EAST INDIANS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1904-1914 : AN HISTORICAL STUDY IN GROWTH AND INTEGRATION

by

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ABSTRACT

The full history of the early East Indian community in British Columbia has yet to be written. Here, an attempt has been made to assemble the information relating to some aspects of the community's origins and development between 1904 and 1914, the first decade of their presence in Canada. This thesis also attempts to examine the structural position of the East Indian community and its lack of integration into and acceptance by the host society.

Four major factors influencing the nature of development of the East Indian community were examined in detail: the socio-economic background of the East Indian immigrants, the nature of institutional developments in the nascent community in British Columbia, the attitudes and perceptions of the host society, and the political responses of the Dominion and Imperial governments to Indian immigration. Intensive, as opposed to extensive examination of these factors dictated the adoption of a thematic rather than a chronological approach. The methodology employed was inter-disciplinary in nature, utilising theoretical material drawn from the disciplines of sociology and anthropology.

It was found that the East Indian community was an alienated ethnic group which lived on the social fringes of the host society. Integration and acceptance of the East Indians did not take place as a result of vast differences in the cultures and institutions of their country of origin

and the host society, but more importantly, because the immigrants themselves did not want to integrate. The East Indians were sojourners who hoped to return to India in their old age to enjoy the wealth they had acquired abroad.

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Introduction

The East Indian community in Canada forms a small but interesting part of the larger mosaic of Indian settlement throughout the world: Guyana, Trinidad, Surinam, South Africa, Mauritius, Fiji and countries in Southeast Asia.[1] Indian emigration to and settlement in various parts of the world perhaps dated back to pre-historic times, the process taking place in several waves.[2] Merchants were followed by Brahminic and Buddhist scholars, teachers and professionals who served as major instruments for the propagation of Indian culture. Consequently, most of the Southeast Asian kingdoms founded during the first fourteen centuries of the Christian era were established by the Indianised aristocracy or emigrant elite from India.[3] Large scale emigration of Indians, however, took place in the latter part of the last century, and in the first few decades of the present century at a time when European colonial expansion and its attendant industrial and commercial ventures created the need for large and cheap source of labour. But the Colonial governments and planters often deemed it uneconomical, impolitic and sometimes frankly impossible to draw upon the native populations. Consequently, with the progressive prohibition of the institution of slavery, India and China became the major sources of labour supply.

Emigration from India took place in three major ways. The largest of the three can be characterised as indentured

migration. Indian migration to Mauritius in 1853, Guyana in 1838, Trinidad in 1845, South Africa in 1860, Surinam in 1873, and Fiji in 1879 fall in this category. The second, more limited type of migration assumed the form of Kangani system.[4] Its operation was confined mostly to Malaya and Ceylon. The third type may be called non-indentured or passenger migration, and Indians who migrated to parts of South and East Africa in 1896 and to North America around the 1900's fall into this category. They went largely as merchants and traders to the former countries and as pioneer labouring class in the case of the latter.

The numbers of East Indians emigrating to Canada, and North America generally, were modest in contrast not only to their numbers in other parts of the British Empire but small also in comparison with those of other Orientals in Canada, namely the Japanese and Chinese. But neither this fact nor the fact of their legal status as British subjects in the Commonwealth provided the Hindus[5] (as the East Indians were and are still known in Canada) with immunity from constant abuse and vilification by the host society that was determined to remain white. The fear of Hindu invasion touched deep, sensitive chords in the social fabric of British Columbia, the Canadian province that had borne the brunt of Oriental immigration since the middle of the nineteenth century. After 1900, attempts were made to curtail the political rights of East Indians already resident here, while at the same time the

ever vigilant British Columbia legislature pressed the Dominion government to prohibit altogether all East Indian immigration. Unwanted, uneducated and without any particular skills, the East Indians remained on the periphery of Canadian society.

It is a cruel twist of fate that defeat, humiliation and other such demonstrations of human insignificance should consign a group to oblivion, but the fact is that this happens all too often.The East Indian community, unlike other immigrant, or even Oriental groups, has occupied only a marginal position in scholarly literature on minorities in Canada. Professor Gary Hess' description of them in the context of American society as "Forgotten Asians"[6] is apposite for the Canadian situation as well. Canadian accounts about the Oriental diaspora in British Columbia have generally confined themselves to remarks on the Chinese and the Japanese.[7]

The "Komagata Maru Affair," as it has come to be known, is the only relatively well known chapter in the history of the East Indians in Canada, but even that is examined mostly from the perspective of either the host society or the Indian nationalist and the Ghadr movements.[8] Adrian Mayer's report on the East Indian community of Vancouver confines itself to a "preliminary delineation of the community."[9] Rajani Kant Das' book published in 1923, though still the most important single work on the East Indians, focuses its attention on the Hindustani settlement on the Pacific Coast in a rather general

way, and in view of the fact that much new evidence has become available recently, his account is outdated.[10]

On the other hand, Indian scholars have also discussed the East Indian experience on the Pacific Northwest in a general way, focussing especially on the Indian nationalist movement. Almost invariably, the story of the East Indians of Canada forms a secondary part of their accounts for it was the East Indian population of the United States that was politically the more involved with the Indian revolutionary movements.[11]

This paper focuses on the East Indians of British Columbia, the Canadian province in which most of them resided, and attempts to present a systematic description of various aspects of the East Indian community during a decade of its presence in Canada. The adoption of this approach was dictated by the kind and extent of data available and because of the dearth of descriptive accounts on the subject. Beyond mere systematic description, however, this paper is also an exercise in analytical understanding of the process of immigrant adjustment. One of the central concerns of this study is the examination of the structural position of the East Indian community and its lack of integration into and acceptance by the host society.[12] To this end, the inclusion of some of the theoretical material, drawn from the disciplines of sociology and anthropology was deemed desirable.[13]

It helps to give this study the kind of thematic unity that might, given the nature of this investigation, otherwise be difficult to attain. Furthermore, it is useful to be aware of the various theories involved, for such an awareness enables one to read historical documents with an eye for historical patterns, thus sharpening one's historical understanding. Moreover, it is the conviction of the writer that, for those interested in immigration history and related fields, the social sciences offer approaches which will yield the most profitable results. Sociological and theoretical emphasis notwithstanding, however, it is to be insisted that this paper remains essentially an exercise in social history, and does not pretend to be anything else.

The acceptance and integration of immigrants into the host society is largely a function of the following factors: (i) the degree of attachment the immigrants feel to their society of origin (the inverse of this should be correlated with measures of acceptance into the host society); (ii) the openness of the host society; (iii) and the similarity of cultures of the country of emigration and the country of immigration.[14] Within these broad categories, however, a number of specific variables must be considered. Thus the degree of attachment of the immigrant to the country of his origin must include a discussion of the immigrant's motives for migration, his socio-cultural and economic background,

and the social structure of the migration process itself. The nature of 'initial crisis' as S.N.Einsenstadt puts it, is one of the most crucial variables in explaining the extent of the 'absorption' process.[15] Also important in this regard is the nature of institutional development of the immigrant community in the new country, new roles performed and values accepted and the various degrees to which the community participates in and identifies with the new setting.

The openness of the host society must include a discussion of two distinct variables. One is the social attitudes of the members of the host society and their image of the immigrants in their midst. The esteem in which the host society holds the immigrants, the kinds of role-performance it expects of them, and the type of values it ascribes to them will have an important bearing on the process of immigrant adjustment. The other variable is that associated with the formal policy of the government of the host society towards the immigrant group. To some extent, the policy of the government will reflect the attitude of the host society as a whole towards the immigrants. The laws governing the conditions of entry, controls to which the immigrant group is subjected, privileges of free movement within the country occupationally and other such possibly restrictive stipulations will influence the process of immigrant adjustment to some degree. Discussion of these specific variables will also

illuminate the similarities and differences between the cultures of the society of origin and the society of destination. The extent of the similarities and differences will throw further light on the process of immigrant integration.

All these factors are examined largely within the period of the first ten years of East Indian presence in Canada. The terminal dates 1904 and 1914 were chosen because the former marked the beginning of East Indian immigration to Canada while the latter ended, for all practical purposes, one of the most dramatic chapters in the history of the East Indians in this country. It is no exaggeration to suggest that these first ten years have been the most crucial ones for the East Indian community, and have in large measure determined the nature of the East Indian-Canadian relations in the subsequent years. In a sense then, the period under consideration is a discrete and isolable one for an indepth historical study. This fact has had two major consequences for the structure of this paper. On the one hand it has led to an intensive rather than an extensive examination of the problem of East Indian integration and acceptance. On the other, it has compelled the adoption of a thematic as opposed to a chronological approach. Each of the factors mentioned above are examined separately and in detail, keeping at minimum comprehensive and integrated analysis in the main body of the essay. Thus Chapter I will draw attention to

the socio-economic background of the East Indian immigrants and their motives for migration to Canada. Chapter II will discuss the institutional development of the community in British Columbia during the first decade of their presence here. Chapter III will examine the attitude and response of the host society towards the East Indian immigrants, and Chapter IV will outline the political response and policy of the Dominion as well as the Imperial governments towards the East Indians. A clearer perception of the structural position of the East Indian community in British Columbia and its lack of integration into the host society will then emerge.

Finally, a brief definition of some concepts used or implied in this paper, is in order. The concept of integration is used in the broadest sense. As used here, it refers to all the transactional processes whereby members of an ethnic group acquire the cultural characteristics of, and gain entrance into the institutional systems of an ethnic group to which they do not belong. The process of integration is essentially a two-way phenomena in which members of each ethnic group seek to acquire the cultural characteristics of the other. But, in practice, in an established and ethnically stratified society such as that of Canada, the cultural and social institutions of the dominant ethnic groups are the norms to which ethnic minorities have to conform if they are to be integrated. Acculturation, or

cultural integration, refers to the process of learning the values, ideas and behavioural patterns of an ethnic group to which one does not belong. In the Canadian context, once again, acculturation means imbibing the values, culture, ideas and the like, of the dominant ethnic groups, presumably the white Anglo-Saxons. Assimilation, or structural integration, refers to the process of penetration by members of a minority ethnic group, of the social institutions of the majority society, in both private as well as public life.[16]

FOOTNOTES - INTRODUCTION

[1] For a useful summary of the position of East Indians in these countries, see Chandra Jayawardena, "Migration and Social Change: A Survey of Indian Communities Overseas," Geographical Review, LVIII (July, 1968), 426-49; Anirudh Gupta, ed., Indians Abroad: Asia and Africa; Report of an International Seminar, Indian Council for Africa (New Delhi: Orient Longman's, 1971.)

[2] See Narendranath Ganguly, Indians in the Empire Overseas; a survey, Charles Freer Andrews Memorial Volume (London: New India Publishing House, 1947); C.Kondapi, Indians Overseas (Madras: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1951); Panchanan Saha, Emigration of Indian Labour, 1834- 1900 (Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1970.)

[3] See G.Coedes, The Indianised States of Southeast Asia (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1968.)

[4] This was a system whereby groups of people mostly from South India left under the supervision of the Kangany or labourer recruiter to work on plantations in Malaya and Ceylon. The kangany was the intermediary between the labourers and the plantation management. The system received its name because of the important role of the kanganis. See Kernial Singh Sandhu, Indians in Malaya, Some Aspects of their Immigration and Settlement (1786-1957) (Cambridge University Press, 1969),90; Ravindra K. Jain, South Indians on the Plantation Frontier in Malaya (New Haven and London:Yale University Press, 1970), 31.

[5] The Hindu is a person who professes the faith of Hinduism. The word does not denote racial or ethnic category as most North Americans thought,and still do.

[6] Gary R.Hess, "The Forgotten Asian Americans: The East Indian Community in the United States," Pacific Historical Review, XLIII (November, 1974,) 576-596.

[7] See Tien-Teng Cheng, Oriental Immigration to Canada (Shangai: The Commercial Press, 1931.); W.Peter Ward, "White Canada Forever: British Columbi's Response to Orientals, 1858-1914," unpublished PhD dissertation, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1972).

[8] See Eric Wilton Morse, "Some Aspects of Komagata Maru Affair," Canadian Historical Association Report(1936), 100-109; R.L.Reid, "The Inside Story of the 'Komagata Maru'," British Columbia Historical Quarterly,V (January, 1941), 1-23.

[9] A.C.Mayer, "Report on the East Indian Community in Vancouver," Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of British Columbia, 1959.

[10] Rajani Kanta Das, Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast, (Berlin: W.de Gruyter & Company, 1923.)

[11] See Chapter II for details.

[12] The word 'community must be used in a precise sense here. It is used here in the sense Lawrence Crissman has defined it as "an area of common life based on common interests which determine activity" and which "has ethnicity as well as locality as its basis." Thus, the ethnic community is seen as having social, rather than strictly territorial boundaries, though in the case of the East Indians in British Columbia, the two coincided. See Lawrence Crissman, "Segmentary Structure of Overseas Chinese," Man, II, 188.

[13] These two disciplines have dominated immigration studies, an understandable fact given the recent development of the field. Historians have not begun to look systematically at this field. See Rudolph J,Vecoli, "European Americans: From Immigration to Ethnics," International Migration Review, VI, (1972), 403-434; Robert D.Cross, "How Historians have looked at Immigrants to United States," ibid. , VII (1972), 4-13. Cross emphasises interdisciplinary approach.

[14] This view, in essence represents a synthesis of many theories relating to immigrant adjustment, more specifically those of S.N.Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants (London :Routledge and Kegan Paul 1954);H.J.Heeren, Transmigratic in Indonesia,(Mapple,Boom,1967,) quoted in Christopher Bayley, "Immigrant Minorities in the Netherlands: Integration and Assimilation," The International Journal of Migration Review, V (Spring, 1971), 18-33; Hubert M.Blalock Jr., Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations (New York): John Wiley, 1967); and Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Middleman Minorities," American Sociological Review, 38 (October, 1973) 583-594.

[15] See Eisenstadt, op.cit., "Introduction."

[16] For a useful analysis of these and other sociological concepts especially in the Canadian context, see David R. Hughes, Evelyn Kallen, The Anatomy of Racism : Canadian Dimensions (Montreal : Harvest House, 1974.).

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES OF EAST INDIAN IMMIGRATION

The importance of the relationship between the background of the immigrant, his motives for migration and the nature of the community that he eventually establishes in the country of his destination has long been recognised.[1] The extent of the similarity of the cultures of the country of emigration and the host country will, for example, exercise a decisive influence over the process of immigrant adjustment. Similarly, the motive behind migration will also determine in large part the extent to which the immigrant will be willing to participate in the institutional systems of the new country. The degree of attachment which the immigrant feels towards the country of his origin will also be determined, to some extent atleast, by his motive for migration. Clearly then, the motivational structure and background of the immigrant are crucial factors in the process of immigrant integration and acceptance.

This chapter draws attention to the socio-economic background of the East Indian immigrants and examines their motive for migration to Canada. Although some information was available on the structural conditions present in the areas from which the East Indian immigrants came, very little material was found that explained precisely the motive for migration. Consequently, motivation had to be inferred from two sources. One was the social, economic, political and demographic condi-

tions present in the area of the immigrants' origin and the other was the way in which the immigrants' community in India perceived migration as a strategy and solution to their problems.[2] Finally, the process of immigration has been analysed within the push-pull framework.Motivation in this model is seen in terms of pressure from the place of origin accompanied by a perception of opportunity and prosperity in the place of destination.[3]

The exact date when the first East Indians reached the shores of North America is not certain,but possibly they may have come as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. In the United States,two East Indians were registered in 1859, five in 1860 and another six in 1861.[4] Those who came at that time, according to one source, were seamen aboard British and European ships.Further, " they liked the country, its opportunities and its peoples, and they decided to adopt it as their homeland, settling in various parts of the country."[5] Towards the close of the century, a larger number of East Indians began coming to North America, as the result of the visit to the United States of India's leading theologian, Swami Vivekananda,who travelled to the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893.However, neither of these movements induced the later migration of East Indians.Those who came later were not seamen but mostly retired British soldiers,not intellectuals but simple people of peasant origins from the rural areas of the Punjab province.

Various sources place the first East Indian arrival in Canada in 1897 and 1899.[6] On this occasion,it is reported, some of the group landed at Victoria and Vancouver and the remainder went to Seattle.Official statistics of East Indian immigration, however, begin in 1904.(See Table I.)[7]

TABLE I

THE NUMBERS OF EAST INDIANS ENTERING CANADA FROM 1904-1914.

Fiscal Years	Adult Males	Adult Females	Children	Total
1904-1905	36	4	15	45
1905-1906	377	8	2	387
1906-1907	2120	2	2	2124
1907-1908	2620	-	3	2623
1908-1909	5	1	-	6
1909-1910	9	1	-	10
1910-1911	4	-	1	5
1911-1912	2	1	-	3
1912-1913	-	2	3	5
1913-1914	78	2	8	88

During the next few years,the numbers of East Indians entering Canada increased rapidly.Before June 1906,the numbers were limited in extent and appeared to demand only the normal attention of the Immigration Department and medical authorities,but the sudden increase to more than two thousand bet-

ween July and November "caused considerable alarm as to the effect which the influx of this class of immigrants would be likely to exercise upon the existing conditions throughout the province in the matter of general health of the community and the industrial interests which would be affected by the coming of these people."[8]

Since these increases took place at a time when anti-Oriental sentiment in British Columbia was especially rife, they caused even greater alarm and apprehension in the minds of the whites of the province and the Dominion government. William Lyon Mackenzie King, then Deputy Minister of Labour, who had been appointed to examine the causes of the anti-Oriental riots of 1907 was further asked to investigate the causes of Oriental, particularly Indian immigration to Canada. King found the distribution of some misleading literature by certain individuals, the activities ofcertain steamship companies and the exploitative ventures of some East Indian immigration agents in British Columbia to be the most important causes of Indian immigration to Canada.[9]

There are a number of things that are unclear, or simply neglected in King's report but which are quite important for the purposes of discussion in this chapter. For instance, the report neglects to mention the fact that the first East Indian immigrants came to Canada from Canton, Shangai and Hong Kong, and not from the Punjab. The question why East Indians came when they did and not earlier or later receives no attention in the

in the report either.Furthermore,it mentions only the pull factors which stimulated immigration, neglecting the other side of the equation,the push factors.An examination of both these factors is central to the theme of this chapter.

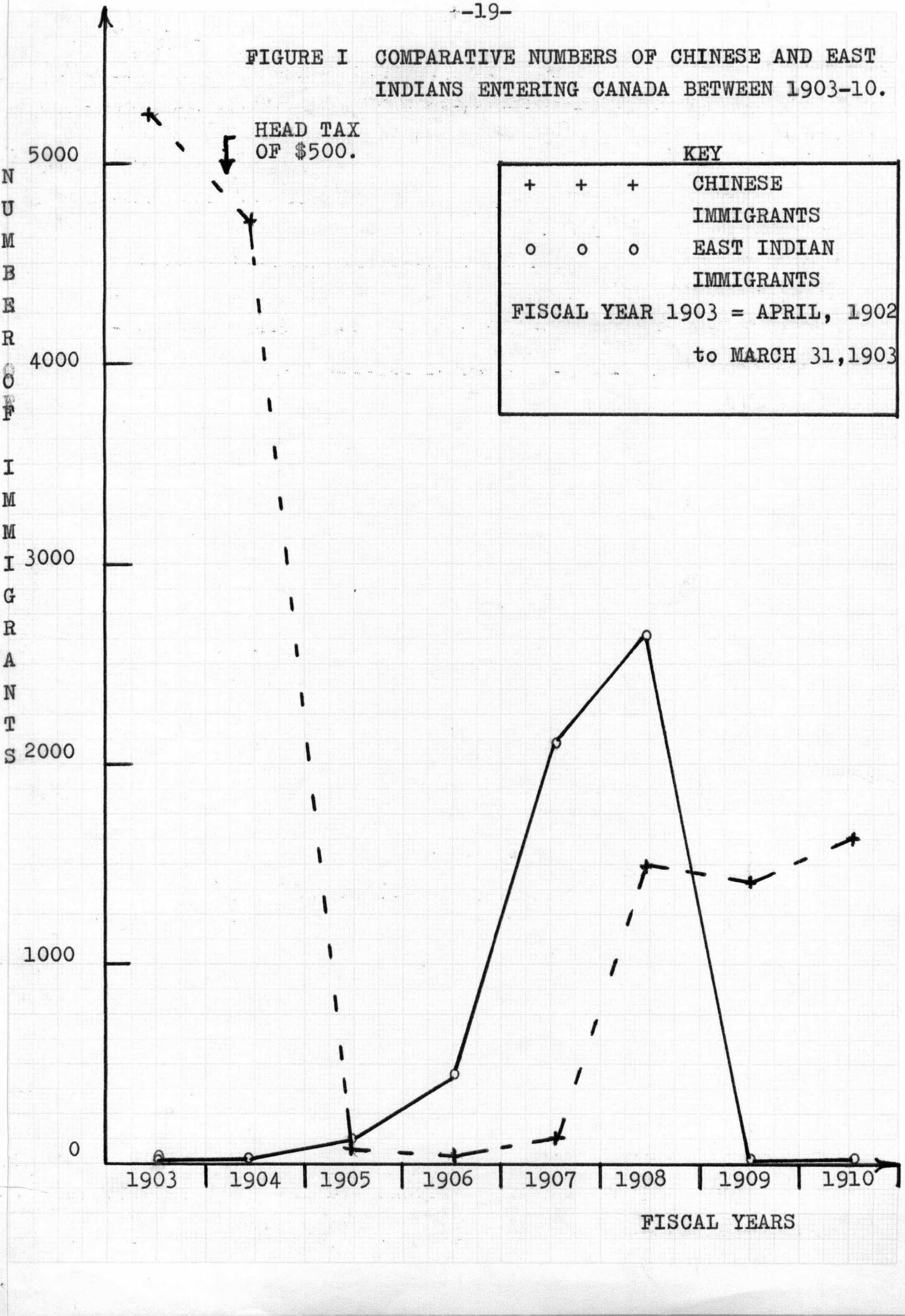
A number of reasons help to explain why the first East Indian immigrants came to Canada from southeastern parts of China and Hong Kong.Indians had gone there earlier in the employ of the British as policemen and soldiers and as individuals in the pursuit of wealth.[10] The structure of the community in these places had relatively few ties with India and was only marginally integrated into the associational and institutional life of the host societies.This made the community much more responsive to the possiblity of migration. Also,the fact that the East Indians lived in a cosmopolitan environment that attracted people from all over the world, people with whom the East Indians could come in contact and learn of opportunities abroad, was further conducive to this end.Hence the East Indians responded warmly when news of better economic opportunities in Canada reached them,indirectly, from the Chinese who had been sending glowing reports home from Canada [11] and,directly,from Sikh soldiers who,after participating in the Queen Victoria Jubilee Celebration in London,had passed through Canada.[12]

Once it becomes clear why Canada's first East Indian immigrants came from parts of China and Hong Kong,another question arises:why did immigration take place when it did

and not later or earlier? Any response to this must be speculative but it may be suggested that part of the answer could be found in certain incidents relating to the Chinese immigration which preceded the East Indians' arrival in Canada. Chinese, who had been coming to the country since 1858, found consistent opposition to their immigration in late 1870's; after the 1880's their immigration was discouraged by a system of entry tax. First imposed in 1884, the head tax was fifty dollars, It was increased to one hundred dollars in 1900 and five hundred dollars in 1904.[13] This large increase in head tax temporarily curtailed the number of Chinese entering Canada.[14] Consequently, the shipping companies began looking for prospective clients in the East Indian community. Since the East Indians in parts of China and Hong Kong had already heard of opportunities in Canada, they responded warmly to the overtures of the shipping companies. Thus immigration began from the middle of 1904. One factor, therefore, in encouraging the migration of East Indians at this time was the timely availability of transportation.(See Figure I.)[15]

After the initial pattern of immigration was set, the response from India to the news of better economic opportunities in Canada was also very enthusiastic. To some extent this was due to the curtailment of Indian immigration to Australia. Indians had been going to Australia since about 1837 and even though a committee in 1841 had rejected the contract system because, in its view, it savoured too much the

FIGURE I COMPARATIVE NUMBERS OF CHINESE AND EAST INDIANS ENTERING CANADA BETWEEN 1903-10.



perpetuation of slavery, immigration had continued.[16]The passage of the Immigration Act of 1901 and the fifty word dictation test eventually succeeded in stopping Indian immigration to Australia.The news of the El Dorado in Canada thus came at a time when other doors had just been closed. This, together with the encouraging participation of the shipping companies, helps to explain,in part atleast, why the immigration of the East Indians to Canada took place in the first few years of the twentieth century.It is now appropriate to look closely at some of the factors that King outlined as the causes of East Indian immigration to Canada.

King had noted the importance of the distribution of "glowing accounts of the opportunities of fortune-making in the province of British Columbia" as one of the causes of immigration.[17] Most of these accounts came in the letters of the relatives and friends who were already in Canada.These letters probably provided the greatest inducement to migrate.[18] Seven of the fifteen witnesses brought before King's commission said that letters from friends and relatives had been responsible for their coming to Canada.[19]Their accounts found further verification in reports of Canadian immigration officials.For example, immigration agents aboard the Tartar found that many immigrants "have wrinkled letters, with scrawled Urdu filling both pages,telling of the rich land across the western water and they cling to these talismen - one Hindu points his letter at all the Sahibs who visit the waterfront

shed asking that he be given the job the writer told him awaited him here."[20] Letters were thus a potent source of information to East Indian migrants.

King had also emphasised the importance of the "activity of certain steamship agents who were desirous of selling transportation in the interests of the companies" in inducing East Indian immigration. A witness before the Commission produced a propaganda sheet that the agents of Grand Trunk Pacific had distributed in rural Punjab, and stated that he, like many of his other countrymen, had come to Canada as the result of such propaganda. The sheet, when translated, read as follows:

> "When you get off first at Vancouver, you will be examined by the doctor, and will have to pass the Canadian doctor's examination. When you arrive at Vancouver, if you are sick or are suffering from any ailment, you will not be allowed to land, and will be sent back to your country. To prevent this trouble or inconvenience, the company has so arranged that all those who are coming, or wish to buy ticket in Calcutta, when they get their ticket, will be examined by a doctor without expense. The doctor will have a look at you, and if the doctor in Calcutta should forbid anybody going, his ticket money will be returned in full. When men have made their arrangements for Hong Kong, they will have to arrange for catering and food. Every person who lands in Vancouver must have not less than $10, the equivalent of 50 rupees; and he will have to satisfy the inspector that he is not a beggar. The price of the ticket is this: From Calcutta to Hong Kong, outside the feeding expenses, 45 rupees; 156 from Hong Kong to Vancouver.[21]

A similar notice was also distributed by Gillandar, Arbuthnot and Company who were agents for the Canadian

Pacific Railway.

