dominion away from her traditional points of reference and to bring her into closer contact with her southern neighbour. American industry invaded her rural principalities, cut sheer across her established population groupings and set up a system of relationships based upon the individualistic evaluations of an industrial society. Not without reason did Goldwin Smith prophesy the union of the Dominion with the United States. Without the integration of local economic life, the politically scattered Canadian regions would have tended to orientate themselves about those centres of activity across the line to which particular regions were related.

The threat to the interests vested in the frontier-national organization of Canadian life resulted in the expression of a regional consciousness which objectified its desires in the form of fiscal protection. Confederation could be maintained only by the tariff and transcontinental railway system, the integration of the various regions into an organized metropolitan area, the development of a cultural life independent as far as possible of the United States, the establishment of a nation public apart from the activity publics of the American Continent. The problem was essentially one of

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Newmarket, a member of the Ontario Manufacturers' Association, in 1876, "we should go on working out the intentions of Confederation, by bringing about more intimate connection with the whole Dominion, and by building up a nationality on this continent." (Ibid. 1876, p. 164.)



facilitating urbanization within the local metropolitan area as opposed to frontier provincialism on the one hand or participation within the United States metropolitan areas on the other. Only by means of the former process could an independent Canadian National life be secured.

"The difference", wrote Britton Cooke, in the January, 1915, issue of Industrial Canada, "between Free Trade and Protection would then be, as applied to Canada, the difference between those who believe in the Dominion as a sort of open commons, or general exploiting ground for the adventurous sons of the rest of the world, and those who believe in Canada as a rounded-out nation within the group of nations which is called the British Empire. It would be the difference between those who believe in doctrinaire propaganda and those who recognize Patriotism as one of the great factors in the making of true men, and National spirit as the essential of a great and good state. It is difficult to see, if a man believe in these latter things, how he can fail to believe also in Protection as the indispensable factor in fostering these qualities in the individual and in the whole community. For Protection, wisely administered, is the only influence, short of war carried into the midst of our own country, which can be relied upon to anneal into a homogeneous and resilient fabric, the scattered interests and divergent objectives of Canada.

".....Canada has been noted, are now, as an artificially designed political unit whose political boundaries are not her physical boundaries, whose social boundary does not exist, and whose economic boundary is an imaginary line slightly reinforced by a schedule of customs percentages. Here is area enough for nine Empires, variety enough for the ficklest nature, wealth enough to make every child a potential Croesus.....Yet our theatres are fed from New York, Chicago and San Francisco. Our jokes come from Broadway. Our light reading is made in Philadelphia, and the heavier material in the British Isles. Our summer sport is under the tutelage of an American trust. Our labor unions are centred in the United States. Englishmen dominate our railway boards, and Americans manage the machinery. The highest rewards in trades, professions or arts, or even in the social world, lie outside of Canada. Americans dominate our fishing interests. Though it is theoretically possible for Canada to stop Germany's nickel supply, she must first consult the American trust which controls most of the Canadian mines, and the Washington that stands behind that trust. There is no exclusively Canadian race, religion, language, set of traditions or set of trading interests. There is no truly Canadian tradition threading coast to coast with patriotic thrill, except the dry glory of the B. N. A. Act and the only half-understood courage of the men of Confederation. We have not even a common hatred -- a Heaven-given enemy whose covetous eyes would make us conscious of the value of our heritage. Each chief group of communities in the loose-strung necklace which we call Canada has closer trade affinity to the south than to east or west. In short, a score of subtle influences tend to draw gently apart the sections of the so-called whole, and only three bind them together again.

"The three are great: Imperial sentiment -- which is often mistaken for Canadian sentiment, and is curiously compounded with provincial sentiment; the trans-continental railways; and the Tariff. The first, now burning strongly in the breasts of our forty-six per cent British-born, cannot honestly be guaranteed in perpetuity against the unborn generations of foreigners and Franco-Canadians; only by focussing the interests of British-born and foreign-born alike in a united Canada, can the loyalty of that Canada be transferred

to the Empire as a whole.

"The second of the three factors, the railway, is artery, vein and capillary, carrying life to every part, renewing tissue, co-operating with the ganglia of telegraph, telephone and post. Without the Second the First would slowly lose its power to hold the parts together -- and without the Third both would fail! Interests, communications, affections, and intra-national relationships are based upon traffic! And that traffic has been and must for many years continue to be held within the artificial boundaries of an artificially-designed nation -- by artificial means! Only a few strands of telegraph wire and a double pair of ninety-pound rails link West with East across the north-Superior wilderness. Cut down the Tariff and behold them rusting! Observe traffic running in the easiest channels, new routes, new interests, new communications, new affections and new relationships grown up!

"An axiom underlies this matter.

"In an ideal state -- and there is no reason why Canadians should ignore ideals, however vast -- there must be a certain ratio maintained between the two great departments of human occupation: industrial and agricultural; between manufacture and the exploitation of the raw materials which the country affords. The means of attaining this balance in Canada rest in the Tariff.

".....It (the tariff) guarantees a maximum of inter-Canadian traffic, a maximum number of transactions between one department of production and the other, a maximum of inter-Canadian interest, inter-Canadian communication, inter-Canadian dependence, inter-Canadian thought, inter-Canadian affection -- Canadian spirit! .....The Tariff, in short, is the means of controlling economic conditions in so far as they are affected from within the nation; social conditions, so far as they arise out of economic conditions; and the fostering of inter-Canadian interest, ambition, affection and spirit.

".....It was the Protective Tariff, devised by Alexander Hamilton, that bandaged the parts of the United States until they grew together. It was by a Protective Tariff that Bismark forced the divergent interests of the German states into one great mould and laid an economic foundation for the nation whose methods and ambitions we abhor, but whose singleness of mind and purpose we must admire. Canada, lacking the terrible tradition out of which the United States sprang, without the oppression of enemies such as lay close to the European states, without any of the compressing or contracting influences that have beaten and squeezed other nations into being, needs her Protection even more than they....." (2)

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(2) Industrial Canada, Vol. 15, No. 6, January, 1915, pp. 600-602.

"Canada", wrote the editor of Industrial Canada in 1911, "has not yet established her national type or life on an enduring basis. Our position is not paralleled anywhere in the world -- two nations with a common boundary stretching from ocean to ocean, peoples speaking the same language and enjoying similar institutions, peoples which in many respects have the same habits of mind. To these general conditions have been added others adventitiously which makes our future one requiring the highest statesmanship and foresight. Because we are all of one continent we have of necessity established very many international bonds. Already we have a trade passing north and south amounting to \$350,000,000 a year. Our railways pass through each other's territory; we have had an immense European immigration which does not know our traditions and has no particular sympathy with our Imperial connection; finally we have gathered into our West hundreds of thousands of farmers from the United States whose sympathies naturally have not altogether been weaned from the country of their birth. Dare we under these circumstances remove the barrier behind which we are evolving a separate nationality? Is it wise to enlarge the field of our intercourse which even now brings us into constant communication with the people of

### Canadian Manufacturers and National Feeling

Canadian nationalism, indeed, was the expression of the optimism, faith and unsophistication of the pioneer industrialists. "The twentieth century belongs to Canada" took on meaning and crystallized the ambitions of the manufacturing group. The rapid settlement of the Canadian West, the railway building and expansion of the basic industries, the development of the hydro, mineral and lumber resources of the Dominion, all conspired to an outlook of enthusiasm and buoyancy on the part of business leaders. "At this turning point in our history," said Mr. E.J. Younge at the 1904 Quebec Banquet of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, "let us cherish the

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the United States?" (Ibid. Vol. 11, No. 8, March, 1911, p. 827-8.)

"Our's", said W.S. Fisher, Canadian Manufacturers' Association President in 1922, "is a country of great distances, of wide sparsely settled spaces divided into scattered units with diverse interests. This, added to the fact that for nearly four thousand miles we skirt the northern boundary of the United States with its large population, highly developed and diversified interests within easy reach of our chief centres of population, makes the problem of our cohesion and development a difficult one." (Ibid. Vol. 23, No. 3, July, 1922, p. 145.)

"Like all great truths," said J.H. Fortier, in his presidential address in 1926 at the Canadian Manufacturers' Association annual meeting, "our real problem can be very simply stated. It is this: Will Confederation last? If the policy of tariff reduction that has been followed for the past eight years is continued, it is certain that in time most of the great industries of Canada will disappear and that only a few, based on adjacent natural resources or with a small local trade, will survive. If matters are allowed to drift until this situation is reached, is it possible that Canada, from which industry will have largely disappeared, taking with it the business dependant directly or indirectly upon industry, will be able to bear the burden of taxation, operate the transcontinental railroads, support the great overhead systems of Dominion, municipal, and provincial government, and maintain the public services and institutions?

".....If Confederation fails, will Canada resolve back into its original elements, -- scattered provinces lying along the northern boundary of the richest and strongest country in the world? What will be the future of these isolated provinces? Will they become additional states of the United States or will they try to exist as feeble republics, similar to some of those in South America?

"Surely the patriotism and good sense of the Canadian people will not allow matters to drift until such a contingency is upon them! Surely the dream of our forefathers will not be abandoned! They bequeathed us our country, and the works which their hands created. Can we retain it for ourselves and our children?" (Ibid. Vol. 27, No. 3, July, 1926, p. 111.)

national idea." (3)

That idea symbolized, and projected beyond the egoism of petty groups within the community, the strivings of the Canadian manufacturers to establish themselves in a dominant position on the northern half of the continent. "What we want to do," said Mr. Edward Gurney, speaking at a business dinner of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in Toronto, "and what every man in Canada to-day wants to do is to preserve our nationality; to provide all the conditions that will preserve this magnificent heritage that has come to us; and what are those conditions? Living as we do in close contiguity to the United States, making the same classes of goods they do, we must have conditions that will protect us from their overflow.....We must preserve the conditions; we must perpetuate the conditions; we must create the conditions that will give us a chance to maintain this national life." (4)

Arousing the feeling of identification with the national group depended, in the end, upon the techniques of propaganda. "It is important", said a member of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1927, elected President that year, "that we shape our (the Canadian Manufacturers' Association's) policies and our work so that we will create a national sentiment from coast to coast that will be instilled in the minds of our young people so that they will be inspired with the idea that Canada is a good country to live in, and make their life work in it. We see in the United States from earliest infancy the child taught to reverence the United States, led to believe that the United States is the greatest country in the world.....We want that spirit over here, we want our youth to grow up to believe that Canada is the first and greatest country in the world, to love the land of their birth and of their adoption." (5)

Because of their situation within the large urban centres, their highly developed techniques of business administration, their association in

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(3) Industrial Canada, Vol. 4, No. 9, April, 1904, p. 445.

(4) Ibid. Vol. 4, No. 5, December, 1903, p. 279-80. Punctuation as in text.

(5) Ibid. Vol. 28, No. 3, July, 1927, p. 117-8.

organizations which extended across the whole country, their close relationship with the daily press in the cities, their participation in the institutions of the local community, the Canadian industrialists were in an excellent position to direct the currents of national thought. "We are not manufacturers", said Mr. Birge, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, in 1903, "merely of articles of wood and stone, and iron and cotton and wool, and so on; we manufacture enthusiasm; we manufacture Canadian sentiment; we manufacture a feeling of pride in our country, and we manufacture a spirit of independence, and a spirit of national pride. We have been doing that for some time." (6)

The organization of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, itself, made for a greater consciousness of national unity. Its Dominion-wide membership, its concern with problems of nation-wide concern, its annual conventions which brought together industrial representatives from all parts of the country and its body of functionaries made up of national industrial leaders, encouraged a spirit of co-operation and broke down the barriers of provincial isolation. "I might go farther," said Mr. Drummond, in his presidential address at the Canadian Manufacturers' Association annual meeting in 1904, "and speak of its (Canadian Manufacturers' Association's) national influence in welding together the scattered Provinces of the Dominion, and in creating and fostering that true patriotic sentiment which has become so widespread during recent years in Canada." (7) This statement was endorsed by a later President of the same Association. "I can safely say", said Mr. W. K. George in 1906, "that it (the Canadian Manufacturers' Association) is broadly national in its aims; and I think you will agree with me that there is no stronger factor in the national life of the Dominion.....than this Association." (8)

It is impossible to examine the many methods by which the local metropolitan interests sought to mobilize the various publics existing within the

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(6) Industrial Canada, Vol. 4, No. 3, October, 1903, p. 103. Punctuation as in text.

(7) Ibid. Vol. 5, No. 3, October, 1904, p. 126.

(8) Ibid. Vol. 7, No. 3, October, 1906, p. 259.

Canadian federal area behind a single ideal, that of preserving the economic integrity of the Dominion. The Produced-in-Canada campaign, the Canadianization campaign, the campaign against American magazines or American films, against the use of American text books in Canadian schools, the campaign for the construction of the trans-Canada automobile highway, are all items of a coherent policy to bring the whole of Canada into economic and cultural integration within the local metropolitan areas. The bedrocks of such a policy remained the National Policy and the Transcontinental Railway. Out of it has emerged the conception of the Canadian nation.

The promotion of that conception through the circulation of symbols is well illustrated by the Made-in-Canada campaigns carried on by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. The objective is clearly that of arousing a feeling of patriotism and, following from that, of persuading the Canadian people -- and especially the Canadian housewives -- that it is an act of patriotism to consume Canadian products. It is doubtful, however, if the campaign has been successful in accomplishing its immediate purpose. While in times of stress patriotic citizens can be induced, even at an economic disadvantage, to purchase home-produced commodities, it is only during such times and among a limited number of people that the appeal has any marked effect. In launching a Made-in-Canada campaign, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association is launching in reality a campaign in favour of protection. "The National Policy," wrote the editor of Industrial Canada, "which was formulated and passed originally by a 'Made-in-Canada' campaign, has been maintained by successive and persistent similar campaigns. In other words, the National Policy and 'Made-in-Canada' are identical and he who attacks one attacks both." (9)

Here we have the clue to the reason of the campaign. Convince the

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(9) Industrial Canada, Vol. 16, No. 2, June, 1915, p. 137.



individual that he should purchase goods made in Canada and he will immediately take steps to secure a legislative enactment which will compel his neighbour to buy such goods. The campaign, in short, creates a public conscience, a sense of moral responsibility on the part of the individual for the welfare of the group, which, in effect, demands in the cause of loyalty to the ideals of nationhood that Canadians purchase goods produced in Canada. That public conscience seeks expression through the legislative machinery of the state. It is the conscience of the public of sentiment in contra-distinction to the interest of the publics of special activity. It secures its belief through identification with national symbols.

It is to that belief that local metropolitanism appeals in seeking support for its policies. Such an appeal is not entirely rational. In so far as the Canadian industrialists are self-conscious of their position in the Canadian scene, the identification of their objectives with the national ideal is justification; in so far as they are not, such identification is rationalization. Certainly the fact of Canadian nationhood is generally accepted. The question at issue is the relationship of the policy of fiscal protection to that fact.

#### The Issue of Trade Relations and the Mobilization of National Feeling

That issue was essentially political in nature. It was decided at the polls on election day. The appeal to the symbols of nationalism, the mobilization of the Canadian nation public behind the common objective of resisting absorption by the United States, has characterized every Canadian election in which the chief issue was that of Canada's trade relations with the United States (and most Canadian elections have been fought on that issue). During such times the nation public is converted into a nation crowd. It ceases to discuss the various questions of political concern; its attention becomes

focussed upon those collective representations crystallized by the expressive groups directing the election campaign.

The appeal is a highly moral one. The vague attitudes and feelings of the Canadian people, the wish to be identified with a cause and a faith transcendental to every-day experience, the desire to share the responsibility for the security and welfare of an ideal lying outside the individual person, are given effective direction through the focussing of attention upon national symbols. The objectives of national life can be preserved only by the tariff, by the protection of Canadian economic life from the invasion of United States industry.

"The position", said Howland, a Toronto manufacturer, in 1872, "the question (of commercial union with the United States) assumed was simple:- if we surrender the control of our fiscal affairs, we surrender also the government of our country." (10) In the same discussion a Brantford manufacturer said: "The desire of the United States was undoubtedly to annex Canada; but we had a higher destiny on this American Continent.....Why should we then surrender our independence to our southern neighbors? The people of the United States knew that we possessed the elements of a great nation, and they therefore wished to absorb us while we are young." (11) Another Brantford manufacturer "pointed to the absorption of all the smaller states of Germany by Prussia as the result of a Zollverein. In the United States the Zollverein principle had founded a nation which threatened to absorb the whole continent. If the United States were sincere in their desire merely for improved commercial relations, that could be done by treaty; but the fact was Americans were all politicians, and were desirous of obtaining political connection with Canada." (12)

In the campaign against Commercial Union with the United States which

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(10) Report of the Dominion Board of Trade, Ottawa, 1872, p. 48.

(11) Ibid. 1872, p. 49.

(12) Ibid. 1872, p. 50.

marked the political history of Canada during the 1880's the issue of annexation was kept to the forefront. "The case of the German Zollverein", said Mr. J. H. Long, a spokesman of the Peterborough Branch of the Imperial Federation League, "proves what anti-Commercial Unionists say, viz., that the result would be political union. No instance in history could be mentioned of a commercial union not resulting, if persevered in, in political union."

(13) A little later Mr. Long "incidentally made a few remarks about the unfair treatment Canada had always received at the hands of the United States. Mexico, Central America, and Spain too, had suffered from the wrongs inflicted by the United States Government, and in remembrance of all these things it was, he thought, derogatory to the dignity of Canada to discuss the subject (of Commercial Union)." (14) "Under Commercial Union," said a Mr. Carnegie at the same meeting, "everything in Canada would have to conform to the standard of the States, and the next step would be to wipe out the Dominion parliament."

(15) At a meeting of the Imperial Federation League in Halifax, June 4, 1888, Archbishop O'Brien launched an attack upon Commercial Union. "It is an insult," he said, "and should be resented as such, to be told that annexation is our destiny.....The principle of Canadian nationality has taken too firm a hold on our people to permit them to merge their distinct life in that of a nation whose institutions give no warrant of permanency, as they afford no guarantee of real individual and religious liberty." (16)

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(13) Imperial Federation, October, 1887, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 216.

(14) Ibid. p. 217.

(15) Ibid. p. 217.

(16) Colonel Geo. F. Denison, The Struggle for Imperial Unity, Macmillan & Co., London, 1909, p. 120.

In the same year two letters appeared in the Toronto Globe from the pen of Col. Denison, unreservedly criticising the policy of the United States towards Canada.

In the issue of October 6, 1888, Denison wrote:

"Events are crowding upon us faster than we are aware. Let us look back over the past few months. First came the Commercial Union movement, apparently originated by a Canadian in the interests of Canada, but which is now shown to have been a Yankee plot worked by a renegade with the object of producing annexation. Then came the repudiation of the Fisheries Treaty

It was not, however, until the turn of the twentieth century that the trade relations with the United States really became a national as distinct from a colonial-provincial issue. In the decade and a half before the Great War, the years of westward expansion, of rapid industrial development in the Toronto and Montreal metropolitan areas and of the sweeping strides of the United States towards industrial supremacy, the problems of Canadian nationhood came to the forefront and called for solution. It was in such critical situations that Canadian national attitudes became defined. The problems of political administration compelled the making of decisions on the part of the Canadian public. Canada's part in the South African War, the Reciprocity issue, the Navy Bill, the question of participation in the Great War, meant the formulation of a government policy based upon the dictates of public opinion. It meant, in the end, the identification of the Canadian elector with definable objects in the wider community life.

