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Outside Influences: Great War Experiences along the Canada-U.S. Border

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Graduate Program in History
A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy

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OUTSIDE INFLUENCES: GREAT WAR EXPERIENCES ALONG THE CANADA-U.S. BORDER

(Spine title: Outside Influences)

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by

Brandon Richard Dimmel

Graduate Program in History

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
Western University
London, Ontario, Canada

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THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

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Outside Influences: Great War Experiences along the Canada-U.S. Border

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Abstract

This dissertation provides a history of three border regions along the Canada-U.S. international boundary during the First World War era (1914-1918), including Windsor, Ontario, and Detroit, Michigan; St. Stephen, New Brunswick, and Calais, Maine; and White Rock, British Columbia, and Blaine, Washington. It examines the development of cross-border economies and border-crossing cultures in these communities before this period and reveals how the war–and specifically U.S. neutrality–affected such transnational relationships. Furthermore, it investigates local reactions to wartime legislation designed to better monitor the cross-border movement of enemy aliens, undesirable immigrant groups, enlisted men, and, following the introduction of the Military Service Act in 1917, men of military age (18 to 45).

The three case studies included in this dissertation reveal that attitudes toward the international boundary's permeability varied widely across Canada. In communities where the war was preceded by several generations of intense cross-border economic and social relations, such as at Windsor and St. Stephen, the conflict failed to disrupt the continued growth of distinct border-crossing cultures. In fact, in many cases residents of these communities used various local channels to express their belief that the federal government should better accommodate transnational traditions when implementing legislation affecting travel across the international boundary. Furthermore, the language used to formulate these protests reveals that many residents of Windsor and St. Stephen believed that they resided in a distinctly international community. By contrast, the White Rock case study reveals that where settlement at the border did not pre-date the introduction of a centralized immigration apparatus, there were far fewer protests against changes to the boundary's permeability. The White Rock and Blaine example also demonstrates that concerns about the movement of certain goods and people–including alcohol and undesirable racial groups–factored into local conceptions of the international boundary and an extranational neighbour. Together, these three case studies provide insight into how Canadians in border communities interpreted the war, nationalism, and the Canada-U.S. relationship.

Keywords: Boundaries, Borders, Great War, Canada, Border Security, Immigration, Customs, Nationalism, Immigration and Naturalization Service; Transnationalism

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Glossary

9/11	September 11, 2001
AL	American Legion
CBSA	Canada Border Services Agency
CBWG	Cascadia Border Working Group
CEF	Canadian Expeditionary Force
CPF	Canadian Patriotic Fund
DP	Dominion Police
DST	Daylight Saving Time
GAR	Grand Army of the Republic
GNR	Great Northern Railway
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
IODE	Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire
IR	Imperial Reserve
IWW	Industrial Workers of the World
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
MD1	Military District 1
MP	Member of Parliament
MPP	Member of Provincial Parliament
SSCA	South Surrey Conservatives Association
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture

Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation explores the impact of the First World War (1914-1918) on border-crossing culture through three case studies: Windsor, Ontario, and Detroit, Michigan; St. Stephen, New Brunswick, and Calais, Maine; and White Rock, British Columbia, and Blaine, Washington. Initially, these communities were chosen because they all have one common characteristic: close geographic proximity to the border and an extranational town or city. In addition, I felt that each case study would represent a unique region along Canada's border, the northeast (St. Stephen and Calais), central Canada (Windsor and Detroit), and the Pacific coast (White Rock and Blaine). At first, my research focused exclusively on the war years, examining how important diplomatic and military events–such as Britain's declaration of war and battles such as Second Ypres or the Somme–were interpreted by Canadian and American newspapers in border communities. But it soon became apparent that understanding the war's impact on border-crossing culture (by which I mean the experiences associated with frequently crossing the international boundary for social or economic purposes) required a more thorough analysis of the border's development as a political and legal entity because of the rise of immigration law in the thirty years before the war. At the same time, I wanted to know how the intense nationalism aroused by the war affected border-crossing culture during and after the period of American neutrality (August 1914 to April 1917): did U.S. border communities support the Allied cause, and how did their position affect social and economic relations with a Canadian sister city? Thus, this study examines how the war, American neutrality, and notions of "patriotism" and "loyalty" affected border-crossing culture, and how residents of communities straddling the international boundary reacted to the tightening of border security during this era in Canadian history.

As noted, an examination of home-front Canada during the First World War is at the heart of this dissertation, and it was that brief (albeit to those living it, long and trying) period that drew me to this topic. But understanding the way the First World War impacted Canadian border communities necessitates an examination of attitudes towards

the international boundary long before the war's outbreak. As I investigated the similarities and differences between each of these case studies, I came to understand that factors relating to ethnicity, race, economics, and politics played important roles in determining how people felt about the border running between their own community and an extranational neighbour. I also found that while the secondary literature had done an impressive job of describing how these factors impacted the broad development of immigration law in the United States and Canada, few historians have taken that next step, from the macrocosm to the microcosm, in examining how people actually living right along the border reacted to the American and Canadian federal governments' attempts to better secure the boundary during this period.

This dissertation will attempt to demonstrate that in Canadian border communities where people resided before the bureaucratization of the international boundary in the early twentieth century, cross-border social and cultural relations remained strong throughout the Great War era. At the same time, Canadian residents of border communities that prided themselves on living within a peaceful, permeable border region before the war were most likely to resist attempts by the government (federal or provincial) to change how the border was administered during the war. In some cases, this could mean protesting security measures that prevented the easy movement of goods and people, and in other cases it meant objecting to the introduction of policies that indirectly affected border-crossing culture (such as the implementation of daylight saving time in 1918). The longer and deeper the social, cultural, and economic tie to an American border town, the more evident was opposition to government efforts to enforce border controls in one form or another.

In this way these case studies are a part of the much wider account of North American settlement, including the expansion of communications, the surge in urbanization and industrialization, the growth of Canadian and American economic and cultural ties, the building of clear physical and conceptual international boundaries, and the development of distinct national identities. This study thus represents the intersection of scholarship from a variety of disciplines.

The history of the U.S.-Canadian border represents a still new but progressively more vibrant academic field. Prior to the 1980s, most American scholars examining the topic of immigration or border security focused their attention on the U.S.-Mexico boundary, traditionally a more tumultuous crossing. The reason for this preference among academics is by no means difficult to understand; after all, the American media has a well known fascination with violence, drug trafficking, and issues related to race, all topics closely connected to the United States' southern border.[1] But in the period since the completion of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 1988 and then the shocking events of September 11th, 2001, issues relating to the permeability of the U.S.-Canadian border have become the focus for unprecedented discussion.[2] After American journalists and U.S. officials erroneously pointed to the Canadian border as the entry point for the 9/11 hijackers, the northern boundary became the subject of much debate. The idea that the Canadian border acts as a convenient crossing point for terrorists en route to the United States ironically turns the long "undefended" border, once the pride of Upper North Americans, into something distinctly *negative*.[3]

Many of the recent works on the U.S.-Canada border are based on a handful of important texts written well before 9/11. The first and perhaps most important study of cross-border economy and culture is arguably Goldwin Smith's *Canada and the Canadian Question*, published in 1891. For Smith, the "Canadian Question" was whether or not Canada could survive as an independent nation. Taking in the national situation as it existed in the late 1880s, Smith discussed the extensive cross-border social and

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[1] According to a study of the American news media by sociologists David L. Altheide and R. Sam Michalowski, "when fear is the prevailing framework for looking at social issues, then other competing frames and discourses lose out." In comparing the two, it would be hard to suggest the U.S.-Canada border aroused as much fear in the United States as the often violent U.S.-Mexico boundary, at least prior to September 11, 2001. David L. Altheide and R. Sam Michalowski, "Fear in the News: A Discourse of Control," *Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 40, Issue 3 (Summer 1999).

[2] Canada-U.S. trade reached $577 billion in 2006, with $1.6 billion in goods crossing the international boundary each and every day. John B. Sutcliffe, "Neoliberalism in a Small Canadian City? Windsor City Council and the Reform of the Detroit River Border Crossing," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 41, Issue 3 (Autumn 2011).

[3] Chantall Allan, *Bomb Canada, and Other Unkind Remarks in the American Media* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2009), 79-81; David Stirrup and Gillian Roberts, "Introduction to the ARCS Special Issue on Culture and the Canada-US Border," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 40, Issue 3 (Autumn 2010).

economic ties of Canadians and Americans, as well as the deep regional and cultural divisions within Canada. Smith noted the enormous role played by American capital in expanding Canada's economy as well as the widespread out-migration of Canadians to the growing United States. While he identified social and cultural barriers between Canadians of different regions, he saw important linkages between the lifestyles of lumbermen in British Columbia and Washington, farmers in Ontario and Michigan, and fishermen in the Maritimes and New England. He saw that most of the movement of people and goods was between these regions on a north-south axis.[4] Given the geographic, linguistic, and economic distance between Canada's then very small and dispersed population, he considered its sovereignty endangered and suggested a move towards commercial or even political union with the more powerful United States. Unsurprisingly, Smith's book aroused considerable consternation amongst Canadian nationalists. In the decades that followed, some of these nationalists argued that Smith was wrong by pointing out the country's unique frontier experience, its military accomplishments during the Great War, or its British heritage.[5] And while Smith was wrong about Canada's political survival, the country's economic and cultural linkages with the United States, particularly on a regional basis, are still at the centre of much debate north of the border.

In discussing the physical movement of Canadians and Americans across the international boundary, one of the most crucial works has been Marcus Lee Hansen's *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples*, published in 1940. Hansen's text closely follows the migrations of Canadians south of the border in the period between the American Revolution and the 1920s, arguing that rapid integration of Anglo-Canadians was due to the cultural emphasis in both countries on individual rather than national

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[4] Goldwin Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1891), 2.
[5] According to Carl Berger, Canadian historian Arthur Lower attributed Canada's unique identity to a combination of its frontier experience, British traditions, as well as American influences, particularly the Rebellions of 1837-38, where Canadians began to challenge traditional notions of elite rule in favour of responsible government. Meanwhile, Canadian historian and social critic Frank Underhill pointed to Canada's Great War experience, which he saw as a unifying era in the country's past, as evidence of a distinct nationalism that could be identified and nurtured. Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing: 1900-1970* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976), 121; 58.

worth. In either the United States or Canada, Hansen argues, political affiliations were less important to a man than his economic opportunities.[6] It was an attitude that encouraged migration and established a culture of permeability at the border and beyond.

Hansen's work and its central message–that, for the average family, the decision to migrate across the border was personal and transcended national affiliations–is a prominent theme in several more recent texts on the migration of Canadians to the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Arguably the three most comprehensive studies are Bruno Ramirez's *Crossing the 49th Parallel* (2001), Randy Widdis' *With Scarcely a Ripple* (1999), and the collection of essays *Permeable Border* (2005), edited by John J. Bukowczyk.[7] Ramirez's work, based on the systematic examination of port of entry manifests collectively referred to as the *Soundex Index to Canadian Border Entries to the U.S.A.*, studies the migration of French and English Canadians on a massive scale from 1900 to 1930. It stops short of studying how these migrants got along with their new neighbours once settled south of the border, and instead focuses on the reasons behind their migration and the factors motivating their choice of destination. Ramirez's work helps lay the foundation for an analysis using geographic case studies by explaining the motivations for migration shared by each region during the mid-nineteenth century. In the Maritimes, permanent and seasonal movements of people were the result of an economy integrated with New England and based on lumbering, shipbuilding, and farming. In Ontario, conditions for migration (a cross-border regional economy) were similar but the destinations different: New York, Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois.[8] In Quebec a struggling economy forced many residents to seek permanent and seasonal employment in the rapidly expanding New England textiles industry. As Ramirez explains, this constant

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[6] Marcus Lee Hansen and John Brebner, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New York: Arno Press, 1940), v.

[7] Although I find these three books most relevant, there are a number of other texts focused on the subject of Canadian-American relations and the administration of the Upper North American border worth considering. Particularly useful works include Reginald Stuart's *Dispersed Relations: Americans and Canadians in Upper North America*; Jacques Poitras' *Imaginary Line: Life on an Unfinished Border*; James Laxer's *The Border: Canada, the U.S. and Dispatches from the 49th Parallel*; and Marian Botsford Fraser's *Walking the Line*.

[8] Bruno Ramirez, *Crossing the 49th Parallel: Migration From Canada to the United States, 1900-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 6.

movement of Canadians across the international boundary during the mid-to-late nineteenth century, coupled with the absence of centralized immigration law, made the border virtually invisible. Instead, the more tangible walls existed between native-born English-speaking Maritimers and the French Canadians of Quebec; or, for that matter, the many British-born residents of Ontario.[9] Ramirez shows that, at least until the early twentieth century, the natural barriers in northern North America ran north-south rather than east-west. Migrants gave little thought to national affiliation when they made these transitions; instead, they moved to whatever urban or rural area offered the most stable social and economic environment for their families.

Using a similar lens but narrower focus, editor John J. Bukowczyk's *Permeable Border* demonstrates how migration and economic links between Ontario and the American Midwest over three centuries blurred the boundary line. In the seventeenth century, movement here was by canoe, as the Wendat and Five Nations confederacies vied for control of the nascent fur trade. A century later, the American Revolution and the Treaty of Paris (1783) established a border between British North America and the United States that offered sanctum for the persecuted Loyalists who fled to Upper Canada and helped to establish the new colony. But shortages of land, opposition to authoritarian and elitist government control, a struggling economy, and finally open rebellion in Upper Canada in 1837 helped reverse the flow, and by the late nineteenth century Canadians flocked south in droves to farms and factories in the northern United States.[10] In one chapter, Bukowczyk argues that despite a protectionist National Policy that used high tariffs as a buffer between the booming American economy and Canada's weak but burgeoning industries, growing communication links connecting the U.S. Midwest with Ontario in the period before the First World War further facilitated out-migration and effectively shifted the province's economic dependency from Britain to the United States.[11] Bukowczyk and his fellow contributors reveal that in the period after 1900,

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[9] Ibid, 26.
[10] John J. Bukowczyk, "Migration, Transportation, Capital, and the State in the Great Lakes Basin, 1815-1890," in *Permeable Border: The Great Lakes Basin as Transnational Region, 1650-1990*, ed. John J. Bukowczyk. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 45.
[11] Ibid, 74.

social and economic ties between the American Midwest and Ontario had been knotted by two centuries of cross-border migration and trade. Not only could many Ontarians trace their lineages to the United States, but so too could residents of Michigan and New York vividly remember life north of the border.

Randy Widdis' analysis of Canadian migration to the United States between 1880 and 1920 takes the story a step further, examining the lives of migrants once they had arrived in their new homes. Widdis finds that several factors–including a common language, religion, education, and economic outlook–led to the integration of Anglo-Canadians into American society "with scarcely a ripple." In some ways, Widdis' work incorporates those themes used to examine the Mexican-American border for generations, including the idea that a racial hierarchy in U.S. culture has helped to define and reinforce a southern boundary. Widdis turns this concept on its head, demonstrating that a lack of clear racial barriers aided Anglo-Canadians as they entered the U.S. workforce and, more than any other ethnic group, succeeded in acquiring the best-paying jobs, as well as the respect of their new neighbours.[12] At the same time, the integration of Anglo-Canadians was facilitated by their own lack of a cohesive identity; specifically, ethnic barriers separated English-speakers who traced their lineages to Scotland, Ireland, Wales, England, or other parts of the British Empire.[13] This weakening of the Anglo-Canadian identity, Widdis suggests, contributed to their invisibility once they left Canada for the United States.

As I conducted research for this dissertation, I became more aware of the unique attitudes towards customs and immigration law and border security in each of the Canadian border communities presented in my regional case studies. In search of a better understanding of these concepts and their development in the period between the late nineteenth century and the First World War, I found several works particularly enlightening, including Dave McIntosh's *The Collectors* (1984), Don Whitehead's

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[12] See the success story of Ontario-born James Pappa in Randy Widdis, *With Scarcely a Ripple: Anglo-Canadian Migration into the United States and Western Canada, 1880-1920* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1999), 3.
[13] Ibid, 11.

Border Guard (1963), Patrick Ettinger's *Imaginary Lines* (2009), and a pair of articles: Marian Smith's "The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) at the U.S.-Canadian Border, 1893-1993," (2000) and Thomas Klug's "The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the Making of a Border-Crossing Culture on the U.S.-Canada Border, 1891-1941" (2010).

McIntosh's *The Collectors* is a history of Canadian customs and excise, but is also much more than that: it is a history of Canadian politics (including the long debate over reciprocity), Canadian-American relations, and the development of an expansive and somewhat effective federal bureaucracy at the border. At the same time, McIntosh shows that the same factors which made the border so permeable for migrants in the period before the First World War–decentralized, small government, public apathy towards federal control, and thousands of kilometres of land to protect–also made collecting duties extremely difficult. Canadians, like Americans, defied federal authority on the issue of customs and excise duties until well after the First World War, culminating in the widely-publicized 1926 Customs Scandal that briefly took down the Mackenzie King Liberal government.[14]

Similar struggles in securing the border against unwanted immigrants and contraband are revealed by Don Whitehead in *Border Guard*, which examines the slow establishment of American customs and excise collection between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. By comparison to *The Collectors*, Whitehead's book focuses more on the work of the customs man than the wider administration, often examining how an agent navigated the economic and political culture of his time. For example, Whitehead begins his book by describing the emergence of the first American customs collectors in 1651, when the Dutch governor of New York City placed a duty on imported goods from foreign countries arriving in the city's harbour. There, collectors charged standardized rates depending on the nature of the goods arriving, which at the time typically included tobacco or beaver pelts from the interior. The British continued the same system imposed

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[14] Dave McIntosh, *The Collectors: A History of Canadian Customs and Excise* (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1984), 34, 253.

by the Dutch when the former took over New York City in 1664. The system was never popular amongst residents of the city, but for years they acquiesced. That changed in 1688, when Britain's Catholic king, James II, was overthrown by the Dutch-born Protestant William of Orange. In response to the overthrowing of James, Protestant colonists seized on the opportunity and refused to barter with New York City's Catholic collector of customs. When city officials forced the colonists to pay their duties anyhow, the Protestants rallied behind city importer Captain Jacob Leisler, who used this support to force out Catholics from the city's customs service, replacing them with Protestants.[15]

The episode reveals just how central customs policy was to day-to-day life in America's early cities. Those administering them were prominent members of the community, and it was imperative that their values and traditions meshed with others from the same city or village. And this did not change in the twentieth century; Whitehead demonstrates that the success or failure of federal customs policy often depended on the outlook of the customs officers, whose behaviour on the job reflected local attitudes towards the border's permeability. For example, during the prohibition era in Detroit, rum-running was the business of the infamous Purple Gang, which dominated both the liquor trade and the local U.S. customs service.[16] Federal investigations launched late in the 1920s found customs officers deeply involved in criminal fraud that took root because of local apathy towards prohibition.[17]

Incorporating many of the above themes into a single analysis of surreptitious activity at the U.S.-Canadian and U.S.-Mexican border, Patrick Ettinger's book *Imaginary Lines* explores the smuggling of goods and people and the rise of a centralized immigration and customs bureaucracy between the 1880s and 1930. Ettinger examines the daunting task facing customs and immigration agents during this period, finding that the ingenuity and determination of travelers and smugglers, in addition to the incredible

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[15] Unfortunately for Leisler, he became the scapegoat for city administrators and was hanged in 1696. Don Whitehead, *Border Guard: The Story of the United States Customs Service* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1963), 22.
[16] Ibid, 75.
[17] Ibid, 76.

geographic expanse of America's northern and southern borders, made keeping out undesirables and contraband virtually impossible.[18] Importantly, Ettinger incorporates the rise of immigration law into a history of American nativism. Beginning in 1783, Thomas Jefferson outlined his concerns about the impact of undesirable newcomers (at this time, paupers and anyone who might become a burden to the state) in his *Notes of the State of Virginia*. New York and Massachusetts followed shortly thereafter with immigration laws barring the importation of "Convicts, paupers, traitors and the dissolute."[19] In time, nativism was reshaped, as Americans fretted over the immigration of the impoverished Catholic Irish in the 1840s, and shortly thereafter, the arrival of Chinese "coolies" in California and the Pacific Northwest. Fears that these undesirable races would tamper with the original Anglo-Saxon, Protestant stock, or just take away white jobs, took root in the federal government's first foray into centralized immigration control in 1882, when it placed a fifty-cent head tax on immigrants arriving at U.S. ports (Canadians, it should be noted, were excluded). Canada was identified as an easy crossing point for undesirables (which by the 1890s also included individuals of mental, physical, and moral infirmity).[20] In response, the U.S. federal government reached an important agreement with Canadian steamship companies in 1893, an arrangement not officially but still tacitly acknowledged by the Canadian government.[21] Called the Canadian Agreement, it allowed for U.S. immigration agents to be placed at Canadian ports, where they could inspect America-bound migrants from Europe before they even set foot on United States soil.[22] But, as Ettinger finds, most of these migrants–despite their illiteracy and unfamiliarity with their new surroundings–pushed westward to lands where agents were less prevalent and the act of crossing easier.

Ettinger identifies the problem with the immigration system as it existed between the 1880s and the 1920s: it was inherently contradictory. Manufacturers needed cheap

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[18] Patrick Ettinger, *Imaginary Lines: Border Enforcement and the Origins of Undocumented Immigration, 1882-1930* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 2.
[19]Ibid, 16.
[20] Ibid, 22.
[21] Marian Smith, "The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) at the U.S.-Canadian Border, 1893-1993: An Overview of Issues and Topics," *Michigan Historical Review*, 26:2 (Fall 2000): 128.
[22] Ettinger, *Imaginary Lines,* 77.

labour to expand their operations cost effectively, but labour organizations representing working-class interests fought hard to prevent ethnic groups like the Chinese and French Canadians, both of whom were accused of accepting sub-par working conditions and pay, from driving down salaries.[23] The confusion made administering the border difficult, and in some cases the decision whether or not to allow a newcomer to cross depended on the personal convictions of a single immigration officer.

In her examination of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) records at the U.S. National Archives, Marian Smith provides a brief timeline of the INS's various strategies in attempting to patrol the border between 1893 and 1993 and further articulates the difficulties facing the INS at the U.S.-Canada boundary in the years after the implementation of federal immigration law. One of the more surprising findings in Smith's piece is that during the last two decades of the nineteenth century (and indeed, even into the twentieth century) the United States government saw the northern border as a greater threat than the U.S.-Mexico boundary in terms of clandestine smuggling of undesirable immigrants. This was because it was easier for Europeans to get to Canada than Mexico, and once there, transportation facilities like roads, rail lines, and waterways connecting Canadian ports with the U.S. border were much more complete than was the case in Mexico.[24] Smith emphasizes that it took time for the INS to establish coherent policy and physical stations along the border to the point where coverage could be considered in any way complete. By the end of the new century's first decade, it had reached agreements ensuring the inspection of passengers by most railroad and shipping companies with routes across the border.[25] However, even if the INS thought its coverage far-reaching, by no means was it perfect: in fact, throughout the first half of the twentieth century enforcement of immigration law suffered from miscommunication between the Canadian and U.S. governments, the demand of American manufacturers for alien labour,

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[23] Ibid, 35.
[24] Smith, "The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) at the U.S.-Canadian Border, 1893-1993," 129.
[25] Ibid, 130.

and, as Ettinger finds, the sheer ingenuity of immigrants in finding ways to cross the border without the INS knowing about it.

Thomas Klug's article "The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the Making of a Border-Crossing Culture on the US-Canada Border, 1891-1941" extends the story from the establishment of the INS at the international boundary to a brief explanation of how immigration law affected border-crossing culture in American cities such as Detroit or Buffalo. Although his focus is limited, Klug's work touches upon many of the same themes found in this dissertation: how immigration law was put into practice by agents actually working at the border, and what impact that had on the lives of daily commuters. In this way, Klug takes the broader analyses of Ramirez, Ettinger, and Smith a step further, by revealing how the INS' ambivalent agenda (weeding out undesirables while continuing to facilitate overall immigration) presented problems for both immigration inspectors and travelers. For instance, in Detroit prior to the construction of the Ambassador Bridge (1929) or Detroit-Windsor Tunnel (1930), most travelers arrived in the Motor City by way of ferry boat, forming in huge queues at the foot of Woodward Avenue along the Detroit River. Before 1915, a team of two or three officers faced an immense challenge picking out undesirables from a group of 200-300 people pouring off a single boat. The solution, INS administrators believed, was to force passengers to line up two-abreast, forming a manageable line for inspectors. But that did not sit well with the travelers, as revealed by a Bureau of Immigration investigator who noted that the process "causes constant irritation and resentment" among the ferry boat passengers and was "naturally productive of impatient and insulting remarks" launched at the inspectors.[26] Many of the strategies designed to alleviate these problems, like the use of folding gates to corral travelers, proved equally unappealing for travelers. Sometimes when agents complained that these strategies made crossers angry and less pliable the immigration administration responded by citing low intelligence or unsatisfactory work

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[26] Thomas Klug, "The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the Making of a Border-Crossing Culture on the U.S.-Canada Border, 1891-1941," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, Volume 40, Issue 3 (Autumn 2010).

ethic amongst the agents themselves as a cause for inspection difficulties.[27] However, in other cases the department adjusted its inspection process based on the tactics generating the fewest complaints. Klug also reveals that immigration agents were members of the wider, cross-border community, and used their knowledge of local people and businesses to help distinguish between suspicious outsiders and regular commuters. In this way, Klug demonstrates that understanding the U.S.-Canada border is not as simple as studying immigration policy or migration trends. Instead, he identifies that the impact of immigration law was felt most by the people living near the actual boundary, who in many cases faced the confusing changes in policy on a day-to-day basis. Immigration policy had a huge influence on cross-border culture, and only by studying actual communities can we fully understand the dynamics of that fact.

This dissertation is about the Canada-U.S. border, but it also concerns the impact of the First World War era on local communities straddling the international boundary. The reasons behind my choosing this moment in time are straightforward: not only did the war present the Canadian and American governments with an important reason for protecting their borders to an extent never seen before, but it also caused the citizens of both countries to re-think their place in the world. The rise of concepts of nationalism, patriotism, and self-sacrifice for one's country became, somewhat unexpectedly, a challenge to border-crossing culture. When the fighting began in August 1914, the Canadian government asked its people to put the Dominion and the British Empire before all else. For men of military age (18-45) the suggestion was simple: fight. For everyone else, that meant conserving food, resources, and funneling extra cash into various local and national patriotic funds for the support of troops and their families. In Canadian border towns, patriotism could mean spending money at home, rather than across the line; it also meant immigration officers had to pay extra attention to the people trying to get in, even if they were known members of the community. In some cases, being a patriotic Canadian even meant criticizing American neutrality, introducing friction to a previously harmonious border region.

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[27] Ibid.

Patriotism and nationalism reached new heights in Canada as the nation underwent its trial by fire, starting with the Second Battle of Ypres in April 1915. There, the Canadians achieved their first in a series of military victories that would rally citizens in the trenches and at home to a common cause and a unified idea of what Canada could and should become. Prior to 1914, only a handful of Canadians–such as the surviving members of the 7,400-man force sent to South Africa between 1899 and 1902–had ever experienced frontline service. Most of the nation's young men had only read about Napoleonic cavalry charges in their school history textbooks or in illustrated magazines.[28] Four years of intense fighting, casualty lists, and painful letters home changed that. It also transformed how people living in Canada saw their country within the world; although the war further alienated First Nations peoples and French Canadians, events like the victory at Vimy Ridge in April 1917 have been remembered as critical steps in Canada's maturation from colony to nation.[29] In the years that followed the war, this idea that the country had been melded, fused, and improved through the fighting became a constant theme of remembrance. As Jonathan Vance shows in his book *Death So Noble*, such a notion helped those who survived the struggle to justify its horrible cost.[30] Remembering the Great War as Canada entered a new conflict, Canadian humorist Stephen Leacock wrote in 1941, "even the anguish of war, and its unending harvest of death helped to elevate Canadians to the consciousness of their full status as a nation…As the war closed in Europe, the sun seemed to rise in Canada on a boundless and unclouded horizon."[31]

Canadian historians have established useful models for a study focused on the home-front. However, this is a recent phenomenon; for decades following the emergence of Great War literature in the 1930s (most of it then distinctly anti-war[32]), the focus was

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[28] Pierre Berton, *Vimy* (Toronto: Pierre Berton Enterprises Ltd., 1986), 35.
[29] Ibid, 314.
[30] Vance notes that, for many Canadians, "in the name of keeping faith with the dead, no effort was too great." Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 199.
[31] Stephen Leacock, *Canada: The Foundations of its Future* (Montreal: Seagram, 1941), 222.
[32] Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* and Harrison's *Generals Die in Bed* were both widely-read novels that each took a distinctly negative view of the war. Erich Maria Remarque, *All Quiet on the*

on the military side of the equation, first at the broad, strategic level, and then eventually "at the sharp end."[33] Only in the past decade have examinations of home-front Canada emerged, including Robert Rutherdale's *Hometown Horizons* (2004), Ian Miller's *Our Glory and Our Grief* (2002), James Pitsula's *For All We Have and Are* (2008), and Jim Blanchard's *Winnipeg's Great War* (2010). Rutherdale's book *Hometown Horizons*, like this dissertation, uses three case studies to provide a local and comparative view of Canada's home-front during the war years. Rutherdale's central theme–that the war's impact on Canada can only be truly understood by studying Canadians at the local level–is very similar to my own. His examination of Guelph, Ontario, Lethbridge, Alberta, and Trois Rivières, Quebec, reveals that life in each community was affected in unique ways by the war, in large part because of a town's distinct economic, political, and cultural dynamics. The meaning of Second Ypres, Vimy, and notions of sacrifice were all interpreted through local channels: newspapers, word of mouth, speeches, sermons, and parades.[34] Since so much of the home-front experience has been based on examinations set at the national, provincial, or regional level, or engaged in the lives of various ethnic groups, Rutherdale's point remains fresh and important.[35]

Western Front (Oxford: Heinemann, 1970); *Charles Yale Harrison, Generals Die in Bed: A Story from the Trenches* (Toronto: Annick Press, 2002).

[33] Canadian Great War military history first reached a wider audience with the release of Colonel F. Duguid's *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919*. Duguid published just the first volume (covering August 1914 to September 1915) before his project was forever delayed by Canada's entry into the Second World War. A second official history, *Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919*, written by Colonel G.W.L. Nicholson, was published in 1962. It is a top-down analysis that has provided scholars with an important chronological groundwork on which to lay new, more specific analyses. Studies emerging from this model include Nicholson's own *The Gunners of Canada* (1967), J.A. Swettenham's *To Seize the Victory* (1965), and S.F. Wise's *Canadian Airmen and the First World War* (1980). The 1980s and 1990s proved to be a boom era for Canadian military history, highlighted by several important book releases, including Pierre Berton's *Vimy* (1986), Desmond Morton and J.L. Granatstein's *Marching to Armageddon* (1989), Bill Rawling's *Trench Warfare* (1992), and Morton's *When Your Number's Up* (1994), just to name a few. In recent years, the primary focus of Canadian military history has continued to be on the life of the average Dominion recruit, with Tim Cook's two volumes, *At the Sharp End* (2007) and *Shock Troops* (2009), achieving critical acclaim for blending passionate and haunting letters and diary entries with an accessible narrative account of the fighting.

[34] Robert Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), xxii.

[35] For example, in the Alvin Finkel and Margaret Conrad textbook *History of the Canadian Peoples: 1867 to Present* (Toronto: Pearson Education Canada Inc., 2005) chapter on the Great War, a "Selected Reading"

Also seeking to expand historians' knowledge of the Great War by focusing on individual communities is Ian Miller, author of *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (2002). Miller's book is an attempt to improve upon coverage of Toronto's Great War history. In his introduction, Miller targets Jeffrey Keshen's book *Propaganda and Censorship during the Great War* (1996), which pointed to the role of Canada's chief censor, Ernest J. Chambers, in explaining the home-front experience of Canadians. *Propaganda and Censorship* emphasized its author's belief that Chambers' close monitoring of the country's newspapers, magazines, and embryonic film industry created a sanitized version of the war that helped maintain public support for the military effort. Miller dismisses this notion and contends that the patriotism of Torontonians was not the result of propaganda. "Keshen's study leaves no room for the possibility that people were *willing* to fight for God, King, and Empire," Miller writes.[36] The latter instead refers to census statistics which help reveal Toronto's predominantly British-born population, making it a city, he argues, that required little convincing of the importance in lending old John Bull a hand. Miller then points to the incredible turnout by hopeful recruits (60,000, or approximately two-thirds of the available pool of men) and the remarkable determination of the city's women in soliciting funds for the cause as evidence of Toronto's determination to help win the war, regardless of seemingly endless casualty lists.[37] In this way, *Our Glory and Our Grief* emphasizes that local stories remain an integral part of relating the wider Canadian home-front experience.

Taking this notion a step further is James Pitsula's *For All We Have and Are: Regina and the Experience of the Great War* (2008). Pitsula provides our first look at the war's impact on a single prairie community, and the result is much different than the

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section suggests students interested in the home-front consult Barbara Wilson's *Ontario and the First World War* (1977), Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson's books *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (1983) and *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918* (amongst others). There are no references to studies based on individual localities, such as those by Miller or Rutherdale.