That the shippng companies played an important role in inducing the migration of the East Indians to Canada there is no doubt, but whether they played the dominant role that King described is somewhat doubtful. As a writer at that time noted, "they [the East Indians] had all received letters from friends and relatives here, and those, not the notices posted in Calcutta by the Steamship Companies was [sic] the inducement to come. There were articles in Punjab newspapers about British Columbia but these were of general character."[22]

Finally,King had noted the activity of some East Indians in British Columbia who were "desirous of exploiting their fellow subjects" and"certain industrial concerns which with the object of obtaining a class of unskilled labour at a price below the current rate, assisted by a number of natives to leave under actual or virtual agreements to work for hire."[23] Witnesses told King that they had come to Canada because one Pandit Davichand had sent them tickets and promised them work here.[24] Davichand allegedly ran an Employment Agency, and he claimed that he had been assured by some British Columbian lumber mill owners of employment for about two thousand East Indians. Hence he openly stated that he was negotiating with parties in India with a view of bringing "these sober and patient" Hindus to Canada.[25]

In 1907, when five East Indians were about to be deported, they testified to Commissioner King that another agent, Pran Singh had compelled one hundred of them to pay five dollars each and another one rupee as well so that he could bribe the Canadian Immigration officials who would then allow them to land. In the event of failure of this attempt, the money was to be refunded.[26]

It is possible, as Davichand indicated, that some self-styled East Indian immigrant agents in British Columbia operated through counterparts in India. There most of the immigration agents were money lenders. According to some of the East Indians who had come to Canada, "there are several moneylenders in each of the large centres of India who act as immigration agents for their own profits. They are good advertisers and tell of the wealth to be made in British Columbia where wages are high and work is plentiful. In return for advancing $50 to their victims, they demand and receive mortagages, not alone on the little plots of their land of the intending immigrant, but also upon the land of numerous relatives, of friends of men who have the wealth fever."[27] These reports are perhaps distorted representatives of actual cases but the fact that the moneylenders were taking advantage of the intending migrants is shown in the testimonies of some of the immigrants before King's Commission. One witness had borrowed two hundred rupees at the

rate of fifteen percent per annum, and even mortagaged all his land to the moneylender. Another claimed that it had cost him about two hundred and eighty rupees to come to Canada; to raise this amount, he had to sell horses, cows and other possessions.[28]

Thus far, only pull factors in East Indian immigration to Canada have been examined. But this in itself does not tell the whole story. For without the operation of certain push factors in India, these influences would have been largely ineffective. Therefore it is necessary to examine social and economic conditions present in the various districts in the Punjab from which most of the early immigrants came. However, before this can be done, a brief view of some aspects of the Punjabi society should be taken as this would put into perspective later discussion of the push factors. Three aspects particularly, geo-political, social-structural and religious, deserve attention.

The Punjab province lies at an angle between two mountain ranges that divide the Indian subcontinent from the rest of Asia, the Himalayas on the north and the Sulaimans on the northwest (see Map I). Behind these mountains are the plains of Punjab, stretching from the river Indus in the northern part to the Jamuna in the southwest. Between these two great rivers are the rivers Jhelum, Chenab, Beas, and Ravi and on the banks of these rivers live most of the population of the province. Because of its physical location, the Punjab has, from the earliest days of Indian History, had

MAP I A NINETEENTH CENTURY MAP OF THE PUNJAB SHOWING THE AREAS OF ORIGIN OF THE EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS.

NOTE : In common, present day English tendering Hosheearpoor (in the map) should be read as Hoshiarpur, Jalindhur as Jullundur, Loodiana as Ludhiana, Ferozpoor as Ferozpur and Amritsir as Amritsar.

Source of the map : J.D. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs (London : John Murray, 1849), Map I.

SKETCH
Shewing approximately
THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF THE PUNJAB &c.
after the Treaties of
1846

TOORKISTAN
Oozbeks and Toorkmuns

AFGHANISTAN

BELOTCHISTAN

SINDH

CHINESE TARTARY

Tibetans

JUMMOO

Goojers

Gukkers

Juns

Kathees

Juts

Rajpoots

Jeysulmeer

Rajpootana

BRITISH DOMINIONS

Protected Chiefs

British Territory

Moghuls and Goojers, and Proper Puthans

Hindu Koosh M.

Karakoram Mts

Chitral

Hindu Koosh

Gilghit

Durdook

Iskardo

Bajour

Swat

CAUBUL

Jellalabad

R. Caubul

Peshawar

Attok

R. Indus

Mazufferabad

CASHMEER

Leh

Sirhind Range

Sutlej R.

Ghuznee

Sufed Koh

Kohat

Rawil Pindee

Poonch

Islamabad

Chomchling

Candahar

Kistwar

Rajowree

Jehlum

Hydaspes

Bimbur

Jummoo

Chumba

Dunkur

Nako

Shalabagh

Pind Dadun Khan

Mung

Russool

Jehlum R.

Chillianwala

Dingee

Suddoolapoor

Vuzeerabad

Khooshab

Ramnuggur

Adeenanuggur

Kanggra

R. Beas

Gomul R.

Dera Ismael Khan

Tukht-i-Soolemanan

Munkehra

Barala

Amritsir

LAHORE

Nadown

Hosheearpoor

Jalindhur

Kapurthala

Simla

Lit. Sobraon

Aliwal

Loodiana

Leia

Singhur

Dera Deen Punna

Chenaub or Acesines

Hydraotes

Ravee or

Byas

Sutlej

Ferozepoor

Ferozeshah

Jugraon

Moodkee

Sirhind

Depalpoor

Mookutsur

Pulputtan

Toolumba

Qwetta

Surmur

Dera Ghazee Khan

MOOLTAN

Ubohur

Puttealla

Anbala

Mussooree

Soonam

Thanaisur

Hurdwar

Dadur

Seewee

Lehree

Hurrund

Bhutneer

Sirsa

Futtehabad

Hissar

Hansee

Jheend

Paneeput

Kurnal

Buhawulpoor

Ooch

Mithenkot

Derawul

Rohtuk

DELHI

Gurmookteesur

Chundeesee

Anoopshehr

Kelat

Rojhan

Kumor

Shikarpoor

Sukkur

Roree

Khairpoor

R. Indus

Beekaneer

Muttra

R. Jumna

Riv. Ganges

Bhurtpoor

Agra

Jeysulmeer

Dholpoor

Ajmeer

R. Chumbul

Gwalior

Explanation of the Colouring

British Dominions	Red
Lahore and Jummoo	Blue
Toorkistan Afghanistan and Belotchistan	Green
Chinese Tartary	Yellow

Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, London. 1849.

Engraved by J. & C. Walker

to bear the brunt of frontal challenges from people and cultures which came from the northwestern borders on the plains of India.[30] The consequence of these sporadic migrations on the Punjabi mentality has been well summarised by Kushwant Singh. He says that as a result of these incursions, "the Punjabi developed a frontier consciousness, looking with apprehension to the mountain passes through which every few years came death and destruction. Despite the richness of the soil and the abundance of the harvests, there was never any prolonged posperity nor even any promise of long life. Chronic turbulence produced restive temperament." At the same time, "the Punjabi became conscious of being the most important defender of India. He developed a patriotism which was at once bitter towards the invader, but benign, and often contemptuous to his own countrymen, whose fate and fortune depended so much on his courage and fortitude."[31] As a result of the physical location of the province and historic movements of the people to India, the Punjabis developed a martial tradition, one that was recognised by the British as well, for the British Indian Army consisted in large part of Sikh soldiers. Service in the army entailed mobility and frequent movements to places out of India, a process that was highly conducive to migration.

The social system of the Punjab did not prohibit migration to the extent that the social system of areas

influenced by Brahminic tradition did. Crossing the "Kala pani" (black waters) was regarded as full of peril to the Hindu soul, but that was not a big hurdle to the Punjabi. The Brahminical system that exercised such an important influence in other parts of India did not find itself entirely compatible with the system of production and the social system of the culturally and ethnically diverse people of the Punjab. The countless numbers of vertical jati grades and sub-grades did not exist in the Punjabi society. Their consolidation was prevented by the changing geo-political landscape of the province.[32]

The religion of the Sikhs further prevented the development of a highly stratified society, and encouraged social mobility and equality among its believers. It was, in the words of Kushwant Singh, "an edifice built as it were with Hindu bricks and Muslim mortar."[33] Sikhism was at once non-Vedic, non-Brahminical and protestant in spirit and behaviour. It was, at the same time, critical of the rites of Brahminical Hinduism. Its language of communication was not Sanskrit but Gurumukhi, a language which the common man could understand and comprehend.[34] Furthermore, the very formalistic structure of Sikhism, especially in contrast to the amorphous nature of Hinduism, reinforced the military tradition of the Sikhs, and further sanctioned the process of social mobility.[35] In short, in

terms of their tradition, society and religion, the Sikhs were distinctively different from other people of India who were heavily influenced by Brahminical Hinduism. Moreover, these three factors also sanctioned social mobility among the Sikhs, which was further conducive to Sikh migration abroad.

Canada's first East Indian immigrants came from the districts of Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Ferozpur, Amritsar, Ludhiana and to a lesser extent, from other areas in India. More specifically, most of the first immigrants seem to have come from Hoshiarpur and Jullundur. (See Table II)[36] In this context it may be mentioned that most of England's and Australia's East Indian immigrants in this period also came from these two districts.[37]

Since most of the East Indian immigrants came from Hoshiarpur, this discussion must start with the examination of the socio-economic conditions in that district. Excess population was one of the most pressing problems in Hoshiarpur in the last few decades of the nineteenth century. Because about one quarter of the district was hilly, supporting a very low population density, most of the population lived in the lower parts of the district which sometimes supported as many as six hundred people per square mile of cultivated land. The census reports of 1881 noted that the "district is populated to nearly the verge of its

TABLE II

REGIONAL ORIGIN OF EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS

DISTRICTS	NUMBERS	PERCENTAGE
Ambala	5	1.0
Amritsar	10	3.8
Bombay	4	.7
Bakanar	2	.4
Balgang	2	.4
Calcutta	2	.4
Ferozpur	80	14.4
Faridkot	6	1.0
Gurdaspur	2	.4
Gullundar	2	.4
Hoshiarpur	190	34.4
Jullundur	167	30.4
Jawhal	1	.2
Jullbenar	2	.4
Jindiala	2	.4
Katla	4	.8
Kanjre	4	.8
Kapurthala	2	.4
Lahore	3	.5
Lailpur (Lyallpur?)	7	1.3
Ludhiana	40	7.2
Nabha	2	.4
Total	548	100%

capabilities, and in some areas, beyond its supporting powers." [38] In the same period, the population density of the entire Punjab province was only one hundred and fifty two.[39] By 1904, Hoshiarpur had eight hundred and sixty seven persons per square mile of cultivated land. It was the second most densely populated district in the Punjab. The same decade (1891-1901) saw an increase in population density of the province as a whole from one hundred and sixty eight to one hundred and seventy eight persons per square mile.[40] It is evident that Hoshiarpur was a densely populated district and demographically supportive of immigration. But over-population in itself, however important though it is, may not be a cause for immigration. Its importance must be seen in the context of other factors outlined below.

The pressure of population was aggravated by the destruction of large tracts of land in Hoshiarpur due to the effect of the choh.[41] Its effect was particularly acute in the case of this district since a large part of it lay in the hills. The way in which the choh affected the district is vividly described by the Punjab Gazetteer for the Hoshiarpur district. The choh

> rises up far in the hills below the water sheds, leaves them by comparatively narrow outlets and rapidly widens as it makes its way through the plains villages until it breaks into a number of branches. For several years before the choh reaches the village, the land is enriched by deposit of extraordinary fertility, composed partly of clayey particles washed down from the hills, but mainly

> the deposits of good land destroyed in villages higher up in the course of the torrents- the action is wholly detrimental, and unless the course of the choh is changed higher up, it maybe taken as an accepted fact that the land will never entirely recover its original fertility.[42]

Between 1852 and 1882 the number of acres of land destroyed by choh in the tehsils[43] of Hoshiarpur,Garshankar and Dasuah rose from 48,206 to 80,057, an increase of sixty six percent.[44] More land was laid unproductive as time went on.In 1904, it was calculated that from about 1900 to 1903, no less than 28,420 acres were reduced to sand by the choh.Although some land was reclaimed from the uncultivable portions of the district, the choh decimated area still exceeded the reclaimed area.[45]

The general state of the economy was seriously affected by the effects of the choh as well as the excess population. Between 1880 and 1900, the price of all the staple foods in the district- wheat,gram, maize and bajra- rose by more than fifty percent[46] while the price of labour rose by only thirty one percent.(See Table III.)[47] For the province as a whole,cost of food staples rose by thirty to thirty five percent and the price of labour rose by twenty five to thirty percent.[48] In Hoshiarpur, "there was a large body of people having no land and receiving very little pay for menial work [who] are unable to support themselves with the amount of food necessary for the subsistence of themselves and their families."[49] Periodic visits of famines and epidemics

TABLE III

PRICE OF LABOUR IN HOSHIARPUR

Year	SKILLED				UNSKILLED			
	Highest Rs.An.P.			Lowest Rs.An.P.		Highest Rs.An.P.		Lowest Rs.An.P.	
1880-81	0 6 0			0 3 0		0 3 0		0 1 6	
1885-86	0 8 0			0 3 0		0 5 0		0 2 0	
1890-91	0 6 0			0 4 3		0 3 9		0 2 3	
1895-96	0 8 0			0 5 0		0 4 0		0 2 6	
1900-01	0 8 0			0 5 0		0 5 0		0 2 6	

a. Rs. - rupees; An. - Anna; P.- Paisa.

---

compounded the problem of the Hoshiarpur peasant. These affected Hoshiarpur intermittently and in varying degrees throughout the nineteenth century.

Intra-district as well as interdistrict migration was an important part of the social structure of the district. Apart from movement of people from the district due to marriage and other traditional engagements, much of the migration was of a permanent or semi-permanent nature. The motive behind these types of migration was to relieve pressure on the subsistence economy of the district. In the late 1890's and the early 1900's twice as many people emigrated from Hoshiarpur as those who had immigrated into it.[50]

Movement of people was, however, not restricted to new settlement areas, such as the Canal Colonies which had been started by the government in the 1890's to relieve the pressure of population in some of the districts.[51] A number had also moved out of India to Europe and the Far East. Statistics regarding the movement of people outside the Province and outside India are incomplete, but the fact that people had gone abroad from the district is substantiated by the number of people who were returning from Europe and the Far East to the district.[52]

Migration out of India was a favoured course of action for many people in the District. In the Garshankar tehsil of Hoshiarpur, it was agreed by most of the residents that migration was most desirable. The emigrant almost always returned with money and as one of the villagers put it, "instead of 20 persons starving 20 had bread."[53] An old peasant who had spent fifteen years in America, told Malcolm Darling that he had encouraged his son to go there. According to him there was no "annoyance" in America and a man could do as he liked; moreover there was plenty of land and plenty of money in America. But, he said, in the Punjab, land was insufficient and money was scarce. If you were poor, you could not borrow as no one would loan you money. Another peasant said:"only give our village passport to Australia and America and we will gladly give up our land here."[54]

When, as an alternative , emigration to Canal Colonies was suggested, the reaction was negative, the main objection being that much capital was required to buy land there while the security of the crops was not assured and the returns were much poorer. On the other hand, one emigrant from Australia had returned with about Rs 56,000 and another was credited with bringing back as much as one lakh (£7,500).[55] Apart from acquiring more money, the emigrants also learned new and modern methods of farming, and on returning to the district they often spent large sums of money in consolidating holdings and in improving the methods of cultivation. The emigrant then, was not only richer and more sophisticated in social ways than those who had not gone abroad, but also introduced new agricultural techniques that were greatly admired.

It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that structural conditions present in Hoshiarpur were conducive to migration. Pressure of population aggravated by the choh, a subsistence economy not adequately supportive of the large population, and a favourable perception of emigration, seen together in perspective, all lead to this conclusion. Moreover, it should be evident that the motive behind migration was purely economic, the emigrants hoping to return to the district after earning enough money to enjoy the fruits of their arduous labours abroad.

Jullundur, like Hoshiarpur was also a major source of Canada's East Indians. Internal as well as external migration was a most important part of the social and economic structure of the district. Population pressure on scarce resources was an important factor in the economy and society of Jullundur as well. The district was a densely populated one. The density of population per total area had increased from five hundred and ninety seven to six hundred and forty persons per square mile between 1883 and 1908. The density per cultivated area rose from seven hundred and sixty two per square mile in the early 1880's to eight hundred and forty two per square mile in 1908.[56] The population density of the district was much higher than that of the province at large.[57] It must be noted, however, that the increase in population was not uninterrupted. Periodic visits of epidemic diseases such as cholera, plague and fever throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, affected population growth.[58] But these did not alleviate the existing population problems of the district as much as they added to its difficulties.

Economically, Jullundur was better off than Hoshiarpur. Famines did not greatly affect the district because of irrigation. The chohs were absent. Jullundur's merchant-cultivators were, according to Kessinger, "so accustomed to adequate crops even in the worst years, that they sold everything not needed for immediate consumption during famines to take advantage of afflicted areas."[59] This may well have applied

to well-to-do merchants and cultivators who were fewer in numbers, for many became victims of difficult conditions in the district. Thus the Punjab Gazetteer of 1908 noted that "there is a considerable portion of the population living from hand to mouth on daily wages or small dues recieved at each harvest, the poor residents in towns and village menials who are seriously affected by a rise in prices to which their scanty income had not been adjusted."[60] The price of labour in the district was low throughout the nineteenth century. Although there was gradual rise in wages, the increase was not significant.(See Table IV.)[61]

TABLE IV

PRICE OF LABOUR IN JULLUNDUR

Year	Skilled				Unskilled			
	Highest		Lowest		Highest		Lowest	
	Rs.	An. P.	Rs.	An. P.	Rs.	An. P.	Rs.	An. P.
1870-71	0	6 0	0	4 0	0	2 6	0	2 0
1875-76	0	6 0	0	5 0	0	3 0	0	2 0
1880-81	0	5 0	0	2 0	0	2 0	0	1 0
1885-86	0	6 0	0	5 0	0	2 6	0	2 0
1890-91	0	8 0	0	6 0	0	4 0	0	3 0
1895-96	0	8 0	0	6 0	0	4 0	0	3 0
1900-01	0	8 0	0	5 0	0	3 0	0	2 6

Migration was a strategy that the people of Jullundur, like those of Hoshiarpur,utilised to cope with the problem of excess pressure on the economic resources of the district. Apart from semi-permanent and permanent migration to neighbouring districts, a considerable number of people also migrated to countries outside India.The official documents are incomplete on the number of emigrants leaving the district for overseas countries, but the District Gazetteer of 1883-84 noted that 1187 of the emigrants who had gone to Europe returned to the district, thereby illustrating the fact that people had gone abroad.[62] As was the case in Hoshiarpur,men from Jullundur also migrated on a semi-permanent basis to the Canal Colonies in the western Punjab.[63] Others left for Australia, returning with "substantial proof that money could be made there."[64]

Family and kinship relations were supportive of migration. However, only those property groups (all of which were kinship based) with sufficient manpower in the village to operate family holdings and assure the continuity of the family in case the emigrants failed to return, sent their members abroad. In the rural Punjabi value system, material benefits acquired overseas were never sufficient to jeopardize the continuity of the family in the village.Kessinger found that in Vilyatpur, a village in Jullundur, the "motive of the group who send a member overseas [families with rapid growth rates] was to augment the portion of the property group by acquiring land

in Vilyatpur through resources from abroad."[65] Further, Kessinger discovered that those families that had engaged in overseas migration owned more land throughout the period 1848-1968.[66] Very often,for the individual, emigration meant numerous sacrifices- separation from the family,the community and even the impossibility of producing legitimate heirs- but his major return was achievement for his family.In short, migration in Vilyatpur in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a lucrative alternative for increasing family wealth and adjusting the supply of family labour to its resources.

How did people in the district at large view migration? Most of the people were favourably disposed to the idea. It was reported than less than five percent of the emigrants failed to return, and about six to seven percent returned empty handed, but the rest of the returned created favourable impression.In the words of one of the peasants of Jullundur:

> He [the emigrant] tells us not to spend so much on marriage, and is less extravagant himself.He is well behaved and dislikes quarrels but is frequently forced into it by others.He often cultivates according to new methods, and last year, so it was said, one got Rs.1,500 out of 25 acres which he farmed with only the help of a boy.Finally he wants education for girls as well as boys. In atleast three cases emigrants have brought back Australian wives. One marriage ended in separation after a prolonged and bitter strife;another in the couple finally settling in Australia;and the third in the wife embracing the religion of her husband, who was a Mohammedan, and adopting Indian dress.She was greatly respected, and on her husband's death, her son inherited most of the property. 67

Thus, in Jullundur too, social and economic conditions were conducive to migration.The motive behind migration of people overseas was purely economic.The money acquired in the process of sojourning abroad was to be used for the expansion and consolidation of land holdings in the district.

It is not necessary to examine in detail socio-economic conditions in Amritsar and Ferozpur from which some of Canada's East Indian immigrants came as conditions there were not radically different from those in Hoshiarpur and Jullundur.On the whole, economic conditions in Amritsar and Ferozpur were better than in the first two districts discussed and this may, to some extent, account for the relatively fewer emigrants from these two districts.[68]Notwithstanding this, however, these districts, too, had suffered from population pressures and periodic epidemic diseases.Migration from these two districts to areas outside the Province and to places outside India on a semi-permanent or permanent basis was also common.[69]

Thus far, the process of East Indian immigration to Canada has been analysed in terms of the push-pull framework. It has been seen that most of the immigrants came from a rural, peasant background.Furthermore, it has also beennoted that the motive behind their migration was economic.The immigrants wanted to earn enough money abroad so that when they returned to their villages,they could buy more land and consolidate their holdings, and at the same time improve the social and

economic status of their families.It has also become evident that the East Indians came to Canada as free migrants, and not under any form of contract or indenture. It is appropriate to ask at this point how the above discussion bears on the wider concern of this paper which is the integration of East Indian immigrants into Canadian society.The role which the various factors played in determining the process of integration may become clearer if they are examined separately.

The significance of the peasant background may become evident once the concept of peasantry is understood. A.L. Kroeber has defined the peasantry as "part societies" and "part cultures."[70] According to Robert Redfield,peasants are the bearers of folk traditions,[71] while a more recent view of Eric Wolf is that peasant societies are units integrated into the larger state structure.[72] Despite different emphases, all the three scholars point to the relative isolation, exploitation and ignorance of the peasantry within the wider structure of human society.The peasants, whose world view is circumscribed by the limits of local "little traditions" prefer the security of these traditions as a means of avoiding wider society.They adhere especially closely to these values if they come into sudden contact with another more urban society where personal and particularistic values,characteristic of rural, peasant societies, are generally subordinated to more generalised,bureaucratic ideas.[73] If the behaviour

and outlooks of the East Indian immigrants are viewed in the light of their peasant background, an important reason would be found as to why the East Indian community remained an alienated minority and why it eventually failed to integrate into the host society.

In their motivations, most of the East Indian immigrants were sojourners.[74] As such, they had no desire to participate in the social life of the new country, for that would have involved time, resources and numerous other sacrifices which they could not afford.Moreover, to them, a symbiotic relationship with, rather than social life in, the new society was more desirable.In other words, they liked to see themselves more as people who performed a function than as people with social status. In view of this, it seems that to a large extent, isolation from the host society must have have been self imposed. Thus a further reason for the lack of East Indian integration is provided.

Finally,not only the peasant background and the sojourner mentality but the nature of the migration process itself discouraged integration.Unlike the indentured immigrants who had generally volunteered as individuals, and who were treated as such on the voyage, on the plantations and in the supervision of their duties, Canada's passenger migrants had come as a group. Nearly all of the early immigrants were Sikhs, and coming from contiguous districts in the Punjab meant that they

could draw on common experiences, values and training. The group values were kept alive during the migatory process; they persisted in the new settlement in Canada, and expressed and governed relationships among the East Indians in the new community. The relative frequency with which the East Indians travelled to and fromIndia also facilitated this. To conclude, it is apparent that neither the background and motivation of the immigrants nor the migration process itself was conducive to East Indian integration into the host society. On the contrary, these factors together were one of the most important ones in the lack of East Indian acceptance and integration.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

[1] See S.N.Eisenstadt, Immigrant Absorption; Stuart Phillpott, "Implication of Migration for Sending Societies : Theoretical Implications," in Migration and Anthropology, ed. by Robert F.Spencer (Seattle : American Ethnological Society, 1970), 11 ff. Dorothy O.Johansen, "A Working Hypothesis for the Study of Migrations," Pacific Historical Review, XXXVI (1967), 1-12.

[2] Ideally, consideration of the immigrant's motivation should also include a statement of his own reasons for migration, but given the nature of this study and dearth of sources, this was impossible.

[3] For a detailed theoretical discussion see a useful collection of essays in J.A.Jackson, ed., Migration (Cambridge University Press, 1969).

[4] J.C.Misrow, East Indian Immigration on the Pacific Coast (California, 1915). Reprinted by R & E Research Associates, 1971), 2.

[5] Kalyan Kumar Banerji, Indian Freedom Movement Revolutionaries in America (Calcutta : Jijnasa, 1969), 7.

[6] See Misrow, op.cit.; S.Chandrashekar, "Indian Immigration in America," Far Eastern Survey, 13 (1944), 138-142; Gurdial Singh, "East Indians in the United States," Sociology and Social Research, 30 (September, 1945 - August, 1946), 209-216.

[7] Frank Oliver, Minister of Interior, to Governor General, 29 October, 1907, Immigration Branch, Vol. 384 part 2, PAC.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Report of W.L.King, C.M.G. Commissioner Appointed to Enquire into the Methods by which Oriental Labourers have been induced to Come to Canada (Ottawa : Government Printing Bureau, 1908).