The appeal in the campaign against the Reciprocity agreements was insistently a national one. Within a few months after the negotiation of the agreements between the Canadian and United States Governments, the question

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by the Republican Party, followed by the Retaliation proclamation of the Democratic President; then came the almost unanimous passage of the Retaliation Act in the United States House of Representatives after a long succession of speeches by members of both political parties violently abusive and unreasonably hostile to Canada. Then came the speech of Senator Sherman exposing the hostile policy of a hundred years. Then the discussion of negotiations for annexation in the Committee of Foreign Relations, and to-day Senator Sherman's interview, in which he says, 'Political union is necessary or war is inevitable'. At this moment the Presidential election is being fought out on the question as to which party is most hostile to England and Canada, and unless a marked change comes over the people of the United States, it will not be many years before we shall be fighting for our existence as a free people on this continent." (Denison, op. cit. p. 121-2.)

And, again, in a second letter to the Globe:

"I believe the United States to be very hostile to Canada; I believe they always have been. I believe they will endeavour to destroy our national life by force or fraud whenever they can, with the object of absorbing us. This has been my view for years, and I feel that the history of the past is strong evidence of the correctness of my opinion, if the events of the last two months are not absolute proof of it." (Ibid. p. 124.)

ceased to be an issue of trade policy; it was raised above the plane of group interest discussion and became associated with the issues of Canadian national life.

"We have reached", said Mr. F. Percy Smith, of Montreal, "the 'parting of the ways'. And at this parting, I say to all true Canadians, one road leads to the realization of all you and your forefathers fought and struggled for, the other road is to perdition. Choose your path and choose your future; but in choosing remember what I say to you today, if you gamble with your inheritance, remember this -- Canada Cannot Begin Again." (17) At a large gathering at a garden party in Montreal, Mrs. Henry Joseph attacked Reciprocity. "There can be no doubt", she said, "that Reciprocity is the thin end of the wedge and eventually means nothing but annexation. The Union Jack is good enough for me and I have no wish to exchange it for the Stars and Stripes and that is just what it means in the end." (18) "Until we are assured", wrote the editor of the Montreal Daily Star, "that the flag will keep flying, we have no time to revise customs schedules. There is but one question before us to-day -- a dominant question, a decisive question -- Is our national heritage for sale?" (19)

"The more I think", said Mr. J. F. Johnston, a Conservative candidate in Montreal, "of the way we have been pitchforked into this thing the more indignant I become, because this has been forced upon us by the President of the United States aided by several politicians at Ottawa. This is not really a party election. There is too much at stake for us to play the game of politics in it. We are in the arena struggling for the future of our homes and our Country.....President Taft is not a promoter of international good will; he is a promoter of American imperialism. After

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(17) The Gazette, Montreal, Wed., Sept. 20, 1911, p. 5.

(18) Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 258.

(19) Ibid. p. 156.

treating us to the big stick for a long time without success he is trying to use guile instead of persecution; but the object is the same, to make Canada capitulate to the States." (20) Almost two weeks later the same Montreal citizen said: "Are you familiar with her (United States) literature, with her history, with the ambition of her great statesmen? Do you think the Americans are behind the Germans in acquisitiveness, in love of power, in a desire to extend their territory? I tell you what I think. I think they are hungrier nationally than the Germans ever dreamed of being. They have only been at work one hundred years, and they have taken more territory already than Germany accumulated since the days of Charlemagne. And they have tried to take us twice, into the bargain." (21)

For the most part the language of Canadian public leaders is couched in a vocabulary less hostile to the United States. Because contacts between the two countries are so close, expressions of opinion with reference to the other country are usually diplomatic in nature. The above statements, therefore, do not represent the general attitudes of Canadians to the United States. Rather, they represent the type of appeal which was made in time of crisis when the population was swept into a mass demonstration. In ordinary times

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(20) The Gazette, Montreal, Fri., Sept. 8, 1911, p. 16.

(21) Ibid. Wed., Sept. 20, 1911, p. 6.

On March 8, 1911, a letter from Sir. W.C. Van Horne to Mr. Charles Chaput was published in the press and contained some caustic remarks regarding Reciprocity. After denouncing the Canadiana representatives for their "exhibition of crawling and cringing" at Washington, the letter reads: "It should be remembered that there are such things as vested interests with nations as with individuals and corporations, and that the vested interests of nations, real or alleged, are terribly binding upon the weaker party. When Mr. Hill has extended his seven or eight lines of Railway into the Canadian Northwest -- lines which have for some years been resting their noses on the boundary line waiting for Reciprocity or something of the kind to warrant them in crossing; and when other American channels of trade have been established affecting our territory; and when the American millers have tasted our wheat and the American manufacturers have got hold of our markets; is it probable that we shall be permitted to recede? Not a bit of it. We are making a bed to lie in and die in." (Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 54.)



Canadians are more responsible in their actions and expressions of attitudes. That responsibility is bred from a sense of security. During such times it is impossible to convince the public that the United States is amassing legions on the border in readiness to march into the country. The Canadian smiles at the suggestion of a possible invasion of Canada by the United States; he takes the peaceful relationship of the two countries for granted. It is all right in such national demonstrations as that of 1911 to throw stones at the neighbour and call him nasty names, but ordinarily he must be treated with courtesy and respect. The underlying national attitudes are submerged in the sophistication of age and the security of routine activity.

In time of crisis, when vested interests, whether embodied in sentiment attachments or pecuniary objectives, are threatened, the in-group attitudes of Canadians to the United States are aroused and serve to mobilize the population into a public for the achievement of certain collective objectives. It is then that attention is focussed upon the threat of United States domination to Canadian national existence.

In recent years, however, the tariff appeal has been less immoderate in reference to the United States. Canada's part in the Great War, her increased political autonomy and the maturation of her economic and cultural life, provided a national heritage to which public leaders could appeal in support of their policies.

"We stand", wrote the editor of the Montreal Gazette in the election of 1921, on the threshold of a new and enlarged life. We are facing a bigger destiny. We are clothing ourselves in the trappings of nationhood. This is a great and compelling word -- 'nationhood'. We have travelled far from the time -- not so long ago as the years count -- when British statesmen were willing to let the colonies go -- an attitude which Tennyson rebuked in his well-known lines, apostrophizing 'that true north',.....and when we were in a state of helpless adolescence. We are a full-fledged nation now. We have entered into an incomparable inheritance. History is made rapidly; and the action which formed and sent forward the first Canadian battalion in the Great War, consecrated a fresh, a startling but a sequential development of our Dominion national life. The day of small things is past. A great and onerous responsibility is ours. We vote in the League of Nations on equal terms --

we send our ambassadors to foreign courts — or will be doing so almost immediately. We are, indeed, at the parting of the ways. The limited life, which saw only restricted political horizons, is no more, and a fuller promise thrills the imagination while it sobers the reason in the contemplation of the high duties which become ours as a member of the comity of nations.

".....He would be dull, indeed, who would not thrill to the enlarged destiny of this Dominion.

".....Right voting will mean right nationhood!" (22)

### Trade Relations and the Conception of Loyalty to National Ideals

In the end, the issue of trade relations with the United States became identified with the conception of loyalty to the ideals of national life. The policy of fiscal protection was a Canadian policy as distinct from a policy which was not Canadian. "In the coming campaign," said Captain Thomas J. Coonan in 1921, "my campaign will be 100 per cent Canadianism." (23) That which was not Canadian, and an attack upon the tariff was placed in that category, was either 'American', 'foreign' or 'bolshevik', depending upon the nature of the act or idea. Because the issue of tariff was so closely tied up with Canada's relations with the United States, any suggestion to remove the tariff, any movement which arose to bring about such removal, was labelled 'American'. "Mackenzie King", said a supporter of Mr. Cahan in the election of 1930, "is the right hand man of the American Government and it is our duty not only to elect Mr. Cahan, but for our own sakes, for the sakes of our homes.

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[22] The Gazette, Montreal, Tues., October 4, 1921, p. 10.

However, annexation still figured at times in tariff appeals. The following is from an article on the editorial page of the Montreal Gazette by Gordon Johnson:

"If the people of the Dominion of Canada wish to retain their rights, their wealth, and their resources, that their forefathers (French and English) fought so strenuously to retain from a foreign power in 1812, and gloriously succeeded in their efforts, then let Canadians (French and English) remember this: that same power has, for over a hundred years, been trying to wrest from us those sacred rights. There are unfortunately, in this Canada of ours, a certain group of parasites calling themselves politicians (who work on the ignorant mind), who would dearly love to see this glorious Dominion change hands — for Shylock's ducats. Do you wish this to happen? If not, then, Canadians, do your duty at the polls on July 28, 1930, and return that party whose policy has ever been the wall of protection. If you pull down that wall, then you jeopardize your birth-rights." (The Gazette, Montreal, Tues., July 1, 1930, p. 10.)

[23] Ibid. Fri., Nov. 18, 1921, p. 4.

our children, it is up to us to send Mackenzie King back where he belongs -- back to work in New York City for the Rockefeller Foundation." (24)

In an election meeting of 1911, Mr. Cahan declared that it was not the farmers of Canada who were in favour of Reciprocity, "it was simply a section of western farmers composed for the most part of former American citizens." (25) "It is not unfair", said Mr. Meighen in referring to the rise of the Progressive Party in 1921, "for me to say that the soil from which the Wood-Crerar movement <sup>has grown</sup> is not so wholly Canadian as the soil in which you and I grew. There has been much immigration in that country, and though these immigrants make good farmers, I do not believe that they have the vision of Canada or the heart of Canada in the way the rest of us have. If they had they would not be treading the way they are today. The time has come for the Canadian people to rise and rebuke that movement." (26)

Discussing the break of Dr. Clark from the Progressive Party in the

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(24) The Gazette, Montreal, Fri., May 23, 1930, p. 14.

In striking contrast is the reference of the Toronto News to Mr. Borden, in the election of 1911.

"The Conservative party must admit that Mr. R. L. Borden has not captured the American vote. The Hearst newspapers do not like him. Rich Americans do not lend him their motor cars. United States senators do not pause in their attacks on Canadian rights to sit and beam upon his platform. American citizens do not swarm across frontier streams to give an appearance of enthusiasm to his meetings. President Taft does not hold border meetings to aid his cause. The blessings of the New York Press are not showered upon his head. Buffalo newspapers do not boom his candidates. Imported Yankee Newspaper boys do not hawk through Canadian streets 'Canadian editions' glorifying his performance and vilifying his opponents.

"No: the man is a failure. The only support he can count on is Canadian support.

"Poor Mr. Borden." (Reprinted in The Gazette, Montreal, Fri., Sept. 15, 1911, p. 11.)

(25) Ibid. Tues., Sept. 12, 1911, p. 2.

(26) Ibid. Wed., Oct. 13, 1921, p. 8.

"I was in Manitoba and the West", a local correspondent wrote in the Montreal Gazette in 1921, "before the railroads, and wheat was not worth five cents per bushel for export. The farmers followed the railroads and reaped the harvest. Now what do we find? Foreigners by the thousands filled the West at the cost of our own people, and a great number of them did not act too well during the great war. Now they want to rule or ruin us, whichever suits their selfish purpose best." (The Gazette, Montreal, Tues., Dec. 6, 1921, p. 12.)

election of 1921, the Ottawa Correspondent of the Montreal Gazette wrote:

"H.W. Wood is an American, a product of the Populist school, who does not believe in national obligation.....Dr. Clark is an earnest Canadian and Britisher and has always opposed the individualistic views of Mr. Wood.

It is evident that Hon. T.A. Crerar, in the exigencies of an election campaign, has capitulated to Mr. Wood and Dr. Michael Clark refuses to be a party to an agreement that places his party under the control of a foreign dictator. It is doubtful if Dr. Clark could be elected in opposition to Mr. Wood's hostility, but in any event he has clearly defined the position of his late leader, Hon. T.A. Crerar, who is shown to be a class apostle, and anti-national and anti-Imperial, by his surrender to the 'man from Missouri'.

(27) In referring to the same event the editor of the Montreal Gazette quotes Fletcher, former President of the United Farmers' organization, as having declared "that the policy dictated by Wood (Missouri) is dangerous and will lead to national suicide." (28)

There is formulated, in short, a conception of loyalty, the tests of which are written into the implicit controls of national life. Acts or ideas which run counter to such a conception are judged as foreign to the ideals of Canadian group life. They become symbols of differentiation and, whether described as American, foreign or bolshevik, serve to establish and distinguish the values purely Canadian. Those values are crystallized in the consciousness of nationality. They become a form of social control. The conception of nation becomes a part of the individual Canadian's personality. Patriotism, loyalty to the cause of nation, creeps into the mores of the Canadian people and takes on an independent force and momentum of its own. It becomes a res adjudicata, demanding in its own right conformity to those acts and ideas judged essential to the welfare of national life.

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(27) The Gazette, Montreal, Fri., Sept. 16, 1921, p. 1. Italics mine.

(28) Ibid. Thurs., Oct. 7, 1921, p. 12. "Missouri" in parenthesis inserted by Editor.

## CHAPTER VI

### PUBLICS OF SENTIMENT AND THE IDEA OF NATION

#### Canadian National Feeling and the Tradition of Empire Loyalty

Economic forces, in themselves, would not have been sufficient to determine the social patterns of the Canadian community. Rather, the needs of the metropolitan economic groups imbedded themselves in the sentiments garnered from a century and a half of colonial and national history. The veteran of Queenston Heights or Lundy's Lane thought little of the demands of rising industrial interests when he denounced with venom the American Republic; nor did the United Empire Loyalist,, treasuring the memory of the part he played as a loyal subject of the British king in the War of Independence, care aught for tariffs as a means of building up home manufactures. Such sentiments, with many others of a similar nature, flowed into the stream of colonial history, marking off the people as a distinct group in the American scene. They were sentiments of a provincial and colonial character but they had one thing in common in that they were in-group attitudes in relation to the United States. Without the aid of economic forces, they probably would have been powerless against the strong under-current drawing the colonies into the American vortex, but they provided the basis and the condition for the expression of the economic forces.

Such sentiments have crept into the new nationalism springing up in the Canadian political community. Thus the frontier pioneer, thrown into the buzzing confusion of Canadian urban life, found an interpretation of his new position in terms of old values. He passed from one area of sentiment into another without any violent re-organization of his attachments. Instead of being a Nova Scotian or an Upper Canadian, owing loyalty to the Empire, he

became a Canadian without renouncing his birth-rights. The new attachment sought its justification in terms of the old.

There were, until relatively recently, few sentiment forces within the country drawing the people together. The Maritimes were slow to forget the lucrative market in New England which they enjoyed before Confederation and looked with distrust upon the Ottawa Government; the French-Canadians, jealous of their rights secured in a treaty constitution, still feared the danger of a populous English-speaking Dominion stretching from ocean to ocean; while Ontario, not forgetting the campaigns of the Globe against the sister colony, looked with suspicion upon Quebec as the harbour of Popery from which a Catholic coup d'état might suddenly spring. Only loyalty to the British Crown struck a responsive chord in all sections of the country. The scarlet uniforms of the British regulars in Halifax (since withdrawn) had kept before the people of the Maritimes the fact that they were part of a great and powerful empire; the British connection offered itself as the one guarantee to the French-Canadians against American or, what was just as bad, English-Canadian dominance; while the tradition of loyalty to the Crown was written deep into the early history of Ontario. Canada had not yet succeeded in finding "some common basis of agreement strong enough to counteract disintegrating tendencies," which W.A. Foster in his lecture Canada First; or, Our New Nationality considered necessary to Canadian life, unless she looked outside herself.

The connection with the Empire has been the bedrock upon which the idea of Canadian nationhood has been built. The appeal was made, not to the meagre and none too interesting annals of the Canadian people in the new land, but to the glories of Alfred the Great, of Drake, Nelson and Wellington, to the power of an empire which encircled the globe and to a King who ruled over millions of people. Canadians were made to feel that in these glories and power they shared;



every Canadian school child was taught to feel proud that he was a part of an empire which possessed the most powerful navy in the world and upon whose territory the sun never set (and what Canadian school child has not experienced a feeling of pride on gazing at a world map with its great patches coloured in red?).

It was in such a history, stretching back to the dim days of Celtic nomads, that Canadians were made to justify the existence of their separate national life on the American Continent. They were the standard bearers in the new world of the traditions handed down by the great heroes of Britain's past. Americans might have their Washingtons and Lincolns, their War of Independence and Spanish War, but what were they compared with Drake's defeat of the Armada after finishing his game of bowling, or Wellington's routing of the Napoleonic legions after a night spent in dancing?

The conception of empire unity, as a result, has been the means to the creation of a Canadian national life. Denison, in discussing the movement against Commercial Union with the United States in the early 'nineties, frankly admits that "by advocating Imperial Federation it enabled us to appeal to the old dream of the United Empire Loyalists of the Revolution." "It gave", he goes on, "the opportunity of appealing to our history, to the sacrifices of our fathers, to all the traditions of race, and the ties of blood and kindred, to the sacrifices and the victories of the war of 1812, and to the national spirit of our people, to preserve our status as a part of the British Empire." (1)

Canadian nationalism, in short, has been made up of a close, if not too logical, blending of loyalty to the British Crown and of indigenous patriotism. It was an appeal to something much wider than the narrow sectionalism of the Canadian frontier communities. "Our critics", said a spokesman of the Imperial

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(1) Denison, op. cit., p. 85.

Federation League, "taunt us with being loyal to England, and insinuate that we are, therefore, disloyal to Canada. We are truly loyal to Canada, and aim at her further advancement. We are also loyal to our Empire as a whole, and would see it flourish. If we look with love and pride to the land of our ancestors -- to our parent kingdoms -- who shall chide us? As we come to maturity we desire to form a partnership with the parental interests, not to cut ourselves utterly adrift from them, or to form a new alliance against them in combination with a rival power. In short, without a pedantic framing of paper constitutions, we desire, while remaining loyal to Canada and its interests, to resist all disloyal tendencies towards disintegration, and to look for the continued and closer union of our glorious Empire -- in which we are proud to feel that no insignificant place is held by this grand Dominion." (2)

Although Canada, especially following the rapid industrial development of the twentieth century, was cutting adrift, both economically and politically, from the dominance of Great Britain, there was yet the need of the moral support of the Empire in the creation of an independent national life. "The development of a strong Canadianism merging in an abiding affection and attachment to the Crown that epitomizes our common British heritage and ideals," the objective of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (3), has become the underlying principle of Canadian nationalism. Thus, though Canadian statesmen were at work pulling down the formal shackles of empire, there was being built up the belief that Canada existed in and through Empire unity. The recent demonstration in the Dominion in connection with the King's Jubilee is evidence of the existence of that belief. The Empire became a sort of symbol of the meaning and cause of Canadian national feeling.

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(2) Imperial Federation, Journal of the Imperial Federation League, Vol. 2, No. 24, December, 1887, P. 249.

(3) Minutes of the thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire and Children of the Empire. The National Chapter of Canada. Montreal, May 27-31, 1930, p. 9.