[36] Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 6.

[37] Ibid. For recruiting, see 104; for the role played by women in the war effort, 134.

story relayed by Miller. In Regina, those of British birth or heritage were not so dominant in terms of population, but nevertheless used the nationalist and patriotic fervour of the conflict in an attempt to assimilate the city's many alien clusters, including the Ukrainians, Swedes, French Canadians, and, in particular, Germans.[38] But what truly sets Pitsula's book apart is its exposition of an underlying "Rural Myth," referring to the construction of a distinctly agrarian identity that psychologically distanced Regina's residents from the "big interests" of central Canada, who held a monopoly on valuable munitions contracts.[39]

Expanding on this notion of western alienation is Jim Blanchard, author of *Winnipeg and the Great War* (2010). Despite being one of Canada's fastest growing cities in 1914 and home to the country's Grain Exchange, by comparison to Montreal and Toronto Winnipeg received few munitions contracts during the war years.[40] As in Regina there was a push to conscript wealth along with men in 1917, a sign of frustration with the war profiteers of central Canada. One of Blanchard's most important contributions to Great War historiography may be his examination of local reaction to conscription, which divided the city between its Anglo-Canadian elite and working-class labourers, many of whom were recent immigrants from Europe.[41] There were confrontations and even brawls in the streets of the "Gateway to the West" when the Military Service Act passed in August 1917, demonstrating that it was not just Quebec that violently reacted to the legislation.[42] And yet, like Reginans, the people of Winnipeg enlisted and raised money and goods for patriotic purposes as actively as other Canadians, revealing the complexity of the community's home-front experience. Together, local studies by Blanchard and Pitsula help expand our understanding of how the First World War affected Canadians.

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[38] James M. Pitsula, *For All We Have and Are: Regina and the Experience of the Great War* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008), 95.
[39] Ibid, 196.
[40] Winnipeg received no more than 0.9 per cent of the government's war expenditures in a single year, compared to between eight and twelve per cent for Toronto and Montreal. Jim Blanchard, *Winnipeg's Great War: A City Comes of Age* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), 131-134.
[41] 94 per cent of Winnipeg conscripts applied for exemptions, compared to 98 per cent in Saint John, 96 per cent in Kingston, 90 per cent in Toronto, and 70 per cent in Vancouver. Ibid, 204.
[42] Ibid, 204-205.

These works beg for historians to craft similar studies of other Canadian towns and cities. Rutherdale, Miller, Pitsula, and Blanchard point to the need for community-based studies in an effort to expand our understanding of the Great War's impact on Canadians.

There are similar holes that need filling in the emerging Canada-U.S. borderlands historiography. In 1989 Lauren McKinsey and Victor Konrad released their influential text *Borderlands Reflections: The United States and Canada*, which provided us with comprehensive definitions of a border ("the line which divides one nation-state…from another…[and] identifies the territory over which the nation-state can assert and defend its claim of jurisdiction and control"), border region ("a contiguous zone in which exchanges between two nation-states take place") and borderland ("a region jointly shared by two nations that houses people with common social characteristics in spite of the political boundary between them").[43] Less than forty pages in length, *Borderlands Reflections* is by no means an exhaustive study of North America's longest boundary. Instead, it represents an attempt by the authors to encourage scholars of various academic disciplines to examine important questions relating to American and Canadian borderlands, most notably, "are there areas of public policy where Canadians and Americans sharing a particular border region actually have closer opinions than either group has with respective nationals?"[44] McKinsey and Konrad encourage historians to examine areas where cross-border relations have changed over time, perhaps as a result of "the imposition of a closed political boundary."[45] In relation to this idea, McKinsey and Konrad relay the "spillover" hypothesis, whereby "a new political community may be created when economic and other transactions across political boundaries create new expectations that transcend existing loyalties, and, through socialization, legitimize a broader political authority."[46]

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[43] McKinsey and Konrad, *Borderlands Reflections*, 4.
[44] Ibid, 21.
[45] Ibid, 19.
[46] The spillover hypothesis was first introduced by Ernst B. Haas in 1964. However, McKinsey and Konrad were the first scholars to apply the idea to the Canada-U.S. border. See Ernst B. Haas, *Beyond the Nation-State: Functionalism and International Organization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964). Ibid, 24.

Although the focus of this dissertation is not the creation of new political entities, as we shall see, some borderlands communities transcended political boundaries in forming their own unique economic, social, and cultural identities. In essence, this made them "international" communities, where Americans and Canadians on both sides of the line shared similar outlooks. This study takes up the proposal by McKinsey and Konrad that there needs to be a study of borderlands communities at the local level in order to understand how the people living there reconciled their national and international identities. It inherits the position of Miller, Rutherdale, Pitsula, and Blanchard that studying Canadians in their local environs helps scholars better understand the Great War's impact at home.

With the exception of Thomas Klug's brief article, no scholar has yet examined how border security affected border-crossing culture. Even Klug's piece is primarily focused on the INS and the experiences of Detroit immigration officers. This study focuses instead on the Canadian side of the international boundary. This will be the first time that the history of borderlands communities of White Rock, Windsor, and St. Stephen during the years 1914-1918 have been explored in depth and compared. It will be the first time that local newspapers, municipal council minutes, diaries, letters, memoranda and immigration department correspondence from the First World War period have been used extensively to discuss the war's impact on each area and attitudes towards the international boundary.

This dissertation will show that the Great War's emphasis on patriotism and protection put great strain on border-crossing culture. It was probably not the intention of Canadian or American governments to make this the case, but even so border towns often felt their best interests had not been suitably considered. This study finds those places that protested government attempts to secure the border were the communities that could trace their international linkages to the period well before the development of immigration law and, later, the outbreak of war. In Windsor, Ontario, and St. Stephen, New Brunswick, people lived in a border community long before the implementation of a centralized border bureaucracy. These were the communities where border-crossing culture survived and was even enhanced by the war. By contrast, the vast majority of

White Rock, British Columbia's first settlers arrived as immigration law was being put in place during the twentieth century's first decade. In addition, pre-war attitudes towards cross-border liquor trafficking and Asian immigration on Canada's west coast helped dictate rather different conceptions of the border.

The evidence behind these findings relies heavily on primary research, including town council minutes, archival files (such as diaries, correspondence, and oral interviews), and, in large part, newspapers, including the *Semiahmoo* (later *Surrey*) *Gazette*, *British Columbian*, *Blaine Journal*, *Windsor Evening Record*, *Detroit News*, *Detroit Free Press*, *Saint Croix Courier*, and *Calais Advertiser*, amongst others. These newspapers were not only the primary source for local, national, and international news during this historical period, but a forum that allowed members of the community to express their opinions through letters to the editor. In some cases, the newspaper was a site of debate, where local and even extraregional viewpoints clashed. Each of these newspapers included at least an editorial section, while the *Windsor Evening Record*, *Detroit Free Press*, and *Saint Croix Courier,* also included sections where letters to the editor were published. Studying these letters and editorials helped uncover multiple viewpoints from within the wider population.

In addition to newspapers, this study uses town/city council minutes to investigate the operations of local government. These records reveal some of the major concerns of local citizens; for example, the protest by the Windsor city council against the Ontario provincial government's ban of Sunday newspapers from Detroit in 1916 reveals that heated letters to the *Windsor Evening Record* on the subject were not merely the work of a few, but representative of a majority.[47] Where possible, I have used city council minutes to verify and supplement reports in the local newspapers.

Also of use was correspondence between local immigration inspectors and Superintendent of Immigration, W.D. Scott. Correspondence found on microfilm reels acquired from Library and Archives Canada includes general memoranda between Scott

[47] Windsor City Council Minutes, November 20, 1916. Windsor Public Library Archives, RG 2 AIV-1.

and the various officers-in-charge at White Rock, Windsor, and St. Stephen.[48] These records outline the challenges facing officers stationed at the border before and during the war, including the search for undesirables and enemy aliens from the Central Power nations, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Germany. The latter task proved particularly troublesome, since so few of the travelers from these countries looked any different than their Canadian or American counterparts. The correspondence reveals that patrolling the border was by no means an easy job during the war; not only were officers expected to weed out undesirables and enemy aliens from a flood of permanent and temporary travelers, but they were also paid a low wage and constantly criticized by their superiors, who found easy scapegoats for policy failures in their often poorly educated front-line agents. Matters did not improve when pressure was exerted by Scott to hire returned soldiers, who may have bravely faced Germans in the trenches but were not necessarily equipped for confrontations with thousands of Windsor labourers hurrying home after a long day in Detroit factories.

It is my belief that Canada is not, on the whole, a borderland. True, in the early twenty-first century it takes less time than ever before for a Canadian to communicate with an American, be it over email, cell phone, land-line, or Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP). It is easier and faster today than ever before to travel to the United States, and cheaper, too. After all, the vast majority of Canadians live within 100 miles of the international boundary, a unique demographic situation largely dictated by our climate but also our dependence on America's culture and economy. But even today there are major differences between communities that straddle the U.S.-Canada border and those just a 90-minute drive from the line. When fire alarms blare in St. Stephen, Calais, Maine's fire department is automatically called. Many residents of Windsor regularly attend concerts and sporting events in Detroit. The people living in these borderlands continue to take pride in their border-crossing culture, even if modern communications and transportation networks have made it less distinctive than a century ago, when one was as likely to share a conversation, workplace, baseball game, or marriage with an

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[48] In addition to other nearby ports of entry, including Douglas, British Columbia, Walkerville, Ontario, and Milltown, New Brunswick.

American as a Canadian. These situations continue to be largely exclusive to residents of border communities, and they were even more so in 1914.

Although a number of different themes are investigated in this study, I have attempted to keep the structure simple. I begin with a brief essay on the history of the U.S.-Canada border to the First World War. Specifically, I hope to explain the slow development of the international boundary from the Treaty of Paris in 1783–when few American or British colonial administrators, let alone colonists, could point the border out on a map–to the first decade of the twentieth century, when attempts by the Canadian and American governments to restrict travel across the international frontier began to take root. The dissertation then proceeds to three separate case studies, investigating first Windsor and Detroit, then St. Stephen and Calais, and finally White Rock and Blaine. Each case study examines the geography of these regions, the heritage of residents, the extent of a border-crossing culture before the war, how Canadians and Americans interpreted U.S. neutrality, and finally local reactions to changes to the border's administration during the war years. A conclusion provides a comparative examination of the differences between and similarities shared by these communities.

This dissertation marks a meeting point between two vibrant and continually evolving historical fields: Canada's Great War and the U.S.-Canadian border. It will soon be a century since the war's outbreak in 1914, but because of the conflict's important place in Canada's mythological journey towards nationhood, interest in the Great War remains high. At the same time, the country's identity seems threatened more now than ever by the United States, whose ubiquitous culture appears to assimilate us into MTV-watching, McDonalds-eating, Starbucks-drinking automatons every day. Once or twice a year we remember the sacrifices and achievements of our nation's military heroes, but each and every morning we watch, listen to, and eat America. Or, perhaps, it eats us. Regardless, discussions of Canada's relationship with the United States will forever be in vogue, both inside and outside of academia. It is sincerely hoped that this study provides an important contribution to the growing body of literature on the U.S.-Canada border and that it helps us better understand an important period in Canadian history.

Chapter 2: Dissecting a Continent: A History of the U.S.-Canadian Border to 1914

The Treaty of Paris, signed September 3, 1783, ended a bitter, fratricidal war between the British Empire and the United States, but it did not bring long-term peace to North America. For the next three decades, tensions remained high for several reasons: Britain's naval blockade of Napoleonic France negatively affected the United States' nascent economy; in order to maintain that blockade, Britain forced (or "pressed") American sailors into the Royal Navy; and, for a time, the British Empire refused to leave key forts on U.S. territory. British policy reflected the Empire's reluctance to recognize American independence in the decades following the Revolution and it threatened to embroil the continent in war once again. But a long and expensive conflict was not particularly desirable for the young Republic. Furthermore, the United States remained too divided, both militarily and politically, for another fight with the British. In search of peace and, more importantly, stability, George Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay on a diplomatic mission to England in 1794.

Although it failed to resolve American concerns over the blockade and naval impressment, Jay's Treaty (signed November 19, 1794) did consolidate U.S. control over the Northwest boundary with Britain's remaining colonies in what would later become Canada. The treaty's failure to address American sovereignty at sea ensured another war between these rivals less than two decades later, but the reaffirmation of the land boundary between the U.S. and British North America laid the foundation for what would eventually become a peaceful and permeable northern border.[1] True, there were limitations on where U.S. and British vessels could travel between these two political

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[1] Todd Estes, "John Jay, the Concept of Deference, and the Transformation of Early American Political Culture," *Historian*, Vol. 65, Issue 2 (Winter 2002).

entities, but inland navigation was to be "at all times free" to the many American, British, and Aboriginal traders living on either side of the dividing line.[2]

The purpose of this introductory essay is to provide an overview of the development of the U.S.-Canada border from the period prior to Europeans' arrival to 1914. First, the American Revolution divided these people into two groups, Patriots and Loyalists, the latter fleeing in substantial numbers to Western Quebec (later Upper Canada) and Nova Scotia. Thirty years later, the differences between these two groups would be reaffirmed through the War of 1812. But even as this bloody struggle, as well as other crises, served to delineate a recognizable boundary as well as unique national identities, in no way was the border uniformly entrenched, politically or psychologically. The boundary entered and affected the lives of people differently depending on their region, their heritage, and their proximity to the line. People living in the United States and Canada–and particularly those living close to the border–used each conflict between the two nations to articulate a constantly-evolving national identity, but they also forgave their neighbours for the injustices thrust upon them during war. In many cases, Canadians and Americans blamed outsiders, particularly distant and unseen governments, for the hardships of war rather than the extranational neighbours with whom they shared meaningful social and economic relationships.

But just as attitudes towards the border varied widely depending on the region and the kinds of people in question, they were also heavily influenced by time. The process of politicizing and bureaucratizing the border evolved in waves, affecting each part of the line we know today at distinct moments in history. The images and emotions people associate with crossing the border today–the line-ups, the stern demeanour of border services agents, the anxiety associated with examination–did not materialize until the twentieth century. Prior to that time, North Americans were part of what historian Bruno

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[2] For native peoples, their claim to special border-crossing privileges continues to be traced back to Article III of Jay's Treaty. As late as 1974 a Maine federal district judge ruled the treaty gave First Nations people born in Canada the right to live and work in the United States. Phil Bellfy, "Cross-Border Treaty Signers: The Anishnaabeg of the Lake Huron Borderlands," in *Lines Upon the Water: First Nations and the Great Lakes Borders and Borderlands*, ed. Karl Hele (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), 29.

Ramirez has called “societies in motion.”[3] Men and women made their own decisions, usually based on the economic welfare of the individual or the family unit, to migrate across the line. For the most part, there was no one at the border or beyond it to prevent them from doing so. Until the twilight years of the nineteenth century, it was easy for travelers to cross the international boundary, even along popular transportation routes (such as the Detroit or Niagara rivers). After that point, however, the international boundary became a bureaucratized entity with a life of its own. Through immigration and customs law, the traditionally unseen federal government entered the lives of Canadians and Americans, particularly those who lived along or made frequent trips across the line.

Contact and Beyond

Geographically, North America’s boundaries cut different borders than the political lines separating the United States and Canada. Most of these natural lines run north-south, not east-west. The St. Lawrence, flowing northeasterly from the Lachine Rapids at Montreal to the Gaspé and out into the Atlantic, partitions New England and the Maritimes from Ontario and Quebec. Southern Ontario thrusts into the rich agricultural heartland of the American Midwest. The virtually uninhabitable Canadian Shield separates central and eastern Ontario from Manitoba and the Prairies. The Rockies act as a natural wall between these flatlands and the Pacific coast. Many of these boundaries defy an east-west border in favour of several distinct regions with varying climates and natural resources.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, lifestyles reflected these geographical distinctions. In the Maritimes, the Mi’kmaq, Maliseet, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and

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[3] Bruno Ramirez, *Crossing the 49th Parallel: Migration From Canada to the United States, 1900-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 1.

Abenaki occupied parts of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Maine.[4] They moved seasonally in order to maximize the hunt and harvest, but did not travel outside an area bounded by Newfoundland in the north, the Hudson River in the south, and the St. Lawrence in the east.[5] Beyond the St. Lawrence River and into the Great Lakes, the Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouxian peoples used their region's many waterways as transportation routes. They regularly moved across the line we know today to war, trade, hunt, and farm. Many of the First Nations peoples living in this region were multi-lingual, evidence of the interweaving of tribes through alliances and conflict.[6] Further west, archaeological research has shown the overlapping of the Dakota, Ojibwe, Cheyenne, Cree, Assiniboine, and several other groups in the Northeastern Plains, a region encompassing Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, the Dakotas, Montana, and Minnesota.[7] These peoples shared several commonalities, including the farming of garden crops during short growing seasons and, in particular, the hunt and widespread use of the bison.[8] Beyond the Rockies, trade in fish and marine resources amongst the Flathead, Okanagan, Haida, Kootenai, Carrier and others moved up and down the coast from California to Alaska.[9] In all of these cases, the most frequent meetings occurred between groups of the same region, most of which were partitioned by geographic boundaries running north-south.

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[4] John G. Reid, "An International Region of the Northeast: Rise and Decline, 1635-1762," in *The Northeastern Borderlands: Four Centuries of Interaction*, eds. Stephen J. Hornsby et al (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989), 10.

[5] Harold E. Prins, "Children of Gluskap: Wabanaki Indians on the Even of the European Invasion," in *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture and Cartography in the Land of Norumbega*, eds., Emerson W. Baker et al (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 95-96.

[6] John J. Bukowczyk, "Trade, War, Migration and Empire in the Great Lakes Basin, 1650-1815," in *Permeable Border: The Great Lakes Basin as Transnational Region, 1650-1990*, ed. John J. Bukowczyk. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 12.

[7] Michael L. Gregg, "Archaeological Complexes of the Northeastern Plains and Prairie-Woodland Border, A.D. 500-1500," in *Plains Indians, A.D. 500-1500: The Archaeological Past of Historic Groups*, ed. Karl H. Schleiser (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 90-91.

[8] Ibid, 95.

[9] Ken S. Coates, "Border Crossings: Patterns and Processes along the Canada-United States Boundary West of the Rockies," in *Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies*, ed. Ken S. Coates (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 10-11.

But along with guns, germs, and steel, Europeans introduced political boundaries to the First Nations people.[10] The primary forum for interaction between the two groups, the fur trade, was based on several lines and spheres of influence. The French, who settled in the region north of the St. Lawrence River, used the waterway as their primary communication link with the powerful Wendat Confederacy of present-day central Ontario. To the south of the St. Lawrence, the Dutch and English engaged in a similar relationship with the Five Nations Confederacy, of present-day New York State. The St. Lawrence was recognized as a natural barrier between the two groups, the Wendat/Algonquin/French on one side, and the Dutch/English/Five Nations on the other.[11] As historian Donald Creighton has noted, the St. Lawrence "gave entrance to the totally different dominion of the north. It was a landscape marked off from the other geographic provinces of the new continent by the almost monotonously massive character of its design."[12]

Growing demands for fur in the late seventeenth century brought the French deeper into the interior, where they constructed new trading posts like Michilimackinac (1671), Cataraqui (1682), and Detroit (1701). Vastly outnumbered by their enemies at the time, the French also attempted to consolidate their weak military position by constructing a series of strongholds in the Ohio Valley during the late seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth century, including Fort Niagara (1687), Fort St. Frédéric (1734), and Fort Duquesne (1754). The English, committed in the 1750s to the permanent removal of the French from North America, responded by enlisting the help of their Five Nations allies in attacking these forts. The continent was thereafter submerged in the most devastating conflict it had yet seen. Referred to in Canada as the Seven Years' War (and in the Thirteen Colonies as the French and Indian War), this bitter

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[10] See Jared M. Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997).
[11] Further dividing these two groups were the unique trading policies of each European faction. The French would only trade guns with their native allies upon the latter's conversion to Roman Catholicism. The English and Dutch made no such religious requirements. Michael D. Green and Theda Perdue, *North American Indians: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
[12] Donald Creighton, *The Empire of the St. Lawrence* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958), 4.

struggle would see the official presence of France in North America eradicated.[13] The Treaty of Paris in 1763 sealed it; in the agreement, France chose the Caribbean island of Guadeloupe over "a few acres of snow."[14]

But all was not well for the victorious British, who now presided over thousands of French colonists in Quebec. What to do with these people? Naturally, the British colonial administration hoped to assimilate them, but that required migration from the Thirteen Colonies and most southern farmers sneered at the idea of moving to the isolated and frigid St. Lawrence Valley. For the English-speaking residents of the Thirteen Colonies, Quebec was a strange place dominated by foreigners and their alien institutions, like the Roman Catholic Church and the seigneurial agricultural system.[15] Worse still for Britain, its Royal Proclamation of 1763, which drew a line along the Appalachians and declared everything west of the boundary "Indian territory," was poorly received by residents of the Thirteen Colonies, who, after helping the Crown defeat the French and their Aboriginal allies, felt it was only natural that they should be allowed to settle wherever they pleased.[16]

In response to rising anger in the Thirteen Colonies, coupled with their failure to inspire northward migration, the British allowed their assimilation efforts to lapse in Quebec. Recognizing signs of trouble in New England, the British determined that they needed allies, not foes, amongst the French. The result was the Quebec Act of 1774, a measure that attempted to shore up French-Canadian support by protecting their language

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[13] See Fred Anderson, *The War That Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War* (New York: Penguin, 2006).

[14] The statement was originally made by French philosopher Voltaire but is only a fragment of the full quote, recorded in his 1759 satire *Candide*: "You realize that these two countries have been fighting over a few acres of snow near Canada, and they are spending on this splendid struggle more than Canada itself is worth." Thomas Thorner, "General Introduction," in *A Few Acres of Snow: Documents in Pre-Confederation History*, ed. Thomas Thorner (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2009), xiii.

[15] Philip Lawson, *The Imperial Challenge: Quebec and Britain in the Age of the American Revolution* (Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1989), 25.

[16] The "Indian territory" reserved by the Royal Proclamation line was Britain's response to Pontiac's Rebellion, a 1763 pan-Amerindian revolt resulting from Britain's failure to offer trading terms comparable to the defeated (and preferred) French. The rebellion ultimately failed, but it scared the British enough to, at least temporarily, respect Aboriginal interests in the interior. Bukowczyk, "Trade, War, Migration and Empire in the Great Lakes Basin, 1650-1815," 22.

and institutions while expanding the colony's borders to its pre-1763 parameters.[17] Unfortunately, many of the act's main tenets–including the protection of the French language and Roman Catholicism in addition to reinforcing the barrier against American westward migration–aroused anger in the Thirteen Colonies. And so, the Quebec Act, which was originally composed in an effort to maintain peace and good order amongst the French Canadians, justified violence and revolution for the American colonists, who cited it as one of the "Coercive Acts".[18] By the late 1760s the Americans had defied the Quebec Act and its borders, pushing deeper into the interior, forcing French colonists to flee north to Essex county, Sault Ste. Marie, Raisin River, Prairie du Chien, and the region west of the Lake of the Woods.[19] The Quebec Act's boundaries had thus proven weak in the face of determined American settlers who wanted access to the land and resources west of the Appalachians. The pioneer farmers of this generation viewed boundaries with disdain, and saw the forests, lakes, and grasslands of the largely untouched continent as theirs to conquer.[20]

As American colonists established new boundaries and new frontiers during and after the Revolutionary War, others moved north. Persecuted in the Thirteen Colonies for their allegiance to the Crown, these "Loyalists" took flight to Quebec (after 1791, Upper and Lower Canada) and Nova Scotia (encompassing the later colony of New Brunswick). They found several different environments depending on their choice.

Western Quebec (after the Constitutional Act of 1791, Upper Canada) was at that time little more than wilderness broken by the occasional Aboriginal settlement. Transportation routes were poor and absentee landownership presented real problems; a

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[17] Kenneth Norrie et al, *A History of the Canadian Economy* (Toronto: Nelson, 2008), 75.
[18] The two "Coercive Acts," the Quebec Act and the Quartering Act, were cited as cause for rebellion along with the three "Intolerable Acts," including the closing of Boston harbor in June 1774, the Administration and Justice Act, and the Massachusetts Government Act, all taking effect during the summer of 1774. "The Coercive Acts," The Massachusetts Historical Society, accessed November 19, 2010, http://www.masshist.org/revolution/coercive.php.
[19] John J. Bukowczyk, "Migration, Transportation, Capital, and the State in the Great Lakes Basin, 1815-1890," in *Permeable Border: The Great Lakes Basin as Transnational Region, 1650-1990*, ed. John J. Bukowczyk. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 20.
[20] Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1982), 5.

new settler was likely to find miles between himself and his nearest neighbour, separated as they were by lots designated to the Church of England and the Crown.[21] But in the period between 1784, when the first Loyalists arrived, and 1810, on the eve of another war, Upper Canada's development took root. Observers noted the remarkably rapid cultivation of land by a steadily growing agrarian populace, who thrived on the colony's largely untilled and exceptionally fertile soil.[22] Upper Canada's population rose to 80,000 by 1814. Approximately one in five of these new settlers were Loyalists from America, a slightly smaller share British-born. But the vast majority of Upper Canada's pioneers were Americans with loose ties to the Crown. In search of the best farmland and warmest climate, these "Late Loyalists" concentrated their settlement in the area now comprising southwestern Ontario, much to the aggravation of the region's original Loyalists.[23]

For Loyalists headed further east, Quebec (after 1791, Lower Canada) looked considerably different in the years immediately following the Revolutionary War. The century-old seigneurial agricultural system, with its carefully structured economic and social hierarchy and long, narrow lots reaching back from the St. Lawrence, intimidated English-speaking settlers already estranged by the language and religion of the French Roman Catholic majority. But there were advantages to settling there: in an attempt to ensure the dilution of French culture, British officials maintained tight control of the colonial government and offered only superficial political freedoms to the French-Canadian majority. Loyalists could point to this British domination of the upper echelons of the colonial administration as evidence that they were welcome in Lower Canada (at least, by those overseeing it).[24] But to most Loyalists, enormous cultural differences

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[21] As a result, the value of land was considerably lower than it might have otherwise been. Norrie et al, *A History of the Canadian Economy*, 97.
[22] Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada: A Developing Colonial Ideology* (Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 3.
[23] The Niagara frontier and beyond was a natural extension for American settlers in search of land. Their movement into this region contributed to a population growth in Upper Canada from 50,000 in 1806 to 80,000 just eight years later. Norrie et al, *A History of the Canadian Economy*, 97. See also Fred Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1941), 1.
[24] J.I. Little, *Loyalties in Conflict: A Canadian Borderland in War and Rebellion, 1812-1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 4; Jean-Paul Bernard, *Rebellions of 1837 and 1838 in Lower Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet No. 55, 1996), 2.

between them and the Popish French-speakers meant Lower Canada was not a good fit and only about 1,000 Americans settled there following the Revolutionary War.[25]

For most of these migrants, the best option was Nova Scotia (after 1784, split to form two colonies, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick), which had remained virtually untouched by the war.[26] Importantly, there were plenty of former Americans already living there, most dating their migration to the pre-Revolutionary era. Although a few of them had sought Nova Scotia's inclusion in the fight against Britain, most of the "Planters," as they were called, adopted a position of general apathy that bordered on neutrality.[27] The advantage of living in Nova Scotia–fine farmland and lots of it–was not a mystery to the Loyalists, who in the years after the Revolutionary War crowded into the environs surrounding Halifax and Saint John.[28]

Initially the adjustment was difficult for Americans accustomed to the hustle-and-bustle of big cities like Boston and New York, but over the next few decades Nova Scotia's Loyalists cleared and settled the wild backwoods of their new territory. The land and rivers of the Maritimes were used for both farming and the development of trades unique to this region. Timber was cut and sent by waterway to nearby lumber mills and later shipbuilding yards, forming complementary industries.[29]

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[25] It should be further noted that half of the 1,000 Loyalists settled well away from Quebec and Montreal, in the more remote Gaspe region. Wallace Brown, "Victorious in Defeat: The American Loyalists in Canada," in *Reappraisals in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation*, ed. C.M. Wallace et al (Scarborough: Prentice Hall Allyn and Bacon Canada, 1999), 197.

[26] Aside from the expulsion of French Acadians in 1755 – a group with whom few Americans would have identified – the Maritimes had remained outside the fray in the Seven Years War and American Revolution, primarily because of the isolation of communities within the region, British naval superiority, and social and economic ties to New England. John Bartlett Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia: A Marginal Colony During the Revolutionary Years* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1939), 261-2, 274-6, 289-90, 292-3, 309-10.

[27] The 1776 diary of Simeon Perkins reveals that residents of Liverpool, Nova Scotia struggled to reconcile the official position of the colonial administration (war) with their economic interests (profitable trade with New England). Harold A. Innis, ed., *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, Vol. 1: 1766-1780* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1948), 84-99.

[28] In the years shortly after the Revolution, Halifax and Saint John both experienced severe overcrowding. New settlers were forced to live in tents, churches, or even warehouses until more permanent accommodations could be made available. Brown, "Victorious in Defeat," 198.

[29] See Vincent Short and Edwin Sears, *Sail and Steam: Along the Maine Coast* (Portland, Maine: The Bond Wheelwright Company, 1955), 75.

The Treaty of Paris in 1783 concluded the American Revolution and established vague boundaries between the United States and British North America. But equally imposing lines ran north and south. In the east, most Maritimers held long-standing family ties to New England, not the British Isles. Aside from clusters of Acadians in New Brunswick, the majority of residents living in this region spoke only English. Lying between the Maritimes and British North America's other major English-speaking region, Upper Canada, was the vast expanse of French-speaking Lower Canada. Few real ties bound these northern colonies together, and transportation routes (most of which were water in the early nineteenth century) could carry travelers more conveniently north and south than east or west.

In the Maritimes and New England, a vibrant regional economy emerged following the Revolutionary War. With people and goods moving back and forth across the line regularly, extensive social and cultural relations between these regions also became visible. In the Maritimes specifically, there were also Loyalists who were less loyal than ambitious; immigration to the region increased dramatically as word spread of the Navigation Acts applied against the United States, ensuring British North America would replace the Thirteen Colonies as one end of a vibrant trading route with the British West Indies.[30]

Allegiances were just as murky in Upper Canada. In the decade before the War of 1812, Upper Canadians frequently visited friends, family, and business partners across the boundary. Most were, after all, Americans by heritage.[31] Over time, fewer new settlers moved to Upper Canada out of fear; instead, a growing number of Upper Canadians would cite better land as the reason for their migration north.[32] Sheer geographical proximity drew Upper Canadians into the American sphere to an even greater extent, with New York and the New England states far more accessible than

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[30] The Navigation Acts were a series of laws intended to increase trade relations between Britain and its colonies rather than rival powers, including the Netherlands, France, and America. Brown, "Victorious in Defeat," 200.
[31] Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada*, 35.
[32] Ibid, 36.

Lower Canada or the Maritimes. Communication links drew much different boundaries than the ones in treaties; most news and mail from Europe continued to travel across the northern United States en route to Upper Canada, meaning it was much easier for a Canadian of this region to interact with a resident of New York or Massachusetts than Lower Canada or the Maritimes.[33]

North of the border the Loyalist Diaspora reinforced and enhanced regional differences in the last vestiges of Britain's America. It is no surprise, then, that the War of 1812 affected British North Americans in drastically different ways depending on where they lived. The heat of battle was felt most in Upper Canada and the Ohio Valley, a wider Great Lakes region that changed noticeably during the period between the Revolutionary War and the renewal of hostilities in 1812. Not only did Upper Canada's population explode as Americans and British immigrants moved into the region, but the Northwest Territory, referring to whole or partial sections of present-day Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, also grew exponentially, from a population of just 6,000 in 1788 to 300,000 twenty-five years later.[34]

So, what happened? How is it that apparently like-minded people, most of whom traced their heritage to the Thirteen Colonies, ended up fighting one another in a bloody and brutal struggle just a generation after the Revolutionary War?[35] There are several explanations. The first and perhaps most important factor was that this war was not started by the common settlers of British North America or the northern United States. Instead, it was the work of British and American politicians hundreds or thousands of miles away.

