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IN CANADA

Cornelius J. Jaenen

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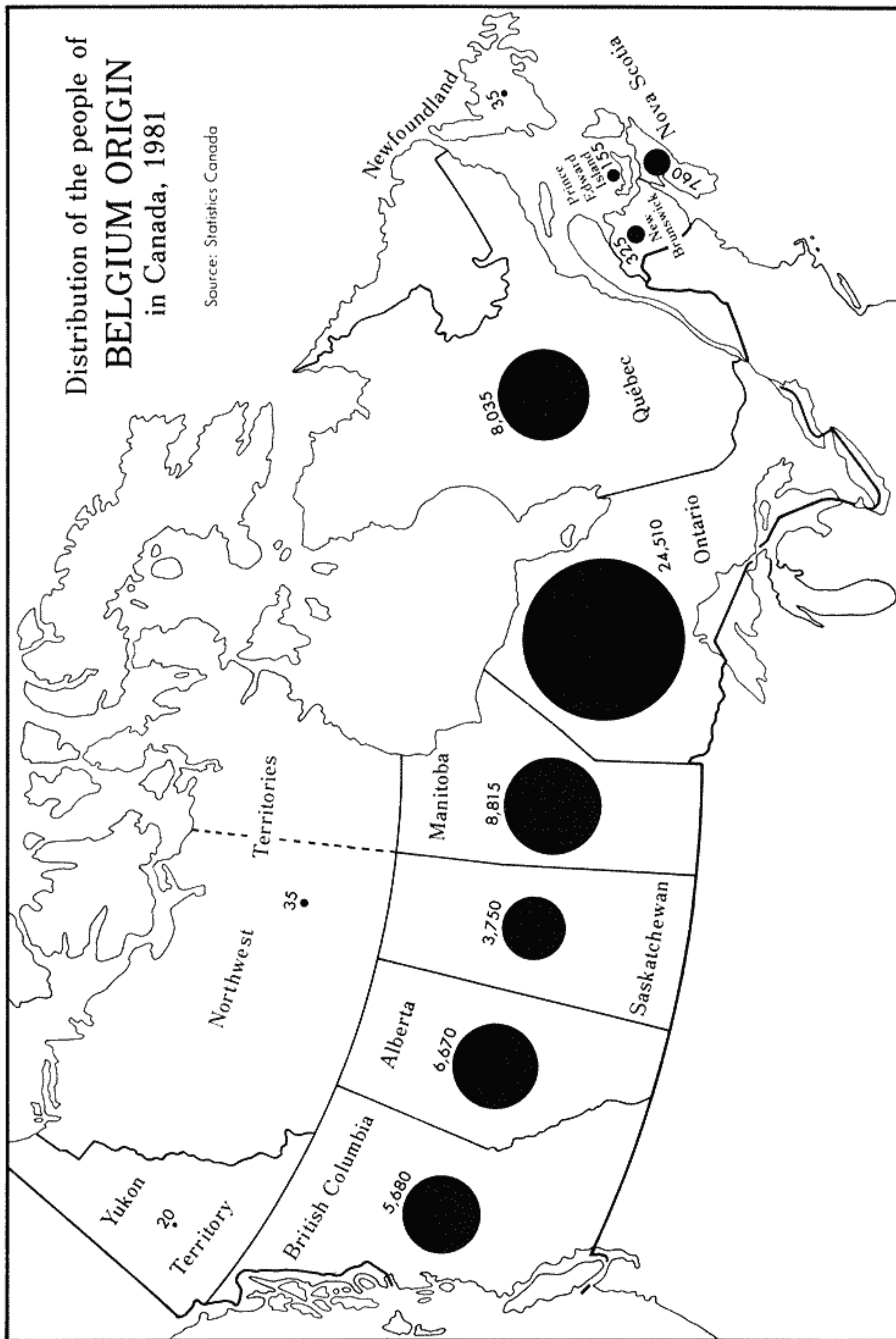
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CORNELIUS J. JAENEN

Department of History
University of Ottawa

Distribution of the people of
BELGIUM ORIGIN
in Canada, 1981

Source: Statistics Canada



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I — THE BELGIAN BACKGROUND

The Belgians are a national group composed of two major ethnic communities: the Flemings and the Walloons, the former speaking Flemish (now officially Dutch) and the latter French. The Belgians trace their origins to two tribal groups — the Batavi of Germanic stock who lived north of a line drawn from Dunkirk to Maastricht, and the Belgae of Celtic stock who inhabited the larger part of Belgium to the south of that line. In 57 B.C. Julius Caesar succeeded in bringing the Belgae under Roman domination and in 15 B.C. their land became the Imperial province of Gallia Belgica. The Batavi were subdued two years later but they were accorded the status of border allies and were not incorporated into the Roman Empire. In a general sense, the Walloons are the descendants of the Belgae and the Flemings of the Batavi, although there have been many other ethnic strains introduced over the centuries.

Gallia Belgica eventually became part of the domain of the Merovingian kings who completed the Christianization of the province. The successors of Charlemagne were not able to maintain close control over the region and when the Norsemen attacked the inhabitants looked to local leaders to organize their defence. After the Norse threat passed, the powerful local leaders retained their privileges, their rights became hereditary, and the region was divided into a series of feudal domains. After 1425 all these feudal states were united with the Duchy of Burgundy, until 1482 when the Hapsburgs inherited the flourishing area comprising present-day Belgium and the Netherlands. In 1556, Charles V passed this most populous and prosperous portion of his empire to his son, Philip II of Spain. Philip inherited a difficult religious challenge which he was never able to resolve. Local patriotism and Protestant preaching were winning converts from all classes to Calvinism, Lutheranism and Anabaptism. The Inquisition pursued the reformers and the dissidents began sacking Catholic churches. These disorders led to the division of 1579 between the Union of Utrecht, composed of the northern Dutch-speaking provinces, and the southern Walloon provinces united under the League of Arras. The Spaniards were able to win back the provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Antwerp and Limburg (the Flemish provinces of modern Belgium) from the Union of Utrecht before the latter declared its independence in 1581. Because they were granted no concessions in the south many Walloon Protestants migrated to the Dutch republic and a number of them eventually found their way to North America in the company of persecuted Huguenots.

By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) the southern provinces passed to Austrian rule. Belgians came to resent Austrian control and during the French Revolution independentist movements erupted in Brabant and Liège, but they were quickly

quashed by military intervention. The radical leaders fled to France and in 1792 returned with French revolutionary troops. The region was annexed to France and efforts were made to stamp out Belgian nationalism, whether of Walloon or Flemish origin. Although French domination came to an end with the final defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte at Waterloo, near Brussels, the Congress of Vienna, which redrew the map of Europe in 1815, gave the Belgian provinces to the newly created kingdom of the Netherlands. But differences in traditions, customs, dominant religion, social structures, economic interests and political aspirations between the Dutch and Belgians doomed this union to failure. In August 1830 a secessionist revolt erupted in Brussels and quickly spread to other cities. A Dutch force was dispatched to Brussels but after four days of bloody fighting it was repulsed and the Belgians declared their independence. On 7 February 1831 a constitution was issued making Belgium a hereditary monarchy and Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who had the support of both Britain and France to whose reigning monarchs he was related, became “King of the Belgians”. Belgium was internationally recognized as an “independent and perpetually neutral state”, a status which was reaffirmed in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian war.