The annual in-pouring of settlers from the British Isles has done much to keep alive in Canada the sentiment of loyalty to the British Crown. While the <sup>British</sup> immigrant to the United States soon lost his distinctive culture and national attitudes in the American melting pot, in Canada they disappeared much more slowly. He still adhered to most of those customs, such as afternoon tea, with which he had been familiar in the homeland; he still, and this is the important fact, considered himself the subject of His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, and had no sense of transferring his allegiance from one object of loyalty to another. Canada remained for him a colony of the British Empire, a tradition which died slowly in the minds of English people. He made no attempt, therefore, as he would have done had he gone to the United States, to adapt himself to a new set of national attitudes. He continued to identify himself with those symbols of England and her Empire while looking upon the United States as her big blustering rival, where gangsters shot innocent pedestrians on the streets and unscrupulous business men tricked the investor out of his savings. He was, in short, an Englishman living in a colonial outpost. (4)

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(4) The following case-study of a British immigrant family in the city of Verdun was submitted by a student:

Mr. C. is a waiter in a luxurious men's club just outside Montreal. His wages are low and he is sure he could obtain a better position in England but he won't return "beaten". His brother in the Old Country is very prosperous and he fears he would be labelled "the poor relation".

Mrs. C. considers that clothes are expensive in Montreal and of poor quality. Sweaters and flannelette pyjamas which had been sent as gifts from England were of much better quality than those she bought in Verdun.

She thinks the discipline in the school attended by her boy is wretched. She believes that the schools should supply the text-books like they do in England; and she is convinced that the children have too many holidays in the summer and that they should go to school in order to keep them off the streets.

The C. family do not buy any Canadian newspapers, although they have been here nine years. They do obtain the Tatler, the Daily Mirror, and the Daily Sketch through Mr. C. who brings them from the club when they are three or four months old. They listen to local news on the radio.

A treasured possession is a worn snapshot album, containing pictures of various places in England and a glorified photograph of the King. Mr. and Mrs. C. like royalty and the glitter and pomp which accompany it. They recall half-holidays received so that all East London would be able to see a royal celebration. Mrs. C. regretted not being able to see the Prince George-Princess Marina wedding, though she heard the service on the radio and

Eventually, of course, without any self-conscious realization of a change in his loyalties, the British-born Canadian comes to identify himself more and more with the causes and objectives of the national community in which he is situated. Old values are re-defined in terms of the new situation. The heritages of the old country experience are carried into and modify, and are modified by, the new set of national attitudes. He becomes Canadian without ceasing to be British. (5)

Other forces within the Dominion have added to the tradition of loyalty to the British Crown. The feeling of antagonism to the French-Canadians has served as a fillip to the British patriotism of the Anglo-Saxon population; they were pure Britons while the French were a conquered group whose mother country had deserted them. North Irish settlers tended to cherish a sentiment of attachment to Great Britain as the country which had successfully defied the Pope and protected the rights of the Protestant Ulsterites. The French-Canadians identified their position with the Empire as a means of withstanding the shocks of American expansion. Even the Irish Catholics, though loving England little, had no desire to see Canada engulfed in the surging stream of American Protestantism.

#### Empire Loyalty and Local Metropolitan Organization

It was, then, through identification with Empire symbols that the attention of the people of British North America was transferred from the

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obtained many English magazines portraying the event. Her one desire is to see the festivities at the King's silver jubilee.

Mrs. C. is convinced the kidnapping and murders in the United States are due to the lack of a king. Mr. C. thinks that Montreal policemen are a poor imitation of the efficient English "bobby" and is disgusted when he remembers that there are no old age pensions and no insurance laws. Then he condescendingly says "After all Canada is only a Colony".

(5) It should be pointed out, on the contrary, that many British immigrants, failing to grasp the significance of Canadian national feeling, come to look upon union of Canada with the United States as the logical development of the future.

objects of frontier provincialism, on the one hand, and from those objects becoming established in the social milieu of the United States, on the other, to the objects of Canadian nationhood. Though the formal connections of empire interfered with the establishment of local metropolitan organization, the sentiments which had grown up about those connections were employed as a means of justifying the conception of national union.

For instance, in the Reciprocity election of 1911, the symbols of empire played a decisive part in persuading the voters of Canada to reject the trade agreements. "A special interest," writes the editor of the Canadian Annual Review, "which was naturally appealed to in this contest, was that of the British-born, or people born in and migrating from the British Isles, as distinct from the native-born Canadians. Mr. Arthur Hawkes, who had a varied record as an English and Canadian journalist and advertising manager for a Canadian Railway, started a weekly paper on Jan. 23rd called The British News of Canada which still issued after the Elections were over. In its issue of Feb. 18th he published a full-page 'Appeal to the British-born in Canada' to stand by the Empire and repudiate Reciprocity. Organization followed with various speeches by Mr. Hawkes, John R. Robinson of the Toronto Telegram and others, in opposition to Reciprocity and in vigorous appeals to the British element in the population. On Aug. 2nd the Canadian-British Association was formed in Toronto with the Sons of England organization as the basis of its work. Other branches were organized and over 40 meetings held during the ensuing two months. A final appeal was issued by the Central Committee of this body on Sept. 21 declaring that 'it is the high privilege of the British-born in Canada to unite with the Canadian-born, at the most important general election in Canadian history, to defeat the object of a foreign Government.' Across the front page of the Toronto World, in which this document appeared, was the sentence in large capitals 'Which will it be? Borden and King George,

or Laurier and Taft?' About the same time as these proceedings another organization called the 'Imperial Mission' was launched as a branch of the English Association of that name." (6) "In the last days of the fight," the same editor writes, the Conservative appeal to national sentiment was tremendous. 'A vote for Borden is a vote for King and Flag and Canada', said the Toronto World on Sept. 20 in words running across its front page; 'Empire or Continent, Which?' it had asked in a Sunday issue over a full page cartoon." (7) Earlier the same editor had written: "Imperial organizations, with their inherent Conservative tendencies in such a matter, were, also, soon up in arms and the British Empire League, the United Empire Loyalists and the Daughters of the Empire started the stirring up of public feeling, although the Empire Club of Toronto refused to express itself." (8)

In the organization of the Empire Shopping Week in Canada the appeal to the sentiments of empire was very explicit. "In 1928," wrote Mr. W.R. Drynan, Chairman of the Commercial Intelligence Committee of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Empire Shopping Week, "all that we had to start with was the idea that goods produced in Canada and Great Britain and the rest of the Empire are British and that Canadian made goods are just as British as any of them and should receive first preference from Canadian buyers. It was also clear that there is a staunch British sentiment in Canada that is worthy of maintenance and development without infringing in any way on the rights of other people and one question that faced the Committee was to capitalize on that and to do it on a country wide scale at the same time. Before going very far in developing the project those who were doing the thinking about it agreed that to-day, as well as years ago, commerce and industry is replete with hidden romance, is connected with history and noble deeds,

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(6) Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 202.

(7) Ibid. p. 258.

(8) Ibid. p. 46.



and accounts of the stirring past and the equally stirring present are the things that move people. If you move people they act." (9)

Even among the French-Canadians and the Irish Catholics, the appeal to the connections with the Empire was effective.

"The first act of Britain", said Mr. Johnston, in the Reciprocity election of 1911, "when Canada came under British rule was to guarantee to the French people their religious privileges and the right to use their language. That seems so natural a course to us -- and it was no more than right -- that you might expect to find it everywhere. But do you? Look at Louisiana -- another French settlement on this continent, which came under the rule of another English-speaking nation. Was its language cherished and preserved? It was not. It has almost disappeared. Did the Catholic Church find its privileges safeguarded? Have they got state-aided Catholic schools down there? Nothing of the sort. There is not a state-aided Catholic school in the entire United States. (Here some one shouted, 'what about Manitoba and the Northwest?') That is a fair question and I will answer it. Manitoba and the West have been Americanized. I would remind you that the party with which I am connected tried to prevent that outrage, but we failed. We believe in justice, but we cannot overcome a majority.

"And, ladies and gentlemen, if this country is ever swallowed by the great United States, there will be a vast majority against us -- a majority who have been brought up to believe that no state-aided Catholic school should be allowed to exist. We will fight, but we will be overcome.....Annexation will put an end to your parish law in this province, it will refuse you the right to speak in your own language in the National Parliament that will make the laws that govern you, it will not print those laws in French, it will forbid you to teach religion to your children in the schools supported out of your own taxes. Do you want it? You will have to struggle to prevent it, but, if you give your right hand, your commerce, into the keeping of Uncle Sam, you will have no chance to struggle. Uncle Sam will soon get the rest." (10)

In opposing what it called the policy of "Economic Continentalism" of the King Government, the Montreal Gazette said editorially in the election of 1920: "The opinion has long been held, hereabouts, that the policy of the King Government tends to an economic continentalism, a condition under which the Dominion becomes more and more subservient, commercially, to its powerful southern neighbor, and it has been feared that such a tendency will ultimately imperil the political integrity of Canada.....If the traditions and rights of the French-Canadians are in any danger at all at this time, that danger lies in the gradual economic absorption of this country by a nation which

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(9) Article appearing in the Canadian Congress Journal, Vol. 8, No. 4, April, 1929, p. 25.

(10) The Gazette, Montreal, Wed., Sept. 20, 1911, p. 6.

has nothing to do with the guarantees given to the French-Canadians by Great Britain, and has little sympathy with them." (11)

(11) The Gazette, Montreal, Tues., July 22, 1930, p. 14.

The Montreal Daily Star of Friday, May 24, 1935, gives an account of the address of Mayor Camillien Houde, C.B.E., at the fourth annual Empire Day banquet of the Royal Empire Society, of which the following is an ex

"Mayor Houde in proposing the toast (to Canada and the Empire), showed numerous reasons why the strongest supporter of the British regime and the most loyal subject of His Majesty George V., was the French Canadian.....

"It seemed right and natural, the Mayor said, to couple the names of Canada and Empire together in one toast. After witnessing the jubilee celebrations he understood the tie which binds the English Canadian to the rest of the Empire. But it was fitting that he, a French Canadian, should offer explanations as to why the most loyal subjects the Empire could have were French Canadians.

"The first reason was that the French-Canadians have an instinct for law and order, which finds itself well expressed in British institutions of government. "Whatever my relations may have been or may now be with the Quebec Legislature (laughter) I must say that British parliamentary procedure is perhaps more strictly observed particularly in its respect for decorum, in the Quebec Legislature than in any other Canadian parliament. We French Canadians instinctively revere tradition because we feel that tradition preserves the accumulated wisdom of the past; and we like pageantry because pageantry expresses, so simply that even children can understand it, the principles embodied in tradition. After all, life is more than just a comundrum. There is a school of thought in Canada which says that this Dominion has lost millions of dollars through its membership in the British commonwealth, which it would have gained if its lot had been cast elsewhere. The French Canadian answer is very simple, and very French Canadian. It is this: "What can a few million dollars more procure for us, which is as precious as the preservation of our right (sic) and liberties."

"The second reason why the French-Canadian finds it natural to belong to the British commonwealth is one that I think has never been pointed out. The French-Canadians have never been without a king. They have never had a republican form of government even for a time. England was without a king for several years when Cromwell was Protector, so there was a break in the continuity of monarchy. But Cromwell flourished before Canada passed into British hands. And the revolution in France did not come until several years after the French-Canadian people had ceased to be in that particular sense French.

"We have always had a king. We believe it is natural for us to be monarchical. There is practically no republican sentiment among French-Canadians.

"And the third reason why we feel at home in the British Empire under A British King is that Great Britain began to evolve towards her present constitutional form of Government under Norman kings, and much of the British blood is Norman. The French Canadians are also largely Norman so they are similar peoples. It is natural we should get along together for, after all, blood is as thick as any political institution. The genius of the Norman people which has developed here into the French Canadian is the same genius which in Britain has helped to develop the British Empire of today.

"But the tie which binds us to the Empire goes beyond these three links. We look across the Atlantic and we see what seems to us to be, next to religion, the most important thing in life. Britain seems to have come through the depression with fewer changes than other countries. Democracy

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Such appeals were essentially provincial and colonial in character. They were made to those sentiment groups within the Canadian scene which desired to maintain their separate identity. Loyalty to Britain and differentiation from the United States offered themselves as means of withstanding absorption into the broader streams of American life. In the end, however, the position of these groups became defined in relation to the political concept of Canadian nationhood. The protection of such position compelled participation in Canadian political life; participation inevitably involved identification with Canadian national objectives.

The study of the development of Canadian nationalism is, in a sense, the plotting of the shift in the attention of the people of British North America from the objectives of frontier-province and empire to the objectives of nation. United Empire Loyalists, Irish Protestants, Irish Catholics, British-born Canadians, British-Canadians and French-Canadians, though remaining to a greater or lesser extent ethnocentric groups within the Canadian community, entered into and became a part of the wider area of sentiment identified with the sovereign state. The shift in the objects of attention has been very much of a non-self-conscious process, incurring no great uprising against the old loyalties, with the result that national values not only are couched in the language of, but seek their justification in, empire values. Essentially, however, it has meant the establishment of a new historic group, identifying itself with a new set of values.

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and capitalism we know have developed abuses. In many countries they have tried to reform the abuses by abolishing democracy and capitalism. That is not the British way. Britain has been correcting the abuses of capitalism and democracy in a constitutional way. French Canadians know there are abuses in capitalism and democracy but I am on safe ground I know when I say French Canadians want them corrected by methods of evolution, not revolution." (Montreal Daily Star, Fri., May 24, 1935, p. 5, continues on p. 6.)

CHAPTER VII  
THE AREA OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND  
THE RISE OF NATIONAL FEELING

Fashion Publics and the Conception of National Unity

Canadian nationalism sprang from out of changes in Canadian social life. Rapid industrialization and urbanization have broken down the established system of social relationships and the social patterns based upon the evaluations of a pioneer-frontier order of society, and created heterogeneous publics who have little conception of their position in the wider community. The rise of various occupational and trading groups who have few common interests and loyalties to supply them with a principle of unification, the entry into the Canadian cities of European immigrants who owed no allegiance to the traditional symbols and ideals of British North America, the narrowing of the range of family activity and the presence in the urban communities of women emancipated from primary group life, the movement into the urban areas of dissatisfied and restless agriculturists and especially of youths who left home to seek their fortunes in the expanding city, have destroyed the old bonds of unity, made for a greater secularization and individualization of Canadian community life and intensified the foot-loose character of a large element of the urban population.

The result is the presence in Canadian cities of fashion publics among whom there is lacking a principle of coherency, of unification. It must be supplied outside the group, by participation in those urban institutions which have arisen to meet the needs of the new social setting. These institutions, though adapting their functions to the changing order, have

clothed themselves in the vocabulary and appealed to the values of the traditional system of social organization. Thus the Maritimer, for instance, who had secured his social satisfactions through participation in a political party and the Church, continued, after moving to one of the large urban centres, in his traditional loyalties. Moreover, he took part in the activities of such institutions as the Canadian Club, the National Council of Education or a labour club which, though new and essentially urban in nature, appealed to the old values, sentiments and stereotypes with which he was familiar.

The urban institutions, however, though appealing to the provincial loyalties of their constituents, participated in an area of activity which cut across provincial boundaries and local groupings. The functional framework of such institutions established itself upon the metropolitan pattern of social relationships. Accordingly they were compelled to seek identification with an area of community life which extended beyond the traditional lines of sentiment groupings. The increasing number of international and national organisations within the modern urban community is evidence of this tendency. Nationalism and internationalism, though apparently opposing forms of social outlook, witness the realignment of provincial group life.

Because of the increasing importance of political activity through state organization, and because the idea of nation incorporated the traditional sentiments which had grown up about the early history of the Canadian people, the values of nationalism were peculiarly effective in mobilizing the attention of the urban masses. Such values, transcendental in essence and divorced from the self-conscious experiences of the individual, supplied meaning and purpose to the rambling, fluctuating life of the rapidly expanding Canadian cities. The nation was a bond of organization and union, providing a point of reference, a common basis for belief and action when no such common basis was found within

the activities of the particular groups. The social significance of Canadian nationalism lies in its effect of securing social unification. It became a form of social control.

The Canadian nation, viewed subjectively as the attitudes of individuals toward it, has reality only in so far as they identify themselves with its existence. It is a concept in the mind of the person. As such it is a purely psychological phenomenon -- a set of symbols upon which the attention of a group of people is focussed.

It is not suggested that it becomes at all times a dominating idea in the mind of the individual. Like the Deity, it is something which plays little part in his ordinary, everyday life. He goes about his work with little concern for the relationship of his ego to the outer world. That concern is the result of crisis, the result of a challenge to his position in the established order of things. Identification on the part of the Canadian with the nation becomes one means of resolving the relationship of ego and universe. Generically there is no essential difference between Canadian nationalism and Canadian Presbyterianism or the reform policies of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation; they are, in a sense, something of allies and rivals in securing the organization of the individual personality and their particular success will depend very much upon the nature of the situation in which the individual finds himself.

The history of Canadian nationalism, then, is concerned with the growth of an idea. It is concerned, moreover, with those attitudes of the different members of the national group which have grown up to sustain and nourish that idea. Though such an idea can exist only in the minds of individuals, it has a natural history, a life-cycle, distinct from the idea-complexes of particular individuals in the group. Thus it is not only not a constant pre-occupation of the individuals of the group; there are many



who do not share in it to the extent of others and some who do not share in it at all. Except among particular elements of the population, the feeling of nationalism slumbers; it flows quietly in the under-currents of Canadian community life. In times of crisis it flares up, crowds out other points of reference and becomes an all-absorbing object of attention. The attitudes of the people become concentrated upon the symbols of nation.

In such situations the Canadian people act through identification with national symbols. The nation becomes the symbolic objectification of individual needs. As such, although the objectives may have no reality in observable data, people feel they have a vested interest in the maintenance of the nation idea. Loyalty is an obligation which the individual feels he must not only carry out personally but must enforce upon other members of the group. "Patriotism", said a Toronto supporter of the Meighen Government in 1921, "is always a duty. There is nothing more honorable than to serve the State."<sup>(1)</sup>

#### Institutions and the National Life

The whole organization of community life, the various institutions arising to meet the social needs of the general population, become caught up in the values established in the national milieu. Such organizations as the Canadian Clubs, the National Council of Education and the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, because their position is based upon participation in the national community and because the values for which they exist are the values of nation, depend for the achievement of their objectives upon the continuance of the established system of social relationships. The Canadian nation is, in a sense, a framework of participating institutions composed of people with offices. Office, even though it be as lowly as that of trustee of the local country school board, is incorporated within those social patterns

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(1) The Gazette, Montreal, Sat., Oct. 29, 1921, p. 1.

which have grown up in the wider community. Changes in such social patterns call forth protective acts on the part of those whose office is threatened.

The National Council of Education, for instance, built, as it is, within the national framework, is dependent upon the continuance of that framework. True, union with the United States would mean simply that the function now performed by the National Council of Education would be performed by another organization operating over a greater expanse of territory. What, however, would become of Major Ney, the Executive Secretary of the Council? The personnel of such groups would find themselves, with possible exceptions, occupying subordinate positions if the group lost its identity in a larger one. The institution, in short, secures status through participation in the nation. Even such organizations as the National Council of Women of Canada and the Rotary Clubs, with international affiliations, enter and become a part of the inner national life. National objectives are interpreted in the light of the interests which the institution serves. National loyalty becomes identified with institutional loyalty.