As a result of Jay's Treaty in 1794, British redcoats left forts on American territory. But the agreement failed to address Britain's continued use of naval

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[33] Ibid, 37.
[34] Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier*, 1.
[35] Further evidence of Upper Canada's American origins is provided by U.S.-born Baptist preacher and schoolmaster Michael Smith, who in an 1813 publication estimated the colony's population to be 136,000 in 1812 (besides Indians), four-fifths of which he believed were of American birth. Smith speculated that perhaps one in four of these Americans were Loyalists of any sort. Ibid, 21.

impressment, a controversial issue that aroused the ire of Americans during the nineteenth century's early years. Exacerbating the situation were other diplomatic debacles, including accusations by the Americans that Britain had encouraged its First Nations allies to raid U.S. settlements.[36] Desperate to reclaim lands lost to American settlers, the Aboriginals of the Ohio Valley, including the Potawatomi, Ojibwa, Odawa, Winnebago, Kickapoo, and the Shawnee, clamoured for a full-blown war with the United States.[37] As a result of their attacks, many American public figures, particularly President James Madison, felt that the conquering of British North America represented a "second war of independence."[38]

The war's outbreak must have been startling for the people of Upper Canada. Most previous disagreements between U.S. and Upper Canadian border communities, such as a dispute over American poaching of British troops in the Niagara frontier in 1801, were resolved without bloodshed.[39] Upper Canadians did not want war; General Isaac Brock, later a Canadian military hero, in the spring of 1812 declared to the provincial legislature, "We wish and hope for peace."[40]

In Lower Canada, relations between Americans and Canadians along the international boundary also remained amicable prior to the summer months of 1812. For years the people of the colony had carried on a lucrative smuggling trade with their American counterparts in Vermont.[41] In the frontier townships, where few residents

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[36] The most famous encounter involving Britain's impressments is the Chesapeake-Leopard Affair, whereby the British warship *Leopard* opened fire upon and then boarded the *Chesapeake* in search of Royal Navy deserters. Noel B. Gerson, *Mr. Madison's War: 1812: The Second War for Independence* (New York: Julian Messner, 1966), 45-50.

[37] Olive Patricia Dickason and William Newbigging, *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations* (Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada, 2010), 141; Robert S. Allen, "His Majesty's Indian Allies: Native Peoples, the British Crown and the War of 1812," *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 14, Issue 2, (Fall 1988): 1-24.

[38] Gerson, *Mr. Madison's War*, 93.

[39] Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada*, 57.

[40] Ibid, 70.

[41] For years prior to the war residents of Vermont had sold livestock to the people of Lower Canada in exchange for linen, cotton, silk, paint, dyes, brass, furs, and leather goods. This trade continued throughout the war, even though American authorities forbade it by law. Donald G. Alcock, "The Best Defence Is…Smuggling? Vermonters During the War of 1812," *Canadian Review of American Studies*, Vol. 20, Issue 1 (1995).

expected a full-scale invasion by their U.S. neighbours, the militia was inactive and unarmed.[42] This lack of apprehension concerned the colony's British officials. Administrators feared the French-Canadian majority would receive the news of war with apathy or even join the invaders.

Although their allegiances continued to be in question on the eve of war, the French majority recognized tensions were high and steadily became more concerned that an invasion would distract them from their day-to-day lives, particularly if hungry U.S. soldiers descended upon their crops and livestock. The few Anglo-Canadians living in the colony also remembered the violence of the Revolution and remained wary of an American invasion.[43] Put to the test, residents of Lower Canada would again defend British North America.

The situation in the east was much different. Tired of war, thriving economically, and recognizing their familial and social ties to the residents of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, the men of New England refused to participate in the war effort. Smuggling between British North America and Vermont and Maine continued.[44] The governor of Massachusetts proclaimed a fast day to protest the war's declaration in June 1812, while politicians in Connecticut and Rhode Island made similar gestures.[45] That same year, the residents of Maine declared that they "would not molest their Neighbours, the Inhabitants of New Brunswick."[46] As a result, Maritimers reached an unofficial peace agreement with their regional neighbours.[47]

Thus, the evidence suggests that few residents of these three regions, Upper Canada, Lower Canada, or the Maritimes, desired war. In the end, only Upper Canada

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[42] Little, *Loyalties in Conflict*, 19.
[43] Ibid, 18.
[44] James H. Ellis, *A Ruinous and Unhealthy War: New England and the War of 1812* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2009), 43, 234.
[45] Ibid, 9.
[46] Graeme Wynn, "New England's Outpost in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Northeastern Borderlands: Four Centuries of Interaction*, eds. Stephen Hornsby et al (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989), 69.
[47] "War of 1812: From Colony to Country: A Reader's Guide to Canadian Military History, Library and Archives Canada," accessed November 25, 2010, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/military/025002-2000-e.html.

would be enmeshed in bitter and brutal fighting. How, then, did the War of 1812 affect attitudes towards Americans and the border there? Just as the Revolution failed to break critical social and economic relationships between Americans and Canadians, this new war was seen as a hardship imposed by distant and despotic governments. Generally, it helped Upper Canadians and residents of the United States articulate distinct identities based on their war experiences, but it did not eradicate pre-existing cross-border links formed between families, friends, and business partners. In border communities like Windsor and Detroit, bitterness lingered after the war's conclusion, but this did not dramatically change how they felt about their extranational neighbours.

The Americans' campaign into Upper Canada began in the summer of 1812. That July, General William Hull led a force of U.S. troops across the Detroit River, occupying the town of Sandwich (today a part of Windsor).[48] But fearing his forces were too weak to withstand a counterattack by Shawnee Chief Tecumseh–a stern supporter of the British, a fierce warrior, and a believer that the war would bring military and political unification to the First Nations people–Hull retreated to Detroit. There, General Isaac Brock struck back, using a force comprised of local militia, British regulars, and Tecumseh's warriors to intimidate the American defenders. On the night of August 15, 1812, Brock used an artillery barrage and the cover of darkness to stealthily move his troops across the Detroit River. By daybreak they were standing outside the walls of Hull's fort. Shortly thereafter, an 18-pounder artillery shell fired from the Canadian side of the river struck inside the fort, killing four officers. It was enough to break Hull's wavering nerve, and he surrendered.[49]

But the British victory at Detroit did not end the war, and soon after the Americans pushed back. In September 1812 they took the town of Ganonoque, near

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[48] *Loyal She Remains: A Pictorial History of Ontario* (Toronto: The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario, 1984), 150.
[49] George F.G. Stanley, *The War of 1812: Land Operations* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada in collaboration with the National Museum of Man, 1983), 98-108.

Kingston, and a month later captured two British schooners in Lake Erie. In October, the Americans suffered a disastrous defeat to the British at Queenston Heights, though Brock was killed in the fighting. American victories mounted in 1813 as they captured York (present-day Toronto) in April and Fort George, at Niagara-on-the-Lake, in May. For all intents and purposes, this knocked the western part of Upper Canada out of the war, and thereafter it remained occupied by the Americans.

Unfortunately for the United States, the defeat of Napoleonic France in 1814 freed up resources that allowed Britain to initiate a naval blockade of the U.S. Atlantic coast. It also allowed the British to land an invasion force at Chesapeake Bay in August, the raiders attacking Washington, D.C., where they set the White House ablaze. But the British, who had little interest in a long and expensive campaign to re-conquer America, sought peace. The Treaty of Ghent, signed Christmas Eve 1814, ended the war.[50]

In the Upper Canadian border county of Essex, the war initially brought slight changes. Eighty per cent of the region's population was French Canadian, and they felt little attachment to either the King or the American government. But the American occupation of 1813 and 1814 was by no means easy for these people; the enemy was comprised of troops raised in Kentucky or Ohio, rather than neighbouring Michigan, and they regularly looted the homes of Essex settlers.[51] These scenes were familiar to residents of Upper Canada's capital, York, where American occupation began in April

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[50] For further reading on the War of 1812, see "Causes and Events of the War of 1812: A Timeline," accessed January 4, 2010, http://www.warof1812.ca/1812events.htm; Maj. James Ripley Jacobs and Glenn Tucker, *The War of 1812: A Compact History* (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1969); Anthony S. Pitch, *The Burning of Washington: The British Invasion of 1814* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998).
[51] Kevin R. Shackleton and Sandy Antal, *Duty Nobly Done: The Official History of the Essex and Kent Scottish Regiment* (Walkerville: Walkerville Publishing Inc., 2006), 94.

1813.[52] The Americans sacked the town, looting and vandalizing the homes of settlers.[53] Here, fear of and anger towards the United States would last over a century.[54]

In the Niagara region, fierce encounters between the Americans and British sharply divided residents. The Battle of Queenston Heights on October 13, 1812, saw the shocking death of General Sir Isaac Brock, already a celebrity for his stunning victory at Detroit months before. The Americans attacked here again the next year, taking Fort George in May. While Loyalists fumed over the attack, American-born residents voiced their approval. U.S. General Henry Dearborn, shortly after taking the fort, wrote of the Upper Canadians in Niagara: "A large majority are friendly to the United States and fixed in their hatred against the Government of Great Britain."[55] Fighting continued along the Niagara frontier into the summer of 1814, when the Americans and the British both sustained huge losses at the epic Battle of Lundy's Lane.[56]

In the northern reaches of Upper Canada, the war was fought sporadically. In the Sault Ste. Maries, sister communities in northern Michigan and Ontario straddling the St. Mary's River, the British maintained control over the American side of the line until Jay's Treaty in 1794 forced redcoats stationed there to retreat to the northern shore. However, at the outbreak of war eighteen years later, most residents of the American Sault (or "Soo") sided with the British. In July 1812 the British occupied the American-held Fort Mackinac without bloodshed and reclaimed control over the opposite shore. For the next two years, the war almost faded into memory for those living on either side of the St. Mary's, until an American force led by Colonel George Croghan and Major

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[52] Robert Malcolmson, *Capital in Flames: The American Attack on York, 1813* (Montreal: Robin Brass Studio, 2008), x-xi.
[53] One woman happened upon an American infantryman greedily gorging himself upon sugar from her pantry. She was surprised to find that he knew her father, Major Bleecker, a former Patriot leader and a prominent New York public figure. Ibid, 242.
[54] When prominent business and political figures from the U.S. in 1911 began campaigning for a trinational Peace Centenary celebration commemorating one hundred years of amity between America, Canada, and Britain, some elite Torontonians, including Ontario Premier James Whitney and Empire Club President R.S. Neville, balked at the idea. Joseph Pope to Sir Robert Borden, Ottawa, Dec. 2, 1911. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG25 1116, File 1255.
[55] Stanley, *The War of 1812,* 192.
[56] "1814: Battle of Lundy's Lane – Archives of Ontario, War of 1812," accessed March 14, 2012, http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/english/on-line-exhibits/1812/niagara-1814.aspx.

Andrew Hunter Holmes trudged north from Detroit in July 1814, forcing the British back to the Upper Canadian Soo and, in pursuit, burning a trading vessel, warehouse, sawmill, and several homes.[57] The war fixed the border running between the Soos. In 1820, Governor of Michigan Territory Lewis Cass threatened punitive action against anyone who dared raise a Union Jack over American soil, be it along the St. Mary's or elsewhere.[58]

Although both the British and the Americans could point to the Treaty of Ghent's reinforcement of the borders designated in 1783 as a moral and military victory, for the former's First Nations allies it was a devastating conclusion to a bitterly-fought conflict. They had entered the war in an attempt to check American encroachment onto their lands while concurrently building a pan-tribal Indian Confederacy that could barter a better future for their people.[59] But that dream ended in October 1813, when their leader, Shawnee Chief Tecumseh, was cut down at the Battle of the Thames, near present-day Chatham, Ontario.[60] The First Nations peoples were the real losers in this bitter conflict. The "Indian territory" protected under the Royal Proclamation of 1763–a massive expanse of land covering most of the Ohio Valley–would after 1814 become the frontier for thousands of American and Canadian settlers. The Indians would no longer be considered valuable military allies and would, under the terms of the British North America Act of 1867 and Indian Act of 1876, be relegated to the status of subjects, rather than citizens, of the new Dominion.[61] By that point, intranational borders–in the form of reservations–were steadily being imposed upon them.

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[57] Graeme Mount, "Drums Along the St. Mary's: Tensions On the International Border at Sault Ste. Marie," *Michigan History*, Vol. 73 Issue 4 (July 1989): 32-36.
[58] Graeme Mount et al, *The Border at Sault Ste. Marie* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995), 8.
[59] John Sugden, "Early Pan-Indianism: Tecumseh's Tour of the Indian Country, 1811-1812," *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Autumn 1986): 273-304.
[60] Catherine Murton Stoehr, "Nativism's Bastard: Neolin, Tenskwatawa, and the Anishinabeg Methodist Movement," in *Lines Drawn Upon the Water: First Nations and the Great Lakes Borders and Borderlands*, ed. Karl Hele (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), 184-187.
[61] Stephen Brooks, *Public Policy in Canada: An Introduction* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998), 188-189; Peter Russell, *Constitutional Odyssey: Can Canadians Become a Sovereign People?* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 32.

The War of 1812 had an enormous impact on conceptions of Americans and the international boundary in Upper Canada. For many, this event would distinguish the two groups from each other, even if, in some cases, Upper Canadian settlers were themselves born south of the border. Children in Upper Canadian schools would thereafter read about the great accomplishments of Brock and the British at Detroit and Queenston Heights in their textbooks. They would sing "The Maple Leaf," with its patriotic airs relating how "Our brave fathers, side by side," fought bravely "For Freedom, homes and loved ones dear."[62] Laura Secord, who risked life and limb trudging across enemy territory to warn the British of an impending American attack, would become the subject of Canadian myth (and later, a candy company's name and face) for years to come.[63] Most Upper Canadian members of the political and business elite would continue to disapprove of Republicanism and American excess, demonstrating that position by refusing land grants to persons of U.S. nationality after January 1815.[64] Although this policy was later relaxed, even into the 1830s American immigrants were forced to swear an oath of loyalty to the Crown and wait seven years before receiving any land in Upper Canada, a probation exercise that left many settlers bitter and angry with the colonial government.[65]

But the natural ties linking the people of this colony with their U.S. neighbours would not be altogether severed. The war did not change the fact that many Upper Canadians, Lower Canadians, and Maritimers had friends and family across the international boundary. America was still a place of great opportunity for those born in British North America, who over the next century would push south seasonally or permanently in search of better land or employment.

As historian Jane Errington has shown, in many parts of the colony Upper Canadians viewed the war, as well as the invasion of their territory, as the work of a despotic American government rather than its people. Many felt that, just as the war had

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[62] Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier*, 45.
[63] Cecilia Morgan, "'Of Slender Frame and Delicate Appearance': The Placing of Laura Secord in the Narratives of Canadian Loyalist History," *Journal of Canadian Historical Association*, Vol. 5 (1994): 195-212.
[64] Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier*, 46.
[65] Ibid, 49.

been thrust upon them at a time when bringing in the harvest took priority over militia service, it was similarly imposed on their American friends and relatives by the Madison administration from distant Washington.[66] In similar fashion, many American colonists blamed Great Britain for the war, not the Canadian colonists with whom they shared so many commonalities.[67] On the surface at least, these people continued to look, sound, and think alike. British travelers passing through Upper Canada a decade later would marvel at how the colony's citizens seemed "totally Yankee."[68]

The next twenty years were not particularly kind to the majority of Upper or Lower Canadian colonists. By the 1830s, when crop failures, a credit shortage, and recession fell upon Upper and Lower Canada, many blamed the oligarchic government in the two colonies. More than a few seriously considered bringing a Republican-style system north of the border, evidence that the "excessive" element had not been completely eliminated with the implementation of anti-American land settlement policy. The colonial government's treatment of Americans following the end of hostilities in 1814 was cause for concern amongst many Upper Canadians, but their main point of contention was the colony's political structure. The government was dominated by an appointed Executive Council, Legislative Council, and lieutenant-governor, which by use of their veto powers could and often did subdue the elected Legislative Assembly. The complaints were similar in Lower Canada, where the political system was virtually identical. But language was an issue there, where English-speakers representing a tiny minority held the government's most influential positions.[69]

The response to these inequities was armed insurrection. In Lower Canada, anger was directed at a colonial government that many French-speakers felt was holding them

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[66] Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada*, 84.
[67] Jason Kaufman, *The Origins of Canadian and American Political Differences* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), 152.
[68] Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier*, 135.
[69] The extent to which language was an issue has been debated, in part because important members of the Patriote movement were in fact Anglophones. Allan Greer, "1837-38: Rebellion Reconsidered," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. LXXVI, No. 1 (March 1995): 1-18; Gerald Bernier and Daniel Salée, "A Discourse of Protest: The Patriotes Decade (1828-1838)," in *Reappraisals in Canadian History, Pre-Confederation*, eds. C.M. Wallace et al (Scarborough: Prentice Hall Allyn and Bacon Canada, 1999), 349.

back.[70] Frustration led to violent clashes between rebels, many of whom identified with the defiant *Patriotes*, and those who sided with officials. Arrest warrants were made for the *Patriote* leaders, such as Louis-Joseph Papineau and Wolfred Nelson. Attempts by officials to deliver these warrants sparked armed conflict between *Patriotes* and British regulars. After an initial victory by the *Patriotes* at St. Denis in the Richelieu Valley, the British forced the rebels to flee over the border to the United States.[71]

There, Papineau and the *Patriotes* worked with American supporters and plotted a return to Quebec in 1838. The *Patriotes* sought help from the state governments of New York and Vermont, but they refused, desiring instead to maintain their neutrality (in fact, the American government would supply the British colonial administration with important information regarding the activities of exiled French-Canadian rebels throughout 1838).[72] Out-numbered, out-classed, and out-armed by British regular troops, the Lower Canada Rebellion's second act did nothing to alter the results of the previous year.

Reformers in Upper Canada were also unsuccessful in their bid to replace the colony's aristocratic, oligarchic government. They were generally disorganized, but they were also politically divided between a radical wing led by William Lyon Mackenzie and moderate reformers like William and Robert Baldwin. A collection of these radicals formed in Toronto in December 1837. Upon hearing reports of *Patriote* victory in the east, they infiltrated the local armoury and advanced with the intention of removing Lieutenant-Governor Francis Bond Head. However, they were more bark than bite; in their first encounter with Loyalist elements Mackenzie's men fled after the first shots were fired. The Loyalists thereafter restored order to the city, and Mackenzie, along with many other radical reformers, fled south.[73]

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[70] "Address of the Sons of Liberty of Montreal to the Young People of the Colonies of North America, October 4, 1837" (Ottawa: Institut Canadien de Microreproductions Historiques, 1983).
[71] Bernier and Salée, "A Discourse of Protest," 359-360.
[72] Jean-Paul Bernard, "The Rebellions of 1837 and 1838 in Lower Canada," in *Quebec Since 1800: Selected Readings*, ed. Michael D. Behiels (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 2002), 94.
[73] Greer, "1837-38: Rebellion Reconsidered," 15.

In the “Patriots” William Lyon Mackenzie also found like-minded Americans willing to help make trouble for the British colonial government, and in 1838 he returned with a significant force.[74] Once again conquering Canada was viewed as merely a matter of marching, with Mackenzie seeing “an exposed and undefended frontier” as being “ruinous to the Govt. of Great Britain.”[75] But the Patriot invasions that followed, at places like Amherstburg (along the Detroit River, just south of Windsor) and Niagara, were disorganized and failed to establish a foothold.[76] Then, in December 1838, the Patriots attacked at Windsor, where 200 invaders met Colonel John Prince’s Essex militia. The two sides opened fire immediately upon meeting one another, musket balls tearing through the prized apple trees of the wealthy Bâby family. The stand taken by Prince and his troops proved too much for the Patriots, who before sundown had retreated to Detroit.[77] The Battle of Windsor marked the dramatic conclusion to what became known as the “Patriot Wars”.

Despite the strain this conflict placed on the relationship between Americans and Canadians in Upper Canada, once again tensions steadily subsided. On a local level, those blamed for the episodes were not necessarily the Americans that Upper Canadians knew; for example, many of the Patriots who gathered at Detroit and participated in the raid on Windsor were not from the American border city at all, but had traveled hundreds of miles from all parts of the United States.[78] In addition, some of the enemy raiders were not even Americans, but Upper Canadians loyal to Mackenzie’s cause (amongst the Patriots executed by Prince was a man from the London District).[79] There were also questions about the loyalty of the people living in the region being invaded: those who did join the militia were found to have conducted themselves rather poorly, looting their

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[74] The U.S.-based Hunter Lodges boldly supported Mackenzie’s cause. Their forty thousand members were pledged to the defence and promotion of Republican institutions and to erasing the British influence from North America. Thomas P. Dunning, “The Adventures of Patriot Hunters: Danger, Place, Memory and Virtue at the Windmill,” *Canadian Review of American Studies*, Vol. 29, Issue 1 (1999).
[75] Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier*, 186.
[76] Ibid, 189.
[77] Frederick Neal, *The Township of Sandwich, Past and Present* (Windsor: The Record Printing Company, 1909), 65-69.
[78] Historian Frederick Neal suggests many Windsorites were aware of that fact. Ibid, 65-64.
[79] Shackleton and Antal, *Duty Nobly Done*, 131.

own neighbours in some cases.[80] Although the Patriot attacks were launched from U.S. territory, Americans were by no means the only troublemakers in 1838.

The Rebellions of 1837-38 and the Patriot Wars reaffirmed the common, pro-British identity of Upper Canadians. Just as they had done twenty years before, Republicans had brought pain and misery to the people north of the international boundary. The fact that rebels had found sanctuary just across the boundary in Michigan, New York, and Vermont once again brought the international boundary back into focus. As the War of 1812 had done, the Rebellions not only showed Upper and Lower Canadians how they were generally distinct from Americans, but they also emphasized the importance of the geographical line between British North America and the United States.

A border dispute shortly thereafter brought similar awareness of the international boundary's existence to the Maritimes and New England. In 1839, antagonisms over lumbering rights nearly thrust the people of New Brunswick and Maine into all-out warfare. Here, the problem centered on where the border was located. Although the Treaty of Paris in 1783 had declared a border between British North America and the United States in the northeast, descriptions of this line's course remained vague.[81] Officials knew the boundary in the east was the St. Croix River, but the border's location beyond the river's western terminus remained unknown into the late eighteenth century. Jay's Treaty in 1794 actually included a clause stipulating that a commission should be used to determine the precise location of the northeastern border, but by the Treaty of Ghent in 1814 nothing had been finalized.

Over the next two decades several boundary commissions were created to map a line from Passamaquoddy Bay through to the Lake of the Woods but neither the British nor the Americans could agree on the line dividing New Brunswick and Quebec from

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[80] Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier*, 182.
[81] Francis M. Carroll, "Drawing the Line," *Beaver*, Vol. 83, Issue 4 (August/September 2003).

Maine. King William of the Netherlands was eventually asked to act as arbitrator for the disagreement, but both the British and Americans rejected his 1831 decision.[82]

Although the northeast had been a peaceful region for the half-century following the Revolutionary War, the 1830s were troubling times for Canadian-American affairs. Relations between the American and British governments were particularly tense in the wake of the failed uprisings by Mackenzie and Papineau. While the British were bitter with the United States' reluctance to prevent rebels from using American border communities as invasion launching points, for their part the Americans pointed to the sinking of a U.S. supply vessel used by the rebels as another affront to American sovereignty.[83]

It was amidst this hostility that Maine authorities were alerted to the lumbering operations of approximately 350 New Brunswick men in the Aroostook Valley, a contested border zone.[84] Eventually, both Maine and New Brunswick dispatched troops to the region and for a time it looked as though the northeast would have its War of 1812 after all. Luckily, at the last moment British and American officials reached a truce and both sides committed to finally determining the exact location of the international boundary.[85] In the spring of 1842 Britain's representative in the matter, Lord Ashburton, left England for Washington. His counterpart was Secretary of State Daniel Webster. They met in June, concessions were made and an agreement arranged by early August. In the end, the Americans made out better than the British, acquiring fifty-eight per cent of the disputed territory.[86]

Although the episode is remembered as the "Aroostook War," not a single shot was ever fired. Tensions between New Brunswick and Maine residents thereafter faded,

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[82] Donald G. Janelle, "The Maine Connection: Quebec to New Brunswick," in *Borderlands: Essays in Canadian-American Relations* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1991), 114-115.
[83] Scott Kaufman and John A. Soares, Jr., "'Sagacious Beyond Praise'? Winfield Scott and Anglo-American-Canadian Border Diplomacy, 1837-1860," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 30, Issue 1 (January 2006): 57-82.
[84] Richard Sassman, "A Borderline War," *American History*, Vol. 35, Issue 6 (February 2001): 20-28.
[85] Kaufman and Soares, Jr., "'Sagacious Beyond Praise'?," 57-82.
[86] Carroll, "Drawing the Line."

but the memories did not. Even if the Aroostook War failed to produce a long casualty list, as had been the case in Upper Canada during the War of 1812, the anger and fear aroused by the conflict was enough to drive home an awareness of a previously ambiguous northeastern boundary line.

Over the next quarter-century perceptions of the international boundary continued to change, for several reasons. First, heavy immigration from the British Isles altered the demography of British North America forever. Second, border conflicts with the U.S.-based Irish Fenians in 1866 re-awakened old fears associated with the international boundary. Third, the Conservative Party's National Policy of 1878 used high tariffs to facilitate east-west trade and the creation of a national economic identity. And finally, Victorian concepts of Polygenism, or the existence of distinct racial characteristics, during an era of widespread immigration in the late nineteenth century led to the establishment of Canadian and American immigration services.[87] For the first time ever, agents with the power to apprehend, reject, and deport individuals based on their skin colour, health, finances, and mental capacity were placed along the international land border. By 1914 this process transformed the international boundary from a purely conceptual entity marked only by a few prominent geographic landmarks to the beginnings of a bureaucratized partitioning of Canadians and Americans.

Central Canada and the East

Between the Rebellions of 1837-38 and Confederation in 1867, central Canada underwent dramatic changes. Upper Canada (after the Act of Union in 1840, Canada West) became the primary destination for the majority of new settlers, its population

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[87] According to historian William J. Astore, Polygenists "denied that all humans were Adam's descendants, some arguing that the different races of man were actually distinct species." William J. Astore, "Gentle Skeptics? American Catholic Encounters with Polygenism, Geology, and Evolutionary Theories from 1845 to 1875," *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 82, Issue 1 (January 1996).

rising between 1815 and 1851 (the year it eclipsed Lower Canada, or Canada East, as the most populous colony in British North America), from 95,000 to 952,000. In addition, many of these new settlers were born in Britain rather than the United States. This was a major change from the previous century, when American-born pioneers accounted for the largest share of the colony's population. It is estimated that of the one million immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1867 and 1890, sixty per cent were from the British Isles.[88]

Central Canada's rapid population growth was greatly aided by the expansion of transportation routes during this period. Railway and canal systems funneled immigrants into the region and created a larger manpower base than ever before. In many cases these people successfully established farms, but as the availability of land dwindled by the latter half of the century, they moved in larger numbers to the region's burgeoning urban environments. Cities like Toronto, Montreal, and Hamilton became sites to process the country's abundant natural resources for export. But finding a market for these goods became a challenge. Britain's termination of mercantilism in the 1840s left the economies of its North American colonies weaker and more vulnerable than ever before. Some colonists, particularly those in British North America's largest and most industrialized city, Montreal, felt annexation to the U.S. was the only logical solution for these concerns.[89]

But it was free trade with the United States, rather than political and economic annexation with the Union, that gave the Canadian economy new life over the next decade. During the period 1854-1866, Canada and the U.S. engaged in a lucrative reciprocity agreement that opened new markets for British North America's most abundant commodities, including wheat, timber, and fish.[90]

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[88] Quebec's population increased significantly as well, to 850,000 in 1861. Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 51.
[89] Norrie et al, *A History of the Canadian Economy*, 150.
[90] The amount of Canadian exports headed to the United States quadrupled, from just $8.6 million in 1854 to $34.8 million on the eve of Confederation (representing an increase from 40.7 per cent of Canada's total exports to 69.2 per cent). Ibid, 151.

In Canada West, Americans financed the expansion of vital transportation networks, including the Great Western Railway of southern Ontario (linking Niagara Falls with Hamilton in 1845 and, after 1854, Windsor).[91] In an economic sense, the railways introduced new boundary lines; for example, the Great Western Railway linked Windsor and Toronto with the northern United States. At the same time, the Grand Trunk Railway ran from the Maritimes into eastern Ontario down through Kingston, Toronto, and on to Guelph, Berlin (later Kitchener), and Sarnia. Those cities on the same track became economic allies, often in direct competition with their colonial neighbours. Linkages between Canadian cities like Windsor and Hamilton with the American Midwest and U.S. northeast drew them into different economic spheres than other communities in Canada West. The situation was similar in Canada East, where the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway, completed in 1853, linked Portland, Maine, with Montreal.[92] These lines played a crucial role in pushing Canada towards a continental economy during the reciprocity years, as railway companies shipping Canadian goods and people into the United States largely ignored the international boundary.[93]

But even as widespread cross-border immigration and trade in the mid-1860s appeared to be erasing the international boundary between the United States and Canada, widely-publicized political events mitigated that trend. During the American Civil War (1861-1865), Britain was sharply divided in its support for the belligerents. The aristocracy and upper middle class, mistrusting democracy and the extension of the franchise, favoured the Southern Confederacy. By contrast, the working classes fundamentally despised the idea of slavery, and supported the Union.[94] But it was not the factory labourers who held diplomatic posts. Several events, including the discovery of Confederate emissaries on British sea vessels, made the Empire's loyalties well-known

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[91] Bukowczyk, "Migration, Transportation, Capital and the State in the Great Lakes Basin, 1815-1890," 57.
[92] G.P. de T. Glazebrook, *A History of Transportation in Canada* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1938), 164.
[93] Historian A.A. Den Otter notes that the expansion of these railways, which granted Canadians access to lucrative American markets, served to loosen economic ties to the British Empire. A.A. Den Otter, *The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 62; Bukowczyk, "Migration, Transportation, Capital and the State in the Great Lakes Basin, 1815-1890," 60-62.
[94] R.J.M. Blackett, *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 4.

throughout the United States and British North America.[95] Then, in 1864, Confederate raiders used Canada East as a home base for attacks upon the town of St. Albans, Vermont, stealing horses and robbing banks to the tune of $200,000.[96] Canadian authorities arrested a group of suspected raiders, but a Montreal judge freed them on a technicality. This was the last straw for many Northerners, who pressed their government to break off friendly relations with Britain and its North American colonies.[97] The net result was the United States' abrogation of the reciprocity treaty in 1866 and, that same year, the arrival of a new military threat along the international boundary.

The Fenians, a well-funded organization of Irish Americans, sought the independence of their homeland from Britain through the occupation of British North America. Today, their scheme sounds ludicrous, but by no means was Canada prepared to repel an invasion force. Its militia had a dubious record, could only be kept from their farms for a few weeks at a time, and, like the general population, was thinly spread out across a vast expanse of territory. Unlike the Fenians, many of whom had served under the Union flag, the Canadian militia was poorly trained and had little combat experience. Canadians, then, were rightly afraid of what might happen if the Fenians succeeded in breaking through at two or more points along their frontier.

The main thrust of the Fenian campaign lasted just one year, 1866, but further attacks were threatened until 1870. Despite an initial setback for the Fenians at Campobello in the northeast, their later success in the Niagara region aroused widespread fear in Upper Canada. The most disturbing setback for the Canadians was at the Battle of the Ridgeway in early June 1866, when a Fenian force scattered a company of the Queen's Own Rifles before retreating to American territory.[98] Thereafter, the Fenian

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[95] Christopher Ewan, "The Emancipation Proclamation and British Public Opinion," *Historian*, Vol. 67, Issue 1, (Spring 2005): 7; John C. Fazio, "Intrepid Mariners," *Civil War Times*, Vol. 46, Issue 1 (February 2007).
[96] Stuart Lutz, "Terror in St. Albans," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, Vol. 40, Issue 3 (June 2001).
[97] Donald C. Masters, *The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854: Its History, its Relation to British Colonial and Foreign Policy and to the Development of Canadian Fiscal Autonomy* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1963), 77.
[98] Hereward Senior, *The Last Invasion of Canada: The Fenian Raids, 1866-1870* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991), 88-89.

threat petered out, but not before arousing considerable consternation at points all along the international boundary. Despite its failure, the Fenian invasions revealed major weaknesses in the defence capabilities of Britain's North American colonies.

The outcome of rising British-American tensions and U.S.-based threats, in addition to a paralyzing constitutional deadlock at home, was the Confederation of four British North American colonies in 1867.[99] Confederation would consolidate colonial debts and open up new east-west commercial trade routes under the watchful eye of a central government. It was felt that this same federal government (located in Ottawa) could also act quickly and decisively to defend its borders during a crisis. Although Confederation was not popular in the eastern provinces, many Maritimers questioned whether the region could withstand another invasion threat alone.[100]

However, even with Confederation in place, Canadian sovereignty was hardly assured. Canada's first prime minister, Conservative leader John A. Macdonald, hoped to overcome these doubts through the implementation of a "National Policy" that would consolidate Canada's control of the western frontier through immigration and expand its nascent manufacturing sector via high tariffs. But even as this policy appeared to strengthen Canada's economic outlook, it would have a curious effect on interpretations of the international boundary at the local level.

Ousted from power amidst scandal in 1873, Macdonald's Conservative Party needed a unique campaign strategy to overcome its Liberal opponents in the country's next election.[101] Macdonald marched to victory by promising a new policy, a National Policy, that would encourage economic growth via western settlement, the completion of

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[99] This constitutional deadlock was due to the 'double majority' situation in Canada East and West (later Quebec and Ontario). After the Act of Union in 1840, legislation could only pass once a majority was reached in both colonies. Due to various rivalries, this rarely occurred, leading to incessant elections and a general stalemate in politics. It was believed this situation could be resolved by giving distinct powers to federal and provincial governments. Paul Romney, *Getting it Wrong: How Canadians Forgot Their Past and Imperilled Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 87-108.