Belgium was pushed into international prominence in 1914 when German armies violated “the scrap of paper” affirming this neutrality. Although the German occupation and alleged atrocities aroused widespread sympathy for the small nation, particularly in North America where the Belgian Relief Fund received generous support, the country’s economy was devastated as a result of the dismantling of its industries and the exaction of food supplies by the occupying forces. Belgium demanded heavy reparations in 1919, but when these were not forthcoming, the country faced a serious crisis, which the worldwide depression of 1929-39 only exacerbated. Added to the economic problems was a language crisis in the inter-war years. Flemish war veterans gave their nationalist movement strong support, thereby forcing the government to declare Flemish an official language on a par with French effective 1 January 1922. The following year, some university courses in Flemish were introduced at Ghent. Ten years later the country moved towards linguistic duality: the administrative language in the Walloon provinces would be French and in the Flemish provinces it would be Dutch. Brussels and Brabant would be bilingual with two sets of senior officials.

Industrial and linguistic unrest were overshadowed in 1940 by World War II which engulfed the country and saw it once more occupied by German forces. Following the war, in 1947, Belgium joined with neighbouring Luxembourg and the Netherlands in the economic community known as the Benelux Union, while at the same time it supported the Coal and Steel Community and the European Common Market. As the headquarters of the European Economic Community Brussels, in fact, has become the unofficial capital of Western Europe.

Belgians in Canada have enjoyed favourable media coverage and a positive image, ensuring them a place among the “preferred” immigrants in the post-

Confederation era. Indeed, their success in industry and commerce over the centuries has influenced federal and provincial governments to turn to Belgium for technicians, educators, miners and agricultural workers and to encourage Belgian capital investment. Quebec has been particularly receptive to Belgian immigration not only because most Belgians were Catholic, and many were francophone or bilingual, but also because unlike the French they were not perceived as having any "imperialistic" or colonizing designs.

II — EARLY CONTACTS

Belgians have been involved in North American affairs since the Middle Ages. Flemings from Antwerp traded with the Viking colonies of Greenland and Vinland and through their participation in the lucrative walrus hunt they maintained their contacts with the New World after the collapse of these Norse outposts. Later they became involved in chartering and insuring fishing vessels which initiated the fur trade with Native inhabitants. The maps of 16th century Antwerp cartographer Gerard de Jode (1578), of his son Cornelius de Jode (1593), and of Abraham Ortelius (1608) contributed to European knowledge of the lands and peoples of northeastern America. But none of these early commercial ventures or cartographic contributions attracted a permanent settlement of Belgians.

The first immigrants to come to North America were motivated by religion. Walloon Protestants arrived at Staten Island in 1624 with their celebrated pastor Pierre Minuit in search of religious liberty. Catholic missionaries followed, playing an important role in ministering to both Native peoples and European settlers in Canada from 1670 onwards. Eight Recollet friars laboured in the parishes of New France and as chaplains at the military posts in the interior and with La Salle's expeditions, and two served the fishermen and Micmacs of the Gaspé peninsula during the closing decades of the 17th century. Louis Hennepin is perhaps the best known because he ventured as far west as the Sioux country, and wrote three travel books which were widely circulated and read in Europe. Three of the Belgian Recollets met violent deaths in the discharge of their spiritual duties. Seven Belgians also laboured in the ranks of the Jesuits in New France, among them such notables as François de Crespeuil whose accounts of his "slow martyrdom" among the Montagnais bands aroused European sympathy and support, Jean-Baptiste Tournois who presided over the Iroquois reserve at Kahnawaké during the heyday of illicit trade with the English merchants of Albany and New York, and Pierre Potier who worked among the Hurons of Detroit and left voluminous scholarly manuscripts. Moreover, the fourth bishop of Quebec, Pierre-Herman Dosquet, was a native of Liège.

In addition to the religious, a trickle of lay people came to New France. Following the institution of royal government in 1663, the state sponsored a number of soldiers, brides and artisans who settled in the colony, some of whom were later discovered to be Walloon Calvinists and Flemish Lutherans. The

Intendant Jean Talon, who had served in Hainaut before coming to Canada, recruited a few Belgian artisans to stimulate building, manufacturing and mining in New France, while the engineer Louis Franquet in 1750 recruited a Flemish fortifications contractor for Louisbourg along with some quarrymen, bricklayers and a couple of brickmakers and lime-burners.

Following the cession of New France to Great Britain in 1763, few Belgians, apart from zealous missionaries, settled in British North America. The notable movement of Flemings to Michigan and Indiana and of Walloons to Wisconsin and Pennsylvania during the mid-19th century resulted in some spill-over into the British colonies, and Detroit became the cultural and religious centre for the Flemish immigrants who came north to the southwestern counties of Canada West (Ontario). When Belgians expressed some interest in the collieries of Nova Scotia and commercial opportunities in Quebec, the Belgian government established consulates in Montreal, Quebec, and Halifax. One of the three Canadian Select Committees appointed in 1859 to examine immigration in the colonies recommended that the assisted passages and grants of free land given to British immigrants be made available to francophone Europeans, including Belgians, but the only apparent result of this policy was the arrival in Quebec in 1862 of 99 Belgian families, recruited by an independent agent named A.H. Verret.

Following Confederation, the preferential policy was continued and the flow of immigrants increased. The first Canadian Immigration Act of 1869 included Belgium in its short list of "preferred countries" from which immigrants should be sought. E. Simays was sent to Belgium as Dominion agent in the same year but, since he was given less than two per cent of the budget allocated to European agencies, his activities were quite limited. Quebec exercised its right under the constitution to send Edouard Barnard as its immigration agent. His efforts were seconded by the *abbé* P.J. Verbist, who published a booklet *Les Belges au Canada* in 1872 urging his compatriots to settle in Quebec where the ministry of agriculture sponsored settlement by stressing the cultural and religious advantages of the province for Belgian industrial and agricultural workers. Verbist's Walloon colony of Namur in the Ottawa valley, a mixed farming/forestry community, would later become distinguished only by its numerous conversions to Protestantism and the creation of the only rural French Protestant school commission in the province. The Quebec government looked to the *Institut Agricole de Gembloux* and the *Ecole d'Horticulture de Vilvoorde* in Belgium for experts to offer instruction and stimulate experimentation in agricultural sciences. Flax culture and the linen industry, for which Flanders was noted, were introduced at St. Hyacinthe in 1873. Two years later, the commercial growing of sugar beets was introduced and three sugar refineries were tentatively opened under the supervision of Belgians, although not until 1890 did the plant at Farnham begin successful production. Most of the beets used at these plants were grown by Belgian immigrants. From Quebec the cultivation of sugar beets and sugar refining were introduced into southwestern Ontario and into southern Alberta. The dairy industry in both Quebec and southern Ontario also received a boost

from the introduction of Belgian technology and experienced farmers, especially in developing butter and cheese-making on a commercial scale. Quebec provincial authorities were particularly pleased with this modernization of the agricultural sector.