The nation is perpetuated through the institutions which comprise it; on the other hand, the institutions can continue only so long as they are able to recruit succeeding generations into their fold. Offices depend upon constituents. The nationalist propaganda of such associations is a bid for membership fees. "The second point of attack", said the President of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, in 1930, "should be concentration on the recruiting of young women for our ranks. That is the assurance of the immortality of the Order, as it were. If we do not attract the younger women to our ranks, the Order will pass with the passing of our generation."(2)

The nationalist institutions compete for control of a constituency not only against other institutions within the country but with institutions which

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(2) Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 1930, p. 9.

have their head offices outside. The close contacts between the people of Canada and the United States and the fact that many activities head up in United States centres means that formal social organization tends to orientate itself in relation to such centres. It is against such a tendency that the organization of Canadian national life is directed. "In the past five to ten years," said the Convenor of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire Endowment Fund, "we have seen hundreds of energetic young women, with time, ability and resources at their command, organized first in one city, then in another, and so on, until six of our largest cities are covered, in Junior Leagues, affiliated directly with a United States organization. Yet these are the very recruits we should enlist under our crest. They are the people who should be enlisted in Empire service now, to follow on, when we must yield from failing hands the weapons of struggle in the Empire's cause." (3)

The position of the various national institutions is made more secure by virtue of the fact that the status of the individual is secured through participation in the institution. Thus organizations like the National Council of Education provide the link of office between the individual and national activity. It is through such office that the Canadian takes part in the activities of the wider community. The constellation of offices within the nation, whether connected with government, patriotic associations, the Church or educational institutions, provides for and secures the loyalty of the great body of people within the Canadian national community.

That participation is selective in the sense that different institutions represent different social strata in the community. Patriotically-minded Canadian labourers do not join with patriotically-minded Canadian bankers in a common organization for the promotion of national feeling. Rather, several organizations, all with more or less the same purpose, arise to provide for

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(3) Minutes, 1931, p. 124.

the differing social stations of the public. The institution to which an individual belongs is a sort of key to his social position and, when the small home in Notre Dame de Grâces is given up for a more luxurious residence in Westmount, at the same time the old institutional connections are dropped for new ones better conforming to the new social position achieved by the individual. The result is that the conception of Canadian nationhood, the nature of those symbols which embody national objectives, vary according to which class or public in the Canadian community identifies itself with them.

#### Labour and International Unionism

Such organizations as the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, because they participated in a field of activity already largely controlled by institutions headed up in the United States, were compelled, from the first, to concentrate upon attacking the membership of Canadians in United States organizations. The All-Canadian Congress of Labour desired status, and, in order to secure that status, it had to weaken the influence of a rival institution -- the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The national unions had to play for control of Canadian labour. They realized that only by driving the American Federation of Labor back into the United States could they achieve their aim. The most vulnerable point of attack of the Trades and Labor Congress was its affiliation with an alien association. To capitalize on that fact, two things had to be accomplished: first, it was necessary to demonstrate that the Canadian international unions were under American control; and, second, an antipathy to such control had to be created. Thus the All-Canadian Congress was primarily nationalist because it was a separatist institution, it was not separatist because it was a nationalist institution.

"What Canadian labour wants", wrote the editor of the Canadian Unionist, official organ of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, "is bargaining power in

Canada with Canadian employers. What it wants is political power in Canada in Canadian parliaments. It cannot summon these powers to its call by whistling from the other side of the 'international' fence. It can secure these powers only by itself being a power in Canadian trade unionism. The national idea is the only idea which has any real future in our political thinking, and Canadian labour living in Canada without the national idea will be without serious defence against other national groups -- such as the agriculturists and industrialists -- all strongly actuated by the national idea." (4) That could be accomplished only by building up an organization independent of the American Federation of Labor. "Shall the workers of Canada", asks Alex Lyon, secretary of the Central Brotherhood, Amalgamated Carpenters of Canada, "be controlled by those whose aims and objects are in direct conflict with the aims and interests of Canadian workers, or shall we build up a trade union movement which will be 100 % Canadian, and free from the dual political aspirations of the American Federation of Labour?" (5)

The All-Canadian Congress of Labour attempts to establish in the public mind an association between the American Federation of Labor and the imperialistic ambitions of the United States. The establishing of labour union locals in the Dominion is but one of the many ways employed by the southern Republic to extend its political influence across the line. "The American Federation of Labour, appendage of the Washington government," charges S.E. White in an article in the Canadian Unionist, "has assumed the task of subjugating the Canadian working class.....Its propaganda, directed at the great mass of Canadian workers and at those others who can influence the working-class vote -- essential for this imperialist purpose -- is definitely annexationist in character." (6)

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(4) Canadian Unionist, Vol. 1, No. 5, October, 1927, p. 74.

(5) Ibid. Vol. 1, No. 1, June, 1927, p. 13.

(6) Ibid. Vol. 2, No. 10, April, 1929, p. 178.

"For more than a year," wrote the editor of the Congress of Labour Journal, "the Canadian Unionist has been calling attention to the apparent connection between the policy of the United States labour organizations and the imperialism of the United States government.

".....It is obvious to everybody that the investment of United States money in Canadian enterprises has reached enormous proportions.....And while the national wealth is being exploited for the benefit of foreigners, by the sanction of a decadent economic system, foreign agencies are at work, as we have pointed out, to undermine the confidence of Canadians in their national institutions and to create an atmosphere favourable to political absorption by the United States.....

"There must be fully a couple of hundred organizations having their home in the United States that trade under the unregistered trademark 'international' for the purpose of bringing Canadians into the ranks of their contributors and supporters of their aims. Of these two hundred the majority are labour unions.....The social 'uplift' organizations such as the Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and other clubs, do a certain amount of noisy charitable work and save the capitalist conscience while at the same time mustering a bourgeois membership that may constitute the advance guard of the white battalions.....

"For all the pretensions of local autonomy made by the Canadian branches (of the American Federation of Labor), the fact is that they are subject to the mandates of the governing body in the States.....They are not groupings of independent national bodies holding common aims; they are imperialist extensions of United States national organizations.....

"It is time for the people of this country to demand that public or semi-public associations shall respect the boundary and that fraternity shall not be used as a screen for anti-nationalism." (7)

The American Federation of Labor is, according to the organ of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, merely an agency of propaganda which, together with such agencies as moving pictures, magazines, the radio and phonograph records, is serving to break down the separate culture life of Canada and to instil into Canadians the notions and beliefs current in the United States. After discussing propaganda methods as developed within the United States, the Canadian Unionist goes on:

"The disquieting thought occurs: How far do the ramifications of this pernicious propaganda system extend?.....Apart from the domestic affairs of that nation there is strong reason to suspect that a systematic attempt is being made to impose Yankee culture on Canada. We absolve the ordinary news services from deliberate participation in this conspiracy -- their interest is transparently pecuniary -- but many of the agencies of Capital and to an equal extent the agencies of pseudo-Labour, are engaged in a campaign of peaceful penetration in Canada. It is on the latter that the workers should keep an eye.....

"To what extent the American Federation of Labour can be regarded as a labour organization in the United States is very questionable, but in its

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(7) Canadian Unionist, Vol. 2, No. 2, August, 1928, p. 24.



activities in Canada it resembles the commercial corporations which establish branches in this country -- not to benefit but to levy toll on the Canadian people -- and it is imbued with the imperialistic spirit of the United States government to the extent of making the Monroe doctrine part of its policy.....

"Much of the braggodocio of the Yankee selling methods may be more inadvertently than intentionally propaganda for Uncle Sam the Superman, but its tendency in the aggregate is to bolster up the American hegemony. Our moving pictures, our magazines, our radio concerts, and our phonograph records are mainly of Yankee origin; the unthinking purchaser, inhaling their aroma of a long period, is apt to find himself exhaling it eventually. But in addition to this unconscious or semi-conscious propaganda, and behind it, are powerful agencies for the deliberate furtherance of the great American idea." (8)

The position of the All-Canadian Congress compelled, then, the establishment in the Canadian public mind of a stereotyped image of the United States which would persuade them to dissociate themselves from the activities or organizations of their southern neighbours. The Canadian Unionist is not lacking in attacks upon the institutions and culture of the United States. "Much is heard, in Canada," to quote one example, "of the superior 'Kultur' of our neighbours to the south, and many Canadian workers look with admiring eyes at the land where most murderers go unhangd, where foreign-born holders of unpopular political views may remain for seven years under sentence of extinction, where prohibition is the rule and where bootlegging has been the practice ever since the Fathers of the Constitution started it, where child labour laws will not hold water and negroes may not vote. The 'land of the free and home of the brave' stands so high in the estimation of some Canadians that they look to it for moral guidance in their own affairs and even seek to model their unions after those which have been found so efficient (for some purposes) in the United States." (9)

#### Canadian Manufacturers and International Labour Unionism

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association also, especially before the Great War, strongly attacked the affiliation of Canadian labour with the

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(8) Canadian Unionist, Vol. 2, No. 1, June, 1928, p. 7.

(9) Ibid. Vol. 1, No. 2, July, 1927, p. 23.

American union organisation. The manufacturers were opposed to labour unionism of any sort but, as most of the unions in Canada were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, they seized upon this fact as a weapon with which to fight unionism. Since the War the manufacturers have had little to say regarding international unionism because, now, the most militant labour groups are organized in nationalist associations.

"It is to be regretted", said Cyrus A. Birge, in his presidential address at the 1903 annual meeting of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, "that Canadian labor unions are so completely allied with, and so largely under the control of, central organizations having their head-quarters in the United States. This should not be. We have just as much brains and ability for leadership among Canadian workmen as among the workmen of the Great Republic. Moreover, this affiliation is a strong weapon in the hands of the manufacturers of that country. Instances are not rare where, through this affiliation, Canadian industries have suffered to the advantage of the employers and workmen of the United States." (10) The following year, the new President of the manufacturers' association, Mr. Drummond, returned to the attack on international labour unionism. "In Canada to-day," he said, "the great majority of the labor organizations are international, and owing to the greater preponderance of membership in the United States, the management and control lies in the hands of aliens, whose interests are, to say the least, not the same as ours; in fact, the interests of Canadian labor are commercially opposed to and competitive with the interests of labor outside of Canada. Under present conditions Canadian interests are liable to be damaged, and the good feeling that should exist between employer and employee endangered by differences arising in the United States, with respect to which Canadians have no interest whatever. Then again, we are exposed to misunderstandings

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(10) Industrial Canada, Vol. 4, No. 3, October, 1903, p. 111.

having their origin in advice given by officers of such associations, residents of the United States, who probably neither know nor care much what the ultimate effect will be in Canada. We all know, too, that large sums of money are being constantly remitted from Canada to the United States to support organizations domiciled there. Personally, I cannot see any good reason for this." (11)

When the Longshoremen's strike took place in Montreal in 1903, the Board of Trade of that city declared it to be "due to the intervention of Foreign professional agitators whose aims are antagonistic to the best interests of the city and country." (12) At a special meeting of the Montreal Branch of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, consideration of this strike resulted in a resolution being passed which expressed the opinion that "the existing strike has been very largely brought about by the intervention of foreign professional agitators, whose interests and aims are antagonistic to the best interests of the port of Montreal and therefore of the Dominion of Canada." (13)

The strike of the machine workers of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company brought forward the charge by Industrial Canada that American agitators were responsible. "Self-reliance and independence", wrote the editor, "are the most admirable characteristics of real manhood, and neither of these is possessed by the union man in Canada. He is merely a puppet at the beck and call of an alien organization. When the order goes forth for him to lay down his tools he whines for support from a foreign body, assuming an attitude of dependence that renders him utterly despicable. So long as this international unionism continues there will be needless trouble in this country. The Canadian union men, without knowing it, allow themselves to be used. Whether or not they are being used in this instance we do not venture

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(11) Industrial Canada, Vol. 5, No. 3, October, 1904, p. 128.

(12) Canadian Annual Review, 1903, p. 556.

(13) Industrial Canada, Vol. 3, No. 11, June, 1903, p. 482.

to say, but the peculiar circumstances of the case have, to say the least, a very suspicious look.....In this instance it would not surprise us to learn.....that the real cause of the strike on the Canadian Pacific Railway could be traced back to Wall Street. It would not be the first time that American labor leaders had feathered their own nests by such methods." (14)

In referring to the coal strike in Nova Scotia in 1909, caused by the attempt of the United Mine Workers of America to oust the Provincial Workmen's Association, the editor of Industrial Canada wrote:

"The United Mine Workers, then, in thrusting itself into Nova Scotia, did not do so with the intention of bettering the condition of the Nova Scotia miners, which was admittedly satisfactory, but of strengthening the position of its members in Pennsylvania by getting control of the output of Canadian mines.....The present struggle is practically to decide which shall go and which survive.....The sympathy of Canadians generally is with the organization which confines its operations to Canada, is governed by Canadian officers, and has all its interests centred here.....

"The fear that if the United Mine Workers were in control, strikes would ensue, not to settle disputes in Nova Scotia, but to strengthen the hands of the Union's members or even the coal operators in the United States, is voiced in the statement of the General Superintendent of the Nova Scotia Coal and Steel Company: 'The United Mine Workers' Association is a foreign corporation, the majority of its members residing in the United States, as also do their executive officers. Under its constitution it is quite possible that the members of the societies of Nova Scotia might be called out on strike to assist the American members of the society, which would be a very great detriment to the operators of this country and the Province generally. If it should be considered in the interests of the whole body of United Mine Workers to proclaim a strike in Cape Breton, either to assist the United Mine Workers or operators in America who are placing coal in the Canadian markets in direct competition with the mining industries in this province, the result would be disastrous, and we believe this power is too great to place in the hands of any foreign body, as it practically means control of our mining industries. Our company looks upon the society with a great deal of apprehension and fear.'" (15)

A similar view was expressed by the Industrial Canada editor at the time of the coal riots in Vancouver Island in 1913. "There seems to be", he wrote, "more than the question of international unionism involved in the Vancouver Island coal riots. It is stated on good authority that the owners of coal mines in the State of Washington have helped to bring about the strike

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(14) Industrial Canada, Vol. 9, No. 2, Sept., 1908, p. 90. Italics mine.

(15) Ibid. Vol. 10, No. 1, Aug., 1909, p. 23-4.

in order to secure the British Columbia market.....Canadian Industry is in peril if foreign competitors through an unholy alliance with trade union leaders can induce Canadian members of international unions to stop work at their pleasure." (16)

The Issue of International Labour Unionism in the Wider Community

The All-Canadian Congress of Labour and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association were not without support in their campaign against the affiliation of Canadian labour with the American Federation of Labor. The Montreal Gazette came out in attacks upon such affiliation. "Production in Canada", wrote the editor in 1921, "is being hampered and restricted at this moment, and has been ever since the close of the war -- not to go farther back -- by the impossible demands of organized labor directed from centres in the United States." (17)

When the American Federation of Musicians, in 1921, refused permission to Mr. Coulrick, from England, to conduct an orchestra in Canada, the incident afforded an excellent opportunity to launch an attack upon international unionism. "From the Canadian standpoint," the editor of the Montreal Gazette wrote, "the position is a humiliating one, but it has other aspects no less disturbing. In the present instance an artist resident in one part of the Empire is being barred from employment in another part under the rules of an organization controlled in the United States. It is clear that if this sort of interference is to be met with in one field of activity, it is just as likely to be encountered in another and is calculated to exert a restraining influence upon the movement toward closer commercial relations within the Empire. The public are obtaining, through the medium of such incidents as this, a better appreciation of what is meant by international unionism, which is American unionism, and

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(16) Industrial Canada, Vol. 14, No. 3, October, 1913, p. 296.

(17) The Gazette, Montreal, Wed., Oct. 5, 1921, p. 12.

are being enlightened as to its effect upon Canadian interests." (18)

The following week a letter appeared in the Montreal Gazette strongly condemning the action of the American Federation of Musicians. It reads:

"The refusal of Jos. N. Webber, president of the American Federation of Musicians, with headquarters in the United States, to permit Conductor Coulrick to conduct an orchestra in Canada, will perhaps be the means of opening the eyes of the people of Canada to the methods employed by international labor organizations to gain control in our country. This action is only one of many, and it is about time that Canadian unionists should stand firm and inform Mr. Webber in no uncertain manner that they propose to control their own affairs, without dictation, more particularly if they have the desire, which I believe they have, to prove to their fellow countrymen that they are broader in their sympathies and views than the gentlemen who seek to guide them in a line of conduct detrimental to their best interests and the interests of the community. The leader of the local Musicians' Union would be well advised to act promptly and repudiate Mr. Webber's action before an indignant public takes the initiative away from him. It may be, however, that Mr. Webber would condescend to permit Conductor Coulrick, a British conductor, to perform in a British Dominion, were he to include 'Yankee Doodle' and 'Wacht am Rhein' among the numbers on the programme, or he might even graciously accord, under such conditions, his official sanction to the playing of 'God Save the King' at the end of the performance." (19)

A somewhat similar incident arose in 1931 when the St. Hilda's British Band, after performing in Montreal, met with opposition, not only in the United States, but in the city of Toronto. "Even here in Canada," the leader of the band complained, "the Musicians' Union is controlled from the United States headquarters. We cannot enter a theatre in Toronto to fulfil an engagement without encountering opposition. It is a crime that British subjects may not present a performance in a British Dominion without interference from a foreign body." (20)

There would seem little doubt that, during late years, there has been a tendency to look with disfavour upon international labour unionism. Such an attitude, of course, is by no means general but Canadians are coming to think that the management of internal affairs should be under the control of organisations purely national. Such a view is expressed by the Montreal

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(18) The Gazette, Montreal, Tues., Sept. 27, 1921, p. 10.

(19) Ibid. Tues., Oct. 4, 1921, p. 10.

(20) Montreal Daily Star, Fri., Sept. 4, 1931, p. 2.



Gazette. "There are indications", the editor writes, "of an awakening appreciation upon the part of some Canadian labor groups of the true position which they have occupied as hewers of wood and drawers of water for United States organizations. Eventually, the Canadian workman will come to a more complete realization of his position as a pawn in the game played by a few highly paid labor professionals in another country. It may take time, because internationalism has become strongly entrenched in Canada, with the aid of its 'domestic' and the support of its agency, the Dominion Trades Congress; but to conclude that emancipation will never come is to ascribe to Canadian workmen an incredible degree of fatuous docility. The more often Canadian employees are forced into conflict with their employers upon the orders of foreign professionals and in an effort to enforce impossible demands, the weaker will the hold of the foreign organizations become. When the Canadian is not only compelled to pay tribute to a non-Canadian oligarchy, but is required, in addition, to resort to measures which jeopardize his means of livelihood and threaten the dislocation of Canadian industry, and to undertake these things in defiance of his own judgment and interest, he is being taught the real meaning of internationalism in labor." (21)

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The consideration of the issue of international labour unionism illustrates the position of the various institutions in the Canadian social milieu which were struggling for status, often in competition with similar organizations in the United States. The National Council of Education, the Canadian Clubs, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, the

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(21) The Gazette, Montreal, Wed., Oct. 26, 1921, p. 12.

"Whatever their reasons may be," writes the editor of the Montreal Daily Herald, commenting on resolutions of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, "it would certainly be a good thing if unions in Canada would stand on their own feet without the aid of walking delegates from below the border who do not understand the backgrounds or the character of our people." (Montreal Daily Herald, Wed., May 8, 1935, p. 4.)

National Council of Women of Canada, the Canadian Legion, the Navy League of Canada, the Royal Empire Society (Montreal Branch), the Native Sons of Canada were organized about an idea inherent in their function. That idea became identified with Canadian national life. Consequently the achievement of the objectives of such institutions, their very existence as organizations, became associated with the objectives of national life.

The various nationalist institutions, indeed, represent distinct phases of the Canadian group mind. Through association, group life seeks and secures expression. A nation's thoughts are written into themminutes of its many organizations. The rippling tides of disharmony surge up in different, and often opposing institutions; a cross-section of all presents a picture of the composite national life. Institutions exist only because they give direction to some aspect of that life; without such a constituency they would wither up and perish. It is, then, in the conflicts of institutions warring for control that the nation lives and finds expression. The individual secures status within institutional life, the institution, in turn, attempts to extend and consolidate its control over the individual. As the different institutions are brought more and more into conformity one with the other the larger group acquires the character of unity. National homogeneity is secured by a nice balance between opposing but reconcilable institutions.