[10] See Eric Wilton Morse, "Immigration and Status of British East Indians in Canada : A Problem in Imperial Relations," unpublished M.A.Thesis, Queen's University, Ontario, 1936, Chapter I.

[11] Kushwant Singh et. al., Ghadr : India's First Armed

Revolution (New Delhi : R & K Publishers, 1966) 1.

[12] Adrian Mayer, Report on East Indians, op.cit.,2

[13] Canada Year Book, 40.

[14] Karin Straaton, "The Political System of the Vancouver Chinese Community : Associations and Leadership in the Early1960's," unpublished M.A.thesis, University of British Columbia,1974, 30 ff.

[15] The number of Chinese entering Canada in these years was derived from Canada Year Book, 1919, 222. The number for East Indians was drawn from Table I, 15.

[16] Narendranath Ganguly, Indians in the Empire Overseas (London : The New India Publishing House Ltd., 1947), 68.

[17] King, "Methods by which Oriental Labourers have been induced to come to Canada," op.cit.

[18] According to recent research, it seems that 'relations-influence' is the most important factor, in some cases an independent factor, in the decision to migrate. See G. Beija, N.H.Frijda, B.P.Hofstead and R.Wentholt, Charecteristics of Overseas Migrants (The Hague, 1961).

[19] W.L.Mackenzie King, "Notes and Memoranda, 1887-1921," King Papers, MG 26,J4 Vol. C38-40,PAC.

[20] Victoria Daily Times, 16 November, 1906. See also the Times of 14 November, 1906.

[21] W.L.Mackenzie King, op.cit.

[22] Victoria Daily Times, 22 November, 1906.

[23] King, "Methods by which Oriental Labourers have been induced to come to Canada," op.cit.

[24] W.L.Mackenzie King, "Notes and Memoranda, 1887-1921," MG 26, J4, Vol. C38-40, PAC.

[25] Province, 20 July, 1906.

[26] Province, 23 November, 1907.

[27] Province, 20 October, 1906.

[28] W.L.King, "Notes and Memoranda, 1887-1921," loc.cit.

[29] It has been estimated that 99% of the East Indians who came to Canada were Sikhs. Kushwant Singh et.al., Ghadr, 1. Most of them lived in British Columbia; for statistics see E.Blake Robertson to W.W.Cory, 8 May, 1918, Immigration Branch, Vol. 386, File 536999 part 11, PAC.

[30] For a useful discussion of these historical movements, see Niranjan Ray, The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Society (Patiala : Punjab University, 1970), 8 ff.

[31] Kushwant Singh, The Sikhs (London : Allen and Unwin, 1953), 18.

[32] Niranjan Ray, The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Society, op.cit.

[33] Kushwant Singh, The Sikhs (1953), 19.

[34] See Gurubachan Singh Talib, A Study of the Moral Core of Guru Nanak's Teaching (Patiala : The Punjab University, 1970.)

[35] The formalism of Sikh religion can be seen in the institution of the Khalsa, established by Guru Gobind Singh during the time of the Moghul ruler, Aurangzeb when religious conflict was particularly rife and when much persecution of Hindus took place. A member of the Khalsa had to observe five 'k's : to wear hair and beard unshorn, (kesh); to carry a comb in the hair (kangha); to wear a pair of shorts (kucha); to wear a steel bangle on the right wrist (kara); to carry a sword (kirpal). See Sohan Singh Sahota, The Destiny of the Sikhs (Jullundur : Sterling Publishers (Pvt.) Limited, 1971).

[36] See the list in Immigration Branch, Vol. 386 part 14, PAC. These figures were computed from letters sent by East Indian males in British Columbia to the Immigration Department, requesting the admission of their wives to Canada. Thus these figures are only indicative of a trend.

37 Charles A.Price, The Great White Walls are Built; Restrictive Immigration to North America and Australasia 1836-1888 (Cnaberra : Australian National University Press, 1974), 12.

38 Census Report, 1881, quoted in District Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur, (Lahore : Government Printer, 1883-1884), 8.

39 Tom G.Kessinger, Vilyatpur, 1848-1968 : Social and Economic Change in a North Indian Village (Berkely : University of California Press, 1974), 86. See also Punjab Gazetteer, Hoshiarpur District, 1904, 68.

40 Kessinger, ibid.

41 The chohs, it seems, were shallow, narrow drains caused by seasonal torrential rains. They were usually dry in rainless months but became "raging torrents" during heavy rains.

42 Punjab Gazetteer, Hoshiarpur District, 1883, 4.

43 Tehsil was a subdivision of the District in the British revenue system. All these tehsils were in the District of Hoshiarpur.

44 Punjab Gazetteer, Hoshiarpur District, 1883, 22.

45 Punjab Gazetteers, Hoshiarpur District, 1904, 21.It was reported that some 25,826 acres were reclaimed but the "Gazetteer admitted that this figure "is probably considerably exaggerated."

46 Punjab Gazetteer, Hoshiarpur District, 1904, 25.

47 Computed from Punjab Adminstration Report, 1904, Table 25.

48 Imperial Gazetteer, Punjab, 1908, I, 70. It must be noted that in a subsistence economy such as the one under consideration the equation between wage labour, cost of food staples and other monetary indices and the state of the economy can be misleading. In this case of Hoshiarpur, for instance, unskilled labourers were paid not in cash, but in grains and clothing. However, as an indication of the economy, comparative to the economy of other districts where wages were higher, these indices may be useful.

[49] Punjab Gazetteer, Hoshiarpur District, 1883, 21.

[50] Punjab Gazetteers, Hoshiarpur District, 1904, 27.

[51] Kessinger, Vilyatpur, 91 ff.

[52] See Census Reports, Tables XI, Part II and III, 1891; Table X of Vols. II and III of 1881.

[53] Malcolm Lyall Darling, Rusticus Loquitur, The Old Light and the New in the Punjab Village (New York : Oxford University Press, 1929), 29. This book, though it contains much useful information, falls outside the period of this study. It is the assumption of the present writer that impressions, once created, particularly in a relatively unchanging peasant society do not change rapidly over long period of time and for this reason the book probably serves as an indication of opinion people held of the returned emigrant in the period under discussion.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.181.

[56] See Punjab Gazetteers, Jullundur District, 1883-1884, chapter III; ibid., 1908, 47.The pressure in Hoshiarpur was relieved to some extent because of extensive grazing grounds in the District but in Jullundur, there was no such grazing land.

[57] See Kessinger, Vilyatpur, op.cit., 86. There is some discrepency between Kessinger's figures and those given in the District Gazetteers, but the differences are not significant.

[58] For details, see Kessinger, ibid., 85-89.

[59] Ibid.,87.

[60] Punjab Gazetteers, Jullundur District, 1908, 226.

[61] Punjab Gazetteers, Jullundur District, 1904, Part B, Statistical Table IX.The importance of these low figures become apparent in the light of extremely high wages which Sikhs abroad were earning.

62 Punjab Gazetteers, Jullundur District, 1883-84, Statistical Tables, 'Migration.'

63 Kessinger, Vilyatpur, 91.

64 Ibid., 9271.

65 Ibid., 171

66 Ibid, 172, Table 30.

67 Malcolm Darling, Rusticus Loquitur, 181.

68 For details, see the District Gazetteers of Amritsar and Ferozpur, from 1883-84 to 1911.

69 The fact that extensive internal as well as external emigration took place is substantiated for Amritsar in Punjab Gazetteers, Amritsar District, 1913, Part B, Table8. For Ferozpur, see Census Reports : Table XI, Part II of 1901; Table XI, Parts II & III of 1891; Table X of Vols. II & III of 1881.

70 A.L.Kroeber, Anthropology (New York : Harcourt and Brace & Co., 1940).

71 Robert Redfield, Peasant Society and Cultures (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1956).

72 Eric Wolf, Peasants (New Jersey : Englewood Cliffs, 1966).

73 For detailed theoretical discussion see David Katz and Aaron Antonsky, " Bureaucracy and Immigrant Adjustment," International Migration Review, VII, (3) (1973), 247-256.

74 For a very useful, detailed account of the theoretical significance of the sojourner mentality and its relationship to the process of immigrant adjustment, see Paul C.Siu, "The Sojourner," The American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (July, 1952-May, 1953), 34-44.

CHAPTER II

FORMAL ORGANISATIONS AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE EAST INDIAN COMMUNITY

The nature of institutional developments in the immigrant community is an important factor in immigrant integration and acceptance into the host society. Raymond Breton, a sociologist, has posited that "the direction of immigrant integration will. to large extent, result from the forces of attraction (positive or negative) stemming from the various communities."[1] The three 'communities' relevant in this context are the native or receiving community, other ethnic communities and the community of the immigrant. But of the three, the immigrant community exhibits the preponderant influence upon the integration, and therefore it deserves scrutiny here.

It is Breton's contention that the greater the 'institutional completeness'[2] of the immigrant's community, the more circumscribed his interpersonal relations and social integration with the outside group will be. The influence of formal social and political organisations are particularly important in this regard. According to Breton, "the presence of formal organisations in the ethnic community sets out forces that have the effect of keeping the social relations of the immigrants within its boundaries. It tends to minimise out-group contacts."[3] Furthermore, Breton states that there are four processes through which the institutional completeness of the immigrant's ethnic community maintains group

cohesiveness.[4] Through substitution, the ethnic community succeeds in holding the allegiance of its members by preventing their contact with the host society.Ethnic institutions rather than those of the host society take hold in the immigrant's social life; these include his religion,occupation, education and the news media. Group cohesiveness is also maintained by the extension of personal networks of the members of the ethnic organisations within the community.Moreover, the immigrants who belong to these organisations value highly their nationality and tend to raise new issues or activate old ones for public debates.Excellent examples of this will be seen in the East Indian community.Finally,leaders of ethnic organisations actively attempt to maintain and enlarge their clientele.This is especially relevent when the rate of immigration is decreasing and when the survival of the organisations maybe in question.The following discussion of the activities of the various organisations in the East Indian community during the period under consideration will illustrate the propositions outlined above.

Within the period of a decade,a number of ethnic organisations sprang up and flourished in the East Indian community. Most of these were radical organisations. Some moderate organisations did exist very briefly in eastern Canada,but being politically and geographically unrepresentative of the East Indian community, as well as being numerically insignificant in their membership, they were largely ineffective.[5]

The radical organisations indulged openly in agitational and conspiratorial politics.They waged their battle on two fronts simultaneously. On the one hand, making a show of their apparent loyalty to them, the radicals tried to get concessions from Provincial, Federal and Imperial governments on matters affecting their immigration into Canada. On the other hand,they made persistent efforts to force the British out of India.These efforts,however, failed.But they left behind them a legacy of bitter fights, ill-will and tension that retarded further the process of East Indian integration into the Canadian society.

Politically, British Columbia's East Indian community did not act in isolation from East Indians in other parts of the world, notably Europe and the United States of America. Indeed it derived political inspiration and legitimacy from movements in other countries.Consequently, it is necessary briefly to review the activities of the East Indian organisations in these places.

Although some revelutionary Indian organisations existed outside India prior to the turn of the twentieth century[6] it was particularly after 1905, the year of partition of Bengal, that they acquired a more systematic character.In that year, the Indian Home Rule Society was formed in England by Shyamji Krishnavarma who had left India in 1897.[7] The India House was also founded for Indian students living in Britain.Among its

earliest occupants were such well known revolutionaries as V.D.Savarkar, Madan Lal Dhingra, Birendra Chattopadhay, Tirmul Archarya and Lala Hardayal,a brilliant and charismatic leader who was later to play a most important role in the political life the North American East Indian community.[8] The Indian Sociologist was the official organ of the India House and this newspaper ultimately provided much inspiration to the political leaders of the East Indian community in British Columbia.

Many attempts were made in the United States to re-create some of the above organisations, such as the India House, but these were met with partial success at best.Other organisations such as the Pan Aryan Association, the Society for the Advancement of India, the Indo-American National Association and the Indo-American Club all met a similar fate.[9] The reasons for their premature demise are not too difficult to find.The revolutionary potential of the small East Indian community in eastern parts of the United States, where most of these organisations were established, was slight.Most of the East Indians there were students coming from wealthy families for whom a promising career in the Indian civil service was assured.As a result, radical politics did not interest them much. Moreover, leadership in almost all these organisations was in the hands of a white American elite and this, by alienating some potentially active Indians, also contributed to the ineffectiveness of these early attempts to organise.

The situation in British Columbia and the Pacific coast was generally different from that which existed in the eastern United States.Organisations on the Canadian west coast were in close touch with the feelings of the mass of the East Indians.And their leadership was in the hands of East Indians as well.For this reason, East Indian organisations in British Columbia enjoyed a wide base in the community.A large and dedicated membership in the organisations contributed in large part to their success.

The first attempt to organise the East Indians in British Columbia was made in 1907, two years after a large number of them had entered Canada.In that year, the Khalsa Diwan Society was established in Vancouver.Soon afterwards, branches were opened in Victoria, Abbotsford, New Westminister,Fraser Mills, Duncan and Ocean Falls.[10] The objectives of the Diwans were initially religious, educational and philanthropic, but as the numbers of East Indians coming to Canada increased, and "as politics began to dominate the scene in both the countries [India and Canada] ,the Sikh temples became the storm centres of political activity."[11]

Effective control of the leadership of the early organisations lay in the hands of the largely illiterate class of Sikh labourers.Thus Bhai Bhag Singh was one of the earliest recognised leaders of the East Indian community in Vancouver, while in California, people like Jwala Singh, Santokh Singh,

Sohan Singh Bhakna and Giani Bhagwan Singh led the community.[12] Later, however, this principally illiterate leadership could not meet the needs of the community, needs which required dealing with a white population and English speaking bureaucracy. Increasingly, what was required was educated leadership for the community as well as secular organisations which could deal with the more practical problems of the day.

The formation of the Committee for the Management of Sikh Diwans and Temples, an organisation "that could appeal to and speak for the overwhelming majority of the East Indians in British Columbia" and which at the same time included all Sikh gurudwaras and committees, was a response to these needs.[13] Most of the members of theCommittee were highly educated men. Teja Singh, the president,was a native of Amritsar, an M.A. from Lahore University, L.L.B from Cambridge and a graduate of Columbia University. He had come to Vancouver in October, 1908.[14] Taraknath Das,a Bengali Brahmin of Bhawanipur,Calcutta and a graduate of Calcutta University, the University of Washington and subsequently Berkeley as well, was appointed the first treasurer of the Committee.[15]Dr Sundar Singh of Lahore, Punjab, a DSc from Punjab University and a M.D. from Glasgow University, was appointed to the executive committee.[16]

Under the Committee's guidance and inspiration, the Sikhs and the numerically small Hindu and Moslem groups stood united. A government official noted that they [East

Indians] have coalesced from the need of protection against the hostility of white labour, and Punjabi-Mohammadans, Sikhs, and Hindus from the Punjab, and Brahmins from N.W. [North West Provinces] and from lower Bengal, have been brought together in a way that could not have happened in India."[17] The social and economic welfare of the entire East Indian community was the primary aim of this organisation.[18] In this endeavour, the Committee was eminently successful. Inspector W.C.Hopkinson wrote: "It is a difficult matter to prove a charge of vagrancy against any of this community"[19] as both Teja Singh and the Committee were always ready to rebut those charges. They promised to provide jobs to all East Indians who were unemployed. Under the auspices of the Committee and Teja Singh, the Guru Nanak Trust and Mining Company was formed on 23 November, 1908. It had a total capitalization of $50,000. The aim of the company was to develop a commercial relationship between India, Canada and the United States and this it decided to do by importing Indian products. Moreover, the company also proposed to buy and sell land in British Columbia for its East Indian clients here, and for Indians in all parts of the world.[20]

The Committee performed its intermediary role between the East Indian community and the Canadian bureaucracy in 1908 when a movement was afoot in British Columbia to

resettle the East Indian population in British Honduras.[21] It protested persistently to the Imperial Government about the possibility of forcible deportation, a notion that had gained some prominence in newspapers representing white labour opinion.[22] Partly because of this and partly owing to its influence over the appointment of the delegation that was sent to British Honduras to investigate conditions there, the Committee achieved the eventual rejection of the proposal. Some Canadian officials feared that, because of the actions of the Committee and Teja Singh in particular, Vancouver was being made the headquarters of the East Indian settlement on the Pacific Northwest.[23]

After these socio-political organisations came the more radical associations that became the focus of the East Indian community. The impetus and inspiration for the formation of these came from similar organisations in the United States. Ram Nath Puri's Indian Association,[24] founded in San Francisco and later in Oakland, was one such organisation that had a great influence on subsequent radical associations on the Pacific Coast. Shortly after its establishment, branches were opened in Astoria, Oregon and Vancouver. Ram Nath Puri was the first East Indian to start political work among East Indian immigrants on the Pacific Coast. The primarily political motive of Puri and the Association was vividly chronicled in the association's Urdu organ, "Circular-I-Azadi" (Circular of Freedom). It could not

continue for more than a year, owing to lack of funds, a paucity of Indian readers and the political apathy of early immigrants.[25] During its short existence, however, the paper was secretly distributed and avidly read in the East Indian community.[26]

Another organisation, the Indian Independence League[27] formed by Pandurang Khankhoje, Aadhar Laskar and Taraknath Das in 1907 in California also bore some importance for the East Indian community in British Columbia. The primary objective of the League was to preach national revolution in India. Some League correspondence was found in the house of one Lala Pindidas in Rawalpindi and he was arrested and jailed for seven years. A prominent Sikh radical of Vancouver, Harnam Singh was also arrested for his connections with the League. These incidents may shed some light on the nature of the League's activities. The base of the League was transferred to Vancouver in 1908, along with the move of its chief architect, Taraknath Das who was transferred to the United States Immigration Office in Vancouver where he was employed as an interpreter. Nothing much, however, is known of the activities of the League in Vancouver.

Taraknath Das was the first important political activist in the East Indian community in Vancouver. Apart from his participation in the activities of the Committee

for the Management of Sikh Diwans and Temples, Das also popularised the cause of Ram Nath Puri's waning Indian Association. When Puri's "Circular-I-Azadi" came to an end, Das started his own periodical, The Free Hindustan. The general tone of the paper was educational, but as Hopkinson[28] noted, "from time to time it contains articles setting forth the so called unfair treatment of Hindus in Vancouver and has references to Bengal, and in tone is anti-British."[29] However, Das' activities were watched strictly by both the British and Canadian governments.Numerous representations were made by the Dominion government to Washington,drawing its attention to unfriendly attacks made by an interpreter in their employment who claimed protection as an American citizen. As a result of these protests, the United States dispensed with Das' services in the Immigration Department.[30] Meanwhile rumours of clandestine activities in the East Indian community continued spreading.W.L.Crippen,Vancouver correspondent of The Times, in reporting what he heard,chronicled the thoughts of many white British Columbians:

> I have positive information that Indians here are subscribing money for seditious purposes and I have other information which indicates that Millside, near New Westminister,is a centre of revolutionary agitation.There is a certain school here ostensibly for the instruction of East Indians in English, which is actually managed by the agitators for the purpose of imbuing Sikhs with revolutionary ideas.The treatment that the Indians are receiving here naturally makes them receptive for such doctrines.The school is under the direction of three

Indians, one from Punjab and two from Bengal,who are well educated.The movement has spread to Seattle where one of most dangerous of the three agitators is visiting.A grocer's shop on Granville Street is being used for the exchange of letters between the agitators here and their friends in India.I am informed that directions for making bombs were recently sent from the Pacific coast to India. 31

William Lyon Mackenzie King,who was then visiting Vancouver in connection with the anti-Oriental riots of 1907, made an investigation of the allegations made by Crippen, and concurred with the findings of the journalist.[32] Das' reply to the allegations made against him and the East Indian community generally was swift.He dubbed The Times as "ever notorious for misrepresenting facts." The Free Hindustan, Das acknowledged, "advocates the liberal principles of man and puts forth undeniable facts and fights about the exploiting principles of the British Government in Hindustan." Referring to the sending of directions for making bombs to India, Das remarked that "I shall say that there is no lack of chemists in India, and if we could be successful in sending a formula for making bombs, it would be a great credit to us that, notwithstanding the opening of letters from this country, we managed to send the obnoxious message to India." [33]

He admitted the existence of a school in Vancouver and acknowledged its limited political activities. Political education of the East Indians in Canada was his duty,Das insisted. A series of strongly worded anti-British articles poured forth from Das' pen: "A Strong Protest Against British

Justice," "Our National Life at Stake," "Famine in Hindustan and the Only Remedy," "The Russian Measure in Hindustan," and "A Lesson from the German Revolution of 1849."[34]

For almost ten months after dismissal from the services of United States Immigration Department in Vancouver, Das was without a job. His life was made even more difficult by the constant and strict surveillance of his activities by the secret services of the Immigration Department headed by Hopkinson. As a result of these pressures, Das left Vancouver for Seattle in the Fall of 1908.[35] The Free Hindustan continued publication from this city. Das began preaching the necessity of winning over the Indian Army to the nationalist cause, and even made direct appeals to the Sikhs. From Seattle, Das made his way to New York from where succeeding numbers of The Free Hindustan came out. It was reported that while in New York, Das had worked in close contact with a leading Irish American publisher who sympathised with the Indian cause.[36] For three years, The Free Hindustan was published during which time such people as Tolstoy and the British socialist Hyndman took an interest in Das' writings. Again, at the instance of the British, and also probably owing to lack of funds, The Free Hindustan ceased publication.[37]

A discussion of the activities of Das brings into focus a number of points germane to the central concern of this chapter. Das' activities mark the beginning of overt radical politics in the East Indian community in British Columbia.

Henceforth, sympathetic concerns with politics in India and protests against federal immigration measures both were to occupy the thoughts and actions of Canadian East Indians. Leadership in such matters was to be provided by educated persons. The example of Das had opened the way for others to follow. Furthermore, the suspicions of sedition and betrayal by the East Indian community were planted deeply in the minds of not only the Canadian officials but the Canadian people also, and this was a potent source of hostility against the community. Subsequent activities of other East Indians only confirmed the Canadians in their suspicions and this in consequence retarded East Indian acceptance into the host society.

Through his dedication and eloquence,Das had managed to create in Vancouver an active following. One of the most prominent of Das' followers was Guru Datt Kumar, popularly known as G.D.Kumar.[38] He had arrived in Vancouver on 31 October,1907 and was indicted three times for 'defrauding his countrymen'[39] but for want of evidence, he was released each time. In the absence of Teja Singh and Taraknath Das, he assumed the leadership of the community. Kumar made periodic visits to Seattle to confer with Das while he was there, indicating a close working relationship between the two leaders. After a number of these visits which culminated in a three month stay in Seattle, Kumar returned to Vancouver in November, 1909 and opened the Swadesh Sevak Home at 1632,2nd

Avenue West, Fairview. The function of the Home was mostly social and charitable, but politics inevitably crept in also. From the 2nd Avenue home, Kumar also published a monthly paper called the Swadesh Sevak (Servant of the Country.)[40] It was published in Gurumukhi, and hence was primarily addressed to the Sikh community. At first the paper confined its attention to the grievances of the Sikhs arising out of immigration restrictions, but later it also included critical commentaries on British rule in India. But the Swadesh Sevak ceased publication not long after its inception, owing primarily to the lack of interest of the community and lack of financial support. It stopped publication in 1911.[41]

Kumar, however, was not to be daunted by the failure of his first endeavour. Taraknath Das, who had left New York for Berkeley in September, 1910, arrived in Vancouver towards the end of the same year. Both collaborated to establish the India House, modelled on the India House of London. The aim of Das and Kumar was to make the House the base for their political and agitational work and at the same time to supplement the work of the Gurudwaras by providing shelter to the poor and unemployed segments of the East Indian community. The venture, however, did not secure the support of Teja Singh, perhaps because it posed threats to his own leadership of the Sikh community. Lacking in support and a regular source of funds, the project collapsed.[42]

On 4 January, 1910, a noted East Indian activist, Hussain Rahim alias Chagan Khiraj Varma arrived in Vancouver from Honolulu.[43] He had gone there from Japan. Soon after his arrival in Vancouver, Rahim formed the Canada India Supply Company and engaged his political experience gained in Japan to re-activate radical politics in the East Indian community. But once again the secret service of the Immigration Department was active and in October, 1910, Rahim was arrested for deportation for being in Canada illegally.[44] After searching through his personal effects, it was found that Rahim had in his possession "note books containing information on how to make bombs and numerous addresses of prominent agitators in England, Natal and Paris,"[45] Later it was also found by the Canadian Immigration authorities that Rahim was in contact with people like Krishnavarma and Madam Cama[46] of Geneva and that he was receiving banned newspapers like The Indian Sociologist, Bande Matram and Amrit Bazar Patrika.

Rahim, it seems, was one of the most important links between the East Indian community in Vancouver and Indian revolutionaries in other parts of the world. The protection of Rahim against possible deportation by the Immigration Department was thus in the best interests of the powerful radical group in the East Indian community in British Columbia. Hence the Hindustani Association was formed to

halt the deportation of Rahim. The initial objectives of the Association were

1. To defend and help any Hindu who might be so unfortunate as to fall under the displeasure of the Government or be threatened with deportation.

2. To continue an agitation against the Canadian Immigration Act as affecting the Hindus and if possible to get the restrictions removed.

3. To purchase a piece of land and erect a building to be the headquarters of the Association where:

a. a school for the teaching of English to the Hindus should be established.

b. that a set of rooms be set aside for the indigent and the sick of the community to be housed and attended to by one of their own members.

4. That one of their members be sent to the United States to collect funds for the Association.

It was also agreed to appoint G.D.Kumar the secretary and treasure of the Association and Harnam Singh the delegate to the United States.[47]

Soon after its formation, the Association sent a letter to Lord Minto, Lord Morley and Sir Wilfred Laurier protesting against the pending deportation of Rahim. In the letter, the Association claimed that "as British subjects, we demand our inalienable rights to reside more freely in the British Empire [and] request immediate redress against high-handed, impolitic and Empire-

breaking actions of local authorities."[48] Further investigation occasioned because of this protest resulted in the Immigration Department's inability to produce enough evidence against Rahim. Consequently, suits against him were dropped and he was allowed to stay in Vancouver.

