A Social History of the Dutch in Quebec

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ABSTRACT

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The study analyses the history of people of Dutch origin in the province of Quebec in terms of settlement patterns, immigration experience, economic and socio-cultural development and integration. Attention is given to the rural/urban distinction, and push and pull factors are assessed during the three periods under consideration: the "Loyalist" period, 1900-1945, and 1946 onward.

Furthermore, an attempt is made to answer the question why a disproportionately small number of Dutch in Canada are found in Quebec.

It is proposed that reasons changed over time: political ones during the "Loyalist" times, and a mixture of political, religious, and economic ones during pre-World War II immigration. Lack of a base mitigated against chain migration which had a further negative impact during the post-World War II years.

Analysis is based on historical and contemporary published material, as well as on privately-held documents of ethnic institutions. Information obtained from 18 oral histories collected in 1983-1984 is used to illustrate and underscore certain points.

Findings indicate that (a) descendants of Dutch Loyalists are indistinguishable from native Canadians; (b) that the small group of Dutch pre-World World War II immigrants

were, on the whole, poorly organized, economically weak, and, with a few exceptions, left no mark; (c) that Post World War-II Dutch Quebeckers, on the other hand, are more numerous, are among the highest income groups of the province's ethnic and charter groups, and boast a number of ethnic institutions in spite of their high level of integration.

In addition to the proposed reasons for limited Dutch settlement in Quebec, the French language appears to have had a negative effect, but did so primarily in the rural areas, except for a recent urban exodus as a result of political changes in the province.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea of writing a paper about the Dutch in Quebec originated in the early eighties when I was invited to join the Montreal Ethnic Research Project at Concordia University. Graduate students and faculty members from diverse ethnic backgrounds studied and compared their respective ethnic communities.

The insight gained in the problems that beset other ethnic groups have made me aware of the relative position of my own group, the Dutch. More particularly, it has made me appreciate the uniqueness of each group and the difficulty (sometimes uselessness) of comparing them. Thus, my thanks go to all those involved in this research project, specially those who eventually became members of my advisory committee, Professors Efie Gavaki and Fred Bird.

I wish to acknowledge with thanks the FCAC grant which the Montreal Ethnic Studies Research Project received from the Ministère de l'Education du Québec, and which was of great benefit to me.

I am also grateful to Professor Gavaki for being kind enough to share certain very useful statistics on the Dutch that would otherwise not have been available to me.

Professor Bird deserves special thanks for introducing me to Mrs. Loren Singer, librarian at Concordia University, who was in charge of the Oral History Montreal Project. It was through her cooperation that I was given access to facilities and services normally reserved for faculty. The oral

histories I prepared were used only in small measure for this paper and as a project stand by themselves. I wish to thank Mrs. Singer, as well as the numerous leaders and members of the Dutch ethnic group in this province for giving me this opportunity to help preserve a small part of the history of Montreal.

While many Dutch-Canadians have been of assistance, two persons merit special mention: Mrs. Virginia Sondermeyer, and Mr. C.C.A. Blommesteyn. The recollections, advice, and/or documentation they were able to provide, proved invaluable.

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Because of so many other obligations, such as family, career, and community projects, competing for attention, this study has been protracted almost beyond the limit. In this respect I wish to thank my advisor, Professor Bill Reimer, for his patience, encouragement, and academic guidance, without which the work would surely have been shelved.

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INTRODUCTION

No comprehensive history exists of the Dutch in Quebec. Yet, with an increasing interest for cultural minorities, especially in government and educational circles, there is frequent need to draw upon solid data. Although the Dutch are one of the smaller ethnic groups in this province, they do exist and they have their own story to tell. For the sake of completeness they are included in presentations of various kinds, for example, the series of profiles of minority groups prepared for Montreal school children by the Council of Christians and Jews. Unless such organizations are provided with properly researched material, the danger is there that the "story" will contain inaccuracies and omissions. Thus, this paper will be concerned essentially with piecing together the social history of this small and almost invisible group.

This involves essentially a description of the various Dutch immigration waves to this province and an analysis of the social dimensions thereof. Such waves were found to have arrived during three relatively distinct periods which will be described in detail later on. "Waves" is used here to emphasize that the concern does not lie with the odd individual arrival.

A social history presupposes some sort of group formation and interaction of group members. The extent of this interaction, e.g. the formation of a community, and its consequences both within the group and in relation to society

at large are analyzed.

While it is not the intention in this paper to question whether the Dutch actually have any "communities" in Quebec, (which could fill another paper), it is useful to define the word. One definition of community holds that it must have at least the following characteristics: (a) physically: located in a specific geographic area; spatial concentration; and (b) socially and psychologically: "community sentiment", a sense of belonging. This provides the basis for group solidarity.

Although some suggest that the geographical area is not as important a factor as personal interaction in forming or maintaining an ethnic community, most scholars do not agree. Physical distance does not help in promoting personal interaction without which one cannot speak of community.

The above definition does not mention institutions of the formal or informal kind. However, Breton (1968) found "[the community's]...capacity to control the social integration of its members is not so much its having many formal organizations as having one as opposed to none at all" (p. 201). He further argues that the degree of institutional completeness (number and variety of institutions) has an important bearing on the power of the ethnic community to attract members.

Bird (1979) modifies and extends this to the extent that it is not so much the number and variety of institutions as it is their ability to facilitate communication widely and

quickly between members of the ethnic group, "particularly between those not immediately related by kinship or personal network."

A suitable definition of community would thus be a synthesis of the above:

> An ethnic community can be called so if it is more or less spatially concentrated, if it has one or more ethnic institutions that are able to facilitate communication among a large number of the group members, and if its members display a sense of belonging, a "we"-feeling.

In researching the history of the Dutch in Quebec, one is constantly faced with the peculiarity of this second most populous province containing such an insignificant number of Dutch. An attempt is made to find an explanation for this phenomenon.

Even a cursory glance at immigration statistics shows that the number of Dutch in Quebec is insignificant, both compared to other ethnic groups in Quebec and to Dutch in other provinces. Consider the following:

- in 1871, Quebec had the lowest number of Dutch of the four provinces included in the census (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario) (Table III);
- in 1901, Quebec was still the province with the lowest number of Dutch (Table III);
- in 1941, the Dutch population of Quebec was the lowest in absolute numbers after Newfoundland, the North West Terri-

tories, the Yukon, and Prince Edward Island. (Table X);

- in 1961, New Brunswick fell behind Quebec in addition to the other four provinces and territories mentioned, and this remained so until 1981. This is particularly striking since these provinces and territories all have much smaller populations than Quebec (Table X);
- the Canadian population of Dutch ethnic origin numbered 408,240 in 1981; just over 8,000, or two percent lived in the second largest province of the country. (Table X).

There have been many explanations of why the Dutch shun Quebec in greater measure than many other immigrant groups. Most commonly, these explanations were of a cultural nature:

- language: Dutch find it easier to learn English than French (Canada, 1951:37);
- lifestyle: the lifestyle of French-Canadians is more alien to the Dutch than that of English Canadians. (Canada, 1951:37);

But many other explanations may be proposed, e.g.:

- political: Quebec's reluctance to accept immigrants for fear it would unfavourably affect the balance between French and English in the province;
- economic: the industrialization process was behind that of Ontario, making this province less attractive for newcomers;
- religious: the considerable proportion of Dutch immigrants who were of orthodox Calvinist persuasion avoided this Catholic province;

- historical: the number of Dutch settlers from Loyalist times on had always been slight in Quebec, thus preparing no basis for future immigration;
- geographic: Southern Ontario is claimed to attract Dutch immigrants because it provides farmland that is similar to that of the homeland. (Sas, 1957)

On the other hand, there are a number of reasons why one would have expected more Dutch in Quebec, e.g.:

- agriculture: this is, and always has been, very important in the Netherlands. Most agriculturists who emigrated were used to dairy, mixed farming, or market gardening. Southern Quebec, along with Southern Ontario, are the main dairy farming areas of Canada. On this basis alone, Quebec should have attracted a sizeable proportion of Dutch agricultural immigrants;
- religion: many agriculturists came from the Southern Netherlands, a solidly Catholic area. One would have expected these farmers to be steered to Quebec by church agencies;
- language: In the 1950's when most of the Dutch urban immigrants arrived, economic power in Montreal was still largely in the hands of the English (see also Chapter 8, "English Business and French Nationalism" in McLeod Arnopoulos/Clift, 1980). Immigrants integrated mostly in the English sector, and it was still largely possible for them to get by without speaking any French. Hence language should not have been a major stumbling block, and one could have

expected Montreal to attract a fairly large proportion of Dutch urban immigrants, all other things being equal.

Summarizing: It is proposed that reasons for sparse settlement of Dutch in Quebec differ according to the period under discussion.

In Loyalist times the reasons were essentially political.

In the first half of this century, the main reasons were likely political, economic, and religious, whereas after World War II to these reasons was added the accumulative or historical effect of all these factors which led to the lack of a basis for chain migration.

In the rural areas language may have played a decisive role, but in the urban area this is not thought to have been the case, at least not until recently.

In the 1970's, political changes in Quebec set in motion a substantial exodus of anglophones, including many Dutch, but this trend appears to have been halted.

Historical Periods of Dutch Immigrations

The history of the Dutch in Quebec can be separated into three fairly distinct periods: (1) the early period, till approximately 1900; (2) from about 1900 to 1945; and (3) from 1946 onward.

Prior to 1900, a few Dutch individuals arrived in Quebec but it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that group movements took place that at least provided the potential for community formation where a number of families settled in the same general area. These Dutch came from the

Hudson and Mohawk Valleys region where their ancestors had established a Dutch colony which had later been absorbed by the British.

In the Western provinces, one can detect a period of Dutch migration from the United States, notably during the late nineteenth century. But in Quebec, the next period of interest is the turn of this century when immigrants began arriving directly from the Netherlands.

Elsewhere in Canada one finds also a significant number of Mennonites who claim Dutch ancestry. This includes a majority of those who live west of Ontario and a small minority of Mennonites in Ontario. Other Dutch do not consider these people to be part of their ethnic group as they do not speak Dutch but German. Nevertheless, they show up in census data and one has to be aware that their substantial numbers (e.g. in 1941, 65,000 Mennonites claimed Dutch origin) and their atypical lifestyle can have an effect on such variables as mother tongue, level of education, intermarriage, etc. This is not true for Quebec as there are no Mennonites of Dutch ancestry in this province.

From the end of the nineteenth century on, the Dutch began to emigrate directly from the Netherlands to Canada in small numbers. Two decades stand out: the first decade of the century when the Dutch-born population in Canada increased tenfold, and the 1920's when their numbers almost doubled. However, throughout the period from 1900-1945, the Dutch share of total immigration in Canada varied from a low

0.06% (1900) to a high of 2.42% (1939) (Tuinman, 1952:85). The highest number of Dutch-born was shown in the 1931 census and then numbered only about 11,000, although by Tuinman's account about 30,000 entered Canada during that time. Some of the difference is accounted for by mortality, but a large proportion is thought to have returned to the homeland, or moved on to the United States.

In all these respects, this period stands in stark contrast with the post World War II period when not only the number of Dutch immigrants rose dramatically, but also because most of those who came, stayed in this country. The circumstances under which emigration and immigration took place differed also. During that time, Quebec, which had never held much attraction for Dutch immigrants, began to increase its share of the total number of Dutch in Canada from 1% (1951 census) to 3% (1971 census). Although the actual numbers in Quebec are still small, of course, the effect of the Dutch population increase both in Canada and in Quebec can clearly be seen in the structure of community life with institutions arising where there had been few or none before.

Thus the end of World War II is a practical cut-off point of the preceeding period and a useful starting point of a whole new era in Dutch immigration to Quebec.

Within the post-World War II period one can observe several distinct waves, such as War brides, the farm families movement, a period of heavy migration (wide range of occupa-

tions), and the most recent one with its emphasis on transients and entrepreneurs, albeit in very small numbers.

In terms of reasons for emigration, organizational, and community support in both the sending and receiving countries, ease of travel, and economic opportunities, these "waves" show more similarity than differences. Therefore, they will be dealt with only as subgroups of the same period.

To allow for comparison between pre- and post-World War II influx, in regard to organization of emigration, immigrant services, and the economic and socio-cultural aspects of settlement, the chapters dealing with these two period are organized under the following headings: Demographics, The Emigration Experience, Making a Living, and Community Life.

The rural/urban distinction, so important when discussing the Dutch in the Canadian context, is, for Quebec Dutch at least, of greatest importance in the post-World War II period. In the early "Loyalist" period, all Dutch settlers appear to have been farmers, who became so thoroughly integrated that in later years their behaviour is indistinguishable from that of native Canadians. By contrast, there were apparently few farmers among the pre-World War II Dutch immigrants in Quebec.

Push/Pull Factors

Each of these three immigration periods will be discussed in terms of the push/pull factors at work.

The push may have come from various directions, depending on the period and areas under discussion.

In Loyalist times, the push came from South of the border and was primarily of a political nature. Without the necessity to leave their communities, Canada would not likely have held great appeal for these settlers. This stands in contrast to the late 19th and early 20th century period when Canada actively recruited overseas to try and populate the West. Aside from the Gold Rush which had a magnetism all its own, the opportunity to open up the empty and fertile lands of the plains was a real pull factor. Still, the relatively small share that the Dutch had in pre-World War II immigration reflects a generally weak push factor in the home country.

Within Canada, the pull of the West outweighed any pull Quebec might have had during that time. In fact, a more important interfering pull factor was the United States, a better known country, not to the same degree suffering a reputation of harsh climate and immense loneliness as its northern neighbour.

The most interesting comparison to be made in the case of the Dutch is that of the pre- and post-World War II periods, especially in terms of the push factor. The so-called "emigration climate" that existed in the decade following World War II is unique in Dutch history. This phenomenon was brought on by a host of factors including psychological, religious, economic, and political ones, and it coincided with the pull of a Canada that (a) wished to repopulate its countryside, and (b) somewhat later required more skilled manpower for its expanding industries.

After World War II the United States still exerted a strong attraction, but entrance via Canada was made quite difficult so that it no longer presented the significant draining factor it used to be in the early decades of the 20th century. On the other hand, one can profitably discuss the relative pull exerted by various parts of Canada.

METHODOLOGY

To gather basic facts essentially two tools have been used: (a) documentary evidence, and (b) oral history.

Documentary Evidence

Liberal use has been made of statistics provided by Statistics Canada and its predecessor, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. In addition, some statistics were culled from those available in the Netherlands. Research done by Ganzevoort (1975) on Dutch Immigration before the Second World War has been useful in this regard. Through Kralt (1981-82), who prepared special bulletins for Statistics Canada on the issue of "old" versus "new" Dutch, a better understanding of the complex issues surrounding the determination of what constitutes "Dutch" immigration, was obtained.

Especially for the earlier history of the Dutch in Quebec, research reported in the publication of the Holland Society of New York, "De Halve Maen", has been immensely helpful, as has been the work of the Missisquoi County Historical Society.

For the pre-World War II period, Ganzevoort's work, an unpublished doctoral thesis, was the single most useful source of solidly researched material. Some books have been written on the subject, but the pre-World War II Dutch, although numerous enough in Canada if one includes descendants of Loyalists, Mennonites, and others, did not constitute an

important immigration movement from the Netherlands and did not warrant much attention for that reason.

The situation is entirely different for the post-World War II period. Important works, such as Petersen's Planned Migration (1955), Beijer's Characteristics of Overseas Migrants (1961), and a host of scholarly and less scholarly articles and books shed light on the situation. In addition, there are the many works on immigration and ethnicity that make reference to the Dutch.

One problem encountered is that, while there is a fair amount of material on the Dutch in Canada, this cannot be said about the Dutch in Quebec. Because the size of the group is so small, they are often ignored in comparative studies. Other works, such as Tuinman (1951, 1956) deal with farmers only, of which there were very few in Quebec. A major anecdotal work, To All Our Children, focusses on orthodox Calvinists, who are underrepresented in Quebec. A happy exception is the research done under the aegi's of the Concordia University Ethnic Research Project (1981-1982), which compared a number of groups, including the Dutch.

Good sources of documentary evidence were the manuscripts, dossiers, and reports in the files of the Catholic Immigrant Services (C.I.S.), stored in the Ontario Archives. Unfortunately, these documents were so numerous that only a selection could be perused. A former official of the C.I.S. was extremely useful in helping to verify statements

made in some of the interviews, and to give the interviewer a better understanding of certain situations. The same condition applied to files belonging to one of the more active Dutch voluntary associations in Montreal, to which this interviewer had access.

Oral History

The Multicultural History Society of Ontario has about 150 interviews on tape with Dutch immigrants. Among them were some interviews with persons who had lived in Quebec before moving to Ontario. These were used in addition to the author's own interviews.

As far as the latter are concerned, selecting respondents presented a particular problem, because of the difficulty in obtaining a representative cross section of the population (including those not involved in institutions). The proportion of "invisible" Dutch is very high in contrast to, for example, the Greeks or Jews, and these Dutch are extremely difficult to locate. With the small number of interviewees required for a qualitative study, it is actually possible to get representatives from the "invisible group" too.

Under the auspices of the Oral History Montreal Project of Concordia University, 18 persons were interviewed. Selecting candidates from one or more residential areas was considered, but found unsuitable. What residential concentration there is, is found in the West Island area of Montreal, particularly in the Beaconsfield/Pointe Claire, and the Pier-

refonds/Dollard-des-Ormeaux (DDO) areas, but both areas would yield skewed samples, because the Christian Reformed Church is situated in DDO, and its adherents are highly concentrated there, while they represent no more than five percent of the Dutch population in the Montreal CMA. The Beaconsfield/Pointe Claire population would have been too selectively upper income. It was, therefore, decided to use the snowballing technique, while observing the following criteria in order to get all or most categories of the Dutch in Quebec represented:

- maximum number of interviews to be twenty (the maximum this researcher expected to be able to handle);
- within this group a minimum of two persons to represent each one of the following categories to allow cross checking of information received (overlap possible):

Categories	Actual number of interviewees (number of women included shown in parentheses)	
a) those who arrived before World War II	4	(0)
b) those who arrived just after World War II (1945-1950)	5	(2)
c) those who arrived during peak immigration years (1959-1968)	6	(2)
d) those who arrived after 1968	1	(1)
e) adherents to Christian Reformed faith	3	(1)
f) adherents to Roman Catholic faith	7	(3)
g) adherents to other faiths or no religion	7	(1)

h) integrated in francophone sector (balance integrated in anglophone sector)	6	(3)
i) strongly involved with other Dutch (balance somewhat involved with other Dutch)	5	(1)
j) not involved with other Dutch	5	(0)
k) farming	4	(2)
l) business	4	(0)
m) service sector	6	(2)
n) manual work*	0	
o) no occupation (inluding homemakers, excluding farmwives)**	2	(2)

In one case two persons (the widow and a former employee) were interviewed regarding the same deceased person. In four cases both husband and wife were present, although only in one case the wife was interviewed also. In one case the daughter was interviewed as well as the father. One person was interviewed on three separate occasions as he had been involved in the Dutch community over a long period of time. One other person was interviewed twice. The rest was interviewed once. Interviews averaged 110 minutes and ranged from 30 minutes to 4 1/2 hours.

Except for a few where this was not possible, interviews were held in the person's own home. Interviews were kept as unstructured as possible in order to allow the interviewee to bring up those points that seemed of greatest importance to

* Two of the interviewees (now in business), had started with manual work upon arrival.

** One of the housewives is also a war bride.

him or her, and to aid in the process of trust formation. An interview schedule was kept for reference by the interviewer (see appendix) to ensure that, ultimately, all points would be covered in each case. In only a few cases some points had to be dropped due to time limitations. Historical and maturation problems were not encountered as there was only brief contact with each respondent.

In retrospect, the selection process has worked quite well. Various categories in the Dutch community and outside of it, in the ethnic group at large, are represented more or less in the proper proportions. The only area not represented is the manual work one. Perhaps not surprisingly because only 15 percent of Dutch in Montreal worked in that category in 1981. Then there are only one war bride and one person who arrived after 1968. The war bride had no occupation (housewife), but the husband was working class. The recent arrival was a farm wife, perhaps somewhat unfortunate, since by far most of the recent arrivals are urban people (artists, professionals, businessmen). On the whole, all persons in the sample were distinct, in the sense that, except for couples, none of them were either neighbours, relatives, or close friends (although they sometimes knew each other).

The most difficult part was to find people who are not involved with other Dutch. After all, the snowballing method relies on a network. Some of these contacts were obtained through non-Dutch.

EARLY HISTORY

It is not clear when the first Dutch settlers arrived in Quebec. It might have been Jan Smit, the son of a Dutch father and a native mother who, after many adventures as a chief of his tribe, eventually settled in Caughnawaga probably sometime during the 1680's, as one of the "praying" (i.e. converted to Christianity) Indians. Jan Smit, better known as Canaqueese, is unlikely to have displayed any Dutch characteristics, although he may have spoken the language since he was often in contact with the Dutch of Albany.*

Ethnic Origin

Some of the United Empire Loyalists, who came to Canada during the last decades of the eighteenth century, can lay a somewhat stronger claim to a Dutch heritage. It will be argued that there was a Dutch ethnic component among the Loyalists who entered Quebec. For this particular group, even more so than for later Dutch immigrants who arrived for the most part directly from their country of origin, it is important to define what is meant by an ethnic population. A bewildering array of definitions exists, rooted in either, or both, objective and subjective schools of thought. In analysing some thirty of them, Isajiw ultimately embraced the following definition:

'An involuntary group of people who share the same culture or the descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or

* For a more detailed account of Canaqueese's life, see P. Lowensteyn, 1983:9

are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group " (1979:6:25). This definition is useful for the Dutch group since it has the advantage that it can be applied to future generations who may no longer share the same culture (language, customs), but who still take pride in their heritage.