### **PART III**

#### **THE EXPRESSION OF NATIONAL FEELING**

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE EXPRESSION OF CANADIAN NATIONAL FEELING AND THE UNITED STATES STEREOTYPE

#### The Common Culture Pattern of Canada and the United States

Canadian nationalism has taken its present form, has received its most distinctive characteristics, as a result of the close proximity of Canada to the United States. It is a set of in-group attitudes translated into a positive conception of nationhood; but it takes its rise in the negative will to resist absorption into the American Republic. The United States is the most real object of Canadian national attitudes and it is about that object that a group consciousness of unity has grown up. The attitudes of resistance to United States penetration have collected themselves about a set of symbols of differentiation, suggesting in their implications the separate identity of the Canadian nation.

Unfortunately for the cause of national feeling, Canada has taken over and developed a cultural life strikingly similar to that of the United States and, to the outside observer, there is little that marks the two peoples off from one another. With the exception of French Canada, and even here the underflowing current is beginning to wear away the wall of resistance, American civilization extends over the whole area north of the Rio Grande. It is true, of course, that there are items in Canadian life which are distinct from those of the United States. The preponderance of settlers from the British Isles, the large French-Canadian population and the more rural character of Canadian life have combined to produce a culture in some ways purely Canadian. That distinctiveness, however, is characteristic of all regional communities (California, for instance, is notably different

from the New England States), and, without other strong forces at work, it would not have been sufficient to create an independent national group.

The cultural relationship between the people of Canada and of the United States, however, is little clue to the in-group attitudes existing between them. Goldwin Smith saw in the assimilation of the two people their eventual political absorption. But he failed to take account of the strong force of sentiment arising in the bed-stream of the history of the British colonies or of the ambitions of those economic groups created within the folds of the industrialization of the Canadian community. The fountain springs of national life lie deeper than the formal culture pattern of a people and the common liking of Americans and Canadians for "pop", gin and Mickey Mouse has done little to remove the separate group attitudes existing between them. Forces within Canada combined to produce a consciousness of in-group loyalty, a will to live together as a separate national group.

Ethnocentrism, however, never succeeded in preventing, nor even diminishing to any appreciable extent, the over-flowing of formal American culture into the Canadian Dominion through such channels as magazines, the radio, films, and migration; but the very existence of that feeling marked off and gave license to the Canadian people as a separate national group. The average Canadian goes to see that film which appeals to him most, whether it is produced in Hollywood or England; he reads American magazines or, what is little different, magazines which are printed in Canada but American in their make-up; and, if the programme of the Canadian Radio Commission does not satisfy him, he tunes in on an American broadcasting hook-up. As a consumer, the individual has little conscience; he buys what appeals to him with small regard for so-called national interests; but, as a citizen, as a member of a group, he has a sense of moral responsibility for what is consumed by members of the group. If he thinks that the consumption of

Hollywood films is not in the best interest of the group he will write letters to that effect to the Toronto Evening Telegram or the Montreal Gazette (and then, without any sense of individual wrongdoing, he will go off Saturday night to see the latest picture of Jean Harlow). He may even go so far as to support his parliamentary representative in passing legislation compelling theatre proprietors to show a certain percentage of British films; this he will do "for the good of the group".

Thus we find, for instance, that in the city of Toronto, one of the most Americanized of Canadian communities, where business is run on American lines, where social organizations such as the Y.M.C.A. and service clubs are patterned on like institutions in the United States, where the mannerisms of the people, their habits of food and literary tastes are distinctively American, where education is being modelled more and more in conformity with the needs of the larger continental setting, protestations of loyalty to the Canadian Dominion and British Crown are most strong. It may seem paradoxical that a Toronto citizen should spend Saturday afternoon at a baseball game (an American sport), the evening enjoying a Hollywood film and, the following day, tune in his radio for Eddie Cantor while reading the New York Herald Tribune, and yet join in loud protests against the invasion of American culture. But it is his protest against, rather than his independence of, American culture which constitutes the nationalism of the Canadian citizen. The Canadian is possibly as American as the Californian but the Californian wants to be American, the Canadian doesn't. That will to be Canadian and British, even while they are becoming American, has been sufficient to weave the people north of the fort-ninth parallel of latitude into a corporate national entity.

It is not, then, in such facts as a separate culture, race, language, or religion, that are to be found the dynamics of Canadian national feeling.

Such factors, if they exist at all, are rather the result than the cause of the independent national life. Almost the only important differentiation between the peoples of Canada and of the United States is that of their political loyalties. Such loyalties had to secure support in symbols of differentiation.

"There exists", wrote the editor of the Montreal Gazette, in commenting upon a trial in the United States to determine whether Canadians, in securing citizenship in the Republic, should be required to take an oath to the effect that they would bear arms against any enemy when called upon, "a too great tendency to abolish national lines as between Canada and the United States..... Because the immigrants in question come from Canada, there is a strong tendency in Canada, and even in the Republic, to feel that different treatment should be meted out (than to other immigrants); and yet as far as the United States laws are concerned, an immigrant is an immigrant when coming from any country other than the United States. The unfortunate feature of the matter is that we have come to think of Canada and the United States altogether too much as being one country in the matter of nationality. True, we are good neighbors, even cousins, but there should be no confusion as to the sharp line of demarcation between the two nationalities. The sooner Canadians realize that once they leave the British Empire they are foreigners, the better it will be for Canada." (1)

To establish that "sharp line of demarcation between the two nationalities", to create the conception that Americans were 'foreigners', it was necessary to secure the identification of the Canadian people with symbols objectifying the fact of separate national existence. "Too long", said Col. J.H. Woods, president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, "Canada has suffered from an inferiority complex, due to close contact with the United States." (2) The close contiguity of the United States, with its great population, its expanding industry and commerce, its great cities and political strength, compelled, if Canadian national feeling was to be secured, the development of a feeling of confidence and pride which would offset the counter attractions of the southern Republic. "Canada", complained a correspondent of the Montreal Daily Star, "might be a great and wealthy nation too if its natives were not continually allowing themselves to be hypnotised by their southern neighbor. Canada is a morally cleaner and better country to live in, and has everything necessary to build up a great

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(1) The Gazette, Montreal, Wed., May 21, 1930, p. 12.

(2) Montreal Daily Star, Wed., Nov. 20, 1929, p. 25.



nation, except national pride." (3)

That national pride was generated by attachment to those symbols which objectified the collective experiences of the historic group. Vague attitudes, notions and feelings, lodged deep in the consciousness of the general population, became defined in relation to certain objects and stereotypes established by the expressive groups within the country. They were given overt expression in those situations in which the objects appearing suggested a nationalistic response.

Rural Mores and Attitudes of Differentiation on the Part of Canadians to the United States

In origin, many of the attitudes of Canadians, especially in respect to the United States, had no relation whatsoever to national differences. It was the existence of a national feeling which caused them to be translated into in-group attitudes. They took their rise in the conservatism and puritanism of a rural people when thrown in contact with the more highly urban social life of the United States metropolitan communities. Canadians were often genuinely shocked at the 'doings' of Chicago and New York. The United States was a place to go for a fortnight's 'spree' but the children back home must be told little about it. The nightclub and the cocktail party were associated, in the Canadian mind, with American life.

It is true that similar attitudes would be found in the rural sections of the United States. The rural community in the United States usually attributes the rise of gangsterdom, or immorality, or the prevalence of divorces to the influence of large metropolitan communities such as New York or Chicago. However, when such a community is in Canada, the feeling of antagonism becomes translated into a national feeling. Chicago and New York

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(3) Montreal Daily Star, April 12, 1926, p. 12.

are associated with the United States stereotype; and gangsterdom, immorality, divorce rates or political corruption are attributed to the United States as a single entity. The mores of rural life, in short, become identified with national objectives.

If crime is on the increase in Canada the fact is attributed to influences from the United States. In the recent gangster murder in Montreal, the local papers never questioned but that the culprits belonged to an American organization as, in the Labatt kidnapping case in Ontario, they were quite certain that the kidnappers were from across the line. Usually they are right. "The close connection", wrote a Montreal Daily Star correspondent, "between the different drug markets was clearly demonstrated a short time ago when large distribution centres in New York were raided. The price at once rose in Montreal only to fall again when the American supplies had been replenished." (4)

Particular aspects of the United States, or American life, become definable objects in Canadian group attitudes. It may be, for the Native Son or for the member of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, the New York financial magnate or the American Federation of Labor upon which attention is focussed; or, for the member of the Royal Empire Society or of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, the crude republicanism of the American stereotyped citizen; or, for the member of the National Council of Women, the United States may call to mind pictures of gross immorality, of obscene magazines and films and of gangsterdom. In short, symbols of differentiation, the stereotyped vision of the United States, will conform to the status and social heritages of the various publics of Canada.

The definition of such objects of attention in terms of Canadian national unity is secured by their association with national objectives. Through nationalism, the many diverse and unrelated attitudes of Canadians to particular

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(4) Montreal Daily Star, Mon., Sept. 7, 1931, p. 6. Note the alternative use of the terms "New York" and "American".

aspects of American life secure crystallization. The objects seized upon have been such that they could be readily associated with the national ideal. Thus the attitudes of Canadians to the Lindbergh flight across the Atlantic remain individualistic and unrelated to national ideals; the attitudes to the Lindbergh kidnapping and trial are incorporated within that stock of stereotypes applied to American life. The morals of the emancipated and sophisticated dwellers of the large American cities, the prevalence of crime and the failure of the agencies of law and order to administer impartial justice, the commercialism and regimentation of sport, the standardization of systems of education, the blasé social life, the concern for money and the material things of civilization, the unscrupulous exploitation of the baser emotions by magazines, dime novels and the films, the tendency of Americans to organize themselves into innumerable associations for the achievement of ridiculous objectives, the readiness with which mass excitement sweeps across the country, such forms of behaviour are seized upon and considered typical of American life. They are stereotyped in such symbols of differentiation as Hollywood, Reno divorce court, Chicago gangsterdom, American text books, the New York Sunday Mirror, the irreligion of American people, the corrupt politician or policeman, the New York night club, the boot-legger, the ward boss, American boastfulness and dollar worship, American slang.

Protesting against divorce among Catholics being granted by Parliament, Mr. Lemieux declared that "we want no conditions such as exist in the United States, where they get divorced while they wait." (5) A Canadian Press dispatch states that the General Council of the United Church of Canada was "exhorted to protect Canadian marriage from the disintegration said to be affecting the institution in the United States." (6) In the Reciprocity election campaign of 1911, leading women of Montreal organized a Women's

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(5) The Gazette, Montreal, Mon., Sept. 26, 1921, p. 8.

(6) Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 6, 1932, p. 15.

Branch of the Anti-Reciprocity League and forwarded a petition to the Government "saying that Reciprocity means Annexation, injury to home life and the marriage tie, a lessening of national religion, morals and patriotism." (7)

"Does Canada", asked Mr. Johnston of Montreal, in the election campaign of 1911, "want to lower the high moral standing of her institutions and our country? This would surely be the case if the United States dominated Canada commercially and politically. Listen to the report given by Dr. Hart, of Denver, Colorado, to the secretary of 'Duty and Discipline Movement', London, England. He says: 'America is by far the most murderous country in the world. In the three years of the Boer war, as Bishop Bishop (sic) Greer lately stated, there were killed by murder in America 10,000 more people than the whole of the British loss in South Africa, i.e., 22,000. It is shown that one death in every 112 in the United States is a murder. There were in the city of Denver last year (1909) 23 murders, about as many as were registered in London. Denver has a population of 200,000 while London has between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000. One death in every 65 in the United States is either a murder or a suicide. This condition of declining morality must continue till children are taught to be moral in the home and in the school. In 1904 there were 61,000 divorces in America, as against 177 granted in England and 19 in Canada. In Denver last year (1909) there was one divorce for every four marriages, and in one day this month of July, 1910, the court granted 13 divorces, when 11 marriage licenses were issued the same day.'

"Will any true Canadian, in the face of that report, say that he desires to tie up to a country like that?" (8)

It matters little what is the truth of such statements or what is the explanation of the facts upon which they are based, the significant thing is that they become part of that stock of beliefs of Canadians regarding the United States. "Sluggers and gunmen", writes the editor of the Montreal Gazette, "are so plentiful in Chicago that they can be hired to do jobs for \$50.00. Some seem even to cut under this low price. Chicago has long needed a cleaning up of criminals. It stands high in the list of American cities where everything is dear but human life." (9)

American lawlessness and immorality are contrasted with the law and order of Great Britain. Notions of 'British justice and fair play' are written deep into the attitudes of Canadian people. "Dramatic flare-ups, bull-dozing of the

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(7) Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 255.

(8) The Gazette, Montreal, Wed., Sept. 20, 1911, p. 6.

(9) Ibid. Thurs., May 5, 1921, p. 12.

hysterical  
prisoner and/clamoring for the death penalty such as occurred in the Hauptmann trial at Flemington, New Jersey, would have been impossible in England, where respect for the law and the instinct of fairness are inherent in the people," R. L. Calder, K.C., of Montreal declared to the St. George's Club. "The psychology of the American people toward crime is the greatest factor in the deterioration of American criminal justice," he went on to say. (10)

"It will be a long time", wrote the editor of the Montreal Standard, referring to the trial of Meisner for the Labatt kidnapping, "before another 'snatch' is pulled in Canada if ever.

"Our brand of justice discourages that sort of thing.....

"Our quick and impartial justice is a source of admiration to many visitors from the United States, but one of pain and surprise to others who come within reach of it.

"A couple of cops who had come all the way from Covington, Kentucky, to do Mr. Meisner a friendly turn if it could be done without risk to their characters were so appalled at the searching cross-examination of the Crown Prosecutor that they fled in the night.

"They feared that their lives, which had been an open book in Kentucky where they like lively reading, would be re-opened in Canada to reveal that one was a burglar who had repented and become a policeman because of the hard times, and the other was just a 'stooge' for the underworld.....

"We fear that Canadian justice will never be the 'good theatre' that our friends favor across the line.

"We cannot, for instance, imagine a murder trial turned into a movie circus, or an enterprising press stringing dictaphone wires into the jury room to 'get a leak' as they do at Flemington, New Jersey.

"We cannot imagine a judge stepping down from the bench to give a wife-beater a punch in the jaw as happened in New York the other day. The judge, who had the sense of humor that goes with his Irish name, called it 'off-handed justice.' That was a good joke in the United States, but it is bad form in Canada.

"We cannot imagine the defendant in an alimony suit, taking a crack in court at his ex-wife's lawyer as Rudy Vallee did.....

"Nor can we imagine the judge in the case, an Italian, telling one of the prosecuting counsel that he would meet him outside of the court, or on the ferry boat, or even follow him to California to knock his head off.

"We cannot imagine any of these things. We apprehend that Canadian justice lags and will always lag far in the rear of its dramatic possibilities. The Americans are a great people -- so great that they are beyond imitation -- at least in Canada." (11)

The idealization of British fair play is carried over into the realm of sport. Here, as in the law courts, the British tradition it is claimed is one of sportsmanship while the American practice is one of permitting the most

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(10) The Gazette, Montreal, Mon., Feb. 18, 1935, p. 5

(11) The Standard, Montreal, Feb. 16, 1935, p. 50.

unscrupulous to win. "America", writes a correspondent in the Montreal Daily Star, in referring to the international motor-boat race at Detroit in 1931, "may think she holds the world's speed record for motor boats, but everyone else knows that she dare not put her boat over a straight course with that of Kay Don. When the British go in for sport, they like it clean." (12)

### Symbols of Identification Establishing the Fact of Separate National Existence

#### A. The Conception of a Canadian people.

In part dissociative attitudes of Canadians to the United States have given rise to an in-group feeling, in part ethnocentrism is sustained and justified through identification with such attitudes. They collect themselves about symbols of differentiation which establish the separate identity of the Canadian nation. The conception of a Canadian people, of a national art and literature, of an educational system distinctive in content and method, of Canadian organs of public expression, objectify the desires imbedded within Canadian national feeling.

It is upon the conception of a separate people -- a historic group -- that Canadian national feeling very largely has been focussed. "It might be a question", said Mr. Basil King, speaking at a luncheon meeting of the Montreal Canadian Club, "whether Canada was yet really a nation, but there was certainly a Canadian people, brought into being only within the past generation, but growing to a sense of young national manhood." (13)

Such a conception formulated itself with particular reference to the citizens of the southern Republic. "The boundary", wrote Deacon, Toronto prophet of Canadian nationalism, "between the United States and Canada is a reality. Though half its length originally was an arbitrary division of territory, each year lays increasing emphasis on the fact that two peoples,

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(12) Montreal Daily Star, Fri., Sept. 11, 1931, p. 10.

(13) The Gazette, Montreal, Tues., Nov. 22, 1921, p. 5.

inherently different, live on either side of it." (14) The frequent appeals of writers and public speakers to the courage and patience, the high moral virtues, of the Canadian people is a symbolization of traits supposedly peculiar to the citizens of the British Dominion.

Usually those traits are considered as inherent to the people of Anglo-Saxon origin. In Canada, however, the application generally is narrowed sufficiently to exclude the population of the United States. "The people of Canada and the United States", a member of the Peterborough Branch of the Imperial Federation League is reported as having said, "could not assimilate. Though speaking the same language, and very distantly descended from the same forefathers, yet there was only a limited likeness between them. There was very little Anglo-Saxon about the American. The population of the United States was largely composed of Germans, negroes, and other foreigners, while we in Canada were true Britons." (15)

It is through this British heritage that Canadians acquire those qualities of patience, courage and industry, which are attributed to them. "Deep in our hearts, though perhaps seldom discussed," said Sam Harris, President of the Navy League of Canada, in 1931, "is that inborn sense of worth that belongs, of right, to people of British birth and heritage. It comes to us without our volition -- but by its value imposes on our will the responsibility of carrying on in the same spirit. All Canadians are British in that wide sense of forming part of the citizenry of the Empire. We have that sense of worth -- by reason of the blood of our forefathers who had the stuff in them that makes -- sturdy citizens, pioneers, explorers, scientists, educationalists, poets, authors, musicians -- heroes, ministers, missionaries, noble women, and martyrs. We all share that great blood strain. We all share

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[14] W.A. Deacon, My Vision of Canada, Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Company Ltd., 1933, p. 93.

[15] Imperial Federation, October, 1887, No. 22, Vol. 2, p. 217.



in the civilization that produced those men and women." (16)

The highly urban character of American life is employed as a means of establishing symbols of differentiation in Canadian national feeling. Uncle Sam is pictured as a sophisticated urban dweller, with dress suit, silk hat and white gloves; Jack Canuck as a farmer, with work overalls, western hat and horse-hide gloves. The President of the National Council of Education, the Montreal banker or the Toronto manufacturer, secures status by associating himself with the Jack Canuck stereotype -- the symbolization of those rugged, virile and honest qualities of the pioneer. It matters little if the Canadian urban dweller dresses and acts in the manner of the resident of New York or that the Minnesota farmer is still very much of a pioneer; the rural stereotype of the Canadian people serves as an effective symbol of differentiation from the people of the United States.

Those alleged differences in the characteristics of the population of the two countries are employed to account for the claim that Canada is culturally superior to her southern neighbour. The type of newspapers, the Mail and Empire argues, is an indication of such differentiation.