[100] The Fenian threat, according to historian Hereward Senior, "induced the Maritimes to join Confederation." Senior, *The Last Invasion of Canada*, 187.

[101] "The Pacific Scandal, Library and Archives Canada," accessed December 16, 2010, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/executive-decree/023004-3052-e.html.

a transcontinental railway, and the imposition of high tariffs to prevent cheap American goods from competing with the products of Canada's manufacturing sector.[102]

Each one of these platforms involved the United States in one form or another. In the late 1870s, it was firmly believed that if the west was not settled sooner than later, American pioneers would inevitably push north. Even with an official boundary in place, Canada's hold over the northwest was by no means assured. After all, Americans had not respected the boundaries of Britain's Royal Proclamation of 1763, nor those laid out in the controversial Quebec Act eleven years later. But with the Canadian Pacific Railway running from Ontario to British Columbia, and new immigrants clearing the land and establishing farms all the way in between, it was thought at least more likely that the Americans would respect the border.[103]

Economically, the Conservatives' National Policy had several effects, some expected, others not. High tariffs did protect Canadian manufacturers from being ruined by the importation of cheaper American goods. As such, strong links lasting generations were forged between the Conservative Party and Canadian business interests.[104] But the use of high tariffs was not uniformly beneficial to all Canadians. The country's farmers did not benefit from the deal, since not only were they prevented from selling goods in the enormous American market, but they also had to purchase all of the necessary machinery to carry out their work from central Canadian manufacturers, who charged far more than their American counterparts for the same products.[105] In essence, then, the creation and implementation of the National Policy was a high-sounding way of asking Canada's western farmers to sacrifice their own interests for those of central Canada's manufacturers.

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[102] "Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada's Patriot Statesman: The Policies, Library and Archives Canada," accessed September 13, 2011, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/023/013/023013-5000-e.html.
[103] Ibid.
[104] As historian J.L. Granatstein notes, the National Policy "soon forged links between business and the Tories, and the maintenance of high tariffs became an article of faith." J.L. Granatstein, *Yankee Go Home: Canadians and Anti-Americanism* (Harper Collins Publishers Ltd., 1996), 43.
[105] Ibid, 47.

And by no means did the National Policy's high tariffs keep American manufactured goods out of Canada, either. U.S.-owned companies still sold their goods to Canadians, and made a tidy profit doing so by figuratively burrowing underneath the tariff wall, establishing factories in Canada, hiring a largely Canadian workforce, and using American capital and intellectual property to do it. In some ways, this was a very good thing for Canada: American branch plants offered Canadians more jobs and products than was previously the case. Both businessmen and politicians had predicted this development, and were encouraged by the economic growth it provided the fledgling Dominion. But it also meant Canada's economy was largely controlled by Americans, initiating years of debate over the country's dependence on foreign ownership. In addition, the regional distribution of these branch plants was hardly even, and reinforced growing tensions between central Canada and the rest of the country towards the end of the nineteenth century.[106] Macdonald's scheme, publicly at least, had been to strengthen Canadian sovereignty from coast to coast. In a way, the old man and his plan had been successful. But it also became the framework for regional rivalries between the Maritimes, western territories, and central Canada.

The Northwest

Generally speaking, by the 1840s the boundary between central Canada, the Maritimes, and the eastern United States had been firmly established. But moving west beyond the Lake of the Woods separating Upper Canada from the Minnesota Territory, the precise location of the border remained virtually unknown. That slowly began to change as British and American fur traders penetrated the interior, beginning in the

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[106] For instance, in 1870 Ontario accounted for 52 per cent of the country's manufacturing activity, with Quebec and the Maritimes coming in second and third with 35 per cent and 13 per cent, respectively. In 1900, Ontario's share of manufacturing activity remained above 50 per cent. By contrast, both Quebec and the Maritimes dipped, to 32 per cent and 10 per cent. Norrie et al, *A History of the Canadian Economy*, 228.

1830s. Britain's Hudson's Bay Company was thrusting southward towards the Missouri and Columbia River basins. At the same time, the American Fur Trading Company's representatives pushed north, challenging HBC control of the South Saskatchewan Valley. For a time, conflict between these distinct groups appeared imminent. Blackfoot traders contributed to these rivalries by playing one side off the other, driving up prices and increasing the intensity of competition.[107] Thus, four decades before an international survey crew ever set foot on prairie soil, the region's European and Aboriginal populations had established a basic awareness of British and American claims to the land.

Contributing to these differences was uneven migration to the American and Canadian plains and prairies. Prior to the arrival of a boundary survey crew in 1874, the region between Manitoba and British Columbia remained a void on most Canadian maps.[108] The First Nations, Métis, and HBC dominated the region and without a railway link (the Canadian Pacific was not completed until 1885), migration by central Canadians and Europeans to the North-West Territories (later Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan) was almost non-existent. By contrast, south of the border activity was fierce. The Oregon Trail brought a growing number of settlers to the American West in the 1840s. Word that gold had been discovered in the Oregon Territory in 1848 multiplied these numbers, as did reports that buffalo hides made for ideal belts in powered machinery. The latter discovery led to an influx of American free traders not associated with either the HBC or the American Fur Trading Company.[109] The Hudson's Bay Company's influence over the buffalo trade was dramatically reduced by the arrival of these advance agents of the eastern U.S. commercial empire, who sent their pelts to St. Louis, Chicago, and New York City. To British and Canadian observers, the arrival of the free traders represented a much larger threat: the land- and resource-hungry American pioneer, who would soon, it was feared, shift north.[110]

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[107] Paul Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country: The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), 34-36.
[108] Ibid, 32.
[109] "Transcontinental Timeline: PBS' American Experience," accessed December 7, 2010, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/tcrr/timeline/index.html.
[110] Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country*, 40-41.

The policies of the Canadian government reflected these concerns. Ottawa attempted to legitimize its hold over this region by announcing plans to build a transcontinental railway from Ontario to the Pacific coast, a promise that secured resource-rich British Columbia's entry into Confederation in 1871. Throughout this period the Canadian federal government maintained control over the natural resources of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. Partly as a response to the 1869 Red River Rebellion, Ottawa formed the Royal North-West Mounted Police in 1873 as the law enforcement extension of a constitutional power structure that, by comparison to the American model, was considerably more centralized. The "Mounties," as they came to be known, were given powers never conferred upon similar American bodies: they were not only patrol officers, but also acted as justices of the peace. This often meant that a suspect caught for smuggling whiskey would face the same arresting lawman, this time acting as judge and jury, at his trial. It was a difference that estranged many residents of the American West, who felt such control threatened local autonomy and the individual freedoms so central to U.S. democracy.[111]

But it was not just differences between American and Canadian white men that demonstrated the existence of distinct national bodies operating in the northwest. The Aboriginal peoples of this wider region also recognized the existence of a boundary line, and sought to use it to their advantage. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s the border here came to be known by Amerindians as the "medicine line," offering sanctuary and political asylum.[112] Sitting Bull's American Sioux, pursued by the U.S. Army as outlaws after the Battle of Little Bighorn, took refuge across the border in 1877. Prior to the flood of white settlers, the lands north of the border represented "Great Mother's country" to the Sioux, who saw that place as the last vestige of free land.[113] And these escape routes did not operate in a vacuum: Canadian historians know well of militant Métis leader

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[111] Ibid, 99.
[112] Beth LaDow, *The Medicine Line: Life and Death on a North American Borderland* (New York: Routledge, 2001), xi.
[113] Beth LaDow, "Sanctuary: Native Border Crossings and the North American West," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 31, Issue 1, 2 (Spring/Summer 2001).

Louis Riel's use of the boundary to escape the lynch mob in 1870; for years Riel would remain in exile in the United States before fatefully called back by his people in 1884.[114]

By the mid-1880s the face of Canada's "Last Best West" had changed considerably. Europeans and central Canadians pushed the Blackfoot, Cree, Assiniboine, and Métis off their traditional lands. The buffalo, which had not only sustained these peoples for centuries but had been the cause of their constant movement and interaction across an international boundary they never knew existed, had been carelessly overhunted by the newcomers. The transition was not an easy one; in 1869 and again in 1885 the Métis clashed with the new government, first at Red River and then again in the South Saskatchewan Valley. Unfortunately for the Métis, the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway through this territory allowed Ottawa to transport both troops and immigrants to the region, extending government control across the prairies. At the same time, it legitimized Canada's political claim to the region.

Despite the similarities in their climates, geography, and economies, the histories of the American and Canadian Wests are distinct. Once the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed to Medicine Hat in 1883, Montreal took over as the primary metropolis in this hinterland, replacing American centres St. Paul and Chicago in the Canadian trade. Shortly thereafter, rapidly expanding Winnipeg would act as a new sub-metropolis and a "Gateway to the West" for millions of new settlers.[115]

The boundary line here was and still is like no other along the U.S.-Canada border. Although cross-border trade and interaction had been steady along a north-south axis in the 1870s and 1880s, there are no twin city border communities akin to Detroit, Michigan, and Windsor, Ontario, or St. Stephen, New Brunswick, and Calais, Maine. Due in large part to the region's dependence on agriculture, its low-density population has resulted in great distances between American and Canadian urban environments.

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[114] Ibid.
[115] Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country*, 313.

The Pacific Coast

As a result of unique staples industries, intense concerns over Asian immigration, and delayed settlement by Europeans, conceptualizations of the U.S.-Canadian border in the Pacific Northwest are distinct. Although some facets of this region's history were familiar, such as the implementation of a colonial political infrastructure in British Columbia intended to wrestle control away from a largely American-born population during the mid-nineteenth century, the aforementioned factors were critical in the development of the international boundary between British Columbia and Washington.

Exploring the distinctiveness of this boundary begins with the lateness of the wider region's settlement. When British explorer George Vancouver mapped the Fraser River region and first encountered the Squamish peoples of the Pacific coast in 1792, thousands of Loyalists had already made their way from the United States to British North America, the first step in creating two countries out of one.[116] When the population of this region slowly began to expand in the late 1850s, it was not due to the influx of central Canadian and European farmers, but fortune-hungry Americans migrating north from California during the 1858 Fraser Gold Rush.[117] Although few struck it rich, many stayed when, three years later, word spread of another gold find at Barkerville, north of Kamloops.

Two factors related to the history of this boundary are familiar: the institution of British political culture in British Columbia and the existence of cross-border tensions. The gold rushes of the late 1850s brought Americans north of the border in droves. Just as they had done in Upper Canada years before, the British sought control of the region by instituting a political system that gave the American majority no power to control (or even influence) government activity. In 1858, British Columbia became a crown colony,

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[116] See Louis Miranda and Philip Joe, "How the Squamish Remember George Vancouver," in *From Maps to Metaphors: The Pacific World of George Vancouver*, ed. Robin Fisher et al (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993).
[117] Coates, "Border Crossings," 14.

its first governor a former HBC chief factor. Soon after, the British dispatched a company of Royal Engineers to British Columbia to survey the land, build roads, and enforce the Queen's laws. Vancouver's Stanley Park became a military reserve that could, it was hoped, be used to protect the colony from invasion.[118]

Also familiar were anxieties related to the official delineation of the international boundary. Tensions between British Columbia's early settlers and their U.S. neighbours were similar to, if dramatically less intense than, those in central Canada and the Maritimes. Official discussions related to the border running between British and American territory in the Pacific Northwest first emerged in the early 1840s, during negotiations for the Webster-Ashburton Treaty finalizing the northeast boundary. The British wanted to maintain control of the Columbia River because of its importance as a transportation route in the fur trade.[119] Had the United States settled for this claim, the Americans would have been prevented from establishing a sea port in the region. A resolution to the disagreement was never reached by officials, largely because settlement of this wild backcountry remained slow.

In the years that followed, the Pacific Northwest became a focal point for Americans. Recognizing Britain's relatively weak claim to the Pacific coast (in 1844, a U.S. report found 6,000 of its citizens in the Oregon country, compared to just 750 British), Americans pushed for the settlement and annexation of this entire region.[120] Democratic presidential hopeful James Polk used the slogan "54-40 or Fight!"–referring to the belief held by many Americans that the natural northern border ran along the 54th parallel–to win the election of 1844. It appeared Oregon would be the site of a new war between the British and Americans thirty years after the signing of the Treaty of Ghent.[121] But this was not to be the case. Following the annexation of Texas in 1845, a disgruntled Mexico replaced Britain as the United States' principal foe. As war with their

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[118] Eric Nicol, *Vancouver* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, Limited, 1978), 16.
[119] Billington, *Westward Expansion*, 451.
[120] Ibid, 472.
[121] Thomas C. McClintock, "British Newspapers and the Oregon Treaty of 1846," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 104, Issue 3 (Spring 2003): 96-109.

southern neighbour neared, the United States reached a compromise with the British in the form of the Oregon Treaty of 1846. Ignored were Britain's claims to the Columbia River, which would have placed a border just above Portland. Instead, the 49th parallel became the new boundary, a line that would stretch thousands of miles from Point Roberts to the Lake of the Woods in Ontario. Polk's threat that he would fight for the 54th parallel proved little more than a bargaining tactic; by most accounts it appears that the Americans wanted the 49th parallel all along.[122]

Even with the Oregon Treaty completed, it took the United States and Britain another eleven years to finalize the border by hiring a boundary commission. The process started in 1857 and lasted five years. For the first forty-five miles inland from the coast the commission laid forty-two iron pillars marking the border. For the rest of the distance to the Rockies it placed stone cairns several miles apart.[123]

But while the boundary commissions successfully produced a visible land border, they failed to draw a perceptible line running between American and British territory in the Juan de Fuca Strait, off the coast of British Columbia's lower mainland. Technically, many of the islands that had long been considered American or British territory jutted out above or below the 49th parallel. Of the disputed islands the most significant was San Juan, not far from Victoria and British territory. In 1845 the Hudson's Bay Company occupied the island, and in the years afterwards settlers raised sheep there. All was peaceful until U.S. customs collector I.N. Ebey began demanding San Juan residents pay customs duties on the sheep imported by the HBC from British territory to what he claimed was American soil. Victoria's customs collector, James Sangster, kindly encouraged Ebey to remove himself from the island. After Ebey responded by hiring a deputy–one who carried four revolvers on his belt–Sangster sheepishly retreated to Victoria.[124]

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[122] Billington, *Westward Expansion*, 471-473.
[123] McIntosh, *The Collectors*, 194.
[124] Ibid, 196.

San Juan tensions climaxed in 1859 in what would be later dubbed "The Pig War". By this point, the island was evenly divided between twenty-two British and thirty American farmers. For the most part, they got along well. That was until one day when, presumably amidst some kind of dispute, one of the Americans shot a pig owned by a Briton. As word of the event reached American and British officials near and far, both sides overreacted dramatically. The U.S. sent 461 troops to occupy the island, while the British positioned several of its warships offshore. But hot tempers eventually cooled; the Americans agreed to keep to their end of the island, the British to theirs. Finally, as British Columbia was entering Confederation in 1871, an arbitrator (Emperor Wilhelm I of Germany) decided in favour of the United States. The British obliged, packing up their flag and their flagpole before sailing away. San Juan Island became American territory.[125]

Britain's refusal to abandon its claim to the Columbia River basin resembled its hold over American forts prior to the signing of Jay's Treaty in the 1790s. In both cases, the Empire's intransigence was considered evidence that it did not respect American sovereignty. Furthermore, the positioning of British and American soldiers and sailors at San Juan mirrored the huffing and puffing by Maine and New Brunswick in their high-sounding but bloodless Aroostook War. Together, these disputes raised an awareness of the border and differences between pioneering residents of Washington and British Columbia.

But there were several other factors that distinguished interpretations of this part of the border from other regions in Canada and the northern United States. One such issue was the "Chinese Question". Race played a significant part in shaping perceptions of the U.S.-Canadian border from coast to coast, but nowhere has it dictated attitudes towards the border more than in British Columbia and the U.S. Pacific Northwest. Widespread settlement began here in earnest during the 1880s and 1890s, roughly the same time the American and Canadian governments were establishing racist and

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[125] Deborah Franklin, "The Boar War," *Smithsonian*, Vol. 36, Issue 3 (June 2005).

exclusionary immigration policies.[126] These policies were aimed squarely at the Chinese, who during the gold rush of the late 1850s had established themselves all along the Pacific coast.[127] The Chinese gravitated towards employment deemed undesirable by most white men, working in mines and canning factories, running laundry services, or helping to build the Pacific coast's growing railway network. When the economy was stable, their presence was not a major problem. But when recession struck, the Chinese were considered a threat to white jobs and lifestyles.[128] As historian Patricia Roy notes, "Asians were convenient scapegoats in the conflict between capital and labour which seemed endemic in the province's staple industries."[129] In the east, blacks were also relegated to the bottom of the socio-economic heap, particularly in times of economic crisis. But unlike the Chinese in British Columbia and Washington, these attitudes, as well as black immigration to Canada, long predated the development of immigration policy and the placing of customs and immigration agents at the international boundary.

Mutual fears of the Chinese threat in British Columbia and Washington revealed commonalities between the people of this region, but the way each side approached the "Chinese Question" emphasized the existence of a border running between them.[130] In an effort to control the population of Chinese peoples in North America, both the United

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[126] Mining and agricultural booms during this period led to an explosion in the region's population. Portland, Oregon, expanded from 10,000 settlers in 1870 to 46,000 two decades later. Seattle's growth was even more jarring; its population was considerably smaller than Portland's in 1869, but had surpassed its rival by 1890. North of the border, British Columbia's population swelled after the completion of the CPR in 1885. At the beginning of the decade its entire population was about 50,000. By 1900 that number had almost quadrupled, to 180,000. Raymond D. Gastil and Barnett Singer, *The Pacific Northwest: Growth of a Regional Identity* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2010), 17; Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 129-130.

[127] Thomas A. Klug, "The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the Making of a Border-Crossing Culture on the US-Canada Border, 1891-1941," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 40:3 (Autumn 2010): 397.

[128] David Goutor, "Constructing the 'Great Menace': Canadian Labour's Opposition to Asian Immigration, 1880–1914," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 88, Issue 4 (December 2007): 549–76.

[129] Patricia Roy, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989), 267.

[130] On common attitudes toward the Chinese: British Columbian newspapers covered the anti-Chinese campaigns south of the border, and vice-versa. Matthew Annis, "The 'Chinese Question' and the Canada-US Border, 1885: 'Why don't Governor Squire send his troops to Semiahmoo to prevent the twelve or fifteen thousand pagans from crossing our borders into British Columbia?" *American Review of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 40, Issue 3 (Autumn 2010).

States and Canada introduced exclusionary acts which, by their very nature, depended upon the monitoring of the U.S.-Canada border. This became particularly important upon the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, an event that summarily put thousands of Chinese labourers out of work. South of the border, the United States introduced the Chinese Exclusion Act, a ten-year moratorium on Chinese labour immigration.[131] It was renewed in 1892 and became permanent in 1902.[132] North of the border, the Canadian government introduced similar measures. Its 1885 Chinese Head Tax bill placed a $50 duty upon any Chinese person entering the country. In 1900 the Head Tax was increased to $100, and just three years later became $500, or two years' wages for the average Chinese labourer. Canada's federal government profited handsomely from the legislation, earning an estimated $23 million through the Head Tax alone.[133]

The Chinese were hardly the only racial group targeted by exclusionary immigration legislation after the 1880s.[134] However, by comparison to other undesirable classes of immigrants (such as southern and eastern Europeans), their customs, language, and lifestyles were by far the most alien. Their concentration along the Pacific coast in steadily increasing numbers during the late nineteenth century coincided with the westward migration of Canadians, Americans, and Europeans, all of whom feared Chinese competition in the labour market.[135] And while the Canadian and American governments' nascent immigration policy lacked the resources to prevent Chinese labourers from being smuggled across the border by land or by sea during the pre-1914 period, public anxieties about this fact helped to advance both the implementation of new

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[131] *Teaching With Documents: Using Primary Sources From the National Archives* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1989), 82-85.
[132] Patrick Ettinger, *Imaginary Lines: Border Enforcement and the Origins of Undocumented Immigration, 1882-1930* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 71.
[133] "History: Chinese Immigration in Canada," Chinese Canadian National Council, accessed December 8, 2010, http://www.ccnc.ca/redress/history.html.
[134] Immigration policy also targeted immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, particularly after the assassination of President William McKinley in 1901 by anarchist Leon Czolgosz. Although the assassin was American-born and bred, his Polish name and Prussian background, along with his anarchist associations, became tied up in growing fears of eastern European political philosophies. Ettinger, *Imaginary Lines*, 71.
[135] Goutor, "Constructing the 'Great Menace.'"

exclusionary laws and an awareness of the international border running between Canada and the U.S. west of the Rockies.[136]

The Bureaucratization of the Border

Despite sharing similar racial attitudes, for much of the late nineteenth century immigration policy in Canada and the United States moved in different directions. North of the border, the Canadian government sought to ward off "Manifest Destiny" by filling the prairies with Britons and western Europeans.[137] Many came, but not so many stayed. It is estimated that 1.5 million people entered Canada between 1867 and 1892, but only a small percentage of this number became permanent settlers.[138] Most moved on to the United States, where the climate was warmer, the growing season longer, and urban jobs more numerous and diverse. Although the Canadian government tried to exclude those with disabilities and criminal backgrounds from entering the country, the restrictions were rarely enforced because there was not a system in place to carry out such measures. Furthermore, by comparison to the U.S., Canada was the beggar, not the chooser, when it came to selecting immigrants. Even native-born Canadians were fleeing south in the late nineteenth century.[139]

In response to this out-migration, the Canadian government relaxed the country's immigration standards. Prior to Liberal Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier's election in 1896, Canadian immigration policy was fanatically pro-British. Asians, blacks, and central and

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[136] Annis, "The 'Chinese Question' and the Canada-US Border, 1885."
[137] In the year 1900 alone the Canadian government published 1 million pamphlets in a variety of languages describing the allure of the "Last Best West". These pamphlets were distributed in a number of European countries. Thomas Thorner, "'Let Someone Else Have a Taste of Our Good Life': The Immigrant Experience," in *'A Country Nourished on Self-Doubt': Documents in Canadian History, 1867-1980*, ed. Thomas Thorner (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1998), 81.
[138] Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 63.
[139] Daniel Drache, *Borders Matter: Homeland Security and the Search for North America* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2004), 127.

southern Europeans were discouraged from migrating to the new country. This policy reflected the popular attitudes of Canadians, most of whom were of Anglo-Saxon heritage.[140] But desperate times called for desperate measures. In judging what kinds of men and women were best suited for life in the harsh Canadian west, Liberal Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton abandoned traditional preferences for Britons, instead favouring any "stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat with a stout wife." The new policy worked. The population of the Canadian west exploded over the next two decades, from 300,000 in 1896 to 1.5 million in 1914.[141] Immigrants both fed off and into Canada's burgeoning economy, which in the early twentieth century grew exponentially as a result of rising prices for the country's natural resources, the development of new forms of wheat better suited to the harsh prairie climate, new industries (such as pulp and paper and hydro-electricity), and steadily declining transportation costs.[142] Americans were also encouraged to move to Canada because they spoke English, understood the Canadian climate and geography, and adapted better to new tools and technologies in urban and rural environments than most other immigrant groups.[143]

As a result of these lowered immigration standards, Canada was much slower to implement immigration law at the international boundary than the United States. Ottawa gave only tacit approval to the 1893 Canadian Agreement between the United States government and Canadian transportation companies, allowing for American immigration officials to inspect U.S.-bound Europeans leaving Canadian ports. At the time, Ottawa made no effort to introduce a similar scheme to protect its own land and sea borders. Immigrants arriving at Canadian ports of entry were not examined for medical or physical deficiencies.[144] As the American government moved quickly towards a centralized border inspection apparatus in the late nineteenth century, Canada lagged behind.

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[140] Kaufman, *The Origins of Canadian and American Political Differences*, 240.
[141] Thorner, "'Let Someone Else Have a Taste of Our Good Life,'" 81.
[142] Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 111.
[143] W.D. Scott, "The Immigration of Races, 1914," in *'A Country Nourished on Self-Doubt': Documents in Canadian History, 1867-1980*, ed. Thomas Thorner (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1998), 83.
[144] Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 109-110.

But that changed in 1908, when land border inspection procedures commenced in Canada. The Immigration Acts of 1906 and 1910 gave the state total control over which groups would be considered desirable or undesirable. The new legislation formalized admission and deportation procedures.[145] This change of heart was due to several factors. First, Sifton exited the Laurier government in 1905 and his replacement, Frank Oliver, was committed to a more selective immigration policy. The personnel change had little to do with immigration, but Oliver's new and more restrictive policy did reflect growing concerns amongst Canadians that immigration from southern and eastern Europe was causing a spike in criminal activity.[146] In reality the rise in crime was merely a side-effect of Canada's rapidly growing population, but it was seen by many Canadians as a sign that immigration law was in desperate need of reform.[147]

In the United States, anxiety over the nation's growing immigrant numbers continued to rise. In the cities, differences and rivalries between ethnic groups were more readily apparent as Slavs, Swedes, Poles, and native-born white Americans competed for the same jobs.[148] There was no easy solution: while labour groups identified the influx as a source of competition that would drive wages and working conditions down while prolonging the average workday, employers sought out immigrants for the very same reasons.[149] Sometimes the immigrant groups caught between workers and management included Canadians, particularly French Canadians who vied for jobs in New England and Michigan during the late nineteenth century.[150] At the same time, most Americans, employers and employees alike, fretted about the arrival from Europe of paupers,

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[145] Ibid, 113.
[146] Sifton resigned from Laurier's cabinet over a dispute with the prime minister regarding separate school legislation in the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 75-77.
[147] Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 116-117.
[148] Scott, "The Immigration of Races, 1914," 97.
[149] David R. Smith, "Structuring the Permeable Border: Channeling and Regulating Cross-Border Traffic in Labor, Capital, and Goods," in *Permeable Border: The Great Lakes Basin as Transnational Region, 1650-1990*, ed. John J. Bukowczyk (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 124.
[150] Bruno Ramirez, *Crossing the 49th Parallel: Migration From Canada to the United States, 1900-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 72.

criminals, prostitutes, the physically disabled, and the mentally unfit.[151] These people, it was worried, would restrict America's economic growth by becoming expensive burdens to the state.

In the late nineteenth century, many of these undesirables–most of whom were classified as such because they were poor, not criminals–came to the United States by way of Canada. The reason was simple: under American immigration acts introduced after 1891, it became illegal for steamship companies to land excludable aliens at U.S. ports. If someone suspected of a moral, mental, or physical deficiency was discovered in a recently landed group, the steamship company was responsible for the cost of returning them to their original point of departure. An easy solution for these companies was to steer further north, landing at Montreal rather than New York. From there, immigrants could find their way into the United States by land or waterway across an international boundary that was sparsely monitored.[152] Furthermore, by the 1880s an efficient canal and railway system linking the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes made travel along this route particularly easy, even for immigrants who to that point had little exposure to Canada's two dominant languages. They may have first arrived at Halifax, Quebec, or Montreal, but these people were soon gathering in large numbers at ports in Buffalo, Detroit, and Chicago. So lucrative was this business for Canadian transportation companies that they openly advertised the Canadian route as a way for Europeans to circumvent the U.S. immigration inspection process in the early 1890s.[153]

The American government recognized that a new strategy was needed for the immigration problem. Its solution in 1893 was the Canadian Agreement, signed by the U.S. government and Canadian transportation companies. It allowed for the stationing of United States immigration inspectors at Canadian ports of entry, where they could

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[151] Klug, "The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the Making of a Border-Crossing Culture on the US-Canada Border, 1891-1941."
[152] Marian Smith, "The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) at the U.S.-Canadian Border, 1893-1993: An Overview of Issues and Topics," *Michigan Historical Review*, 26:2 (Fall 2000): 127-147.
[153] Ibid, 127-147.

enforce their country's immigration laws before travelers ever set foot on American soil. By the first years of the new century the Canadian Agreement had become entrenched.[154]

But there were considerable growing pains for the system; word of its implementation quickly spread among immigrants, who thereafter pushed further west from Montreal and Quebec to quieter border crossings, first in Ontario and then Manitoba. Some major transportation companies, like the Great Northern Railway, ignored the Canadian Agreement provisions. It became very obvious to U.S. authorities that the only remaining solution was to place inspectors at popular land border crossing points. As they did so, the immigrants pushed further west. Not until 1908 did the INS feel its coverage of the border was reasonably complete.[155]

Thus, by the close of the century's first decade, the foundations of a modern border inspection apparatus were in place. Over the course of just forty years, the boundary had slowly been transformed from a purely conceptual entity to a series of bureaucratized conduits. Migrants who in the late 1860s or 1870s would have moved across land and sea boundaries without even noticing they had done so, would have been shocked by the inspection process in place by 1910. Not only were these people now forced to answer questions about their physical and mental health, their ethnic backgrounds, finances, and destinations, but they were being herded like sheep through designated crossing points that, by their very nature, seemed to defy the history of a peaceful and long-undefended border.[156]

Historian Ken S. Coates once noted that borders "are historical constructs that must be understood not as fixtures or permanent marks on the landscape, but rather as an illustration of the evolving relationships among [a] region's people and cultures."[157] Indeed, there is no single story of the development of the U.S.-Canadian border. The boundary may best be understood as a mirror: the attitudes of Canadians and Americans

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[154] Ibid, 127-147.
[155] Klug, "The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the Making of a Border-Crossing Culture on the US-Canada Border, 1891-1941."
[156] Ramirez, *Crossing the 49th Parallel*, 38-39.
[157] Coates, "Border Crossings, 3.

towards it often reflected the hopes and fears inspired by their own attitudes, orientations, and day-to-day lifestyles. For the purposes of introducing the border's development over more than five centuries, these outlooks are easier understood when placed within a regional framework, but they were even more nuanced than that. First Nations peoples had their own concepts of borders. Loyalists and Late Loyalists held distinct opinions when it came to immigration and land settlement policy in Upper Canada. Many of the European immigrants who arrived in North America during the late nineteenth century and pre-First World War era understood the international boundary in a still different fashion, recognizing few distinctions between native-born, white Americans and Canadians who looked alike, spoke alike, and held remarkably similar racial views.[158] And in Canadian communities located directly on the border and across from an American city or village, the international boundary's meaning was unique for other reasons. There, cross-border relations meant daily interaction with an American or Canadian neighbour on different levels, be it on the factory floor, the theatre stage, or the baseball diamond. Generations of peaceful relations along with North America's industrialization in the late nineteenth century would only deepen these relationships in the years before the First World War.

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[158] Patricia K. Wood, "Borders and Identities among Italian Immigrants in the Pacific Northwest, 1880-1938," in *Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies*, ed. Ken S. Coates (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 104.

Chapter 3: Windsor, Ontario, and Detroit, Michigan: An Introduction

I was born a few hundred kilometres west of Windsor in the Southwestern Ontario city of London. When I was a teenager my Dad got a job in the Windsor area and moved the family down to the suburb of Belle River, just outside the border city. Although it was less than a two-hour drive from London, it did not take long before I recognized some big differences between Windsor and my hometown.

First of all, Windsor people went to Detroit a lot when I was a kid in the late 1990s. They went to watch Detroit's various sports teams, including the Tigers, Red Wings, and even the Lions. (In London, all of my friends cheered for the Toronto Maple Leafs in the winter and the Blue Jays in the summer. Few paid much attention to the Argonauts.) Windsor people also went to Detroit to shop, particularly for clothing, which was much cheaper stateside than in Canada. Some of my friends' parents went to Detroit to work, driving across the Ambassador Bridge or under the Detroit-Windsor Tunnel each morning and evening. But the traffic went the other way, too; when I was in my twenties the Canadian Loonie was at its lowest value in a generation, and that prompted Americans to come across the border to Windsor's many downtown bars and restaurants, and especially its casino. When we got older and went out to the clubs on a Saturday night, we knew which ones were "American" (meaning most of the clientele came from the U.S.) and which were not.

I became fascinated with all of these little differences between Windsor and my home town of London. When I decided to go to graduate school, I focused on this very unique relationship between Windsor and Detroit for my MA thesis. Specifically, I examined the way the First World War, an era long regarded as the period when Canadian nationalism was born, affected the economic and cultural relationship between these border communities. In the end, my Master's paper only scratched the surface of this topic.

As the following introductory chapter will demonstrate, this unique transnational relationship between Windsor and Detroit was not spawned by the Great War, but merely evolved during these years. The seed for a border-crossing culture was planted generations earlier, with the establishment of Detroit in the early eighteenth century. Quite naturally, the French *habitants* and *voyageurs* who made the Detroit River frontier their home at this time fanned out to the far side of the great waterway, and in the years that followed saw their numbers multiply. But through war and revolution these original families, as well as the British, American, and European settlers who joined them much later, maintained good relations with their friends and kin across the river.