Apart from this specialized agriculture there were projects for bloc settlements. In the Sherbrooke region of the eastern townships the journalist Gustaaf Vekeman convinced numerous Flemish immigrants throughout the 1880s to take up mixed farming. Although his settlers did not always experience the success his immigration pamphlets had led them to expect, they were more satisfied than those recruited by several of his compatriots. Charles Lodewijcx's joint-stock company, which undertook the settlement of Flemings from the Campine region of northern Belgium at Lac Megantic, and J.V. Hereboudt's and the Baron de Haulleville's colonization society for the development of Gaspésia proved to be idle dreams involving few actual immigrants. Even the Redemptorist missionary H.J. Mussely's project for Baie de Chaleurs saw few Belgians settle at Musselyville. It is estimated that about 5000 Belgians had come to Quebec in the late 19th century but the census returns for 1901 suggest that only one in eight of them had settled permanently in the province.

Many Belgians moved on westwards, especially to Manitoba. Manitoba had launched its own immigration propaganda which was aided immeasurably by the Dominion Lands Act (1872) offering 160 acre (64.75 hectares) homesteads of agricultural land free to *bona fide* settlers. The first Belgians who arrived in 1879 found employment on farms in the Red River valley and in the flour mills, brickyards, railway yards, and abbatoir in St. Boniface/Winnipeg. Soon a number of them took up dairying on the southern fringes of Winnipeg. Through chain migration a sizeable Belgian community emerged in St. Boniface and environs. By 1882 Belgian settlers recruited by Canadian agents in Antwerp had taken up farms at St. Alphonse in south central Manitoba. Soon new communities emerged at Bruxelles, Swan Lake, Mariapolis and Somerset. The greater number of these immigrants came from the Flemish regions which were experiencing serious problems of over-population and a shortage of arable land on which to settle their progeny. Belgian efforts to overcome an agricultural crisis coincided well with Canadian efforts to populate and exploit the agricultural potential of the prairie West. In the 1880s, agents of the Allen Steamship Line, White Star Line, and the Belgian government-subsidized Red Star Line began distributing pamphlets, including those of Gustaaf Vekeman, in both Flemish and French. The Dominion government decided to participate in the International Exposition in Antwerp in 1885 in order to advertise Canada as a progressive agricultural nation.

In addition to these immigration campaigns there were plans for the stimulation of francophone emigration and settlement of the Canadian West. In 1885, the *curé* Antoine Labelle, a celebrated Quebec colonizing priest, went to Belgium and France to recruit settlers for Western Canada but the North-West Rebellion did not provide an attractive backdrop to his efforts. Three years later, the *abbé*

TABLE I: BELGIAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

Decade	Total Belgian Immigration*	% of Total Canadian Immigration
1901-1910	7 020	0.5
1911-1920	11 687	0.7
1921-1930	13 404	1.1
1931-1940	1 136	0.6
1941-1950	3 496	0.6
1951-1960	16 278	1.0
1961-1970	6 941	0.4
1971-1980	3 534	0.3

Sources: Canada Year Books, 1906-1981; Employment and Immigration, Annual Immigration statistics.

* Annual immigration statistics were employed in arriving at the total for each decade.

TABLE II: PEOPLE OF BELGIAN ORIGIN IN CANADA

Census Year	Male	Female	Total	% of Total population	Belgian-Born
1901	N/A	N/A	2 984	.06	2 280 (76.2%)
1911	N/A	N/A	9 664	.13	7 975 (82.5%)
1921	11 028	9 206	20 234	.23	13 276 (65.6%)
1931	14 991	12 594	27 585	.27	17 033 (61.7%)
1941	15 835	13 876	29 711	.26	14 773 (49.7%)
1951	18 103	17 045	35 148	.25	17 251 (49.1%)
1961	31 674	29 708	61 382	.34	33 129 (53.9%)
1981	26 105	25 025	51 130	.24	25 365 (49.6%)
	21 950	20 325	42 275	.24	17 020 (40.3%)
	30 550*	28 295*	58 845*		

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1901-1981.

* Adjusted figures for multiple ethnic origins in 1981 census.

Jean Gaire, impressed by the success of the Walloons at Bruxelles in southern Manitoba, planned a chain of francophone parishes stretching from near Deloraine, where Flemings were beginning to arrive, through what became southern Saskatchewan to the Rockies. Walloons recruited mostly from the province of Luxembourg, which had limited resources and saw its youth drawn away to French industrial centres, were in the majority in his initial settlements of Grande Clairière (Man.) and Bellegarde (N.W.T.). Belgians were also among the settlers he recruited for Cantal (Alida) and Wauchope, and by 1892 had settled as far west as Forget (N.W.T.) where a Belgian vice-consul was appointed to look after their interests. French-Canadian colonizing priests recruited both Flemings and Walloons in their efforts to assert a francophone presence in the West. Thus Belgian families were to be found concentrated in the region south-east of Saskatoon and north of Edmonton by the end of the century. The combination of government efforts and these clerical projects were producing results because by 1893 over one-third of Belgian emigrants leaving Antwerp for North America gave Canada as their destination. The fact that American immigration controls had been tightened in response to labour union demands for restricted immigration and rumours of an outbreak of a cholera epidemic in Europe contributed to the increased flow to Canada.

Individuals as well as Utopian corporate settlement schemes also played a role in augmenting immigration. The *abbé* Gaire's second link in the projected chain of parishes, for example, was forged largely by Sebastien Deleau. It was fitting that the hamlet should be called Deleau because he recruited friends and neighbours in his home province of Luxembourg. His efforts as a "return man", whose trip to Europe was paid by the Canadian government in return for recruiting immigrants, were in contravention of Belgian law. Louis Hacault, a prominent journalist in the struggle for Catholic schools as opposed to non-confessional communal schools in Belgium, not only took up the fight for Catholic schools in Manitoba in the 1890s but also wrote articles in conservative Belgian newspapers with a view to attracting settlers to southern Manitoba. The *Société Foncière du Canada*, a French colonization company, succeeded in attracting some Belgians to Montmartre, while nearby the aristocratic colony of La Rolanderie (St. Hubert), near Whitewood, took shape with its stone mansions, Gruyère cheese factory, chicory plant, coffee exporting company and sugar beet project. When the high living of the aristocrats of St. Hubert and of the nearby English country gentry of Cannington Manor collapsed, the Belgian domestics reinforced by university-trained agriculturalists from the homeland remained to carry on sensible farming practices.

Although these schemes including the Utopian projects concentrated on agricultural settlement, other sectors of the Canadian economy also began attracting Belgian workers. A demand for experienced workers often coincided with political and economic crises in Belgium. Following a Catholic Party victory at the polls in 1880, which ushered in a long period of clerical influence in government, the industrial regions of Wallonia became increasingly restive. In

1885 a socialist workers' party, the *Parti Ouvrier Belge*, was organized and major strikes began the following year. There was a serious crisis in the glass industry when workers were faced with wage reductions and the spectre of unemployment. At this juncture Canadian glass manufacturers began importing high quality lead-glass blanks from the Val St. Lambert factory and soon Belgian glass workers began emigrating to Quebec and Ontario. The coalmines of Hainaut province were also the scenes of disorders in the 1880s. Many miners left for Pennsylvania, but soon an exodus was directed to Canadian collieries when it was learned that jobs were available in Cape Breton and around Springhill and Pictou in Nova Scotia, in New Brunswick, and even on Vancouver Island where the Dunsmuir mines required experienced workers and engineers.