"Occasionally a comparison is made between United States and Canadian newspapers, with the comment that the former usually are 'brighter', or that the latter are 'more dull'. Just what may be meant by brightness and dullness is not clearly defined; but if it is meant that Canadian papers are more prosaic, the point is probably well taken -- and for a very good reason.

"The general character of a nation's newspapers grows out of the general character of the nation's news, which, in turn, grows out of the general character of its citizens. Recently on this page there have appeared a number of references to the manner in which court cases have been handled below the border. Two additional examples serve to illustrate the point here raised about Canadian newspapers.

"In each of the following cases the metropolitan newspapers of the States published dramatic pictures which ran alongside equally dramatic news stories. (Here follows an account of two trials in the United States).

"Undoubtedly such events have news value. Undoubtedly the newspapers were justified in using large and graphic photographs, accompanied by large and graphic headlines; and, undoubtedly, the newspapers so doing escaped from the prosaic routine which is the bane of every editor's existence.

"The point is that Canadian magistrates and Canadian courts never make that kind of news.....That kind of news just doesn't grow in Canada because the kind of people who make that kind of news also don't grow here." (17)

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(16) Keeping Watch, Annual Address by Sam Harris, President the Navy League of Canada, Winnipeg Convention, 1931; no pagination; punctuation as in text.

(17) Toronto Mail and Empire, February 7, 1935, p. 6.

## B. A National Art and Literature.

More dynamic in its appeal than the conception of a Canadian people, as Canada is is that of a national art and literature. Situated/on the frontiers of empire and bordering the more highly urbanized country of the United States, its art and literature, especially outside the more isolated province of Quebec, have grown up slowly. Much of the inspiration has come from outside. New York and London have drained the literary craftsmen from the bleak Canadian soil and, in turn, provided an art and a literature.

The young Dominion lacked the congenial atmosphere of the large metropolis necessary for the development of the higher arts. Only the frontier poet, novelist and artist made any significant contribution to cultural life. The attempt to cultivate an independent Canadian art has, therefore, two distinct aspects. First, there was the attempt to preserve the art and literature expressive of the frontier. Though it made little appeal to the new conditions of Canadian life, it was native and, for that reason, should be cherished. Every school boy must read the poems of Pauline Johnson. Second, there was the attempt to build up an independent urban art and literature. The young writers and artists must be encouraged to look to the Canadian scene rather than to the larger centres outside for their inspiration.

The idea of nation sought support in such an attempt. "This young nation", said Basil King, "had arrived at a stage when its language demanded expression in a national literature." (18) Only by such expression could a spirit of national feeling be promoted. "Literature," said Dr. A.W. Thornton, "therefore, is of utmost importance in the development of a national spirit of a strong lasting nature." (19) In that national literature the character of the people would be moulded. "It is the national literature

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(18) The Gazette, Montreal, Tues., Nov. 22, 1921, p. 5.

(19) Ibid. Fri., Oct. 21, 1921, p. 6.

that forms the national character, and is the guide of the national energy," said Judge Emily Murphy of Edmonton before the Montreal Women's Club. (20)

The proximity of the United States presents the one real obstacle to the accomplishment of the objective of building up a national art and literature. Larger in size and serving a greater consuming public, the United States cities draw to themselves the potential writers and artists of the North American Continent. It is simply a question of concentration in specialized centres. As the ambitious boy or girl moves from the little rural town of Canada to Toronto or Montreal to finish an education in the fine arts, so the accomplished artist moves from such cities to New York. National bounds have little effect in stemming the stream of the intelligentsia from the periphery to the centre.

As a result such Canadian artists tend to accept their inspiration from the social milieu in which they find themselves. "Bliss Carman", said Mr. J.M. Gibbon, President of the Canadian Authors' Association, "conferred distinction on Canada in 1893 by publishing a poem which all over the world has been accepted as a classic, the poem entitled 'Low Tide on Grand Pré'. Canada, however, did not show sufficient appreciation of this poet to enable him to live in his own country. In order to secure a living he had to do what so many of our distinguished Canadian writers have had to do, take up residence in the land of chewing gum and salted peanuts." (21)

Even those writers and artists, however, who remain within the country are influenced by the work in the United States. "There are", wrote the editor of the Montreal Daily Star, "very few novels about Canada and the people of Canada -- novels that would convey to people outside

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(20) Montreal Daily Star, Wed., Oct. 14, 1931, p. 22.

(21) The Gazette, Montreal, Mon., Nov. 21, 1921, p. 22.

Canada a clear idea of the Dominion, its inhabitants, their ideals, their methods, their mentality. Yet that is the sort of novel we need if our fiction is to become national in anything more than the publisher's imprint. ....The lure of the cheap magazine with its false standards of life has proved too strong for a good many Canadian writers who might have done a good service to Canadian literature had they been able to withstand that lure." (22)

Moreover, Canadian writers and artists are dependent upon the United States market. "Only too often, owing to the lack of interest in Canadian books by the Canadian public," said Mr. Gibbon, "the Canadian writer turns for his market to the larger public in the United States, and like all exporters adapts his work to his market.....A New York publisher hesitates, and naturally hesitates, to publish a work which may express a national ideal alien to that of the United States. Now under existing conditions the Canadian writer of fiction has his book published simultaneously in New York and Toronto, and expects to sell five copies of the American edition as compared to one of the Canadian edition. If his New York public says: 'Give your book a more American setting, American flavor, American characters, more of the American angle,' you can see how tempted he is to eliminate an atmosphere which originally may have been Canadian. He may anticipate this possibility by locating his story in Washington instead of Ottawa, in New York instead of Toronto or Montreal, in Chicago instead of Winnipeg, in California instead of British Columbia. Because, remember this, under existing conditions the American angle does not appear to militate against Canadian sales, in the sphere of books. It is only in moving pictures that the far-reaching character of that influence has been realized and been the subject of criticism. That influence, however, is just as

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(22) Montreal Daily Star, Fri., Oct. 30, 1931, p. 12.

insidious in the world of magazines and books." (23)

Such influences prevent the development of a Canadian national idealism, because such idealism, Mr. Robert J.C. Stead had said before the Montreal Women's Club, "comes from the literature of the country. So long as Canadians depend upon outside literature they are preventing such development." (24)

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(23) The Gazette, Montreal, Mon., Nov. 21, 1921, p. 22.

(24) Ibid. Tues., Nov. 1, 1921, p. 4.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE EXPRESSION OF CANADIAN NATIONAL FEELING

#### AND THE UNITED STATES STEREOTYPE (CONTINUED)

#### Symbols of Differentiation Objectifying the Desires of Canadians to Resist the Cultural Penetration of the United States

Canadian national consciousness, organized about such symbols of identification as that of the conception of a Canadian People or of a Canadian art and literature, sought expression against those influences considered inimical to such ideals. Attention became directed upon such agencies of American cultural penetration as textbooks, magazines, films and radio programmes.

In a sense, the movement against the entry of such commodities was essentially the same as that which the Canadian manufacturers had organized against American products which competed with their own. It was but the widening of the application of economic nationalism. But, unlike the movement against American manufactured commodities, it had more of a moral and less of an economic appeal. True, economic groups may have a feeling that it would be well to keep out magazines, movies, and so on, as other foreign goods, but they have neither a business philosophy nor the machinery for instituting such movements. The business man thinks something ought to be done, but he leaves it -- like other highly worthy things, such as religion -- to women and ministers. He patronises such movements, but he does not move as he does in advertising, the Made in Canada campaign, the organization of opinion in favour of tariff protection.

Accordingly, because the moral reaction has no focus of vested or organized secular interest, it is more difficult to secure a mobilization of forces and

a line of action. The showing of a Hollywood film in a Canadian cinema house injures few people in a pecuniary way. In the case of American magazines, the advertising of manufactured commodities did affect the interests of Canadian manufacturers and, accordingly, the movement against magazines early secured the support of this group. For the most part, however, such campaigns had to depend upon an appeal to the feelings and sentiments of the Canadian people, organized by women's, educational and patriotic institutions.

#### A. Education and United States Textbooks.

In the field of education this fact is clearly illustrated. Few people have a pecuniary interest in the content or method of public or high school education. Consequently the mobilization of opinion in respect to certain items of educational policy had to depend upon the leadership of such groups as had an "altruistic" interest in this field.

Canadian education, notwithstanding the earlier influences of England, has modelled itself more and more on the pattern established in the southern Republic. For the most part, this influence has been so subtle, so welcome to the conditions found in the Dominion, that there has been little protest. American practices were accepted without realization or question.

Only educationalists and patriotic organizations sensed the danger to the cherishing of the ideals of national life from such influences. Education was fundamental to the development of independent cultural homogeneity. "The school should serve the Nation," said Dr. H.P. Whidden at the National Conference on Education held at Winnipeg in 1919. "Certainly if the school is to have any influence on national character.....there is a sense in which it must be national all the time." (1)

To establish the national idea in education it was necessary to resist the influences of the United States upon the method and content of Canadian education. "I believe", said Professor W.F. Osborne at the Conference of the National Council of

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(1) Report of the Proceedings of the National Conference on Character Education in relation to Canadian Citizenship, Winnipeg, October 20,21,22,1919, p.25.



Education at Montreal in 1926, "one of the main duties of the Canadian people and of Canadian educationists is to set ourselves not in a bellicose way, not in a nasty way, but nevertheless with conviction to resist the tide of American influences pervading us on every hand, which is besetting the tide of national life and that threatens to reduce to absolute banality and mediocrity our national life." (2)

"The best news", wrote a correspondent in the Montreal Daily Star, "that has come to us in months is that, last week, (sic) in which a professor in Columbia University, New York, assails the American system of 'inconsistent' education as producing a 'wide-spread culture of vicious hypocrisy.'"

"I have been crying in the wilderness on this subject for years, not that it worries me what they do in the States, but that, like so many other foolish things, we have copied and still slavishly copy all the fool nonsense they originate in their schools -- originate only to drop it so soon as some other fool idea to take its place is pushed to the front by some popular, because self-advertising pedagogue.

"They dropped God out of their schools and Canada followed suit. Now both countries are just beginning, out of the second generation, to reap the harvest of young brigands and embryo criminals.

"Most of our school books are either imported from the States or made over into 'Canadian' textbooks by Canadian, or often American, editors.

"Instead of drawing on the wealth of English literature for use in readers, our Canadian texts are full of the mealy-mouthed, milk-and-water rubbish found in American reading books.....

"Our school boards follow suit in copying the extravagant absurdities from south to (sic) the line, both as to uneconomic and unnecessarily equipped buildings and the largely useless courses of study which tax the minds and health of the student to get it all into the prescribed hours but lead to nothing of real educational value." (3)

The movement against United States influences focussed upon such obvious objects of attention as text-books. "One Canadian magazine", said Norman Holland of Montreal, "has been drawing attention to the large number of Ontario School text books which are now being printed in the U.S.A. and which are tinged with U.S.A. opinions. A Vancouver paper recently had this to say about a similar situation which has arisen in the British Columbia Schools:- 'The members of the Vancouver Canadian Club listened with interest to a talk on American text books used for supplementary reading in the schools of British Columbia. Taken singly, no one of the extracts was, perhaps, of

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(2) Montreal Daily Star, Wed., April 7, 1926, p. 3.

(3) Ibid. Mon., March 27, 1933, p. 10.

any great importance. All, or most of them, could have been explained away. But taken altogether they amount to a serious indictment of the system of using American books in our schools, simply because these books are cheap and easily obtained. What with American magazines, American movies, and American radio programs, the Canadian child is subjected to more than enough American influence as it is. We might at least spare him the necessity of absorbing American propaganda from his school books." (4)

The movement was crystallized within the work of various institutions. At a meeting of the Winnipeg Local Council of Women "a resolution was passed heartily endorsing the policy of the Advisory Board of the Department of Education of selecting for authorization text books and supplementary readers published in Canada and Great Britain in preference to all others." (5)

The following resolution was passed by the Local Council of Women of Portage la Prairie: "WHEREAS there are used in our schools, text books published in the United States; AND WHEREAS, this is not in the best interests of the commercial and patriotic life of Canada; THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we request the members of the School Board to use their influence as far as possible in procuring for supplementary reading, British and Canadian publications." (6)

At the Fourth Convention of the Canadian Legion in 1931, the following resolution was passed: "That this Convention endorse the resolution of the Nova Scotia Command that text-books, particularly text-books on history, prescribed for use in public schools, be edited and published in Canada in order that our young people may be given a true perspective of world events; or that, if suitable Canadian text-books are not at present available, British books be used in substitution." (7) At the Prince Edward Island Convention

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(4) Montreal Daily Star, Sat., Oct. 31, 1931, p. 2.

(5) Report of the National Council of Women of Canada, 1931, p. 184.

(6) Ibid. 1930, p. 151.

(7) The Legionary, Official National Publication of the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League, Vol. 6, Nos. 4 & 5, September-October, 1931, p. 33.

of the Canadian Legion in 1931, a resolution was passed "urging the use in schools of text books written by Canadian authors and published in Canada." (8)

The most important movement against American text books was organized by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. At the annual meeting of the organization held at Calgary and Edmonton in September, 1929, the following resolution was passed:

WHEREAS it is a matter of common knowledge that some of the text books used in the schools of several of the Provinces of the Dominion are of foreign authorship and publication and do not give a true account of the history, geography, resources, traditions, institutions, etc., of Canada and of the British Empire;

AND WHEREAS foreign periodicals and newspapers are circulated in Canada in large numbers which frequently contain articles (1) which are immoral in character, (2) which directly or indirectly bring Canadian and British institutions into ridicule and contempt; and (3) which hold out as worthy of praise and imitation social habits and views which are reprehensible;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that a Special Committee of the Chamber be appointed by the National Executive Committee to enquire into such text books and foreign periodicals and newspapers and report to the next Annual Meeting of the Chamber/<sup>with</sup> such recommendations as they deem desirable to ensure the use in Canadian schools of text books of Canadian or British authorship and publication which give an authentic record of the history, geography, etc., of the Dominion of Canada and of the Empire, and to discourage or suppress the circulation of such periodicals and newspapers as hereinbefore referred to, and, in other cases, to offset the effects of undesirable articles. (9)

The resolution resulted in the enquiry into the text book situation, carried out by the Business Committee of the Chamber of Commerce. Its interim report was issued May 13, 1930. (10) The three main ideas of the Committee were set forth as follows: "(1) That the educational systems of the provinces aim to prepare the youth of Canada for their rôle in later life as citizens and business men; (2) that the future interests of Canada can be served best by instilling into the minds of the youth an appreciation of the worth of their country and of the Empire, together with a knowledge of Canadian and British tradition and practice; and (3) that it is desirable that the Canadian population, beginning with those attending our Canadian schools,

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(8) The Legionary, Vol. 6, Nos. 4 & 5, September-October, 1931, p. 45.

(9) Report of the Montreal Board of Trade, 1929, p. 29-306

(10) The Gazette, Montreal, Wed., May 14, 1930, p. 4. The following account of the report is based upon the May 14 issue of The Gazette.

should acquire an essentially Canadian point of view."

In substantiation of their statements, the committee indicated certain specific school text books as objectionable. The Gulick series on hygiene (Ginn & Company, Boston) used in some public and high schools in the province of Quebec were singled out as undesirable on the grounds that the series was "shot through with American illustrations, both verbal and graphic." It was pointed out that in one place the statement occurred "The Fourth of July is our country's birthday", and that on the following page the Stars and Stripes was three times displayed. It was further pointed out that the series actually contained too little real hygiene, and that reference was made to the garbage system of New York, for example, "when better systems obtain in some Canadian cities." The report went on to charge that American authors and themes were stressed in the teaching of literature. As an example, it was asserted that Drinkwater's play, "Abraham Lincoln", prescribed to certain schools, might very well be replaced by the same author's "Disraeli" or "Oliver Cromwell". Certain United States authors were given undue prominence, it was claimed, and in primary-grade spelling books, in particular, the attempt to offset the large number of illustrative readings from American sources by the insertion of readings from British sources in revised editions was merely a makeshift. "Canadian authors", the report went on, "seem to have been overlooked entirely." The Committee, in making specific suggestions, urged that "certain text books of American origin ought to be withdrawn, and greater stress ought to be laid upon British and Canadian authors and themes in schools."

In commenting upon the report, the editor of the Gazette wrote:

The proposal for a more definite course in citizenship in the schools has everything to commend it. The science of citizenship as a direct instrument in sane patriotism more necessarily needs recognition in the schools in view of the cosmopolitan character of the pupils in many parts of the Dominion. But it is obviously difficult to exemplify a truly Canadian spirit in classes where the teaching manuals in use are, in the phraseology of the report before

the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, "shot through with American illustrations, both verbal and graphic," where the children are compelled to read the Fourth of July "is our country's birthday," and where, on the following page, the United States national flag is three times displayed. At this stage, it needs, or should need, no brief to make out a case in favor of embodying Canadian national aspirations in our educational system, or systems, and one would not unreasonably have thought that illustrative readings from United States sources, such as the Chamber of Commerce Committee now calls to the public attention, would have been deleted from the school textbooks long ago through the initiative of the school authorities themselves.

"Training in citizenship, as suggested by the committee, can be given nowhere else so well as in the public schools of the country.....

"It is to be hoped, therefore, that the several committees who are making a survey of the textbooks in use in the public schools in the different provinces of the Dominion will on every opportune occasion stress the importance of developing in all the schools a legitimate national egoism through training the pupils in citizenship and glorifying Canadian civilization and achievement. It can be done without exaggeration or heroics, and likewise without ignoring or disparaging other nations and other nations' deeds. As it is accomplished, it will help obviate factional troubles and assure for Canada a citizenship which, because it will be more earnest and tolerant, and probably less selfish, must be a surer factor in our national evolution." (11)

Various Boards of Trade in each of the Provinces were asked by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce committee to co-operate in the school text-book investigation by studying local curricula. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association in Quebec was asked to appoint a committee for the same purpose and the Montreal Branch, in co-operation with the Montreal Board of Trade, set up a committee which had as chairman Mr. Henderson who was chairman also of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce committee. The Joint Committee presented a report, similar in nature to that of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, which was made public on May 12, 1930, one day before the report of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. (12) At the 1930 meeting of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce at Toronto, the education committee reported "intensive activity in the elimination of foreign produced school textbooks from the schools of the country," and expressed the opinion that there was "an ever-growing tendency on the part of both the education authorities and the Canadian public to favor, whenever possible, textbooks edited and published by Canadian and British authors and house." (13)

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(11) The Gazette, Montreal, May 15, 1930, p. 14.

(12) Ibid. Tues., May 13, 1930, p. 1.

(13) Ibid. Thurs., Oct. 9, 1930, p. 1.

## B. The United States Magazine.

It was against American magazines that Canadian national feeling became directed particularly. Economic interests, desires of institutions to obtain status in the Canadian scene, the sentiments of British loyalty and indigenous patriotism, rural conservatism and puritanism, the sentiments growing up around the symbols of nation, combined to produce a feeling which found expression against American magazines. The circulation of such magazines in Canada struck indirectly at the policy of national protection instituted by the local metropolitan interests, at the position of such institutions as the All-Canadian Congress of Labour who were attempting to break the connection of Canadian labour with the American Federation of Labor, at the propaganda of such institutions as the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire who conceived of Canada as an integral part of the British Empire, at the attempt of such institutions as the National Council of Women of Canada to preserve the rural mores of Canadian family life, at, in the end, the whole conception of an independent Canadian national life. The American magazine, often with a highly nationalist tone, or couched in a language and carrying illustrations considered pornographic, became a symbol of differentiation in the national consciousness of the Canadian population. It was something undesirable, something to be resisted.