The success of the Association in stopping the deportation of Rahim prompted its members and founders to give the organisation a more formal structure and a wider, more permanent base. Passage of restrictive federal immigration measures and the failure of previous East Indian organisations also contributed to this end. In early 1910, the Hindustan Association was formally established in Vancouver.[49] (See Appendix I for the constitution of the Association). The primary objective of the Association was to "establish Liberty, Equality and Fraternity of the Hindustani Nation in relations with the rest of the nations of the world." For its members in Vancouver, the Association pledged to provide social services and economic aid. The range of the Association's interests is indicated in the number of Departments that it organised, including Immigration and Emigration; Sanitary Training Bureau; Social Advancement Service; Educational Services Department; Political Relations Department; Trades and Commercial Development Service; Justice Department; and the Publications Bureau. The

Association, in short, had unmistakeable marks of organisational comprehensiveness and sophistication.

For a few months after its inception, the Hindustan Association performed valuable intermediary services for the East Indian community, seeking liberalisation of immigration restrictions. In one such petition to the Governor General, the Association noted that even though the East Indians were "not paupers and have independent means of subsistence," they found themselves discriminated against, while the Association pointed out, the Chinese and the Japanese were not. Further, the petition noted that "the present Dominion Immigration Laws are quite inconsistent with the Imperial policy because they discriminate against the people of India," and remarked that "we strongly protest against it, and demand our rights as British subjects with all the emphasis we can command."[50] For sometime at least, it seemed that the Hindustan Association had truly imposed some unity on the rapidly diversifying East Indian community, and that it was representing the interests of all the segments of the community.

However, in the following year, 1911, that sense of apparent unity fast disappeared. The Sikhs made separate and distinct attempts to reinforce their own group solidarity. On December 15, 1911, the Khalsa Diwan Society was re-organised and strengthened to promote the specific

interests of the Sikh community.[51] The Sikh Temple Committee issued a separate newspaper, Pardeshi Khalsa. It made a separate representation to the Governor General-In-Council regarding the various disabilities under which these "unoffending and harshly treated people" were labouring.[52] Apart from building a new Temple for the Sikh community in Vancouver the Sikhs raised about $10,000 to build three high schools in Doaba, Manjha and Malwa in Punjab.[53] The Sansar noted that two Sikhs had collected about $23,000 in cash and promises for the establishment of Khalsa High School in Jullundur.[54] While these generous contributions were made towards the promotion of Sikh interests in British Columbia and in India, charitable organisations such as Swadesh Sevak Home and the India House failed due to lack of financial support from the East Indian community.[55] This seems to indicate that communal interests superseded wider concerns for the social and economic betterment of the entire East Indian community.

In the same year, 1911, Hussain Rahim formed the United India League. The League was an "organisation pledged to carry on activities with constitutional means," and purported to be an "instrument of social and political regeneration of the Hindustanees."[56] In its declaration of principles, the League emphatically stated that it stood for democratic self government for India, and that it did not believe in any caste, creed or colour that impeded the

realisation of its ideals.A few days after its inception, the League sent a lengthy petition to the Dominion government drawing its attention to the various restrictions on East Indians in Canada and urging their immediate repeal. The petition noted the "fidelity and heroic loyality" of the Sikhs to the cause of the British Empire, and reiterated that the official status of the East Indians in Canada was "wholly differentiated from that of other Oriental immigrants."[57] Therefore, the League argued, the East Indians were justified in demanding preferential treatment. The Minister of Interior in reply wrote that "there is a very strong feeling among classes wielding considerable political influence in Canada against any relaxation of the restrictions" and that for this reason,"it is not possible to forsee the ultimate result of your representation."[58]

The proliferation of a number of East Indian organisations with essentially the same social and political aims betrays a lack of unity, cohesiveness and able leadership in the community. The united front that the community had shown in 1907-08 now seemed to be an illusion. Instead of one acknowledged head of the community, there were now several leaders, each wanting to lead the community in his own way.[59] An attempt was made to form a committee consisting of the various East Indian leaders, but the failure to agree on who was to head the committee resulted in an early demise of the venture.[60] As a result of this and

previous disagreements among the various leaders of the community, many East Indians lost faith in the educated men and in their integrity and ability to lead them. This lack of confidence in the mass of illiterate East Indians may, in part, also account for the failure of various organisations and papers. Some of the members of the community charged that there were few leaders who were, in fact, supported financially from contributions made by the people. These leaders were not, it was pointed out, self-sacrificing individuals genuinely interested in the social and economic welfare of the East Indian community. The case of Teja Singh was reportedly the most spectacular. It was rumoured that as far back as 1907, when Teja Singh had first appeared in Vancouver, about sixty or seventy East Indians had given a written undertaking that they would take care of Teja Singh's financial needs in return for his leadership. By 1912, however, these East Indians were no longer willing to carry out the conditions of the guarantee. When faced with this situation, Teja Singh threatened to take the matter to the Chief Khalsa Diwan in Amritsar, India.[61] But shortly afterwards, he left Vancouver instead.

It should be evident by now that the problem of strong leadership and organisational unity within the community remained unsolved by the beginning of the second decade of the present century. In the next three years, however,

various leaders, with differing political and ideological convictions made attempts to overcome this problem. As a result of these efforts, three factions developed in the community: radicals, moderates, and 'loyalists.' The potential for factionalism had always existed in the East Indian community. An intelligence report on Vancouver East Indians had earlier estimated that about ten percent of the East Indians were loyal to the government, thiry percent actively seditious and sixty precent were waverers.[62] There had always existed an uneasy and tenuous relationship between these factions but this was no longer possible. The gradual polarisation of the relations between the East Indian community and the host society due to the passage of a series of restrictions upon immigration, the search for strong leadership in the community and the arrival of some East Indian revolutionaries on the Pacific coast account for this. Of the three factions, however, only the radical and the moderate East Indians had organisational structures to implement their objectives; the loyalists worked under cover as secret agents of the Immigration Department. Consequently, only the former two shall be discussed here. A fuller discussion of the loyalists will be found in a later chapter.

The moderate element, which preferred a more peaceful and constitutional approach to the solution of East Indian

problems in Canada, was led principally by one man, Dr Sundar Singh. Singh during his early years in Canada had begun his political career in the radical camp. He was, for instance, the founding secretary of the Hindustan Association in 1910. But his enthusiasm for such involvement in radical politics underwent a sharp change after 1910. This may have been due to his desire to provide leadership to the uncommitted and politically detached segment of the East Indian community, thereby carving out a place for himself. But despite his zeal and enthusiasm, Singh failed in his endeavours in British Columbia. His newspaper, the Aryan was founded in 1911 and aimed at "making the Indians, especially the Sikhs aware of injustices done to their kinsmen in Canada;"[63] it failed publication a year after it was started. Financial support from the community was not forthcoming. The following year, Singh started publishing the Sansar which was directly addressed to the Sikhs but once again, owing to the lack of interest and financial support of the East Indian community, it ceased publication soon after its inception.[64] In these newspapers, Singh had attempted to promote the moral, religious, social and political education of the East Indians. At the same time, he had also criticised the activities of the radical members of the community. For this, The Hindustanee, a potent organ of the radical faction, labelled the Sansar 'maya,' a great

illusion and cheeky beggar.[65] In 1914, it remarked caustically that "our Sansar friends of Victoria were eagerly sought out by our wise and benevolent government of Canada, and along with the reappearance of the Sansar, the Canadian politicians and their flunky press have hastened to label Dr Sundar Singh as the leader, though he is in fact leading just himself, by himself...."[66] But both East Indians and whites in British Columbia proved unreceptive to Sundar Singh's ideas. This was the result of the well entrenched position of the radical faction and the pervasiveness of west coast racialism. Singh therefore decided to move to eastern Canada.

His choice of eastern Canada was predictable. Much to the dismay and disappointment of British Columbians, eastern Canadians had always shown a somewhat more liberal and tolerant attitude towards the Orientals, and this relatively liberal atmosphere was certainly conducive to the purpose of Sundar Singh. Moreover, the ground was also familiar as Singh had in 1912, addressed the Empire Club of Toronto, putting before it the East Indian case. In his address at that time, he had stressed the virtues of the Sikh 'race' and extolled the uniqueness of their religion, their strictly monogamous matrimonial habits and their impeccable services to the British Empire. Furthermore, he had also appealed to the "good sense and the humanity" of the

Canadians, "being firmly persuaded that if the question is properly brought before right-minded Canadians," "justice and fair play" would be given.[67]

Shortly after his arrival in Toronto, Sundar Singh formed the Canada India League.[68] The membership of the League at the time of its inception was about eighty five, practically all of it drawn from Toronto. A membership fee of one dollar was levied while other revenue came from voluntary subscriptions. Singh's procedure in disseminating his ideas to the Canadian people was "to lecture in public halls and other public gatherings, thereby interesting the citizens in his propaganda."[69] Pamphlets were printed and circulated to supplement the propaganda delivered at the meetings.

Among its other activities, the League attempted to send Ernest W.Jackson to India to put before the Indian public the plight of their compatriots in Canada. Jackson was, however, refused a landing permit by the British authorities and was subsequently deported from Hong Kong. At about the same time, James E.Dobb was also sent by the League to Demarara to solicit the support and sympathy of the East Indians there for the cause of East Indians in Canada, but that trip,too,was aborted by British intervention. Apart from this, the League did not do much else. Its effectiveness as a spokesman for the East Indians in

Canada was limited. As W.D.Scott,the Superintendent of Immigration, remarked, "we know of no rights which the League possesses to speak for the East Indian population of either Canada or India. Located as they are in Toronto, they are geographically little fitted to speak of the conditions of East Indians in Canada, practically all of whom reside in British Columbia."[70]

The Canada India Committee grew out of the Canada India League.The Committee had two primary aims:

a.To promote a wider appreciation of Canada's relation to India.

b.To secure its equitable adjustment.[71]

It claimed that its motives were based on the fundamental Rights of Man and the principles of Christianity "without regard to political, sectarian or personal aims."[72] In two important resolutions, the Committee accepted, as involving a high moral obligation, Queen Victoria's pledge to treat British East Indians as equal subjects in the British Empire, and secondly it registered its opposition to discrimination against East Indians in Canada. However, it also insisted that due regard be paid to the economic needs and aspirations of Canadians.[73]

The Committee voiced its liberal opinions through a a number of pamphlets. Canada and India- A Journal of Information and Conciliation included articles that were moderate

in tone and general in approach. The problems of the East Indians in Canada were placed in the context of the problems of the East Indians in the Empire. In the Hindu Case, the Committee prepared a full and accurate account of the East Indian problem in Canada.[74] In 1916, the Committee issued yet another pamphlet, India's Appeal to Canada, in which calls were made to view the problem of East Indians more sympathetically.[75] The general tone of all these publications was much more conciliatory than that of the more radical papers such as The Hindustani, The Free Hindustan and the Ghadr, and as such neither the Committee nor the moderates generally posed serious threat to peace and political stability either in Canada or India. For this reason and because of its small numbers, the moderate element was an inconsequential variable in the political calculations of the federal government. It was the radicals who posed a problem for Ottawa.

In British Columbia, while the moderates organised in Toronto, the radical faction was active and flourishing. A number of events which took place in the community account for this. One of the first of these was the admission of wives of Sikhs in British Columbia. On 21 June, 1912, two Sikhs, Bhai Bhag Singh and Priest Balwant Singh returned to Vancouver with their wives. Bhag Singh who had been in Vancouver for more than four years had gone to visit in

India in 1910, while Balwant Singh had gone there in 1909. Both the Sikhs were allowed entry into Canada but their spouses were not on the grounds that they did not have previous Canadian residence, they did not come directly from India as the Immigration Act required, and did not have in their possession the stipulated amount of two hundred dollars.[76] Strict observation of the law on the part of the Immigration Department was strengthened by by the belief that the work of bringing the wives to Canada was the doing of professional agitators who were always trying to embarrass the government.[77] This issue created wide interest in the East Indian community as well as in British Columbia at large. Many white people also took up cudgels on behalf of the East Indians.[78] The Sikhs, Hindus proper and the Muslims all stood united on the matter and petitioned the imperial and dominion governments for the admission of the East Indian wives. After six months of angry debate and heated discussion, it was decided that the two women be allowed to remain in Canada. The Immigration Department, however, emphsised that this was done as an act of grace and that the action was "not to be taken as a precedent for any subsequent cases that may arise."[79]

For the radical faction, the admission of the two Sikh wives represented a clear victory. Given one concession, they asked for more. A spate of letters by the East Indians

asking for further relaxation of immigration restrictions appeared in the Canadian press.[80] A delegation of three East Indians was sent to England to plead for a more liberal and equitable Canadian immigration policy. This was done because, in the eyes of the East Indian community, Premier Borden had failed to keep his promise to remedy the prevailing conditions.[81] If however the delegates failed in their mission to England, they were to proceed to India where they would seek the influence of the Indian National Congress, the Sikh Educational Conference and the Indian Muslim League to bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion.[82]

In addition to these efforts, an open letter to the British public was sent by the East Indians of North America. They demanded that the rights of East Indians in British Columbia be the same as those enjoyed by other ethnic minorities such as the Germans, Italians, Austrians and the Japanese. Furthermore, they demanded that pressure be brought to bear upon the Canadian government to allow the entry into Canada of the wives and children of the East Indians already resident there, and asking that those orders-in-council discriminating against East Indian immigration be repealed at once.[83] In British Columbia, warnings were issued regarding the misrepresentation and misunderstanding of the East Indian problem in Canada. G.D.Kumar,

addressing a joint meeting of the United India League and the Khalsa Diwan Society remarked that "the Japanese misrepresentation of the Russians had resulted in bloodshed of thousands and the loss of millions of dollars. I draw the same parallel here, where some misguided fools represent the Hindus as immoral, backward and as having no power at all."[84] Many East Indians of the radical faction also joined the Canadian Labour Party and the Industrial Workers of the World. It was feared by some Canadian officials that there were branches of the two organisations in the East Indian community itself.[85] There is no doubt that the motive behind East Indian involvement in these organisations was not deep ideological committment but a desire to promote group interests.

Activities of the radical faction in British Columbia were part of the wider network of revolutionary movements on the Pacific coast, working simultaneously to overthrow the British in India. Vancouver had initially been the centre of the revolutionary movement during the first decade of this century. But vigilant watch and intervention by the British and Canadian authorities had proved a constant source of irritation and frustration to the activists. As a result, the movement had shifted its base to San Francisco around 1911. The United States offered a more congenial psychological and political environment in which the Indian

revolutionaries could work.[86]

After 1911, one man, Lala Hardayal, was largely responsible for arousing and sustaining the interests of the East Indians of North America in revolutionary politics.[87] Like Taraknath Das before him, Hardayal was a political suspect in India, and like Das he, too, took refuge in America. Hardayal was a native of Delhi. Born in a Brahmin family, he received his early education at St.Stephens College, Delhi and in Lahore where he earned his M.A. degree. Thereupon he proceeded to England on a state scholarship for three years. He joined Oxford's St. John College but after sometime surrendered his scholarship because "he disapproved of the English system of education in India."[88] He came back to India briefly in 1908 and preached passive resistance in Lahore.A year later, in September 1909, however, he left for Paris at the insistence of Shyamji Krishnavarma to edit Bande Matram, the monthly organ of the Indian Independence League. Soon after his arrival in Paris, Hardayal discovered his views to be incompatible with those of Shyamji. "Failing to persuade the latter to adopt violent methods in the furtherance of political ends," Hardayal left Paris, "determined to transfer the centre of his activities in America."[89] In 1911, Hardayal arrived in California and in the same year, he was appointed a lecturer in Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy at Stanford. However,

after a year's teaching at the university, Hardayal was dismissed from his position for 'overplaying' his relationship to Stanford.[90] Relieved from his contractual commitment to the university, Hardayal began epousing his radical views in public. But to have his ideas given wider appeal, and to increase his effectiveness, it was necessary for him to have organisational backing. This was provided by reviving the dormant structure of the Hindustani Association which had lapsed since 1911

This organisation had been formed largely because of the efforts of G.D.Kumar who had moved to Seattle from Vancouver towards the end of 1911.[91] Sohan Singh Bhakna was elected president, G.D.Kumar secretary and Pandit Kanshi Ram treasurer.[92] The aims of the Association were "receipt of vernacular papers from India, the importation of youth from India to America for education with a view to devoting their lives to national life in India and the holding of weekly meetings to discuss politics."[93] A weekly, The India, was published by the Association through which notices of political meetings and other discussions were sent out. But soon lethargy set in, enthusiasm waned and the organisation was on the brink of collapse. Hardayal's timely arrival saved the Association by providing it a philisophical base.[94]

At meeting on 21 April, 1913, Hardayal moved a resolution to reorganise the tottering Association. He proposed

that it should be called the Hindustani Association of the Pacific Coast, in short the Hindi Pacific Association.The primary objective of the Association was "to end British rule in India through armed revolution and to set up a republican form of government based on liberty and equality." From its headquarters in San Francisco, the Association was to issue a weekly called Ghadr, published in Urdu and Punjabi. Hardayal emphasised right from the beginning that "there will be no place for religious discussion in the party." Moreover, membership in the Association was to be open to all Hindustanis; it was not intended to be a party of the educated elite.[95]

The first issue of the Ghadr was published in November 1913.[96] Revolutionary mottos of the Ghadr Party (named for paper) were graphically portrayed in the various publications. Many articles and poems from the Ghadr were reprinted in booklets, five of which became very popular,namely: Ghadr di Gunj (Echoes of Mutiny), Ilan-i-Jang (Declaration of War), Naya Zamana (New Age), The Balance Sheet of British Rule in India, and A Few Facts About British Rule in India.

The Ghadr paper and the party played a very important role in the political and nationalistic education of overseas Indians.Together, they "instilled a revolutionary spirit and zeal in Indians abroad and prepared them for armed national revolution for achieving Indian independence."[97] In

the gurudwaras in the United States, Canada, Shangai, Hong Kong and Singapore, "it became customary to recite poems from Ghadr and hold political discussions after evening prayers." The party managed to change Sikhs from "loyal British subjects to ardent revolutionaries."[98] For the politically sensitive East Indian community of British Columbia, the Ghadr party provided much inspiration. The appeal of the party fell on a particularly fertile soil as it coincided with the Komagata Maru incident. It influenced the party's activities and reinforced Indian anti-British sentiment in Canada, the United States, the Punjab and in India as a whole.[99]

Despite planning, enthusiasm and zeal, the political movement of the East Indians in British Columbia and the Pacific coast failed. The federal government was adamant about restrictive immigration and British rule in India was well entrenched. In view of this, any movement against both the federal and the Imperial governments was bound to fail. Notwithstanding these difficulties, however, part of the reason for the poor execution of revolutionary plans lay with the radicals themselves. In the first place, they did not have a coherent plan of action. On the one hand, East Indians in British Columbia fought legal battles in the courts in Canada, as shall be seen in detail later, and on the other tried to aid their compatriots in the United States to drive the British out of India. Fighting two battles on

two fronts without a well defined programme of action led to the eventual defeat of the East Indians. Ideological, social and cultural cleavages within the community further contributed to the eventual defeat of all political movements. Informers within the community were always ready to report to federal authorities any plan of action that the radical faction embarked upon. Cultural distrust was imported from India and penetrated the inner layers of the East Indian community. For example, in the Ghadr party of the west coast, the Sikhs of Doaba and Malwa regions dissociated from those who came from the Majha region.[100] The prominent Indian nationalist leader, Lala Lajpat Rai found his experiences with the East Indian in North America generally 'disappointing,' for he discovered deep-seated cultural prejudices between Bengalis, Marathis, Punjabis and the South Indians.[101]

The problem of leadership was a difficult one as well. In Canada, it was not so acute in the early years, but as the community diversified and factions developed within it, lack of strong leadership became an important problem. People such as Taraknath Das, Teja Singh and G.D.Kumar left Vancouver while Sundar Singh defected to eastern Canada, leaving the control to Hussain Rahim and a few others of the Sikh Temple. On the wider political front, Hardayal, who had provided the East Indian community with inspiring

leadership, was arrested in California on 16 March,1914 because of his anarchist views and ordered deported. Released on bail, he absconded to Switzerland and did not return to the United States.[102] Towards the end of his life he became a pacifist.[103] Those following Hardayal lacked his appeal, and in fact perpetuated the existing social and cultural cleavages in the community.[104]

The East Indian community in Canada and the United States was not able to maintain absolute secrecy about its activities. The role of informers has already been noted. Under pressure from officials in Canada and India, many important leaders informed on their colleagues.[105] Confessions and defections apart, however,the secret agents of Canada, the United States and Great Britain were also active. Canada alone had agents in Boston, New York, Kansas City and Seattle.[106] Robert Morss Lovett,the University of Chicago professor wrote in his autobiography,All Our Years, that he was more deeply moved "by the treatment of East Indians in the United States by British agents,acting through our authorities,than any other instance of foreign interference in our affairs."[107]

Finally,a warm response from India to activities of East Indians on the Pacific coast was not always forthcoming. The appearance of Mahatma Gandhi and his philosophy of non-violence in South Africa and subsequently in India swung

the mood of many Indians from radical to moderate and constitutional politics. Leaders such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak publicly disavowed their previous radical tactics.[108] Lala Lajpat Rai from the Punjab wrote that "we do not want armed resistance...We do not want passive resistence...We want to get away from murder and assasination, conflagaration and terrorism..."[109] In these words he captured the moods of many of his countrymen. At the same time, many Sikhs in British Columbia were also disillusioned by the lack of support from prominent Sikh leaders in the Punjab.As Dr Sundar Singh wrote in the Sansar, "though hearing our cries and knowing our troubles,not a single brother from India has come to enquire about our conditions or to befriend us or to share our troubles; nor do we ever hear of such a person. There is no one here to advocate our cause, and relieve us of our troubles by self sacrifice and enlightenment."[110] On the contrary, a powerful body of people in the Punjab were decidedly opposed to the political plans of their emigrant compatriots, and in fact aided the government to break up Ghadr revolutionary bands.[111]

For a variety of reasons, then, political movements in the East Indian community were frustrated and eventually defeated. However, even though they failed, they had an important impact upon the process of integration of the East Indian community into the host society. It is appropriate

therefore to examine briefly what some of these effects were.

The political movements increased the group cohesiveness of the East Indian community to a considerable degree. This process was enhanced by the relatively homogeneous background of the immigrants in terms of their place of origin, religion and social system. The community had a number of institutions that were geared to catering to the needs of its members and which, in doing so, perpetuated its alienation from the Canadian environment. The Khalsa Diwan Society and the various gurudwaras established very early in the community catered for the spiritual needs of the majority of the East Indians, the Sikhs. The existence of a number of vernacular newspapers such as the Pardeshi Khalsa, Swadesh Sevak, and Sansar, short lived as they were, also reinforced ethnocentric values, while meeting the needs of the majority of the non-English speaking East Indians. Such ethnic institutions indirectly circumscribed the intellectual horizon the immigrants and discouraged their participation in the activities of the host society.

The contributions of the various political organisations towards the alienation of the East Indians from the host society can hardly be over-emphasised. Those moderate organisations which preferred a more conciliatory approach to the solution of East Indian problems, and which aimed

to facilitate the process of East Indian integration into the host society were,for reasons outlined above,ineffective. The radical organisations, intensely nationalistic in their outlook , took to agitational politics and called upon the East Indians to sacrifice with "body, mind and soul." A large part of the East Indian population was imbued with patriotic spirit, and responded warmly to the call for active participation in the revolutionary plans of the radicals. Those who did not, such as Sundar Singh and the moderates were treated by most of the community as traitors. Thus the nature and values of the political organisations also encouraged group cohesiveness which in turn retarded the integration of the East Indian immigrants into the host society.

Leaders of the various political organisations also played a very important role in retarding integration.They actively attempted to maintain and enlarge their clientele in the East Indian community. Most of the leaders were prosperous and well educated, and some such as Hardayal, brilliant and dedicated. Almost invariably, they were extremely nationalistic in their outlook , and when the illiterate members of the community wavered, the leaders reminded them of their "duty" to their motherland and exhorted them to work harder. A large segment of the community was dependent upon the leaders for the various intermediary services they

performed and it therefore followed them even more closely. It may indeed be no exaggeration to state that for a people coming from a traditional, peasant background, the leaders played the most important role in the way the East Indians structured and defined their roles in the wider social structure of the new country.[112] Since the radical leaders, who were in the majority, were antagonistic to the policies of Canada, they tended to encourage the alienation of the East Indians from the host society.

In conclusion, then, this chapter has drawn attention to the relative institutional completeness of the East Indian community seen in the proliferation of various social, political and religious organisations, and articulate leadership. It has also attempted to show the importance of this factor to the process of East Indian acceptance and integration into the Canadian society. Important though it is, however, it must be emphasised that the institutional completeness did not create the alienation of the East Indian immigrants. Its importance must be seen in the context of other factors. Together, this and the previous chapter have largely concentrated on those factors pertaining to the East Indians themselves. The next two chapters will focus on the attitudes and policies of the host society.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

[1] Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and Personal Relations of Immigrants," American Journal of Sociology, 70 (September, 1974), 193.

[2] This term as Breton uses must be seen in a relative sense and not in an absolute one. Ofcourse there are no ethnic communities that could perform all of the services required by its members, otherwise members would never make use of the institutions of the host society.

[3] Breton, op.cit., 196.

[4] Adapted from Breton, 198-200.

[5] The terms radical and moderate are used to emphasis the difference in tactics which two segments of East Indian community utilised to achieve their aims. Both the moderate as well as the radical East Indians wanted independence for India and more equalitarian immigration policies in Canada, but whereas the former preferred a more peaceful, constitutional means to attain their goals, the latter took to agitation, conspiracy and violence to achieve their objectives.

[6] The Lotus Dagger Society was formed in England in 1891 by Auribindo Ghose, but it did not last long. See N.N. Bhattacharya, "Indian Revolutionaries Abroad," Journal of Indian History, 50 (1972), 416.

[7] Ibid. Shyamji Krishnavarma, a native of Kathiawar near Bombay was one of the first Indian revolutionaries.

[8] Ibid.