The first Europeans to inhabit the Detroit area were French fur traders who arrived along the corridor running from Montreal down to Lakes Erie and Ontario. They named the city for its geography, *de troit*, or "the strait," as Lake Erie funneled into what would become the Detroit River, before opening up again into Lake St. Clair and eventually Lake Huron. The city's first governor was Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, who, along with 100 traders and artisans, in 1701 established Fort Pontchartrain as a trading portal between Fort Michilimackinac in the northwest and Montreal.[1] But Detroit's importance went beyond trade alone: it was also a place where the French hoped nearby First Nations groups, including the Potawatomi, Wendat, and Ottawa, could be courted for a new military alliance.[2]

Initially, the challenges facing these first settlers must have seemed ominous: almost one thousand kilometres from the safety of Montreal, their presence in the *pays d'en haut* (or "upper country") could have been conceived as an obscene gesture made against their traditional enemies in the Great Lakes region, the Five Nations Confederacy.

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[1] David Lee Poremba, *Detroit: A Motor City History* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2001), 9-12.
[2] In 1688 the population of New France was only 11,562. However, the colony's territorial claims stretched from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. "Early French Settlements, 1605-1691 – Statistics Canada," accessed June 6, 2012, http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/98-187-x/4064812-eng.htm; Beatrice A. Bigony, "A Brief History of Native Americans in the Detroit Area," *Michigan History*, Volume 61, Issue 2 (Summer 1977).

But, surprisingly, the gamble paid off: a period of peace with the Five Nations during the early eighteenth century allowed the town to flourish, its population increasing substantially in that first decade.[3] The settlers' memories of their years along the St. Lawrence were still visible as they made homes for themselves in this new land; the local economy that emerged was heavily influenced by the seigneurial system of New France, with farmers cultivating long, narrow plots running a great distance back from the river. The demand for riverside lots soon led settlers to spill over the river onto the opposite shore, into what would later become Windsor and surrounding Essex County. Crossing the river was no great hardship; the French used their sturdy canoes to move from shore to shore. Occasionally the river would freeze over, allowing travelers to cross by foot.[4]

Throughout the seventeenth century the Detroit River region continued to grow, partly because the area remained comfortably isolated during both the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution.[5] In the late 1750s a party of militiamen was sent to the Niagara region to protect French interests but arrived too late, finding the English already in control. They immediately turned back to Detroit, where they remained, largely unaffected, until the Treaty of Paris in 1763 officially ended the French Regime. The community continued to grow in the decades afterwards, peacefully distant from the riotous east. Detroit again saw its ownership transferred, this time from the British to the Americans under the Treaty of Paris in 1783, concluding the Revolutionary War. For practical purposes little changed for Detroiters during the next thirteen years; Britain maintained control of the city, along with several other strategically vital forts in the northwest.[6] As a result of Jay's Treaty in 1794, however, the redcoats finally left Detroit, retreating to Fort Amherstburg in British territory.

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[3] "Building Fort Ponchartrain, History of Detroit," accessed March 6, 2012, http://www.historydetroit.com/places/fort_ponchartrain.asp.
[4] Clarence Monroe Burton, *When Detroit Was Young: Historical Studies* (Detroit: Burton Abstract and Title Co., c. 1950), 73.
[5] By 1750 its population was 900; amidst the Revolution in 1773 it was 1,367 (excluding soldiers). Poremba, *Detroit: A Motor City History*, 22, 42.
[6] Burton, *When Detroit Was Young*, 28.

Britain's abandonment of the city represented the first divergence of character between Detroit and the area that would later become Windsor. Many of the French and English residents of the town who preferred life under the Crown followed the redcoats across the Detroit River, and were replaced by a significant contingent of New Englanders pushing west. While the French presence in Essex continued to be considerable throughout the first part of the nineteenth century, in Detroit their numbers would soon be overwhelmed by Americans and, later, Germans, Poles, and Irish.[7]

However, these changes came slowly. In the early nineteenth century, both Windsor and Detroit remained friendly and French. When Detroit was devastated by fire in 1805, with only a handful of buildings still standing, it was the city of Montreal (Detroit's sister city) that contributed the lion's share of relief.[8] On the opposite shore, residents continued to share a much closer relationship with their Detroit neighbours than distant York or London; communicating or visiting these latter communities meant traveling hundreds of kilometres through unbroken wilderness. Given these distances between Windsor and other villages in Upper Canada, in addition to the region's French-speaking heritage (80 per cent of its 4,000 settlers traced their heritage back to the St. Lawrence Valley) it was considered rather isolated from the rest of Upper Canada in more ways than one.[9]

These factors concerned colonial administrators as tensions mounted with the Americans during the first decade of the nineteenth century, and it was unclear if the French Canadians of the Detroit River region would fight in the event of war. Indeed, in the eyes of many of these French-speaking peoples, there was little incentive for it. They identified with neither Britain nor the United States, viewing both as empires based upon a language, religion, and indeed culture distinct from their own. The Crown, on behalf of which the French would have to fight in the event of hostilities, provided no peacetime

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[7] Don Lochbiler, *Detroit's Coming of Age: 1873 to 1973* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973), 28.
[8] Burton, *When Detroit Was Young*, 30.
[9] R. Alan Douglas, *Uppermost Canada: The Western District and the Detroit Frontier, 1800-1850* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), 6-7; Kevin R. Shackleton and Sandy Antal, *Duty Nobly Done: The Official History of the Essex and Kent Scottish Regiment* (Walkerville: Walkerville Publishing Company, 2006), 19; 54.

training, pay, or uniforms during the prewar years. Sir James Craig, the lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada until 1812, frankly told the governor of Upper Canada, "the preservation of Quebec is the object of my first and principal consideration and to which all others must be subordinate," indicating that the British did not intend to throw a great deal of manpower or resources into defending the distant Essex frontier.[10] Indeed, the only indication that Essex was administered by Britain rather than the United States was the annual parade on the birthday of the ruling monarch.[11] In the event of war, it remained unlikely that the people of Essex would casually dismiss a century of good relations with their neighbours in Detroit in order to protect Britain's holdings in Upper Canada, particularly when the Crown had shown so little interest in defending locals.[12]

The American invasion of Essex County and the Western District began in July 1812.[13] U.S. Brigadier-General William Hull, perhaps sensing weakness amongst the poorly-trained and ill-equipped militiamen standing between Detroit and York, decreed in a proclamation spread throughout the district that "No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner. Instant destruction will be his lot."[14] It was not all scare tactics, however: Hull also promised that Canadians who laid down their arms would find their properties left unmolested. It was all part of the Americans' belief that they were liberating the Canadians from their tyrannical administration, but it struck a chord in the Western District because most of those on the receiving end of the message held loyalties to their immediate families, not to the colony.[15] Whatever the case, the

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[10] Dennis Carter-Edwards, "The War of 1812 along the Detroit Frontier: A Canadian Perspective," *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Fall 1987): 25-50.
[11] Shackleton and Antal, *Duty Nobly Done*, 19.
[12] As Antal and Shackleton note, the French of Essex shared "little attachment to King George III or the republic. They identified more closely with friends and kinsmen across the Detroit River." Ibid, 54.
[13] The Western District encompassed present-day southwestern Ontario and the entire area west of the Great Lakes. Douglas, *Uppermost Canada*, 6-7.
[14] Like many Americans, Hull feared and loathed the Aboriginal allies of the British in 1812. Saving Crown lands in Upper Canada was not the focus of those warriors fighting alongside Major-General Isaac Brock, but they were ready to fight to the death to protect their own territory against further American encroachment. Robert S. Allen, "His Majesty's Indian Allies: Native Peoples, the British Crown and the War of 1812," *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 14, (Fall 1988): 1-24.
[15] Carter-Edwards, "The War of 1812 along the Detroit Frontier," 25-50.

proclamation initially worked; by mid-July, an officer of the Essex militia complained that half his men had abandoned their posts and returned home.[16]

But the Americans did not keep their promises. Twice they occupied Essex County during the war and in both instances they looted the personal property of locals. Horses, flour, lumber, furs–all were grabbed up by the American troops during their stays in the Windsor region, first over the summer of 1812 and again after the defeat of York in April 1813.[17] For their part, Americans living in Detroit during its siege, capitulation, and occupation in August 1812 were embarrassed and embittered by the British victory. They were further enraged by the January 1813 Frenchtown massacre, when British officers allowed their Indian allies to slaughter a group of wounded American prisoners.[18]

The hardships brought on by the War of 1812 reinforced Jay's Treaty in making the Detroit River a meaningful boundary between Detroit and Essex County, but over time hard feelings dissipated. There are several possible explanations for this. First, in Essex much blame for the hardship brought on by the war was lumped on the British, who had failed to supply locals with the tools and training needed to make an effective defence possible. Indeed, from the beginning the colonial administration felt the entire region between the Detroit River and London was expendable. Just as the capitulation at Detroit sullied Hull's reputation, the war represented a black mark on the career of British Major-General Henry Proctor, who failed to provide the Essex militia with the tools or inspiration necessary to defeat the Americans.[19] Second, many of the Americans who attacked and looted Essex homes during the war were not Detroiters, but militiamen

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[16] Shackleton and Antal, *Duty Nobly Done*, 57.

[17] In early 1814, the Americans toyed with the idea of dispatching a force to the Western District that would force the removal of all residents in order to create a "desert" buffer between Detroit and the British forces stationed further northeast. Carter-Edwards, "The War of 1812 along the Detroit Frontier," 25-50; Shackleton and Antal, *Duty Nobly Done*, 60.

[18] In subsequent engagements, Americans would enter battle under the charge "Remember the Raisin!" in reference to the Raisin River at Frenchtown. "River Raisin Battlefield – City of Monroe," accessed January 18, 2011, http://www.co.monroe.mi.us/government/departments_offices/museum/docs/River_Raisin_Battlefield_Brochure.pdf

[19] Carter-Edwards, "The War of 1812 along the Detroit Frontier," 25-50.

recruited in Kentucky.[20] In most instances, it was not a familiar face that wandered off with the last of the grain or firewood in the middle of the night. Finally, in many communities across Michigan Territory and Upper Canada, blame for the war fell upon opposing governments, not the people living under them.[21] After all, it was not an event in Detroit or Essex that sparked hostilities, but the squabbles of two very distant governments, mostly over the subject of American neutrality and sovereignty at sea. These were not issues close at heart to the settlers of Detroit and Essex County.

Each of these factors offered residents of Detroit and Essex an explanation for the war. However, the basic fact of the matter was that those living along the Detroit River were not about to turn their backs on friends and family who had for generations regarded the international boundary dividing them as a waterway and little more. Their lives after the war, as had been the case before it, revolved around their families, friends, and farms.

Despite their isolation from the rest of Upper Canada and the United States, the people of Essex and Detroit were again witness to cross-border violence during the Patriot War of 1838. Forced across the border into Michigan by government forces in 1837, the Upper Canadian rebels found a support base for their cause in the Hunter Lodges, an organization in which members pledged life and honour to protecting and promoting republicanism.[22] By 1838 a substantial contingent of these groups descended on Detroit with the purpose of invading Upper Canada. They crossed the international boundary in December, but were immediately repulsed by the Essex militia. Although the Patriots invaded Canada at a number of points, their loss along the Detroit River was a knockout punch, and thereafter the Patriot threat subsided and dispersed.

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[20] For instance, the American force that wreaked considerable destruction in passing through the Western District during the fall 1813 campaign was comprised of Kentucky volunteers almost exclusively. Kentuckians were also responsible for the re-capturing of Michigan earlier in the year. Carter-Edwards, "The War of 1812 along the Detroit Frontier," 25-50. Shackleton and Antal, *Duty Nobly Done*, 74.

[21] Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle and Upper Canada: A Developing Colonial Ideology* (Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1987), 84.

[22] Thomas P. Dunning, "The Adventures of Patriot Hunters: Danger, Memory, Place, and Virtue at the Windmill," *Canadian Review of American Studies*, Vol. 29, Issue 1 (1999).

It is difficult to tell if the Patriot invasions truly caused anger and resentment between the people of Essex and Detroit, since so little was written about the events over the following decades. In their book *Duty Nobly Done: The Official History of the Essex and Kent Scottish Regiment*, Sandy Antal and Ken Shackleton assume that this silence was an indication of long-lasting bitterness, but local historian Frederick Neal notes that many Canadians in this region recognized that the majority of the Patriots were not from the opposite shore.[23] In fact, Detroit businessmen supplied Windsorites loyal to the British with a substantial cache of guns and ammunition at the time, indicating that at least a few failed to identify with the Patriot cause.[24]

Although border tensions would ease in the decades that followed, internally Windsor became a violent and divided community. Its geography, which would become such a benefit to the region's development in later years, at this time made it a safe haven for several marginalized groups, including destitute African Americans and Europeans.[25] In Windsor, these groups would find relief from pogroms and slave hunters, but they would hardly enjoy a warm reception from the region's native-born French- and English Canadians. Windsor's location also made it a refuge for American criminals and malcontents; for instance, during the U.S. Civil War, men sought refuge from the draft by crossing the Detroit River to Windsor. These "skedaddlers," as they were called, were considered scoundrels and a general menace to Detroit and Windsor alike.[26] In 1868, five members of the infamous Reno Gang, a collection of U.S. outlaws, retreated to Windsor having robbed the American treasury of $96,000.[27] They found it rather easy to blend in with the daily activities of the rough-and-tumble Canadian border town.[28]

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[23] Shackleton and Antal, *Duty Nobly Done*, 110.
[24] Frederick Armstrong, "James Dougall and the Founding of Windsor, Ontario," *Ontario History*, Vol. 76, Issue 1 (March 1984): 54.
[25] Christian Olbey, "Unfolded Hands: Class Suicide and the Insurgent Intellectual Paraxis of Mary Ann Shadd," *Canadian Review of American Studies*, Vol. 30, Issue 2 (2000).
[26] Neil F. Morrison, *Garden Gateway to Canada: One Hundred Years of Windsor and Essex County, 1854-1954* (Windsor: Herald Press Limited, 1954), 51.
[27] C.H. Gervais, *The Border Police: One Hundred and Twenty-Five Years of Policing in Windsor* (Windsor: Penumbra Press, 1992), 11.
[28] William Bell, "Reno Gang's Reign of Terror," *Wild West Magazine*, February 2004.

Border troubles returned in 1866, shortly after the conclusion of the American Civil War. Britain's unofficial support for the South created tensions with the victorious North, which reacted by cancelling the reciprocity agreement shared with British North America since 1854. Surprisingly, the Union did not mobilize against Britain's colonies once the South had surrendered, but it did move slowly to stop the Irish-American Fenian Brotherhood from trying their hand at it.

Throughout 1866 and to a lesser extent from 1867 to 1871 the residents of Windsor and Essex were much afraid that this Fenian force would invade and occupy their territory.[29] However, this did not disturb relations between Windsor and Detroit; indeed, throughout these tense years the river ferries continued to run at regular intervals. This in turn led to one particularly anxious morning, when it was reported that a ferry carrying pious Detroiters to Windsor for Corpus Christi Sunday was, in fact, filled with Fenians. The town shut down in a matter of minutes and local men prepared to repulse the attack, just as their fathers had done three decades earlier. The boat was turned around before it could dock, no doubt greatly annoying the many peaceful pilgrims on board.[30] In the end, the most significant attempt at invasion came at Niagara, but after an initial victory near the town of Ridgeway the Irish Americans retreated to U.S. territory, never to return.

The Fenian threat represented a few brief moments of excitement in an otherwise tedious period for residents of Essex County. By comparison to Detroit, economic progress remained sluggish. Across the river, the completion of the Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, canal allowed Lake Superior iron and copper to flow into Detroit, fuelling the expansion of several manufacturing industries in the 1850s, including steel production, brewing, tanning, and sawmilling.[31] In Windsor and Essex County, most residents

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[29] Gervais, *The Border Police*, 12.
[30] Frederick Neal, *The Township of Sandwich, Past and Present* (Windsor: The Record Printing Company, 1909), 76.
[31] Neil F. Morrison, "Essex County, Province of Ontario: A Geographical Study" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1944), 37.

remained poor farmers during a period before effective transportation routes allowed them access to larger markets.

That finally changed with the completion of several important transportation links, most notably the American-owned Great Western Railway in 1854, which connected these communities with Hamilton, London, Niagara Falls, and Toronto. Importantly, it also brought Windsor and Essex into a rapidly evolving American manufacturing belt between Michigan and New York. As other rail lines were extended to Essex County, Windsor became the primary urban marketplace for the region's bountiful agricultural harvest. For a time it appeared that nearby Amherstburg might become the region's dominant economic center, but because ice tended to build up to impassable levels at this particular point along the Detroit River, Windsor emerged as the better choice.[32]

The Great Western had an immediate impact on settlement in Essex County. Windsor's population rose steadily after the line's completion, from just 300 in 1846 to nearly 5,000 two decades later. Nearby Sandwich surged from 450 to 1,000 residents over that same period, and Amherstburg doubled in size as well, from 985 settlers to about 2,000.[33] During its construction, the Great Western created a demand for labourers to lay the track, while the need for rail ties helped to expand the region's lumbering industry. The business of moving people and goods became a lucrative one for Essex County, through which thousands of settlers would pass en route to the burgeoning industrial metropolises of the American Midwest.[34]

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[32] The completion of the Essex "Cut-Off" line in 1883 linking the town of Essex and Windsor directly and circumventing Amherstburg unceremoniously ended dreams that the latter town might act as the county's commercial and industrial hub. Morrison, *Garden Gateway to Canada*, 123.

[33] Ibid, 39.

[34] Transportation of people and goods across the Detroit River was further enhanced by the completion of the Michigan-Central Railway Tunnel in 1910. "Michigan Central Station – Historic Detroit.org," accessed July 30, 2012, http://www.historicdetroit.org/building/michigan-central-station/.

Soon after the railway was completed, the Detroit River's steamship business grew considerably to meet the demand for transportation across the waterway.[35] Not until the 1930s would a bridge and tunnel be constructed to facilitate such heavy traffic, but the ferry companies were quite capable of moving people across the border with surprising efficiency. The first ferries were little more than commercial canoes; in the 1820s, François Labalaine used just such a device to transport pioneers from one side of the river to the other, listening for the sound of his wife's four-foot-long tin horn as indication that passengers were ready on the Canadian side.[36] Later in the decade, Captain John Burtis tried his hand at the trade with the river's first horse ferry. As the horse walked along in an enclosed space, it drove the boat's propellers. Onlookers said it looked like "a large cheese box on a raft," which may explain why Burtis reported a deficit of $378.67 after his first year on the river.[37] In the 1830s steam replaced horse power as the fuel of choice, and the number of ships chugging back and forth from shore to shore increased steadily. By the late 1860s, three ferries were in operation, two working 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. shifts, another from 6 p.m. to 11 p.m., meaning transportation was available all but seven hours a day. In the 1880s and 1890s Detroit companies produced several enormous ferries to handle the growing load of passengers, none bigger than the *Columbia* which could carry an estimated 3,511 people in a single trip. Even the smallest ferry in operation at the time, the *Victoria*, could accommodate 600.[38] It was a cheap and convenient ride; in the early 1890s, a one-way ticket cost a few pennies.[39] Ice was rarely a factor, since the Detroit River was so fast-flowing that complete freeze-ups

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[35] Not only did they proliferate in number, but steamers ferrying passengers and goods across the Detroit River grew in size and extravagance as well after the 1850s. In 1857, the Great Western Railway Company unveiled the steamer *Union*, which featured a large cabin, enormous side-wheel, twin smoke stacks, and dining room on its upper deck. Powered by condensing engines and sophisticated steering technology, it moved passengers back and forth much faster than its predecessors. F.J. Holton et al, *History of the Detroit and Windsor Ferries* (Detroit: University of Michigan Library, 1918), 6.
[36] William Oxford, *The Ferry Steamers: The Story of the Detroit-Windsor Ferry Boats* (Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 1992), 12.
[37] Ibid, 15.
[38] Holton et al, *History of the Detroit and Windsor Ferries*, 6-14.
[39] For most of the mid-to-late nineteenth century the charge for a one-way ticket had been ten cents, but in 1892 a "monthly ticket book", containing 100 one-way passes, could be purchased for $1.50. Oxford, *The Ferry Steamers*, 64.

occurred only a few days each year.[40] By 1914, at least twenty-two different ferries were operating at different points along the Detroit River, with passenger totals surpassing 40,000 on busy holidays like the Fourth of July.[41] The ferries' names (two were called *Olive Branch*, one *Alliance*) and appearance (many boats, such as the *Essex*, flew the Union Jack, Red Ensign, and Stars and Stripes together) indicate just how important these vessels were to the development of a border-crossing culture in the nineteenth century.[42]

But it was not just transportation and communications that contributed to Windsor's development in the late nineteenth century. Equally important was the federal Conservative Party's National Policy, introduced in 1879. Economically, it was designed to use high tariffs to decrease the circulation of American goods, thereby protecting central Canada's nascent manufacturing sector. But American businessmen were not dismayed. Rather than manufacture goods and send them over the border where they would be burdened by the tariff, U.S. companies established separate operations, called branch plants, north of the border. They used American know-how (including designs, engineering, and, in many cases, managerial talent) but hired Canadians to perform the manual labour and in some instances serve in management positions. It was a development that gave Americans enormous power within the Canadian economy, but it was, arguably, a necessary step in diversifying that economy, which for most of its history had been based almost exclusively on agriculture and primary manufacturing.[43] It also created thousands of jobs in Canadian cities.

Due to its proximity to the border and Detroit, branch plants became a crucial part of Windsor's economic development in the late nineteenth century. By the 1880s, several major Detroit companies had established operations across the river, including pharmaceutical firms Parke-Davis and Stearns.[44] By 1914 the number of American

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[40] The river current between Glengarry Avenue in Windsor and the American shore was so fast that this corridor rarely froze over, even after the rest of the waterway was frozen solid. Ibid, 35.
[41] "Detroit Lake and River Steamers Carry 44,000 Passengers," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 3, 1914.
[42] Oxford, *The Ferry Steamers*, 35-39.
[43] Gregory P. Marchildon, "From Pax Britannica to Pax Americana and Beyond," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 538 (March 1995): 155.
[44] Morrison, *Garden Gateway to Canada*, 49.

branch plants operating in Windsor, population 20,000, would be twenty-six, a greater per capita rate than any other medium or large city in Canada.[45] The war did little to prevent American businesses from streaming into Windsor; by 1920, the Border Chamber of Commerce estimated that of the city's 206 manufacturing concerns "practically all…represent American capital and enterprise."[46]

The most important of these branch plants was Ford of Canada, incorporated in 1904.[47] Henry Ford, who had opened the company's Detroit headquarters only a year earlier, like many American businessmen at the time hoped to circumvent the Canadian government's strict tariff restrictions and gain access to the British market. After being approached by Windsor's Gordon McGregor, manager of the unprofitable Walkerville Wagon Works facility, Ford decided to use the site as a base of operations. Ford had several reasons for establishing a plant in the Windsor region. First, it was close to Detroit and McGregor, who would become the new company's general manager, would later consult Ford on a regular basis for advice on labour issues and production.[48] A significant contingent of the company's early management was comprised of Detroiters, and most of Ford Canada's design and engineering expertise came from across the river.[49] Second, Windsor possessed many of the same geographical advantages of Detroit, being positioned along the main water route of the Great Lakes in addition to five major railways.[50] Finally, Ford liked Gordon McGregor. The latter had shown considerable initiative by approaching the Detroit manufacturer, while his family pedigree–McGregor's father had been a prominent businessman, mayor of Windsor, and

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[45] By comparison, in Toronto there was a U.S. branch plant for every 4,255 city residents. In Windsor, the ratio was 1:769. David Roberts, *In the Shadow of Detroit: Gordon M. McGregor, Ford of Canada, and Motoropolis* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2006), 4.
[46] F. Maclure Schlanders, "A Little History of the Border Cities," Windsor Border Chamber of Commerce Pamphlet, Sept. 1, 1920. Windsor Public Library Archives, Bowlby Estate Collection, Acc. No. 1995/7.
[47] Although Ford of Canada's assistant general manager, Wallace Campbell, would deny his company was a branch plant before a Canadian Tariff Inquiry Commission in 1920, the company's early management, engineering, as well as its real and imagined figurehead were all American in origin. Dimitry Anastakis, "From Independence to Integration: The Corporate Evolution of the Ford Motor Company of Canada, 1904-2004," *Business History Review*, Vol. 78, Issue 2 (Summer 2004): 213.
[48] According to an account from Ford of Canada supervisor George Dickert, McGregor and Ford got along well, meeting regularly in an often informal fashion. Roberts, *In the Shadow of Detroit*, 43.
[49] Ibid, 88.
[50] Morrison, *Garden Gateway to Canada*, 179.

a Laurier Liberal–also reflected well on the young entrepreneur.[51] Ford also recognized that the Wagon Works facilities were suitable for an assembly operation, that Windsor was rapidly becoming an industrialized city with several companies that could take on support contracts (for example, the Canadian Bridge Company, Walkerville Malleable Iron, and Canadian Typograph), and that there was significant interest in the project from various Windsor investors.[52]

From there, the Detroit River region's automotive industry evolved at a dizzying pace. Its arrival on Windsor's economic landscape came just two years after Detroit's first annual automobile and sportsman's show.[53] Within five years several other prominent automotive manufacturing concerns emerged in the region, including Maxwell (later incorporated by Chrysler), General Motors, Buick, and Oldsmobile. All of these companies would have an impact on Windsor in some form or another (opening plants there or hiring Canadian "day labourers" to work in Detroit facilities), but none would have both the economic and cultural impact of Ford.

At first, Ford of Canada's achievements were modest. The company's first automobile, a Model A, rolled out in late October 1904 to the cheers and applause of just seventeen employees.[54] In 1906, the company produced 101 vehicles with profits of just over $4,000. Since sales of the company's more luxurious models, like the Model B and six-cylinder Model K, were low, Ford Detroit began working on a car that would be cheap, reliable, and easy to repair. The result was the Model T, unveiled in 1908 (but not produced in Walkerville until mid-1909). It came in a single color, black, had few of the creature comforts of the Model B or K, and certainly nothing approaching the extravagance of the Oldsmobile or American Benz. But at $975, it was half the price of the Cadillac ($1,850) and the Toronto-built Russell ($1,950). Despite not starting work on the Model T until the summer, in 1909 Ford of Canada built 458 of them, smashing

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[51] Roberts, *In the Shadow of Detroit*, 25.
[52] Essex County's temperate climate and the level nature of its geography, both of which facilitated the construction of roads, may also have been important factors in Ford's decision to establish an automotive assembly operation in Windsor. Ibid, 25-29.
[53] Morrison, *Garden Gateway to Canada*, 178.
[54] Roberts, *In the Shadow of Detroit*, 31.

the previous years' production record of 327.[55] By 1912, Ford Canada's earnings were over $1 million.[56]

Ford's impact on the Border Cities (which before amalgamation in 1935 included Windsor as well as the surrounding municipalities of Ford City, Sandwich, Walkerville, and Ojibway) was widespread. In December 1912 an Essex County bylaw created the municipality of Ford City, encompassing the Walkerville plant and its environs. As the company grew in size, so did Ford City, quintupling in population over a two-year period.[57] Growth was so rapid that the municipality experienced a crippling housing shortage and in May 1913 Ford of Canada sought permission from Ford City to house its workers in tents outside the factory walls.[58]

Despite the acute housing shortage, more people flocked to Ford, and for good reason. The company not only paid well (by 1915, $4 a day), but Henry Ford showed a genuine interest in the welfare of his employees.[59] In later decades Ford's manipulation of his workers' personal lives would become a contentious issue between management and labour, but in the 1910s his willingness to pay for employee weekend and holiday excursions was seen as monumentally generous. A July 1914 baseball game between single and married Ford men at Put-in-Bay represented the first of many pleasure activities funded by management.[60] Despite the fact that McGregor ran the Canadian operations, by 1914 Henry Ford was clearly the face of business and culture in the Border Cities.[61]

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[55] Ibid, 57.
[56] Ibid, 86.
[57] When it was first incorporated in 1912, Ford City's population was just 600. By July 1914, the local newspaper estimated nearly 3,000 people living within its boundaries. "City Briefs – Ford Wants Long Pants," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 13, 1914.
[58] "Ford Motor Seeks Permission to House Employes in Tents," *Windsor Evening Record*, May 21, 1913, 1.
[59] Roberts, *In the Shadow of Detroit*, 122.
[60] "Ford Married Men Lose Out," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 23, 1914, 11.
[61] With an entire municipality named for him, Henry Ford was the spiritual leader of Ford Canada. The magazine *Industrial Canada* in its January 1915 edition ran this advertisement for Ford's Canadian operations: "Ford Motor Cars are now made in Canada under the direct supervision of Mr. Henry Ford, the most successful designer of automobiles in America." Roberts, *In the Shadow of Detroit*, 35.

Throughout the mid to late nineteenth century, Windsor's geographic proximity to and economic dependence upon Detroit facilitated the development of unique social relationships and a distinct border-crossing culture. Vital services regularly brought members of these communities into contact. In 1857 the two communities were linked by submarine telegraph cable and, twenty-three years later, by telephone exchange. Windsor relied on Detroit's fire protection service to quell blazes until the 1880s.[62] The Windsor Cricket Club regularly met competition from Detroit and Cincinnati. In 1868, the annual festival of Windsor's Society of St. Jean Baptiste drew a large contingent of Americans from the Detroit Society of St. John the Baptist.[63] Upon completion of Windsor's St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in 1872, parishioners were frequently treated to sermons by Detroit preacher Rev. John Hogg.[64] Prior to the organization of a Presbyterian club in Windsor, many Essex Scots traveled to Detroit for their fraternizing; a report on the November 1866 meeting of the Detroit St. Andrew's Society reveals several Windsor men as having been present.[65] Throughout this period Windsor families sent their children to Detroit art and music colleges.[66] During the summer months, Americans and Canadians met for picnics at various island parks along the Detroit River, including Bois Blanc (later Bob-Lo), Sugar Island, and Grosse Isle.[67]

Festivals and other major events in Detroit often spilled over into Windsor, and vice versa. Although tensions between the United States and Canada ran high throughout the American Civil War, the assassination of U.S. President Abraham Lincoln in April 1865 elicited a great deal of sympathy in the Canadian border community. Out of respect for the late President, Windsor's mayor, S.S. Macdonell, requested that local businesses

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[62] Morrison, *Garden Gateway to Canada*, 64.
[63] Ibid, 74.
[64] Ibid, 98.
[65] Ibid, 80.
[66] One of Windsor's most prominent families was the Bowlbys. Records show that Hellen Bowlby graduated from the Detroit School of Elocution and English Literature in 1890 and Edith Margaret Bowlby graduated from Detroit's McDonald School of Music in 1919. Diaries of Hellen Bowlby and Edith Margaret Bowlby, Windsor Public Library Archives, Bowlby Estate Collection, Box 1, Acc. No. 1995/7; The May 1924 issue of *The Crier*, Windsor Collegiate Institute's magazine, reveals that several alumni were then studying at post-secondary institutions in the Detroit area, including Detroit City College and the University of Michigan. Windsor Public Library Archives, Hallam Collection, MS 5 I/7.
[67] Ibid, 90.

close for the day, while all residents were encouraged to participate in memorial ceremonies held in Detroit. In response to such kindness, Detroit's city council ordered the flying of the Union Jack throughout the American city on May 24, Queen Victoria's birthday.[68] Together, these episodes suggest that tensions between the British and American governments did not necessarily impede social relations in border communities like Windsor and Detroit.

These communities also came together on more joyful occasions. Events for Windsor's 1869 Dominion Day celebration included a cricket match between U.S. and Canadian teams. After sunset, Windsorites formed a torchlight procession that included Chinese lanterns ornamented with the Stars and Stripes as a courtesy to their many American guests.[69] When United States Admiral George Dewey visited the rapidly growing U.S. city in 1900, he was greeted not only by a wave of enthusiasm from Detroiters but also from Windsorites who, standing along the dividing river, unfurled a giant streamer bearing the inscription, "Canadians' Best Wishes to America's Great Seaman."[70] Later in the day, a boys' brigade from Windsor joined Detroit dignitaries in Dewey's parade through the American border metropolis.[71]

Windsor and Detroit also shared similar ethnic characteristics during the pre-war period. Today, "Motown" is one of the most segregated cities in North America, with racial tensions lingering for generations after a series of riots between the 1940s and 1960s.[72] But in 1910 the American border city was markedly white.[73] According to that year's U.S. Census, native-born Caucasian Americans accounted for 65 per cent of the

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[68] Ibid, 53.
[69] Ibid, 79.
[70] Lochbiler, *Detroit's Coming of Age*, 131.
[71] Ibid, 133.
[72] For more on this subject, see Thomas Sugrue's book *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
[73] Estimates of the total black population in Detroit between 1900-1910 vary widely, with some sources suggesting it was about 5,000 and others placing the number closer to 10,000. Regardless, they did not represent a prominent ethnic group prior to the First World War. "Reminiscences, 30th Anniversary," Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection Manuscripts Collection, Detroit Study Club Records, Lillian Johnson Collection, Box 2:2,; "Populations of Various Ethnic Groups," History Detroit, 1701-2001, accessed February 3, 2011, http://www.historydetroit.com/stats.asp#citizenship.

total population, followed by Germans (9%), Canadians (9%), Britons (4%), and Russians (4%). At the time, African Americans represented just 1 per cent of the city's residents. Just ninety-nine people of Asian and "other" descent lived within city limits. [74] Windsor was similarly white in the period leading up to the war, though it possessed considerably fewer Germans and more Britons (10%).[75] However, Windsor was by no means a "British" city; as in Detroit, the vast majority of people living there were native-born.[76] Just as 9 per cent of Detroiters claimed Canada as their place of birth, roughly the same percentage of Windsorites reported being American-born. Residents of Windsor and Detroit also attended similar religious institutions; on the Canadian side, most were Roman Catholic (34%), with Methodists, Anglicans, and Presbyterians accounting for the remaining church-goers.[77] In Detroit, heavy immigration by Poles and Irish in the nineteenth century also made Roman Catholicism that city's predominant faith during the Great War era.[78]

In distinguishing Windsor from other cities in Ontario, it is worth comparing some of these findings with Toronto, Ontario's most populous city and economic and political capital. According to the 1911 Census, nearly one-third of Toronto's population hailed from the British Isles, about three times the number found in Windsor. Less than sixty per cent of Toronto's residents were born in the province of Ontario, considerably

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[74] *Thirteenth Census of the United States 1910, Volume 3: Reports by States, Alabama-Montana* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912-1914); "Populations of Various Ethnic Groups," History Detroit, 1701-2001, accessed February 3, 2011, http://www.historydetroit.com/stats.asp#citizenship.