(a) Market Control and Advertising in United States Magazines. Historically, probably the first expression against American magazines was prompted by economic motives. Such magazines, their circulation organized upon a continent-wide basis, ploughed a deep furrough into the virgin soil of the Canadian market. They carried advertisements of United States products which threatened to prevent that market control which the local manufacturers were attempting to establish. Consequently organizations like the Canadian Manufacturers' Association early commenced to mobilize opinion in a movement against these inroads. The appeal



was both an economic and nationalist one. Indeed, it was but a phase of that propagandist campaign carried on by the industrial group in order to establish local metropolitan control.

The Canadian consumer, reading the popular advertisements in American magazines, naturally began to think in terms of the trade-bands of United States firms. He purchased their products, either directly through his local retail store or through the mail order house. "There is too much money", complained the editor of Industrial Canada, "going out of this country to mail order houses in the United States. And there is too much Yankee jingoism circulated through our mails at the country's expense." (14)

"The average United States magazine", reads an article in Industrial Canada, "is a book of from 200 to 300 pages, of which anywhere from 50 to 66 per cent. is advertising matter. The rapid strides which have of late years been made in the art of advertising have given to these pages an interest and a value equal to, if not greater than, the reading matter itself. They are prepared by high-salaried experts who have carefully studied human nature. They are lavishly illustrated to attract the eye, and are worded in a manner well calculated to entice the coin from him who has it to spend. They are the seed from which the advertiser hopes to reap a rich harvest, and that he is not disappointed is evinced by the fact that he sows his seed in larger and larger quantities every year.

"To allow this advertising matter to be brought into Canada free of duty, and to be circulated gratis at the expense of the Canadian Government, is certainly an injustice to our manufacturers, producers and merchants. Yet that is exactly what is being done.....Tons upon tons of this literature are poured into our borders every week, and scattered broadcast over the country.....

".....The balance of trade in periodicals is always against Canada. A visit to almost any book store or news stand in the country will demonstrate the fact that for one Canadian periodical offered for sale there are ten United States periodicals. That being the case at home, how much greater must the discrepancy be across the border?" (15)

The Made-in-Canada campaign was an antidote to the circulation of United States magazines. The one created a "Buy Canada" and the other a "Buy magazine advertised" consumers' conscience. The latter, because of the dominance of United States magazines in the Canadian reading public, threw the balance in favour of the United States manufacturers. "Day after day and week after week the people of Canada from one coast to another", wrote the editor of Industrial

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(14) Industrial Canada, Vol. 6, No. 3, Oct., 1905, p. 129.

(15) Ibid. Vol. 5, No. 8, March, 1905, p. 477-8.



Canada, "are treated to a perfect gorge of United States advertisements.

The magazines and weekly papers coming from the United States have a larger circulation than any papers published in this country. These carry great advertising sections of foreign goods, and the advertisements are attractive, strong and compelling. What is the result? That in many lines specific articles of United States manufacture are as familiar to the consumers of Canada as similar articles made in Canada are unfamiliar." (16)

At the 1922 annual meeting of the Association a strongly worded resolution was passed against the entry of American magazines into Canada. (17) "There is no good reason", the editor of the Association's organ declared, the following year, "for permitting the free entrance of tons of advertising matter, under the cover of so-called literary productions. These imported publications are not only competing with our own national magazines, which from the editorial standpoint are doing good work in creating and fostering national sentiment and from the commercial standpoint are providing employment and creating a market for Canadian products, but they are doing very effective missionary work for American manufactures in competition with our own manufacturers." (18)

Labour organizations, especially the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, joined with the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in the economic appeal against American magazines. "With their tremendous internal circulation, and resultant economy of production," reads an article in the Canadian Unionist, "United States magazines and other periodicals are dumped into Canada to the extent of thousands of tons a year.....We in Canada are continually subject to this barrage of propaganda in the interests of foreign manufacturers: we can resist it only by abstaining from subscribing to its source and by a determination to buy Canadian made goods whenever possible." (19)

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(16) Industrial Canada, Vol. 12, No. 6, January, 1912, p. 699.

(17) Ibid. Vol. 23, No. 3, July, 1922, p. 132.

(18) Ibid. Vol. 23, No 11, March, 1923, p. 45.

(19) Canadian Unionist, Vol. 4, No. 5, October, 1930, p. 119.

The consequences of the entry of American magazines, it was claimed, were political as well as economic — their propaganda threatened the separate national autonomy of the Canadian Dominion. "The martial affronts to the national autonomy of Canada", wrote the editor of the Unionist, "are more conspicuous but perhaps less serious than the stealthy inflow of propaganda which has been proceeding for many years. Gradually the United States publishers of periodical literature have extended their market into this country, and, with a large home circulation that in itself assures ample profit, have been able to dump their product across the border. These periodicals come into Canada almost without cost to the nominal subscribers, but the bulk of advertising matter they contain makes their distribution profitable. The economic and political consequences of this incursion have often been pointed out." (20) Two years later the same editor wrote, regarding American magazines: "Many of them are mere catalogues of United States manufacturers, and they are all dedicated to the noble task of spreading American culture. They supplement Yankee school books, broadcasting, and movies as potent agencies of anti-Canadian propaganda." (21)

(b) International Labour Unionism and the Magazine Issue. The All-Canadian Congress of Labour, however, had other motives than the economic in opposing the entry of American magazines. Its campaign was waged more against American labour organizations than against American magazines as such. This is revealed in the statement of the Unionist editor: "The objections to the ordinary foreign magazines apply with even greater force to the publications of the United States unions." Discussing the tax of the Canadian Government on American magazines, he said, in the same editorial: "Restriction of magazine imports should stimulate interest in Canadian publications and in

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(20) Canadian Unionist, Vol. 2, No. 11, May, 1929, p. 194.

(21) Ibid. Vol. 5, No. 1, June, 1931, p. 5.

the discussion of Canada's problems from a Canadian point of view. In no part of the national life is there greater need for such stimulation than in labour organization. It is therefore to be hoped that the foreign unions' magazines will not be given the exemption that they are begging -- an exemption that would nullify the greater part of the benefit which the new customs duty is designed to confer." (22)

(c) The Printing Trade. Those workers employed in the printing industry naturally opposed the entry of a commodity which came into competition with one which they were engaged in producing. "The figures", reads a petition presented to the Tariff Board by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and also signed on behalf of the Ontario and Quebec Typographical Unions, "submitted by the Magazine Publishers' Association of Canada in presenting their application for the fixing of specific duty of ten (10) cents per pound on foreign magazines, periodicals, etc., coming into Canada demonstrate clearly the rapid increase in Canadian circulation of foreign publications of this nature and the concurrent decrease in the number of magazines published in Canada. This decrease carries with it lessened opportunity for those employed in the printing industry and is a material factor in causing men who earn their living in that industry to emigrate to the United States in search of employment." (23)

(d) Empire Loyalty and Anti-national Propaganda of American Magazines. It was, however, in such organizations as the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, the National Council of Women of Canada, the National Council of Education, that the many vague and undefined attitudes of Canadians to United States publications became crystallized and were given overt expression. The appeal was both a moral and a patriotic one, depending largely upon which organization was directing the campaign and which magazines were being attacked.

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(22) Canadian Unionist, Vol. 5, No. 1, June, 1931, p. 5.

(23) Canadian Congress Journal, Vol. 5, No. 11, November, 1926, p. 20.

To such organizations as the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, the continued connection of Canada with the Mother Land was the end to be achieved. The entry of United States magazines threatened this connection. "As Daughters of the Empire and loyal Canadians," said the President of the Order, "we should be alive to the serious situation that confronts us in the propaganda that, as the years advance, is being slowly and surely directed at the undermining of the British connection in this Dominion, and the disintegration of those stable elements that have placed Canada in its proud position." (24)

In 1922 the Order sent a petition to the Federal Government asking for the exclusion of the Hearst publications in Canada because of a feature published in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, and emanating from the Hearst International Feature Service, which, referring to the visit of the Prince of Wales to India spoke in "the most insulting and ridiculing terms of both our Prince and the Rajahs who entertained him." (25) Letters were written to all Transportation Companies "asking them to prohibit the sale of Hearst publications on their trains and boats, and in their hotels, with some degree of success. The Canada Steamship Company promised to do this." (26) A resolution also was passed "that the Great War Veterans Association be asked to co-operate with us in trying to ban Hearst publications in Canada." (27) In her report of that year, the National Educational Secretary said: "The country is flooded with American literature, and one of our first aims should be to strive to replace these with some of the splendid English illustrated papers." (28)

In 1924 a resolution was sent to the Government asking for the

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(24) Minutes, 1926, p. 11.

(25) Minutes, 1922, p. 94.

(26) Ibid. p. 27.

(27) Ibid. p. 94.

(28) Ibid. p. 56-7.

censorship of reading matter coming into Canada from the United States. (29) In her report of 1925, the National Educational Secretary said: "In the same way Daughters of the Empire may and should support British and Canadian magazines. This is educational work, but it cannot be done by executives; it can only be fully done by the entire membership of the Order. The occasional buying of an American magazine at a bookstall is not so serious, although that is also to be deprecated. But if every Daughter of the Empire who subscribes to American magazines would give them up in favour of British and Canadian ones they would be doing more than they realize." (30) The following year, she again urged "Daughters of the Empire collectively and individually to subscribe to British and Canadian magazines, and to think twice before they regularly support those published in the United States, thus becoming publicity agents for American writers and American manufacturers as well as American publishers." (31)

At a meeting of the Provincial Chapter of Manitoba of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, in 1926, a resolution was passed "declaring the flood of pernicious books and magazines from the United States into Canada was a menace to the future of the young people of this country" and demanding "that the Dominion Government take steps at once to ban the importation of such publications." (32)

In 1928 a letter was sent to the Government "asking the prohibiting of the entry into Canada of the American magazine 'Vanity Fair' following the publication of an insulting reference to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales." (33) The following year it was resolved: "That the National Conference assembled in Vancouver is strongly of the opinion that it is

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(29) Minutes, 1924, p. 30.

(30) Minutes, 1925, p. 124.

(31) Minutes, 1926, p. 87.

(32) Montreal Daily Star, Sat., April 10, 1926, p. 2.

(33) Minutes, 1928, p. 33.

incompatible with the development in Canada of the type of citizenship which Canadians desire, that the country should be flooded, as it is flooded, with publications which are undesirable from the point of view of morals, intellectual standards, and a sound nationalism in accord with our British tradition. The Conference therefore urgently requests the Executive Committee to approach the Canadian Government and ask that steps be taken to prevent the sale of such publications in Canada." (34)

In 1929 the following resolution was passed by the Conference and sent to the Government:

The National Executive Committee, Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, in session assembled, desire to express in most emphatic terms the unanimous protest of the members against the type of literature that is circulated throughout all sections of the country, which is of such a nature as to desecrate all the ideals which patriotic men and women hold sacred.....

Be it therefore resolved that the Order believes that the time has arrived for stern and prompt action in the matter by the proper authorities and would respectfully draw the attention of the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister of Canada and the Postmaster General to the decision of the Order." (35)

(e) Mores of Canadian Social Life and the Influence of American

Magazines. American magazines, however, did more than threaten the traditional sentiment attachments of patriotic groups. They aroused the moral consciousness of the general population. Couched in a language and carrying illustrations designed to appeal to the large urban masses of the United States, many of these magazines shocked the puritan tastes of Canadians. Consequently, whereas such organizations as the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire had concerned themselves with the question of American magazines because the attachments to the nation and the Empire were something to be preserved in their own right, the moral public attacked American magazines as a means of protesting the environmental surroundings of the home. Though the two issues became confused, the original approach was from entirely different points of view.

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(34) Minutes, 1929, p. 127.

(35) Minutes, 1931, p. 19-20.

The movement to protect social mores was not necessarily directed against American magazines as such. But the fact that most of the magazines considered undesirable came from the United States meant that attention became focussed in that direction. "There is no doubt that there is", said Mr. J.M. Elson, Honorary president of the Canadian Authors' Association, "a flood of obscene -- filthy is the only word -- 'literature' that comes into Canada from the United States and Europe every year, and only properly imposed censorship will stem that tide." (36)

Such organizations as the National Council of Women of Canada were particularly active in promoting the moral campaign against American magazines. The Council defined the problem as one of providing good reading for the younger generation. "The problem of keeping good books and better periodicals to the front", the Standing Committee on Cinema and Printed Matter reported in 1929, "is an ever-present problem, and can be solved only by education. Salacious literature will disappear only when the public ceases to buy it." (37)

Statistics indicated that most of such salacious literature came from the United States. "A few official figures", a Committee of the National Council of Women reported in 1927, "may tell something of the tale -- 40,000,000 foreign<sup>magazines</sup> and between 15,000,000 and 20,000,000 foreign daily and week end newspapers are imported into this country every year.....Ninety percent of these come to us from our neighbour to the South of us -- while, of course, many of them are choice in make up and material, many of them are undesirable and all of them do their bit to attract to themselves Canada's smaller buying power and tend to offset the truly imperial spirit we so desire to foster in this overseas Dominion." (38)

In 1927 the Committee on Films and Printed Matter reported:

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(36) Montreal Daily Star, Mon., Nov. 11, 1929, p. 15.

(37) National Council of Women of Canada, Year Book, 1929, p. 70.

(38) Ibid. 1927, p. 94.



As in the past years, this Committee has been active along lines of trying to find some means to combat the flood of objectionable publications coming into Canada. It is a stupendous task.

Nearly all books and magazines of the present day seem to have one aim, that is the exploiting of Sex Appeal in its worst form.....

We are well aware that some of the magazines and books of to-day are so vile and degrading, that one cannot read them without feeling a shock.....

.....More women are needed in our Councils who are interested in this work of Films and Printed Matter, Women who would give time and thought to have a concentrated movement to follow up objectionable books and magazines and make constructive suggestions for the betterment of Films.....Unfortunately we cannot deplore too deeply the grave danger arising to the youth of Canada from the deluge of literature, whose frivolous fascination is equalled only by their immorality. (39)

In 1927 the Hamilton Local Council of Women passed a resolution calling for the banning of the Hearst publications and the exercise on the part of the Dominion Government of a "more strict censorship on books and periodicals entering Canada." (40) In 1928 the Toronto Local Council of Women, by resolution, protested "against the flood of pernicious and demoralizing literature on sale in Canada." (41) In 1930 the Standing Committee on Cinema and Printed Matter of the National Council reported that "during the past year several protests have been sent to Ottawa regarding certain magazines and books" (42); and, two years later, it expressed its concern "over the publishing in Canada of objectionable magazines of the U.S.A., such as 'Hokey', 'Ballyhoo'." (43)

The National Council of Education joined in the moral attack upon American magazines. At the 1929 Conference on Education and Leisure in Vancouver, the subject of American literature came up for considerable discussion. The following is from the diary of the Conference:

The manner in which the morals of young Canadians are being assailed by a flood of foreign magazines depicting immorality, violence, vice, and crime, was frankly portrayed in vivid colours in a film especially prepared for the Conference by Major Fred J. Ney, Executive Secretary of the Council. The reproduction on the screen of cover designs, scenes and pictures, showed that killings, thefts, forgery, false swearing, marital infidelity, lust, and

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(39) National Council of Women of Canada, Year Book, 1927, p. 66-7.

(40) Ibid. p. 118.

(41) Ibid. 1928, p. 131.

(42) Ibid. 1930, p. 69.

(43) Ibid. 1932, p. 42.

vice, formed the chief interests of life, as depicted in these publications. The film also presented an extensive array of facts and figures relating to the number as well as the contents of magazines of this type.

In introducing this film Mr. S.E. Lang, of Victoria, said that no one wished to minimise the value of American magazines that serve literary, philosophic, and scientific interests, but imported publications of an evil tendency were piled high on Canadian news stands. The flood of periodicals, advertising American merchandise and even more strongly, the supreme excellence of American institutions, ideals, achievements, and public men, was bad enough. It was much worse that Canadian youth should read magazines presenting a demoralising theory of life in which the delights and benefits of an unrestrained 'self-expression' were continually inculcated. (44)

On the following day the discussion was continued.

The Rev. Dr. Leslie Pidgeon presided on Tuesday morning. Mr. S.E. Lang gave an address on "Foreign Magazines in Canada". The quantity and contents of the prevailing type of magazine exposed for sale at bookstalls were given in detail. It was pointed out also that these foreign magazines advertise far more than the commercial articles they wish to sell, namely, social manners and customs, habits of thought and action, and political sentiments and theories of life, constant reading of which tends to create in impressionable minds the notion that our neighbors to the south enjoy an undeniable monopoly of most, if not all, of the admirable and worth-while things of life.

The discussion which followed brought out expressions of opinion regarding the selection of school books which should emphasize Canadian history, literature, and art, the encouragement of Canadian magazines, the newsprint problem, and the foreign comic strip. It was agreed to continue the discussion later. (45)

In a resolution at the Friday session, the Conference expressed the opinion "That it is incompatible with the development in Canada of the type of citizenship which Canadians desire that the country should be flooded, as it is flooded, with publications which are undesirable from the point of view of morals, intellectual standards, and a sound nationalism in accord with our British tradition." (46)

. . . . .

In the end, the movement against American magazines identified itself with the objects and symbols of national life. Those organizations interested in protecting the mores of their local community rightly conceived the larger social life as a vital part of the home environment. They realized that if their children were to be provided with an ideal social setting in which to

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(44) Education and Leisure, Addresses delivered at the Fourth Triennial Conference on Education, held at Victoria and Vancouver, April, 1929, edited by S.E. Lang, Toronto, J.M. Dent & Sons Lt., 1929, p. 15-6.

(45) Ibid. p. 17.

(46) Ibid. p. 275.

to grow up there was little use in attempting to reform the neighbourhood or even the city community if the larger social forces were not dealt with; and they could best be approached through the nation. Such interests turned to the United States as the source of many of the influences which were considered bad in Canadian social life. It was from here that most of the undesirable literature came. Consequently the protection of Canadian morals identified itself with the protection of Canadian national ideals.

Such identification reached out and included the various other movements against American magazines. The economic interests of the local manufacturers and of the printing trades, the ambitions of such organizations as the All-Canadian Congress of Labour to secure status in the Canadian scene, the patriotic sentiments of the Daughters of the Empire, readily associated themselves with the objectives of national life. The issue of American magazines, in short, became a national issue.

### C. The Hollywood Film.

More serious in some respects than the magazine problem, because until recently there was no alternative source of supply, was that of the Hollywood film. The early popularity and financial control of the United States industry have given the Hollywood film a commanding advantage in the Canadian market. The cinema has become one of the most important of urban recreations, appealing to persons of extremes of education, age and position. It is, moreover, a great financial enterprise, involving large amounts of capital and large-scale organization. The combination of these two facts has made it not only a powerful influence in modern society but an extremely difficult one to control.

The development, however, in recent years of film production in England has not only provided Canada with an alternative source of supply but has presented the question in the light of an imperial issue. The political

connections of Canada were employed in the attempt to persuade Canadians to patronise British pictures; the showing of British pictures and attendance at houses where such pictures were being shown was interpreted as a patriotic duty.

Clustering about patriotic sentiments were those attitudes of the large middle-class Canadian population whose moral consciousness was aroused by the pornographic character of many of the Hollywood films. While similar movements have arisen in the United States, the appeal there remained strictly a moral one whereas in Canada it became defined as a national issue. "Hollywood" and the "United States", when applied to the immoral film, became alternative stereotypes which represented to the Canadian mind the undesirable forces in social life.