These early contacts established the pattern for the subsequent major waves of Belgian immigration. Most immigrants came as agricultural workers, but usually in specialized areas. The mining sector ranked second in importance, while business and the professions attracted only a small number of immigrants. Quebec and Manitoba were the chief destinations, but there was increasing interest in Ontario. Flemings were in the majority, except among the miners where Walloons dominated.

III — The First Immigrant Wave: 1896-1914

Under Clifford Sifton's administration of immigration, beginning in 1896, the budget for advertising, agents, tours and exhibitions was increased substantially with commensurate results. Desiré Tréau de Coeli, a trilingual Belgian resident of Hull, was appointed immigration agent in Antwerp and he took to his duties with great energy. When Frank Oliver became responsible for immigration, a new Immigration Act in 1906 moved away from the previous agricultural bias and attracted a wider spectrum of Belgians to mining, construction, forestry, and industry, although the majority of Belgian immigrants still came to engage in dairying, market gardening, fruit growing, sugar beet cultivation, and eventually tobacco culture. In total, however, the 14,000 Belgian immigrants formed only a small proportion of the massive immigration to Canada prior to World War I.

The government blamed Belgian emigration restrictions for the relatively small number of immigrants from that region. As early as 1873 the Belgian government had named a commissioner to supervise the emigration of Belgian migrant labourers and the international migratory movement funnelled through the port of Antwerp. Very soon he was given wide powers to curtail the activities of unscrupulous immigration agents, to supervise the procedures of the shipping companies, to improve conditions on the vessels transporting emigrants, and "to inform the emigrants about their rights and warn them against possible abuses". Agents of the Dominion and Quebec governments, of steamship companies, and of private companies such as the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Dominion Coal Company and the Dominion Sugar Company, as well as colonizing priests and "return men", had to comply with these regulations designed to prohibit the

exploitation of the working classes through deceptive propaganda and unsavoury practices. It was not unusual for Canadians to run afoul of these regulations. Indeed, in 1908 Belgian Commissioner of Emigration Eugene Venesoen opined that "everything concerning emigration is corrupt". There were "sharks" who carried off illegal ticket sales, unfair money exchanges and promised non-existent employment. Coalminers were known to arrive in New Brunswick and beet workers in southwestern Ontario to find extremely poor wages and only sporadic work. City lots were offered in Moose Jaw which turned out to be barren prairie plots far from the townsite. Miners with strong socialist and union attachments arrived in Cape Breton and Vancouver Island and could discover they had been hired as "scabs" to break a strike. Belgian consuls in Halifax, Calgary and Montreal were faced on occasion with financing the repatriation of victimized compatriots.

There were also criticisms of Canadian immigration practices in Quebec. When Quebec nationalists raised the cry that little was done to attract francophone immigrants, Olivar Asselin set off on a fact-finding mission to Europe. He soon documented the relative inadequacy of recruitment efforts in Belgium compared to what was done in the British Isles. Although the government countered that it had spent \$5.44 per capita in bringing immigrants from Belgium and France, \$2.11 per capita on those from other European countries, and \$1.75 per capita on those from the British Isles, Tréau de Coeli agreed with Asselin's conclusion that Canadian practices were more to blame for the relatively small number of francophone immigrants than Belgian emigration restrictions. But two developments stimulated emigration to Canada. First, a number of private emigrant aid societies directed their attention to Canada. The St. Raphael Society for the Protection of Emigrants, a well-established Catholic benevolent association whose Belgian branch was organized at St. André-lez-Bruges in 1888, stationed its agents in the ports of embarkation and in countries receiving immigrants. At Antwerp, the Oblate Fathers founded an emigration centre directed by Father C. Delouche who was particularly interested in Canada. There was also an emigration society organized by Louis Barceel which channelled emigrants to the Canadian West. Second, the inauguration in March 1903 of a direct steamship link to Canada facilitated immigration and avoided the necessity of either finding shipping from England or else sailing to New York where American agents tried to direct immigrants to their Midwest.

Migrant coalminers drawn mainly from the Hainaut mines were an important element in this movement. They were not always satisfied with conditions in the Maritimes where they first arrived. Those who came to New Brunswick in 1903-4 discovered that wages were much lower than promised at the time of embarkation, that adequate housing was seldom available, and that there were frequent shutdowns of mining operations. In Cape Breton Belgians were more numerous and tended to settle in "Belgium Towns", the single men boarding in establishments operated by the wives or widows of compatriots where efforts were made to retain a familiar ethnic cuisine and atmosphere. In the Crow's Nest

Pass region, the West Canadian Collieries Limited, founded by French and Belgian entrepreneurs, also welcomed Belgian miners. Nonetheless, disastrous mining accidents, sporadic shutdowns, and management efforts to prevent effective unionization combined to dampen enthusiasm for an adopted land which seemed to offer fewer social distinctions and better economic opportunities than Belgium; a spokesman like Léon Cabeaux thus denounced mine management in the Lethbridge area while at the same time praising Prairie opportunities. The Hainaut coalminers who came to the Maritimes and Alberta were actively involved in the formation of unions and radical political activity. In Montreal, Gustave Francq emerged as the militant leader and fought for the eight-hour day, universal suffrage, the minimum wage, and women's rights in the workplace. In 1916 Francq founded *Le Monde ouvrier*/*The Labour World* to promote reform among the working class. He was also active in the provincial *Parti Ouvrier* (Labour party), although he is better remembered for the working class recreational centres and programmes he inaugurated in Montreal. But not all of the working class immigrants engaged in radical political activity. Flemish miners who started arriving at the asbestos mines at Thetford, Quebec in 1904 did not share the political activist views of the Hainaut coalminers probably because they had not been involved in working class movements in Belgium.

A sector of this working class community which often escaped public notice was that of women domestics. In 1913 Belgians in Montreal organized the agency *Hone et Rivest* for the recruitment of young women to work in French Canadian middle class homes. They were recruited by a relative of the organizers in Liège and they signed contracts drawn up in Paris to avoid Belgian emigration restrictions with respect to prepaid passages and salary advances. Police in Quebec had been alerted that in 1908-9 Belgian women had been brought to southern Alberta and recruited into prostitution. To avoid charges of engaging in "white slavery" the agency required written testimonials from previous employees, a medical certificate, and a certificate of good character and morals from a priest. The young women brought to Montreal were required to work a minimum period in the homes designated in their contracts and were paid according to a scale based on whether they were initially engaged as housemaid, chamber maid, nursemaid, or cook.

Other Belgians who took up residence in urban centres are more difficult to identify. In St. Boniface new arrivals took up trades as plumbers, electricians, building contractors, as well as confectioners and insurance and travel agents. Contacts with compatriots and ethnic solidarity were achieved through the Belgian Club, organized in 1905, and through the Belgian Sacred Heart parish. In Montreal Belgians organized their own ethnic Chamber of Commerce and their dramatic and recreational groups revolved around the *Union Belge*, founded in 1903. Their impact on the educational life of the province was considerable. Belgians founded the provincial school of surveying in 1907, the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales* and the *Ecole des Arts Decoratifs*

Industriels in Montreal, while in Quebec City Charles de Koninck directed Laval University's faculty of philosophy.