[75] Census statistics show that just 2 per cent of all residents of Windsor proper were born in continental Europe. *Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, by Provinces, Districts, and Sub-Districts, Volume II* (Ottawa: C.H. Parmlee, 1913), Table XVI, 391.

[76] According to the Census of 1911, approximately 76 per cent of all Windsor residents were born in the province of Ontario. Ibid, Table XVI, 391.

[77] Ibid, Table II, 50-51.

[78] Census reports after the war note that 451,579 of the city's 755,572 church-goers reported being Catholic. Given these statistics, it is safe to assume that Roman Catholicism was Detroit's dominant religion throughout the early twentieth century. Brian Wilson, "The Spirit of the Motor City: Three Hundred Years of Religious History in Detroit," *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Spring 2001): 21-56; Matthew Pehl, "The Remaking of the Catholic Working-Class: Detroit, 1919-1945," *Religion and American Culture*, Vol. 19, Issue 1 (2009): 37-67.

lower than Windsor's seventy-six per cent.[79] By comparison to Toronto, roughly three times the number of Windsorites reported being born in the United States. Windsor was also home to many more French Canadians, who accounted for nearly one-fourth the city's total population (4,113).[80] Their presence in the city directly affected its religious breakdown, with Roman Catholics forming the dominant religion. By comparison, Catholics represented just 13 per cent of Toronto's church-goers, the majority attending Anglican (31%) or Presbyterian (20%) services on a Sunday.[81]

Thus, in the early twentieth century Windsor's demographics more closely resembled those of Detroit than its own provincial capital. In large part, this condition was the result of late nineteenth-century conceptions of the state and the international boundary in the Great Lakes region. In the search for better jobs and farmland, residents of Ontario and the American Midwest treated the international boundary in much the same way we might treat a provincial or state line. The total absence of a border protection scheme contributed to this conception of the boundary as an imaginary divider, and would have an enormous influence on perceptions of immigration regulations during the First World War era. (By comparison, travelers eventually settling in fiercely pro-British White Rock, British Columbia, would admit to having never felt entirely comfortable while living under the Stars and Stripes.)

Within this context, the story of Jo Labadie is a familiar one. His family had resided in the Windsor region since the eighteenth century, farming land that would later become valuable riverfront real estate. At the age of fourteen, Jo's father became an Indian interpreter living amongst the Jesuit missionaries in Michigan, and later served with the 1st Michigan Cavalry. His mother, Angelique Labadie, was his father's second cousin; she too was from the Windsor region. When Jo was born in 1850, his parents were living in the American Midwest. In an interview with Detroit historian Clarence M.

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[79] Approximately 29 per cent of Torontonians were born in Britain. Just 60 per cent were born in the province of Ontario, a substantially lower percentage than in Windsor. *Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, by Provinces, Districts, and Sub-Districts, Volume II*, Table XV, 403-404.
[80] Ibid, Table VII, 214-215.
[81] Ibid, Table II, 80-81.

Burton, Jo recalled his parents moving frequently throughout his childhood, from Illinois to Michigan and Indiana before eventually returning to the Windsor region. Jo remembered working many menial jobs while growing up, from lumberjack to farm hand. He was literate and loved reading the *New York Ledger*, a weekly "story paper". At the age of fourteen he was sent to live with his uncle in White Pigeon, Michigan, where he helped run a jewelry and book store. He left after a year, working for a time on a nearby farm. That proved dull, so Jo moved to South Bend, Indiana, in 1866 where he found work as a printer. He enjoyed the vocation but not the company, and left for another printer job in Kalamazoo, Michigan. He continued moving throughout the late 1860s, his travels taking him to Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and eventually New York City, where he worked for the *World* newspaper. In 1872, Jo left for Detroit, where he filled an assortment of roles (including compositor, reporter, and editor) with various newspapers. There, he married Sophie Archambeau, born in Indiana but at the time of their 1877 marriage a teacher across the river in Canada. They raised three children on his newspaperman's salary, sending a daughter to the University of Michigan. She became a school teacher, like her mother.[82] At the time of his interview with Burton in 1917, Jo speculated that his wife Sophie may have been the member of a prominent Windsor family by the name of Montreuil, perhaps making them, like his parents, distant relatives.[83]

Jo's disregard for an attachment to place or citizenship represents a noteworthy undercurrent running throughout his interview with Clarence Burton. As will be seen in the White Rock section of this dissertation, Jo's border-crossing experiences and his apathetic attitude towards citizenship stand in stark contrast to the fiercely pro-British ideologies held by pioneers of the British Columbia border town.

Whether they crossed the international boundary for business or pleasure, for the long term or a daily excursion, the people of Windsor and Detroit had become

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[82] Jo Labadie to Clarence M. Burton, March 18, 1917. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection Manuscripts Collection, Burton, Clarence M. Papers, Box 11.
[83] Ibid.

accustomed to life along a permeable border by the turn of the twentieth century. Without knowing it, they were about to enter a period that would challenge this tradition. Rising concerns about racial purity and competition in the labour market would lead to the implementation of immigration inspection stations all along the border, from the Maritimes and New England to the Pacific Northwest. By 1910, both countries had agents stationed at regular intervals along this immense frontier. At first these inspections were relaxed; most Canadians and Americans passed through without difficulty. But the war changed that. It aroused new ideas about the border and what crossing it represented. For Windsorites, the act of going to Detroit to work, shop, grab the Sunday newspaper, or take in a game of baseball suddenly had unexpected consequences. For some members of the local community this made sense. When at war, one should support the home country, they said, even if it only meant frequenting Windsor rather than Detroit businesses. For others, these kinds of official and unofficial restrictions were strange, unwelcome, and unnecessary. These members of the Border Cities community would continue to advocate closer relations with the people and businesses of Detroit and to oppose any legislation that disrupted traditional cross-border lifestyles. In some cases, this position brought them into conflict with Canadians from outside the immediate region, people they attacked as "outsiders" who did not understand the economic and social circumstances of the Detroit River region. In Windsor, the question of border security would become the basis for a war at home between these opposing factions.

Chapter 4: Relations between Windsor and Detroit during the First World War

The summer of 1914 was an exciting time in the Border Cities region encompassing Windsor, Walkerville, Sandwich, Ford City, and Ojibway. A late June provincial election was preceded by stirring political orations across Essex County, a central issue for many French-speakers being bilingual instruction in Ontario schools. Regulation 17, which the James Whitney Conservatives had passed only two years earlier, restricted French instruction to just a single hour each day. It was legislation that did not sit particularly well with local descendants of French *voyageurs* and *habitants*. When ballot counting was completed on June 30, the Liberals, who had promised to reverse or greatly alter Regulation 17, stood defeated by a landslide, sending just twenty-six representatives to the provincial assembly by comparison to the Conservatives' eighty-three.[1] But in Essex County the story was different. In each of the region's ridings the Liberals had emerged victorious. An estimated 10,000 people poured into the streets of Windsor to celebrate the local victory, even as the party's fortunes proved disastrous elsewhere. J.C. Tolmie, local MPP, rode at the head of a long parade, "waving his hands and bowing to the cheering thousands." The air was filled with the smell of burning brooms, which people swung haphazardly above their heads. There were a few Conservatives in the crowd, but most hid their feelings and joined in the Liberal merry-making.[2]

It was not just their political affiliations that set the people of Essex County apart from the rest of Ontario in 1914. As the province, indeed the country, struggled through a recession that year, the economy of Windsor and the surrounding Border Cities boomed. For a three-year period between July 1911 and July 1914, at least one manufacturing

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[1] "Whitney Government Returned to Power with 83 Members in Legislature," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 30, 1914, 1.
[2] "Thousands on Streets Celebrate Liberal Sweep in Essex County," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 30, 1914, 5.

facility per month opened within the immediate region, many of them American-owned.[3] In July, the Horlick's Malted Milk Company of Racine, Wisconsin, announced plans to build a new factory in Windsor that would see the hiring of 500 local workers.[4] Windsor's local newspaper, the *Evening Record*, credited a surge in American agricultural production and manufacturing for the rapid improvement of the city's financial outlook. The *Evening Record* made no comment on the continuing struggles of the Canadian economy.[5]

Windsor's prosperity came with a price. The enormous growth of the city's population was too much for its antiquated infrastructure. There were jobs for the men, but no houses. The local crime rate was third in the province, behind only Hamilton and Toronto.[6] In desperation, local political and commercial leaders sought guidance from prominent Detroit figures, such as *Detroit Times* editor James Schermerhorn and Congressman Frank Doremus, who offered advice at the Windsor Board of Trade's weekly luncheons. "You don't get anything unless you go after it," said Canadian-born Detroit businessman Andrew Lewis. "Get some new blood into your organization. Continue your noon-day meetings. Don't flunk now after you have got nicely started and by fall or winter you will be started on the building up of a better Windsor."[7]

It was in Ford City, the new municipality surrounding the auto plant whose population had grown from 600 in 1912 to 3,000 in 1914, that the adjustment proved most difficult.[8] Rapidly expanding profits for the company drew an ever-increasing number of labourers to the area, most struggling to find shelter once their shift finished for the day. Housing problems were only exacerbated by further prosperity, when in late

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[3] "Diversity in Our Industries," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 6, 1914, 4.
[4] "Horlick's Malted Milk Co. to Establish Plant in Windsor," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 4, 1914, 1.
[5] "Business Revival," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 18, 1914, 4.
[6] C.H. Gervais, *The Border Police: One-Hundred and Twenty-Five Years of Policing in Windsor* (Waterloo: Penumbra Press, 1992), 40.
[7] "Largest Attendance at Board of Trade Noon-day Luncheon," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 26, 1914.
[8] "City Briefs – Ford Wants Long Pants," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 13, 1914.

July Ford committed $300,000 to building an extension to the plant and hiring 1,500 more workers.[9]

Despite these growing pains, the mood in Windsor was clearly jubilant during the balmy summer days of 1914. Ford of Canada threw open its doors to locals and tourists alike, offering daily tours of the technological wonders within the factory's walls.[10] The company also reduced the price of some of its vehicles at the same time as it introduced higher wages to employees. However, it was Henry Ford, and not Ford of Canada general manager Gordon McGregor, who received credit for the generosity.[11]

The cross-border prosperity created a mood of good feeling between Windsorites and Detroiters. The Fourth of July celebration in 1914 was celebrated in both cities, largely because so many Windsor residents worked across the river.[12] "Although July the Fourth is supposed to be [an]…American affair as the celebration is in honor of the signing of the declaration of independence that enabled George Washington and his followers to branch out into a nation of their own, the day has much significance for Windsor, Walkerville, and Sandwich, as well as other border municipalities," noted the *Evening Record*. "Thousands of people from the four municipalities along the Detroit river enjoyed a day of rest…from the regular toiling of the week day."[13]

By eleven in the morning the dividing waterway was full of ferry boats toting Windsorites and Detroiters back and forth. Automobiles, most decorated with both the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes, navigated through throngs of jubilant people

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[9] "Henry Ford Told President Wilson 'That Business is good,and the country in prosperous condition,'" *Windsor Evening Record*, July 24, *1914*.
[10] "See Ford Plant," Windsor *Evening Record*, July 18, 1914.
[11] "The reduction [in price] is made by Mr. Ford himself and applies to the Detroit factory as well as the Canadian branch at Ford," the *Evening Record* declared. "Ford Price Drops; Profit Sharing Plan Announced," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 1, 1914.
[12] In July 1914, the number was of people living in Windsor and working daily in Detroit was pegged at 2,500, about 10 per cent of the city's entire population. "Wilcox Brings Up Income Tax," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 14, 1914.
[13] "Border Towns Celebrate Fourth of July," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 6, 1914.

intoxicated with both sheer excitement and Canadian Club whisky.[14] Thousands of Detroiters traveled to Windsor, too, where they enjoyed drinks and frog leg dinners at the Canadian city's various riverfront hotels. Immigration and customs officers were overwhelmed by the flood of traffic, the *Evening Record* reporting that agents were "ready to testify that nearly two-thirds of the city of Windsor helped Detroit celebrate the Fourth of July and returned again Sunday to witness what effect the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence had on Detroit." For the most part, locals passed through inspection without much trouble. "The Canadian immigration and customs men, too, kept on the alert for undesirables from the American side. They held up a number, but all were released when satisfactory explanations were offered."[15]

By contrast, Dominion Day festivities were rarely boisterous events, at least in the Border Cities themselves. On July 1, 1913, most of Windsor's denizens deserted their city (and country) in favour of tiny American island resort destinations along the Detroit River. "Dominion day Windsor will take on the aspect of a country town when there is a circus a few miles away," noted the *Evening Record* in anticipation of the coming holiday. "Three large excursions are scheduled to leave the city, and the advance sale of tickets points to record crowds on all three of them." The Windsor Knights of Columbus organized a trip to Tashmoo Park, a holiday playground in Algonac, Michigan. About 2,000 members of the Baptist and Lincoln Road Methodist churches put together an excursion to Sugar Island, also Michigan territory. Another 3,000 Windsor residents visited the Canadian amusement park on Bob-Lo, or Bois Blanc Island, but Belle Isle, part of the City of Detroit and considered the "coolest and closest beauty spot," was the

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[14] Canadian Club whiskey was produced by Hiram Walker Distilleries in Walkerville, adjacent to Windsor. Its founder lived in Detroit but commuted daily to the Border Cities region. The company was founded in 1857 and by the turn of the twentieth century had become an industry leader. Walker's nephew, Hiram A., would become Windsor's first mayor, and the importance of the distillery to economic growth in the region would seriously limit the effectiveness of prohibition in the Detroit River region during and after the war. Carl Morgan, *Birth of a City: Commemorating Windsor's Centennial, 1992* (Windsor: Benchmark Publishing & Design, 1991), 65-69.

[15] "Border Towns Celebrate the Fourth of July," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 6, 1914, 1.

"Mecca" for most Canadian residents of the Border Cities that Dominion Day. Activities included swimming, baseball, fat man's races, and cracker-eating contests.[16]

The border was an incredibly busy place for immigration and customs agents stationed at the ferry docks in 1914; so busy that Canadian customs collector J.A. Smith requested merchants do their Detroit transactions in the morning hours, since by midday the ferry docks were flooded with Americans headed to Windsor's various horse racing venues. "If the merchants and manufacturing men bring their goods across the river in the morning they will save themselves and the customs officers a lot of work and time," Smith said in a July 13 letter to the *Evening Record*. "With the large number of automobiles coming across to the races, a horse and wagon has great difficulty getting on the boats and many merchants have been delayed two hours in bringing their goods across."[17]

By 1914, horse racing was a veritable cross-border institution, with Windsor merchants and the ferry companies profiting enormously from the international traffic. In most instances, it was Detroiters who traveled to Windsor, which had been a major destination for fans of the sport since the mid-nineteenth century. For instance, at a July 16, 1914 event an estimated 800 automobiles and 15,000 people, many of them patrons from Detroit, descended upon the local track.[18] Throughout the war, several new venues would open, most notably the Devonshire and Kenilworth tracks, their success heavily dependent upon Detroit patronage.[19] This traffic would be facilitated by the introduction of larger ferry boats designed specifically to handle passengers with automobiles. In July the *Essex* was unveiled, and although it was by no means the first ferry capable of transporting automobiles, it was the first specifically designed with that purpose in mind.

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[16] "Citizens Desert Windsor July 1st," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 30, 1913, 4; "Excursions Draw Thousands from City on Dominion Day," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 2, 1914, 1.
[17] "City Briefs – Do it in the Morning," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 13, 1914.
[18] "Windsor Was Able to Handle Record Crowd," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 16, 1914.
[19] Neil F. Morrison, *Garden Gateway to Canada: One Hundred Years of Windsor and Essex County, 1854-1954* (Windsor: Herald Press Limited, 1954), 286.

According to the *Evening Record*, it could handle about nineteen cars on a single journey.[20]

Horse racing was just one of several sports that brought Windsorites and Detroiters together during the summer months. Baseball was incredibly popular in these communities, with both contributing teams to Detroit's amateur leagues. Going to these games was often a communal experience; in June 1914, the *Evening Record* alerted all fans of Windsor's Pirates team to meet at 4:50 p.m. for the ferry to Garry's Park, Detroit, suggesting that there were a number of local boosters.[21] For many Windsor area players and managers, Detroit clubs set the bar; beating teams from the big motor metropolis was quite an accomplishment.[22] An Ypsilanti, Michigan, team was invited to help Windsor residents celebrate the Victoria Day weekend in May 1913.[23] Most games in Windsor drew crowds of one or two hundred, but matches like this one between particularly elite Detroit and Windsor clubs could bring out 500 fans.[24] Helping fill the stands were promotions that saw ticket charges waived for women, making the ball park a fine place for meeting members of the opposite sex.[25]

A brief glimpse at Windsor's *Evening Record* sports page helps emphasize the vitality of cross-border athletics in the Windsor-Detroit corridor in 1914. On Saturday, July 25, 1914, eight sports stories were reported. Three involved baseball games between Windsor and Detroit clubs; one covered exclusively American baseball teams; while the remaining four concerned several different sports (lawn bowling, shooting, and baseball) between Windsor and area clubs.[26] It was rare to see a team from outside Detroit or Windsor playing in the Canadian border city during this period.

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[20] "A Ferry for Automobiles," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 16, 1914, 4.
[21] "Pirates Meet Moonshiners," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 19, 1914.
[22] "Walkerville Plays Detroit Athletics," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 10, 1914.
[23] "Ypsilanti to Open Border League Season with Windsor at Wigle Park, Victoria Day," *Windsor Evening Record*, May 21, 1913.
[24] "Pirates Add Another to Their Lead," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 13, 1914.
[25] "At Wigle Park," *Windsor Evening Record*, May 19, 1913, 3.
[26] "Windsor Plays…Royal Ball Team"; "Studebaker Team Plays Walkerville"; "Independents Play Milos; "Riot Rages at Detroit Ball Game", *Windsor Evening Record*, July 25, 1914.

The extent of cross-border social and economic relationships in Windsor and Detroit made it hard to tell that this was the site of several intense military skirmishes during the nineteenth century. Locals sometimes made light of these former tensions, suggesting that a number of Windsorites no longer strongly identified with those conflicts or their legacies. In a July 1914 editorial, *Evening Record* journalist M.R. Winters (who, it should be noted, was clearly no historian), wrote:

> Just about 100 years ago this time, [the] United States was pounding the thunder out of old John Bull on the battle field and the result was that George Washington and his coworkers built up a pretty nifty little nation…Not content with trimming [the British] on the battle field in the conflict of 1812, the Americans kept up the work by ripping things to pieces on the sport field and those who swore allegiance to his majesty King George V and his Union Jack were wearing dismal looks until recently.[27]

Beyond using the War of 1812 as a source of humour, Winters' mere suggestion that the British were "pounded" in the conflict is rather unorthodox commentary when considering most traditional Canadian accounts of the crisis.[28] There is also no mention of local contributions to the war effort, including the August 1812 sacking of Detroit or the subsequent American occupations of Essex County. The account is merely the stuff of sports page joshing and not a political editorial, but it does shed light on how some locals, many of whom were French Canadian or American, viewed the connection with Britain in 1914.

Local interpretations of U.S. and Canadian relations were again visible throughout preparations for the Anglo-American Peace Centenary, a continent-wide celebration of 100 years of friendship between the United States, Britain, and Canada. One of the busiest border crossings in North America by 1914, the Windsor-Detroit corridor was considered an important landmark for the upcoming festivities. Although the First World

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[27] Winters may be mixing up the Revolutionary War and War of 1812, but the sentiment remains intact. "Yankees Hate to Admit Welsh is an Englishman," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 10, 1914.

[28] The War of 1812 remained a very sensitive topic in many circles, particularly in Toronto. For instance, R.S. Neville, Empire Club president and a colleague of Ontario Premier Sir James P. Whitney, said the latter was amongst several prominent citizens who indicated that any cooperation with the United States in commemorating the war would be distasteful. Joseph Pope to Sir Robert Borden, Dec. 2, 1911. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG25 Box 1116, File 1255.

War would dramatically reduce the scope of the Peace Centenary, during the summer of 1914 Detroiters and Windsorites agreed that the construction of a transnational tunnel would be the most appropriate way to commemorate a century of peace between the two communities.[29] When war was declared in August, local members of the Peace Centenary Association were in the process of petitioning business leaders for financial support.[30] The idea of an underground tunnel linking Windsor and Detroit would be revived again shortly after the war, as members of these communities sought appropriate ways to commemorate the Allied victory. Unfortunately, funding troubles prevented such a plan from coming to fruition until 1930.[31]

While peace celebrations aroused considerable passion along the Detroit River before 1914, interest in the military remained low. After the dissipation of the Fenian threat in the late 1860s, militia enlistments fell off considerably amongst residents of Essex County. The 24th Kent Regiment, in fact, was completely disbanded in 1892 due to steadily declining numbers. Closer to Windsor, the threat posed by Louis Riel and the Métis in the South Saskatchewan Valley partially revived interest in the militia, culminating in the creation of the 21st Essex Regiment of Infantry on June 12, 1885. However, the rebellion petered out long before any local men were required, and enlistments again subsided. Training thereafter was principally for parade purposes, such as the celebration associated with the incorporation of the City of Windsor in 1892. Interest in the military was briefly revived again in 1899 when sixteen local men were sent to South Africa to help Britain quell the Boer uprising, two never returning home.[32] The fourteen local soldiers who did eventually return to Windsor were greeted by throngs

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[29] Plans to build an international automobile tunnel underneath the Detroit River were devised shortly after the creation of the American Peace Centenary Committee and Canadian Peace Centenary Association in 1911 and 1912, respectively. LAC, RG25, Vol. 1116, File 1255; "Peace Centenary," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 18, 1914, 4; "Windsor Men Join Peace Centenary Association," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 3, 1914, 1.

[30] "Subway as Peace Memorial," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 31, 1914, 4.

[31] Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 208.

[32] One of these men, Hospital Sergeant Harry Bayard Barr, had studied medicine in Detroit before volunteering for active service. He later died of fever while treating the wounded. Kevin R. Shackleton and Sandy Antal, *Duty Nobly Done: The Official History of the Essex and Kent Scottish Regiment* (Walkerville: Walkerville Publishing Company, 2006), 148-155.

of supporters, a banquet in their honour, and the gift of new gold watches. But even the Boer War hysteria eventually dissipated. Not even the proliferation of a global arms race between imperial rivals Britain and Germany could arouse interest in the 21st Regiment, by then renamed the 21st Essex Fusiliers. In fact, enlistments were so low that officers practicing maneuvers were reduced to using toy soldiers and outdated maps of England when carrying out mock battles.[33]

Local disinterest in the military was reflected in Windsor's newspaper, which rarely focused on the period's European arms race. In July 1913, the *Evening Record* dismissed the idea of a "German Menace," determining instead that Germany was unlikely to initiate a war because it had "enough troubles at home to keep her busy".[34] The following June, just weeks before the fateful assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in the streets of Sarajevo, the *Evening Record* published the American writer Ruth Comfort Mitchell Young's anti-war poem, "He Went for a Soldier". In capturing the innocence of the young men sent off to fight ("He went away with the blithe young score of him…") and the brutal realities of the front lines ("The ground and round is smeared with the gore of him…"), the work is remarkably prescient for the summer of 1914.[35]

As was the case across Canada, the Austrian Archduke's assassination in late June 1914 did not arouse fears of a world war in Windsor.[36] Although it shared front-page space with the provincial election campaign when first reported by the *Evening Record*, in the weeks that followed interest in European diplomacy waned.[37] In fact, it was nearly a month before Windsor's newspaper again reported on the Balkan tensions and even then no one seemed to know what impact they might have on Canadians. The *Evening*

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[33] Ibid, 158.
[34] "The German Menace," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 5, 1913, 4.
[35] "He Went for a Soldier," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 16, 1914, 5.
[36] Robert Borden, Canadian Prime Minister from 1911-1920, later wrote "The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo on June 28th, had been alarming but on both sides of the Atlantic none, I imagine, believed that the situation would develop, with such startling suddenness, into a war that in its effect upon both belligerent and neutral nations would almost shatter the very framework of modern civilization." Henry Borden, *Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1938), 451-471.
[37] "Heir to Austrian Throne and Wife Assassinated," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 29, 1914, 1.

Record speculated that war would be limited to Austria-Hungary, Serbia, and perhaps Russia.[38] Windsorites were told by government officials that any conflict fought in Eastern Europe was unlikely to alter the day-to-day routine of people in Canada.[39] Reports on the troubles in Ireland suggested that if Canadian troops were needed anywhere, it was there, not continental Europe.[40] Finally, in a fascinating misjudgment of character paralleling Mackenzie King's 1937 meeting with Adolf Hitler (in which the Liberal Prime Minister likened the Nazi dictator to Joan of Arc), on July 30, just days before Britain's declaration of war, the *Evening Record* insisted Kaiser Wilhelm II was "bent on preserving peace."[41]

The next day, August 1, brought news to the contrary. Only days before, Austria-Hungary had demanded that the Serbian state, which it accused of some knowledge of the plot against Archduke Ferdinand, heir to the Hapsburg throne, hand over the assassins or face an invasion. Such an ultimatum was an open dismissal of Serbian sovereignty and left little room for negotiation. Indeed, Austria-Hungary wanted war. Since its 1908 annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, territory many Serbs felt belonged to a Greater Serbia (or Yugoslavia), tensions had steadily mounted between the two countries. The assassination presented Franz Josef, Austria-Hungary's emperor of sixty-six years, with an opportunity to quell that opposition.[42]

Two days after Austria-Hungary announced its declaration of war on Serbia on July 28, Tsar Nicholas II of Russia began the mobilization of his country's massive army. The move was seen as an act of aggression by Austria-Hungary and its powerful ally, Germany, which declared war on Russia August 1. Due to a twenty-year-old alliance between Russia and France, the French army, the world's largest and perhaps most

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[38] "World War is Feared," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 24, 1914, 1.
[39] "War Will Have Little Effect on Canada," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 27, 1914.
[40] "No Canadians at Maneuvers," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 24, 1914.
[41] C.P. Stacey, "The Divine Mission: Mackenzie King and Hitler," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 61, Issue 4 (December 1980): 502-512; "Crisis in Europe," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 30, 1914, 4.
[42] James L. Stokesbury, *A Short History of World War I* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1981), 20.

respected force of its kind, was also mobilized.[43] Fully expecting this development, the Germans immediately initiated plans for the invasion of their long-time rival to the west. Its manual for this ambitious strategy, the decade-old Schlieffen Plan, called for a pincer attack upon Paris that would result in French capitulation. Once that was complete, the Germans could shift troops back east in order to brush off the massive but backwards and cumbersome Russian army. It was a challenging move even for a technologically advanced and well-trained fighting force.[44] Diplomatically, it had the undesirable effect of ushering the British Empire (and most significantly, the Royal Navy) into the war, which had seventy years earlier agreed to protect "little" Belgium from its much bigger neighbours. Britain responded to the invasion with an ultimatum of its own, and when Germany failed to change its course, the Empire and its dominions were at war. The date was August 4, little over a month after Ferdinand's assassination.[45]

By law, Canada was obligated to fight in 1914. Although Confederation had made it a self-governing Dominion in 1867, the country's external affairs remained under British control until the signing of the Statute of Westminster in 1931. For many English Canadians, this was a moot point. The Motherland was threatened and so Canada should be ready to defend her.[46] Even in Quebec, where fifteen years earlier French-Canadian nationalists like Henri Bourassa had firmly opposed helping Britain in its war with the South African Boers, few stood against Canada's mobilization in August 1914. As the pressure for men to enlist mounted in 1916, Quebecers would steadily gravitate to a different position, but in the late summer of 1914 they appeared ready to answer the call, so long as it remained just a *call* rather than conscription.[47]

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[43] Keith Robbins, *The First World War: The Outbreak, Events and Aftermath* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 7.
[44] See Gerhard P. Groβ, "There Was a Schlieffen Plan: New Sources on the History of German Military Planning," *War in History*, Vol. 15, Issue 4 (November 2008).
[45] Barbara Tuchman, *The Guns of August* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1962), 118-158.
[46] Terry Copp, "The Military Effort, 1914-1918," in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*, David Mackenzie ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 111-130.
[47] In his famous response to cousin Capt. Talbot Papineau's open letter accusing him of turning the country against the war effort from its beginning, Henri Bourassa replied, "My first pronouncement on the intervention of Canada in the war is dated September 8th, 1914…I pronounced myself in favour of the intervention of Canada, *as a nation*, for the defence of the superior interests uniting Canada with France

Remaining on the outside looking in was the United States. According to historian James Stokesbury, to Europeans Americans were a "peculiar breed," which may help explain why the British, French, Russians, and Germans ignored the enormous human cost of the U.S. Civil War.[48] Despite the country's variety of ethnic groups, most of them European in origin, Americans as a whole showed little interest in supporting either the Allies or the Central Powers in August 1914. Perhaps this was because, as the *Detroit Free Press* indicated, America was so diverse. Made up of Germans, Britons, Slavs, and French alike, it meant joining either side could lead to a new civil war at home.[49]

As the rest of the world prepared for what was supposed to be a short war, its end expected by Christmas 1914, Americans recalled Shiloh, Antietam, and Gettysburg. W.A. Shryner, an Indiana man recently returned from a year in Europe and passing through Detroit, remembered seeing powerful armies and citizens hysterical with nationalism, a fatal combination in his judgment. "From all I could see there is not the slightest chance of it being anything but a long drawn-out struggle of extermination," Shryner noted in a letter to the *Detroit News* on September 2, 1914. "It will take a long time to bring Germany to her knees. The thousands who are about to be slaughtered haven't the least idea what it is all about, but they have been taught race hatred until they believe it is a holy cause."[50] There is also the possibility that enterprising Americans recognized the fortunes that could be made by staying out of the war and supplying any belligerent not completely blockaded by dreadnoughts with materiel. It was good business. Indeed, by the time the United States finally entered the fighting in April 1917 there was little doubt it would emerge the world's new financial superpower.[51]

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and Britain." LAC, MG30-E52, Vol. 03294; Arthur Hawkes, *Canadian Nationalism and the War* (Montreal, 1916); Sandra Gwyn, *Tapestry of War: A Private View of Canadians in the Great War* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1992), 316.
[48] Stokesbury, *A Short History of World War I*, 102.
[49] "What War Will Do," *Detroit Free Press*, August 3, 1914.
[50] "Believes Great War Will Be Long Drawn Struggle," *Detroit News*, September 2, 1914, 9.
[51] Stokesbury, *A Short History of World War I*, 111; 225.

Of course, no one in August 1914 knew this was how things would play out. In Detroit, there was widespread support for the federal government's official position of neutrality. As has been discussed, Detroit newspapers predicted the war would be a slaughter. Windsor's newspaper did not escape these influences, with the *Evening Record* likewise dreading a British declaration of war.