To study ethnicity one needs objective criteria. Anderson and Frideres consolidated the many identification traits, the sum of which identifies an ethnic group in an objective manner, and came up with the following four factors:

(1) ethnic origin, according to Canadian census specifications largely determined by the patrilinear predecessor's mother tongue or ethnic group membership upon immigration to North America;

(2) mother tongue, i.e. language traditionally spoken by members of a particular ethnic group;

(3) ethnic-oriented religion, i.e. participation or membership in a religious affiliation recognized as the traditional religion of a particular ethnic group;

(4) folkways, i.e. the practice of certain customs unique to the group (1981:37).

Not all these factors have to be present for ethnic identification to exist, as mentioned earlier. For example, the mother tongue or the ethnic religion may be lost, while individuals still strongly identify with their ethnic group. On the other hand, "outsiders" who take on ethnic folkways or join an ethnic religion, do not belong to the ethnic group.

Its involuntary nature - as expressed by ethnic origin - is a barrier to this. A difficult issue arises in the case of intermarriage, a frequent occurrence among the Dutch. Self-identification, for example, does not always follow the patrilinear descent line. True to the chosen definition, the position taken in this paper is that anyone who considers him or herself to involuntarily belong to a group with any or all of the Dutch characteristics as listed under (1) to (4), is of Dutch ethnicity.

Loyalist Settlement Patterns

Two major groups of Loyalists came to Canada. In 1773 about 30,000 of them, mainly made up of members of the professional and merchant class, came by ship from the lower Hudson Valley to the Maritimes. Soon after, a group of about 6000, mainly owners of backwood farms involved in the war, came from the upper Hudson and Mohawk Valley region, either overland or by way of Lake Champlain to what is now Quebec and Ontario (Moir, 1978).

While the British government was prepared to settle these people and reward them for their loyalty, it was not considered a good idea to have them too close to the Americans. The argument by Governor Haldimand, that a culturally, linguistically, and religiously different French population would form a more effective barrier to the incursions of settlers from the U.S., was accepted in London (Ashton, 1974:24). Thus, those who landed at Missisquoi Bay were or-

dered to depart to Upper Canada, on pain of being struck off the provision list. About a thousand of them stubbornly refused to move and they and their descendents were the ones who began opening up the Eastern Townships around Missisquoi Bay (Noyes, 1907).

The push factor at work south of the border was of a political nature, and the refugees were all drawn to Canada for the same reasons. Within Canada, the pull of Quebec was considered weaker than the pull of what is now Ontario. Not everyone agrees on what caused this discrepancy.

Although Haldimand's orders seem by themselves a forceful enough deterrent against staying in or heading for Quebec, Moir (1978) thinks the Loyalists had other reasons for going elsewhere. Quebec had a different language and religion. Furthermore, Republicans and Loyalists had fought for three essential rights: representative institutions, English common law, and freehold land tenure. None of these rights existed in Quebec. The result was alienation and settlement in Upper Canada. Ashton (1974), however, claims that "The absence of self-government, jury trial, habeas corpus,and other basic rights of Englishmen did not bother Loyalists. Their legal and constitutional concerns concentrated exclusively on land and the mechanisms for its distribution and exploitation " (p. 23). Considering the practical rather than philosophical bent of farmers anywhere, as well as the hardships endured during the trek to Canada, one would be inclined to believe that the potential settlers said the English, German,

or Dutch equivalent of "J'y suis, j'y reste". Nevertheless, there was a large emigration from the Mohawk Valley and vicinity to the Niagara frontier and to other parts of Ontario, including Essex, Kent, and Lamb counties. The government gave the settlers land grants and promised provisions and tools. Unfortunately, these promises were not always kept, and a number of settlers moved elsewhere (Magee, 1983:25). As far as can be determined, they did not move to Quebec.

Many of those Loyalists who settled in what is now Quebec and Ontario hailed from northern New York State, particularly the Albany region. Albany was orginally a Dutch settlement (Fort Oranje) which, although under control of the British since 1664, maintained its Dutch characteristics until well into the second half of the eighteenth century. In fact, O'Dwyer states that a proposed retrogressive constitutional amendment establishing a literacy test as a qualification for voting was defeated at the Constitutional Convention of 1846 on the objection of Dutch-descended citizens who were still using Dutch idiom and would be disenfranchised if the amendment became effective (O'Dwyer, 1975).

There is, admittedly, a great deal of confusion about the ethnic background of so-called Dutch Loyalists. This is in the first place brought on by the English word "Dutch" meaning "from the Netherlands" but which sounds almost like the German word "Deutsch" meaning "from Germany", a situation likely to have confused a censustaker or anyone not familiar

with such fine distinctions.

Also, there were many Palatines (Germans) among the Loyalists. They spoke a low German which is quite close to Dutch and they may or may not have spent some time in the Netherlands before coming to this continent in search of religious freedom. No doubt, many sailed for the New World from a Dutch port and/or on a Dutch ship. To make matters worse, many Germans were members of the Dutch Reformed Church of America.

In spite of these difficulties, Penney and Willenken (1977) conclude that up until 1759 at least eighty percent of all recorded baptisms, marriages and burials in the Albany area were Dutch. The proportion of Dutch in the population declined steadily after 1759 with the influx of German Palatines and others.

Table I

Population of Albany County, 1639-1790

Year	Population	
1639:	270	
1689:	2,016	
1697:	1,452	
1749:	10,500	
1771:	42,700	
1790:	72,000	(first Federal census)

(Source: Penney & Willenken, 1977)

Even then, with their customary large families, the Dutch could still be expected to have accounted for at least half the Albany area population during the time of the Loyalists' trek north. That does not mean that they were equally well represented among the Loyalists, of course.

So, while one can assume on the basis of the above, that there were a good number of Dutch descended persons among the United Empire Loyalists, short of tracing the place of birth of each Loyalist's overseas ancestor one cannot determine the exact proportion. Fortunately, this task has been undertaken by Ruch for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, at least for a representative sample. He arrived at a proportion of 10% Dutch among all anglophone Loyalists who settled in Canada. (Ruch, 1982) But we have no way of knowing whether Quebec falls into this pattern as well.

Dutch Characteristics of Loyalists

However, even where the origin can be undisputedly determined to be Dutch, for the purposes of this study the important question is: "From a social and cultural perspective, were there any Dutch characteristics present upon arrival in Canada, and which, if any, were subsequently maintained?"

These characteristics could include language, religion, folkways (lifestyle, material culture, names), and in-group marriage.

Alice Kenney, an Albany historian who spent the last two decades researching the Dutch of upper New York State, found

that at about the time of the American Revolution, the Dutch Reformed Church in America was breaking away from government from the Netherlands, finally adopting the English language for worship (Kenney, 1977/78). But women in particular continued to speak Dutch in their homes and at church until after the American Revolution (Kenney, 1980). This is corroborated by the examination of an old family bible* in the possession of one Quebec based Loyalist descendent, which shows entries made up to 1775 written in perfect Dutch.

As far as religion is concerned, there is mention of a settled minister (Rev. Broeffle or Proeffle) sent out by the Classis of Albany of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1795. However, the War of 1812 made it necessary for churches with American connections to choose sides and most Loyalists sided again with Britain and ties with the Church in America were cut. A "Presbyter of the Canadas" was formed in 1818 which ended the Dutch Reformed Mission in Upper Canada (Moir, 1978).

Lifestyle and material culture of the Mohawk and Hudson Valley area Dutch had been highly influenced by the orthodox calvinist religion they espoused. As was the case in the Netherlands, men and women learned to read, write, and keep accounts, but this knowledge was used mostly for practical purposes: they read the scriptures, and handled their business affairs. "To participate intelligently in the services

* Statenbijbel with entries by Peter Dumont, in hands of Mrs. M. Ellis, of Dunham, Quebec.

of the church was the chief inducement for parents to send their children to school" is how Alexander C. Flick, an eminent historian put it (cited in Curran, 1975). The population spent its time on the fur trade, crafts or household duties and this kept them from writing diaries, letters or books. For artistic enjoyment they turned to pictures of relatives and of scenes from the bible (Kenney, 1980). There were also two principal families of silversmiths in eighteenth century Albany, the Ten Eycks and the Lansings who, between them produced many fine artifacts for use by the white population as well as for the Indian trade. According to Kenney, this material culture remained the same even at the time of the American Revolution when the church showed signs of anglicization (Kenney, 1977-1978).

But in Quebec at this time, remnants of material culture are practically non-existent, although a thorough search might, of course, turn up items. At this point it is limited to unverified reports of Dutch style barns belonging, or having belonged, to the Cuyler family, and a few household items of Dutch origin, a pewter platter, a powder horn, and the like (Mrs. M. Ellis, personal communication, 1983).

Small numbers and lack of institutions no doubt hastened the assimilation process. Noyes (1907) claims that the Dutch (or German) language had disappeared "in a generation or so" which is perhaps even too mild an assessment if one considers how ethnically mixed the population was. John Ruiter's property (land on which the village of Philipsburg, named

after his son Philip, now stands), for example, was surrounded by those of Harmonas Best, Alexander Taylor, John Hawver, Christjohn Wehr, and Lodwick Streit (Thomas, 1866:16-17). Except for Taylor, these names are most likely German. In Dunham Township, the first township to be erected in Lower Canada, of the 35 grantees, seven appear to be Dutch: two Ruiters, three Reicherts (or Rykerd), and two Ten Eycks (Thomas, 1866:110). Among other 18th century and early 19th century land grants in the area one finds other apparently Dutch names, such as Albrecht, Cuyler, Dyke, De Haren, Schouten, Van Antwerpen, and Van Vorst (P.A.C., Records of Land Grants, Eastern Townships, Vol.167-438). These again form a small proportion of the total number of settlers, insufficient to sustain the mother tongue.

The genealogy of the Dutch-descended Ten Eyck family shows the sort of development we might expect to have taken place in such families as well: Dutch christian names until shortly after the turn of the century, but only in case of in-group marriage. Where the spouse was English, the children would be given English christian names. While this already quite frequently happened in the 18th century, it became practically the rule thereafter. Inscriptions and epitaphs on all but the very earliest gravestones (which are missing at the Ten Eyck family cemetary) are also all in English (Mrs. M. Ellis, personal communication, 1983).

Significance of "Dutch" Loyalists to Quebec

So the "Dutch" Loyalists formed a minority who probably arrived with a certain amount of ethnic cultural baggage, but soon lost it and were totally assimilated in a short time, leaving hardly a trace of their heritage. Of what possible significance could this be for Quebec's past, present and future?

The census of 1880-1881, taken about a century after the first Loyalists arrived here, shows that in Quebec, 776 persons considered themselves of Dutch "nationality", which, one may presume, was confused with "origin", since none of these listed the Netherlands as their place of birth. They formed a negligible proportion of the population of this province, but were concentrated in certain areas, especially in St.Georges de Clarenceville (Missisquoi) where 10% of the population polled declared themselves Dutch (See Table II).

Table II

Nationality and Birthplace of Population of St.Georges de Clarenceville (Missisquoi Co.), 1880-1881

Nationality		Birthplace	
Dutch	121	British Isles	82
English	334	Nova Scotia	1
French	193	Quebec	993
German	110	Ontario	3
Irish	243	United States	106
Italian	1	Not given	1
Scottish	120		1,186
Not given	64		
	1,186		

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics - 1880-1881 Census

Although some may have been recent arrivals from the U.S.A., it is clear that one deals here with a largely indigenous population, most of whom are the descendants of Loyalists.

In a rural environment and with pioneering days a fairly recent memory, it is perhaps not so remarkable that so many would still be clear about their ethnic origin, despite extensive intermarriage. To this day, however, there are those who remember and who take a particular interest in their heritage. The Dutch hold no monopoly on this, of course, but those who do manifest an interest in proven or presumed Dutch origin, take great pride in it (Ashton, 1974; Mrs. M. Ellis, personal communication, June 27, 1983).

In Ashton's (1974) story of Lt. Col. Henry Ruiter, "toughness, endurance, (and) ambition for personal financial independence" is a recurring theme (p. 8). Canada is portrayed as a land of opportunity: "... free or cheap land, financial aid, political preferment, a new country without an established elite, as in the United States, attractive to those with formerly modest holdings" (1974:23).

This is similar to the thread that runs through the post-World War II Dutch immigration history, or indeed of that of other north-European groups.

More such research would be useful. It is often undertaken or financed by those who have strong ethnic feelings and the fact that to this day there are Loyalists' descendants

who are interested in their Dutch origins leaves the potential for such work wide open. Other Quebec families of Dutch origin are mainly concerned with genealogical research but pride in their ancestry drives them to mark old graves and maintain the many family cemetaries that dot the Eastern Townships. They attempt to save historical items and collect them in local musea. An excellent example of the significance that such ethnic feelings can have for the study of history is the Holland Society of New York whose members are American in every respect and display no obvious Dutch characteristics, whatever these may be. Yet, the mere fact that one can lay claim to having descended from some of the earliest settlers on this continent lends status, motivating strong support for research on the history of New Netherland, especially translations of primary documentary sources. On a smaller scale, similar efforts could certainly be undertaken in Quebec as well.

THE PERIOD OF 1900 TO 1945

This section deals with the period in which Dutch immigration to Canada directly from the Netherlands began to take shape. Compared to the post-World War II influx, numbers were very small, and in Quebec even smaller than elsewhere.

The United States was a major competitor for immigrants, and within Canada the West tended to compete with the East. Within the East, Ontario's pull was much stronger than that of Quebec. Factors leading to these conditions are analysed, so is the type of Dutch immigrant that arrived here, and the role played by Canadian and Dutch recruiting agents or agencies.

Although some farmers appear to have settled in Quebec, the majority of Dutch immigrants in Quebec during these years were urban workers. On the whole, these do not seem to have been too successful. The few interviewees that could be found and who are quoted in these pages were in this respect rather the exception than the rule.

The Dutch were served by few ethnic institutions. The Consulate was one of them and its history is traced.

Finally, the high rate of intermarriage and its relationship to the community structure is examined.

Dutch Immigration Prior to World War II

Demographics

Dutch emigration to Canada began in the late 1800's.

Several decades earlier, group migration from Holland to the United States had taken place, mainly by Protestants in search of religious freedom, but also including some Roman Catholics. These settlers were true pioneers who helped open up parts of Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin. However, later in the century, cheap, arable land began to become scarcer in the United States, and by 1890, Dutch-Americans began tentatively to move towards the Canadian prairies which were being opened up (Ganzevoort, 1975:8).

At about the same time, the first significant migration to Canada from the Netherlands took place. In the spring of 1893, the Christian Emigrant Society (C.E.S.) sent out 73 emigrants who settled in Western Canada, where Dutch-Canadian Robert Insinger, member of the Territorial Assembly for Assiniboia, was acting as a go-between for the C.E.S. More emigrants followed, but their numbers remained small. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, responsible for immigration under the Liberal government of Sir Wilfred Laurier (in power from 1896), campaigned actively for settlement of the West. However, government representatives and steamship company booking agents found recruitment in the Netherlands difficult around the turn of the century. Far-reaching social change was taking place at that time in the Dutch nation, and a sense of optimism in the country's future prevailed. Furthermore, full religious freedom had been achieved and dissenters were playing a prominent part in Dutch politics (Ganzevoort, 1975:39-41). As illustrated by Table III, in the decades

between 1871 and 1901, the total Dutch-Canadian population increased by only 4,183.

The figures in the table must be approached with a great deal of caution. In the first place, as Sas (1957) points out, not all those who entered Canada, and claimed Dutch origin, came from the Netherlands. Mennonites from Russia claimed Dutch origin, and so did second and third generation Dutch from the United States, and who settled primarily in the West. Descendants of United Empire Loyalists, whose forebears came to this continent from the Netherlands, were also likely to claim Dutch origin. The fact that the majority of those claiming Dutch origin belonged to the rural populations of Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, where most Loyalists settled, tends to underscore this.

Table III shows some interesting changes in the distribution of Dutch among the provinces. Ontario increased its share slightly from 67.4% in 1871 to 68.8% in 1901. The whole vast area west of Ontario held no more than 2,185 or 6.4% of all Dutch recorded in 1901. Nova Scotia gained a few souls, but New Brunswick lost about 40% (2,341) of its Dutch population, more than all the Dutch who settled in the West. The latter is not easy to explain in view of the overall increase in both the urban and rural population in New Brunswick. Quebec almost doubled its Dutch population, from 798 to 1,554, increasing both its urban and rural components. This may mean that a number of New Brunswick Dutch settled here.

Table III

Racial Origin of the Population, Rural and Urban, Canada and the Provinces, 1871 and 1901.*)

		1871		1901	
		Total Population (1)	Netherl.	Total Population	Netherl.
Canada	total	3,485,761	29,662	5,371,315	33,845
	urban	710,143	2,067	2,014,222	8,744
	rural	2,775,618	27,595	3,357,093	25,101
P.E.I.	total			103,259	242
	urban	(2)		14,955	34
	rural			88,304	208
Nova Scotia	total	387,800	2,868	459,574	2,941
	urban	32,082	56	129,383	725
	rural	355,718	2,812	330,191	2,216
N.Brunswick	total	285,594	6,004	331,120	3,663
	urban	50,213	417	77,285	783
	rural	235,381	5,587	253,835	2,880
Quebec	total	1,191,516	798	1,648,898	1,554
	urban	271,851	64	654,865	386
	rural	919,665	734	994,833	1,189
Ontario	total	1,620,851	19,992	2,182,947	23,280
	urban	355,997	1,530	935,978	6,160
	rural	1,264,854	18,462	1,246,969	17,120
Manitoba	total			255,211	925
	urban	(2)		70,436	226
	rural			184,775	699
Saskatchewan	total			91,279	345
	urban	(2)		14,266	51
	rural			77,013	294
Alberta	total			73,022	369
	urban	(2)		18,533	120
	rural			54,489	249
Br.Columbia	total			178,657	437
	urban	(2)		90,179	224
	rural			88,478	213
Yukon	total			27,219	89
	urban	(2)		9,142	36
	rural			18,077	53
N.W.T.	total			20,129	-
	urban	(2)		-	-
	rural			20,120	-

(1) Includes the four original provinces of Canada only (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Quebec)
(2) Racial origin figures not available

Source:, 1931 Census, Table 35, pp.710-723, as cited in Sas (1957:36).

They may also have moved to Ontario as the sharp increase of urban Dutch there cannot be accounted for by the limited decrease in the rural population or by the very minimal immigration from overseas (In 1901 the Dutch-born population in Canada amounted to 385 - see Table IV).

Table IV

Population Born in The Netherlands: Canada and the Provinces 1901-1941

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
Canada	385	3,808	5,827	10,736	9,923
Prince Edward Island	-	11	-	16	11
Nova Scotia	19	24	51	29	95
New Brunswick	7	32	32	62	49
Quebec	73	174	313	490	525
Ontario	112	687	1,123	3,774	3,639
Manitoba	57	730	1,042	1,444	1,109
Saskatchewan	36	628	984	1,225	858
Alberta	17	1,136	1,765	2,466	2,142
British Columbia	49	379	515	1,224	1,484
Yukon Territory	15	7	2	3	3
Northwest Territories	-	-	-	3	8

Source: (1957:31) Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canadian Census, 1941, Vol I, as quoted in Sas.

The overall shift to urban areas during those years, did not occur quite as rapidly among the Dutch in Quebec as it did among the Dutch in Canada, a situation reversed in later years. Between 1871 and 1901, the number of rural Dutch decreased by 17% in Quebec compared to 20% in Ontario and 20% in Canada. Comparable figures for the general population are: 22%, 27%, and 21% (figures compiled from Table III by author).

* It should be noted that only about one percent of the population of Dutch origin recorded in 1901 was born in the Netherlands. The rest was presumably born in Canada or the United States.

Immigration, largely from Europe, began to take on unprecedented proportions in the beginning of the twentieth century, and immigration from the Netherlands increased likewise. However, compared to other populations, the Dutch contributed only very small numbers and of these the majority settled in Ontario and the Western provinces. This is illustrated by Table IV. The relatively large increase between 1921 and 1931 reflects increased interest in emigration during an economic crisis which reached its depth in 1923, as well as the introduction of a quota system for immigrants by the United States. It must be kept in mind that these earlier population statistics are difficult to interpret. For example, the distinction between Dutch from overseas and from the U.S.A. was only introduced in 1925. Also, emigration figures to the U.S.A. are not available although it is known that many used Canada as a convenient stepping stone on their way to the U.S.

The Immigration Experience

Information about pre-World War II Dutch in Quebec is very scant indeed. There is hardly any written documentation and only a few people are left who can relate their personal experiences. For example, no person has been found by this writer, who could tell what it was like to be a Dutch-Canadian farmer in Quebec in the pre-war years.

What little information there is lets us know, however, that the immigration experience of the few hundred Dutch

people who called Quebec their home, was very different from that of the thousands who arrived here after World War II. Travelling was more cumbersome, assistance from government and private sources was minimal and, since most of these pre-war New-Canadians were of very modest means, regular visits to the home country in those jet-less days, were not the normal occurrence they became for post-war immigrants.