Elsewhere Belgians engaged principally in agriculture. In Quebec, Johann Beetz introduced silver fox ranching on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, an innovative industry which the provincial government quickly promoted. A few Belgians joined Dr. Tanche's socialist commune at Sylvan Lake west of Red Deer in 1906, but most took up unromantic dry farming on the western plains, moving out from the dairying and market gardening belt around Winnipeg and then fanning out from focal points such as Deloraine (Man.) or Forget (Sask.). Small clusters of Belgians emerged around Ste. Rose du Lac and St. Amelie in north central Manitoba, around Radville and Weyburn in southeastern Saskatchewan, and eventually they reached the brown prairie soils of the westward slopes of the Missouri Coteau and settled around Willow Bunch and Wood Mountain. At this stage an older male member of the family often came first, entered into contact with established compatriots, earned some cash and then sent for the family. Relatives and neighbours followed in the familiar pattern of chain migration.

Settlement in British Columbia's interior deviated somewhat from this pattern. In 1897 the Belgo-Canadian Fruit Lands Company was incorporated by Antwerp investors to promote fruit growing under irrigation in the Okanagan valley. At the same time, *the Compagnie Immobilière et Agricole du Canada* (Land and Agriculture Company of Canada), also backed by Antwerp banks and financial houses, bought up large tracts of Prairie farm land and real estate in Winnipeg and Edmonton. These investments led to a number of Belgian agriculturists settling around Vernon and in the lower Fraser valley to take up market gardening. Several entrepreneurs of the noble and privileged class came to supervise the development of the Okanagan orchards, the irrigation projects, power plants, packing houses and shipping facilities, but they did not remain long when their social aspirations failed to materialize.

Meanwhile, a more prosaic agricultural project was maturing in southwestern Ontario. In 1908 the sugar beet industry was launched with the opening of refineries in Wallaceburg, Dresden, Chatham and Warton. Belgian beet workers arrived from Michigan, most of them Flemings who had worked previously as migrant labourers in the fields of northern France. Beginning in 1912, the Dominion Sugar Company sent an experienced worker in Flanders each season to recruit single men but the outbreak of World War I forced the Ontario plants to look to Wisconsin and Michigan for skilled field workers. It was an enduring project, nevertheless, which encouraged a permanent and growing Belgian presence in the region.

IV — The Second Immigration Wave: The Inter-War Years

The established Belgian communities in Canada received another 14,000 immigrants during the 1920s. World War I served to enhance the status of

Belgians as desirable immigrants. They were perceived as a brave people who had stoutly resisted aggression. Exploitation of the alleged "atrocities" committed by the occupation forces promoted in the English-language press throughout the world, the emotional appeals of the Belgian Relief Fund in the major Canadian cities, the reports of battles in Flanders fields, and finally the arrival of war brides in 1919-20 reaffirmed the positive stereotype of "preferred immigrants". Most of the new arrivals were destined for the agricultural sectors of Ontario and the prairies. Ontario's Belgian-origin population doubled numerically and proportionately in the 1920s, while Quebec's proportion of the national total declined slightly to 15.7 per cent. In the West, Saskatchewan gained most; its share increased to 29.5 per cent for the region. Family units and women were also more prominent in this second wave.

The post-war period seemed filled with promise for immigrants in Canada, especially those who had suffered during the war and foreign occupation. Belgium was faced not only with large-scale unemployment, inflation, lockouts and strikes in industry, but also a volatile political situation embittered by ethnic strife and right-wing activities. The Dominion Sugar Company resumed recruiting field and factory workers in the Flemish provinces immediately after the cessation of hostilities and continued to do so for a decade as the "push factors" in Belgium seemed to favour such a recruitment. Many of the southwestern Ontario beet growers were Belgians who had migrated from the United States before World War I and bought their own farms and they also sought to attract Belgian immigrants. In many cases, these farmers now built small dwellings for their field workers so that the latter could be close to their work and could socialize with their bosses, thereby providing a contact with the "old country". The paternalistic relationship that had existed between the field workers and the growers began to sour when the depression struck. In 1932 Louis Varlez and Lucien Brunin conducted a survey of conditions in Belgian settlements for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Brussels. They reported that field work was too seasonal to provide an adequate annual income, and since no provisions had been made for off-season employment, some workers slipped into the United States in search of factory work. But there were other alternatives which many chose. One could become a share cropper or find work in the local glass works. Single men or those unaccompanied by families moved from work in the beet fields to the tobacco harvest and then to the lumber camps in winter.

The sugar beet industry in Alberta also expanded in 1925 when the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, a Mormon firm, began recruiting Belgian field workers for its Lethbridge operations, although the Belgian consul in Edmonton alerted authorities in Belgium to the seasonal nature of employment and to the agricultural limitations of the dry belt. In 1931 the British Columbia Sugar Factories assumed ownership of the firm and set out to block efforts by field workers to unionize. To obtain redress of grievances and better working conditions, Belgians joined the Beet Workers Industrial Union, which affiliated with the Farmers Unity League, a Communist-sponsored organization. In 1936 the company tried to out-manoeuvre

the union's demands for better wages by bringing in scabs. As in the earlier case of the collieries' disputes, efforts were made to recruit strike breakers in Belgium and in 1941 the disgruntled field workers were replaced by displaced Japanese from British Columbia.

Strange as it may seem, there was a connection between the recruitment of beet workers and the importation of Belgian horses. The firm that had been contacted by the Knight Sugar Company when it needed field workers before World War I also specialized in horse breeding. Belgian farmers in the Prairie provinces began importing two breeds of draught horses — big chestnut brown Belgian horses from the Low Countries and grey speckled Percherons from northern France. A familiar sight on the Prairies up to World War II was the "stud horse man" travelling through the countryside leading one of these huge stallions, descendant of the medieval battle horses.

Although it was initially the sugar beet industry that attracted the majority of immigrants, tobacco culture would soon prove more attractive. In 1926 Belgians began to take up the growing of flue-cured tobacco on the hitherto unproductive sandy soil belt around Tillsonburg and Delhi. There was a migration northward from the Chatham, Leamington and Wallaceburg region but also a more important direct migration from Flanders. The Flemish tobacco growers were very successful, particularly because of the efficiency of their traditional patriarchal family working unit, at least in the first generation. They had large families which obviated the necessity of hiring full-time help and they pooled their finances which enabled the rapid accumulation of capital. In this way nearly all of them survived the Great Depression. They were active in organizing growers associations and in 1934 Belgians played a prominent role in setting up a marketing association. In 1934 five farmers in Joliette started growing tobacco and two years later Flemings from Norfolk county arrived and established tobacco culture in Quebec on a permanent basis. Soon over 100 farms in the area were devoted to this cash crop.