An *Evening Record* editorial three days before that announcement makes clear Windsor's reluctance to join a European conflict. "Any call for troops in Canada will be received in a spirit of opposition to the cursed militarism that is a blot on twentieth century civilization," noted the *Evening Record*. Windsor's newspaper did not see war as a way for the country to prove itself worthy on the world stage, but instead predicted it would negatively impact Canada by killing off its best men. "This is the time for sober thought. Reflect on the horrible consequences of participating in a war that really does not concern us. Consider the frightful sacrifice of life that would be made needlessly…It would be a stupendous folly to send a Canadian contingent abroad to face hardship and death in opposing one or more nations with whom we have no quarrel."[52]

The *Evening Record's* editorial strongly resembled anti-war sentiment in Detroit. On the same day, the *Detroit News* interviewed University of Michigan Professor James B. Angell, who predicted the impending conflict would resemble a bloodbath, though he speculated the tremendous cost of the war would make it a short one.[53] Also in that edition, the *Detroit News* drew direct comparisons between the impending European war and the U.S. Civil War. With Detroit preparing to hold the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) national convention in late August, these bitter memories were not far from the surface.[54] "So great was the destructiveness when the map had an area of about 1,000,000 square miles and when much less than 2,000,000 men were engaged at any time," the *News* noted. "What will the conditions be when 13,000,000 fighting men with longer

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[52] "Canadian Contingent," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 1, 1914, 4.
[53] "Keep Neutrality All U.S. Can Do," *Detroit News*, August 1, 1914, 2.
[54] Journal of the Common Council, City of Detroit, July 28, 1914, Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection.

range guns of every sort, and with railways and improved highways, and thousands of motor vehicles besides railway cars to rush them about[?]"[55]

Over at the *Detroit Free Press*, the rhetoric was similarly disparaging. "The period of waiting is over. The die is cast. War is on in Europe and humanity is about to take part in the most terrible conflict of all history," editor Phil J. Reid proclaimed, adding that the United States must avoid participating at all costs. "For the present we have but one course, absolute neutrality. This is too cosmopolitan a nation, its very fibres are too indiscriminately drawn from all the peoples fighting, to permit us to lean to one or another of them."[56] Windsor's residents as well as the *Evening Record* newspaper may have recognized that these issues posed a significant threat to a local population similarly divided between various ethnicities, including people of British, American, and French Canadian heritage.[57]

Since Germany's declaration of war on Russia August 1, Windsorites waited anxiously to hear Britain's plans. Finally, on the night of August 4, Detroiters brought word that Britain too was at war. Carried over by hundreds of American workers and newsboys, Detroit newspapers bearing the British declaration were dispersed across the Canadian city late that evening. Men and women alike fought to get their hands on the first copies of the *News* and *Free Press*, amongst others.[58]

Soon, an excited though apprehensive atmosphere descended upon the city. Members of the local 21st Essex Fusiliers, led by Major S.C. Robinson, were joined by hundreds of British-born citizens in Windsor's streets. Locals declared their support for Britain in its time of need and condemned the Kaiser. "Germany is just like a man who gets into a fight, loses his head and hits everybody in sight," shouted Harry Rush, a

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[55] "The Horrible Cost," *Detroit News*, August 1, 1914, 4.
[56] "What War Will Do," *Detroit Free Press*, August 3, 1914, 4.
[57] Later in the war the appointment of an Irish-Canadian to the position of local Bishop would threaten to destabilize Windsor's delicate ethnic balance. In 1917 Ford City's French-Canadian population protested the appointment of Bishop Michael Fallon, an Irish-Canadian with pro-Regulation 17 sympathies. Michael Power, *Bishop Fallon and the Riot at Ford City, 8 September 1917* (Occasional Paper No. 3, Essex County Historical Society, 1986), 1.
[58] "Americans Hasten to Aid of Britain," *Detroit News*, August 5, 1914, 15.

Windsor bank manager, as he snapped up one of the first Detroit papers. "Yes, and England will slip one over on the emperor's haw for getting so gay," replied the newsboy. The exultant crowd bellowed out the lyrics to "Rule Britannia" and "God Save the King". Clients and bank tellers, store clerks and shoppers, all talked of the war.[59]

Americans too were prevalent in what the *Detroit News* described as a "war-mad" scene in Windsor. Many of them were young men who goaded Major Robinson to sign them up right away. Some boasted of their military experiences in South Africa, Cuba, or the Philippines. Robinson, in no way prepared for an onslaught of local or American volunteers, promised the Detroit boys they would be put to use. "If these Americans pass the necessary requirements, there is no reason why they should not be accepted in our regiments," Robinson told the *News*. "Many Americans enlisted with us during the Boer war and they made good and valiant soldiers."[60]

But even as throngs of Detroit and Windsor residents celebrated Britain's declaration of war, others in the Canadian border town questioned their countrymen's willingness to fight for the Empire. Though the *Evening Record* revealed that hundreds of Windsor men of all ages would "don a redcoat, strap on their equipment, and take their rifles and go into the unknown parts of Europe in defence of the British flag and England," it also noted the existence of a considerable contingent who "look upon the local redcoats as a joke, [and] laugh when they hear that the men of the city are willing to go to the front."[61]

The *Evening Record* neglected to reveal just how many Windsorites felt this way, but the anti-war sentiment paralleled the newspaper's own editorials in the days and weeks after the Archduke's untimely demise. Thereafter, the *Evening Record* would be more careful in describing local opinion towards the conflict, but the paper and, in all likelihood, many of its readers remained apprehensive about what consequences the war

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[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] "Twenty-First May Be Asked to Send 100 Men to the Front," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 5, 1914, 1.

would bring. “Since the die has been cast, there is no other course for us to take,” the *Evening Record* noted on August 7. “Deplorable yes, but necessary for the maintenance and preservation of the empire of which we form a part.”[62]

A poem published in the *Evening Record* the following day seemed to reflect the “deplorable” nature of the war, as well as its influence on once sensible men.

Two friends were hanging on a
Bar and speaking on the war
And wondering what all those
Guys shoot each other
For.

‘What fools those fellows are,’
Said one. ‘What fools they are
To fight!’
The other man agreed with him,
And answered: ‘Fools is right.
The Kaiser sure will lose his goat
--he hasn't got a chance.
To win from England, let alone
From Russia and from France.’

‘Aw, rent a hall’ the other said,
‘You're talking like a yap,
When this here war is ended,
France will not be on the map.’

And so they argued back and
Forth until they came to blows,
And eye the barkeep stopped them
They had smashed each other's
Nose.

And one of them had just re-
Marked:
‘What fools they are to fight!’
The other had agreed with him,
And answered: ‘Fools is right.’[63]

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[62] “War Eliminates Factions,” *Windsor Evening Record*, August 6, 1914.
[63] “What Fools These Fighters Be!” *Windsor Evening Record*, August 7, 1914, 9.

In the days after Britain's declaration of war on August 4, the *Evening Record* continued to lament the coming bloodshed. Like the *News* and *Free Press* across the river in Detroit, the *Evening Record* seemed convinced the war would not be over by Christmas, nor would Canada escape a long list of casualties. As a possible solution to this problem, the *Evening Record's* attention turned to Eugenics, or the preservation and proliferation of the more "desirable" classes and races in society, usually healthy, tall, and muscular white Anglo-Saxons.[64] "At the time of the Napoleonic wars magnificent specimens of manhood were killed off in large numbers, leaving weaker and smaller men at home to re-people the continent of Europe," noted the *Evening Record*. "It is appalling to contemplate the future of the human race if wars are to continue, destroying those who are mentally and physically fit and leaving behind the unfortunates who may suffer from lunacy, epilepsy, tuberculosis, and all the ills that flesh is heir to…If it is impossible to get along without wars, the nations of the world might better agree to draw their armies from the insane asylums and epileptic hospitals."[65]

The *Evening Record's* admission that such a plan would produce "a funny war," but would succeed in protecting the "best type of men" represented reasoning clearly distinct from those who fully supported Canada's participation in the conflict. To those who saw the war as an opportunity for Canada to demonstrate its value on the world stage, the military required the best and brightest to ensure the Canadian Expeditionary Force would succeed where others failed. Generally speaking, this was one of the reasons First Nations people, African Americans, Asian Canadians, and those with even marginal physical and mental health issues (let alone insanity and epilepsy) were refused outright by the military until the recruiting situation grew desperate in 1916.[66] The suggestion by Windsor's newspaper that these kinds of men bear the brunt of the fighting indicates it did not necessarily believe military accomplishments would benefit Canada

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[64] For more on eugenics, see Thomas C. Leonard, "Mistaking Eugenics for Social Darwinism: Why Eugenics is Missing from the History of American Economics," *History of Political Economy*, Vol. 37, (2005): 200-233.
[65] "Size of Our Soldiers," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 8, 1914, 4.
[66] James W. Walker, "Race and Recruitment in World War I: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 70, Issue 1 (March 1989): 1-26.

internationally or internally. Antiwar expressions of this kind continued to appear in the *Evening Record* over the coming weeks; on August 10, the newspaper featured a picture of a French airplane attacking a massive German zeppelin, with the caption: "For the first time in the world's history men are killing each other among the clouds. It is a spectacle of horror, a riot of ruin, a carnival of death in midair."[67]

In this manner, Detroit and Windsor newspapers continued to mirror one another. Across the river in Detroit, the Grand Army of the Republic national convention brought the human cost of war into perspective for Detroiters and Windsorites, many of whom participated in the week of commemoration.[68] "The United States celebrated the anniversary of Gettysburg by sending thousands of men of both sides to the scene of the fight in a reunion of peace," noted the *Detroit News* on September 1. "Europe celebrates the anniversary of peace…by allowing 6,000,000 men to engage in armed conflict."[69] In another editorial the same day, the *News* took aim at militarism. The glories of war, the editor argued, were not really wonders at all, but hollow victories that would lead mankind into a dark age. "The dogged pertinacity of the infantryman, climbing over bodies of fellows slain…the sacrificial service of the sharpshooter…these are glorious, and they are war…But civilization is too wise, too keen of vision this day and age to be blinded. Through the glare of glory it perceives but too well the darkness at the bottom."[70]

But for every man and woman who hated the idea of the war there were at least as many willing to sacrifice their money, time, and lives in support of it. Windsor recruiters had little trouble finding recruits in August and September 1914, when hundreds of men from both the Canadian border city and Detroit enlisted for active service overseas. Initially, enlistments in Windsor were slow, with just twenty-five men joining up on August 5. The *Evening Record* that day indicated some local men were afraid to enlist

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[67] "A Battle in the World's First Spectacular War in the Air," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 10, 1914, 1.
[68] According to the *Detroit News*, Windsor Boer War veterans, Boy Scouts, and militiamen paraded alongside the G.A.R. in Detroit on September 1, 1914. "Boys of '61 March With Canadians," *Detroit News*, September 2, 1914, 13.
[69] Editorial, *Detroit News*, September 1, 1914, 4.
[70] "In the Shadow of Glory," *Detroit News*, September 1, 1914, 4.

before the defeat of the Germany navy, which many people believed would prevent Canadian troops from safely crossing the Atlantic. But by Saturday evening the number of local recruits had increased nearly four-fold, to ninety-three, and on Tuesday, August 11, one week after the British declaration of war, nearly 200 had signed on. Of the 197 who were a part of this first wave, eighty-seven listed Windsor as their place of residence, forty-nine said Detroit, and another twenty-nine hailed from Walkerville. Just three of the earliest recruits listed Ford City, the site of the Ford of Canada plant, as their home. Only eight listed the wider Essex County as their place of residence. The *Evening Record* estimated that one in four of these first recruits were British-born, considerably lower than the 6:10 ratio of British-born to all other recruits recorded across the rest of Canada.[71] The newspaper also reported that the majority of the forty-nine Detroiters originally hailed from England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland.[72] The next day, these new recruits, many of them without uniform, paraded through the city of Windsor. An estimated 25,000 people, many visitors from Detroit, came out to see and cheer them. "Never in the history of the city has such a crowd turned out and the demonstration was a fitting tribute to the men who have offered their all in the call to arms," reported the *Evening Record*.[73]

Over time, local support for the war effort eroded the antiwar sentiment of August 1914. Certainly, there was no shortage of local men willing to offer their services for the war effort.[74] This was in line with recruiting across the country, which was initially substantial. In fact, recruitment was so high in Canada that recruiters weeded out all but the healthiest of Anglo-Saxon specimens; rejections came to those missing fingers or toes, those who were under 5'3" height, those with slight physical or mental illnesses, and those with uncompromising wives who would not to let them go overseas. Pay for a private was $1.10 per day, about equal to that of a junior clerk and far more than a farm

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[71] Robert Brown and Donald Loveridge, "Unrequited Faith: Recruiting the CEF, 1914-1918," *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire*, Vol. 51, Issue 54 (1982).
[72] "Windsor Sends 197 Volunteers for the Canadian Contingent," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 11, 1914, 1.
[73] "Twenty-Five Thousand Pack Windsor Streets When Volunteers Parade," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 12, 1914, 1.
[74] "Stick to Volunteer System" *Windsor Evening Record*, December 16, 1914, 4.

hand's wage.[75] Helped in large part by its proximity to the border (across which many American professional soldiers and adventurers would come), Windsor's recruiting for service overseas did not struggle until 1916, about the same time most other municipalities in Canada experienced similar problems.[76]

Windsor women showed their support by joining the city's most prominent imperialist organization, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) and the local branch of the Red Cross Society.[77] At the IODE's first meeting on August 11, 1914, regular and prospective members appeared in such numbers that the Windsor Armouries could barely house them all. Asked by the local military authorities to help raise money for a newly unveiled hospital ship fund, the ladies responded with donations ranging from 50 cents to $5.[78] After three days, the fund's totals stood at $185.50.[79]

Although many Detroiters remained committed to President Woodrow Wilson's policy of neutrality during the war's first two and a half years, residents of the American border city did contribute substantially to both the recruiting and fundraising efforts in Windsor. Detroit women gave both their time and money to aid Windsor's war effort; for example, in March 1915, members of the Women's Union of Detroit's Forest Avenue Presbyterian Church donated nine surgeons' gowns, fourteen hospital night shirts, seventy eye pads, 400 abdominal pads, and surgical linens to Windsor's chapter of the IODE.[80] Detroit women also helped Windsorites raise money for the war effort, such as in April 1915 when singers from the American city performed at a patriotic tea put on by Windsor's St. Andrew's Church.[81] Detroit's St. Andrew's Hall, home to the city's St.

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[75] Copp, "The Military Effort, 1914-1918," 37-38.
[76] The American Legion, a contingent of battalions organized specifically for the recruitment of Americans during the period of U.S. neutrality, recruited hundreds of men in the Windsor region. Eric Smylie, "Americans Who Did Not Wait: The American Legion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1915-1917," Master of Science, (History) Thesis, University of North Texas, May 1996, 68-69; On the CEF's recruiting struggles by 1916, Ronald G. Haycock, *Sam Hughes: The Public Career of a Controversial Canadian, 1885-1916* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986), 198.
[77] Morrison, *Garden Gateway to Canada*, 254.
[78] "Women of Windsor Show True Patriotism," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 11, 1914, 1.
[79] "Generous Response for Hospital Ship," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 14, 1914, 7.
[80] "Detroit Ladies Give Supplies," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 15, 1915.
[81] "Social and Personal," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 3, 1915.

Andrew's Society, supported dozens of Canadian families through contributions to the Canadian Patriotic Fund.[82] In November 1916, Detroit hosted an Allies Bazaar that raised money for women and children affected by the war.[83] The Canadian display featured grain and maple leaves laid over the Union Jack and drew attention from Americans and Canadians alike.[84] Of particular interest for the Detroiters were Canadian recruiting posters included in the display; although they were not put there to be sold, Americans offered as much as $25 for each one.[85] The surprised women manning the booth shrugged and accepted the cash.[86]

Although recruiting statistics showing the number of Canadians, let alone Americans, enlisting in particular military districts remains imprecise, it is clear many Detroit men enlisted in Windsor prior to the U.S. declaration of war in 1917. As early as March 1915 the *Evening Record* reported the deaths of three Detroit men killed while serving with the CEF, all having enlisted in Windsor.[87] On a single day during the brutal Battle of the Somme in 1916, five Detroit men, presumed to have enlisted with the 99th Battalion in Windsor, were wounded in action.[88]

Some Americans who enlisted in Windsor joined local battalions like the 99th or, later, the 241st Essex and Kent Scottish. But others joined the 97th Battalion, a part of the American Legion (AL), a special force established within the Canadian Expeditionary Force to recruit U.S. citizens, exclusively. The American Legion recruited across Canada but had particular success in Windsor, where recruiters like Sergeant "Pop" Emery, a

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[82] In May 1916 it was estimated that Detroit members of the St. Andrew's Society supported forty Canadian families at a cost of $700.00 per month. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection Manuscripts Collection. St. Andrew's Society Records, Series 6, Subseries D, Box 20:13.
[83] Displays for the event represented Canada, Scotland, England, France, Wales, Belgium, Bohemia, Serbia, Armenia, and Poland. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection Manuscripts Collection. St. Andrew's Society Records, Series 1, Box 1:10, 1916.
[84] "Saturday Will Be 'Canadian Day' at Allies Bazaar," *Windsor Evening Record*, November 17, 1916.
[85] "Posters Attract Much Attention at Allies Bazaar," *Windsor* Evening Record, November 24, 1916.
[86] See also, "Windsor Campaign Total Now $41,000," *Detroit Free Press*, November 2, 1915; "Detroiter Sends Red Cross $200," *Detroit Free Press*, April 1, 1917.
[87] "Three Detroit Boys are Killed in Action; Enlisted in Windsor," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 20, 1915.
[88] "Detroiters' Names on Casualty List," *Windsor Evening Record*, September 27, 1916.

former member of the Seventh United States Cavalry and a veteran of the Spanish-American War, worked hard to convince visiting Americans that they should join the Allied war effort.[89] Emery and other AL recruiters had a keen eye for finding potential recruits; in the summer, they often staked out Windsor's horse-racing tracks, handing out recruiting pamphlets to men of military age as they walked through the facility's gates. The strategy worked best on those men who lost big betting on the ponies, such as Chicago resident George Clarke, who decided to enlist after gambling away $2,000. In July 1916, the *Evening Record* noted that "Recruiting literature distributed at the gates of the race track [has] brought forth a large number of men," suggesting Clarke was not alone.[90]

Regardless of the battalion they joined, Americans–and especially Detroiters–comprised a key part of recruiting in Windsor. In the opinion of the *Evening Record*, this made the Canadian border city "the most fruitful recruiting ground in Ontario," particularly as the number of enlistments in Canada slowed in 1916.[91] That summer, Windsor began recruiting for the 241st Scottish Borderers Battalion, which sought to attract locals with a distinctive uniform featuring the Highland kilt. The strategy only had marginal success in drawing out Windsor's Scots, but it did attract a substantial number of Americans.[92] When an estimated 12,000 Windsorites and Detroiters poured into the streets of Windsor to bid farewell to the unit as it shipped out in April 1917, Mayor Charles Tuson paid special tribute to the Americans who comprised twenty-seven per cent of the battalion's strength.[93]

Because Windsor's military authorities had so little trouble finding recruits for overseas service during the war's early stages, local men were not pressured into the

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[89] "Veteran Added to Recruiting Staff," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 14, 1916.
[90] "Went Broke at Races; Enlisted," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 20, 1916.
[91] "Recruiting Men Here for Many Branches of Army," *Windsor Evening Record*, November 17, 1916.
[92] In December 1916, the *Evening Record* lamented that there "are a number of Scotch slackers". "Conscription," *Windsor Evening Record*, December 19, 1916.
[93] Although Tuson estimated that one in five 241st recruits were Americans in his speech, the number was actually closer to one in four. "Throng Bids Farewell to 241st Batt.," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 24, 1917; Shackleton and Antal, *Duty Nobly Done*, 327.

ranks, meaning the conflict failed to have a significant impact on sports in the region. Until conscription became imminent in 1917, Detroit and Windsor sports teams regularly engaged in matches, as they had prior to Britain's declaration of war in August 1914. News of these games filled the sports section of the *Windsor Evening Record*; for example, in March 1915 it reported on the stunning victory of the Windsor Rovers soccer team, which defeated a number of Detroit squads to capture the Michigan State Soccer League championship.[94] Windsor and area amateur baseball teams, like the Walkerville Crescents and Windsor Wanderers, continued to make regular appearances in Detroit, while horse racing drew tens of thousands of Americans across the border during the summer months.[95] So popular was the "Sport of Kings" that in 1916 a third track, Kenilworth, opened within Windsor city limits. On the September afternoon when races there got underway, an estimated crowd of 10,000 attended, with the *Evening Record* speculating that most had come from Detroit.[96] But there was more to the sporting interaction between Windsorites and Detroiters than just baseball and horse racing during the period of American neutrality; residents of both communities regularly came together for a wide variety of sports, from lawn bowling to horseshoe tossing to dog shows.[97]

The war did not immediately impact the transnational culture of the Detroit River border region. Just as they had done prior to the war, Windsorites attended the many theatrical productions put on across the border, at facilities like the Garrick, Cadillac, and Lyceum theatres.[98] Detroit and Windsor preachers and musicians continued to move back and forth across the line to perform, while organizations such as the St. Andrew's Society

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[94] "Rovers Trim the Wolverines," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 15, 1915; "Border City Team Takes Soccer Cup," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 11, 1915.

[95] "Crescents Will Play Strong Detroit Team," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 9, 1916; "Wanderers May Enter Baseball League in Detroit," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 29, 1916.

[96] The *Evening Record* estimated that 90 per cent of those attending were from Detroit. "Large Crowd in Attendance at Inaugural Meeting of Windsor's New Track," *Windsor Evening Record*, September 5, 1916; Editorial, *Windsor Evening Record*, September 6, 1916.

[97] "Windsorite Takes 7 Prizes at Dog Show," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 30, 1916; "Horseshoe Team to Play Detroit Ball Tossers," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 14, 1916; "City Briefs – Friendly Match," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 17, 1916.

[98] "Amusements," *Windsor Evening Record*, February 13, 1915.

often sought entertainers from the other side of the river for their meetings.[99] All that interaction between Windsor and Detroit men and women fostered some particularly intense personal relationships, and the Great War era saw a number of cross-border marriages.[100]

As the war progressed, the nature of this cross-border social relationship did change. As Canada moved towards conscription in 1917, Windsorites who had at one time been willing to look the other way when young men joined sports teams instead of the military were no longer so accommodating. In January, news that a group of Windsor men were trying to organize a hockey team to play in Detroit received a vitriolic response from the *Evening Record*, which noted, "Public opinion will support the city council in giving no consideration to any request from these un-military young men, who are more concerned about chasing a hockey stick than in assisting to chase the Huns."[101]

Other sports were also affected by this increasing pressure put on men to enlist. The entrance of the United States into the war in April seriously reduced the number of Americans making their way to Windsor's horse-racing facilities. In response, all three race tracks closed in July 1917, with no plans to re-open until the war was over.[102] And baseball was also affected; few games were played in 1917 between Windsor and Detroit men of military age, which forced locals to attend high school games. During the war's latter stages, baseball and rugby games between Detroit and Windsor secondary school students regularly made headlines in the *Windsor Evening Record's* sports page, a major change from earlier in the conflict.[103]

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[99] "Detroit Preacher at Meetings Tonight," *Windsor Evening Record*, February 4, 1915; "Social and Personal," *Windsor Evening Record*, February 19, 1915; "Social and Personal," *Windsor Evening Record*, January 6, 1917.
[100] "Social and Personal – Lemieux-Wallis," *Windsor Evening Record*, February 5, 1915; "Social and Personal – Crandell-Gottschalk," *Windsor Evening Record*, December 5, 1916.
[101] "Hockey Versus Huns," *Windsor Evening Record*, January 23, 1917.
[102] "Curtain Will be Rung Down On Canadian Racing With Running of Tuesday's Program," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 30, 1917.
[103] "Assumption Team Preparing for Ypsilanti Game," "Collegiate Team Defeats Detroiters," *Windsor Evening Record*, October 8, 1917; "Formidable Team Wears Uniform of Windsor Collegiate," *Windsor Evening Record*, October 17, 1917; "W.C.I. Team to Meet Detroit Team," *Windsor Evening Record*, November 8, 1918.

The United States' official policy of neutrality also brought tensions to the Detroit River border region as the conflict progressed. In January 1917 the editor of Windsor's *Evening Record* newspaper criticized America for "deserting" Canada by continuing to pursue neutrality, even as German submarines attacked Allied sea vessels carrying U.S. citizens.[104] Then, in late March, the *Evening Record* congratulated Austin Hoy, an American man, for reportedly sending a telegram to President Woodrow Wilson formally protesting U.S. neutrality. According to Windsor's newspaper, Hoy, whose mother and sister had died when the *RMS Laconia* was torpedoed by a German U-Boat in late February 1917, planned to join the Canadian army.[105]

But neither conscription nor U.S. neutrality dramatically reduced interaction between Windsorites and Detroiters during the war. In fact, the American entry into the conflict in 1917 brought these communities together on multiple occasions during the war's last two years, even in circumstances where it was officially outlawed by the federal government.

Upon learning that the U.S. President had asked Congress for a declaration of war on Germany, the *Evening Record*, which only weeks earlier had criticized America for its neutrality, expressed elation. Calling the United States' decision "a powerful blow for democracy," when it became known Congress would approve of the request, the *Evening Record* predicted this to be the turning point of a long and brutal war.[106] "It is recognized that the genius, energy, and money of the United States should be directed toward ending the war with blows that can be dealt quickly."[107]

News that the United States had joined the Allied cause spread rapidly throughout the Canadian community. Letters to the *Evening Record* suggested celebrating the event by finally building that bridge between the two communities.[108] Windsor Anglican

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[104] Editorial, *Windsor Evening Record*, January 15, 1917.
[105] "Renounces His Country; Seeks to Revenge Kin," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 30, 1917.
[106] "Wilson's War Address," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 3, 1917.
[107] "Help From the United States," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 5, 1917.
[108] "Views of Readers – International Bridge to Succeed Ferry," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 19, 1917.

Reverend D.W. Collins declared the American declaration of war "the greatest event in the history of the human race," adding that Canadians and Americans were "brothers once more, fighting side by side against a common enemy."[109] Days before the *Evening Record* reported that "practically the entire population" of the city joined several thousand Detroiters in a massive parade winding its way through the Canadian border community to celebrate the event. Leading the procession were men dressed as Uncle Sam and John Bull, followed by the Windsor Boy Scouts, the 241st Battalion, members of the Canadian Engineers, and several American soldiers from Detroit. Starting at the local Armouries, the parade wound down Ouellette Avenue, being "heartily cheered" all the way. Later that evening, many of the parade's participants and onlookers crossed to Detroit, where they joined 2,000 residents of that city in a march down Woodward Avenue.[110]

For days the partying engulfed both cities, particularly Detroit; so determined were members of Windsor's 241st Battalion to participate that they went across the boundary despite being specifically warned against doing so. There, "they were royally entertained by their American friends," who bought the Canadians drinks and cigars. Unfortunately, the fun came to an end later that week, when the troops were rounded up by a sergeant-major who promptly threw them in the "clink".[111] "There they remain like Napoleon in exile, dreaming of past glory," noted the *Evening Record,* which added, "but no doubt heartily agreeing with the spokesman of the expedition who said, 'It was worth it.'"[112]

In April 1917 the people of Detroit anxiously waited to see what impact their Doughboys would have on the fighting, but it would take months for these men to reach the front lines. In the meantime they lived vicariously through their Canadian neighbours, inviting Windsor politicians and military figures to participate in civic events and to

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[109] "Border Welcomes U.S. Entry in War," *Detroit Free Press*, April 18, 1917.
[110] "Parade Witnessed by Great Throng," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 16, 1917.
[111] Shackleton and Antal, *Duty Nobly Done*, 327.
[112] "Kilties Had Time of Their Careers," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 17, 1917.

speak before Detroit-based organizations like the Sons of the American Revolution.[113] Detroiters felt a special connection to the CEF, and cheered wildly when it defeated the Germans at Vimy Ridge in April 1917. "Accounts of the achievements of the Canadian soldiers at Vimy ridge and beyond it send thrills through the ears of American readers, particularly through the hearts of those of us who live near the border," noted the *Detroit Free Press*. "They are our fellow Americans, in the larger meaning of the expression, and they are pointing out the road to honor and fame which the soldiers of the United States may later have opportunity to tread."[114] Later in the war, Detroiters would organize a pyrotechnical display of the Canadian victory at Vimy for the Michigan State Fair.[115]

As the war entered its final year the people of Detroit and Windsor continued to work together to help advance the Allied cause. British and Canadian military recruiters set up shop in Detroit's Cadillac Square.[116] In April 1918, Windsor Mayor Charles Tuson and returned veterans of the CEF marched alongside Detroit Mayor Oscar Marx and American recruits in a parade organized to raise money for the U.S. city's third Liberty Loan campaign.[117] Several months later, Windsor residents organized a special Citizen's Welcoming Committee to provide cigarettes and reading material to American troops passing through the Canadian city en route to the front.[118] Within two weeks the committee had accumulated 16,000 cigarettes and postcards, some of which were distributed to the Americans at a special ceremony attended by the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire.[119] Speaking before a huge crowd in Windsor, the Duke turned to Detroit's mayor and proclaimed that the American entry into the war had given the British a "renewed confidence" when "our chances of victory looked dark indeed."[120] Even Henry

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[113] Windsor military officers appeared before several meetings of the SAR in 1917 and 1918. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection Manuscripts Collection. Marquis E. Shattuck Papers, Series 2, Box 11:4.
[114] "The Canadians at Vimy," *Detroit Free Press*, April 15, 1917.
[115] Journal of the Common Council, City of Detroit, September 17, 1918, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.
[116] Ibid, July 2, 1918.
[117] "Veterans Appear in Detroit Parade," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 11, 1918.
[118] "Directors Decide to Go On with Windsor Fair," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 1, 1918.
[119] "Americans Organize to Aid in Welcome of Troops En-Route," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 4, 1918.
[120] "Duke of Devonshire Pays Tribute to Doughboys," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 6, 1918.

Ford, who had earlier spoken out against the war–much to the frustration of Ford of Canada general manager, Gordon MacGregor–won the hearts of the royals by gently placing his arm around the Duchess' waist to prevent her from falling.[121] It was a flagrant violation of court etiquette, but the smile that emerged on the Duchess' face suggested she hardly minded.[122]

To the relief of all, the war would be over in five months. On the morning of November 11, 1918, word reached Windsor that an Armistice had been signed. In response, exuberant men, women and children took to the streets, following the 21st Regiment band, Victory Bond salesmen, Knights of Columbus, Oddfellows Club, Boy Scouts and decorated automobiles in parades throughout the city. Workers left the factories for the day, some carrying crude effigies of Germany's deposed Kaiser.[123]

In Detroit, the scenes were similar; bands belted out "Over There," though such patriotic airs were barely audible amongst the cheers of the crowd gathered at Campus Martius and City Hall.[124] Onlookers noted that it seemed only the streetcar drivers stayed at their posts, the remainder of Detroit residents shirking work and flooding into the streets to welcome the long-awaited peace.[125] A week later, Detroit's mayor and its council issued a formal invitation to Windsor city council to take part in a massive Thanksgiving weekend "International Victory Pageant" in the American metropolis. Promising to contribute $1,000 from the city's own coffers, Windsor city council unanimously agreed to participate.[126]

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[121] David Roberts, *In the Shadow of Detroit: Gordon M. McGregor, Ford of Canada, and Motoropolis* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2006), 132-133.
[122] "Henry Ford's Gallantry Saves Duchess From Fall," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 7, 1918.
[123] "Border Cities Go Wild When News of Truce Comes," Windsor *Evening Record*, November 11, 1918, 3.
[124] "Wild Parade Greets Truce," *Detroit News*, November 12, 1918, 1.
[125] Clarence M. Burton to Clyde J. Carpenter, Nov. 13, 1918. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection Manuscripts Collection, Burton, Clarence M. Fonds, Box 11.
[126] Windsor City Council Minutes, November 25, 1918, Windsor Public Library Archives, RG2 AIV-1; Journal of the Common Council, City of Detroit, November 19, 1918. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection.

The war ended in the Detroit River border region much as it had began, with Americans and Canadians coming together to mark the occasion. This does not mean residents of both Windsor and Detroit supported the war effort at all times; in fact, in the early stages newspapers and citizens from each city approached the conflict with a great deal of caution. In Detroit, a city that in 1914 hosted the national convention of the GAR, there were lingering memories of the incredibly costly U.S. Civil War. Unlike many citizens of the various Allied nations, Detroiters did not foresee a short conflict, but saw intense national rivalries and advancing military technologies as evidence that a long and brutal war would follow. In Windsor, the editor of the *Evening Record* was similarly concerned about where the war would lead Canada, though as the conflict progressed the newspaper, like most of Windsor, threw its support behind the war effort.

Eventually, many Detroiters threw their support behind the Allies as well. Detroit men joined the CEF and its women contributed to patriotic fundraising campaigns in Windsor. Then, with the U.S. declaration of war in 1917, the two communities came together on several occasions to celebrate the advancement of a local and transnational bond forged through shared economic, cultural, and military exploits. In some ways, the war may have actually brought these people closer together than ever before.

Of course, the war did present a new challenge to this relationship in the form of increased border security. As the war progressed, the border's permeability was steadily eroded, a process that started with pressure to buy goods locally and then advancing to the imposition of a passport system that forced men of military age hoping to cross the line to acquire an unprecedented amount of documentation. The way Windsorites reacted to these changes, introduced by a number of sources, serves to demonstrate just how important the border's permeability was to the citizens of this city before and during the war. The following chapter will focus on this theme.