The first knowledge potential immigrants would gain about Canada was usually dispensed in the homeland by Canadian government representatives, agents of steamship and railway companies, and Dutch authorities and private organizations. In addition, press reports and testimony from relatives and friends who had already settled here were important sources for information.

Until the 1920's, Canada, wishing to settle its empty lands, paid a commission to steamship agents of £.1/- per bona fide farmer or domestic recruited. This, together with the lax attitude of the Dutch government, would tend to emphasize commercial interests (e.g. the settlement of specific C.P.R. developments) rather than the welfare of immigrants. The agents' propaganda methods were often criticized in the Netherlands. Unfortunately, some Dutch private agents, even some Dutch priests in Canada, followed similarly unscrupulous methods of recruiting (Ganzevoort, 1975:41; Van Stekelenburg, 1980). There are no reports that their ill effect was felt in Quebec, because the recruiters' attentions were mainly focussed on areas west of this province. Furthermore,

in Quebec there was an ideological bias against immigrants, who were thought to integrate with the English, thereby weakening the relative position of the French in Canada (Petersen, 1955:120 ff.).

In 1917, in preparation of the influx expected after World War I, a federal Department of Immigration and Colonization was formed (Ganzevoort,1975:42). This did not diminish the importance of the agent's role. His heyday lasted into the 1930's, when economic conditions no longer favoured immigration.

On the Dutch side the overall picture concerning information and support to prospective emigrants is one of very slight government involvement, a laissez-faire attitude, in line with Dutch belief in free trade. From time to time pressure groups would protest shady recruiting practices by agents, or unacceptable transportation conditions, forcing some tightening of control. Such groups formed the Netherlands Emigrations League in 1913, dedicated, among other things, to the gathering of accurate information on immigration countries (Ganzevoort, 1975:23-24). In 1923 the Central Emigration Foundation Holland began a pioneering venture in assisted emigration which, while successful in some ways, had difficulties attracting the most suitable emigrants. Such people did not wish to leave the Netherlands, while those who did leave, more often than not, refused to repay their loans (Ganzevoort, 1975:99).

Perhaps lack of enthusiasm to emigrate was partly due to press reports which, since the late 19th century, had carried negative messages about Canada, its climate, labour conditions, harvest uncertainty, and loneliness (Ganzevoort, 1975:29). This is quite understandable if one considers that, prior to World War II the bulk of Dutch immigrants were men who were either single or had left their families behind (Ganzevoort,1975:62).

Not all immigrants found hard times and loneliness out West: witness the experiences of interviewee U (J. Lowensteyn [cassette recording], 1985), a now elderly gentleman who, before finally settling in Quebec in 1952 (immigrating for the second time), landed in Alberta in 1912 and spent several happy years there and in British Columbia. He had left Holland in fear of a war, and joined his brother who was a sharecropper near Calgary. Our respondent, at that time 22 years old, fluent in four modern languages (including English and French), with an engineering diploma from a German school, had no difficulty finding work. First he was a mechanic in Calgary, Kelowna, and Vancouver, and in 1915 enrolled as a private in the Canadian Forces. He fought in France and Belgium, ended up in Germany, had an hounorable discharge, returned to Holland to marry and intended to bring his wife out to Canada. She disagreed with his plans, however, and he brought up a family in Holland instead. Upon being widowed, he remarried and was able to realize his dream of settling in Canada for good. Once again heading for the West, he ended up

staying in Montreal where a brother could assist him in finding employment (U, Tape I, side 1, 0:15).

This gentleman was able to compare his reception by Canadians at various times in this century. In 1912 he was called "a foreigner" (cf. Petersen, 1955, p.128 ff.), in 1952 a "displaced person", while at present there is no label at all: he feels completely accepted. Interestingly, he does not report discriminatory remarks or behaviour during his army service. Furthermore, at no time did the labelling hamper his employment opportunities. Without making the claim that this example is in any way typical of the Dutch immigrant who arrived before World War II, it does serve to underline the importance of bringing the proper requisites when trying to build a new future abroad. With extensive language skills, professional qualification (as a mechanic) suitable to the demands of an industrializing nation, adaptable, of an optimistic nature, and from an ethnic origin considered next best to British stock, this immigrant could weather the inconvenience of namecalling. It also illustrates the important role relatives play in the choice of final destination.

Part of the immigration experience is the situation met immediately upon arrival. Unlike after World War II, there was no extensive network of "fieldmen" (church representatives) who met the immigrant and smoothed the way. In any case, Dutch Protestants tended to avoid the Catholic environment of Quebec. The Dutch Roman Catholic Church was reluctant

to encourage Dutch emigration to Quebec "because of a suspicion that French-Canadian catholicism shared the liberalism of French catholicism" (Ganzevoort, 1975:83).

From all sides, the French language is cited as a deterrent for the Dutch to settle in this province. For the workers, craftsmen and small businessmen, the mechanics, the barber and the taylor, this must indeed have been somewhat of a problem. Still, the possibility of settling in an English speaking part of the province or of Montreal must have been at least as great before World War II as it was after.

However, at that time, Dutch immigrants were generally agriculturists rather than city-bound craftsmen and industrial workers. Just before the outbreak of World War II, Dr. Black, director of colonization for the CNR, characterized the Dutch as falling into two groups: market gardeners and farmers. For the former he considered the best areas to be Holland Marsh (just north of Toronto), Edmonton, and Winnipeg, while for the latter the mixed farming areas of Ontario, the area around Edmonton, and New Brunswick were suitable in his view (Ganzevoort, 1975, Report by Consul Luden, Montreal, 20.5.1938). Concretely, the West offered opportunities that the East could not or would not match: free or cheap land, free placement services, etc. (Ganzevoort, 1975:177).

All these factors combined to make the Dutch stay away from Quebec, and it is only well into the 1950's when there

is a relative change in this situation.

Making a Living

The Netherlands Consul General in Montreal, Mr. J.A. Schuurman, in a letter dated March 26, 1927, complains that "At least in Montreal, among several hundred Dutch there are perhaps a dozen who improved themselves through emigration. The rest more or less cope, mostly they did not go down which, after all, is not the purpose of emigration" (Ganzevoort, 1975, Consular letter no.855, 1927).

In other letters that year, the Consul General refers to the need to know French for those who intend to work in the construction industry in Eastern Canada (Ganzevoort, 1975, Consular Letter no.729, 1927) and to the large percentage of metal workers and electricians among those who came to see him because they are unemployed and without means (Ganzevoort, 1975, Consular letter no.1324).

One prominent businessmen, upon meeting Consul General Sevenster (1946-1952), was told: "It is a pleasure to see a Dutchman who does rather well" (J. Lowensteyn [cassette recording], 1985, N, Tape I, side 2, 1:45).

The obviously marginal situation that so many Dutch found themselves in during the pre-war years is in marked contrast with their present day situation in Quebec. Undoubtedly, the difficult economic times of the 1930's played an important part in this. It is interesting to note that the few persons interviewed who had settled here before World War II, themselves had done quite well. The factors that accoun-

ted for their success seem to have been: professional skills, language skills, and shrewd business sense. It is especially the latter attribute that is striking among successful pre- and post war people interviewed.

Interviewee N (J. Lowensteyn [cassette recording] 1985), an experienced engineer who spoke several languages, including English and French, was sent out by a Dutch company in 1933, to set up and manage a Canadian subsidiary. He stayed in that position until his retirement, and in those years saw the company grow to the largest in Quebec in its particular field. Although the foreman was Dutch, N rejected the hiring of Dutch workers on a permanent basis, considering it "bad policy". He once hired two Dutchmen who promptly thought they occupied a preferred position (N, Tape I,side 1, 39:40).

A similar sentiment was expressed by V, an ex-steward on board trans-atlantic liners who, after working as a waiter and head-waiter for a short time after his arrival in 1927, became restaurant manager in downtown Montreal. He was a stable employee, staying at one restaurant for ten years, at another for twenty years. He had been educated at a hotel school in Holland as well as at the Berlitz language school and had been taught, among other things, not to hire personnel of the same nationality, as "it makes for friction with the rest of the staff" (V, Tape II, side 2, 35:30). This did not prevent him from helping his countrymen to find jobs elsewhere and he claims the Consulate often called upon him for this purpose (Tape I, side 2, 16:40).

Both gentlemen, now retired, and in good health, the first married, the second a widower, live comfortably in such English areas as Town of Mount Royal and Pointe Claire.

The brother of interviewee U is another Dutchman who did very well for himself. An electrical engineer, he arrived in the early-thirties, having left his wife and children behind. His diplomas were not valid here, so he could not work in his own field. The only kind of work he elaborated upon was his brother's post-war involvement in the development of two fifty acre lots in the Eastern Townships. He built four houses, made two lakes, and rented or sold the property to Dutch people. Now in his nineties, U's brother divides his time between winters in Florida and summers in his apartment in downtown Montreal. For years, every third winter has been set aside for a trip to Holland (U, 3.3.1983, Tape I, side 1, 39:10).

Then there was Bob Noorduyn, aircraft designer, who moved to Montreal from the United States to form Noorduyn Aircraft Limited. In the Journal of the Canadian Aviation Historical Society he is remembered as follows: "When Bob Noorduyn died in February of 1959, he left behind him an aeronautical legacy that will ensure his name being long remembered in the aviation world. This legacy is, of course, the Norseman bushplane which, in its way, is as much a design classic as the ubiquitous DC-3" (Halford, 1979:68).
Robert B. Noorduyn was born and bred in the Netherlands. His

father was Dutch, his mother English. After having worked in England for seven years, he became assistant to Anthony Fokker, and later representative and manager of the Fokker company in the U.S. Conversion of the single engine Fokker F7 into the highly successful Fokker Trimotor was his brain-child, and was executed notwithstanding the strong doubts of Anthony Fokker (Halford, 1979:68).

Interviews with M, Noorduyn's American-born widow, and with Y, one of his ex-employees and currently the president of Noorduyn Norseman Aircraft Ltd., give a wealth of background information about Noorduyn as a person and as an entrepreneur. Y insists that Noorduyn "did not make a fortune out of the company", but he seems to have lived well, with a home in upper Westmount, his son in Lower Canada College, and the family at ease with the upper crust ("his mother was a Churchill") (M, Tape I, side 1, 42:00). Although there may have been one or more Dutch among his workers, there seems to have been no particular preference for Dutchmen among the many nationalities represented. The team that designed the original Norseman apparently consisted of people from Canada, the U.S. and England. Noorduyn did employ his Dutch niece at one time (Y, Tape I, side 1, 42:00).

We find Noorduyn hustling money from all sources including Sir Herbert Holt, U's brother dabbling in real estate, V successfully "playing the market", and N solidly entrenched in second place in a constantly growing company. They be-

longed to the handful of Dutch who had done well. Most of the rest had a much harder time of it. The following report by the Netherlands Consul General illustrates this (Ganzevoort, 1975).

During the period June 1, 1924 to May 31, 1925, one hundred persons registered at the Consulate (plus one who died). Of these, 37 returned to Europe, 5 moved, 5 were deported, and 6 left for the U.S.A. Thus, at least 53 out of 100 were not successful in Quebec or even Canada after two or three years. There were only 5 agriculturists among them. For 9 no occupation was listed. Another 39 had an occupation other than farming. Of the other 47 some were still in Canada, although not all of them were successful. Some must have left Canada, and the Consul felt that in time more of them would return (to the Netherlands). He stressed that this was the Montreal and not the Canadian situation. (Ganzevoort, 1975, Netherlands Consul General, "Notes re chances of non-agriculturists emigrating to Canada.", dated July 6, 1927)

The reason that so few farmers were found among the "unsuccessful" is probably not only that agrarians were often more successful than others, as reported by Consul General Schuurman (Ganzevoort, 1975, Consular letter no.855, 1927), but particularly because Quebec offered so few agricultural jobs (see Table V).

Table V

Available Agricultural Jobs, by Province, March, April, May, 1925

Province	March	April	May
Nova Scotia	14	21	26
New Brunswick	5	9	10
Quebec	23	42	37
Ontario	1,026	1,647	851
Manitoba	1,187	1,694	1,584
Saskatchewan	1,687	4,048	1,256
Alberta	998	3,740	2,207
British Columbia	176	182	149

Statistics supplied to the Dutch Consulate, Montreal, by Employment Service Canada. (Ganzevoort, 1975:203)

Figures for the year 1924 show approximately two thirds (1173) of all Dutch immigrants to Canada that year to be agrarians. The others are spread over various occupations, least in Mining (3), most in Mechanical (174). Looking at the province of destination of these 1821 persons (1215 men, 322 women, 284 children under 14), it becomes clear that Quebec was not particularly unpopular, since almost 10% (171) chose to settle here (see Table VI) (Ganzevoort, 1975, Consular letter no.983/50, 1925).

Assuming that the proportions of available agricultural jobs by province in 1924 were similar to 1925, and taking into account the high ratio of agriculturists to others among Dutch immigrants (about 2:1), a comparison between Table V and Table VI shows that Saskatchewan and Alberta did not attract the Dutch proportionate to the number of agricultural jobs available, while Quebec drew more than perhaps expected. It is likely that the type of farming most common in the West

Table VI

Dutch Immigrants to Canada, by Province of Destination

	1924
Nova Scotia	26
New Brunswick	3
Prince Edward Island	1
Quebec	171
Ontario	850
Manitoba	357
Saskatchewan	120
Alberta	252
British Columbia	41
	1,821

Source: Statistics provided by Department of Immigration and Colonization (Ganzevoort, 1975:201).

(large-scale crop growing and ranching) did not appeal to the Dutch who were more used to small intensive dairy farming or market gardening. In fact, for them the type of farming available in Quebec, dairy and mixed, was much more suitable - if only the jobs would have been there.

Montreal being the largest city in Canada at the time should have attracted professionals, industrial and service workers and tradespeople. A report by the Citizenship Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration states that the Quebec Dutch were well above the average for all Dutch in Canada in years of schooling. For example in 1941 in Quebec, 48.5% of the Dutch population had received 9 years of schooling compared to 25.5% in Canada as a whole (Canada, 1951:70). However, not only did these people run into the problem of unemployment, but the available jobs east of Toronto tended to offer wages which were on the low side, while working

hours were generally high. An example is given in Table VII. This unfavourable comparison must have been the cause of many subsequent westward moves.

Table VII

Wages Paid to Taylors Working as Custom-Taylors
Canada - 1928

City	Weekly Wages (Can$)	Working hours/week
Halifax	30	48
Moncton	30	54
Quebec	30-37	54
Montreal	30-40	49-54
Ottawa	30-35	48-53
Toronto	35-40	44-46
London	30	48
Winnipeg	30-40	40-50
Calgary	30-35	44
Edmonton	30-35	44
Vancouver	40-45	44

Source: Ganzevoort, 1975, appendix to Consular letter no.4558, 1928

Dutch employers were among those who demanded long hours and paid small wages, hence many immigrants chose to work for Canadian employers. A contributing factor to this trend was the apparent understanding on the part of the newcomers that the road to prosperity, if not survival, demanded learning English (or French). This had already been impressed upon them by the Emigration Societies in Holland, who organized courses for that purpose, (in English, no French reported) and it was underscored by their experience upon arrival (Ganzevoort, 1975:271).

If one assumes that the vernacular is most easily and frequently learned in the workplace, then table VIII would

support Ganzevoort's contention that the Dutch chose to work for Canadians rather than for their compatriots, as the number of Dutch who speak neither English nor French is negligible.

Table VIII

Population of Quebec, 10 Years and Older, Dutch Origin by Mother Tongue, 1921

Mother tongue:	English only	718
	English and French only	165
	French only	8
	Dutch and English	143
	Dutch and French	15
	Dutch, English, and French	114
	Dutch only	2
Total		1,165

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa. Canadian Census 1921

The trend on the part of Dutch employees to seek out Canadian employers dovetailed nicely with the Dutch employers' tendency not to favour hiring their compatriots (as also examplified by our persons interviewed). This is consistent with findings in later years. Chimbos (1972), for example, in a study involving Dutch, Greeks, and Slovaks in an Ontario city, reports only 6.9% of Dutch immigrants working for Dutch employers, and only 66% of these did so for language reasons (1972:236).

On the other hand, the same study states that 59% of Dutch employers claimed no preference for Canadian or Dutch employees where the level of competence was equal (cf Greek employers 15%, Slovaks 24%) (p. 237).

The overall effect would be a quickening of integration in Canadian society of the particular immigrants involved, and of the Dutch community as a whole.

The role of language in the Quebec labour market should be examined briefly. In the case of the Dutch it seems that the necessity to learn French was indeed a deterrent. At least in the urban centres it meant learning an extra foreign language, since English was required anyway to deal with suppliers, bosses, and various institutions. The type of work sought by or available to the immigrant who arrived during the interwar years required the knowledge of French, in the construction industry in particular. There appears to have been no general tendency for the Dutch to settle in an exclusively French area where they would not have required a knowledge of English (see Table VIII).

It must be kept in mind that the entire Dutch-born population (including children under 10) in 1921 amounted to 314, most of whom had arrived before World War I. Thus, most of the above non-Dutch speaking "Dutch" were probably descendants of Loyalists.

Community Life

The presence of such small numbers of Dutch in Quebec during the first half of this century was not conducive to the formation of ethnic institutions. Nevertheless, there were some, especially in the Montreal area.

In the first place there was the Netherlands Consulate.

Already in 1856 conditions warranted the appointment of an honorary Vice-Consul for that part of the province situated west of Quebec City. Located in Montreal, the Vice-Consulate came under the Consulate General in Toronto, the only one in Canada, which was eventually answerable to the Dutch Embassy in London (U.K.). The above was the result of an agreement between the Netherlands and Great Britain to admit consular agents in the ports of each other's colonies and overseas possessions (Consul General, Montreal, personal communication, March 3, 1983).

Consular responsibilities for the Canadas, later Canada and Newfoundland, seasawed between Toronto and Montreal. By 1895, or even earlier, a Consulate General for Canada was apparently established in Montreal. However, in 1902, responsibility reverted again to the Consul General in Toronto. This lasted until 1922 when a career Consul General was appointed in Montreal, who soon was given responsibility for Canada and Newfoundland. Evidently, Ottawa began to gain in importance in the early 1930's but not enough to warrant the transfer there of the Consulate General, although the Montreal Consul General himself seems to have resided there. Instead, a Special Envoy and Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary was appointed in Ottawa in 1939, without this affecting the territory of the Montreal post (Netherlands Consul General, Montreal, personal communications, March 31, 1983, July 7, 1983).

Even though Ottawa's role grew in importance during and after World War II, it took until 1952 before a realignment of territorial responsibilitiy took place that would move the center of gravity from Montreal to Ottawa. In that year the Montreal post was demoted from Consulate General to Consulate, and its territory became limited to Quebec, the Maritimes and St. Pierre and Miquelon (Netherlands Consul General, Montreal, personal communication, July 7, 1983).

Ganzevoort (1975) mentions that the Consul General was considered a pillar of the community, and he must have seemed formidable indeed (p. 203). The importance of his post combined with the natural prestige of the diplomat among the class-conscious immigrants of the period, as well as the paucity of highly placed and influential persons in the Dutch community, must have made him a key person that people in distress would turn to. On the other hand, if the current situation gives any indication of how it might have been during the interwar years, many Dutch may never have registered with the Consulate, especially if they did not face major health or employment problems, or if they intended to move on to the United States. Thus, the Consul's view of the Dutch in Quebec may have been coloured darker than necessary, and his remarks related on page 42 must be seen in that light.

Much less clear than the history of the Consulate is the history of other institutions. Not surprisingly, there were

no Dutch churches. It was unlikely that the few hundred immigrants, divided among many denominations, were in a position to form one or more congregations. Residential concentration, then as now, must have been weak. One person interviewed knew of a few families in Verdun, another knew some Dutch people in the Town of Mount Royal. There is no report of a Dutch enclave, however small, in Montreal, which is another factor discouraging institutionalized bonds.

There is at least one report of an association, called "Door Eendracht Sterk" (Strength through unity). Established by Dutch professional people in Montreal, its aim was to give information and aid to Dutch immigrants (Ganzevoort, 1975:203). It is not clear if this was the same society referred to by V (J. Lowensteyn [cassette recording] 1985) when interviewed. He could not remember the name, and variously called it the Netherlands Society, "Je Maintiendrai" (the motto of Dutch Royalty and a popular name for Dutch Clubs), the Dutch Club, etc. It might have been the forerunner of the Holland-Canada Society which existed at least during the war years. V cooked Dutch food for the dinner parties organized by this club to celebrate important Dutch events such as the Queen's Birthday, St. Nicholas, and Leiden's Ontzet (Liberation of Leiden from the Spaniards in 1572). He said these were well attended, although the number of 300 persons mentioned by him, probably referred to such dinner parties after the war when there were more Dutch immigrants living in Montreal (V, Tape I, side 2, 25:15).