Elsewhere, new pockets of Belgian immigrants took root. Dairying flourished along the southern approaches to Winnipeg, in the Richelieu valley and in the lower Fraser valley, as did market gardening. In southeastern Saskatchewan, for example, the community of Manor grew sufficiently large to warrant the transfer there of the office of the vice-consul Gaston de Jardin from Forget. But drought and depression in the 1930s discouraged the immigrants who had settled in the dustbowl of the Palliser triangle. Some Belgian farmers joined in the trek to more northerly farms in the parklands or moved to less distressed British Columbia or southwestern Ontario. It is notable that in this out-migration Belgians tried to relocate near other Belgians. Not all farms were abandoned. Not only did the largely Belgian settlement of Bellegarde, with its heavier dark soils along the Gainsborough creek whose site the *abbé* Gaire had carefully selected, retain its farmers but relatives and friends who had moved to Forget and points west now returned. The Belgian farmers on the drought-stricken

Prairies who persevered owed much to the women who contributed to their survival in a direct way. It was the women who tended the gardens, looked after the turkeys and chickens, milked the cows and fed the hogs which placed food on the table. They also made patchwork quilts, sewed garments from flour sacks, knitted, mended the hand-me-downs and even found time for the lace-making, crocheting and embroidery skills imported from the "old country".

Guy Vanderhaeghe remembered his father's despondency as he faced unemployment in a new land:

He had come out of the urban sprawl of industrial Belgium some twenty-odd years before, and it was only then, I think, that he was beginning to come to terms with a land that must have seemed forbidding after his own tiny country so well tamed and marked by man. And then this land played him the trick of becoming something more than forbidding; it became fierce, and fierce in every way.

In these difficult times Louis Empain founded the *Institut Agricole Belge* in Oka. Although he also laid plans for an extensive agricultural development north of Montreal including the growing of flowers, fruits and chicory under glass, his project attracted virtually no Belgians. In fact, the second wave of immigration faltered in the depression and was terminated by the outbreak of war in 1939.

V — Third Immigrant Wave: 1945-1975

Although the post-World War II immigrant wave was the most important in terms of numbers, it did not result in the emergence of any new Belgian communities in Canada, since the new arrivals gravitated especially to urban centres, and in some cases to areas with existing concentrations of people of Belgian origin. The occupational backgrounds and interests of these newcomers were diverse, but it is well established that the rise in economic importance of the Flemish provinces and the corresponding decline of the industries of Wallonia altered radically both the prospects for the youth of the two ethno-linguistic communities and the impetus to emigrate. The immediate post-war reconstruction crises, the continuous political instability of successive coalition governments, the ethnic confrontations, labour unrest, and the loss of the Congo in 1960 with its attendant financial repercussions caused Belgians to consider again the option of emigration. Before World War II, the emigrants had been Flemings from the agricultural sector (36 per cent) and the industrial working class (26 per cent) of the provinces of West Flanders, East Flanders, Brabant and Liège. From 1945 to 1967, after which immigration records do not provide precise ethnic information, 55 per cent of Belgian immigrants were francophones from the manufacturing centres of Brussels and Liège, and from the Borinage region (Hainaut). In the period 1945-60 over 21,000 came to Canada and in the next 15 years another 17,500

joined them. Among them were war brides, refugees, flood victims, repatriates from the Congo, professionals and artists.

In terms of “pull factors” the traditional agricultural pursuits — horticulture, tobacco culture, dairying, fruit growing, mixed farming — engaged most of the newcomers in the late 1940s. At Sabrevoix, south of Montreal, for example, dairymen and market gardeners built the *Club Belgo-Canadien* to serve their flourishing ethnic group and the entire community. The Ontario tobacco industry still attracted agricultural workers in the 1950s. A handsome social, cultural and recreational centre, the Belgian Club of Delhi, served as a witness to the success of the industry. Belgian growers played a leading role in the establishment of the Tobacco Growers’ Marketing Board in 1957 and in the organization of annual tobacco auctions. Under the sponsorship system of immigration more Belgians were brought out as field workers, but an increasing number of second and third generation Belgian youth moved into urban centres to pursue careers in business, industry and the professions, creating a perennial shortage of tobacco harvesters. In 1966, as a solution to the annual need for tobacco harvesters, the Flemish nationalist organization headed by Arthur Verthé, *Vlamingen in de Wereld* (Flemings in the World), sent out Flemish university students to bring in the harvest and also to conduct Flemish language classes and cultural activities in order to stimulate a new ethnic consciousness in the community.

The sugar beet industry in Manitoba also continued to attract immigrants. Many Flemish dairy farmers around Winnipeg turned to beet growing on a crop-sharing basis which also created jobs for newcomers. In the south central communities of the province Belgian farmers began copying their Mennonite neighbours and turned to growing oilseeds. In Alberta the provincial Sugar Beet Growers Association turned to the federal government to help “secure agricultural families from the Flemish parts” of Belgium. Satisfactory immigrants were found but they insisted on written guarantees of “year-round employment for the family head for a period of one year” in order to avoid a problem faced by earlier immigrants.

In the 1960s the character of Belgian immigration changed. Industry, commerce and the professions overtook agriculture as the chief occupational sectors. This change coincided with a shift in emphasis in Canadian immigration policy in 1962 away from preferred groups to individuals who by reason of “education, training, skills or other qualifications” were likely to establish themselves successfully. In Quebec, which at this time attracted about two-thirds of the Belgians, many teachers and professors, some with experience in the Congo, joined the staffs of the expanding colleges and universities, especially in disciplines outside traditional provincial programmes. Professionals and skilled workers, particularly in the domains of biotechnology, aeronautics and computer science, greatly enhanced the francophone scientific community. Nevertheless, in comparative terms Quebec’s share of Belgian-origin population declined from a high of 19.7 per cent in 1961 to 15.6 per cent in 1981, as Ontario began to draw the lion’s share

TABLE III: DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLE OF BELGIAN ORIGIN IN CANADA

(Total number and percentage)

Census	Atlantic* Provinces	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	West/North
1901	149(5.1)	969(32.9)	216 (7.3)	940(31.9)	720(24.5)
1911	659(6.9)	2 105(21.9)	633 (6.6)	2 453(25.6)	3 745(38.9)
1921	1 064(5.3)	3 284(16.2)	3 175(15.7)	5 320(26.3)	7 391(36.5)
1931	845(3.1)	4 324(15.7)	7 310(26.5)	6 323(22.9)	8 781(31.8)
1941	1 140(3.8)	4 182(14.1)	8 575(28.9)	6 715(22.6)	9 099(30.6)
1951	1 138(3.2)	4 697(13.4)	11 582(32.9)	7 733(22.0)	9 988(28.4)
1961	1 784(2.9)	12 092(19.7)	22 142(36.1)	9 698(15.8)	15 666(25.5)
1971	1 125(2.2)	8 220(16.1)	19 955(29.0)	9 055(17.7)	12 785(25.0)
1981	830(1.9)	6 465(15.6)	17 910(42.4)	6 455(15.3)	10 595(25.1)

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1901-1981.

* Newfoundland statistics are not included until 1951.

of newcomers in the 1970s, as well as benefitting from inter-provincial migration. Some Belgians moved to Ontario's tobacco belt, but the greater number went to the commercial and industrial Golden Horseshoe region. Elsewhere in Canada, communities followed the general trends to urbanization and occupational mobility. By the 1980s the flow of immigrants had slowed to a trickle, bringing to a close the period of greatest immigration.