[9] See Arun Coomer Bose, " Indian Nationalist Agitation in the United States and Canada till the Arrival of Hardayal," Journal of Indian History, 43 (1965), 229.

[10] Kushwant Singh, Ghadr : 1915; India's First Armed Revolution (New Delhi : R & K Publishers, 1966), 14.

[11] Ibid., 15.

[12] Ibid. For a detailed life history of some of the leaders,

see Fauja Singh, Eminent Freedom Fighters of Punjab, (Patiala : The Punjabi University, 1972.)

[13] Bose, "Indian Nationalist Agitation," 234.

[14] For a history sheet of Teja Singh, see 'Report on Hindus' in Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 200, File 332, part 3 (b), Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa (PAC).

[15] Ibid. See also, Gobind Behari Lal, "Dr. Taraknath Das in Free India," Modern Review, 92 (1952), 36-38.

[16] Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 201, File 332 part 5(b). Singh was a medical practitioner at Westminister Hospital, London. Later he was ship's medical officer on the Mail Line which ran from Liverpool to Brazil and New York, and with the British-India S.N.Co. on its run from London to Bombay.

[17] 'Memo. on Hindus;' Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 200 File 332 part 3 (a).

[18] A government official noted that the Committee was "in fact a Labour Union, using as a redezvous, a Sikh Temple, built 2½ years ago at Fairview, 2nd Avenue, Vancouver. It was decided to provide assistance to indigent Hindus so as to keep them off the streets, to form a labour union." Ibid.

[19] W.C.Hopkinson to W.W.Cory, 15 April, 1909. Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 201, File 332 part 3 (a) PAC.

[20] Ibid.

[21] See Chapter IV for a detailed study.

[22] See footnote 17.

[23] See W.C.Hopkinson to J.B.Harkin, 4 January, 1909. Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 200, File 332 part 3 (a). PAC.

[24] 'A Note on the Revolutionary Movement in Canada,' Immigration Branch, Vol. 386, part 11 PAC. The association was formed in late 1906 or early 1907.

[25] See Arun Coomer Bose, "Indian Nationalist Agitation in the United States," 235.

[26] Evidence of this was found in intelligence reports by Hopkinson and his informers. See also, "Political Agitation Among the Hindus on the Pacific Coast from 1912 to 1915," (1914), Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 205, File 332 part 12 (a); "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada," Immigration Branch, Vol. 386, part 11, PAC.

[27] See Bimanbihari Majumdar, Militant Nationalism in India and its Socio-Religious Background (Calcutta : General Printers and Publishers, (1966) 151.

[28] William C.Hopkinson was a secret agent attached to the Immigration Department. His chief task was to report on political activities in British Columbia East Indian community. Hopkinson was hired upon recommendation by Canadian official, including Mackenzie King. He attained information on East Indians through a number of informers, but he also used to disguise himself as a Sikh and attend East Indian meetings. Hopkinson had arrived in Vancouver in 1905. He was born in Yorkshire in 1876, but his early childhood was spent in India. He joined the India Voluntary Rifles; became a member of Calcutta police and later the chief of Police at Lahore. He was an expert on Bertallion system of thumbprint, and measurement identification. See Immigration Branch, Vol. 506, File 808722 part 11; Vol 561 File 808722 part I, for details on the life of Hopkinson.

[29] Report by W.C.Hopkinson in Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 200, File 332 part 3 (a), undated ca. 1908, PAC.

[30] This is an indicative and illustrative of the general influence the British Government had when it came to matters relating to East Indians in United States. See the frustations of prominent East Indian sympathisers in America due to British influence in Robert Morss Lovett, All Our Years (New York : Viking Press, 1948.)

[31] See "W.L.Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Deputy Minister of Labour; Confidential Memorandum Containing Representation to The Effect that Certain Hindus at Present Resident in Vancouver are using the City as Their Headquarters for Seditious Propaganda in India," July 15, 1908, Ottawa, Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 209, File 332 part 3.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Bose, "Indian Nationalist Agitation," 235.

[36] Banerji, Indian Freedom Movement Revolutionaries, 8.

[37] Banerji states that the publication of Free Hindustan was stopped at the instance of the British, but according to Bose, the publication was stopped "mainly on the account of lack of funds." Bose, op.cit., 235.

[38] For the History Sheet of G.D.Kumar, see Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 200, File 332 part 3(b),PAC.

[39] Ibid.

[40] "A Note on the Revolutionary Movement In Canada," Immigration Branch, Vol. 386, part 11, undated, PAC.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Note from Director of Criminal Intelligence India, 14 November, 1911, quoted in Bose, op.cit., 237.

[43] "A Note on the Revolutionary Movement in Canada," op.cit.

[44] W.C.Hopkinson to W.W.Cory, 26 September, 1910, Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 201, File 332 part 4, PAC.

[45] MacGill to W.W.Cory, Deputy Minister of Interior, 28 October, 1910, ibid.

[46] Madam Bhikaji Rustom K.R.Cama (1876-1935) was the "solitary representative of the peaceful Parsi community to take a leading part in revolutionary activites." Left India in 1902, visited America and settled in Paris to direct revolutionary politics from there. See Bimanbihari Majumdar, Militant Nationalism in India and its Socio-Religious Background, (Calcutta : General Printers and Publishers, 1966), 148.

[47] W.C.Hopkinson to W.W.Cory, 26 September, 1910, Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 201, File 332 part 4,PAC.

[48] Province, 29 June, 1910.

[49] W.C.Hopkinson to W.W.Cory, 10 March, 1910, Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 201, File 332 part 4 (May 1910- December, 1910) and part 5 (a), 1911, PAC.

[50] Petition from the Hindustan Association to the Governor General, 24 April, 1910, Immigration Branch, Vol. 384, part 4, PAC.

[51] According to Bose, the Khalsa Diwan Society was formed in this year. See Bose, "Indian Nationalist Agitation," 237. But this assertion seems inaccurate as Kushwant Singh convincingly points out that this society was formed in 1907. It seems more likely, in view of the argument of this chapter, that the Society may have been given renewed vitality and purpose to promote Sikh interests.

[52] A copy of this petition maybe found in Immigration Branch, Vol. 384,part 3, PAC.

[53] See Span of Life, 5 (March, 1912) 6.

[54] See the Sansar (November, 1912) in Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 203, File 332 part 8, PAC.

[55] The numerically small Muslim group living in Vancouver, too were trying to promote their own sectional interests. Thus on 7 November, 1912, they raised more than $900 and sent the sum to the Grand Vizier of Turkey as their contributions towards those wounded soldiers "who have been bravely fighting to keep inviolable their houses and country." See memorandum from W.C.Hopkinson to W.W.Cory, 8 Nivember, 1912, Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 202, File 332 part 6 (a), PAC.

[56] The Hindustanee,Vol.I,No. 1, 1914. It was the official organ of the United India League.

[57] Lewis Harcourt to Governor General, 4 March, 1914, Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 204, File 332 part 11 (b), PAC.

[58] See Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 202, File 332 part 6 (a), PAC. A fuller discussion of Canadian political response will be found in Chapter IV.

[59] Indirect evidence of factionalism in the East Indian community may be found in G.D.Kumar, "Hindus in the United States," Span of Life,5 (March 1912.)

[60] Teja Singh sent G.D.Kumar to Uday Ram to see if Ram could be persuaded to relinquish his personal ambition to lead the East Indian community, but that effort failed. See W.C.Hopkinson to W.W.Cory, 7 March 1910, Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 200, File 332 part 3(b), PAC.

[61] Informer's note. See W.C.Hopkinson to W.W.Cory, 22 February, 1912, Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 202, File 332, part 6(b), PAC.

[62] District Intelligence Office (India) to Major T.W.G. Bryan, Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 205, File 332 part 12(b), PAC.

[63] See Bose, "Indian Nationalist Agitation," 237.

[64] A translated summary of Sansar may be found in Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 203, File 332 part 8, PAC.

[65] Hindustanee,Vol. I, No. V, 1914.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Sundar Singh, "Sikhs in Canada," Addresses Delivered Before the Canadian Club of Toronto, 1911-1912 (Toronto: Warwick Brothers and Rutter, 1912), 86-91; Sundar Singh, "Sikhs in Canada," Empire Club Speeches 1911-1912, (Toronto: Warwick Brothers and Rutter, 1913), 112-116.

[68] W.D.Scott, Superintendednt of Immigration to Dr. W.J. Roche, Minister of Interior, 20 April, 1917, Immigration Branch, Vol. 385 part 9, PAC.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] See "The Hindu Case," Issued by the Canada India Committee, Toronto, 1915, 9.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Copies of this paper and other publications of the Committtee may be found in Immigration Branch, Vol. 385,PAC.

[76] Montreal Gazette, 1 July, 1912.

[77] W.D.Scott to H.Mitchell, Department of Political Science, Queen's University, 20 December, 1916, Immigration Branch, Vol. 385 part 9, PAC.

[78] See W.Munns, Secretary, Canadian Suffrage Association to Borden, 1 February, 1912, Borden Papers, 145287; Mrs E.J.Kerr, Home Secretary, Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, to the Minister of Immigration [sic], 24 January, 1912, Canada Immigration Branch, Acc. 68/12, Box 219 File 536999; Methodist Recorder, XIII (February 1912), 12; See P.Ward, "White Canada Forever,"230.

[79] Cited in W.C.Hopkinson to Immigration Agent, Malcolm J.R.Reid, 23 May, 1912, Immigration Branch, Vol. 385 part 9, PAC.

[80] See newspaper clippings in Immigration Branch, Vol 388, File 536999, subsection 3, (clippings), PAC.

[81] Internal Memorandum. Dominion Immigrantion Agent, 17 March, 1913, Immigration Branch, Vol. 385 part 5, PAC.

[82] Ibid.

[83] A copy of the letter may be found in Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 205, File 332, PAC.

[84] Malcolm J.R.Reid to W.D.Scott, 24 February, 1913, Immigration Branch, Vol. 385, part 5, PAC.

[85] W.C.Hopkinson to W.W.Cory, 11 June, 1912, ibid. Rahim publically announced his membership in the Socialist Party.

[86] L.P.Mathur gives three reasons why the United States was preferred by most of the revolutionaries. The work of the Irish nationalists was an encouragement, both directly and indirectly. Further, the United States was looked upon as a land of "freedom and opportunity" and hence was psychologically conducive. Third, in the United States, there had always existed some anti-Briitsh sentiment, to which the East Indian could appeal with some sucess. See L.P.Mathur, Indian Revolutionary Movement in United States (New Delhi: S.Chand, 1970), 18.

[87] See Emily C.Brown, Hardayal, Hindu Revolutionary and Rationalist (Tuscon : Arizona University Press, 1974) for an excellent biography; also Dharamvira, Lala Hardayal and Revolutionary Movement of His Times (New Delhi: India Book Company, 1970.)

[88] Sedition Committee Report, 143-144; Emily C.Brown, ibid., 40.

[89] K.K.Banerji, Indian Freedom Movement Revolutionaries in America, 8.

[90] Giles T.Brown, "The Hindu Conspiracy, 1914-1917," Pacific Historical Review, XVII (1948), 300; Emily C. Brown, op.cit., 111-112.

[91] G.S.Deol, The Role of Ghadr Party, 55-56, footnote 4.

[92] Ibid., 56.

[93] Lahore Conspiracy Case No. I Judgement dated 13 September, 1915. Quoted in Deol, op.cit.,,56.

[94] Ibid., 57.

[95] Ibid., 56.

[96] Ghadr, in Urdu, means mutiny; however, the British and Canadian authorities often interpreted the word to mean traitor.

[97] Deol, Ibid., 74-75.

[98] Kushwant Singh, Ghadr, 21.

99 See Lahore Conspiracy Case Judgements, cited in Guruder Singh Deol, The Role of Ghadr Party, 23.

100 Ibid., 173.

101 Lala Lajpat Rai, Autobiographical Writings, ed. V.C. Joshi, (New Delhi : University Publishers, 1965) 203-207, 213-214, 217-218.

102 Deol, op.cit., 170.

103 See Emily C.Brown, op.cit., 243 ff. Hardayal died on 4 March, 1939 - on a lecture tour to the United States.

104 Ram Chandra, who succeeded Hardayal was accused of misappropriating party funds. He was shot dead in court during San Francisco trials in 1917. See L.P.Mathur, op.cit., 155. Details of the San Francisco trials are found in K.K.Banerji, op.cit.

105 See Kushwant Singh, Ghadr, 55; Deol, op.cit.; K.K. Banerji, Indian Freedom Movement Revolutionaries in America, 57; L.P.Mathur, Indian Revolutionary Movement, 157.

106 W.D.Scott to W.W.Cory, 13 October, 1916. Immigration Branch, Vol. 385, part 5, PAC.

107 Robert Morss Lovett, All Our Years (New York : The Viking Press, 1948),, 159.

108 Indian Sedition Report, Calcutta, (1918), 4.

109 V.C.Joshi (ed), Lala Lajpat Rai, Writings and Speeches, Vol. I (1888-1919) (New Delhi : University Publishers, 1966), 327-8.

110 Sansar, November, 1912.

111 See Deol, The Role of Ghadr Party, 176; see also Kushwant Singh, Ghadr, 54-57.

112 For theoretical discussion of the role of leaders, elites and primary groups in immigrant adjustment, see

S.N.Eisenstadt, "The Place of Elites and Primary Groups in the Absorption of New Immigrants in Israel," The American Journal of Sociology, LVII (July, 1951 - May, 1952), 222-31.

CHAPTER III

THE 'HINDU' AND HIS CANADIAN IMAGE

The structure of the host society and its attitudes toward immigrants are important factors in the process of immigrant acceptance and integration.[1] Some scholars have indeed insisted that the various patterns of responses that minority and immigrant group members show are based, in large measure, on the willingness of the dominant group to absorb the "subordinates."[2] This chapter examines the ways in which the structure, attitudes and perceptions of the host society limited the integration of the East Indian immigrants into the west coast society.

One recent scholar has argued that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century British Columbia possessed a structurally plural society.[3] The three main segments of this society were the native Indians, the Asians and the whites. None of these three segments were homogeneous but each possessed distinctive socio-cultural, economic and racial characteristics that set them apart from the others. The native Indians lived on the periphery of the community and for the most part did not participate in its wider institutional structure. The Asians, on the other hand, constituted a significant proportion of the population of British Columbia, and also shared many economic bonds with the host society. In this sense, the relationship between the two was symbiotic. But in their

institutional systems and values, the Asians differed considerably from the whites. In terms of their functional relationships, the two segments were linked hierarchically, the Asians occupying the lower ranks. As Professor Ward has noted, "these segments in west coast society - the white and the Chinese [and other Asian groups as well] enjoyed a form of co-existence, one based on differential access to power, the supremacy of the former, and the subordination of the latter."[4]

The existence of this pluralistic social structure, it has been suggested, tended to intensify racial awareness in British Columbia. The numerically dominant white segment, which wielded preponderant economic and political influence, desired to create a homogeneous society, one that was based upon race. A white Canada, therefore, became the most desirable goal and the most cherished identity. The pursuit of such an ideal, however, had two important consequences. It tended to reinforce the white segment's awareness of its somatic image, "that set of idealised physical characteristics [whiteness] which the community accepted as self image."[5] This fact, in turn, influenced their social outlook and the behavioural patterns. Furthermore, this self image became the yardstick for the evaluation of other segments in society.

A second consequence of the pursuit of white Canada was the proliferation of negative Oriental stereotypes

including those of East Indians. A stereotype, according to Gordon Allport is "an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalise) our conduct in relation to that category."[6] Stereotypes can be favourable or unfavourable, but in the case of East Indians, they were invariably the latter. Often stereotypes, at least in part, have some basis in reality, but by the process of "selective perception and selective forgetting,"[7] they are distorted. In some instances, however, stereotypes persist despite evidence to the contrary. Between the time the first East Indians entered Canada and the outbreak of World War I, negative stereotyped images of East Indians flourished, and were widely accepted by whites in British Columbia. Such stereotypes were derived from two major sources, European and North American perceptions of India and Indians in the nineteenth century and from the experiences and contacts with the East Indians in the province. Often generalised anti-Oriental sentiments, derived from contact with the Chinese and the Japanese, also crept in. It is therefore, necessary to examine separately the two major sources of the stereotypes to see the nature of the relationship between them.

Western and North American accounts and perceptions of India in the nineteenth century were extremely fragmented, and frequently inaccurate.[8] The western observer did not have access to the literature of the Indian in the

indigenous language, nor could he freely converse with him to learn of his views and ways. Moreover, Britain had monopoly over the flow of information from India, and most American accounts were based on reports issued by British correspondents writing from India. Eye witness accounts, lectures by missionaries and travellers epoused as facts what were, in essence, little more than distorted, contemplated versions of myths and legends.[9] Whatever the source of western and North American perceptions of India and the Indians, however, a small number of central ideas prevailed in most of these accounts. India's physical environment, its population, civilisation and low status of its women were especially selected for extensive commentary. These were also subjects of animated discussion in Canada.

It is interesting to note that while many North Americans expressed some opinions about India, the average school student had little accurate information about the country. Two of the geography text books in the United States during the late nineteenth century, for instance, together devoted twenty four paragraphs to the subcontinent. One of them, Potter's School Geography described India as "John Bull's farm in the East." Kashmir and the Punjab [they were considered the same in the text] were described as the most important provinces, "celebrated for their sheep and goat."[10] Such inaccuracies in school text books

were reinforced by even more inaccurate travellers' accounts." Those westerners who visited India were repelled by its hot, sticky climate and commentated unfavourably upon it. It was full of dust and drought, the visitors wrote; the air loaded with cholera and bubonic plague. In their view, India's climate was not at all congenial to healthy living. The many villages in the country were generally portrayed as little more than a collection of quaint, but squalid huts, smeared with a smooth mixture of dung and clay. These along with certain places of religious worships presented to the western visitors the hideous spectacle of "burning ghats, the sight of human carrion, vultures and the greasy stench of fetid flesh."[12] In short, western accounts portrayed India as a 'creepy,' 'shuddery' place which by western standards seemed most undesirable.

India's 'teeming millions' were another topic of considerable commentary in the western press. It was pointed out that Indians, especially the Brahmins, were a part of the 'Great Aryan' race, a portion of which had moved south of the Himalayas around 3000BC.[13] But over time, and because of the unhealthy climate, the iniquitous social system and the effects of sheer numbers, the Aryan influence in the Indian character dissipated. Lethargy and slavishness replaced enterprise and industry. By the late nineteenth century, Europeans seem to have accepted as common

information the apparent degeneracy of the Indian.[14] Rudyard Kipling's Indian was "new caught, sullen ...half devil, half child."[15] Many American travellers were disgusted with the pacifist and submissive nature of the Indians. Virility and masculinity, which the Aryan races - even the Muslims - possessed, was found wantinggin the Indian. An irate American travelling through Calcutta described the Indians as "naked niggers, members of race for whom one cannot help feeling contempt since they are all such miserable, fawning cringing, slavish cowards, especially when flogged for they do not resist but shriek frightfully for mercy."[16] A missionary, Reverend Knox made similar remarks about the Indians, adding that this state of the Indian character was a function of poor economic conditions and a stultifying social system.[17] By the latter part of the nineteenth century, then, the Indians as a race clearly appeared to be a lesser breed.

Indian and other Asian civilizations were judged by most westerners and North Americans to be on the decline, largely because of the flight of Christian religion from the continent. "Human nature languishes and degenerates into its worst stages, amidst the bounty of heaven and in the very region of its highest and holiest manifestations,"[18] claimed a widely used geography text book in the United States. Some western observers contended that Indian civilization had remained static (with the possible

exception in Indian Literature) for almost three thousand years. To a nineteenth century western mind with its fixation on progress, such a phenomenon was extremely difficult to comprehend. Of all the aspects of Indian civilization, caste, religion and the status of women elicited the most critical commentary. Caste, as an institution apparently sanctioned by religion, was repungnant and unacceptable to most westerners. It stratified social life and its rigidity retarted ambition for the individual who was thought to be unalterably fixed within his stratum. As one commentator noted, caste was a "complete inversion of all natural and moral laws" and it was held largely responsible for the moribund state of India.[19] The inevitable result, surmised many westerners, was intellectual, cultural and physical deterioration of the Indian. Unfavourable, deprecatory comments were also frequently made with respect to Hinduism and the status of Indian women.[20]

Brief though these notes have been, they nevertheless are indicative of the low regard in which the west held India and the Indians in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, British Columbians seem to have subscribed to these western perceptions. This, however, is not surprising. Most whites in British Columbia derived their ancestory from England, and when they came to Canada, they brought along with them their ancestors' baggage of cultural stereotypes. They were continually reinforced by

continued contact with Great Britain. From across the American border, popular ideas expressed in school text books, newspapers and other forms of communication flowed much more easily, and undoubtedly the Indian stereotypes of the Americans also influenced Canadian attitudes. Thus, echoing the voice of the whites in the United States and England, a Canadian writer noted that India

> "is a land under a curse, or rather under three fold curse, that of caste system, of gaunt eyed famine, and a poison breathing plague. Millions of people perish in the prolonged agonies of starvation during famines and they have no power to resist the epidemics which sweep over the land. Of sanitation they have not the faintest idea; in cosequence the water supply is polluted, the very air is filled with infected dust."[21]

The Victoria Trades and Labour Council was a persistent critic of East Indian, and of Oriental immigration generally. In one of its "persistent and unequivocal" petitions to the provincial government on the matter of the East Indian immigration, it pointed out, "that the country from which they came has long been recognised as a hot bed of the most virulent diseases, such as bubonic plague, small pox, Asiatic cholera and the worst forms of venereal diseases, and however, strict the medical examinations at our ports maybe, there is a constant danger that these people being the transmission of diseases to our people."[22] This was a familiar theme in western accounts of India.

Another theme constantly harped upon by many British Columbians was the excessive population and poverty of

of India from which East Indian immigrants in Canada tried to escape. It is doubtful if those who talked about this issue had first hand knowledge of the social and economic conditions in India; most likely they derived their knowledge from accounts in the English and the American press. But whatever their source, they believed that if once the East Indians were allowed entry, there would be no halt to greater numbers who would flock in later. A British Columbia Senator reflected the thoughts of many when he told the Upper House that

> We know there is nothing to prevent two million people a year coming in from that part of the country where plague and pestilence prevail, and were able bodied men receive about ten cents a day when they get work, but there is not always work for them to do. If they are not at once stopped from coming to our shores, in time they will come in like a flock of locusts and destroy the country.[23]

Fred Lockley, in a widely publicised article, chose to express British Columbia's fear of "Hindu Invasion" in a more sensational way:

> Have you ever watched a band of sheep in a rocky and barren field, pastured till the grass has been eaten down to the roots? You will see the sheep gather near the fence and look longingly at the luxuriant bunch of grass in the next field, while they march back and forth along the fence line in the hope of finding a chance to get into the grassy pasture ....
>
> India, densely-populated, plague-smitten, famine stricken, is that overcrowded and over pastured field; British Columbia and the United States are the green fields toward which the ever hungry hordes of India are eagerly looking. They have found the gap and are pouring in. Will the rest follow their leaders in an overwhelming flood? Will India, with her 296,000,000 population, of whom more than

> 100,000,000 are always on the verge of starvation, become an immigration menace? ....[24]

West coast's fears of being flooded by a "brown tide" and "Hindu invasion" were perhaps not as great as its fear of the "yellow peril," but even so, they were continually expressed during the period under discussion.

Western and American images of Indians as degenerate, slavish people were also echoed in British Columbia. The common belief here too was that it was hopeless to expect the Indian to adapt their habits and outlooks to the Canadian environment, for he was "totally opposed"[25] to the social and economic institutions of the western society. According to his critics in British Columbia, the East Indian was "dirty, ignorant and most immoral"[26] and although he was an "excellent creature in his own country," in Canada "he would put to blush vilest character of the slums."[27] J.B.Williams, a reputed provincial journalist, claimed that "the class of Hindus that have invaded British Columbia are commonly known as Sikhs, meaning the lower class, entirely dependent upon their physical capabilities - those who have no set aim in life. They are the coolies of Calcutta."[28] Williams like his counterparts in America and Great Britain was extremely prejudiced against the Indians, and not surprisingly, his descriptions of them were generally inaccurate. But this was no deterrent to the popular acceptance of his accounts in British Columbia.

Thus far, one source of the negative stereotypes of the East Indians has been examined. An attempt has been made to demonstrate the fact that Canadian perception of the East Indian immigrants and their country of origin was derived, in part, from prevailing western conceptions of India and Indians in the nineteenth century. This means that to some extent, an unfavourable image of the East Indian immigrant was already fairly well entrenched in British Columbia even before he made his appearance. The second, and perhaps more potent source of the Canadian stereotypes was the contact between the immigrants and the host society. But this is not to say that the white images of the East Indian immigrants were based on accurate perceptions. Far from it; in fact prominent stereotypes were kept alive more through contact with prevailing ideas and images derived from western sources than with any real, personal contact with the immigrants and their community. Those images based on fact were commonly selected and exaggerated to conform to these stereotypes. In the process they neglected other facets of the East Indian character.[29] What, then, was the content of the British Columbian stereotypes derived from 'experience' and contact with the East Indians? What particular features of the immigrants and their community were singled out for close attention.

One popular belief was that the East Indian immigrants were unclean and uncouth. Wherever they were present, on

side walks, streets and ferries, they had the very unpleasant habits of crowding, talking very loudly, spitting clearing their noses and throats in public, and refusing to move when women and children passed by. Instead, the story went, they stared at them rather rudely.[30] It was also believed that the Sikhs particularly were very fond of alcohol, especially gin, which they fondly called 'kadwa pani' or bitter water. They often got hopelessly drunk and became objectionable sights on the streets. Such sights became even more unpleasant because of the type of dress that the East Indians wore. Often the Sikhs, to show that they had been loyal subjects of the British Empire, paraded themselves in dirty, old, ragged military dress, scarlet tunics of Sikh line regiments, braid bedecked cavalary tunics and wrinkled khaki dress.[31] Most objectionable of all was Sikh headgear, the turban, often in gaudy folds of red, blue, green, yellow and other bright colours. To Sikh, it was his 'rasma rivaz' or custom, but to the whites, it was what "red tag is to an infuriated bull."[32] Further, many whites thought the use of turban to be extremely unhygenic and the fact that the Sikhs wore it with pride confirmed whites in their belief that East Indians were indeed most unclean. Caste was another institution that many white British Columbians found totally repugnant.[33] But caste as such is doctrinally unacceptable to the Sikhs, and if caste restrictions were

observed in British Columbia, they must have been confined to a very insignificant minority of the Hindus in the East Indian community. Perhaps the white observers mistook the practice of subtle discrimination in food habits of the Sikhs, especially in the consumption of meat, for the practice of caste, but such a misconception was no deterrent to the wide acceptance of the image.