Though less conspicuous than the moral or patriotic consequences of the circulation of Hollywood films, the financial dominance of powerful United States interests, extending down to the local cinema house, has aroused the national consciousness of the Canadian people and has resulted finally in an investigation on the part of the Government. There seemed something ominous in the fact that a few New York entrepreneurs should control one of the most important agencies of recreation in Canada. It meant that the consumer had no control over the source of supply. As early as 1921 Rev. J.G. Shearer, superintendent of the Presbyterian Social Service Council, had expressed the wish that "all the films shown in this country were owned and operated by the Government." Fully ninety per cent. of them, he claimed, "were controlled by a small body of multi-millionaire Jews in New York city, whose prime object seemed to be money-making." (47)

Such propagandist control threatened the national ideals of the Canadian Dominion. "Col. W.H. Price, Ontario Attorney-General," reads a

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(47) The Gazette, Montreal, Mon., May 30, 1921, p. 2.

news report of the Montreal Daily Star, April 12, 1932, "last night called for protection against dissemination in Canada of United States' thought and ideas through motion pictures and radio. He was addressing a local Orange lodge. Assailing the spread of ideas from across the international border through these media, Col. Price said the situation was a serious one. Canadian people, he declared, must be roused to a realization of the peril confronting British ideals from 'this insidious propaganda'." (48)

There were two fronts on which the entry of undesirable Hollywood films could be resisted. First, the Canadian Government, by legislation, could destroy the monopoly of the financial interests of the United States in the distribution of films in Canada. Second, the Canadian consuming public, by non-attendance at picture houses showing undesirable films, could determine the nature of such pictures. Both attacks required the awakening of a popular movement against the Hollywood film. Such leadership was taken by those institutions whose principles were threatened by the entry of American pictures.

(a) The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire. As early as 1926, when London cinema houses were showing practically nothing else but Hollywood pictures, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire launched a campaign for the showing of British films in Canada. (49) "The Order", according to a pamphlet it issued about this time, "feels very keenly that the quality of the films supplied to the public by the producers and distributors is a matter of grave national importance, and the members are using all their influence to prevent the Canadian branch of the industry from remaining in the hands of foreigners, which up to date has resulted in a deluging of the public with the ideals and standards of a foreign nation and has prevented the obvious antidote through a proper proportion of British-made films." (50)

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(48) Montreal Daily Star, Tues., April 12, 1932, p. 8.

(49) Minutes, 1926, p. 30.

(50) Pamphlet, no date, no pagination.

In 1928 the National Secretary reported as follows:

As you know, the encouragement of films made in Canada and within the Empire has always been a matter of vital interest to the Order and one which should ever be before the notice of the members.....This whole question was very fully discussed at a meeting of the National Executive Committee and it was decided again to bring this matter before the notice of the Chapters with a strong appeal that the efforts of EVERY MEMBER be directed towards creating a national demand for Canadian and other British films. With this end in view, the National Executive Committee has endeavored to obtain from time to time lists of available films for the information of the Chapters and it has been suggested that every member of the Order be asked to approach the managements of local theatres, requesting them to procure British films which are known to be available.

.....There is a decided movement throughout the Empire to break the stranglehold of American film producers and it has been pointed out to the Chapters that it is fitting that an organization such as ours should support this movement to the uttermost, and that the first step is the creation of a demand for good British films. (51)

In 1929 it was resolved "That the National Chapter in session approach the Federal Government on the question of the showing of films and ask that twenty per cent of all films shown be of British production in all picture houses throughout the Dominion." (52) A film committee was appointed in this year and, in 1930, it reported that "it is most essential that the Order should not relax its efforts to influence public opinion to demand that they be shown those British pictures which are available and to insist that those who control the theatre and the pictures shown therein shall give special consideration to the purchase and showing of British films." (53) And, in this year, the following resolution was passed: "That the National Chapter, Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, in session assembled, greatly deprecate any action on the part of those who control the moving picture situation in Canada allowing this control to pass out of the hands of Canadians into the hands of foreigners and would petition the Dominion Government to take any steps that may be necessary to prevent such action." (54) In 1931 the film committee reported:

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(51) Minutes, 1928, p. 31-32.

(52) Minutes, 1929, p. 128.

(53) Minutes, 1930, p. 146.

(54) Ibid. p. 148.

As you all know, the situation throughout Canada is one fraught with great danger for our national interest. The Moving Picture business, as regards the first-run houses and the more important theatres, is under foreign control. This foreign control has made every effort to disguise itself as Canadian.....

It is well to be clear as to what we, as Daughters of the Empire, want to do in the matter of films. While we are necessarily vitally interested in seeing British-made pictures secure a fair share of the market in Canada, this is not our whole or even our main objective. As my Committee see it, it is most important that the screen, universally acknowledged to-day as one of the most far-reaching and potent influences on the public mind, should not be continually educating our people in standards and moral values which are not Canadian, and certainly not British; that foreign organizations with unlimited money should not be in a position to buy out our own Canadian interests and plot and work to influence, even govern, the sources of control in our country.

.....It is not enough to arouse ourselves to this danger, we must arouse the general public. Every citizen is concerned in this, and we can do a great work indeed by talking intelligently about it on all suitable occasions, both public and private; by letters to the papers when any point arises which calls for comment; by articles in the public press; by suggestion to and influence of public men and women who speak to audiences of our citizens. (55)

"Those in a position to know the actual facts in connection with the showing of British films in this country", boasted Echoes, the official organ of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, "attribute the success that has attended the appearance of these films in Canada to the persistent efforts of the Daughters of the Empire. The Chapters of the Order have reason, therefore, to be proud of their activities in this cause.....The propaganda against the films is still very active, however, and it will be necessary for the Chapters to continue their campaign in order that there may be in the coming year a fair showing of British films in Canadian picture houses." (56)

(b) National Council of Women of Canada. Like the Daughters of the Empire, the National Council of Women employed the patriotic appeal in attacking the entry of United States films into Canada. The motive, however, was a moral rather than a national one. Films, as magazines, threatened the mores of social life. Such influences could be resisted only by more strict censorship and by the encouragement of British, which presumably were less pornographic, rather than American pictures. "We want Empire pictures and we

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(55) Minutes, 1931, p. 74.

(56) Echoes, October, 1932, p. 8.



want British national life", reported a Committee of the National Council of Women in 1933, "impressed on our young people. The moving picture industry is international in its scope and influence; it does more than any other industry or agency to mould the thought and character of our young people, and hence our future national life. We do not wish to object wholly to Hollywood predominance even by their best pictures, but rather that we should do everything possible to encourage the putting foremost of our British and Canadian literature, art and culture by encouraging British and Canadian pictures whenever and wherever possible." (57)

In 1927 the resolution was passed that "the N.C.W. (abb.) endeavor to secure the co-operation of Nationally Organized Societies of Women in Canada to support propaganda for Canadian and other British films and the list of films suitable for children." (58) The Committee on Cinema and Printed Matter reported this year that "The Motion Picture is so powerful both financially and politically and has such a command of the Press that only very direct and business regulations are practical." (59)

In 1928 the Corresponding Secretary reported that she had attended meetings of an Empire Cinema Committee "to endeavor to encourage more British films in Canada." (60) "We are earnestly advocating", reads the report of the Committee on Cinema and Printed Matter for that year, "the use of British films, but theatre managers tell us they are very difficult to secure, hence the high tariff. A renewed agitation is now taking place to have these films sold to the Canadian distributors instead of coming to us through the United States." (61) In the same year the local Council of Women of Toronto reported that they had "strongly urged .....that an endeavor be made to strongly support

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(57) National Council of Women of Canada, Year Book, 1933, p. 60.

(58) Ibid. 1927, p. 42.

(59) Ibid. p. 66.

(60) Ibid. 1928, p. 34.

(61) Ibid. p. 65.

and endorse British films." (62)

Two years later the Standing Committee on Cinema and Printed Matter reported: "Some of our members' correspondence indicates that they are not yet satisfied that a proper percentage of British and Canadian pictures are being shown.....Your Committee.....would like to emphasize the fact that the average theatre-going public are still doubtful about British pictures being as good as those from the United States, and it is necessary that all women's organizations in Canada should do what they can to increase attendance at the theatres when British pictures come to town. The theatre owner who brings in a British picture and finds the people do not go to see it, is apt to be discouraged and to think that we do not want British pictures." (63) In the same year the British Columbia president reported that a resolution had been endorsed "asking that 15 per cent. of the films shown in British Columbia theatres should be British productions, and also that a certain proportion of each entertainment should be of British origin." (64)

In 1932 the Standing Committee on Cinema and Printed Matter reported that "with our proper encouragement to the British producer, he will put unlimited money and skill into his productions and the time is fast approaching when the American product will get very serious competition." (65) The Committee, in the same year, praised the Swift Current Local Council "for the magnificent work of their convener and her committee in their patriotic effort to encourage the showing of British films." (66) The report of the Committee continues: "Moose Jaw expresses dissatisfaction that our own country is controlled by the big interests outside Canada. Your convener sympathizes with Moose Jaw and feels that the decision re the Famous Players investigation was a disappointment and we sometimes feel that our efforts are hopeless." (67)

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(62) National Council of Women of Canada, Year Book, 1928, p. 130-1.

(63) Ibid. 1930, p. 68-9.

(64) Ibid. p. 53.

(65) Ibid. 1932, p. 42.

(66) Ibid. p. 43.

(67) Ibid. p. 44.

(c) Other Organizations. At the 1929 Conference of Education held in Vancouver, the subject of the foreign film came up for discussion. "Special emphasis", reads the diary of the Conference, "was laid upon the demoralising character of many pictures exhibited, the influence of the commercial interest and motive in the actual supply, the unsuitability of the foreign film from the national and historical standpoint, and the absence of authoritative control in the interest of education. A series of four resolutions expressed the general opinion of the delegates, a large number of whom took an active part in the discussion." (68) In 1929 a brochure entitled "Canada and the Foreign Film" was issued by the Executive Secretary of the National Council of Education and was twice reprinted to meet the demands made upon it. At the suggestion of the Prime Minister copies were sent to both the members of the Senate and the House of Commons during the spring session of 1931. "Undoubtedly the Council", reads a leaflet which it published, "can claim to have played an important part in the stimulation of public opinion which led to the action of the Government in setting up the Commission which subsequently found that the American distributors had created a monopoly in the supply of films to Canadian Movie Theatres." (69)

At the Conference of Canadian Clubs in 1934 the Programme Sub-Committee brought in a recommendation "that a committee be appointed to study and report on the best method of giving more Canadian interest in motion pictures. (a) by increasing the percentage of Canadian matter in the films. (b) by giving express approval to such films as are to be recommended to Canadians." (70)

At the convention in 1931 of the Canadian Legion the report of the special committee of Empire trade reads in part: "We deplore the paucity of Empire Films exhibited throughout the Dominion, especially Empire News Films

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[68] Education and Leisure, p. 28.

[69] Leaflet issued by the National Council of Education.

[70] Report of the Twentieth Conference Association of Canadian Clubs, Toronto, May 28-29, 1934, p. 28.

and request our Dominion Executive to encourage the use of British Empire-made films, and urge that further steps be taken to ensure the showing of films of British and Canadian origin which are made for the entertainment and education of our Canadian people." (71) At the British Empire Service League Conference in Toronto in 1931, a resolution was passed on the question of films. "A discussion", it reads, "of the use of foreign-made films and magazines throughout the Empire resulted in a resolution urging upon all constituent organizations of the League to encourage and promote the exhibition of films made within the Empire and exercise their influence as regards the subject and character of these films; also that they endeavor to persuade theatres to give preference to British-made films." (72) And, at the Prince Edward Island Convention of the Canadian Legion, a resolution was passed "regretting the dominance of foreign films in the theatre programs of the province." (73)

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How far such organizations were successful in stemming the tide of United States pictures in Canada it is difficult to say. Certainly, in the advertisement of their pictures, the British producers profited from this campaign. Further, as a result of their insistent propaganda, the Canadian public were made to feel that United States films were undesirable. But, even so, it is questionable if there has been any great change in the tastes of the Canadian movie consumer. What popularity British pictures have secured has been due to the fact that they appealed and not because they were British nor because they were less immoral than Hollywood pictures. The campaign against American films was made successful only by the development of efficient film production in England.

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(71) The Legionary, Vol. VI, Nos. 4&5, September-October, 1931, p. 28.

(72) Ibid. p. 7.

(73) Ibid. p. 45.

The significance, however, of the work of such a movement lies rather in the fact that it established in the Canadian public mind a feeling that the invasion of American films should be resisted. That feeling seldom was sufficiently strong to prevent the Canadian consumer from attending an American picture if it appealed to him; but it bolstered up that stock of attitudes which have entered into the national consciousness of the Canadian people. As a citizen, as a member of the national state, the individual came to look upon Hollywood pictures as something inimical to Canadian national life.

#### D. The United States Radio.

Of all cultural carriers, the radio is the most difficult to control. Magazines or films can be censored at the political border, but radio waves journey across unmolested. The guardians of national ideals or social mores have yet to find a method by which they can prohibit the consumption of undesirable radio programmes originating from outside. In Canada the situation is peculiarly difficult in view of the fact that the programmes emanating from the neighboring nation are of the same language (only the French Canadian nationalists can take refuge in language and even here the protection has application only to the rural sections of Quebec). But one method, then, presented itself in the campaign against American radio programmes, the production of Canadian programmes with a greater appeal.

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, for instance, were not slow to realize this fact; and here the ladies did not have the Empire to fall back upon -- radio was not sufficiently developed to bring English production in competition with American. The Order came out for national control of radio broadcasting, with sufficient Government support to enable it to compete against American broadcasting. In a resolution forwarded to the Canadian Radio League, it expressed its urgent interest in the Government

control of broadcasting. "The flood of foreign propaganda which is released at present in Canada", the resolution continues, "is a serious menace to the life and the spirit of the nation. Also the amount of advertising of foreign goods the listeners-in are subjected to must have an effect on our National Budget." (74)

At the 1929 Conference of the National Council of Education it was resolved "That in the interests of Canadian national life and culture, it is imperative to proceed at once with the organization of radio broadcasting on a basis of public service, with Dominion and Provincial co-operation." (75)

The Native Sons of Canada, in the conference of 1928, resolved "that the Government of Canada be asked to provide and operate a chain of Broadcasting stations through-out Canada, with the object of uniting the whole of Canada in one national system, thus eliminating the necessity of Canadians tuning in to American broadcasts." (76) At the 1931 meeting "it was resolved that a Committee be appointed to keep track of the percentage of Canadian talent coming over the air from hook-ups of United States of America, with Canadian broadcasting stations, with data re remuneration (remuneration), if any, and, after careful study, the Committee to recommend procedure to insure fair and adequate distribution of Canadian and foreign talent and propaganda and that this especially apply to programmes paid for by Canadian commercial firms." (77) Mr. Burford, Secretary of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, expressing the opinion of much the same group, said "that Canadians want Canadian programs. Radio must be prevented from degenerating into a medium for broadcasting United States culture." (78)

The establishment of the Canadian Radio Commission has secured, to some extent, the national control of radio broadcasting. However, the dominance of

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(74) Minutes, 1932, p. 24.

(75) Education and Leisure, p. 276.

(76) Minutes of 1928 meeting, Private MSS of Mr. Lavery.

(77) 1931 meeting, Ibid.

(78) Montreal Daily Star, Wed., March 16, 1932, p. 28.

the Columbia and National networks has prevented such control from becoming complete. The close proximity of the Canadian radio consuming public to the large United States centres together with the great financial resources of the American broadcasting enterprises effectively combine to maintain the influence of the American radio programme in Canada. It is unlikely that such dominance will be successfully challenged in the next few years.

The improvement in the quality of programmes, however, has done much to allay the opposition in Canada to United States programmes. Though he may still dislike certain broadcasts which seem to threaten the ideals of national life, the Canadian is prepared to admit his dependence upon the United States broadcasting system. The Canadian Radio Commission is the register of his protest; he would not care to make that protest more effective in its results.

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The essential difference between Canadians and Americans, to quote from F.H.U. writing in the Canadian Forum, "is that Canadians are always thinking about their relations with the United States and that Americans are never thinking about their relations with Canada." (79) The one-sided nature of the attitudes of the two people to one another is the result of the great influence of the United States upon the political and social life of the Dominion. Such influences become defined as issues in Canadian national life, about which collect a set of responses, prompted by those expressive groups immediately affected.

The incorporation of the great body of people in such movements is secured by the fact that American influences threaten ideals and mores which have become sacred to the Canadian. Cultural penetration weakens national morale and awakens a feeling of wounded pride. The aroused egotism of the

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(79) The Canadian Forum, Vol. 10, No. 109, October, 1929, p. 10.



Canadian people seeks expression through those channels where action seems the most efficacious or where outside influences are most threatening. Accordingly national consciousness focussed upon such objects as American textbooks, magazines, films and radio programmes. It secured its basis of belief through identification with symbols of the national group as that of the conception of a Canadian people or of a Canadian art and literature. In the end, however, these objects and symbols are but the visible aspect of Canadian national feeling; they provide the draughtsman with a plane on which he can chart the main movements in national life. It is the artist who must produce the composite painting with the different colours shading into each other to produce a single effect.

## CONCLUSION

In this study of a formulation of Canadian national feeling little more than a base map has been presented. Avenues of approach have been marked out, byways which must be probed in greater detail. It is possible that some of the avenues end in blind alleys; others have been overlooked completely. Paths cross and re-cross and it is difficult to search out either the beginning or the end of some of them. At times a baffling maze presents itself. But through it all there seem to be a few thoroughfares which give the attending byways and alleys a sense of order and coherence.

The main thoroughfare in Canadian national development has been the struggle on the part of the two cities of Montreal and Toronto to bring the narrow, straggling strip of territory stretching across the northern fringe of the United States under their economic tutelage. Basically, it was a problem of regional re-organization and metropolitan establishment.

Because of the growing dominance of the United States centres, the position of Canada in the American hegemony became the pressing problem of Dominion politics. That that problem arranged itself about the dual considerations of fiscal policy and transportation routes explains itself naturally by reason of the peculiar geographical situation of the Canadian Dominion. Economic invasion by the United States threatened to destroy the Ottawa political dominion created by the parliamentarians at Westminster; or, even though the political lines remained intact, to destroy the substance of such union. Canadian economic nationalism, as a consequence, has assumed the pattern of a reaction conflict on the part of Canadian industrialists to such invasion, reinforced and qualified to some extent by the interests of transportation, banking and labour.

National feeling, however, is not made out of the rough stuff of trade and tariffs alone. The needs of economic groups found support in the emergent political and social movements within the Canadian milieu. The loyalties of the various ethnocentric groups in the Dominion, the identification of institutions and persons with the political organization area, and the antagonisms of rural communities to the notions and ways of behaviour of the large American metropolitan centres, combined to produce a national consciousness. From such movements arose the conception of a historic group, with symbols and collective representations objectifying the fact of separate national existence. Loyalty to that conception became a motivating principle in the activities of the general population; national unity was an interest to be fostered for its own sake.

Into the main stream of Canadian national life the waters are drawn from sources on all sides and it is impossible to trace the flow of the rivulet rising in the distant hills after it empties itself. The life of the smaller Canadian groups has merged and fused into the life of the whole. A study of the economic and cultural forces entering into national life indicates the direction and content of that life, but as a historical process it remains something unique and whole in itself.

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