VI — TOWARD A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

By any measure, the Belgians constitute a small community in Canadian multicultural society. In the 1961 census, 61,382 persons were identified as being of Belgian origin but in 1981 only 42,275 were so identified, of whom 17,020 (40.3 per cent) were born in Belgium. The apparent decline may be explained by the confusion between origin and identity on the part of both enumerators and respondents, the increase in mixed marriages, and the responses indicating multiple ethnic origins. If respondents who gave Belgian as one of their multiple origins are included the total in 1981 reaches 58,845. This Belgian-origin population is spread unevenly across Canada, with a large concentration in Ontario (43 per cent) and Quebec and Manitoba sharing almost equally about one-third of the total. This population is much more rural than urban, except in Quebec where it is concentrated in the Montreal area and is only 17 per cent rural and in British Columbia where slightly more than one-half live in urban areas. In Manitoba one-third are found in the greater Winnipeg region, while Belgians in Ontario are concentrated in the southwestern counties — up to 1921 in Essex and Kent, but more recently also in Norfolk county.

These concentrations of population have to be further identified as Flemish, Walloon, or both. Although divided by language, tradition, and often occupation, Flemings and Walloons possess a sense of Belgian identity and consciousness. They are united by religion and a monarchical tradition which has been both a symbolic and real bond. In Canada, Flemings outnumber Walloons approximately four to one and are found across the country, with a particularly important bloc in southwestern Ontario. Walloons, on the other hand, have gravitated to Quebec and to small francophone communities scattered across Western Canada.

Unlike most ethnic groups in Canada, the Belgians experienced relatively rapid integration. In southwestern Ontario, because there have been few Walloons, Flemings integrated into the anglophone host society. In Western Canada, on the other hand, while most Flemings identified with the anglophone majority, on occasion they joined the Walloons in identifying with the francophone minorities. The Walloon interpenetration with French Canadians enabled them to establish a sort of co-existence with the anglophone community. In Quebec, the experience seems to have been different again, as both Flemings and Walloons merged into the francophone community.

In all regions their integration proceeded largely on an individual basis rather than as a group phenomenon. Belgians did not create their own ethnic subsystem,

either on a regional or national scale. They clung for the most part to their Catholic religion, but although 95 per cent of the Belgian community are adherents of the Roman Catholic church, there is only one Flemish ethnic parish in all Canada, and not a single Walloon ethnic parish. They founded few bloc settlements and no ghettos. Belgium Town in St. Boniface, for example, represented a residential concentration but it never became a self-sufficient ethnic community. The Belgians served by ethnic clubs in Montreal, St. Boniface, Delhi and Sabrevoix were always part of a heterogeneous community. The Belgian component of rural colonization projects, such as Namur and Bellegarde, was important but it never excluded other groups. In other words, Belgians in general were never an isolated or segregated community.

One consequence of this settlement pattern is that, unlike the Ukrainians or the Chinese, the Flemings have had a low language retention rate. Outside Quebec they adopted English because of its implications for economic advancement and social acceptance, just as in Quebec in recent decades they have readily integrated into the francophone sector. There are few statistics on female literacy rates but there is evidence to suggest that Flemish mothers passed on the ancestral tongue to the children, even if the children were not taught to read and write in it. One survey in Ontario's tobacco belt indicated that while children seldom used Flemish with their parents, and almost never with their peers, they retained a minimal amount to communicate with their grandparents. In southwestern Ontario *Vlamingen in de Wereld* directed its efforts to achieving literacy in standard Dutch and the use of the language in the family setting. Although in the early years of settlement Flemings in Manitoba did demand that francophone clergy be replaced by priests able to speak their tongue, the bitter language debates between Walloons and Flemings that raged in Belgium were seldom taken up in Canada. More recently, Walloons have sometimes felt that Flemings actively opposed their efforts to have French language rights recognized outside Quebec, but this too has been perceived as a consequence of Flemish integration into the anglophone host society rather than a perpetuation of the linguistic battles of the old country. In communities such as St. Boniface the francophones have supported a Flemish political candidate just as Flemings have voted for a French-Canadian representative.

The Walloon experience has been somewhat different. They often settled in francophone communities and outside Quebec found themselves identified with the francophone minority in controversies over confessional schools and language rights. Although the Flemings had their own North American newspapers — especially the *Gazette van Moline* which was published from 1907 to 1940 when it was incorporated into the *Gazette van Detroit* which continues to the present — the Walloons came to rely on the local francophone press. In the 1920s some Walloons on the Prairies were the object of anti-French and anti-Catholic agitations. Because of the disparate nature of their settlement pattern they had no effective political base and they looked to French-Canadian Catholic organizations to articulate some of their aspirations. However, they never lost a certain sense of

Belgian independence of spirit which at times manifested itself in disregard of clerical direction and in expressions of cultural superiority. An attitudinal study conducted in 1967 concluded that francophones did not rate Belgians as highly as did anglophones, perhaps because the post-war Belgian immigrants were perceived as generally better educated, more progressive and more highly motivated than large sectors of Québécois society and therefore represented some threat.

The acceptance of Belgians by both mainstream communities in Canada derives from their initial perception as “preferred immigrants”, their “heroic image” as valiant resistors of foreign oppression, their rapid integration, their success as settlers, and their contribution in fields ranging from music and pedagogy to agriculture and engineering. It may be that a favourable reception on the part of the charter groups influenced Belgians to refrain from building a network of ethnic institutions to maintain their identity. Immigrants who often arrived as part of a chain migration, and therefore settled in proximity of established compatriots, looked to personal contacts and sometimes the parish church for some sense of community. Belgian miners, dairymen and grain growers joined non-ethnic associations. Montreal and St. Boniface had Belgian clubs since the first wave of immigration, and Delhi and Sabrevoix since the third wave, but all served the social, cultural and recreational needs of local members without pursuing wide-ranging educational or professional objectives. They sponsored mutual benefit societies, drama clubs and women’s auxiliaries, especially in the period of early immigration. They later took on the role of umbrella associations for the promotion of traditional recreational activities such as pole archery, pigeon racing, bicycle racing and Belgian bowling. These activities, promoted mostly by Flemings, spread beyond the ethnic community to the point that the finals of some of these competitive events, traditionally held at Detroit, the “capital” of Belgian North America, involved numerous members of other ethnic groups.

Relations with other ethnic groups are an important aspect of Belgian integration into Canadian life. The Belgians are one of the few immigrant groups who have actively promoted the development of francophone educational institutions in Canada. The Quebec episcopacy looked to Belgium for models for the creation of Laval University in 1852 and for religious orders to promote new initiatives. The only ethnic educational institution the Belgians founded was Scheppers College in Swan Lake (Man.) in 1919 by the Brothers of Our Lady of Mercy of Malines offering a traditional academic programme alongside agricultural and mechanical training in Flemish. The experiment fell victim to the Depression in 1930.