It is unlikely that the small Dutch community of the inter-war years was served by more than one such society. In any case, V could not recall any other Dutch institution or support structure, formal or informal, for newly arrived immigrants such as came into being after World War II, nor could any of the other persons interviewed. In fact, V himself began providing some of these services. His involvement in finding employment for Dutch immigrants referred to him by the Consulate or others has already been mentioned earlier. His other involvement was with the Sailors' Institute. His own extensive experience as a sailor, from age 13 to age 31 (interrupted only by several years compulsory military service during World War I) as well as his wife's connections with the seafaring world (her father was a ship's engineer) were instrumental to this. Being community service minded, V responded positively to a Dutch seacaptain's request to "look after one of his boys" who had to be left behind in a Montreal hospital. From this time on the person at the Sailors' Institute who normally undertook this task referred cases of Dutch sailors to the V 's, and in the process became fast friends with the couple. The contact was established in 1934 and V estimates that he and his wife "took care" of about 30 "boys" in the next six years. Taking care means that the V 's would visit the patient as soon as they heard of a case, provide small amenities, interpreter services, contact the patient's family and, between release from hospital and his next seavoyage, provide transportation and social out-

ings. In short, the sort of thing a minister might have done (V, Feb. 26, 1983, Tape I, side 2, 6:00).

Summing up, one can say that the Dutch community in Montreal stood out more for what was lacking than for what it had to offer. Consider the following:

(1) In the 1920's the Emigration Central of Holland had appointed representatives in Toronto, Hamilton, and Winnipeg, whose task it was to assist with immigrant placement (Hartland, 1959:154). These representatives assisted by Advisory Boards (in Toronto and Winnipeg) would have been a focal point in any community. In Montreal there was no such focal point.

(2) Most pre-World War II Dutch adhered to Canadian churches, particularly the United Church (followed in order by the Anglican, Baptist, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Lutheran Churches). However, the Reformed Church in America and the Christian Reformed Church each with a smaller number of adherents, had an important role in the ethnic community. Neither of these two Dutch Calvinist sects were formally present in Montreal (Canada, 1951:49).

(3) Montreal was not the only city lacking a Dutch newspaper which could have been an important means of maintaining bonds within the group. Not until the post-war period would a Dutch language press begin

to appear anywhere in Canada (Canada, 1951:49).

The small size and weak structure of the Dutch community in Quebec would have restricted the opportunity of marrying within the group. The above quoted report states some conclusions regarding intermarriage, based on information found in the Annual Reports on Vital Statistics (Canada, 1951:62-64). For example, the Dutch in Canada show a marked tendency to marry outside their own group. Across Canada the proportion of Dutch fathers who married women of the same group had decreased from 47.0% in 1921 to 42.7% in 1947. Variation between provinces was considerable, e.g. in 1947 the proportion of fathers who had married outside their own group was 82.5% in Ontario and 21.1% in Manitoba. Overall, they had a preference for women of British stock. Although the Report states that the Dutch showed only a slight tendency to intermarry with persons of French origin, and that mainly in Quebec, the figure quoted of 18.1% of Dutch fathers in Quebec who had married french women in 1947, seems surprisingly high. The explanation may be that it concerns mostly descendants of Loyalists, farmers in the Eastern Townships, who now mix freely with their French neighbours.

In any case, the high rate of intermarriage can be seen as both a result of, and contributing to, the weak community structure of the Dutch in this province.

The World War II Years

The first four decades of the twentieth century had been characterized,, insofar as Dutch immigration to Quebec was concerned, by:

1. relatively low numbers of immigrants;
2. mostly working class immigrants, and some agriculturalists;
3. relatively high level of success among the latter, and a low success rate among the former;
4. a laissez-faire attitude overseas towards emigration;
5. only sporadic support from within the Dutch community in Canada on an ad-hoc basis.

The war years (1939-1945) clearly form part of this period as immigration was virtually at a stand-still. However, the war wrought important changes on the Canadian economy which touched everyone including the Dutch in Quebec.

For one thing, the war production brought employment which gave great relief to immigrants and native Canadians alike. A prime example is the sharp increase in production and consequently in number of employees at the Noorduyn Company. In 1939, only 130 people were employed. By 1943 their number had swollen to a peak of 11,500 (CAHS Journal, 17, 3, 1973: 70-72). These represented, as mentioned earlier, many nationalities.

Old institutions were strengthened or reorganized and

new ones arose to meet special wartime needs. Thus, Red Cross services were extended to include a Dutch section. Its main task seems to have consisted of the preparation of gift bags for "the boys on the front". The sewing of these bags and filling them with candy and handmade socks kept 17 to 30 ladies busy at regular sewing and knitting bees (V, Tape II, side 1).

Also, the foundation "Free Holland on the Sea" (Nederland ter Zee) was established to aid and entertain the seamen who called on foreign harbours. Documents held by V show that the Montreal branch received its funding through the New York office of the Foundation. Activities took place under the supervision of Consul and Mrs. Luden, aided by a committee of 5 or 6 ladies from the Dutch community, including V's wife. Several nights a week they held "open house" in a rented room at the Allied Seamen's Home on Notre Dame Street. V recalls that, on a busy night, 40 to 50 men would be present (V, Tape II, side 1, 8:35).

The ladies of the committee would visit any sick seamen and assist the others with their shopping. In the meantime, the V 's continued to invite small groups of sailors to their home or to take them to a friend's farm for a Sunday picnic, (see photo s in V's collection) in addition to "looking after the sick boys" as before. Clearly, the task the V 's had set for themselves (and had executed since 1934) was overlapping with the task the Consul's wife was empowered to do through both the Red Cross committee and the "Nederland ter Zee"

Foundation. This could easily lead to competition and conflict which, according to V, happened indeed. He remarks that his wife felt snubbed by the Consul's wife who, in fact, had usurped her position. But no one could forbid the V 's to visit sick sailors and with Miss Bates of the Allied Seamen's Home as their trusted communication line, they often beat the Red Cross ladies to the seamen's bedside.

Also, V paints the picture of a lonely Consul's wife waiting, with coffee and beer ready, to receive the sailors on Sunday night and being annoyed when they came in late (i.e. after opening time), fresh from a day in the country with the V 's.

To what extent class difference played a role is not clear. But it seems not too far fetched that V, himself from a working class background, but now with the freedom, the motivation, and the means to entertain and help "the boys" was quite popular around the harbour front, but not necessarily equally appreciated in the more refined consular circles. Matters seem to have been smoothed over at the departure halfway through the war, of Consul and Mrs. Luden, when V's wife was asked to take over the presidency of the Montreal branch of "Nederland ter Zee" from the Consul's wife. In time, she received a decoration from the Dutch Government for her efforts in this capacity. The captains and sailors never forgot the V's committee work. It was likely on their recommendation that the Holland America Line in the mid-fifties offered the couple a free trip to Holland, First

Class, on one of their luxury liners (Documents held by V and inspected by author).

In addition to gaining from a buoyant war economy and the demand for its involvement in the expanded institutional work, the small Dutch community benefitted from the presence in Ottawa of Princess Juliana of the Netherlands and her family, who resided at Stornoway (now the official residence of the Leader of the Opposition). Frequently, (monthly according to V) the Princess and her entourage would visit Montreal and particularly the Sunday Night Open House for the seamen. The Princess' simple taste was much appreciated (she poured her own coffee, for instance).

All sorts of events surrounding the royal presence gave rise to social occasions to which at least part of the community was invited, e.g. visits by Queen Wilhelmina, and the birth and baptism of Princess Margriet. The Holland-Canada Society held commemorative services for fallen Dutch servicemen which were attended by royalty.

However, the sudden availability of prestigious invitations, of positions on committees, and of monies to organize events with, were scarce resources sought after by more people than could be accommodated. This is the likely explanation of friction, jealousy, distrust, and ugly gossip that V refers to with some bitterness, even after so many years. Class, religion, and personality differences tend to all come into play in such a situation.

War time related community groups appeared all over the country, not only in Montreal. By the end of the war, they mostly disappeared, and that is what happened here too. However, Canada's industrialization had taken great strides during the war and the government was able to keep the momentum going when the war was over. The accompanying tremendous post-war immigration wave would more than rejuvinate ethnic communities all over the country, the Dutch community of Montreal not excepted.

THE POST WORLD WAR II PERIOD

World War II was truly a watershed in Canadian immigration history. The war and its aftermath had created vast numbers of homeless and disillusioned people looking for an opportunity to start a new life. Europe was devastated, and even with American aid, the rebuilding process took many years. Furthermore, after several military actions, the Netherlands had by the end of 1949 virtually lost all its East Indian possessions (now Indonesia), and thereby also lost an outlet for part of its surplus population. Meanwhile, the Cold War began having a demoralizing effect on many. Across the Atlantic Ocean lay lands of "milk and honey", plentiful farmland, freedom from rationing, and an abundance of nylons and cigarettes.

The decision to emigrate is to a large degree influenced by conditions on the home front (the push factor). These may be of a political, economic, or social nature. In the Netherlands, except for fears engendered by the Cold War, economic and social factors predominated. As Beijer (1961) puts it succinctly: "emigration is regarded as the liberation of an active personality from the shackles preventing its unrestricted development" (pp. 309-310).

Many of the emigrants, and by no means the farmers only, were concerned with lack of space back home and with the multitude of regulations which are a by-product of overcrowding. By the same token, Dutch authorities saw emigration as

their main tool to relieve overpopulation. There were, however, other issues involved.

One of these was of a religious, or rather missionary, nature. Settlement all over the world of people with entrepreneurial qualities (this includes agriculturists), and a zest for work, was seen as the fulfillment of God's will, particularly by the orthodox Calvinists (see, for example, L's remarks quoted later on). The Christian Emigration Central (CEC) worked extremely hard to recruit emigrants for Canada which it considered an ideal environment for Calvinists. Catholics saw the wide open spaces of Canada and Australia as a means to safeguard the principle of "Kinderweelde" (large families). The Catholic movement Familiale Actie (Familial Action) promoted this view through its magazine "Ons Boerenerf" [Our Farm Yard] (Cath. Netherlands Immigration Centre correspondence, MSR 2286, File II).

The other issue was economic, and had to do with trade development. Having lost its colonies in the post-war years, the Netherlands was obliged to look for other export markets, and the prospect of having the country massively represented in young nations with growing markets became progressively more attractive. In 1958, the quarterly "Emigratie" [Emigration] was launched and pushed this point regularly. This magazine was published by the Emigration Board with financial assistance from the Intergovernmental Commission for European Migration in Geneva (I.C.E.M.).

All the above issues combined help explain widespread

support for costly government assistance programmes for emigrants that were established over time.

As can be expected, the emigration movement was very influenced by the economic situation in Canada (the pull factor). Hofstede (1964:168) sums up the post-war Canadian economy and relates it to the Dutch emigration pattern, as follows.

- Up to 1953 the economy showed annual increases.
- In the Fall of that year the first signs of friction appeared.
- Since 1954 "unemployment Canada" was a stereotyped concept held in the Netherlands.
- 1955 saw a spectacular economic recovery.
- Emigration finally followed in 1956.
- Expansion slowed down in 1957.
- 1959 saw a revival.
- The following years there was a slight increase in departures.
- In 1960 a new recession coincided with labour shortages in the Netherlands, producing a further drop in emigration.

From that year on, emigration to Canada remained at a low level, hovering mostly between 1000 and 2000 a year, except for the period 1966-1968 which saw a slight upswing with a peak topping 4000 in 1967. But never again would the intense movement of the fifties, when in one year (1952) well

over 21,000 Dutch entered Canada, be approximated.

Those Dutch who are living in Quebec now are primarily the immigrants of the fifties and their descendants. They also include descendants of Loyalists, especially in the Eastern Townships.

In this chapter demographics, immigration experience, economic, and social conditions of the various waves of settlers from the Netherlands will be analysed, beginning with the war brides, followed by agriculturalists (the Netherlands Farm Families Movement) and, several years later, the large influx, the majority of which consisted of urban dwellers.

Differences in the immigration experience of pre- and post-war Dutch immigrants are analysed, first as it relates to Canada, and then more specifically as it relates to Quebec.

Demographics

War brides.

In Holland, the liberating Allied Forces, mainly Canadians, represented freedom, health, and wealth. Repatriation of the troops was slow, and by the end of November 1945, almost 70,000 men still remained in the country, although most of these left during the next few months (Kaufman & Horn, 1980:141). During the "wild summer of '45", Canadian soldiers and Dutch women got along famously, aided not in the

least by the changing code of social and sexual behaviour of Dutch women. Especially in the protestant Western and Northern parts of the country, the hardships of the last year of the war had put women in the role of provider and hunter for food. Their men were poorly dressed and emaciated from months or years of hiding or working in labour camps. The Canadian soldiers looked most attractive by contrast. A Dutch journalist is quoted by Horn as having commented: "Dutch men were beaten militarily in 1940, sexually in 1945" (Kaufman&Horn, 1980:137).

Horn makes the observation that many relationships between Dutch women and Canadian men were undoubtedly of a passing nature. The official policy of the Canadian government was to "dissuade members of the Canadian Army from marriage in foreign lands (Kaufman & Horn, 1980:142). But when reasonably satisfied that a basis for a happy marriage existed, consent was given by the Commander involved. Thus, the Canadian government eventually paid passage to Canada of 1,886 Dutch war brides and 428 children (cf 45,000 British, 649 Belgian, and 100 French war brides). Moreover, an unknown number of Dutch women married Canadians after 1946 as a result of their meeting at time of liberation (Kaufman & Horn, 1980:142).

Regarding push and pull factors, Horn says: "Gratitude and sexual attraction combined to drive Dutch women into Canadian arms" (Kaufman & Horn, 1980:137). He speculates that

the excitement of moving to a new country, and apparent economic status (which some soldiers may very well have inflated to make themselves look more appealing), are some of the reasons behind the haste observed among girls to marry Canadians (p. 142). Language and particularly religion may have played an important role in the choice of partner too. It is unlikely that they chose their husbands on the basis of place of residence or destination in the new country, or on the basis of economic status of a given region. Consequently these war brides can be expected to be distributed over the country more randomly than the later influx of Dutch immigrants, assuming a more or less even regional representation of Canadian servicemen in the Forces on hand in the Netherlands during and after liberation.

Table IX

Immigration to Canada, by Province of Destination. Dutch by Ethnic Origin (excl. Immigrants from U.S.A.), 1946-1950

Province	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
Maritimes (Nfld, P.E.I, N.S., N.B.)	252	168	245	189	404
Quebec	207	140	293	535	479
Ontario	843	1860	4785	4097	4093
Manitoba	181	303	1358	716	495
Saskatchewan	233	146	717	275	236
Alberta	226	246	1523	1293	1036
British Columbia	204	327	1245	677	654
Yukon/ N.W.T.	---	2	3	---	7
	2146	3192	10169	7782	7404

Source: Canadian Censuses 1946-1950, cited in Sas (1957:64).

Although it is dealt with here in the context of immi-

gration history, it must be noted that, as far as the Canadian Government was concerned, the issue of war brides was considered a military matter (Kaufman & Horn, 1980:162). The women were already Canadian citizens by marriage and were, therefore, not considered to be immigrants.

Netherlands Farm Family Movement.

By the end of the war, the Canadian Government was devoted to a policy of economic expansion. Rapid industrial development, the result of demands of a war economy, had taken place. The expected oversupply in the labour force after the war did not occur, as the level of industrial production was kept up by switching to the production of other goods. Later, the Korean War gave industry more impetus. Thus, the Canadian Government proceeded to enunciate an active immigration policy.

The general trek to the cities had created a demand for agriculturists. At the same time, the Netherlands was searching for outlets for its surplus population, particularly farmers, and those who had come back from the colonies after the war. Canada appeared as an attractive destination to both the Government and the farmers of the Netherlands. Between the two countries an arrangement was hammered out, known as the Netherlands Farm Families Movement. Screened in Holland, principally by the Netherlands Emigration Foundation, the families were placed in Canada with the help of the Settlement Service of the Immigration Branch (Canada, 1951:30a).

The first group of farmers and their families arrived in Montreal on June 27, 1947. From then, until 1950, after which non-farmers began to be admitted as well, well over 20,000 Dutch immigrants settled the Canadian countryside.

An address by Minister of Citizenship and Immigration W. Harris to the Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce given in January 1951, contained the following remark:

> One of the most successful immigration projects since the end of World War II has been the continuing movement to Canada of Netherlands agricultural families. We have received more than 21,000 fine Dutch immigrants since 1947, and have plans which will, we hope, bring an additional 10,000 to 12,000 during 1951... (cited in Tuinman, 1952:21)

The census of 1951 reported 3,129 persons of Dutch origin living in Quebec compared to 2,645 in 1941. The increase of less than 500, accounts for several hundred war brides and a small number of agriculturists and their families, most of whom settled south of Montreal.

On the whole, Dutch farmers avoided Quebec or, after initially attempting settlement there, appeared to have moved away later on. An example is Mr. de W., interviewed for the Multicultural History Society of Ontario. Upon being shown a film about Canada, Mr. de W. decided to go there. He found a sponsor in Woodstock, Ont., who subsequently changed his mind. Thus Mr. de W. arrived in Montreal without a job, but

within a few days found one in Aylmer, Que. He had intended to buy a farm, and as he thought the country to be very nice, would not have minded to stay in Quebec, but "it was not as easy there as they had made it sound". After a year Mr. de W. moved to Sudbury, presumably for economic reasons. He worked for INCO and never made it back into farming, or for that matter, to Quebec.

Interestingly, Mr. de W. claims to have received the following advice from Canadian army personnel in 1945: "If you are not a fisherman, don't come to Newfoundland, and if you're in Quebec, go to Ontario or to the West" (De Wit [speaker], June 22, 1982).

When de Department of Colonization of the Province of Quebec and the Canadian National Railway offered financial assistance to Dutch market gardeners who wished to settle in the province's interior, such as de Val d'Or district, only four families had accepted by the spring of 1951 (Canada, 1957:37).

While the stated reason, that cultural and language barriers in the interior are too formidable to overcome, may be true, a contributing factor to the scant response may be that the number of Dutch vegetable growers in Canada as a whole was considerably smaller than the number of other farmers, making the chances of a positive response so much smaller too (Tuinman, 1956:185). Another reason for the unpopularity of the northern regions appears to be the short growing season. In Ontario, too, relatively few Dutch settled

in the North.

The large influx.

The number of Dutch immigrants both numerically and as a proportion of total immigration to Canada had traditionally been low. Before 1948 the annual number had never been above 3000 and the proportion rose very slowly from 0.06% in 1901 to 4.27% in 1947. The following year, however, saw a steep increase to 6,997 persons, mostly as a result of the Netherlands Farm Families Movement.

In the latter half of 1950, Canada lifted restrictions on immigration of non-agricultural workers, with dramatic result. The next year 19,130 Dutch immigrants entered, representing 9.48% of the total number of immigrants to Canada (Tuinman, 1950:85). One can speak of a veritable emigration explosion. On the other hand, as Petersen (1955) points out, the rate per thousand population in the Netherlands was hardly higher than during the 1930's (p. 115).

Other characteristics of this post war migration were (1) the comparatively low numbers of immigrants entering Canada who moved on to the United States, which Richmond contends is probably due in part to the tightening up of United States's immigration regulations and quota controls (1967:254), and (2) the low rate of permanent return to country of origin. Hofstede (1967) estimates this for the Dutch to be no more than ten percent in the early post war years, "... in most cases it is the wife who had been unable

to make the adjustment " (p. 53).

As in the pre-war years, Ontario continued to be the most popular destination, and Quebec one of the least popular ones. The Dutch share these preferences with other immigrant groups. According to the 1961 census, 55% of all post-war immigrants were resident in Ontario, while only 16% were resident in Quebec (Richmond, 1967:257).

As can be seen from Table X, the big influx occurred in the 1950's. With little benefit of chain migration due to a weak population base and lack of supporting ethnic institutions, the Dutch in Quebec more than tripled in numbers between 1951 and 1961, and increased almost fivefold between 1941 and 1971. By comparison, Ontario's Dutch population nearly doubled and nearly tripled respectively.

Even though the absolute numbers still remain small relative to settlement in the other provinces, there is clearly a sudden upswing in the popularity of Quebec as a destination. Table XI may help explain this phenomenon. Census metropolitan areas (CMA's) would represent a predominantly urban population. According to the 1951 census, almost two thirds of the Dutch population of Ontario lived outside CMA's, whereas in Quebec the reverse was true. In 1971, the Dutch living in CMA's in Ontario constituted less than half of their total number in that province, as compared to 80% in Quebec.

Table X

Population of Dutch Ethnic Origin, Canada and Provinces, 1941-1981

	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
Canada	212,863	264,267	429,679	425,945	408,240
Nfld.	0	176	462	670	680
P.E.I.	494	677	1,288	1,245	1,335
N.S.	23,834	20,819	25,251	14,845	13,500
N.B.	4,539	5,920	7,882	5,365	4,400
Que.	2,645	3,129	10,442	12,585	8,055
Ont.	73,001	98,373	191,017	206,935	191,125
Man.	39,204	42,341	47,780	35,305	33,870
Sask.	35,894	29,818	29,325	19,040	17,215
Alta.	20,429	29,385	55,530	58,570	65,060
B.C.	12,737	33,388	60,176	70,530	72,285
Yukon	46	155	349	515	395
N.W.T.	40	86	177	340	315

Source: Canadian Censuses 1941-1981.

Table XI

Population of Dutch Origin in Canada, Ontario and Quebec, and CMA's within these Provinces, 1951 and 1971

CMA's in Ontario	1951	1971	CMA's in Quebec	1951	1971
Hamilton	4,626	17,690	Chicoutimi		125
Kitchener		4,445	Montreal	2,035	9,045
London	1,971	11,330	Ottawa-Hull*		465
Ottawa-Hull* (Ontario part)	1,545	6,995	(Quebec part) Quebec	50	320
Ste. Catharines		9,150			
Sudbury		1,320			
Thunder Bay		2,125			
Toronto	26,998	44,425			
Windsor	1,836	2,875			
Total CMA's	36,976	100,455	Total CMA's	2,085	9,955
Total Ontario	98,373	206,935	Total Quebec	3,129	12,585

Source: Canadian Censuses, 1951 and 1971

* In 1951, Ottawa was reported as one CMA located in Ontario. In 1971, the Ottawa-Hull area was reported as one CMA with an Ontario part and a Quebec part.