A belief associated with the previous one was that most East Indian immigrants thrived in overcrowded housing. East Indian housing was described as "Vancouver's Black Hole of Calcutta," Libby's prison, or Dante's Inferno.[34] In one case, a newspaper reported, seventy five East Indians lived in a house which was suited for six people, "allowing the widest stretch of the law regarding the amount of cubic air space that should be allowed for each individual."[35] In another, similar incident, a journalist noted that seventy East Indians were living in a house which at one time occupied by a family of two parents and twelve children. "Here like sardines in a box these destitudes are cooped and occasionally relieve their monotony by sanguinary contests in which blood flows like water."[36] Facts were blurred with rumour and fantasy. But the whites of British Columbia were quick to conclude that overcrowded conditions were further evidence of East Indian uncleanliness and frugality. What the whites saw had some basis in fact. The East Indians were generally

frugal in their habits for they wanted to earn as much money as possible in order that they could spend their last days in India in relative material comfort. But to some extent, the East Indians lived in crowded houses out of no choice of their own. The white landlords refused to rent houses to them. In some cases the East Indians were forcibly ejected from houses they had already rented.[37] In one case atleast, some staunch white exclusionists, expressing their unwillingness to accept East Indian presence in their midst, burned down a house where a few of the immigrants were living.[38] Discriminations against the East Indian immigratns in matters of housing were not isolated incidents, but a general feature of life in British Columbia. Thus the image of overcrowded housing among the East Indians must be seen in the light of their motives as well as the responses of members of the host society.

Many white British Columbians believed firmly that the living conditions as well as the personal hygiene of the East Indians threatened the outbreak of many diseases. This belief was not confined to the East Indians alone, for many whites believed that Chinese living conditions also threatened pestilence.[39] However, the danger from the East Indian quarter was graver. Vancouver's Sanitary Inspector Morrison noted that : "From a sanitary point of view I consider them [East Indians] worse than the lowest class of Chinamen. It is impossible to conceive a more

filthy condition than the manner in which these men live in any old dilapidated building they can manage to rent."[40] In Victoria, Alderman Morseley declared he had been informed by a prominent doctor of Vancouver that "a great deal of the trouble from spinal meningitis and infantile paralysis was due to insanitary [sic] conditions prevailing among the Hindus in that city."[41] Such statements were widely publicised in the press. The prevailing image of Indiamas a hotbed of epidemic diseases offered further supporting testimony. It is true that a small number of the first East Indian immigrants to Canada did suffer from some diseases such as trachoma, but most of them were carefully screened at the port of entry.[42] It is also true that the first East Indians lived in areas that were not very sanitary, and in houses that were hastily improvised, but whether they threatened the health and welfare of the wider society to the extent the whites alleged is difficult to measure in view of dearth of relevant material. The limited evidence which exist, seem to contradict prevailing beliefs. Dr. E.H.Lawson of British Columbia, the surgeon in charge on the Canadian Pacific Railway ships Monteagle and Tartar (aboard which a number of East Indians came to Canada), said :

> It was my duty to make a thourough physical examination of each immigrant at Hong Kong, and although at first I was strongly prejudiced against them, I lost this prejudice after thousands had passed through my hands and I had

compared them with white steerage passengers I had seen on the Atlantic. I refer in particular to the Sikhs and I am not exaggerating in the least when I say that they were one hundred percent cleaner in their habits and freer from disease than the European steerage passengers I had come in contact with, My recent impressions as a surgeon in mining camp among thousands of white men, where immorality is rife, has increased my respect for the Sikhs.[43]

A further assumption in British Columbia during the first two decades of this century was that most East Indian immigrants were beggars, or potential beggars. It was widely rumoured that on a number of occasions, they begged from door to door asking for jobs such as carrying wood and water. Begging for milk and money was reported to be very common as well.[44] It was widely believed that when they failed to get what they wanted, the Sikhs attempted to molest white women.[45] In one case, it was reported, Sikhs actually committed crimes which should "make the blood of every citizen boil."[46] Once again, what the whites believed had some basis in fact. Isolated incidents of begging by the East Indians did occur. Refused housing, and in some instances food and fuel, by part of the white community, and lacking in supportive mechanisms in their nascent community, East Indians had little alternative but to rely on help from the outside community. However, once gurudwaras and other charitable societies were established in the community, begging was effectively ended. [47] Moreover, the need of charity also declined as later arrivals brought money to

see them through for some months in Canada.[48] But the image of the East Indian beggar often persisted despite evidence to the contrary. As far as East Indian aggression and violence was concerned, they too were exaggerated. The Sikhs especially were very sensitive about rude remarks whites made about their religion and social customs, and when such incidents arose, they retaliated aggresively.[49] But such occassions were rare. As to the allegations that Sikhs molested or frightened white women, little hard evidence was ever presented.[50]

It was commonly accepted in British Columbia that the Orientals posed severe threats to white labourers. In the case of the East Indians, three factors were singled out for attention. Most whites believed that, compared with the Chinese and the Japanese, East Indians were most selective in the type of occupation they chose. Whereas the former two were prepared to do domestic, agricultural and labouring jobs, the East Indians, it was believed, generally shunned them. Alexender S.Monroe, Dominion Immigration Agent at Vancouver told the Superintendent of Immigration that :

"As competitors of white labour they are the most dangerous we have, as they practically engage in the same class of work as the white labourers do, viz: mill work and street work. They will not engage in domestic labour, gardening or agricultural work that whitemen leave untouched, but seek the same lines of employment usually followed by the

white labourers."[51] Another impression commonly held was that the East Indians, like all other Oriental groups, were extremely frugal in their habits and sent all their savings to India. Little, if any at all, was ever invested in British Columbia. They were, in a sense, leeches on the pioneer industrial economy of the province.[52] A third view was that the East Indians, like other Oriental groups, were driving the whites out of jobs by working for much lower wages than the latter could ever accept. A provincial journalist in his investigation on the "Hindu invasion" reported what he thought represented a working man's view : "British Columbia is a whiteman's country. The coming of the hordes of Asiatic labourers will keep wages down and crowd the whitemen to the wall, since the whiteman cannot, nor will come down to the Asiatic labourers low standard of living. Forty or fifty of them will live in a house that rents for $18 to $20 a month. Forty or fifty white labourers mean a score of families, each one living in its own house and a score of the men to stay at bording houses or restaurants. These Hindus pay less than a dollar a month a piece for rent, and they board themselves, so you see a white man would starve at wages which mean wealth to a Hindu."[53] The Victoria Trades and Labour Council affirmed Lockley's findings, and stated that the employment of Orientals and whites, "side by side was out of question."[54]

Was there any substance to the fears of the white

working men? How accurate were such fears? Unfortunately, the dearth of concrete economic evidence prevents a comprehensive analysis of how well founded the fears of whites were, but whatever evidence that does exist once again points to the fact that white fears were quite exaggerated. The impression that the East Indians were more selective in their occupations than the Chinese or the Japanese was perhaps true, and it was also true that, in certain industries, they were earning higher wages than the Chinese and the Japanese. (See Table V.)[55] But it is premature

TABLE V

COMPARATIVE WAGE IN THE LUMBER INDUSTRY, 1921[i]

(In cents)

LOCATION	CHINESE	JAPANESE	CANADIANS	HINDUSTANIS
Number of employees on which calculations are based.	90	31	59	90
Vancouver, B.C.....	20-22	20-27	30-80	26-35
Coombs, B.C.	20-30	25-40	25-80	27½-50
Ladysmith, B.C.	25-35	30-40	50-85	30-40
Duncan, B.C.	30-40	40-60	40-100	40-75
Variation	20-40	20-60	30-100	26-75

i From the data supplied by the Hindustani employers.

to proceed from this fact to the conclusion that the East Indian workers were undermining the economic position of the white workers. In the first place, many white employers such as lumber manufacturers preferred white workers over the East Indians even at higher prices. But, as one of the most successful lumber manufacturers on the Pacific coast put it, "the whites are "hard to find."[56] Consequently, the East Indians had to be hired. And secondly, the number of East Indian workers in British Columbia was hardly ever large enough to drive whites out of jobs and reduce their standard of living as many of them claimed.

The belief that the East Indians were a drain on the economy of the province was similarly exaggerated. Ofcourse the predominantly male population of the East Indian community lived frugally, saving as much as it could. The immigrants had little desire for permanent residence in the country and in consequence they sent their surplus earnings to India. But the amount sent could not have been substantial enough to warrant a crisis, as many whites believed, if the small population and relatively small wages received by the East Indians are borne in mind. One scholar has estimated that on the Pacific Coast in 1908, the average income of fifty three Hindustanis amounted to a meagre sum of $451.00 for an average of 10.2 months in the year.By 1921, that amount had increased to $900.00.[57] It may have been substantial by East Indian standards, but the same cannot

be said if it is viewed from the standards of the host society. In any case, the savings that East Indians sent to India hardly constituted a crisis of the proportion that many whites believed. Moreover, Europeans were also sending substantial amounts of money to their mother countries.[58] But only the Orientals were singled out for attention, pointing once again to the selective nature of white prejudice.

In early twentieth century British Columbia, many whites believed that the East Indians were the least desirable of all the Oriental groups.[59] This sentiment was prevalent on the Pacific coast generally.[60] As late as 1920, a Canadian official noted, "I think it is the general consensus of opinion that of three nationalities, the East Indians, although British subjects, are the least appreciated on the Pacific coast. To him is not granted the same regard as to the Chinese and Japanese. Just how far this may be attributed to his social and religious customs I cannot say but the fact remains that the East Indian seems less adaptable to our climate, economic and social life."[61] John, as the Chinese was paternalistically labelled, apparently accepted his lowly position with little overt resentment, and was considered extremely faithful and honest. Furthermore, it was commonly accepted that British Columbia would "have difficulty getting without them." The Japanese it was claimed, 'adopted western dress and customs much more readily and quickly than

both the Chinese and the East Indians. He was, like the East Indian very competitive, but at the same time, honest and fair.[62] On the other hand, many Canadians thought that East Indians were the least amenable to social and cultural change. They were violent, and in business deceitful and "looked upon with suspicion by most people."[63] The East Indians, more than the Chinese and the Japanese, raised their own voices against retrictive immigration policies and also managed to secure some white support as well. Furthermore, they made little secret of their political and ideological convictions, and epoused their anti-British and anti-Canadian views in public meetings, newspapers, almost any place where opinions were exchanged. This may have been a cause of some resentment among the white people of British Columbia. It may also be pointed out that, unlike the Chinese community, which was a more closed one in terms of its social systems and spatial location,[64] the East Indian community possessed a relatively open social structure, inviting greater scrutiny from the host society. This, too, may have provided some grounds for the less favourable attitudes the whites had of East Indians. Whatever the reasons, many whites were deeply convinced in their minds that the East Indian immigrants were the least desirable of all the Asians in the province.

Finally, one of the most pervasive myths, in a sense subsuming all the others, was that the East Indian could

never be assimilated into the Canadian society. What the process of assimilation entailed and what conditions were to be met before it could take place was never fully understood by the whites of British Columbia, but the belief that it could not take place was deeply entrenched in their minds. Christian Sivertz, the staunchly anti-Oriental Secretary of the Victoria Trades and Labour Council put into words the thoughts of many whites when he wrote :

> The people of India in common with all Asiatic races, are reared and nurtured in and under the influence of civilization and environment that seem to be, in principle, totally opposed to the civilization and environments under which we of the western civilization and environments are born and reared. In practice they certainly are found to be both unwilling and incapable of assimilating with the people of western races who for very justifiable reasons, aspire to control the future destiny of this broad and fair land, with the hope that civilization in the best and truest sense may advance and develop to a fuller degree than has yet been achieved. But with the invitation or admission of these people, the Hindus would threaten and even make impossible the realisation of such hopes.[65]

Sivertz' views were shared by some Christian leaders as well. The Western Methodist Recorder, commenting on the Komagata Maru incident, observed,

> the economic aspect of the Oriental question is serious enough, because it means unequal competition - labour and some lines of business - by men of different standards and ideals; but the social and moral aspects are much more serious to contemplate. It is not merely unreasoned prejudice that influences western feeling; it is not that Asiatics are inferior; it is that they are different, so different that

> the two races are incompatible, and as such an attempt to fuse them as common people is useless and would inevitably result in a lowered standard of civilization which would hardly look attractive even to the ardent advocate of Hindu rights to unrestricted immigration on the plea of the brotherhood of man and fellow British citizenship. Surely it is utter nonsense to argue from this basis when it is evident that each race is better off in its own natural environment, and when, too the unrestrained mixing of the races on this coast would lead to economic disaster and ethnical demoralization.[66]

Negative views on the assimilability of the East Indians were not confined to British Columbia alone. They echoed with equal force on the entire Pacific coast. United States Commissioner of Emigration, H.A.Mills believed that the assimilative qualities of the East Indians were lower than those of any other race in the west.[67] To many whites, such views were self evident facts and the most formidable arguments against East Indian immigration.[68] Still there were others who, repeating the psuedo-scientific theories of race which simultaneously circulated in Europe and America, asserted that it was contrary to natural laws for the Orientals and the whites to live together. Ernest MacGaffy, a reputed journalist of British Columbia, claimed: "It is only necessary to remind ourselves of certain truths to bring home to everyone the conviction that the Oriental was never intended, either by nature or art, to live with the whiteman."[69] Such racial myths persisted, and even though they lacked a basis in fact, continued to feed the public imagination with the image of the unassimilable East Indians.

Seldom did the white public question the role its actions might have played in the formation of that image.

British Columbia's contemptuous attitudes and negatively stereotyped images of the East Indians were not as widely nor as enthusiastically shared in Canada's other provinces. Much to the west coast's consternation, residents of the eastern provinces generally evinced a much more tolerant response to the Oriental problem.[70] An indication of this was seen in the active campaign by some prominent citizens of Toronto for a more equalitarian immigration policy regarding East Indian immigration. But the voices of eastern protest were neither vociferous nor sustained. Often they did not reach British Columbia, and when they did they were disregarded by the decidely anti-East Indian population of the province. Similarly isolated protests of East Indian sympathisers within the province were also drowned by the exclusionists' concerted calls for a white British Columbia.[71] In the end, then, British Columbian's image of the East Indian immigrants as depraved, unclean, uncouth, clannish, poor, violent and anassimilable prevailed. These stereotypes often contained a germ of truth, but usually they were grossly distorted. At best, the stereotypes were only selective perceptions which focused on certain aspects of the immigrants and their community. Almost without exception, British Columbians measured the East

Indians with the yardstick of their culture and, invariably, the Indian fell far short of the mark. Only very rarely did whites attempt to see the East Indian in his own social and institutional setting.

To some extent, at least, the proliferation of negative stereotypes of East Indians was a result of the nature of late nineteenth and early twentieth century west coast society. It was a structurally plural society, whose dominant white segment wished a homogeneous white Canada. Consequently the non-whites were cast in a deprecatory light. Whatever the source of these stereotypes, however, their impact on the process of East Indian acceptance and integration was significant. Assertion of ethnocentric values by the whites precluded the possibility of developing more open and amicable contacts between the two groups. Furthermore, when such values and stereotypes entered the economic and political life of the society, they furthered the process of East Indian alienation. Prevalence of negative stereotypes also encouraged the East Indians in their already negative disposition to adapt to the ways and values of the Canadian society. Together these influences impeded the process of 'resocialization' among the East Indians in their new environment and retarded the process of East Indian acceptance and integration.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III

[1] See S.N.Eisenstadt, Immigrant Absorption, 'Introduction'; Chandra Jayawardena, "Migration and Social Change," loc.cit.

[2] Minako Kurikawa, ed., Minority Responses:Comparative Views of Reaction to Subordination (New York : Random House, 1970), 3.

[3] This idea is fully explored in W.P.Ward, "White Canada Forever; British Columbia's Response to Orientals, 1858-1914," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1972. But my interpretation of Ward's arguments draws heavily on as yet unpublished paper entitled "John Chinaman."

[4] Ward, "John Chinaman," 18.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Gordon W.Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Boston : The Beacon Press, 1954), 191.

[7] Ibid., 196.

[8] See discussion of this in Bernard Stern, "American Views of India and Indians, 1857-1900," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1956; Harold Isaacs, Scratches on Our Minds : American Views of China and India (New York : Capricorn Books,,1948); Henri Baudet, Paradise on Earth: Some Thoughts of European Images of Non-European Men (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1965) especially for philosophical interpretation; and Donald Lach, Asia in the Making of Europe,Vol. 5, Books I and II (University of Chicago Press, 1965).

[9] See Stern, op.cit., chapter one.

[10] Potter's School Geography,(Philadelphia, 1891),40. The other leading textbook was Harper's School Geography.See Bernard Stern, ibid., 83.

[11] See Mrs. A.C.Chaplin's, Our Gold Mine, 66. Quoted in Stern, ibid.

[12] William H.Stuart, "Calcutta, the City of Palaces,"

Harper's Magazine, 34 (1866), 229; see also Julian Ralph, "The Sacred City of Hindus," Harper's Magazine, 100 (1859), 614.

[13] Quoted in Stern, "American Views of India and Indians," 112. In thesnineteenth century hierarchy of races, the Europeans or the Caucasian was the very top. Mitchell's Geography Text Book For High Schools (1840), for example, stated that "The European or the Caucasian is the most noble of the five races of men. It excells all others in learning and the arts, and includes the most powerful nations of most ancient and modern times. The most valuable institutions of society, and the most useful inventions have originated with the people of this race." Quoted in John A. Nietz, Old Text Books : Spellings, Grammar, Reading, Arithmatic, Geography, American History, Civil Government, Physiology, Penmanship, Art, Music - as Taught in Common School from Colonial Days to 1900 (Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961), 216.

[14] Attention here is to be focussed on what the "common man," thought of India, and not what scholarly works of Max Mueller, Sir William Jones and various Oriental Societies in India had to say about India. The appeal of these scholarly studies to the common man was limited for most of them derived much of their information from school text books and journalistic tracts.

[15] Harold Isaacs, Images of Asia, 274.

[16] R.S.Mintown, From New York to Delhi, quoted in Stern, 83.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Drury A.Luke, Geography for Schools upon a plan entirely new,(Providence, 1822), 35.Quoted in Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of Tradition : American School Books of the 19th century (Lincoln, Nebraska : University of Nebraska Press, 1964), 161. Another geography text book by David Page, Advanced Textbook of Physical Geography (London : William Blackwood &Sons, 1880), claimed a similar view, asserting that Europe "is ever active and progressive," 317.

[19] William L. Stuart, "Calcutta, the City of Palaces," 302.

[20] For details, relevent chapters in Bernard Stern, op.cit.

[21] Fred Lockley, "The Hindu Invasion: A New Immigration Problem," Pacific Monthly, 17 (1907), 595.

[22] Daily Colonist, 18 October, 1906.

[23] Canada, Senate Debates, 1907-08, 480-4.

[24] Fred Lockley, "The Hindu Invasion," 584.

[25] Daily Colonist, 18 October, 1906.

[26] Province, 11 December, 1906.

[27] The Independent, 20 June, 1906.

[28] J.B.Williams and S.N.Singh "Canada's New Immigrants," Canadian Magazine, 28 (February, 1907), 383-391.

[29] Professor Ward in his unpublished paper, "John Chinman" finds a similar situation with the Chinese image as well.

[30] D.S.Burjor to W.C.Hopkinson, 30 January, 1914. Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 204, File 332 part 10(b), PAC.

[31] Daily Colonist, 15 November, 1906.

[32] Burjor to Hopkinson, op.cit.,

[33] See Daily Colonist, 18 October, 1906; 15 August; 25 September; Tein-Feng Chen, Oriental Immigration in Canada (Shangai : The Commercial Press, 1931), 141. 'Report on Hindus;' Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 200, File 332 part 3(b), PAC.

[34] J.B.Williams,"Canada's New Immigrant," 385.

[35] Ibid., 386.

[36] The Report in American Review of Reviews, 35 (January-June, 1907), 367. The report depicts the situation in Vancouver.

[37] Province, 23 November, 1906. See also a memorandum from Minister of Interior to Governor General, 27 November, 1908. Immigration Branch, Vol. 384 part 1.

[38] Province, 7 December, 1906.

[39] Peter Ward,"John Chinaman," op.cit., 5.

[40] Sanitary Inspector's Annual Report, 1911, Immigration Branch, Vol. 384 part 4, PAC.

[41] A clipping of the Victoria Daily Colonist, ca. 1911 in Immigration Branch, Vol. 384 part 4, PAC.

[42] Report of Superintendent of Immigration, 1913-1914,76. See next chapter.

[43] Quoted in Kushwant Singh, Ghadr, 1966, 4. See also Isabella Broad, An Appeal for Fairplay for the Sikhs in Canada, n.p. 1913; Victoria Daily Times, 14 September, 1907 for Dr. Underhill's favourable impression of the Hindus.

[44] Victoria Daily Colonist, 15 November, 1906. See also J.W.MacIntosh, Chief of Police to J.C.Smith, Commissioner of Immigration, 7 January, 1908. Immigration Branch, Vol. 492, File 763419. PAC.

[45] Victoria Daily Times, 22 December, 1906.

[46] Colonist, 15 November, 1906.

[47] Victoria Daily Times, 29 January, 1908.

[48] Colonist, 15 November, 1906. See also Province, 29 October, 1906.

[49] Times, 5 December, 1907.

[50] For example, see Colonist, 16 November, 1906.

[51] From A.S.Monroe to W.D.Scott, (ca. 1911) Immigration Branch, Vol. 384 part 4, PAC. See also British Columbia Magazine, IX, no. 12 (December, 1913), 711-15.

[52] Alderman, H.M. Fullerton of Victoria, upon urgings by the white labour, moved that all city work should be restrcited to whites since the East Indians took all his savings to India, and his motion was unanimously passed. From Victoria Daily Colonist, ca. 1911, Immigration Branch, Vol. 384 part 4, PAC.

[53] Fred Lockley, "The Hindu Invasion," 590; W.G.Donley, "The Oriental Agriculturalist in British Columbia," B.A. Eassay, University of British Columbia, 1928, 15.

[54] Christian Sivertz, Secretary, Victoria Trade and Labour Council,to R.L.Borden, 28 December, 1911, Borden Papers, 144735-6.

[55] Das, Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast, 59. The figures in the table fall outside the period of this study, but it can be assumed that they are indicative of a trend. For more detailed treatment of the wages and income of the East Indian workers, see chapter VII of Das' book.

[56] See Victoria Daily Times, 20 November, 1906.

[57] Das, op.cit.,61.

[58] Figures are unavailable, but that it was happening is beyond doubt. See D.S.Dady Burjor to W.C.Hopkinson, 30 January, 1914. Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 204, File 332 part 10(b), PAC.

[59] The possible exceptions were the labour groups who viewed all Oriental in the same light. See Christian Sivertz to R.L.Borden, 28 December, 1911. Borden Papers, 144735-6,PAC. He wrote that "the working population of this city (Victoria) regard all the native tribes of India in the same light as any other Oriental nation."

[60] Millis, H.A. "East Indian Immigration to British Columbia and the Pacific Coast States," American Economic Review, I (1911), 75.

[61] F.C.Blair, Secretary to the Department of Immigration and Colonization, to Saxton Ireland, 17 April, 1920, Immigration Branch, File 536999 part 12, PAC.

62 W.D.Scott to J.H.Clark, United States Commissioner of Immigration, 15 September, 1913. Immigration Branch, Vol. 385 part 6, PAC. For evidence of the fact that many people agreed with Scott's view see Tein-Feng Cheng, Oriental Immigration in Canada (1931), 140ff.

63 Ibid.

64 Spatially, the Chinese were mostly confined to the Chinatown. Socially, they had very little contact with the host society; certain voluntary associations such as the Chinese Benevolent Association performed intermediary function. Furthermore, numerous clan, community and surname associations controlled Chinese social life. Such associations were lacking in the East Indian community and compared to the Chinese, the East Indian individuals had more contact with the host society. See Karin Straaton, "The Political System of the Vancouver Chinese Community : Associations and Leadership in the early 1960's," unpublished M.A.Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1974.

65 Christian Sivertz to Frank Oliver, 17 December, 1906, Immigration Branch, Acc 69/17 Box 219, File 536999, PAC.

66 Western Methodist Recorder, XV, no. I (July, 1914), 12. Quoted in Ward, "White Canada Forever," 256.

67 H.A.Millis, "East Indian Immigration to British Columbia and the Pacific Coast States," 75.

68 British Columbia Magazine, IX, no. 12 (December, 1913), 711-15.

69 Ernest MacGaffy, "British Columbia and the Yellow Man," British Columbia Magazine, III, no. I (1912), 198.

70 W.G.Smith, Building the Nation (Congregational Missionary Society, 1922), 138. See also Isabella Broad, "An Appeal for Fairplay for the Sikhs in Canada, n.p.,1913

71 Various religious denominations were more reserved in their views about Oriental immigrants. But they too could not escape the prevailing negative stereotypes of the Orientals. See Peter Ward, "The Oriental Immigrant and Canada's Protestant Clergy," BC. Studies, no. 22 (Summer, 1974), 9-19.

CHAPTER IV

EAST INDIAN IMMIGRATION IN POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

> "We must admit that Canada's attempts so far to regulate immigration have been crude and freakish for ourselves and posterity, but tempered by the fear of causing the Imperial government unnecessary embarrassment and, second, the perhaps too hasty enactment of immaturely considered restrictive legislation at the behest of the opportunist, makeshift politicians rather than the result of carefully considered statesmanlike policy not marred by political expediency."[1]

> "If the Dominion government would come out flat footedly and say 'we will not admit the Hindus. We thimk that his color outweighs the facts of his loyalty, his good character and his appreciation of all things British,' my people would understand their position. But to be told that they are British subjects and entitled to freedom under the British flag; and to be kept apart from their families, constitutes a treatment which they cannot understand. It does not savour justice and it is neither straight - foward nor humanitarian."[2]

The policies, practices and programmes of government, employers, trade unions and certain voluntary associations of the host country all constitute important factors in immigrant acceptance and integration. Most important, however, is the policy of the government, since it commonly reflects and frequently reinforces the attitude of the host society towards the immigrants. The relative openness or restrictiveness of the government policy, seen in the laws governing conditions of entry, length of stay permited, controls to which immigrants are subjected, readiness to grant permission to bring wives and other such possibly

restrictive stipulations, will determine, in some measure, the nature, extent and direction of immigrant integration.