The Belgians are also one of the few immigrant groups who have actively participated in Catholic missionary work among other immigrant ethnic communities and especially among the aboriginal peoples. Belgian Redemptorists moved out from Ste. Anne-de-Beaupré to minister to the Ukrainians of Western Canada in 1898, while the *abbé* Jules Pirot spent many years working among the

Hungarians. Capuchin monks who arrived in Blenheim (Ont.) from Flanders in 1927 extended their activities to other ethnic groups in southern Ontario, and into Manitoba after taking charge of the Belgian Sacred Heart parish in St. Boniface. In the Indian missions Fathers Pierre de Smet and Auguste-Joseph Brabant were pioneers in the Kootenays and on Vancouver Island respectively. Bishops Charles-Jean Seghers and Jean-Baptiste Brondel laid the organizational foundations of Catholicism along the Pacific coast. The first Belgian member of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate arrived in the North-West Territories in 1874 and was followed over the years by more than 40 compatriots who ministered to Indians, Métis and Inuit. The Belgian clergy thus devoted themselves to ministering to many different ethnic groups, including native peoples, while the laity participated with other ethnic groups in the social, political and economic activities of their local communities. Although endogamy characterized the first generation of Flemings and Walloons, as one would expect when they were relatively isolated in rural communities, family biographies in local histories and church registers indicate that in the next generation marriages extended beyond ethnic boundaries into the wider Catholic community. In the third generation it extended beyond the religious boundary. Even given or Christian names were no longer limited to the traditional familial or religious repertoire. Belgians lived in concentric worlds which expanded with each succeeding generation.

Does this mean that Belgian identity will disappear? The answer is mixed. Belgians continue to recognize their compatriots at the level of popular culture and it is in the folkways, ranging from technical tasks to popular amusements and superstitions, that one finds emotional, even intellectual attachment to the ethnic group. Belgians still congregate at the parade through the streets of Montreal on Independence Day each July 21st, at the concerts of village brass bands, at the Windsor May Day procession led by the banner of Our Lady of Flanders, at the pole archery provincial tournament in Ste. Amelie (Man.), at the Belgian Fair in Langton (Ont.), at the pigeon races in St. Boniface, or the tobacco harvest festivities at the Belgian Club in Delhi. These are the few occasions, however, on which they display ethnic solidarity. So far as the Canadian public is concerned they are not a highly visible group.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Only two histories are devoted specifically to Belgians in Canada: Joan Magee, *The Belgians in Ontario: A History* (Toronto, 1987) and Keith Wilson and James B. Wyndels, *The Belgians in Manitoba* (Winnipeg, 1976). There is a section on Belgians in *Les communautés culturelles du Québec, Vol. 2: Originaires de L'Europe du Nord* (Montreal, 1987). Numerous local and municipal jubilee histories contain biographies of Belgian pioneer families and there are pioneering accounts such as Jeannette and Henry Beetz, *Johann Beetz* (Montreal, 1977), Yvette Brandt, *Hutelet Heritage, 1688-1972* (Swan Lake, 1977), Marcel Durieux, *Un héros malgré lui* (Saint-Boniface, 1986), Bernard Gheur, *Retour à Calgary* (Paris, 1985), Gaston Giscard, *On the Canadian Prairie* (Regina, 1982), and Roger Motut and Maurice Legros, *Ordinary Heroes* (Edmonton, 1980).

Belgian settlement receives some attention in Alan B. Anderson, *French Settlements in Saskatchewan* (Saskatoon, 1985), Donatien Fremont, *Les Français dans l'Ouest canadien* (Winnipeg, 1959), Robert Painchaud, *Un rêve français dans le peuplement de la prairie* (Saint-Boniface, 1987), René Breugelmans, "Dutch and Flemings in Canada", *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Etudes ethniques au Canada*, 11, 2 (1980), and Pierre Trépanier, "La colonie franco-belge de Namur (1871-1881)", *Asticou*, 18 (1977).

Belgian religious activity may be traced in Jean-Pierre Asselin, *Les Rédemptoristes au Canada* (Montreal, 1981), *Capuchins in Central Canada* (Toronto, n.d.), Joseph Griffin, *The Contribution of the Belgians to the Catholic Church in America* (Washington, 1932), Charles Lillard, *Mission to Nootka, 1874-1900* (Sidney, 1977), Emilien Tremblay, *Le Père Delaere et l'Eglise ukrainienne du Canada* (Berthierville, 1961), Joseph van der Heyden, *Life and Letters of Father Brabant, a Flemish missionary hero* (Louvain, 1920). Their political background and activity are covered in Olivar Asselin, *Emigration from Belgium and France to Canada* (Ottawa, 1913), Maurice Baudoux, "Radio-Ouest Français", *Vie française*, VII (1953), Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words* (Vancouver, 1987), J. Demyttenaere, "Scheme for young Belgian agriculturalists in Canada", *Migration News*, 9, 3 (1960), Louis Hacault, "Les Commandements de Dieu et les écoles publiques", *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface*, VI (1907), Arthur Lemont, *La Mission belge au Canada* (Montréal, 1914), Robert Parise, *Le fondateur du syndicalisme catholique au Québec* (Québec, 1978), Jean Puissant, "Quelques témoignages sur l'émigration hennuyère, 1884-1889", *Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Bulletin des Séances*, 3 (1973), René Rottiers, *Soixante-cinq années de lutttes* (Regina, 1977), R.P. Rutten, *L'Expérience belge ou Leçons pratiques d'action sociale catholique d'après les causeries de Montréal* (Montréal, 1914), and Arthur Verthé, *Vlaanderen in de Wereld: I: Vlamingen in Ontario, Canada* (Brussels, 1972).

Belgian investment and business interests are the subject of Ginette Kurgan-van Hentenryk and J. Laureyssens, *Un Siècle d'investissements belges au*

Canada (Bruxelles, 1986), Land and Agriculture Company of Canada, *Fruit Farming in the Okanagan Valley* (Winnipeg, 1911), R. Destrée, "Louis Empain et l'industrie", *Art, vie, esprit*, 41-42 (1976), W.E. Greening, "The Belgian role in Canadian economic development", *The Canadian Banker*, 66, 2 (1959), Dominique Laloux, *Essai sur l'expansion belge dans le monde* (Liège, 1959), André Vermeirre, "Un aspect de l'émigration au début du XX^e siècle au Québec: H. Biermans", *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies*, IV (1983).

For those wishing information on the Belgian background the following accessible works are recommended: Shepard B. Clough, *A History of the Flemish Movement in Belgium* (New York, 1968), Joseph Delmelle, *L'Expansion wallonne hors L'Europe* (Gilly, 1967), Ronald Irving, *The Flemings and Walloons of Belgium* (London, 1980), Ginette Kurgan and E. Spelkens, *Two Studies on Emigration through Antwerp to the New World* (Bruxelles, 1976), Jean Stengers, *Emigration et immigration en Belgique au XIX^e et au XX^e siècles* (Bruxelles, 1978), Jean Everaert, "L'Emigration en masse" and Eddy Stols, "L'Emigration des cerveaux" in *La Belgique, Sociétés et Cultures depuis 150 Ans* (Bruxelles, 1980), and Kenneth D. McRae, *Conflict and Compromise in Multilingual Societies: Belgium* (Waterloo, 1986).

Information in this booklet is based on research carried on in collaboration with Professor André Vermeirre of the Université de Montréal for a forthcoming study of Belgians in Canada in the *Generations* series.



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