As a result of changes in Canadian immigration policy, greater numbers of urban Dutch were attracted, but Quebec already had a more urban Dutch population than Ontario, and maintained this characteristic over the years. The division of CMA populations into "urban core" and "fringe" underscores this as well (see table XII).

Table XII

Population of Dutch origin, Montreal-Toronto (1971)

	Montreal	Toronto
Total	9,045	44,425
Urban core	8,260	32,010
Fringe	785	12,420

Source: Canadian Census, 1971

The Immigration Experience

The immigration experience of post-World War II Dutch immigrants to Canada differed vastly from that of their predecessors earlier in the century and in Loyalist times on several important points:

(1) For the first time both sending and receiving countries took an active interest in the emigrants' welfare. The laissez-faire attitude of governments made way for state involvement of varying intensity, in virtually all aspects of the immigration process: information, recruitement and selection, transportation, reception, and placement.

(2) In contrast to the often negative image of pre-war Canada, the country was now seen in a very positive light, not least due to the warm feelings left for the Canadian

"liberators" and to reports of plentifulness of land and consumer goods, both sorely lacking in the Netherlands.

(3) Screening procedures were much improved. Thus,in general those who claimed to be farmers actually had that background, in contrast to pre-war "farmers" who very often did not have the right experience and could not make a proper living in Canada as a result.

(4) While in the pre-war years suitable emigrants were often not interested in moving away, skilled and motivated people were typical of the post-war movement.

(5) At this time, opening up the West was no longer Canada's primary concern. Repopulating the countryside was. The war effort and continuing industrial expansion drew people to the cities, and Canada became very interested in welcoming the committed Dutch farmers to fill the gap.

(6) Starting in the 1950's, further industrial expansion required skilled workers and professionals that Canada could not supply. A completely new class of immigrants began arriving here.

(7) Rapid technological change in air transport had another profound effect on immigrants: as soon as they began to fly, distances shrank. As immigrants also profited from the high standard of living that economic expansion had brought, they now had the option to visit the home country on a more or less regular basis. No longer was emigration the definitive break with the past it used to

be. Relatives too could cross the ocean on reasonably priced charter flights, which helped to further maintain contact with the homeland (J. Lowensteyn, 1980).

(8) Post-war immigration was made up mostly of families, in contrast to the pre-war situation when many men would go it alone until they felt conditions were right to bring out their families. It should be noted that accommodation for the then generally large Dutch families was hardly available in the West before World War II and even after the war. This was perhaps one reason that the post-war Dutch headed for Eastern Canada in large numbers. It was a little easier to find living space there, even if it was only a converted hen-house.

(9) Most immigrants brought their furniture with them, and some of them even a pre-fabricated house or barn. The "kist" or crate containing their belongings figured highly in stories about post-war immigration. It gave the settlers a headstart since an immediate cash outlay for household goods was kept to a minimum and one could concentrate on saving for the purchase of livestock etc.*

(10) Not only the Dutch Government had become active in the field of emigration after the war, private agencies also strengthened their position. They were, as was the norm

*) A good overview can be obtained from the personal accounts given in Chapter 9, "New Homes" in Albert Van der Mey, To All Our Children, Paieda Press Ltd., Jordan Station, Ont. (1983)

in the Netherlands (and still is to a certain extent), organized along confessional lines. An Emigration Board was set up which acted as the central organ for promoting unity between government concern with emigration and the work done by the private organizations, which by the middle of 1952 had received official recognition. These private bodies, acting as registration offices, were the following:

Central Catholic Emigration Foundation (K.C.E.S.)
Protestant Emigration Board (C.E.C)
General Emigration Board (A.E.C.)
Calvinist Foundation for Aid to Emigrants (G.S.B.E.G.)

Including the latter, which was small, these bodies operated 216 emigrant registration offices by 1955 (Hofstede, 1964:77).

The Minister of Social Affairs and Public Health appointed regional employment offices as public registration organs for emigration as well. By 1955, there were 84 such offices in the Netherlands. Prospective emigrants were free to register at either public or private registration offices (Hofstede, 1964:78).

(11) Immigrants arrived in Canada better prepared than their pre-war counterparts. On the whole, they had not received the sort of biased information that used to be provided by agents of the CPR and other such organiza-

tions. Language classes were available before departure, and emigrants were urged to leave with as much knowledge as they could muster.

(12) While pre-war immigrants were mostly left to fend for themselves upon arrival, the post-war immigrant was often welcomed by a "fieldman" of his church or religious organization. The Christian Reformed Church was best organized in this area, followed by the Reformed Church of America.

The Roman Catholic Church was least organized. Supported by Catholic emigration authorities in the Netherlands, and some Canadian bishops, the initiative of a Dutch priest in London led to the establishment of the Central Bureau of Catholic Netherlands Immigration in Ottawa which "was closed soon after in 1957 because the Catholic church authorities in Quebec disagreed with its purpose" (Van Stekelenburg, 1983:73). Reference is made here to the Canadian Catholic hierarchy's opposition to promote immigration of a special nationality group.

The Société Canadienne d'établissement rural (SCER) in Montreal, was originally set up for the resettlement of Quebeckers in the West. The SCER, however, was unwilling to find sponsors for Dutch farmers, most of whom were Catholics. Therefore, in the beginning, these farmers had to rely on individual efforts by such diverse people as "(agricultural attaché) Tuinman of the

Dutch Embassy, 'old-timers', the Knights of Columbus, war-brides, priests, and ... protestant organizations." (Van Stekelenburg, 1980:20).

(13) The Christian Reformed Church (C.R.C) in particular made an effort to locate its followers in the proximity of a C.R.C. Church, much to the dismay of Canadian authorities who were vehemently opposed to "colonies", and wished assimilation, or "integration" as it was called after the war, to proceed as quickly as possible (Canada 1951:30).

(14) The large number of Dutch immigrants to Canada was conducive to the growth of many community organizations. Contrary to the pre-war situation, a wide variety of institutions emerged, including the above-named two Protestant churches, credit unions, travel agencies, real estate companies, newspapers, and social clubs and associations. The churches depended on funding from abroad (the U.S.A. and the Netherlands). Other institutions were either self-supporting or received tangible and intangible help from various sources.

(15) A market for Dutch goods emerged among immigrants as well, and many companies began exporting Dutch products to Canada and/or set up branch plant operations. All of this aided the newcomers in maintaining contact with the culture of origin.

(16) On the Canadian side a tremendous effort was made to integrate the immigrants. The process of integration was

divided into three, often overlapping, areas: (a) economic, (b) linguistic, (c) social. Responsibility for these areas was in the hands of the federal government, the provinces, and private agencies, respectively. Federal Immigration officials were responsible for placement of the immigrant. Quebec had also its own colonization scheme to settle immigrants on their agricultural land (Petersen, 1955:156-7).

Of the private agencies, the principal one was the Canadian Citizenship Council which not only published a variety of pamphlets on the Canadian way of life, but, through its member organizations attempted to coordinate all services available to the immigrant. Its professed aim of "interpreting newcomers and older Canadians to one another and assisting their mutual integration" reflected the veering away in Canada from the pre-war assimilationist view in the direction of today's multiculturalism policy (Petersen, 1955:156-7).

(17) In marked contrast to earlier times, post-war Dutch emigration and immigration spurred a great deal of research, especially on the aspect of integration. For the pre-war period statistics and personal histories are hard to come by, but a number of solid studies saw the light in the decade following World War II. These studies (e.g. Beijer, Hofstede, Petersen, Tuinman) were not from the hands of New-Canadians themselves. This had to wait until the late 1970's when theses and books began

to appear written by Dutch immigrants most of whom had received their university education in Canada and who had lived here for decades. The emigration experience of Dutch-Canadians is beginning to become well documented. Remarkably, the experience of the second generation is hardly touched upon. The field is wide open for studies of economic and cultural adjustment of this Canadian-born generation.

Like the rest of Canada, the province of Quebec received its share of the various "waves" of immigrants. Because of differences in language and culture, and the paucity of other Dutch immigrants in this province, the immigration experience was different here than elsewhere.

War brides.

The problems that war brides had in settling in Quebec are illustrated by the history of J (J. Lowensteyn [cassette recording] 1985) who married a fully bilingual French-Canadian. Ironically, she recalled British troops warning the Dutch population against Canadians, especially French-Canadians.

Upon her arrival here she spoke no French and only a few words of English. The couple's backgrounds were similar: both were Roman-Catholic and both came from large, lower middle class families. In the early years, when the need was greatest due to language difficulties and homesickness, there was no Dutch priest or doctor available, and only after two

years did she meet another war bride. In the 1950's all this changed and there were Dutch church services, and Dutch parties to go to.

Another interviewee, K, met a lot of Dutch war brides while working for the Dutch Consulate from 1949 on. K claims many were disappointed and upset although she also met many who were happy (K, Tape I, side 1, 30:10). From all accounts it appears that the war brides or any other immigrants who arrived before 1951/52 had virtually no one of Dutch origin, nor any form of ethnic community support, to fall back on.

Netherlands Farm Families Movement.

The number of Dutch that settled in Quebec in the post war years prior to 1951 is not as large as the number of Dutch who from 1946 to 1950 claimed Quebec as their destination. Of these 1654 (see Table IX) about a third are assumed to have moved elsewhere, since the population of Quebec grew by only 1094 persons in the decade 1941-1951 (Table X). Taking into account that immigration during the war years was negligible, that the above number included perhaps several hundred war brides, and that most agriculturists came with young families or as singles, the number of units that settled in this province may have hovered around 300. There is, however, no evidence that so many Dutch farmers settled here at that time. Interviews, reports from priests, and personal observation, support the notion that perhaps half of these people have settled as farmers. The rest would appear to have changed occupation.

An interview with X (J. Lowensteyn [cassette recording] 1985), who was one of those early settlers, revealed that chain migration had taken place. In fact, our respondent was referred to as "the godfather". He claimed to have been instrumental in bringing out fifteen or so other Dutchmen, most of whom became farmers or nurserymen and who, like himself, brought over Dutch wives, and raised sizeable families in a francophone environment. All these people stayed in close contact, aided by a common faith (Roman Catholicism) and common regional background (the Westland market gardening region west of the line Rotterdam-Delft-The Hague. They settled just south of Montreal (X, Tape I, side I, 06:30).

Further south, in the area between Montreal and the American border (the Eastern Townships), small concentrations of Dutch dairy and mixed farmers can be found. But Quebec's pull for agriculturists was far outweighed by the pull of Ontario. There were pragmatic and ideological reasons for this. Dr. A. Tuinman, agricultural attache at the Netherlands Embassy, describes how, in 1947, the Canadian Immigration Service was not yet in a position to provide placement services to the Dutch farmers, some 1100 of whom arrived from Holland that summer. The Dutch government took responsibility for their placement but needed help. The province of Ontario made paid personnel available for this purpose, hence that is why so many of these farmers settled there (1956: 185). Furthermore, the pull of Ontario (and the Western provinces) combined with the push coming from the Christian Emigration

Central in the Netherlands which actively recruited those of Calvinist persuasion:

> Right from the start, the focus was on Canada. They promoted this land, ripe with opportunities, as the future home of Calvinists gripped by the emigration fever. One of the main reasons was the existence here of a staunch ally - the Christian Reformed Church (VanderMey, 1983:54).

Christian Reformed Churches were to be found in Ontario and the West. There were none in Quebec which, as a Catholic province, was shunned by Calvinists in any case.

Another pull factor was sponsorship. Immigrants had to be sponsored by a Canadian farmer who guaranteed employment and housing for a certain period. French-Canadian farmers would more likely request a French-speaking farmhand. Interviewee R (J. Lowensteyn [cassette recording] 1985) noted that lots of Belgians, some Swiss, Germans and Dutch came about 25 years ago (R, Tape II, side 1, 19:45).

All these factors contributed to the concentration of Dutch in Ontario, particularly, if the accumulating effect of chain migration is taken into account.

The large influx.

From the second half of 1950 on, other than agriculturists began to be admitted, and that made a great difference, particularly to Quebec. While absolute numbers remained rela-

tively low, the proportional increase of Dutch to this province was phenomenal, from 3,129 in 1951 to 12,585 in 1971. Quebec industry was developing rapidly in that period and the aeronautics, engineering and chemical industries, hotels, and transportation companies, to name a few, were scouting overseas for trained and/or highly educated and multilingual personnel. French language and culture was no barrier at that time as most immigrants integrated in the anglophone community which was already geared to serving immigrants. Management, technical and service personnel could normally get by with English only. Montreal also had a reputation as a more lively and cosmopolitan city than "Toronto the Good", which was a point of attraction for some.

The experience of some of the people that were interviewed (J. Lowensteyn [cassette recordings] 1985) for this study, illustrate the problems or, relative to other ethnic groups, the lack of problems encountered upon arrival. What follows is a brief introduction to some of the interviewees.

Q is a multilingual musician who, before coming to Canada in 1950, had travelled and worked all over Europe. Due to restrictions by the Dutch government, he could not get money out of Holland but brought out antiques and furnishing instead. Another problem was that he could only obtain work after six months' membership in the Musicians' Union, but that without work he could not maintain himself. He managed to get an introduction to the well-known pianist John Newmark, who helped him along. Q gave some private lessons until

he received his Union Card and could begin to perform (Q, Tape I, side 1, 0:10). He calls the 1950's "pioneering times" in Canada in his field and is proud to have been associated with them (Tape I, side 2, 16:55).

P was a multilingual enterprising young man who had seen Canada during the war years, met his wife here, and got married in the United States. Upon receiving an honourable discharge from the Dutch Navy in 1946, he decided to seek a future in Canada. "Such an industrializing country should have room for someone like me". He had the same problem as Q: his money was frozen overseas. Furthermore, he encountered the problem of lack of rental accommodation in Montreal in 1946, but he soon met someone who helped him find suitable space. His father had a high rank in the Dutch Navy and this brought him easy entry with the Consul and others who counted in the Dutch community. Nevertheless, he had to start at what he calls "not a real job": announcer at the CBC International Service. After three months he had found something more to his liking. Over the years he worked his way up to senior executive with large companies and frequently was called upon to help newly arrived immigrants. P recalls that he used to advise Dutchmen to come over alone and bring wives out later (P, Tape I, side 1).

H a priest, came to Canada (his second choice, after South America), after being ordained. He had missionary aspirations and was sent to Canada without knowing his destination. He was placed in a local Quebec parish to learn

French, and by making a real effort he was able to deliver his first sermon in that language 6 to 8 weeks later. He lived with his Dutch confreres in poverty those first years, but it did not matter, "because we came to serve, we had a calling" (H, Tape I, side 1).

Z now a multilingual, elderly widow, arrived in 1952 with her husband, a businessman, and the two youngest of her five children. A married daughter had gone ahead. The two older children lived in South America. The family moved to a suburb where they had set up a construction company. Respondent met one or two Dutch ladies there but interacted mostly with Canadians. "There was not much community life yet in the town, except for neighbourly parties." The family had always been quite wealthy and despite some financial setbacks, they owned a car and sent their sons to the best schools. Any problems related to immigration seem to have been of a personal nature, such as homesickness and differences in adjustment to Canada by the family members (Z, Tape I, side 1, 0:15).

T a minister with the Christian Reformed Church (the "Dutch church") had originally been least interested in Canada as a destination. He believed church life there was 25 years behind. However, when he was called to serve in a western Canadian city, he accepted. He had to preach at least fifty percent in English, which was difficult for him at first. His congregation was generally poor, living in chicken

coops and shacks, much as their Ukranian neighbours did. Large families had come without subsidies and had had to borrow money to emigrate. Lack of English led to isolation for many of them, and also to lack of communication with their children. He saw much mental stress. T coped with his own mental stress which apparently had to do mostly with the lack of sophistication of the modern urban life he had been used to in Amsterdam. In 1960 he was called to Montreal where he found an entirely different congregation consisting of engineers, teachers, tradespeople, and accountants, rather than labourers with a rural background and no more than elementary school education (K, Tape I, side 1).

L a former shopkeeper, came to Canada in 1953 to evade the many government regulations of his home country. But religion played a part too. He thought the Lord had a task for him. "Faith and prayer are the things that brought me." He had taken English courses in Holland, so "had no problems with language". Nevertheless, when studying to improve his English (he went on to take marketing courses at Sir George Williams College), he lost his hair temporarily as a result of the tension. Although he did not know anybody in Canada, the Christian Emigration Central had found him and his wife work as a couple, chauffeur/cook, which paid well enough for them to save $1600 in one year (L, Tape I, side 1, 0:15).

One can detect a common thread in these case histories:

1. Language is generally not a problem as many are multilin-

gual.

2. Those with only 'school English' or 'school French' were prepared to study hard, and consequently, learned fast.
3. They brought the skills, capital, enterprising spirit, and ambition that were useful and welcome in Canada.
4. If they missed the more developed culture of Europe, they were at least able to adjust to this state of affairs by giving of their own talents; in the majority of cases the issue did not arise, however.
5. Most respondents did not have any connections here before arrival, but they were able to make them quickly since there were no serious language problems.

T sums up the situation in Montreal: "people gave the impression of having 'moved' rather than 'immigrated'" (T, Tape I, side 1, 28:00).

Making a Living

War brides.

Little can be said about the economic conditions of war brides as they are not singled out for statistical purposes. One can only assume that they are more or less randomly spread out in terms of income and social class. This would tend to be supported by the many interviews David Kaufman and Tom Muller conducted with war brides (Kaufman & Horn, 1980).

Netherlands Farm Family Movement.

It is clear from the discussion in the preceeding sec-

tion that, although Dutch farmers did well across Canada, the Netherlands Farm Family Movement did not make a great impact in Quebec, because of their small number.

Tuinman (1952) reports that financial improvements had taken place in 65 out of a sample of 70 farm families who had been in Canada 13-24 months. All subjects in a sample of 22 who had been here 37-48 months, had improved their financial status, some of them considerably (pp.64-65). An estimated fifty percent of Dutch farm families who arrived in Canada in the period 1947- to January 1, 1952, owned or had shares in a farm by the end of that period (p. 70).

There is no reason to believe that in Quebec, which had excellent farm loan facilities, the situation would be worse. Unofficial reports regarding the status of Quebec farm families come from priests serving the almost exclusively Catholic Dutch rural families south of Montreal.

Various reports by priests in the late 1950's mention 45 families in the area between Clarenceville and Knowlton, and 12 farmers near Sherbrooke, and turn-outs at Mass or social events of 200 persons in the former, and 130 in the latter area. One Dutch priest, who was in contact with all these families, reported four cases of hardship in one year; three due to financial problems, one due to illness (C.C.A. Blommesteyn, personal communication, 1985). An unknown number moved to Ontario, but those who stayed seem to have done well or even very well as the following interviews indicate (J. Lowensteyn [cassette recordings] 1985).

S immigrated with her farming family (mother, three sisters of 19, 14, and 13, one brother, 17) in 1953 when she was 16 years old. An aunt was already living here. She worked elsewhere while the rest of her family ran the small farm they had bought. She found the first years very hard, harder than expected. Nevertheless, they were able to move into a larger farm with government help a few years later, while her married sister took over the old farm (S, Tape I, side 1, 0:15).

R came only in 1958 together with his cousin. They arrived under the auspices of the Young Farmers Programme, a scheme set up in the late 1950's to boost the sagging emigration of Dutch farmers by making them acquainted with an emigration country through a trial stay of nine months. They had to pay for their outbound passage but were guaranteed work at a certain wage level to enable them to save for the return trip. R thought about 60 persons per year arrived. He guessed that 25-30% settled permanently as farmers (R, Tape I, side 2, 2:00)

R and his cousin had asked for an extension to their stay and used this time to travel across Canada to find the best place to buy a farm. They were attracted by the mixed farming in the East, and R commented that, while farm incomes in Ontario were higher, farm prices in Quebec were lower. Ontario has better climate and soil and in the 1950's it had also a better organization to produce and sell a larger variety of crops than Quebec. But in the intervening years,

conditions have changed and Quebec farms now produce a large variety of crops, but farm prices have risen too (Tape I, side 1, 39:50).

R has a thriving 100 hectare farm with 220 head of cattle and, by virtue of his social contacts (he organizes an annual spring picnic for Dutch and Belgian Eastern Townshippers) he knows many Dutch farmers. At the time of the interview (Spring 1983) he thought perhaps 10 or 12 Dutch families live in the Chateauguay Valley (Tape I, side 2, 09:40).

R is a director of the local Union des Producteurs Agricoles and estimates that 50 of the 350 members are new-Canadians, most of them French speaking Belgians, the others Flemish, Swiss, and Dutch. He contends that European farming methods had been well ahead of the ones used in Canada 25 years ago, and that the new-comers had acted as trail-blazers and role models for Canadian farmers. "They put on a lot of fertilizer. They built many silos and farms. Contractors did 85% of their work for new-Canadians." Energy and ambition are respondent's explanations for this boom. "This is why the gap between Ontario and Quebec narrowed so much... Some farmers brought money from overseas, others borrowed a lot - at the Caisse Populaire. As soon as the bank understood that the farmer was a businessman, they offered to lend money!" (Tape II, side 1, 19:45).