This chapter examines the nature of Federal and Imperial policies concerning East Indian immigration to Canada. The policies of the Provincial government receive only brief attention because immigration was primarily a federal matter. At all three levels, the desirability of curtailing immigration was agreed upon but the degree of concern differed among them. India's imperial status in the British Commonwealth complicated the problem of the East Indian immigration to Canada. No overtly discriminatory legislation could be passed without regard for the complex nature of imperial relationships in which India occupied a critical and sensitive position. Yet the interests of labour groups and the determination of the Dominions, including Canada, to have even greater influence in determining their own immigration priorities, necessitated restrictive immigration legislation . A gradual, but sure, change in the nature of the imperial relationships between Canada, Great Britain and India facilitated this. At the same time, in Canada, the determination and rigid application of restrictive immigration measures widened the cleavage which divided East Indians from the host society. And in this atmosphere of distrust and hostility, the process of East Indian acceptance and integration was retarded.

Anti-Indian xenophoebia in British Columbia first appeared in a substantial form in late July and early August of 1906 when a large number of the immigrants arrived in Vancouver (see Table I, p. 15.) The Trades and Labour Councils in Victoria and Vancouver were in the vanguard of the movement.[3] The Vancouver City Council and some provincial Members of Parliament also took up the cry. But as large numbers of East Indian immigrants arrived, and as their plight deteriorated owing to lack of supportive organisations in their community, more vociferous calls were made to curtail East Indian immigration altogether. In October, 1906, Mayor Buscombe of Vancouver took the first decisive action against the recently arrived immigrants. After calling a meeting to discuss the question, he urged the Canadian Pacific Railway officials " to detain all East Indian immigrants who arrived on board the company's ships until the City Council was certain that they would not become public charges."[4] His request was later carried out by CPR officials who prevented a ship load of Indians from leaving the company's immigration sheds. Meanwhile, the decidedly anti-Oriental provincial press vilified the newly arrived East Indians.[5]

At the same time as these protests were made, provincial politicians also peppered Sir Wilfred Laurier with protests.[6] Laurier's response to the clamour from

white exclutionists in British Columbia was a very cautious one. W,D.Scott, the Superintendent of Immigration was sent to investigate alleged indigence within the East Indian community. Scott reported that the climate, caste system and the physique of the East Indians made them unsuited to life in Canada. Therefore, he recommended restrictive measures for controlling their immigration.[7]

A few months later, while the outcry against the East Indian immigrants continued unabated, E.Blake Robertson, Scott's assistant was sent to Vancouver to ascertain the possibility of deporting some of the East Indian immigrants under the existing Immigration Act. During the course of his investigation, Robertson did not find a serious problem of indigence within the East Indian community and further discovered that only one East Indian was eligible for deportation, and he was too ill to be moved.[8]

Laurier himself was quite aware of the complexity of the East Indian problem in British Columbia, and he shared the prevailing belief that the East Indians were undesirable in Canada. More than once he noted that the East Indians were looked upon with still more disfavour than the Chinese or the Japanese.[9] Moreover, in his view, the East Indians were the least suited to withstand the cold climate of Canada. Curtailment of immigration was thus in the best interests of the East Indians themselves. "Experience has shown," he argued, "that the

immgirants of this class, having been accustomed to the conditions of a tropical climate, are wholly unsuited to this country, and that their inability to adapt themselves to surroundings so entirely different, inevitably brings upon them much suffering and privation."[10] But unlike the staunchly anti-Oriental British Columbians, who preferred direct and forthright measures to curtail East Indian immigration, Laurier sought informal representations to end the problem. He told a correspondent in early 1907,

> I may inform you that we have taken action to have the Government of India and the authorities at Hong Kong keep us posted about the movement of emigration which is taking place from India to Canada. We have taken steps to have these authorities know that the Hindus coming to Canada will likely meet with very serious difficulties.[11]

Immigration agents in Vancouver also used indirect, administrative techniques to check to some extent East Indian immigration to Canada. Since prior to 1908 there were no specific regulations governing East Indian immigration, Immigration officials relied on certain sections of existing Immigration Act and applied them rigorously when the need arose. In this regard, Section 28 was particularly important :

> "No immigrant who is a pauper, or destitute, a professional beggar, or vagrant, or who is likely to become a public charge and person landed in Canada, who within two years or thereafter, has become a charge upon public funds, whether municipal, provincial or federal, or an inmate of or a charge upon any charitable institutions may be deported

> and returned to the port or place whence such an immigrant came or sailed for Canada.[12]

Medical examination at the port of entry was another technique used to check East Indian immigration. It was discovered in early 1906 that some East Indians suffered from trachoma. Consequently the check for this particular disease was stepped up, and prospective immigrants were rejected at the slightest signs of having this and other diseases. Thus between January and October 31st, 1906, one hundred East Indians were rejected on medical grounds; seventy four for trachoma, others for partial blindness and conjunctivitis. By March, 1907, the number rejected on medical grounds increased to one hundred and twenty, and by the next fiscal year, the number had leaped to two hundred and eighteen.[13]

Indirect and informal techniques adopted by Laurier and the Immigration Department may not have satisfied the exclusionists of the British Columbia, but they were in line with the Imperial policy on Dominion immigration. As early as 1897, Joseph Chamberlain, in his opening address at the Colonial Conference, had recognised the inevitability of constraints imposed by the white Dominions upon the immigration of people "alien in civilisation, alien in religion, alien in custom, whose influx, moreover, would most certainly interfere with the legislative rights of the existing labour population." However at the same time, he urged that respect be given to what he described as the

'traditions' of the Empire which made no distinctions in favour of, or against creed or colour.[14] He further proposed that statutes should avoid reference to criteria of race or colour, while achieving the desired discriminatory aims by means of administrative techniques. As a clear indication of his thinking, in 1900 Chamberlain authorised the Governor General of Australia to assent to an Immigration Restriction Bill despite unequivocal statement by Australian leaders that the education test in any European language selected by an officer would be applied only to non-European immigrants.[15] Similarly, despite protests from a Japanese Shipping Company, Nippon Yusen, and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Chamberlain paid no heed to the passage of the Commonwealth Posts and Telegraph's Act of 1901.[16] He merely expressed "regret that their feeling of obligation in this matter is not shared by the Parliament of the Commonwealth," and that it should have "considered it desirable to dissociate themselves so completely from the obligation and policies of the Empire."[17] But beyond the formality of registering regret, nothing much was done. By the beginning of the twenteeth century, the Imperial Government had taken the position that exclusion was inevitable, if not desirable. Consequently in the ensuing years, it gave more attention to relief from internal restrictions than to exclusion.

While these discriminatory immigration regulations

were being passed by the Dominions, the moderate Indian politicians were petitioning the Imperial Government to protest the disabilities of Indians within the British Empire. They noted that the position of overseas Indians was one issue on which "classes and masses and illiterates, moderates and revolutionaries were agreed."[18] If only to prevent unrest in India, they argued, overseas Indians should be given more liberal consideration. The Indian National Congress, led by moderates, passed successive resolutions from 1895 to 1914 expressing concern over discrimination in immigration legislation as affecting overseas Indians,[19] but despite genuine concern and sincere efforts, not much was achieved. Apart from giving the Indian politicians a sense of satisfaction at having done their duty, the resolution fell on hard, unreceptive grounds at the colonial conferences for, in the minds of politicians from the white Empire, India was on a different category from their dominions.[20]

The British Government, in the meantime, was in the difficult position of having to listen to complaints from one part of the Empire against another. To informal representations from Canada about the possibility of enacting legislation to prevent the immigration of non-indentured East Indians, Lord Elgin, the Secretary of State replied in the negative. "The move," he said, "must come from Canada itself. We leave it to the Canadian Government to

take such measures as may be necessary to restrain immigration into its own territories. Should that government think it fit to legislate so as to require certain qualification such as physical fitness to be determined by physical examination on landing and possession of certain amount of money, we will make every endeavour to make such legislation widely known, but we trust that no express discrimination will be used against British Indians."[21] Canada made the move at the beginning of 1908 as shall presently be seen.

In the meanwhile, in March 1908, two hundred East Indians arrived in Vancouver aboard the Monteagle. Not all aboard, however, were allowed to land. An Order-In-Council had been passed on January 8, giving the Minister of Interior the power to prohibit any immigrants from landing in Canada "unless they came from the country of their birth or citizenship by a continuous journey, and on through tickets purchased before leaving the country of their birth or citizenship."[22] This Order was applied immediately to the East Indian immigrants aboard the Monteagle. Seventy eight of the immigrants who had waited their turn in Hong Kong to come to Canada were debarred because they had not come directly from their country of origin or citizenship. Another one hundred and five who had come directly from Calcutta were debarred for lack of proof that they had purchased their tickets in Calcutta.[23] The success of the Order in prohibiting the entry of East Indians prompted its

inclusion in another order, PC662, passed on March 27, 1908, which required that the continuous passage be applied to all potential immigrants, not only to those that the Minister of Interior deemed necessary.[24]

The fact that the continuous passage regulation applied with special effect against the East Indians has prompted the belief that it was, in fact, intended specifically to check East Indian immigration to Canada.[25] But, as Laurier pointed out, "These regulations were adopted in order to have absolute control of steamship companies bringing immigrants to Canada so that we could compel them to take them [immigrant] back to the country of their origin." Laurier further emphasised the fact that the regulation applied with equal force to Europeans and other Asiatics as much as they did to the East Indians.[26] Japanese who were refused landing in California and Hawaii could no longer come to Canada as they did in the past. Nor could the Europeans in the United States, Australia, New Zealand and other such places seek entry into Canada, temporarily atleast. In fact, at this time some 1,049 Europeans living in the United States were not allowed entry into Canada.[27] However, the Chinese, Japanese and Europeans could still come to Canada on a through ticket purchased in their home country whereas the East Indian could not since there was no direct steamship route between Canada and India. The dominion government had

succeeded in eliminating the problem without overtly naming the East Indians.

While these developments took place in Canada, Mackenzie King, who had left for England on 4 March, 1908 to confer with Colonial and Indian offices on their views regarding Indian immigration to Canada, met with the Secretary of State for Colonies, the Secretary of State for India and the British Foreign Secretary. Through discussions with these officials, King reached what he described as a "satisfactory understanding of the situation.[28] The view that Canada should restrict immigration from India was reaffirmed. Furthermore, the concept of a white Canada was considered desirable not only for economic and social reasons, but highly necessary on political and national grounds as well. It was agreed that "Canada is the best judge of the course to be adopted, and that as a self governing dominion, she cannot be expected to refrain from enacting such measures in the way of restrictions as in the discretion of her people are deemed."[29] The governemnt of India, through the India Office, willingly agreed to issue warnings to offset the "misleading" effects of the distribution of literature with regard to conditions in Canada, and to inform the migrants of the risks involved. King also discovered that the Indian Emigration Act (XXI of 1883) prohibited the emigration of East Indians under any form of contract. Part of the problem of Indian immigration was thus solved.

For the purpose of curtailing non-indentured migration from India, King suggested that the amount of twenty five dollars required in the possession of the immigrant could be raised to two hundred dollars. This King believed would be a protective measure for the immigrants too. The amount was raised as suggested in June, 1908.[30] It is to be noted, however, that this order was not to apply to countries with which Canada had special arrangements such as Japan. Chinese immigration was covered by special statutory regulations, namely the system of head taxes, and hence it, too, fell outside the provisions of the order. In reality, the order applied exclusively to the East Indians. All three parties, Canada, Imperial governemnt and especially India were satisfied by the arrangement. Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India, in a letter to Laurier, expressed appreciation for the manner in which the Dominion government had approached the problem. In Minto's view, there was "practically no chance" of immigration from India.[31]

With immigration from India reduced to a trickle, some Canadian officials began entertaining the thought that the East Indian resident in Canada might be sent to some other British colonies. After surveying British Panama, the Phillippines and the Fiji Islands, Canadian officials chose British Honduras as the place most suitable for their plan. The governor of the colony was favourably disposed to the proposal. Moreover, the propect of

employment also seemed likely. The Province, chronicling the views of the whites of British Columbia, claimed that the proposal "ought to be an attractive one to the Hindus themselves" as the climate of British Columbia, was not suited to them, and at the same time, it "would have the advantage of disposing of the unfortunate suggestion that the natives of India were not welcome in any part of the Empire."[32] J.B.Harkin, private secretary to the Minister of Interior, and the person who played the dominant role in the proposal later pointed out that the whole plan was conceived on humanitarian grounds, but this seems doubtful.[33]

The delegates, consisting of J.B.Harkin, William C. Hopkinson (a thoroughly distrusted person in the East Indian community) and two East Indians, Nagar Singh and Shan Singh, left Vancouver for the British Honduras on 15 October, 1908.[34] After spending a month in the Colony, the delegates returned to Vancouver. At a general meeting of the East Indian community at the Sikh Temple, the British Honduras proposal was denounced by a majority. Charges were made by Nagar Singh, one of the East Indian delegates, that Hopkinson had offered him $3,000 to give a favourable report about the colony. The story went that if Nagar Singh complied with Hopkinson's ideas both he and his family in India would receive added renumerations. On the other hand, Harkin and Hopkinson charged that certain East Indian leaders, especially Teja Singh had pressured

the delegates into the denunciation of the plan.[35] There is probably a grain of truth in both these allegations.[36] But some of the Sikhs in Victoria had already petitioned the Governor General "against orders of being removed to British Honduras,"[37] as early as 31 October, 1908 while the delegates were still in British Honduras. Both the India and Colonial Offices were non-committal right from the outset. They insisted that the problem of financing the venture was to be shouldered by the dominion government, if it met initial approval of the majority of the community. Any formal arrangement such as indenture, the India Office pointed out, was out of question.[38] The eventual failure of the British Honduras plan signalled a failure in the dominion government's informal and somewhat indirect approach to solve the East Indian problem in Canada by encouraging emigration while at the same time preventing further immigration. Henceforth, firmer and more forthright meassures were adopted in dealing with the East Indian problem.

The year 1908, then, was a most significant one as far as Canadian-- East Indian relation was concerned. Indeed it made the previous four years of East Indian presence in Canada seem almost uneventful. For 1908 had seen the passage of the continuous journey order, it had seen King's mission to England, witnessed the failure of the British Honduras plan and the slow but sure

growth of political awareness in the East Indian community. After 1908, however, circumstances began to change. The three-cornered problem of the East Indian immigration, involving the Imperial government, the Dominion government and the East Indian immigrants, essentially became a problem involving the latter two. To be sure, there were appeals by the East Indians to the Imperial government, but the focus of the conflict changed. It is therefore, appropriate to examine the changes in the structure of Imperial relationships between 1908 and 1917[39] as this will shed light on the discussion of East Indian activities later.

At the Colonial Conference in 1911, Lord Crewe declared that the Imperial government "fully accept the principle that each of the Dominions must be allowed to decide for itself what elements it desires to accept in its population. The extreme claim by some Indians that membership of the British Empire shall entitle any British subject to reside where he chooses, is disposed of by acknowledged political facts."[40] Furthermore, the Imperial government also stated that the Dominions would negotiate directly with the Indian government which was apparently in touch with the Indian opinion. These negotiations would recognise the power of each community under the crown to determine the structure and content of its own population. Assumptions of cultural and racial superiority would gradually be

subsumed within wider concerns for the establishment of reciprocity and equality between India and the Dominions. Principles of exclusion enunciated at the 1907 Colonial Conference were reiterated. In 1914, Lewis Harcourt, Secretary for Colonies, speaking in the British Parliament on the South African deportation problem, stated unequivocally that British citizenship was a misnomer. It was too liberal a translation of Civis Romanus Sum, he said, and it did not in fact exist. What did exist, Harcourt pointed out, was British sujecthood which entitled the possessor of that status to the protection of the sovereign. But he argued, "it gives the individual no right of entry to or licence in any part of the Empire if he attempts to violate the laws which is within the competence of the dominion to pass and register."[41]

The next few years brought dramatic changes in India's official image in the Empire. Her services to the cause of the Empire during the great war were admired by all. "She [India] had bled herself white defending the Empire," said Joseph Chamberlain.[42] Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian Prime Minister, moved at the 1917 Colonial Conference that India be allowed to attend Colonial Conference as a matter of right.[43] But the enhancement of India's official image, and the flattering words uttered on her behalf by the Prime Ministers of the white dominions, was not accompanied by modification in Canada's immigration restrictions

imposed upon the East Indians. In fact, Canada gained a legal entrenchment of her previous position regarding East Indian immigration. Rights of exclusion were formally recognised. Temporary visits for the purpose of pleasure and convenience, and temporary residence for education were to be allowed. Legal wives and children of permanently resident East Indians in Canada were to be allowed residence as well.[44] In sum, the 1917 conference gave formal legal sanction to the idea of dominion autonomy in immigration matters and the principle of exclusion, at the same time recognising the declining influence of Imperial considerations in Dominion immigration policies.

These changes were reflected in numerous measures passed by the Canadian government concerning East Indian immigration. According to the Immigration Act of 1910, the Governor General in Council could "prohibit the landing in Canada of passengers brought to Canada by the transportation companies which refuse or neglect to comply with the provisions of this Act ... and might prohibit for a stated period or permanently in Canada of immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada or of immigrants of any specified class, occupation or character."[45] This clause, though never applied to the East Indians, is illustrative of the determination of the Canadian government regarding its immigration policies. Pursuant to the Immigration Act, both the continuous journey

clause and the order-in-council regarding the possession of $200 were put in the form of fresh orders-in-council, PC920 and PC926 respectively.[46] And, as has already been seen, a further demonstration of the Canadian government's determination was provided in 1912 on the issue of admitting the wives of East Indians resident in Canada.

In the meantime, agitation and protest from the East Indian community persisted. An interesting case in point arose in January, 1911. About three hundred East Indians in the United States petitioned the Earl of Crewe and the Dominion government, stating that although several of them owned property in Canada, they were not allowed entry and cosequently were suffering heavy losses.[47] The Canadian government, as usual, confined its reply to the defence of its policy of restriction, pointing out that American authorities were very strict in matters of immigration, and that Canada would have a problem on its hands if America found East Indians undesirable and refused to take them back. This being the case, Canadian officials argued that they had no choice but to apply restrictive provisions of Canadian law. Further, the Dominion government reminded the Imperial government that "it had always been understood that the views of the people in a self governing part of the Empire should be considered as the best evidence of what constituted imperial interests in that part of the Empire."[48]

The Indian government was in no position to influence the decision of the Dominion government, but it politely noted that the claims by the East Indians were not unreasonable and expressed an opinion that greater facility for the movement of the East Indians across the border would be appreciated. A year passed before the Dominion government took any action, but not because of pressure from either the Indian or the Imperial governments, for there was very little of this. In November, 1912, an order-in-council was passed in which the Minister of Interior authorised permits to the East Indian subject "who may visit Canada temporarily, coming direct from India, or from the United States, it being understood, however, that in the case of those coming from the United States, they would first be required to obtain from the United States Immigration Department the necessary authority to return to United States at the expiration of the permit, or at an earlier date, if the Canadian government should so desire."[49] Fearing the influx of East Indian immigrants, the Canadian government did not proclaim the Order-In-Council, and the matter of its application rested on the discretion of the immigration officials at the border. Those immigrants seeking admission into Canada temporarily for commercial purposes had to submit their requests to the Immigration Department.[50]

The legality of Canadian immigration legislation

regarding the East Indians came before the courts in 1913. And much to the consternation of the Immigration Department and the Dominion government, orders-in-council PC920 and PC926 requiring the possession of two hundred dollars and the continuous journey to Canada respectively, were held ultra vires by Chief Justice Hunter of the British Columbia Court of Appeals. The occasion arose on 17 October, 1913 when fifty six East Indians destined for various places in British Columbia arrived in Vancouver aboard the Panama Maru. Of the fifty six passengers, ten were landed immediately, having satisfied the Immigration Department of previous domicile in British Columbia and having met the various medical requirements. The following day, seven others were landed on similar grounds.[51] The rest could not meet the requirements of the existing regulations, and were thus refused admission. The matter, however, did not rest there. The East Indians in Vancouver, on behalf of the thirty nine East Indians aboard the ship, appealed against the decision of the Immigration Department.

The first attempt to obtain a writ of habeas corpus was dismissed by Judge Murphy who ruled that section twenty three of the Immigration Act of 1910 prohibited him from hearing their application. But in a new application before Chief Justice Hunter, the East Indians succeeded in obtaining the writ of habeas corpus. Hunter ruled that both PC920 and PC926 were invalid and ultra vires because

they failed to comply with the language of the Immigration Act under which they were passed.[52] As a result, the remaining thirty nine East Indians were also released and allowed entry into Canada.

Embarrassed, frustrated and bitter, the Immigration Department sought to correct those flaws in the immigration regulations that had led to the entry of the East Indians aboard the Panama Maru. Both PC 920 and PC 926 were replaced by new orders-in-council.[53] On 8 December, 1913, another order-in-council was passed, non-discriminatory in appearance, but achieved the desired purpose. By that order, no artisans, or labourers, skilled or unskilled were allowed to land at any port in British Columbia because the labour market was overcrowded. The question of deciding who was an artisan and who was a labourer lay entirely in the hands of the Board of Inquiry whose decision could be appealed to the Minister of Interior only.[54] By the end of 1913, those flaws in the immigration legislation that had led to the embarrassment of the Immigration Department in the matter of East Indian immigration were corrected. Both the Department and the Dominion governments were fully prepared to withstand any challenges that might arise.

In the following year, an incident occured that presented the first serious challenge to Canadian determination to keep the East Indians out of Canada. This was the famous Komagata Maru incident. The ship Komagata Maru, with

three hundred and seventy six East Indians, all but thirty of whom were Sikhs, arrived in Burrard inlet on 23 May, 1914.[55] The leader of the whole enterprise was a colourful Sikh, Gurdit Singh, a wealthy native of Amritsar district, who had emigrated to the Malay States in the late nineteenth century. What led Gurdit Singh to venture upon the whole affair is not at all clear. However, two views have been put forward to explain Singh's possible motives. The Komagata Maru Committee in 1915 argued that Gurdit Singh was "actuated by the desire to pose as a political hero ...."[56] The unproven assumption here seems to have been that since Singh had witnessed the dehumanising and brutalising aspects of British colonialism in Malaya and Singapore, he wanted to put an end to it. To some extent, public statements and private correspondences of Gurdit Singh himself give credence to this theory. For example, the day the ship arrived in Vancouver, he reportedly said : "The main object of our coming is to let the British government know how they can maintain their rule in India as the Indian government is in danger nowadays. We can absolutely state how the British government will last in India forever."[57] On the other hand, Ted Ferguson has argued that Gurdit Singh's motive was primarily financial. In his previous occupations, Singh had been a building and railway contractor, a bookstore owner, a linen exporter and a pawnbroker - in all, a successful businessman.

Consequently, "he had fallen under the spell of the commercial world's most seductive siren, the prospect of bigger profits," and decided to seek his fortune in the shipping business which ended in the Komagata Maru fiasco.[58] The truth perhaps is somewhere in the middle.

Whatever the motivation behind the Komagata Maru enterprise, Canadian officials were uniformly against the venture. The bitter memory of less than a year ago was fresh in their minds. Moreover, most of them and the whites in the province at large perceived the Komagata Maru enterprise as "a most flagrant attempt to evade our laws," and therefore vehemently argued that no concession should be granted.[59] The Premier of British Columbia, Sir Richard MacBride stated categorically that "to admit Orientals in large numbers would mean in the end the extinction of the white peoples and we have always in mind the necessity of keeping this a white man's country."[60] The Federal government headed by Robert Borden also declared its intention to enforce with vigour existing immigration legislation and the recent orders-in-council.[61] In their determination to follow closely the letter of the law regarding East Indian immigration, the immigration officials, as well as the provincial and the dominion governments recieved overwhelming support from the majority of people in British Columbia.[62]

In the meanwhile, prospective immigrants were examined

carefully by the immigration officials. Twenty substantiated their claim of previous Canadian domicile and were landed. A further ninety were ruled medically unfit to enter Canada.[63] Other than these two classes of immigrants, the Board of Inquiry made no orders of deportation or admission. In one case, that of Wazir Singh, however, hearing had been made but no decision was given.[64] In this case, Edward Bird, the immigrants' lawyer, saw a possible chance of success, and the case came before the British Columbia Court of Appeal. A full bench of the Court upheld the legality of the orders and the Immigration Act itself under which the East Indians were being refused entry.[65]

But the ship did not leave Vancouver once those aboard had lost their battle in the courts. A number of obstacles arose, and these related to the unloading of cargo, the proposed loading of new cargo for India, the payment of charter dues on the vessel, the monies due on the cargo, and the supply of provisions and water for the men on board the ship.[66]

While the ship was lying in Vancouver, its charter had been transferred to the East Indian Shore Committee which had raised almost $54,000 for the purpose.[67] This money had been raised by the collective efforts in the East Indian community since the news of the Komagata Maru enterprise became known to them. After the Sea Lion had met stubborn opposition when it tried to force the

Komagata Maru out of Vancouver harbour, the Shore Committee presented a number of demands to the Immigration Department which were to be met before the ship departed.[68] The local East Indians were "determined that the ship should not leave Vancouver until the government had repaid to them, in one way or another, all money advanced by them, whether paid to keep the charter alive or otherwise."[69] The letter containing the demands was forwarded to Ottawa. Prime Minister Borden sent Agriculture Minister Martin Burrell to Vancouver to see if some agreement could be reached. Failing to agree to Indian demands, Burrell nonetheless promised that an impartial Commissioner would be appointed who would be urged to give full and sympathetic consideration to the East Indians' demands. The local East Indians represented by the Shore Committee accepted Burrell's offer after initial hesitation. And on the morning of 23 July, the Komagata Maru, with H.M.S.Rainbow beside her, left Vancouver harbour, with disgruntled,disappointed East Indians aboard.