R and his wife both agree on the crucial role the wife plays at the farm, and claim that today those farmers that are successful have wives who are actively involved, e.g. by

keeping the books, following husbands to meetings, etc. She herself had always worked hard alongside her husband from the beginning (Tape I, side 1, 40:00).

As the only Dutch member of the local Syndicate of Farm Management ("those farmers are real businessmen") R travelled to the U.S.A. to learn about more efficient production methods. He, his wife, and his son are taking computer courses given by the Syndicate.

Other Dutchmen in the area are also very involved in Quebec and Canadian society. R's cousin is a cash crop farmer who has been a councillor for six years, and mayor of a small community in the Eastern Townships for eight years. For years he had been president of the Sugar Beet Growers Association of Quebec. R's brother-in-law is involved with the Chamber of Commerce of a larger town. Both men travelled extensively in Canada and the U.S.A. A Dutch friend was, at the time of the interview, president of the Holstein Association of Quebec, another friend was a judge, and a third Dutch friend or acquaintance was president of the Vegetable Growers Association of Canada (Tape II, side 2, 38:20).

Priests and officials of the C.I.S. report in a similar vein on the situation in rural Quebec in the fifties.

Correspondence from R with the C.I.S. and reports from priests and officials confirm R's own story, his contentions about the situation in rural Quebec in the 1950's, and the position of the immigrants in it (C.C.A. Blommesteyn, personal communications, 1985).

The large influx.

Notwithstanding the interesting position of the Dutch farmer in the Quebec economy, it must be remembered that the majority of Dutch in this province are urban dwellers. In fact, in 1951 it was reported that "Quebec is outstanding as the only province in which the urban proportion was much higher than the rural" (Canada, 1951:40). Although in 1981 this is no longer the case, among the Dutch in Quebec the urban element still represents 80% compared with 63% across Canada (Census 1981). Most of this change appears to be accounted for by the changes in occupational entrance status that took place when Canada opened its borders in 1950 to a variety of occupations. Whereas the proportion of agriculturists of the total number of Dutch immigrants in Canada in 1949 was still 87.5%, this dropped fairly quickly to 22.1% by 1954 (Tuinman, 1956:183).

During the decades 1951-1971, the Dutch population in Quebec increased by 9,456 persons, that of Montreal by 7,010 (see Tables X and XI). Most came with all the requisites required to be successful immigrants able to make a good living. They had a comparatively high level of education, professional and language skills.

Table XIII shows that there was no illiteracy among the Dutch in Montreal in 1971. And as most post elementary education in the post-war Netherlands involved the teaching of several languages (generally Dutch, English, French, and German), the proportion of individuals with at least a basic

Table XIII

Distribution of Education Among Selected Ethnic Groups in Montreal 1970

EDUCATION	British	French	Dutch	Jews	Greeks	Ital.
1. With Degree	8.7	4.3	13.6	12.2	2.9	1.8
2. 14 yrs Univ.	9.9	4.6	13.6	12.8	5.4	3.4
3. High School	72.4	69.7	68.4	64.0	41.0	40.04
4. Grade School	8.4	20.3	4.1	7.5	46.5	49.4
5. No Schooling	1	1	-	3	2	4
Total number	290,000	1,113,680	5,570	77,545	26,955	99,925

15 years and over and not attending school

Source: Statistics Canada. Special Report No. 6001-00175 AC-2B-1971

understanding of the local language must have been very high, as in 1971 only 4.1% had no more than grade school. It is possible, of course, that this percentage was originally higher, as some might have upgraded themselves since their arrival. But the effort required to earn a living, working in a new language, and getting settled in the new environment would likely have precluded that for all except a few. Nevertheless, the head of the Dutch section Catholic Immigrant Services in Montreal wrote to his superiors in the Netherlands in 1957: "Poor knowledge of English or French among the Dutch is their greatest problem. It is my impression that less than 25% can understand or respond to an employer " (C.I.S. correspondence, MSR 4743, Box 1, Cremers to van Campen, July 24, 1957). The author of the report does not specify, but it is entirely possible that those with "school English or French" were in this unenviable position at first.

However, their basic language education will have helped them to improve rapidly, and quickly move from an initial low-status job into one commensurate with their level of education. Richmond found in his cross-Canada study that "It was evident that in those national groups with an average or above average level of education, such as the German, Scandinavian, and Benelux groups, about two-thirds were fluent..." (1967:142). In any case, Reitz found that knowledge of English upon arrival had only a temporary influence on job status. Language knowledge is linked to education which is the important variable (1980: 171).

The phenomenon of educational upgrading after immigration is much more likely to have existed at higher educational levels, where the immigrant had already enough command of the language to study other subjects in it and where often the employer would pay for the course. Particularly in Montreal we know that many immigrants availed themselves of the opportunity to take part time evening courses leading to a university degree. Sir George Williams College (later Sir George Williams University) was a leader in this field and attracted many new-Canadians, Dutch among them, who had been deprived of easy access to a university in their home country. L's story (page 89) gives a good illustration. Even then, it was usually only a minority who were in the position and who had the fortitude to upgrade their formal education significantly later in life. It is therefore assumed that the 1971 figures largely reflect the distribution of education

among the Dutch upon arrival, that is, no illiteracy, a majority that completed high school, and a relatively high proportion with at least some university education.

Data compiled by E. Gavaki (1985) show that in 1981 the Dutch of Montreal had improved their level of education. Those with grade school education only dropped slightly to 3.5% and those with high school dropped from 68.4% to 62%, whereas those with one or more years of university increased their proportion from 13.6% to 19.5%, and those with a university degree went from 13.6% to 15%. These changes are on the one hand a reflection of the life cycle of the community, and, on the other hand, show a continuing upward mobility.

The existing pattern of occupational concentration among Montreal Dutch is what can be expected with such high levels of education (see Table XIII). Among males in 1971, managers, administrators, and professionals account for 36%. What is perhaps somewhat surprising is the high proportion of factory workers (14%), considering that those with grade school and no schooling combined accounted for only 4%. One explanation could be that many of the Dutch factory workers occupy supervisory positions such as foreman. Personal experience of the author indicates that this might be a possibility. It may also be that these Dutch factory workers were employed in high-tech industries. The data are not refined enough to detect such distinctions (See Table XIV).

Table XIV

Occupational Concentration of Dutch in Montreal 1971-1981 (Males - Females)

OCCUPATION	% of Total Males 1971	1981	% of Total Females 1971	1981
1. Managers/Admin.	14	22	4	7
2. Professionals	22	23	23	25
3. Clerical/Sales/Service	30	24	60	58
4. Factory	14	15	2	4
Total number	2,840	1,830	1,195	1,140

Source: Census 1981. Special Dissemmination Report, 6451-1300-2B-1981 Census. Tables compiled by E. Gavaki, Concordia University.

One can get some idea of the upward mobility that has taken place in the 1950's from the records of the Christian Reformed Church. In 1979, the congregation of the C.R.C. was mostly made up of engineers, maintenancemen, tradespeople, and accountants, a pilot, scientists, a doctor, a businessman, university professors, college and high school teachers, and, the largest group, management personnel. This compares favourably with the cross section of occupations listed on the Act To Incorporate The First Christian Reformed Church: engineers, tradesmen, office clerks, accountants/bookkeepers, a salesman, a plant superintendant, a chemist, and a number of lower ranked occupations (CRC 25th Anniversary Album, 1979:12).

The high income level among the Dutch in Montreal is reflected in the pattern of residential concentration, although "concentration" is probably too strong a word to use. Of the 9000 Dutch in the Montreal CMA in 1971, one third

Table XV

Average Income of Dutch in Montreal, 1971-1981
(Males - Females)

	Males		Females	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Average Income	9,280	22,116	3,721	10,330
% of total	169%	167%	68%	78%

15 years and over and not attending school
Source: Census 1981. Special Dissemmination Report 6451-1300-2B-1981 Census.

lived on the West Island, a comfortable middle class, mostly anglophone, area. The rest was spread out over other anglophone areas of the CMA (LaSalle, Verdun, St. Laurent, and Westmount mainly), and some off-island areas (Laval and the South Shore) (J. Lowensteyn, 1981:26). LaSalle and Verdun are often considered blue-collar communities, while Montreal's wealthiest tend to live in Westmount. The Dutch are thus spread across the whole spectrum of community types, except inner city slums and (hardly) francophone areas.

For the Dutch in Montreal, high level of education and occupation is related to high income. Tables XVI and XVII compare this group with (a) other ethnic groups in Montreal, and (b) Dutch elsewhere in Canada. On both counts the Montreal Dutch score very high. In relation to other ethnic groups, entrance status and lifestyle of the group are part explanations of this phenomenon. As North Europeans they were highly preferred immigrants (Reitz, 1980)

While discrimination and prejudice form an enormous barrier for some ethnic groups, and are troublesome aspects

Table XVI

Total Average Income of Selected Ethnic Groups in Montreal, 1971

Ethnic Origin	Total Population	Average Total Income
		$
Greek*	29,005	3,291
Italian	110,460	3,638
Jewish	91,065	5,733
Netherlands	6,345	5,581
Portuguese	9,470	3,182
Negro/West Indian	6,975	3,787

*) Includes 2% of Greek population of Province of Quebec living outside Montreal.

Source: Statistics Canada. Special Report NO. 6001-00175 AC-2B-1971.

Table XVII

Population of Dutch Origin, Aged 15 Years and Over, by Education, Income, and Occupation. Canada, Selected Provinces, and Montreal, 1971

	Montreal	Quebec	Ontario	Canada	Canada less Ont. & Que.
EDUCATION					
Univ.level	28%	24%	8.4%	9.6%	16%
Grade 11	67%	64%	42%	44%	43%
OCCUPATION					
Prof./Mgr/ Admin.	33%	30%	15%	19%	14%
Cleric./ Sales/Serv.	39%	35%	30%	32%	32%
INCOME					
Average Total	$5,581	$5,193	$4,115	$3,929	$3,666

Source: Statistics Canada. Special report no, 6001-00175AC-2B-1971

of daily life for others, the post-World War II Dutch immigrants seemed to have little to worry about. One can hardly

speak of discrimination in practical terms if the group has attained such high economic status as the Dutch in Montreal, or such prestigeous and influential positions in their profession as some of the Dutch farmers have in this province. Still, there are reports of prejudice. There was U quoted on page 40, who at the time of his second immigration in Canada, in 1952, remembers being called a "displaced person" (a derogatory term).

Another interviewee, L, still feels like a immigrant: "People let you know you're different", and thinks it is his heavy accent. He talks of discrimination but, at the same time, wonders if he is too sensitive (L, Tape I, side 1, 17-10).

Neither man was held back economically at any time, and both are now comfortably off in their retirement years.

As urban people, armed with a certain amount of education and skills (including language skills), they were able to establish themselves quickly and start improving their socio-ecomic condition with a minimum of delay. They were also among the earliest to arrive after World War II which means that by 1971 many were at or close to the peak of their earning power.

In relation to the Dutch elsewhere in Canada, the Dutch in Montreal and, indeed, in Quebec, are in a particularly high position with respect to education, occupation, and income. This likely reflects primarily the low proportion of agriculturists in this province, including the absence of

Mennonites. Even though Dutch (and Mennonite) farmers tend to be highly skilled and very successful in their field, their income and education levels tend to be on the low side, bringing the average down. For example, Harry Cunliffe, a Canadian immigration official well acquainted with post-war immigration from the Netherlands, referred to "the simple, unlettered folk who came in the early years" (personal communication, May 6, 1983). These were the agriculturists who settled mostly in Ontario and the Western provinces.

Community Life

Characteristics of ethnic institutions.

Characteristic of the Dutch ethnic institutions is that they do not appear to have as their aim the perpetuation of a Dutch culture or Dutch values beyond the immigrant generation, although this may have been the case in the past. Rather, on the one hand, they concern themselves with the maintenance of religious values (which may, or may not, have a Dutch component) and, on the other hand, they cater to a certain nostalgia which seems to be on the increase with the aging of the population.

Another characteristic is their openness to non-Dutch participants.

In all these respects, institutions reflect accurately the behaviour of individual Dutch immigrants as indicated by their limited use of mother tongue, and their high rate of intermarriage.

Breton (1968) found in his study done in Montreal that the Dutch were among those with a low level of institutional completeness. Many Dutch themselves, as well as outsiders, question whether one can speak of a "community" at all.

For both cultural and economic reasons one would indeed not expect a strongly developed community to exist. As Reitz says: "Cultural similarity means the group has less cultural interest in group formation. It also means that there is less likelihood of discrimination, and this may reduce the economic basis for cohesion" (1980:62).

The Dutch are linguistically, physically, and in many other respects quite similar to those of British stock.

A further characteristic is fragmentation. No one organization can speak for the whole community. This is true for Montreal, for Quebec, and for Canada. The strongest division is still along religious lines, with the orthodox Calvinists almost completely separate from the rest. In this the situation in Canada resembles the one in the Netherlands as exemplified in the phenomenon of "verzuiling" (zuil=pillar). Moberg calls it "vertical pluralism", which he explains as follows: "The nearest English cognates of this are the concepts sub-cultures, pluralism, 'unity in diversity', special interest groups, pressure groups. Woven into one, adding an ideological and religious twist, one might come near an understanding of the term" (cited in Hofstede, 1964:74-75).

Understanding this aspect of Dutch society is necessary if one is to make sense of organization and processes in any

Dutch ethnic community. An interesting illustration of how the system of "verzuiling" affected emigrants' behaviour before departure is shown in Table XVIII. Emigrants were free to register at one of the private registration offices or at designated government manpower offices. As Table XVIII indicates they were guided by religious convictions, and Calvinists felt more strongly about this than any others, followed by Roman Catholics.

Although some grumbling within the community might have had to do with class or personality differences, it was of a minor nature and completely overshadowed by the religious differences.

There was no evidence of any political division, whether inspired by country of origin or by country of immigration.

It is perhaps surprising that, in spite of the largely negative influences mentioned above, community institutions did and still do exist, with new ones arising and old ones

Table XVIII

Number of Emigrant Departures (Male Heads of "Units") from the Netherlands to All countries in 1960 and First Half of 1961, Via Various Registration Offices

	K.C.E.D (Cath.)	C.E.C. (Calvin.)	A.E.C. (non-denom.)	R.A.B. (gov't)	Total =100% x 1.000
Roman Catholic	49	3	15	33	4.05
Dutch Reformed	1.5	32	35.5	31	3.04
Calvinist	0.5	72	9	18.5	1.02
Others	1	29.5	35.5	34	0.35
No religious denomination	2	10	45	43	1.67

Source: Hofstede, 1964:105

being revived. This suggests that, in spite of doubts prevalent among Dutch and non-Dutch alike, some form of community does exist. Which part of the Dutch collectivity is involved and how this community is organized will be explored.

The Netherlands Farm Family Movement.

Of the farmers, those in the Eastern Townships were the only ones numerous enough to even think in terms of organizing themselves. Although there may have been the odd non-Catholic among them, we have only been able to find reports of group activities by Catholic farmers. They gravitated for their religious sustenance toward Dutch missionaries in Granby and Sherbrooke.

From C.C.A. Blommesteyn, now retired, but formerly with the Catholic Immigrant Services in Montreal, the following information was obtained.

From about 1954 on, the Séminaire Apostolique in Granby has been very active in the surrounding area. By 1958 there were three priests who divided their work among about 45 families between them. One Sunday a month, an average of 80 Dutch and Flemish immigrants would gather in the parish-church of Standbridge-East for mass, followed by some socializing. The priest would then spend the rest of the day visiting a number of families. Such trips averaged 180 kilometers. The manifest aim of these visits was "to make the church present to the new life of the immigrant in Canada", however, questions on education, farm contracts and employment were discussed and some material assistance was provided

as well. The priests were available too in cases of distress or to perform weddings and baptisms.

In the summer, a social event might be organized following mass. An invitation to such a day on June 13, 1958, states the expectation that the gathering will be of value particularly for those who would like to get to know a wider circle of Dutch-speaking young men and girls. A year earlier, the social had drawn an attendance of 90. It was later reported ruefully that "à cause de la défense de danser dans une maison de communauté réligieuse, le but de cette journée n'a pas été atteint." Nevertheless, this opportunity for social contact in the region must have been appreciated. By 1960 attendance had risen to 200 persons.

At some point the summer social was discontinued, probably when it had fulfilled its function of forging enduring relationships among the young, and when families then became occupied with child rearing activities. But after an interval it was revived, this time not by the religious, but by the lay community, and for a nostalgic rather than romantic purpose (C.C.A. Blommesteyn, personal communications, 1985).

The following information is gleaned from interviews with respondent R (J. Lowensteyn [cassette recordings] 1985.

At the 25th anniversary of the priest who had married R, R and some friends decided to organize a party in appreciation of all his hard work, especially on behalf of immigrants. They got 150 people together. At popular request they kept the event going for many years. In 1982, there were 160

persons present. In 1983 attendance was up to 200 (attended by author) R could not understand why Dutch or Flemish people who live close by, and who still have language problems (they immigrated only three or four years ago) do not attend while old timers come from 160 kilometers or more away (R, Tape I, side 2, 41:40).

Although organized by a self-appointed committee, these events have a somewhat formal structure, with mass in Pike River, followed by a luncheon and dance at the Club Belge in Sabrevoix.

On the other hand, R's family does not maintain informal traditions such as celebrating birthdays or St. Nicholas in the Dutch way (Tape I, side 2, 31:10).

Interviewee X told of a quite strong informal contact among a group of farmers and horticulturalists living just south of Montreal. They maintain certain Dutch customs in a informal manner. Birthdays and anniversaries (the author attended a 25th wedding anniversary at which some 70 persons, mostly from the area, were present) are celebrated in the Dutch tradition with a get-together of as many as 30 family members and friends. In addition, they attend the occasional mass organized by a Dutch immigrant priest from Montreal. But "grown children are no longer interested in that." (X, Tape I, side 2, 28:10). This may be as much a by-product of growing secularization as it is of any lack of interest in ethnicity.

The informal, but quite frequent and intense, contact of

this group contrasts strongly with the infrequent, but more formal, activities of the Eastern Townships farmers. Propinquity may play a role here, as well as the greater homogeneity of the Southshore group. X had brought many of these people over, and they tended to hail from the same region of the Netherlands (the "Westland").

The large influx.

Although small numbers of farmers continued to come in over a period of years, the bulk of Dutch immigration to Quebec was of an urban nature and concentrated in the Montreal area.

A priest in Quebec City made reference to about 100 Dutch people living there with whom he had had some interesting get-togethers (C.C.A. Blommesteyn, personal communication, 1985). On the whole, however, any organized community life took place in Montreal.

The earliest formal private support to Dutch immigrants in Canada was supplied by the "fieldmen" of the Christian Reformed Church (C.R.C.).

The C.R.C. was the first to actively support the emigration movement. Theirs was a missionary effort. They wished to establish new congregations and separate schools in Canada. To this end they strived to concentrate Dutch immigrants in certain areas, particularly in southwestern Ontario, southern Manitoba, southern Alberta, and the West Coast where the C.R.C. already had a foothold from before World War II. The Canadian government was against this policy of concentration

as it thought it would delay integration (Canada, 1951:51). With the support of the Home Missions Committee of the C.R.C. in the U.S.A., they established an Immigration Committee with the presidency in Alberta and the secretariat in Trenton, Ont. Fieldmen were appointed to assist with the placement of immigrants and supply aftercare.

Except where noted, the source of the following history of the C.R.C. in Montreal is the First Christian Reformed Church 25th Anniversary Album, published by the C.R.C. in 1979.

In Montreal, Mr. Albert de Jonge initiated C.R.C. church services in 1952, first at a Presbyterian church on Cote Ste. Catherine Road, later at the YMCA on Park Avenue. At the end of that year there were enough families to warrant the arrival of a home missionary, the Reverend G. André. In 1954, the church was organized. And in 1956, the congregation of about 40 families, called a minister, the Reverend John Vriend. The church was incorporated that year and moved to premises of the Livingstone Presbyterian Church on de l'Epée and Jean Talon Streets.

In these years various young people societies and a discussion group for adults came to fruition. The question arose also, how quickly the old language (Dutch) should be abandoned (French was never seriously considered), and a class in English Church Language was given.

In 1960, Reverend Dr. N. Knoppers arrived from Edmonton, to minister to some 75 families with, as he remembers, an

average earning power of about $75 per week - not a great deal, even then. It was, therefore, most ambitious of him to make plans to build a church. Reverend Knoppers counted on the drawing power of the new church to concentrate his scattered flock in one area, thereby facilitating the development of a strong church community. When the new church was built in the newly developing community of Dollard-des-Ormeaux, many, if not most, reportedly moved to that municipality and to neighbouring Pierrefonds, where reasonably priced housing could be had (J. Lowensteyn [cassette recordings] 1985, T, Tape I, side 1, 23:00, 25:45).

The fundraising campaign for the building, for which the congregation - as an exception - was allowed to solicit from all C.R.C. congregations, under the slogan "Romanist Montreal needs a Calvinist Witness", was apparently effective and the stylish, modern building was inaugurated on January 17, 1964.

Other activities related to the C.R.C. were the church choir, the "Back to God Hour" radio broadcasts, and various missionary "outreach" programmes in the area around the church and among the seamen visiting Montreal. One of the student interns from Calvin Seminary (Grand Rapids, MI.) eventually became harbour chaplain of Montreal. A musical group was formed in 1964 to bring the gospel to ships, old folk homes, hospitals, and youth rallies.

During EXPO 67, Queen Juliana and Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands were among the visiting dignitaries. Although the Queen and Prince belong to the Dutch Reformed Church (Cana-

dian equivalent: Reformed Church of America, or R.C.A.), which already existed in Montreal at the time, they attended Sunday service at the C.R.C. Perhaps this is not surprising as both in Montreal and in Canada the C.R.C. is a larger and more influential body than the R.C.A. The opposite is true in the United States, as well as in the Netherlands (Canada, 1951:50-51).

Reverend Knoppers and other C.R.C. members were also deeply involved with EXPO 67, both with the Dutch Pavilion and the Sermons from Science Pavilion.

When Reverend Knoppers left in 1968, the church was virtually leaderless for the next two years, except for a brief period when a temporary minister came. From August 1970, under the Reverend Dirk Hart, there was renewed enthusiasm. The congregation grew till the church overflowed, largely due to an influx of members from other parts of Canada. New bible study groups were started. The groundwork was also laid for Emmanuel High School. Elsewhere in Canada, so-called Christian Schools abound, but here, the Christian Reformed community was too small to support a school by itself. Together with likeminded churches on the West Island it could, however, be done, and the school was officially openened in Dorval in 1975.

On the other hand, of the three choirs in existence in 1969, one discontinued in 1970, and another in 1975, due to lack of interest among the young people. Still, a great many church related organizations remained healthy, such as Sunday

school, cubs, scouts, Calvinettes, OinC's (One in Christ), and the Young People's Society.

Outsiders have been brought into the church, apparently mostly as a result of intermarriage. Although the majority of the members is still of Dutch origin, about 16 other national origins are represented as well. And so are other denominations, including the Coptic Church, the Tiv Church of Nigeria, Roman Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, and many other faiths.

The rate of intermarriage among C.R.C. adherents appears to be still well below the general rate for the Dutch in Montreal (see Table XIX), indicating the retardent effect in this respect of a close knit church community.*

Political change in Quebec has touched the C.R.C. too. The outreach programme in a neighbouring community, where Sunday services had been held in a school since 1975, fell by the wayside when, 18 months later, the bulk of worshippers left the province as part of the exodus that took place when the Partie Quebecois came into power.

The Church worries about its future. It can only expect declining membership due to decrease in birthrate, departure of members to other provinces, and little influx from English Canada (where the majority of C.R.C. members live) to this increasingly French environment. The suggestion was tentatively put forward (in 1979) that servives, now held entirely

* Cf also with level of intermarriage in Ontario, a province where the C.R.C. is strongly represented.

Table XIX

Dutch Intermarriage Statistics
Canada, Selected Provinces, and Montreal, 1971

Dutch husbands married to	MONTREAL	QUEBEC LESS MONTREAL	ONTARIO	CANADA LESS ONTARIO AND QUEBEC	TOTAL CANADA
	Number of families	Number of families	Number of families	Number of families	Number of families
Wives of Dutch origin	835	310	26,395	22,870	50,410
	39.1%	36.5%	56.4%	49.4%	52.5%
Wives of non-Dutch origin	1,300	545	20,375	23,475	45,680
	60.9%	64.1%	43.6%	50.6%	47.4%

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Report No.6001-213-1971

Table XX

Religious Affiliation of Dutch-Canadians
Montreal, 1961

Religious affiliation	% of population
Roman Catholic	37.6
United Church	25.4
Anglican	12.0
Presbyterian	6.8
Baptist	1.6
Mennonites	–
Other	16.2

Source: Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Bculturalism, Book IV: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups, p. 320.

in English, might eventually be conducted in French to further the church mission, "whether or not Quebec will ever

become an independent country is for us, ultimately, quite irrelevant." (Rev. M.D. Geleynse in C.R.C. 25th Anniversary Album, 1981:62).

Another Church of Dutch origin which, for a time, was a presence in the Dutch community, was the Reformed Church in America (R.C.A.). It should be remembered, however, that even in the 1960's when these ethnic churches had their heyday, their importance in the community must not be exaggerated as most Dutch belonged to Canadian denominations (see Table XX).

The R.C.A. is the North American equivalent of the liberal calvinist Dutch Reformed Church in the Netherlands, where it is one of the largest denominations. It had not been as active in the immigration movement as the more orthodox calvinist Christian Reformed Church. Initially, the R.C.A. took little interest in immigration affairs. In a report prepared in 1951 by the Citizenship Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, it was suggested that it was the zeal with which the C.R.C. recruited immigrants and members that made the Reformed Church rethink its laid-back attitude around 1949. It is likely that Dutch Reformed immigrants, seeing the efficient welcoming service of the C.R.C. fieldmen began asking for similar support. Also, the R.C.A. lost a number of its members to the C.R.C. In any case, help was on the way, and local Canadian churches began to be established while a field service similar to that of the C.R.C. was being set up (Canada, 1951:30).

It took until 1962 before church services were being

offered in Montreal. The R.C.A. in Montreal was officially organized in November 1963, and on October 12, 1966, the former St. Barnabas Anglican Church in Roxboro was offically dedicated as the Maranatha Reformed Church (De Ruijte, 1971:33).

During an interview the author conducted in the summer of 1980 with the Reverend F. Guinta, then pastor of the R.C.A. in Montreal, he told how in the early years 40 to 50 families were members of the church and religious services were held in a school in St. Laurent. By the early 1970's, people began leaving Quebec for political and economic reasons. The pastor was then called to Ontario and eight years of part-time ministry began. When Reverend Guinta arrived in 1978 there were 20 families left. This included only four families of Dutch origin, with the rest being of Egyptian, West-Indian, Austrian, English, and French origin. Within two years this had increased to 27 families, but a new formula had to be found to maintain and increase the small congregation which was heavily dependent on financial support from the Classis of Cambridge (Ont.) and the denomination in the United States.

The solution found was to change the R.C.A. into a Community Church. The church building was already being shared with a Greek Orthodox congregation. The new role would be emphasized by changing the name from Maranatha Church to Roxboro Community Church. The Ladies' Guild and Junior and Senior Young People's groups had a community orientation and

a Senior Citizens group was in the making. The Sunday School was taught by an Anglican (Rev. F. Guinta, personal communication, July 7, 1983).

However, the difficulties proved too great to be overcome. A few years later the building was sold and the R.C.A. in Montreal ceased to exist.

The R.C.A. in general has a close and cooperative connection with the United Church, but relations with the C.R.C., always of a competive nature, are called "rather strained" (Canada, 1951:53).

On this subject, however, the Reverend Guinta claimed in the interview that relations were cordial. He was even scheduled to preach at the C.R.C. one Sunday. On the other hand, he thought that things had gone sour in the past, particularly during EXPO 67. He mentioned an invitation to Queen Juliana to visit the R.C.A. during her visit to Montreal that allegedly had gone astray at the Consulate. He had also heard that the R.C.A. minister at the time had not been invited to the service. Unfortunately, no documentation could be found to back up these claims. However, the content of the message is not as important as the perception of competition, with the R.C.A. seeing itself as the weaker party. Facts appear to support this perception at least in Montreal where the R.C.A. went under, while the C.R.C. is still holding its own.

Aside from churches and church related organizations, there were, and are, a number of voluntary associations and

other institutions catering to the Dutch of Quebec. Those that could be traced are described below.

Information about such institutions in existence in the early years after World War II is rather scant. Documents in possession of the Netherlands Consulate in Montreal mention a Holland Canada Society in operation during and immediately after World War II. Correspondence dated February 1949 shows this society had then lost its vitality and attempts were made to establish a new organization. The Consulate also has minutes of a meeting held on May 5, 1949, by the Dutch club "Je Maintiendrai" * (Consulate General, personal communication, May 31, 1983).

One report makes mention of the "Netherlands Club of Montreal, a social club which has been established for some years" (Canada, 1951:60). This appears to be l'Association néerlandaise de Montréal "Je Maintiendrai" which obtained its letters patent on October 29, 1958 and which was dissolved on June 14, 1963. Two other, informal clubs, the Luncheon Club and the Soccer Club "Hercules" disappeared around the same time (De Ruijte, 1971:33).

A draft constitution of the Nederlandse Studiekring (Netherlands Study Circle) dated January 17, 1948, was found among consular documents. The Circle's purpose was to maintain a consciousness of Dutch culture in the Dutch community. By the summer of 1949 the Netherlands Envoy in Ottawa re-

* "Je Maintiendrai" is the motto in the Netherlands' coat-of-arms.

ceived word that the Study Circle had ceased to exist due to the departure of its most active members, including three who had a doctorate (Consulate General, personal communication, May 31, 1983).

One of these "most active members" was interviewee P who then held an executive position with Canada Car & Foundry. He related that the study group was based on common interest. It was for men only ("women provided cookies"), but they "never excluded anybody". The men discussed their own field of business, and the atmosphere was informal. "After nine o'clock the whiskey came out." (J. Lowensteyn [cassette recording] 1985, P, Tape I, side 1, 20:15).

The Consulate mentioned seven names of persons who belonged to the Studiekring. There may have been a few more members, but it seems that the Dutch intellectual and business elite at that time was still very small.

Interviewee K remembered all sorts of detail about a Dutch Chamber of Commerce which was located in the same building as the Consulate. It had a staff of two, but when one left, he was not replaced. "The Secretary was paid by [some agency in] Holland." She thought the Chamber had no members. It organized regular luncheons. Eventually, the Chamber folded due to financial difficulties, and its Secretary then became Commercial Consul. Interviewee referred to the "slump of those days before the gas was found in Holland. She had to take a ten percent salary cut herself in the late 1950's " (K, Tape II, Side 1, 37:10).

The Department of Citizenship and Immigration (Canada, 1951) reported that the Netherlands-Canada Society in Montreal had been instrumental in establishing a Dutch Chamber of Commerce. No date was given. This Society was a branch of the Netherland-Canada Society (Vereniging Nederland-Canada) in The Hague, the Netherlands, which was formed to provide potential emigrants with information about Canada. The Chamber of Commerce was there to supply information on trade between the two countries to interested persons (p. 60).

Around 1960, an informal group calling itself the Borrel- en Bitterballenclub (borrel = alcoholic beverage; bitterbal = Dutch appetizer), came into being to provide businessmen a bimonthly opportunity to get together over a drink (De Ruijte, 1971:33). This informal club still exists, its name simplified to Borrelclub. The get-togethers now take place about once a month at someone's home, and they are open exclusively to men (businessmen, professionals, artists), except on special occasions when wives are invited also.

On August 24, 1962, a new group, the Catholic Dutch-Canadian Association (C.D.C.A.) received its provincial charter. Its purpose was to assist Dutch Catholics with settling in Canada and to maintain contact among them, mainly through religious and recreational activities, as well as to give financial and other support to the Dutch Mission in Montreal. They organized a Sinterklaas party for children on or around December 5th which became soon very popular well beyond the

Catholic community.

Except where noted, this and the following information about the C.D.C.A. (later the D.C.A.) was derived from the files of the Association, which were kindly made available for research purposes (D.C.A. files, 1962-1980).

In the first few years the Association stayed close to its Catholic roots with meetings on church premises, discussion evenings with a Dutch priest, a church choir, etc., in addition to social activities like bowling, bridge, and dances. Its newsletter De Nieuwe Weg (The New Road) is still being published today. An official of the Catholic Immigrant Services was the C.D.C.A.'s first president.

This was the period that transatlantic and charter flight regulations demanded that passengers be members of a legitimate non-profit organization, and the C.D.C.A. filled this requirement. In 1962, a group flight was attempted but failed. However, in the following three years they managed to get groups together of around forty passengers, almost all Dutch. Then came three years with little success in this regard and no passengers at all during 1967 (EXPO year). In the fall of 1968, a new committee member was elected who appeared to be very active. A winter flight met with little success, but the number of passengers that travelled on summer flights the next few years more than doubled. Non-Dutch names began to make inroads on the passenger lists: about 10% in 1969, 25% in 1970 (no information available for the following years). It is not known if this perhaps reflec-

ted a changing membership (outside members or non-Dutch spouses).

For all the work involved with registering passengers, voluntary associations were allowed (according to airline regulations) to claim some expenses and/or charge a small administration fee. This was advantageous for the organizations most of which operated under severe financial restraint. Moreover, the travel agents who were allowed to book these charters or groups often wished to express their gratitude by splitting commission with the association or its representative, or by making some contribution in kind, e.g. free trips. All of this would have been illegal, of course. The books of the C.D.C.A. show no evidence of such practices.

For the passengers the charters offered most attractive rates and the association membership and/or administration fee was a small price to pay. As a result, many membership lists gave a false impression of associations' vitality in those years, with most members being completely inactive. For example, an Annual General or a Special meeting might have attracted no more than one or two dozen members. This was indeed the case with the C.D.C.A.

In 1968 church authorities insisted that the C.D.C.A. come under direct control of the Church. At the Annual General Meeting of Sep. 14, 1968, those who felt they should be free to determine the Association's activities won out handily over those prepared to follow Church directives.
The Association then changed its name to Dutch Canadians

Association and secularized its aims and purposes as laid down in the constitution. It also meant that the Association was no longer acting as a support structure for the Dutch almoner who from then on limited his role to that of spiritual leader and was no longer involved in the social aspects of the community.

On December 4, 1968, a similar, although non-denominational association, the Netherlands Society of Montreal (N.S.), or La Société néerlandaise de Montréal was founded. (At this point the C.D.C.A. had not yet changed its name or constitution). Its publication "Van Weerskanten" (From Both Sides) did not survive. By then the Dutch population of Montreal had grown to about 8000 - as numerous as it ever would be - most of them made up of growing families and the majority of them non-Catholic (see Table XIII). There was likely room in the community for a non-Catholic, non-Christian Reformed body. To what extent the possibility of organizing charter flights played a role in the formation of this society is not recorded. It is a distinct possibility since the two associations were later seen to be sparring over this issue and it may also have played a role in their attempts to amalgamate.

The secularization of the C.D.C.A., now the D.C.A., opened the door to negotiations regarding amalgamation with the Netherlands Society (N.S.). A lot of wrangling followed, with the N.S. objecting to having a member of a religious order on the proposed joint executive committee, and the

D.C.A. accusing the N.S. of an undemocratic attitude since the member in question had been duly elected.

Under these circumstances it is no wonder that the amalgamation never took place. However, to this day the two associations, while cooperating in many ways, have not been able to come to an agreement, although the priest has left long ago.

In 1971, both associations were said to have "social services of all kinds and organize cultural and recreational events... Each of them organizes, or cooperates in, a dance at least once annually. These dances are open to the entire Dutch-Canadian community of the area. Both are also involved in social services to help people in need, in various ways. Both organize moderately priced group and charter flights to Amsterdam. Sports events, picnics, car rallies, etc. have also taken place." (De Ruijte, 1971:32).

In practice, however, the (Dutch) Queen's Birthday dance was organized by the N.S., the Sinterklaas parties for children and adults, as well as the Carnival dance were more the domain of the D.C.A., even though on paper it might have looked differently. (There was, for example, the Sinterklaas Commitee Reg'd which planned the Sinterklaas party together with any organization that wished to do so.)

Little evidence was found of any social work on the part of the N.S., whereas the D.C.A. had a social service committee, and also used its monthly publication to ask for donations of furniture, clothing, and jobs.

From December 1969, the D.C.A. operated an Encounter Centre on premises leased from a service club on Dorchester Boulevard. Film and social evenings were held once every two weeks and a collection of several hundred Dutch language books were stored there by the Dutch Library of Montreal.

On Jan. 14, 1973 the D.C.A. requested a Local Initiatives Programme (L.I.P.) grant from the Department of Manpower and Immigration for the project "Dutch Canadian Research and Promotion". Appended to the request was the following statement:

> Too many ethnic associations are interested in folklore only: national dances, singing, accordeon playing etc. We rather stress the New Canadians' impact in all spheres of Canadian life, i.e. their participation in Canadian economics, politics, education, arts, etc. and hereby using their own resources, added to those they find in Canada. We feel that this is a more important way to contribute to Canada.

The project was never realized probably as a result of the departure of its main proponent.

Unlike in Ontario, where the Dutch have established credit unions (mostly to aid farmers), a cooperative Medical and Hospital Society, and Christian Homes for Senior Citizens, no such services are found in Quebec, although both D.C.A. and N.S. have attempted to establish a credit union.

More recently, the community was polled by persons who are or used to be involved with some of the above mentioned organizations, to see if there would be interest in building a Senior Citizens Home. The response was encouraging and a Foundation which will prepare requests for government assistance is in the process if being established.

No umbrella organization has ever been formed at the local level, unlike in Toronto where more than thirty local organizations are united under the umbrella of the Dutch-Canadian Association of Greater Toronto (VanderMey, 1983:491).

From the late 1970's on a number of other organizations have been founded: the Canada-Netherlands Chamber of Commerce (1978), Neerland Art Québec (1980), and a Montreal chapter of the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Netherlandic Studies (CAANS) (1980).

The Canada-Netherlands Chamber of Commerce (Quebec Chapter) was formed on the initiative of three businessmen. One was a former executive member of "Je Maintiendrai", one a recent immigrant from the Netherlands, and one the General Manager for Canada of K.L.M., himself not even of Dutch origin. Partially funded by the Dutch government, the Chamber organized luncheons and published a quarterly Bulletin. Only in the last few years is it beginning to realize its aim to promote trade between the Netherlands and Canada more fully by organizing incoming trade missions and doing Canadian market research for Dutch business firms, in addition to its

socio-educational activities. The Chamber operates with a part-time staff of three. The only Dutch Chamber in Canada, it has about 90 members, a majority of whom are from the Montreal region and of Dutch origin.

Neerland Art Québec was established for the express purpose of organizing exhibitions of Quebec Artists of Dutch origin. It has succesfully organized several of such exhibitions in Montreal, sometimes embellishing it with an ambitious cultural programme of concerts and films. Between exhibitions, "rijsttafels" (the elaborate Indonesian meal adopted by the Dutch) are offered to the Dutch community-at-large. About 100 persons take part in each meal. Of the main organizers, one is connected with the N.S. and with the planned Foundation for a Senior Citizens Home, one with the D.C.A. and its publication De Nieuwe Weg, and one with the Chamber of Commerce and the Borrelclub. Between them they have also made the first serious effort to prepare a comprehensive mailing list of Dutch Canadians in the Montreal region. At last count they had located about fifty percent of them (assuming three persons per family). It appears that Neerland Art Québec is either the catalyst of or the expression of increasing cohesiveness in the Dutch community of Montreal.

CAANS-Montreal tries to organize activities of a more academic nature, which, of necessity, appeals to a much smaller crowd. In addition to many lectures, the Chapter organized several conferences and a War Art exhibition on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Low

Countries by Canadian troops. A number of articles by Montreal Chapter members appeared in the Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies, published by the national office of CAANS.

Two other CAANS-Montreal activities have an impact well beyond the Dutch or Flemish communities: a Dutch language course for adults, and (primarily) Dutch language television programmes on Cable TV. A few of the programmes are documentaries in English but even the others are visually interesting enough to appeal to a wider public. Films and tapes are provided by agencies in the Netherlands and Belgium. The language courses are attended by spouses or grown up children of Dutch-speaking Canadians, or young people who wish to study in Belgium or the Netherlands. Usually no more than a dozen students are enrolled but there is a continual demand for the course.

At the national level, an interesting development took place in 1970, when a national federation of Dutch-Canadian organizations was founded under the name Dutch-Canadian Committee, of which the D.C.A. was a member. This grew out of "Operation Thank You Canada" in which Dutch community organizations from across the nation got together to present Canada with a gift (a Flentrop organ for the National Arts Centre in Ottawa) on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Netherlands by Canadian troops who formed an important part of the Allied forces. The intense emotions felt at the time of liberation is something that most Dutch

immigrants, who were old enough at the time, still remember, and it is probably the only thing capable of cutting across religious and social divisions. Alas, the Dutch-Canadian Committee fizzled out after having held only a few meetings (D.C.A. files 1962-1980).

Insofar as the printed media are concerned, no Dutch newspapers and periodicals are now published in Quebec, with the exception of De Nieuwe Weg, the mimeographed quarterly of the D.C.A., and the Bulletin, the quarterly publication of the Canada-Netherlands Chamber of Commerce. Both of them have an essentially local circulation.

For a number of years during the 1950's, Montreal had its own newspaper, the Nederlandse Post, but now many Dutch-Quebeckers read Dutch language papers published in Ontario or B.C. Exact circulation figures by province are not available but an educated guess would put it at about 400 for the combined papers, which include De Hollandse Krant (B.C.), De Nederlandse Courant (Ont.), Hollandia Nieuws, with its English language companion The Windmill Herald (B.C. and Ont.), Calvinist Contact (Ont.), and The Pioneer (Ont.). The last two papers are organs of the Christian Reformed Church and the Reformed Church in America repectively.

The circulation figure of 400 should not be underestimated because the Dutch customarily pass on or exchange reading matter. As many as five families may share a paper (J. Lowensteyn, 1981/82:27).

Only De Hollandse Krant addresses itself to those who

have long complained of the heavy emphasis placed in Dutch-Canadian communities on church related matters. It appears that this monthly is doing very well indeed, offering a counterbalance to the strongly organized protestant sector of the Dutch-Canadian community. It is half and half filled with news from the Netherlands and nostalgic articles and letters produced in Canada.