H.G.Clogstun, a retired civil servant from India, was appointed to investigate the question of whether payment should be made to the Shore Committee for the expenditures it had incurred in the venture.[70] After a lengthy investigation, he recommended that the government should not reimburse the Committee for any of the expenditures as the entire enterprise was a political one aimed at

embarrassing the government. This meant that for the East Indian community at large, severe financial losses accompanied a stinging political defeat.

The Komagata Maru affair represented a clear, though hard fought, victory for the dominion government. It had withstood successfully the challenge of the East Indians. Furthermore, its determined and assertive reaction had demonstrated conclusively that she alone, and not India or for that matter the imperial government, had the right to determine the structure and content of its population.

But what impact had the incident, and federal government policies upon the East Indian community? Two major effects can readily be seen. Political leaders of the radical faction realised by 1914 that if they were to succeed in their endeavours at all, they must take the offensive. As the Hindustanee claimed, appealing to "Home authorities" for any help was "like crying in wilderness."[71] Conspiratorial and agitational activities reached their highest peak in 1914. The smuggling of arms and ammunition from the United States into Canada and then eventually into India,[72] and making of bombs[73] to foment a revolution driving the British out of India increased at this time. These activities were in line with the programs and policies of the Ghadr Party which had been kept informed of the proceedings in the Komagata Maru affair.[74]

In addition to such activities, retaliatory violence followed against those who were thought to have conspired against the community. The most conspicuous enemies were Hopkinson, the wily immigration inspector and secret agent, and members of the loyalist faction led by Bela Singh. Dissension and conflict had always existed in the community, but this became more marked particularly after 1910 when political agitation sharply increased in the East Indian community. To some extent atleast, the Immigration Department fostered cleavages by informally encouraging the loyalist faction to report on their compatriots. It later became known that Bela Singh was a paid agent of the department.[75] The first victim in the violent conflict that ensued between loyalists and radicals was Harnam Singh, a member of the loyalist faction. He disappeared on 17 August and two weeks later, his body was found in a reservation near the Sikh Temple, his throat slit by a razor. In the heat of emotion, it was concluded that the death of Harnam Singh was a murder, though most probably thought he had killed himself.[76] On 3 September, 1914, Arjan Singh, another of Bela Singh's colleagues died accidently, while showing off a newly bought gun to Ram Singh.[77] Convinced that the two deaths were murders, and also fearing his own life, Bela Singh struck first. On 5 September, 1914, he killed Bhai Bhag Singh and Battan Singh at the Sikh Temple while attending obsequial

ceremonies connected with the death of Arjan Singh who had been cremated earlier that evening. Six others were injured.[78] On 21 October, 1914, the day when Bela Singh's trial was to begin, Hopkinson, who was to be the chief witness was shot in the Court by Mewa Singh.[79] He made a full confession, and was subsequently hanged on 11 January, 1915. Bela Singh was finally acquitted on 29 November, 1914, on the grounds that he acted in self defence. But retaliatory violence did not stop here. Between March and October, 1915, a number of assaults, a murder and bomb explosion rocked the community. The climax of all the violence, however, was reached in India in May, 1934, when the revolutionary Babbar Akalis, many of them ex-Ghadrites, caught up with Bela Singh, chopped off his legs, hacked off his arms, one at a time, "before delivering the coup de grace : severing his head."[80] With this, the long trail of violence, terror and assassinations among the East Indians came to an end.

This chapter has attempted to examine the nature of political resposes of the imperial and Canadian governments to East Indian immigration in Canada. The problem of the East Indians was a complex,one, but despite this, the direction and purpose of the aims of both the governments was clear enough. At both these levels, it was agreed that East Indian immigrants were undesirable, and therefore to be excluded from Canada. Disagreement lay in the method

used to achieve this end. Between 1908 and 1914, the area of disagreement narrowed as the dominion government moved from informal, indirect representations to a more determined and assertive stand in its policies towards East Indian immigration. As has been seen, this was the result of a gradual change in the nature of imperial relationships in the matter of immigration involving Canada, Great Britain and the Indians.

In conclusion, it is necessary to return to the central theme of this study and ask how the actions of the dominion and imperial governments influenced the process of East Indian integration into Canadian society. In the first place, the passage of restrictive and discriminatory measures designed to curtail Indian immigration confirmed the view of many of the immigrants that not only the whites of British Columbia but the Canadian government as well was basically hostile to them. The failure of the imperial government to respond to the protests and petitions of the East Indians further increased their suspicion. Consequently, they took matters in their own hands, and retaliated with violence. This, in turn, widened the cleavage between the immigrants and the host society and intensified distrust and hostility between them. Secondly, the belief of the dominion government that the East Indian immigrants were unassimilable elements in the Canadian society, reinforced the prevailing anti-Indian stereotypes in

British Columbia. Its determined approach, seen in the passage of restrictive immigration measures, gave institutional form to these prevailing ideas and stereotypes. Thus, both directly and indirectly, the reactions of the dominion and imperial governments contributed, in some measure, to the lack of East Indian integration and acceptance.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV

[1] Letter to the Editor, Vancouver Sun, clipping in Immigration Branch, 474, file 728821, PAC.

[2] Statement by Sundar Singh, British Columbia Magazine, VIII (September, 1912), 667.

[3] Ward, "White Canada Forever," 189. The next few paragraphs draw heavily on pp. 189-192.

[4] Ibid., 190

[5] See particularly the various issues of Daily Colonist, World, Daily News Advertiser from July to October, 1906.

[6] World,19 September, 1906.

[7] W.D.Scott, Memorandum re Immigration of Hindus to Canada, 2 November, 1906, Rodolphe Lemieux Papers, I, 82-83. Cited in Ward, op.cit., 191.

[8] Scott to E.Blake Robertson, 5 December, 1906, Limieux Papers, I, 73.

[9] Quoted in Eric Wilton Morse,"Immigration and Status of British East Indians in Canada: A Problem in Imperial Relation," unpublished M.A.Thesis, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1936.

[10] "Report of the Committee of the Privy Council," 2 March, 1908 in W.L.Mackenzie King, Report on his Mission to England to Confer with the British Authorities on the Subject of Immigration to Canada from the Orient and Immigration from India in Particular, Sessional Papers, No. 36a, Ottawa : 1908, 5.

[11] Laurier to Officials in Hong Kong, Calcutta and London, cited in Ward, "White Canada Forever," 192.

[12] Canada, Commons Debates, 1906-1907, 234.

[13] Report of Superintendent of Immigration, 1913-1914, 76.

[14] Proceedings of the Colonial Conference of 1897, quoted in A.T.Yardwood, Asian Immigration to Australia : The Background to Exclusion 1896-1923 (Melbourne : Melbourne University Press, 1964), 124.

[15] Ibid.

[16] The Act stated that "No contract or agreement for the carriage of mails shall be entered into on behalf of the Commonwealth unless it contains a provision that only white labour shall be employed in such a carriage." Yarwood, op.cit., 19.

[17] Ibid., 127.

[18] W.K.Hancock, A Survey of the British Commonwealth Affairs, Vol. I. (London : Oxford University Press, 1937), 176.

[19] Dharam Yash Dev, Our Countrymen Abroad; a brief Survey of the Problems of Indians in Foreign Lands (Swaraj Bhavan, Allahabad : J.B.Kirpalni, 1940), Appendix C.

[20] As the Prime Minister of Australia stated at the 1907 conference : "Let India raise her standard of living, let her pay a fair wage. Then and not until then could she invite comparison with all other white people of self governing colonies." Hancock, op.cit.,,167.

[21] Elgin to Grey, 25 January, 1908; Immigration Branch, Vol. 384 part II, PAC.

[22] PC27, January 8, 1908. Cited in Eric Wilton Morse, op.cit., 35.

[23] Times, 19 March, 1908.

[24] PC 662, 27 March, 1908, ibid., 36.

[25] This is apparent in most of the works by East Indians. It seems more convincing that the order was initially intended to apply with equal force to all immigrants, not only to East Indians. Later it was found to apply with special force against East Indians. See also Sir Robert Holland, "Indian Immigration into Canada : The Question of Franchise," The

Asiatic Review, XXXIX, 137 (January, 1943), 167.

[26] Canada, Commons Debates, 1908, III, 5490.

[27] Statement of Frank Oliver, Canada, Commons Debates, 1909, 480.

[28] W.L.Mackenzie, Report on Mission to England, op.cit., 7.

[29] Ibid.

[30] PC 1255, June 3, 1980. Quoted in Eric Morse, "Immigration and Status of British East Indians in Canada," 34.

[31] Ibid., 41.

[32] Province, 20 October, 1908.

[33] J.B.Harkin to W.W.Cory, 20 November, 1908. Memorandum accompanying the Report on East Indians in British Columbia : A Report regarding the proposal to provide work in British Honduras for the indigent unemployed amongst them. Published under the authority of Frank Oliver, Minister of Interior, 1909. Immigration Branch Acc.69/70, Box 304 File 86552. See also Colonel E.J.E.Swayne, "Confidential Memorandum on Matters Affecting the East Indian Community in British Columbia," 20 December, 1908. Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 200,File 332 part 3(a), PAC.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Province, 23 November, 1908; Canada House Records, Ref. 25 A2, Acc.120/11 Vol. 200, PAC.

[36] The Role of Teja Singh and the Committee for the Management of Sikh Diwans was noted in Chapter II. The bribery charge will probably never be adequately documented.

[37] Lord Crewe to Governor General of Canada, 31 October, 1908, Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 200 File 332 part 2(b), 1908, PAC.

[38] Crew to Grey, 19 September, 1908, ibid. Colonial Office to the Minister of Interior, 23 November, 1908, Canada House Records, Ref. A2, Acc. 120/11, Vol. 200, PAC.

[39] The year 1917 is here included because, for the purposes of this study, the last major colonial conference was held in that year. And it marked the culmination of various attempts to arrive at a satisfactory solution to the East Indian problem in the British Empire.

[40] Sir Keith Hancock, A Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs, op.cit., 174.

[41] Quoted in Toronto World, 25 May, 1914.

[42] Hancock, op.cit., 169. Similar sentiments were expressed by Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India, Canada and India, 1 (1916).

[43] Hancock, op.cit., 169.

[44] Reciprocity of Treatment between India and the Dominions, attached to the memoranda prepared by Sir S.P.Sinha, Immigration Branch, Vol. 386 part 11, file 536999. Those resolutions were not always carried out. The Khalsa Diwan Society petitioned the Immigration Department in 1919, protesting its failure to carry out the resolutions. Khalsa Diwan Society to Minister of Immigration and Colonisation, June, 1919, Immigration Branch, Vol. 386 part 11, file 536999, PAC.

[45] Immigration Act, Chapter 7, Section 38, subsection (b) and (c), Statutes of Canada, 1910.

[46] PC920 and PC926 cited in Narain Singh et.al., 18 British Columbia Law Report, 1913.

[47] Petition from the East Indians to Crewe, quoted in Morse, op.cit., 66.

[48] PC704, 6 April, 1911, ibid.

[49] PC 3211, 16 November, 1912, cited in Eric Morse, "Immigration and Status of British East Indians in Canada," 68.

[50] Minister of Immigration and Colonisation to Governor Ceneral-in-Council, 13 December, 1918, Immigration Branch, Vol. 386 part 11,PAC.

[51] Memorandum on 39 Hindus, 12 February, 1914, Immigration Branch, Vol. 385, part 8, PAC.

[52] Narain Singh et. al., 18 British Columbia Law Report,1913.

[53] PC 23 and PC 24, replaced PC 920 and PC 926 on 7 January, 1914. Cited in Deputy Minister of Interior to Maclean's Magazine, 22 September, 1952, Immigration Branch, Vol. 602, File 883624 part 8, PAC.

[54] PC 2642, 8 December, 1913. It was renewed by PC897 on 31 March, 1914. Cited in Sir Robert Holland, "Indian Immigration into Canada : The Question of Franchise," 168. This order never applied to Japanese and to the Chinese it was not applied till much later. See Canada, Commons Debates, 1914, 1222. Europeans were exempt from this order as most of them entered through eastern ports. Moreover, in many cases, the restrictions were waived. See L.M.Fortier to A.S.Monroe, 1 April, 1908, Immigration Branch, Vol.481, File 745162 (Private); Memorandum from the Department of Interior, 12 March, 1913, ibid., Vol.561, File 808722, 20 March, 1913, ibid. Vol. 480, File 745162 part 2; W.D.Scott to C.E.Willcox, Immigration agent-in-charge at Niagra Falls, 6 March, 1916, ibid., Vol. 481, File 745162 part 11, PAC.

[55] Kushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, Vol.II, 1839-1964,(Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1966), 178.

[56] Gazette of India (Extraordinary), Government of India, Home Political, 14 January, 1915, 9. The Gazette reported the findings of Sir William Vincent, H.Walmsley, Sir Bijjoy Chand Mehtab, P.J.Fagan and Sardar Daljit Singh who were appointed to look into the shooting at Budge Budge (Calcutta) of passengers aboard the Komagata Maru when it returned to India.

[57] Vancouver Sun, 27 May, 1914; see also Ram Sharan Vidyarathi, Komagata Maru Ki Samudri Yatra (The Sea Voyage of Komagata Maru) (Mirjapur : Krantikari Publication, 1970). This account gives Gurdit Singh's side of the picture. For corroborative evidence, see correspondence relating to Gurdit Singh in Immigration Branch, Vol. 601, File 879545 part 3 and 5, PAC.

[58] Ted Ferguson, A White Man's Country; An Exercise in Canadian Prejudice (Toronto : Doubleday Canada Ltd.,1975),12.

[59] Malcolm R.J.Reid to W.D.Scott, 8 July, 1914, Immigration Branch, ibid.

[60] The Times, 23 May, 1914.

[61] Canada, Commons Debates, 1914, 2369 and 4214.

[62] See Literary Digest,49,(18 July, 1914), 95-97; 8 August, 1914, 226; Minutes of a Public Meeting held in Dominion Hall, Vancouver, British Columbia, 23 June, 1914, Immigration Branch, Vol. 601. File 879545 part III, and various editorial comments in Vancouver newspapers on the subject.

[63] E.Blake Robertson to Minister to Justice, 30 July, 1914, Immigration Branch, Vol. 602, File 879545 part 5, PAC.

[64] R.L.Reid, "The Inside Story of the Komagata Maru Incident," British Columbia Historical Quarterly, V,(January, 1941), 11.

[65] In re Munshi Singh, 20 British Columbia Law Report, 243.

[66] Reid, op.cit.; see also Eric C.Morse, "Some Aspects of the Komagata Maru Affair, 1914," Canada Historical Association Report, (1936), 100-08.

[67] W.C.Hopkinson to W.W.Cory, 1 June, 1914, Immigration Branch, Vol. 601, File 879545 part II; ibid., Vol. 602, File 879545 part 7; Province, 1 October, 1915; Ted Ferguson, White Man's Country, 33.

[68] Reid, "Inside Story," op.cit., 18.

[69] Ibid.19.

[70] The Report of H.G.Cloguston on payment of East Indians in connection with the Komagata Maru incident was found in Immigration Branch, Vol. 602, File 879545 part 8, PAC. See also Sir Borden Papers, Manuscript Group 26 H 1(a) Vol. 40, File OC 196 part 6, 17338-17369,PAC.

[71] The Hindustanee, I (March, 1914), 2.

[72] Three East Indians who had attempted to smuggle arms from the United States into Canada were arrested by the Canadian police. The aim of the smugglers was to put the

arms into the hands of the Komagata Maru passengers. See W.C.Hopkinson to W.W.Cory, 13 August, 1914, Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 205, File 332 part 12(b), PAC.

73 Credible evidence of bomb making was found in the house of one Gurdit Singh in Victoria. See W.C.Hopkinson to W.W.Cory, 17 September, 1914, Immigration Branch, Vol. 388, File 536999 part I (British). See also Malcolm R.J.Reid to W.W.Cory, 5 December, 1918, Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 208, File 332part 16(b), PAC.

74 A Note on the Revolutionary Movement in Canada, Immigration Branch, Vol. 386 part II, PAC.

75 Malcolm J.R.Reid to W.W.Cory, 11 January, 1915, G Governor General's Numbered Files, Vol. 206, File 332 part 13(b), PAC.

76 Ray Gardner, "When Vancouver Turned Back the Sikhs," Maclean's Magazine,(8 November, 1958), 68.

77 Ibid. Ram Singh was acquitted at the trial.

78 Ibid.; see also Kuswant Singh, Ghadr (1966), 29.

79 Singh, ibid. Complaints against the activities of Hopkinson were made as early as 1910. The Hindustani Association had complained to the Minister of Interior about the double deeling of Hopkinson but no notice was taken. See Hindustani Association to the Minister of Interior, 29 July, 1910, Immigration Branch, Vol. 561, File 908722 part I; Immigration Agent, Vancouver to W.D. Scott, 5 July, 1910, ibid. The latter contained allegations made by G.D.Kumar.

80 Ted Ferguson, White Man's Country, 172; see also Gardner, op.cit.,68. Bela Singh, after serving a year's imprisonment for assaulting Lachman Singh on 16 April, 1915, had left for India on the advice of the Immigration Department.

CONCLUSION

This paper set out to provide a systematic description of the East Indian community during its first decade of presence in Canada, and to examine the structural position of the community and the reasons for its lack of integration into the host society. This was done by examining four factors, the socio-economic background and motivations of the East Indian immigrants, the nature of institutional developments in the nascent immigrant community in Canada, the attitudes and perceptions of the members of the host society, and the policy of the Dominion and Imperial governments toward East Indian immigration.

The picture that emerges of the East Indian community in British Columbia is one of an alienated minority ethnic group living on the social fringes of a host society. It was a socially truncated, potentially volatile, and politically sensitive community composed predominantly of male peasant sojourners who hoped ultimately to return to India to enjoy the fruits of their labours abroad. Internally, the community suffered from deep structural cleavages which resulted in bitter fights, violence and assassinations and left permanent scars on the image of the community. White west coast society distrusted and detested the East Indian immigrants with even greater intensity than they did the other Oriental groups amidst them, namely the Chinese and Japanese. The myth of East Indian unassimilability prevailed in the end. Why did not acceptance and integration of the

East Indians take place? What factors militated against this?

On one level, lack of accomodation was the result of vast differences between the cultures and institutions of India, specifically the Punjab, and Canada. These racial, social and cultural differences in the behaviour and outlooks of the East Indian immigrants and the white Canadians tended to produce mutual hostility and friction when the two cultures came in contact. Such being the case, the possibility of East Indian acceptance and integration was limited from the outset.

Beyond this essentially deterministic explanation, however, a further question must be asked : which of the two sets of factors, those pertaining to the host society or those relating to the East Indian immigrants play the dominant role in the eventual alienation of the East Indian community? This study seems to indicate that the latter played the primary role. Evidence for this was provided in the discussion of the motives of the immigrants and the nature of the development of the community in British Columbia. It has been seen that early East Indians in Canada were not true immigrants, intending to become permanent settlers in the new homeland, but were sojourners, temporary residents in the country, planning to return to their homeland when their primary goal was achieved. Not all the East Indian immigrants succeeded in this ambition but the desire and intent to return to India prohibited them from

participating in the institutional system of the host country. Integration, of necessity, involved time, resources and money, all of them unnecessary impediments in the way of accomplishing the primary task. Therefore it was to be avoided. Thus, isolation and alienation of the East Indians from the Canadian society was largely self imposed.

The nature of institutional developments in the East Indian community further discouraged the process of integration. Intensely nationalistic leaders and political organisations which had taken a strong hold on the life of many immigrants, indulged actively in agitational and conspiratorical politics, fully aware of the hostility and bitterness such activities created in the minds of most members of the host society. But these effects were recklessly neglected. The radical activities of the leaders and the organisations tended to circumscribe the interpersonal relationships of individual East Indians with the white society at large. Those who did attempt to establish amicable links with the host society, were looked upon with a good deal of suspicion and contempt by the majority of the East Indians. A case in point was Sundar Singh who was branded a traitor to the East Indian cause. Another was that of a Christian convert, Jagat Singh, who was severely beaten on atleast three occasions.[1] As a result of both direct and indirect coercive pressures, the process of transforming primary group and ethnocentric values, and acquiring and learning new roles were impeded,

and consequently, the process of acceptance and integration was effectively curtailed.

What, then, was the role played by the host society in determining the process of East Indian integration? The host reaction solidified and isolated the East Indian community. Due to the activities of the white exclusionists of British Columbia, voluntary segregation by the Indian immigrants gave way to forced segregation. The hostility also nurtured the love of the homeland, a sentiment reinforced by communal organisations through such institutions as language, ethnic newspapers and nationalist politics. In a very real sense, the host society, too, played an important role in the alienation of the East Indians. But it must be emphasised that the stereotypical perceptions, the discrimination and the restrictive legislation contributed to, rather than created, this condition. Important as they were, they nevertheless played a secondary role. The East Indians were conscious and deliberate creators of their alienated minority ethnic status, and not simply victims of collective discrimination by the majority white society. This study has shown that East Indian acceptance and integration into the Canadian society was the result of the interplay of factors pertaining to the immigrant community and the host society, in which the former played the primary role while the latter played an important but secondary role.

FOOTNOTES - CONCLUSION

[1] "Hindus in Canada," n.p., n.d. (United Church Archives, Toronto.

APPENDIX

Rules and Regulations of the Hindustan Association, printed in Vancouver on 23 August, 1910.

Name:

This Association shall be called the Hindustan Association.

Object:

To establish Liberty, Equality and Fraternity of the Hindustani nation in their relation with the rest of the nations of the world.

Members:

Every Hindustani by his birthright is eligible to become a member of this Association, and on the following conditions:

1. That he must solemnly sign an application that he will carry out the objects of the Association to the best of his ability.

2. That he will eliminate the prejudice of caste, colour and creed from himself.

Admission:

An application for admission as a member signed by an enlisted member, shall be presented to the Secretary or a member of the Committee. This done, his name will be placed

on the roll of members.

Absent Members:

The headquarters of the Association shall, at the moment be at Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, but may be transferred to some other country or place if approved by a general meeting specially and duly convened for that purpose.

Managing Committee:

Managing Committee will be chosen by ballot or vote in a General Meeting.

Officers:

Managing Committee will then choose the President, Secretary, Treasurer, from among themselves, and to so act as to constitutionally carry out the objects of the Association.

Meetings

Ordinary:

Meetings will be held every week to discuss and promote the objects of the Association.

General Meeting:

A general meeting will be held every year to elect the Managing Committee, the members of which will retire yearly by rotation but will be eligible for re-election.

Special Meeting:

The President or the Secretary may convene such a

meeting whenever (1) some special bylaws are to be introduced, (2) extraordinary expenditure are to be sanctioned, (3) special reliefs is to be extended to the Hindustanis, (4) a requisition is to be sent to the Association signed by atleast a quarter of the members.

Fees

Any member paying $1000 will be designated a patron of the Association.

Life Member:

Any member paying $100 will be made a Life Member of the Association.

Ordinary Member:

Ordinary members will pay a monthly fee of 50 cents in Canada and one Rupee in India.

Departmental Services:

The following services may be opened as far as means of the Association allow:

1. Immigration, Emigration.
2. Sanitary and Physical Training Bureau.
3. Social Advancement Service.
4. Educational Services Department.
5. Political Relations Department.
6. Trades and Commercial Development Services.
7. Justice Department.
8. Publications Bureau.

A General Office will be established to look after the above departments and general work of the Association.

Privileges of Members:

1. A member will have free access to the quarters of the Association.

2. He will be allowed to vote in the government of the Association.

3. He will be entitled to represent the grievances to the Association, which will grant him every possible redress within the practical powers of the Association.

4. Personal matters will not be attended to in pre preferences to general matters at hand.

Duties of Officers

President: To preside over all meetings, keep them in order, and carry out the rules and regulations. He will sign all documents for authentification, and will have the casting vote in case of a tie.

Secretary: The Secretary will keep the minutes, records, convene meetings, carry on correspondence and make reports. He will solidify organisation of the Association; and authenticate documents by signing as the Secretary. He will have custody of papers.

Treasurer: The Treasurer will keep a set of Account books, properly written up to show assets and liabilities of the Association, receive and imburse money as sanctioned and

directed by the Committee. He will supply securities for good faith if required by the Managing Committee. He will submit an Annual Budget, render an Annual Balance Sheet, allow inspection of books to the members at their request by appointing a reasonable time for the same: keep all vouchers and receipts and documents for evidence of transaction; have an audit made by the Auditor appointed by the Committee.

Managing Committee:

The Committee composed of the members, will study the Will of the members, suggest reforms, deliberate at their meetings, carry out their duties as the delegates of the Special wards of Members which they may happen to represent.

Donations:

Contributions will be received on the approval of the Managing Committee at the discretion of the President or the Secretary without any obligation on the Association. Receipts must be issued from the Treasury.

Trustees:

Two or more Trustees shall be nominated by the Committee to hold the property of the Association in their names as Trustees, subject to the approval of three quarters ($\frac{3}{4}$) of the membership.

Scope of the Administration:

The Association shall not enter into any trade or commerce.

Extra Powers:

Grant-in-aid, relief funds, borrowing power, collection from Public, etc. must be fully deliberated upon and sanctioned by the majority of votes in the Committee.

Resolution:

In regulation of all the affairs of the Association, whether in a General Meeting or the meetings of the Managing Committee, the majority will prevail, and the resolution thus adopted will be binding on the whole of the Association.

Change of Rules:

Suspension, repeal, modification or further introduction in the rules and regulations will be made only at the General Meetings, which will be only corrected by a notice to this affect to the members.

Privileges of Absent Members:

Absent members will not be sent any such notice nor will their votes be counted, but their suggestions will be welcome. They will pay but $11.00 per year as fee of membership. An annual report of the proceedings of the Association will be sent to them. Their enquiries will be replied as fully as possible. They will help promote the cause of the Association abroad.

Quorum:

The Managing Committee will make the rule for quorum

for themselves. The quorum for the General Meeting shall be ⅛ of the members.

Officers Protem:

In the absence of the President, etc. such officers to act protem shall be chosen by the Committee from themselves.

Sundar Singh,
Secretary.

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