In the 1950's there was a weekly half hour long Dutch radio programme on a multilingual station. It faded away after some years and was only revived in 1970's by a person already active in the Borrelclub, the Chamber of Commerce and Neerland Art. This time the programme alternates weekly with its Flemish counterpart. It is supported by advertising.

Dutch stores have, over the years, included bakeries, a butcher, and a delicatessen. Most of them have been sold to non-Dutch or closed. Dutch specialty foods, housewares, and souvenirs are still sold at The Dutch Mill, a delicatessen store. It was once estimated that perhaps a third of all Dutch in Montreal patronize the store at one time or another.

DISCUSSION

In the Introduction two issues relating to the Dutch in Quebec were raised: (a) the desirability of a well-researched history of this ethnic group, and (b) the question of the enormous underrepresentation of Dutch in the Province of Quebec.

A History of the Dutch in Quebec

An attempt has been made to find as many pertinent details as possible. This was particularly difficult for the period up to the middle of this century, largely because of the small number of settlers involved, which led to lack of institutions, a primary source of community records. Some elderly interviewees were able to help bridge the gap somewhat.

For the post-World War II period, research was much more fruitful, although still difficult as institutional records were at a premium. The best organized institution in this respect, the Christian Reformed Church, has few adherents in Quebec. Also, many Dutch have integrated so well that they are hard to trace. For this period, however, there were many interviewees who could recall the early years for which there was little documentation.

As for the earliest period of Dutch settlement in Quebec, of those among the United Empire Loyalists, the paper concentrated on establishing their Dutch ethnicity. The data show that Dutch characteristics were present upon arrival,

disappeared rather quickly until, at this time, Dutch Loyalists' descendants are indistinguishable as a group. Some individuals, however, take pride in their Dutch ancestry, and spend time and effort researching their history, maintaining burial plots, and collecting artifacts.

Dutch immigration in Quebec during the period of 1900-1945 was quite insignificant. The 1941 census shows less than 3000 souls across the province; the consul reported a few hundred families in Montreal; no residential concentration is evident; and there appeared to be only one voluntary organization. The Consulate, on the other hand, had a high profile as for a time its territory consisted of the whole of Canada. With some exception the Dutch in Quebec were not well-off and there was a high rate of departure - to other provinces, to the the United States, and to the country of origin. With so few resources at their disposal, it is no wonder that there is no evidence of particular interest in maintaining original values, religion, or folkways.

The post-World War II situation contrasts sharply with the above period. After an initial slow start, immigration to Quebec began to pick up, notably when regulations allowed for the entry of those with occupations other than farming. Although compared to other provinces Quebec still harboured few Dutch, their number soon became sufficient to sustain various community organizations. Relatively high levels of education allowed upward mobility until by 1971 the Dutch of

Montreal (where most of them lived) were one of the most highly placed ethnic groups in terms of education, occupation, and income.

In spite of their tendency to integrate quickly and for many to fade away into the general population (primarily on the anglophone side), they were now numerous enough to maintain institutional bonds. From organizational records and interviews the picture emerges of a growing community that, in the 1950's was primarily concerned with preserving religious values and providing opportunities for social intercourse. When in difficulty, immigrants could turn for assistance to their church or to relatives and friends. For those that had contact with neither - for example overworked and abused nannies - there was only the Consulate, and it could not give practical aid. Later in the decade, voluntary organizations began to provide social events, geared to the generally young population.

In the 1960's, as young families were bringing up their children, car rallies and outings came to an end but Sinterklaas parties for children were well attended. With the Dutch population at its peak size, church buildings were erected or bought and church related organizations flourished. Especially the C.R.C. was and is well-organized, whereas the R.C.A. and Dutch Catholic organizations had a relatively weak and only temporary impact.

Political circumstances in the 1970's hit the Dutch of

Quebec hard. Between 1971 and 1981 the population dropped by about one third. Nevertheless, later in the decade a revival of community activities took place. That time the emphasis was on cultural and educational matters as well as commercial interests. Nostalgic feelings are becoming stronger not only here but across Canada as evidenced by the contents of the Dutch-Canadian press. The attempt to build a Senior Citizens Home must be seen in that light too, as the initiative did not come from the needy who might have had economic reasons for building such a home.

Intermarriage rates are high and the Canadian-born generation is only sporadically involved, except in the C.R.C. where they are quite active.

Immigration from the Netherlands has been slight since 1968 and is now almost negligible, although some of these more recent arivals have rejuvinated the community by their activities and enthusiasm, Nevertheless, the Dutch of Quebec can be seen as a one generation community that never made any serious attempt to pass on its language or culture to its young - again except in the orthodox Calvinist context. On the other hand, they feel nostalgic about their background, take pride in their achievements and are eager to share that which they treasure with society-at-large. Virtually the whole community is veering away from an origin-specific to an interest-specific orientation. This is formally true of the C.R.C., CAANS, and the Chamber of Commerce, and informally

for the associations where Dutch and non-Dutch spouses and friends mingle easily, and the language used is as often English as it is Dutch. Only the radio programme, the Dutch-language press, and the Borrelclub, and to a certain degree the TV programme are inward-looking as they are only open to whose who speak Dutch. Without the unlikely prospect of a strong influx of Dutch immigrants, these institutions are ultimately doomed.

Perhaps the community as a whole shows an innate sense of survival by altering language use and opening up to Canadian society. In the end this may be the best, the only, strategy to pass on some of the values they hold dear.

Underrepresentation of the Dutch in Quebec

The question was asked "Why did so few Dutch settle in Quebec?". It is true that there are relatively few Dutch in this province, and there are fewer now than there were some years ago. At one time, however, there was quite an influx, notably to the Montreal area. The influx was by no means as large as in Ontario, even if one disregards the agriculturists of whom so many went there. The explanation that language and culture were the main influences is far too simplistic. A great number of push and pull factors have played a role and still do so. The different "waves of immigrants" as they were presented in this paper, will be reviewed in this light.

Early history.

During Loyalist times, the "immigrants" were deliberately steered towards what is now Ontario. Had Governor Haldimand and other decisionmakers not objected to their settling in Quebec, we might have seen, following Ashton's argument (see page 21), a much larger presence of them along the American border, with a proportionately larger number of Dutch origin. Argueably this would have made little difference in terms of maintenance of Dutch ethnicity, as even in Ontario their much larger numbers "melted imperceptibly into the Canadian scene" (Canada, 1951:5).

It would have shown up in the census data and might have resulted in a possibly stronger support of "Dutch heritage" projects.

Thus, insofar as Quebec was concerned, the push factor was of a political nature, and insofar as Ontario is concerned, the pull factor at that time seems to have been of an economic nature (land grants).

Dutch immigration prior to World War II.

In surveying Dutch immigration during the first half of this century, much the same pattern can be detected, if for different reasons.

The sudden increase in Dutch population in Quebec shown in the 1901 census (Table III), is best accounted for by internal migration (from New Brunswick). But even then, the increase of Dutch in Ontario was much greater (more than 3000 against about 800 in Quebec), which shows the greater attrac-

tion of that province compared to Quebec. This can be explained in terms of religious congeniality if it is assumed that a large proportion of the Ontario increase came from New Brunswick protestant Loyalist descendants.

Immigration directly from the Netherlands to Quebec was very limited. To Ontario and the West it was much higher, even if the absolute numbers were still very small (see Table IV). Religion was no longer the sole explanation although it may have been a contributing factor. In the first place there was the lack of pull by Quebec because of its opposition to immigration, especially from non-French speaking countries. But even in French speaking countries, including France where poor peasants would have liked to emigrate to Quebec, a recruiting system was all but non-existent (Petersen, 1955:122). This contrasted sharply with English-Canadian efforts in attracting agriculturists: in the first place from Britain, and, alternatively, from other North European stock. This suited the Canadian and Dominion Sugar Refinery Company in Ontario which was formed at the turn of the century. It required farm labourers who were familiar with sugar beet growing and it actively helped in recruiting these from the Netherlands and Belgium. This, in turn, led to chain migration. In 1926 as many as 3000 immigrants, mostly Dutch, were working for the company (Canada, 1951:20; Sas, 1957:97).

No such economic opportunities were found in Quebec (see also Table V), nor was there the benefit of chain migration.

Also, no reputation grew on which it was possible to build, as happened in Ontario and elsewhere where the Dutch were found to be hardworking and skilled farmers.

Insofar as Quebec is concerned, one must conclude that, at least prior to World War II it was not so much a matter of choice that kept the Dutch away, as it was a political matter together with lack of economic opportunities. Religion was perhaps a contributing factor, but in this period not a decisive one. For example, in the case of the sugar beet growers in Ontario, there were many Belgians involved, who, without doubt, were of the Catholic faith. Even among the Dutch sugar beet growers, too, there may have been catholics.

Dutch immigration after World War II.

After World War II, the push factor in the Netherlands, an element that had not been very strong until then, played an important part in Dutch emigration. There was a definite "emigration climate" as Beijer calls it (1961:310). But modern Dutch emigrants were cautious and wanted to find out what their chances were of realizing their aspirations elsewhere. Governments and private emigration agencies provided information. Hofstede found that non-official information was considered to be of greater value by 48% and of equal value by 17% of his sample population (1961:43). Presumably much of this information was obtained from relations (relatives or others) in the immigration country as the presence of such relations were found to exert a powerful influence on the

decision to emigrate (Frijda, 1961:82). Wentholt found that this presence was a factor in the decision to emigrate in 65.5% of the cases in his study (1961:200). Quebec, then, was clearly at a disadvantage in comparison with other parts of Canada, in particular Ontario. Although these studies talk of "emigration countries" and not of provinces or regions, it stands to reason that relations already living here would give information about their own experiences and their own environment, and not about some province they did not know.

The same disadvantage befell Quebec when Dutch journalists went on fact-finding trips across Canada. Their schedule would reflect settlement patterns of the Dutch, and major emphasis was placed on Ontario while Quebec received scant attention. Such reports would have compounded the lack of knowledge about Quebec. In the opposite direction, with Dutch visiting their relatives in the Netherlands, the same thing would happen. Virtually all the stories (some of which would appear in the newspapers) concentrated on the heavily settled areas of Ontario and the Western provinces.

Then there is the bias against French Canada and French-Canadians that came out in the advice given to some interviewees.

An important push factor also was the work of the Dutch emigration agencies, and more in particular of the Christian Emigration Central (C.E.C.). It displayed a fervor that was, certainly in the beginning, unmatched by the other agencies,

and it by-passed Roman Catholic Quebec altogether. This is clearly reflected in Table VIII where the big jump in arrivals in the early post-World War II years - 1947/1948 - takes place in Ontario and the Western provinces, where the Christian Reformed Church gave its full support to the C.E.C..

Language also plays a role in the push factor. Dutch emigrants made a real effort to have at least some knowledge of the language upon arrival. In Hofstede's sample population of 1000, thirty-two percent claimed to have a good knowledge of the language and forty-three percent had studied it seriously. It must be remembered that courses in the Netherlands were given for the benefit of all emigrants, not just for those going to Canada. English was required in all emigration countries (Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the U.S.A., and South-Africa), except in Quebec. And even there English was perhaps sufficient, or at least an asset. So it is understandable that the "language for emigrants" was synonymous with English. Even if perhaps some French course was given here or there, it can be assumed that most Dutch immigrants arrived here relatively unprepared to speak French and positively inclined to learn English, the language of "Tommies", "Yankees" and most of their Canadian "liberators".

As mentioned earlier, a knowledge of French was required more by agriculturists than city dwellers. The farmers interviewed who had lived here for some time, were fluent in both French and English.

Pull factors in Quebec were very weak indeed as far as

farmers were concerned. Farms were available, and - as interviewee R described - the banks would come across with loans if they found the farmer businesslike. Farms were also cheaper than in Ontario. But most farmers had to work for several years to save up for the purchase of a farm and earnings were higher in Ontario than in Quebec. The chance of settling near relatives, ex-neighbours, Dutch churches and other community organizations, was much greater in Ontario too.

Language and loneliness were problems for Dutch farmers in Quebec, not only in the north where a settlement scheme for market gardeners failed, but also in the south - except in those instances where chain migration took place. This is quite evident from interviews with S, R, and X, all of whom had brought out varying numbers of others.

Opportunities to find employment in industry if farming did not work out, or to supplement the farm income with industrial earnings were also found to be greater in Ontario than in Quebec. Mr. de W. took advantage of that when he left farming to go to work for INCO, but to R and S this was no advantage. Said S: "That is not the point of immigration! We could have done that in Holland too!" (J. Lowensteyn [cassette recording] 1985, S, Tape I, side 1, 36:05).

The pull factor of the Roman Catholic church both in rural and urban Quebec seems to have been relatively slight. In fact, the Church did not mind where people went as long as

they were integrated in a Catholic parish. The presence of a Dutch priest, judging from the role this person played in the lives of the interviewees, was an important one. But unlike the Christian Reformed fieldman who got tremendous support from his church agencies, the Dutch priest found himself in a tenuous position. He had to be careful not to step on the terrain of the parish priest under whose care the immigrant came, and funding was always a problem. He could not display the same activity as the C.E.C. fieldman, and for the backing of an immigrant agency such as the Netherlands Catholic Immigrant Services he had to wait until the late 1950's. It was only in 1962 that the Catholic Dutch-Canadian Association was established in Montreal withas its task to help the local almoner financially and otherwise. Without such community structures at the time of high immigration, the pull of the R.C. Church must have been weak.

The large upswing in urban immigration to Quebec that began in 1951 when Canada opened its doors to occupations other than agriculturists was evidently not in response to the hard working Christian Reformed agencies and the more lax Roman Catholic ones. As the figures in Table XX show, in 1961 as many as 37.6% of the Dutch in Montreal were Roman Catholics. The number of Christian Reformed was included in the category "other", but in the 1981 census they are mentioned as a separate category. With 280 of them they represented 5% of the Dutch population of Montreal, probably in the same range as that applicable in 1961. The larger propor-

tion of Catholics and smaller proportion of Calvinists in Quebec reflects much closer the pattern that exists in the Netherlands than does the pattern that exists elsewhere in Canada.

Petersen observes that "Orthodox Calvinists (like pietists in any country) were predominantly of the lower class" (1953:39). Those were the people that made up the first wave after World War II, the farmers who landed largely in Ontario. Those were also the people who made up T's congregation in the West which he contrasted so sharply with the one in Montreal. These were not the people who, on the whole, came to Montreal. Not even as part of the Christian Reformed Church.

So, while part of the explanation of the small size of the Dutch group in Quebec is the underrepresentation of Calvinists, another explanation is the strong attraction of Montreal for the higher educated relative to the lower educated Dutch.

The increase in employment opportunities (excluding farming) during the period 1941-1961 was not as great in Quebec as it was in Ontario. Neverthless, significant expansion took place here also, and in all sectors of the economy. Why then did Quebec not attract a greater proportion of Dutch immigrants with a lower education?

Research shows that Dutch immigrants did not, on the whole, settle in Quebec as a result of recruitment practices of C.R.C. fieldmen, or other church agencies.

Immigrants who were dependent on the Canadian Immigration Service to match job requirements with the immigrant's qualifications, were subject to official policy to avoid the formation of national "colonies" and to favour an equal distribution across the country. However, this was probably offset by the political consideration to accommodate Quebec's desire for francophone or latino immigrants rather than North-Europeans.

Thus, the evidence points largely to settlement in response to a) presence of relations, and b) job opportunities.

This tends to be underscored by the experiences of the 16 immigrants interviewed for this study. Only one (rural) immigrant relied on the Canadian Government Immigration Service (1949), one (urban) was directed here by the Christian Emigration Central (1953), and one (rural) by the Catholic Immigrant Service (1959). The rest came because of relations or job opportunities in about equal measure. The sample is too small to draw any definite conclusions from these results. but the tendency is nevertheless clearly there.

Hofstede remarks that opportunities are relevant to potential immigrants only if they know about them and that supposed opportunities are as significant as real ones (1952:9).

With the factor "relations" being such an exceedingly important one, the lack of "old-timers", and early arrivals, especially farmers, is a further explanation of the above phenomenon. Even among Dutch farmers a certain proportion

left the land, and those would have become the working class relations who could have attracted others. This was a virtually non-existent group in Quebec.

Another way to learn about job opportunities, given that the private agencies were not particularly active in Quebec, is through a business network. Many engineers and other highly qualified personnel were being recruited in Europe by the companies themselves, notably the aeronautics and chemical industries, consulting engineers, hotels, and transportation companies. They would, in turn, attract others, bookkeepers, nannies, etc.

For this kind of person the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Montreal held attraction rather than fear (of having to learn two languages, for instance). These were also the people who did not require (for language or employment purposes) the help of church or voluntary associations. But as these institutions were slow in forming, the channels of communication which might have helped in attracting more immigrants to Quebec were in turn underdeveloped. Church newspapers, visiting dignitaries, etc. had less reason to concentrate on this region, and consequently the news about any successes booked in this province would not easily get through. Whatever fear bred of ignorance might have existed in the rest of the country (and in the Netherlands) about this francophone and catholic province, could only have added to the problem.

In conclusion, one can sum up the following factors that contributed in varying measure to the dearth of Dutch in this

province:

For agriculturists:

- political and religious constraints, leading to the lack of a base needed for chain migration;
- lack of agricultural jobs (before World War II);
- higher wages in other provinces, notably Ontario, the other destination for mixed and dairy farmers;
- the difficulty of the French language which had to be learned in addition to English;
- unfamiliarity with Quebec.

For urban immigrants:

- political constraints;
- avoidance by Calvinists;
- poor organization on the part of Catholic agencies;
- lack of a base for chain migration which was particularly felt by the working class population who had to rely on relations and the networks provided by private agencies to find jobs.

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Appendix A

J. Lowensteyn, "The Dutch in Quebec" (1985): Interview Guide.

1. How many years have you been in Canada?

2. Are you a Canadian citizen? Since when?

3. Do you plan to become a Canadian citizen?

4. a. Do you have close relatives in Canada?

   b. Where do they live?

   c. Do you see them often, sometimes, or never?

5. If you have married child(ren), are they married to a Dutch spouse, an English-Canadian, French Canadian, or one of another nationality?

6. Why did you immigrate? Economic reasons:

   New life:

   New opportunities:

   Housing:

   Other (specify):

7. On the whole do you feel fairly satisfied or dissatisfied with your life in Canada? Explain.

   Fairly satisfied:

   Dissatisfied:

8. Would you say that on the whole you are satisfied or dissatisfied with your present accommodation? Could you have expected to live in similar quarters if you had stayed in The Netherlands?

9. Except for possible holidays, would you like to spend the rest of your life in Canada? Why?

10. On the whole would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with your living in Quebec?

11. Indicate how you feel about your life in Canada at the present time.

12. Are you glad or sorry you left Holland?

13. Would you feel at home if you went back to Holland?

14. Are you ever homesick for Holland?

15. a. Do you celebrate family birthdays and anniversaries?
    b. How?
    c. Do you have a birthday calendar?

16. Do you read more frequently in English (French) or in Dutch?

17. Do you use the English (French) language at home?

18. If you had your way, would you eat Dutch food, Canadian food, or food from some other ethnic group, most of the time?

19. Do you think Canadians are treating you as their equal?

20. Do you think the people of Quebec like you?
Do you think they like you more or less than an English person?

21. Do you expect that this country will have a good future?

22. Do you expect your future to be good? In what way?

23. Did you receive all your education in Holland, some there and some in Canada, or all of it in Canada?

24. What was your level of education upon arrival in Canada?

25. What religion, if any, did you profess in Holland? Has that changed?

26. Would you say that most of your friends are Canadian, most of them are Dutch, or most of them are from other ethnic groups?

27. Are you a member of any clubs, or other groups of extra-curricular interest?

28. Do you belong to any Dutch organizations? a) in Canada
b) in Holland
Why, or why not?

29. Do you read any Dutch newspapers or periodicals? Which one(s)?

30. Did you acquire any new skills, hobbies, or education during your life in Canada?

31. Were the skills that you brought with you from Holland useful to you in your new life?

32. Since your arrival have you learned more than you already knew about Canada's history, literature, system of government, political parties, languages (English, French) ?

33. Since your arrival here, on how many occasions have people visited you from Holland? And for how long?

34. a. How many times have you been back to Holland?
b. How long, on average, was each visit?
c. Did you go alone or with members of your family?

35. a. Have your children been to Holland?
b. How many times, how long each time?

36. Did your children make Dutch friends, did they become close to Dutch relatives?

37. What is your children's knowledge of Dutch? Do they speak it, read it, write it, or understand it?

38. Do they have any Dutch-Canadian friends?

39. Has your Dutch background ever helped or hampered you in procuring employment? In what way?

40. How do your children consider your Dutch background? And their own Dutch background?

    a. Does it interest them?

    b. Are they ashamed of it?

    c. Are they indifferent about it?

    d. Do they talk about it in derisive terms?

    e. Do they consider it an asset for themselves?

    f. Do they describe themselves as Canadian, Dutch, or Dutch-Canadian?

41. Would you say that you brought your children up

    a. about the same as you were brought up

    b. quite different (explain)

42. Do you follow any Dutch customs at home, e.g.:

    a. eating your bread with fork and knife?

    b. celebrating St. Nicholas?

    c. baking "oliebollen" on New Year's Eve?

    d. others? (specify)

43. What customs did you lose that in your eyes were value?

44. In what respect is life in Canada better than in Holland?

45. In what respects is life in Holland better now than in Canada?