Chapter 5: The Windsor-Detroit Border during the First World War

> Just a few lines to register a kick at the petty slights put upon we members of the 21st guard...We're about 'fed up' with having civilian slackers, some narrow-minded members of the 241st battalion and others...refer to us as the 21st 'Safety first'.[1]
>
> - Unknown 21st Essex Fusiliers Regiment member, *Windsor Evening Record*, April 5, 1917.

Windsor's 21st Essex Fusiliers Regiment, the militia unit that provided the city's home guard, constantly struggled to recruit local men during the First World War. Despite the repeated emergence of reports indicating that Windsor was a target for Detroit-based German Americans intending to attack the Canadian border city, few Windsorites appeared interested in protecting the international boundary. In fact, increasing security at the border was seen by many Windsor residents as one and the same with preventing the easy flow of travelers across the Detroit River, thereby inhibiting an established border-crossing culture. As the following chapter will show, Windsorites were willing to make many sacrifices during the war, but refraining from professional and leisurely visits to Detroit was not one of them. Eventually this led to protests by Windsor residents against government legislation designed to restrict movement across the boundary. The language used in these protests reveals that many Windsorites believed they were a part of a unique, international community that needed to be maintained during times of peace and war.

By 1914 the international boundary between Windsor and Detroit had emerged as a major border crossing area. Thousands traveled the line to find work on farms and in factories during the first decade of the twentieth century. While many would make this trip across the border only a few times during their lives, others would do so on a daily basis, having established homes for themselves on one side of the line and using the

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[1] "Views of Readers – Men on Guard Duty," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 5, 1917.

efficient ferry system of the Detroit River to find employment across the boundary.[2] Although it is not clear how many Detroiters worked in Windsor, in June 1914 it was estimated that 2,500 Windsorites, or approximately one-tenth of the local population, were employed on the American side of the line.[3] In late 1915 the Canadian immigration authorities had twelve agents stationed at the ferry docks to oversee traffic coming into Canada from Detroit, though this number would increase to seventeen by July 1917.[4] In Detroit the U.S. immigration authorities had twenty agents in place by 1916.[5]

In Washington and Ottawa the main concern for the Detroit-Windsor crossing was the flow of individuals who might place a burden on the state, including criminals, the impoverished, and people with physical and psychological problems.[6] The "Chinese Question" was not a major issue in a border region nearly four thousand kilometres from the Pacific and where the local Asian population was perhaps a few hundred in 1914.[7] Although the Detroit River region's population of Chinese, Japanese, and East Indian peoples was much higher than in St. Stephen, New Brunswick–where the Canadian census of 1911 reported that not a single Asian lived within town limits–it was relatively

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[2] In July 1914 it was estimated that the armada of ferry steamers operating on the Detroit River could carry 44,000 people in a single day. "Detroit Lake and River Steamers Carry 44,000 Passengers," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 3, 1914.

[3] The percentage is actually much higher if one assumes that perhaps one in five residents were men of working age. "Residents of Windsor Must Pay Income Tax in Detroit," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 30, 1914.

[4] D.H. Reynolds to J.S. Austin, Nov. 27, 1915. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), MF C-10616, File 801552, Part 3; "Two Returned Soldiers Get Immigration Posts," *Detroit Free Press*, July 6, 1917.

[5] Thomas Klug, "The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the Making of a Border-Crossing Culture on the U.S.-Canada Border, 1891-1941," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, Volume 40, Issue 3 (September 2010).

[6] Ibid.

[7] According to the 1910 U.S. census there were approximately ninety-nine Asians living in Detroit, though this number grew to 775 by 1920. In Windsor, there were forty-two Chinese and no Japanese or East Indians in 1911, though the number of Asians increased to nearly 300 by 1921. *Thirteenth Census of the United States 1910, Volume 3: Reports by States, Alabama-Montana, 1915* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912-1914); *Fourteenth Census of the United States 1920, Volume 3: Population 1920: Composition and Characteristics of the Population by States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921); *Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, by Provinces, Districts, and Sub-Districts, Volume II* (Ottawa: C.H. Parmlee, 1913), Table VII, 214-215; *Sixth Census of Canada 1921: Age, Conjugal Condition, Birthplace, Immigration, Citizenship, Language, Educational Status, School Attendance, Blindness, and Deaf Mutism, Volume II* (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1925), Table 54, 367.

small compared to urban centers in the Pacific Northwest.[8] And while the smuggling of Asians across the international boundary periodically made headlines in Windsor, rarely was the movement of Chinese, Japanese, or East Indian immigrants the focus of discussion for the region's Canadian immigration agents.[9] This meant that residents of the wider region rarely pressured local customs and immigration agents into being particularly vigilant about who or what got through.

When war was declared in August 1914 many Windsorites appear to have shown little interest in changing this situation. This was partly revealed by their reluctance to defend the border once war was declared. Even with a German-American population ranging from 44,000 to 130,000 in Detroit, Windsorites expressed little fear that their city would become a target for enemy aliens living across the river and, as a result, little was done to ensure that no such attack would occur.[10] Few local men enlisted with the 21st Essex Fusiliers, the local militia regiment which sought men to bolster the city's home defence after the declaration of war. Even when newspaper reports in November 1914 suggested that Germans in Detroit were plotting to blow up important facilities in Windsor, the 21st Regiment remained unpopular.[11] "There are hundreds of young men going around the streets today who would not volunteer to go to the front and now they refuse to volunteer to defend their own city," lamented one officer of the 21st Regiment in late November 1914. "We are right here on the border and if anything should happen in

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[8] For example, the British Columbia census district of Delta, population 8,651, contained 1,129 people of Chinese, Japanese and East Indian descent. The City of Vancouver, population 123,902, was home to more than 7,000 of these peoples. *Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, by Provinces, Districts, and Sub-Districts, Volume II*, Table VII, 170-171.
[9] "Another Windsor Youth Caught With Chinaman," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 27, 1914.
[10] Although the *Detroit News* estimated there to be 44,000 Germans living in the city, The *Detroit Free Press* placed the number at 130,000. Other sources support the former statistic. "Detroit Germans Mostly Peaceful, Declares Leidich," *Detroit Free Press*, August 3, 1914; "Half City's People Have Foreign Ties," *Detroit News*, August 9, 1914; "Populations of Various Ethnic Groups," History Detroit, 1701-2001, accessed February 3, 2011, http://www.historydetroit.com/stats.asp#citizenship.
[11] "Gossip of two good German housewives in an apartment house on Duffield street…revealed a dark plot on the part of German sympathizers in the United States to destroy by aerial bombs the Windsor armory, the Remington Arms company factory in Windsor, and the Walkerville distillery," reported the *Detroit Free Press* on November 4. "Has Detroit a 'Bombbund' to Blow Up Windsor? Nurse Who Heard Women Gossip Says So," *Detroit Free Press*, November 4, 1914, 6.

Canada it will be right along here."[12] By comparison, men in London and Toronto entered similar home defence services by the hundreds, reported the *Evening Record*.

Even if locals failed to take seriously reports of a German plot against Windsor in late 1914, the federal government did not. Less than two weeks after the declaration of war in August, it began investigating German activity in border areas, even sending investigators to live in Detroit and Buffalo.[13] Secret agents were placed in American communities by October, and began reporting back to Ottawa later that month. An agent known only as F.R.J. was posted to Detroit, where he regularly visited various popular German establishments, including the German American Hall on Monroe Avenue and the Heinz Café on Grand River Ave. However, he found most Detroit Germans scoffed at the idea of launching a raid on nearby Canadian communities.[14] In fact, at many German establishments, F.R.J. was surprised to find proprietors and customers not particularly interested in the war at all.[15]

As fall turned to winter in 1914 the 21st Regiment failed to arouse much interest in home defence; those who enlisted wanted to go adventuring overseas, while the rest saw little threat from their neighbours across the river. In desperation, the 21st Regiment tried several different schemes to entice Windsor men to join, from persuading local manufacturing concerns to lay home defence recruits off last (though, given Windsor's booming economy and manpower shortage, the offer was limited in its appeal) to creating a sports committee that organized various events between troops and Windsor and Detroit athletic clubs.[16]

But these strategies were only marginally successful. Part of the problem was that the Militia Department refused to provide funding for the arming and equipping of a

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[12] "Recruits Drill in Armories Tonight," *Windsor Evening Record*, November 24, 1914, 1.
[13] Col. L.W. Shannon, O.C. MD1 to Secretary of the Militia Council, Ottawa, August 13, 1914. LAC, RG24 Vol. 4262, File C-13.
[14] Report of F.R.J., October 22, 1914. LAC, RG24 Vol. 4262, File C-13.
[15] Ibid, October 23, 1914.
[16] "Militiamen Will Have Preference," *Windsor Evening Record*, November 27, 1914; "Sports Committee Meets Next Week," *Windsor Evening Record*, November 27, 1914, 11; "Indoor Game for Thursday," *Windsor Evening Record*, December 16, 1914, 9.

home guard unit; instead, the responsibility rested upon municipalities.[17] Indeed, in 1915 the City of Windsor would spend $5,000 on rifles for these men.[18] Detroiters did not always help the effort, either: in a well attended address entitled "Problems of Alien Population of Detroit" before the Windsor Literary and Scientific Society in early December 1914, Detroit pastor Earl R. Rice told listeners, "There is no reason to fear a German invasion," arguing that the German people were "desirable citizens" unlikely to cause trouble for Canadians.[19]

But the events of June 21, 1915 changed local perceptions of Detroit's German Americans, at least temporarily. Early that morning, a jarring explosion rocked the Border Cities. A large section of Walkerville's Peabody Plant, which for several months had been producing uniforms for the British military, was reduced to rubble by a timed explosive. Hours later, it was discovered that a second bomb had been placed in the Windsor Armouries. Attached to a timer, the device had mysteriously failed to detonate. Had it worked properly, the bomb might have killed several recruits, decimated Windsor's primary recruiting station, and damaged several nearby buildings.[20]

Windsorites were shocked by the attack. The city's mayor, Arthur Jackson, admitted to having received a letter warning that endeavours would be made to destroy buildings in Windsor and the surrounding area, but had dismissed it. "I considered it nothing more than a joke at the time," Jackson admitted to the *Detroit Free Press*, adding "but I handed it to the provincial police for what it was worth."[21]Across the river, the *Detroit Free Press* called for calm. "The conclusion of some of the people over the river that the dynamiting attempts were the result of a general organized plot hatched in Detroit

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[17] "Can't Aid Home Guards," *Detroit Free Press*, December 13, 1914, Part 1, Page 8.
[18] "War Expenditures of City Council Total $11,128.37 [sic; total is actually $114,128.37]," *Windsor Evening Record*, December 19, 1916, 1.
[19] "No Need to Fear German Invasion," *Windsor Evening Record*, December 8, 1914, 2.
[20] Graeme S. Mount, *Canada's Enemies: Spies and Spying in the Peaceable Kingdom* (Toronto: Dundurn Press Limited, 1993), 30.
[21] "Warning of Bomb Plot Received by Windsor's Mayor," *Detroit Free Press*, June 22, 1915, 11.

by German-American citizens is not to be accepted even as a well-considered theory in the absence of positive proof."[22]

In the ensuing days the Canadian government sent agents to investigate the bombing. Markings on the sticks of dynamite found in the Armouries pointed to Detroit-based manufacturers.[23] Dynamite was found all over Windsor, including the premises of the Gramm Motor Truck Company and the Invincible Machine Company, firms that had only recently received lucrative contracts from the British Army. Explosives were even found in the homes of Ford workers. But it was the Invincible Machine discovery that led to a major break in the case, when a German-American watchman working there admitted to having placed the dynamite at the Peabody Plant.[24] He was arrested and prosecuted locally, his trial and those of his later apprehended accomplices lasting through the war.[25]

For a time, the attack put Windsorites on edge. The sight of airplanes flying overhead caused consternation that summer, some locals fearing that they were being piloted by Germans intending to drop aerial bombs on the Sandwich jail, setting the Peabody attackers free.[26] In September 1915, the sight of a large biplane in the air led one frightened man to the Armouries where he proclaimed that the plane was German, and insisted members of the 21st Regiment shoot it down immediately. The guards, already made aware of the flight, assured the man that the pilot was not a German but a Windsor resident on his way to the Michigan State Fair.[27] Two weeks later, residents of

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[22] "War Across the Border," *Detroit Free Press*, June 22, 1915, 4.
[23] "Warning of Bomb Plot Received by Windsor's Mayor," *Detroit Free Press*, June 22, 1915, 11.
[24] Mount, *Canada's Enemies*, 30.
[25] In August 1915 former Invincible Machine watchman William Lefler was tried in Canada and sentenced to ten years in prison for his part in the attack. Charles Respa, who provided Lefler with the dynamite, was tried in Canada and received a life sentence. The plot's main conspirator, Albert Kaltschmidt, was tried in the U.S. and sentenced to four years in prison in December 1917. "Lefler Begins 10 Years' Term as Dynamiter," *Detroit Free Press*, August 14, 1915; "Swears Detroiters Brought Dynamite for Windsor Jobs," *Ludington Daily News*, March 7, 1916; "The Kaltschmidt Sentence," *Detroit Free Press*, December 24, 1917.
[26] "Eerie Plane Flits Over Lefler's Cell," *Detroit Free Press*, August 12, 1915, 6.
[27] Residents of Windsor were not the only Ontarians who feared a German attack from the air. Between 1914 and 1916 the people of Toronto, London, Niagara Falls, Hamilton, Sault Ste. Marie, Sweaburg, Tillsonburg, Petrolia, Oil Springs, Aylmer, and Port Stanley all reported seeing mysterious aircraft in the

Sandwich were alarmed to hear that local Chief of Police Alois Master had received a phone call warning that Detroit-based Germans were storing dynamite nearby. It was revealed shortly thereafter that the call had been the work of a practical joker.[28]

However, these kinds of scares were rare and appear to have had a limited impact on relations between Windsorites and Detroiters. Certainly, locals became aware that U.S.-based German sympathizers represented a legitimate threat to public safety in the period after June 1915, but even as the trials of those German Americans found responsible for the Peabody plot progressed, Windsorites constantly jostled with attempts by the government to secure the border. Despite the obvious presence of threats to their safety from across the international boundary, the people of Windsor continued to advocate for relaxed immigration and customs policies during the war's remaining years. It would bring them into conflict with both levels of government as well as residents of other cities in Ontario.

The war changed how Windsorites thought about the border. Prior to August 1914, the concept of honouring one's duty to one's country rarely entered into casual border-crossing experiences, including the decision to shop in Detroit rather than at home in Windsor. Not only did Windsorites work and play in Detroit in 1914, but many of them stayed there to purchase items that were usually cheaper across the border, including clothing and jewelry. The *Evening Record's* advertising section reflected this trend: Detroit businesses, including Kline's fine clothiers, Heyn's Bazaar, The Henry Blackwell Co., and Luscombe's shoe store enticed Windsorites with their $1 hats and $2 shoes.[29] Some firms, such as Steeve's Jewelry Store, openly addressed the price

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skies above, many fearing they were being piloted by Germans. "Windsor in Panic When 'Bird Man' Flies Over Border," *Detroit Free Press*, September 5, 1915, Part 1, Page 10; Robert Bartholomew, "Phantom German Air Raids on Canada: War Hysteria in Ontario and Quebec during the First World War," *Canadian Military History*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (1998).

[28] "Report on Dynamite Plot Scares Sandwich," *Detroit Free Press*, September 21, 1915.

[29] "Beautiful New Waists,"; "2,000 Extra Fine Panamas!"; "Clearing Out Trimmed Hats at $1.00 & $3.00," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 17, 1914; "Summer Shoe Sale,"; "The New Tango and 'Castle' Punys,"; "Pumps and Oxfords," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 25, 1914.

differential between Windsor and Detroit businesses. "Windsor people are always in our store," Steeve's July 24, 1914 advertisement declared. "The reason is that we give them better jewelry values than they can get at home…For years this store has always been the jewelry buying place for Windsorites."[30] Indeed, for years customs collections reflected the steadily growing cross-border business between Windsor and Detroit. In the mid-nineteenth century, Windsor's customs collectors were remunerated based on the amount of business conducted at the port, being paid one-third of the total revenue. In 1840, that meant the city's first collector, William Hands, had an annual income of £1,795. Had such a payment system been left in place, Windsor's collectors in the mid-twentieth century would have been very rich men (collections in 1938, for instance, amounted to $20 million).[31] Much of the growth of customs collections in the Windsor-Detroit corridor occurred during the pre-Great War era. During the year 1898 collections totaled just $260,933, but between January and May 1913 they surpassed $3.8 million.[32]

However, these collections statistics are misleading for one very important reason: generally speaking, smuggling was accepted behaviour in the Canadian border city during the pre-war era. In some cases this meant helping undesirable groups, such as Chinese labourers, in crossing the border, but most often it involved material goods.[33] In an address to the Ontario Provincial Chapter of the IODE in Windsor after the war, Border Chapter regent Edith Bowlby made light of this reputation. "We welcome you because although we have been noted–shall I say notorious–for our fightings and our weddings and our racings and our smugglings and our bootleggings–we want you to see for yourselves that the Border Cities stand for more than these, and are second to none in their schools, churches and manufactories."[34]

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[30] "Extra Special Values in Jewelry," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 24, 1915.
[31] Dave McIntosh, *The Collectors: A History of Canadian Customs and Excise* (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1984), 300.
[32] "Windsor and Vicinity Rapidly Becoming the Pittsburg of Canada," *Windsor Evening Record*, May 6, 1913, 1.
[33] "Another Windsor Youth Caught With Chinaman," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 27, 1914; McIntosh, *The Collectors*, 252.
[34] "Address of Welcome to the Ontario Provincial Chapter I.O.D.E., October 30th, 1923," Windsor Public Library Archives, Bowlby Estate Collection, Box 13, Acc. No. 1995/7.

Events surrounding Easter 1915 demonstrate not only how ingrained smuggling had become in Windsor's border-crossing culture, but also reveal the existence of new challenges to this practice on the basis of patriotism. It is the first instance during the war when locals who supported the maintenance of a permeable border came into direct conflict with those who felt Windsorites should stay home and support local businesses as part of their duty to the Canadian war effort.

Because of the superior variety and prices offered in Detroit, many Windsor women chose to do their Easter shopping across the border in late March 1915. But standing in their way on the morning of Friday, March 26, was visiting customs inspector Martha White, later dubbed "the lady searcher" by locals. Over the course of six hours White (along with an unnamed female assistant), to the shock and dismay of most, searched an estimated 1,200 Windsor women returning from Detroit. This was not standard procedure at a border crossing where women were rarely searched with such precision. The result was chaos, both at the ferry docks and across the city. By mid-afternoon the customs office "looked like the women's section of a large department store," reported the *Detroit Free Press*. Strewn across the floor were dresses, skirts, blouses, hats, and shoes from some of Detroit's most popular clothiers. White and her partner also acquired a long list of household items, including tables, benches, chairs, various kitchen utensils, and even several baby carriages. Many put up quite a fight. "Women screamed in hysteria and fought with the officers," noted the *Free Press*.[35] Others openly wept in front of White, fearing they would be arrested. Some could not afford the duty, and in desperation called husbands and boyfriends to help them out of trouble.[36] When they eventually got home, many women got on the phone to warn their friends about the lady searcher. "I called up a friend of mine who I thought was going over to purchase some articles, with the intention of warning her," one Windsor woman told the *Evening Record*. "She did not need the advice, however, as she had been phoned by three different friends, warning her."[37]

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[35] "1,200 Women Searched in Custom Raid," *Detroit Free Press*, March 27, 1915, 1.
[36] Ibid.
[37] "Crusade on Smuggling Causes Excitement," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 27, 1915, 1.

It took little time for Windsor residents to voice their disapproval of the government's decision to send the lady searcher. On the day of the inspections, angry Windsorites told the *Detroit Free Press* that the action would hurt the incumbent Conservative Party's already fragile support base in the region. Even local Conservative organizations recognized the matter was bad for business. "Women have a great influence with their husbands in political matters and today's happening will be well advertised to the disadvantage of the government, I can assure you," admitted an anonymous supporter of Windsor's Conservative Party.[38]

Arriving in Windsor the day after White's inspections, Conservative MP Oliver J. Wilcox faced a flood of protests from Windsor residents. Seeing a riding held since 1908 slipping away, Wilcox denied any knowledge of the decision to send the "lady searcher" and pledged to investigate the matter fully. In the meantime, he sided with angry Windsorites. "While the laws must be obeyed, there should be a line drawn on small purchases," Wilcox said. "There are many people working in Detroit, and they consider they have a right to spend their money in that city." Representatives of the Conservatives and Liberals attempted to blame one another for the lady searcher's arrival, while customs collector Dr. J. Smith assured *Free Press* readers that no political party was to blame and said the inspections were part of a customs department agenda that went far beyond Windsor alone.[39]

But while some people thought White's visit was related to an upcoming (but eventually delayed) 1915 federal election, others simply blamed Windsor's merchants. "If the merchants of this city have been responsible for women customs inspectors coming here from Ottawa and searching all women coming from Detroit, they will wait a long time before I buy any more from them," one Windsor woman told the *Detroit News*.[40] The next day, reports from Detroit suggested that Windsor housewives were united in their belief that the city's merchants were to blame for the inspections. The

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[38] "1,200 Women Searched in Custom Raid," *Detroit Free Press*, March 27, 1915, 1.
[39] "Politics in Complaints for Windsor Smuggling," *Detroit Free Press*, March 28, 1915, 1.
[40] "Women Officers Inspect Shoppers," *Detroit News*, March 27, 1915, 13.

suspicions went deep. Some pointed to the rumored existence of schemes put in place by Windsor furniture businessmen to prevent locals from buying baby carriages in Detroit. According to these rumours, if a man or woman went into a Windsor furniture shop and inquired about a baby carriage but did not buy one, their name would be recorded and distributed amongst all Windsor merchants (who kept in close contact via the Windsor Retail Merchants Association). If the man or woman appeared with a baby carriage within the next few weeks, but no Windsor merchant reported selling them such an item, their name would be reported to the customs officials. If the carriage was found to have been smuggled across the border, it could be confiscated.[41] Of course, these schemes remained the stuff of rumours. More telling may have been a *Detroit Free Press* interview with the "lady searcher" herself, where White admitted there should be some protection in place for Windsor's merchants, who were losing thousands of dollars in revenue to Detroit businesses through smuggling.[42] That alone seemed to indicate that, if anyone had made a request that the government send a female customs agent, it had been the 130 members of the Windsor Retail Merchants Association. For their part, Windsor merchants denied having requested the customs department send White, but did tell the *Evening Record* that it was their collective belief that Windsor residents should spend their money at home during wartime.[43]

Regardless of who was to blame, the message from most Windsorites, no matter their political leaning, was that the lady searcher should be kept far away. Representatives for the ferry company complained that business would fall off considerably if female inspectors made regular trips to the banks of the Detroit River. In fact, they pointed to a significant decline in traffic on the Saturday following White's visit as proof of her negative impact on income.[44]

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[41] "Political Plot Seen in Customs Quiz in Windsor," *Detroit News*, March 28, 1915, 12.
[42] "1,200 Women Searched in Custom Raid," *Detroit Free Press*, March 27, 1915, 1.
[43] "Crusade on Smuggling Causes Excitement," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 27, 1915, 1; "No Politics in Customs Smuggling," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 29, 1915.
[44] "Politics in Complaints for Windsor Smuggling," *Detroit Free Press*, March 28, 1915, 1.

The most direct protest on behalf of Windsorites came four days after the inspections took place. In a letter to the *Evening Record*, Windsor resident Robert Timms avoided placing blame on the Liberals, Conservatives, or Windsor merchants, instead focusing on the "senseless" and "irrational" inspections themselves. "Really and truly, speaking from a stern, masculine perspective, it was ill-advised, even if it did add a few hundred dollars to the customs coffers," Timms wrote. Pointing to the huge number of city residents who went to work in Detroit each morning, Timms noted that "Windsor is, except politically, part and parcel of the city of Detroit."[45]

Not everyone agreed with this sentiment. Other Windsorites felt that Windsor residents who worked in Detroit (popularly known as "day labourers") owed nothing to the American city or its merchants. And like the Windsor Retail Merchants Association they argued Windsorites had a duty to spend their money at home during wartime. "Mr. Timms appears to think that those who earn their living in Detroit but reside in Windsor should spend part of their wages where they are paid," wrote Windsor resident T.D. Niven in a letter to the *Evening Record*. "Mr. Timms' suggestion involves three faults–it would defraud the Dominion revenue, it would tend to impoverish the home town, and it is unpatriotic in a general sense. I hope to see Mr. Timms in better business than seeking to sap the morality of his compatriots."[46]

Clearly there was a divergence of opinion in Windsor over where city residents should spend their money during wartime. Protests against shopping in Detroit were couched in patriotic rhetoric, while those who defended the practice pointed to Windsor's economic dependence on Detroit as justification for spending hard-earned cash across the border. This latter group, which appears to have represented the majority of Windsor residents, wanted the federal government to keep agents like White as far away from the border as possible. They cared little about what impact that might have on Windsor merchants or Dominion revenue (and until the introduction of the income tax in 1917, the

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[45] "Views of Readers – The Lady Searcher," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 30, 1915, 4.
[46] "Views of Readers – That Customs Raid," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 1, 1915, 4.

bulk of the federal government's income came through customs collections).[47] There were already Canadian customs agents working in Windsor, including at least one woman, and they were doing a fine job in the eyes of most locals. Fines and duties were low and strip searches like those imposed by White rare.[48] These agents, who unlike White lived in the city where they worked, tailored the intensity of their inspections to local demand. They recognized the importance of a cross-border economy to the majority of Windsor residents.[49]

Debates of this kind were visible again during the fall of 1916, when the Toronto-based Lord's Day Alliance succeeded in convincing the Conservative provincial government to pass the Lord's Day Act, enforcing by law that Sunday would remain a day of rest. On the surface, the Act's main tenets–that people in Ontario should not work on a Sunday–bothered few Windsorites. But it was one small part of the legislation, that barring the distribution of American Sunday newspapers in the province, which frustrated and annoyed many residents of Windsor, who by this point in the war had come to rely on these enormous periodicals (often sixty pages or more in length) for news from the front. After all, Windsor's own *Evening Record* was prevented from operating outside Monday to Saturday, leaving what was considered an unacceptable gap in the amount of war information available to locals.

Reaction to the Lord's Day Act, which first had an impact on the distribution of American newspapers in Windsor during November 1916, was distinctly negative. In an editorial on November 17, the *Evening Record* slammed the barring of Detroit and Chicago Sunday newspapers because it feared such a move would be seen as offensive by Americans and in turn dissuade U.S. residents from enlisting in the Canadian Expeditionary Force at Windsor. "Nearly half of the 99th battalion was made up of recruits from the American side of the line. A good many went with the 18th. Several

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[47] Before the introduction of income tax in Canada in 1917, approximately 75 per cent of the Canadian government's revenue, before and after Confederation, was through customs and excise duties. McIntosh, *The Collectors*, 7.
[48] "Crusade on Smuggling Causes Excitement," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 27, 1915, 1.
[49] "Veteran Customs Official Passes," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 26, 1917, 1.

have joined the 241st. More will come if we do not antagonize our American cousins."[50] The *Evening Record* went on to characterize the legislation as a "slap in the face" against Americans and demanded Ontario's attorney-general repeal the legislation in order to "maintain the high degree of friendship that prompts courageous men of the United States to fight for a flag other than their own."

Others agreed. One Windsor man referred to the Sunday newspaper ban as a "super-extra-poppycock business" that would serve to annoy but hardly prevent locals from reading Sunday editions of Detroit's *News* or *Free Press*. The only "gainers" in the wake of the Lord's Day Act were the ferry companies, he said, who could expect hundreds of new travelers to journey to Detroit in order to acquire newspapers every Sunday morning.[51]

A reply to this outrage came from Toronto's William M. Rochester, General Secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance. His response, however, did little to calm anxieties over the Lord's Day Act and instead served to aggravate residents of the border community further. "The merit of these papers cannot reasonably be said to be the late war news they furnish," Rochester wrote in a letter subsequently published by the *Evening Record*. "The war, however, makes a convenient plea for the maintenance of a privilege which has been long enjoyed in your city." Rochester also emphasized the importance of remaining loyal to the government by not questioning such legislation. "It is…not a question of whether the attorney-general acted judiciously, but whether he did his duty. If the latter, he should have the support of all loyal citizens."[52]

Subtly calling into question the loyalty of Windsorites did not sit well with the editor of the *Evening Record*, who days later shot back, "Mr. Rochester will have a difficult time trying to convince fathers and mothers who have sons at the front that the merit of Sunday papers 'cannot reasonably be said to be the late war news they

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[50] "Injuring Recruiting," *Windsor Evening Record*, November 17, 1916, 4.
[51] "Views of Readers – Sunday Papers," *Windsor Evening Record*, November 17, 1916, 4.
[52] "Views of Readers – Exclusion of Sunday Papers," *Windsor Evening Record*, November 20, 1916, 4.

furnish.'"[53] The *Evening Record* called into question Rochester's own loyalty and patriotism: "Prussia looks to be the proper country for Mr. Rochester to move to. No doubt he would be right at home there."

At the same time Windsor's newspaper was suggesting that Rochester move to Germany, its city council formally outlined its own opposition to the provisions of the Lord's Day Act. Council emphasized the distinctiveness of Windsor and asked for special consideration in the matter of Sunday newspaper distribution:

> This Council respectfully submits that the recent order preventing the circulation of said newspapers on Sunday be reconsidered and so modified as to meet the special conditions existing in Windsor and its vicinity and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the proper authorities. Carried unanimously.[54]

Windsor's Board of Trade also opposed the Sunday paper ban, one of its members grumbling, "We might as well be living in Siberia."[55] Federal Conservative MP Oliver J. Wilcox offered a negative opinion of the legislation, too, telling the *Detroit Free Press*, "I see no reason why citizens of the border towns should be deprived of their Sunday reading."[56]

Despite the widespread protest, a response from the provincial government was not forthcoming. Mayor Jackson, accompanied by Canadian Scottish Borderers quartermaster Captain Fred J. Reid, in late November made a surprise visit to the offices of Ontario's attorney-general I.B. Lucas, but found him absent.[57] After two weeks, the government had still not responded to the pleas of Windsor city council, the Board of Trade, or MP Wilcox that the legislation be reviewed. At roughly the same time, William Rochester appeared before the Detroit Pastors' Union to seek assistance in keeping American newspapers out of Windsor.[58]

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[53] "A Meddlesome Reformer," *Windsor Evening Record*, November 21, 1916, 4.
[54] Windsor City Council Minutes, November 20, 1916. Windsor Public Library Archives, RG 2, AIV-1.
[55] "Board of Trade Protests Ban on Sunday Papers," *Windsor Evening Record*, November 22, 1916, 6.
[56] "Canadians Protest Sunday Labor Law," *Detroit Free Press*, November 19, 1916, Part 1, Page 17.
[57] "Seek to Raise Ban on Sunday Papers," *Detroit Free Press*, November 25, 1916, 8.
[58] Unfortunately, it remains unclear how Detroit's religious community reacted to Rochester's plea. "Other Dry States Combed for Model of Michigan Law," *Detroit News*, December 11, 1916.

The provincial government's refusal to amend the Lord's Day Act combined with the activities of Rochester served to fuel Windsorites' frustration with the newspaper ban. Robert Timms, who previously had spoken out against the "lady searcher" in 1915, argued in a letter to Windsor's newspaper that conditions were different in Toronto and Windsor, and that these distinctions needed to be considered when devising provincial legislation like the Lord's Day Act.[59] Windsor's newspaper also continued to fight the Sunday paper ban, arguing that it would annoy and offend Detroiters (though neither the *Free Press* nor the *News* appeared to indicate as such) and in doing so hurt cross-border relations. Importantly, the *Evening Record* suggested that the provincial government failed to understand the border-crossing culture of the Detroit River region. "Established residents of Windsor and Detroit understand each other thoroughly and mingle together in harmony. Respect is mutual. Friendship is self-evident," the *Evening Record* noted on December 5. "It is only when outside influences are exerted that friction arises…The unfortunate part of this interference is that the liberties of border residents are restricted."[60]

In January 1917 the Sunday paper ban was still in effect.[61] Out of frustration, Windsor residents formed "Sunday Paper Clubs". The idea was simple: schedules were drawn up and each Sunday a different man would take the ferry to Detroit where he would purchase enough newspapers for all of his neighbours. It worked for a few weeks, until the sight of so many (normally law-abiding) Windsor men toting around sacks of newspapers became impossible for local law enforcement officials to ignore. As the police reluctantly began to discourage the practice of forming paper clubs, the *Evening Record* expressed its disappointment. "At present the matter rests. The police have the

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[59] "Voice of Readers – Sunday Paper Embargo," *Windsor Evening Record*, November 23, 1916, 4.
[60] "Border Annoyances," *Windsor Evening Record*, December 5, 1916, 4.
[61] In late December, local police were told they must forcibly stop the distribution of weekend American newspapers. Constables were placed near the ferry docks at Sandwich and Ouellette streets, where they seized these papers and forced the newsboys carrying them to disperse. "Stops Newsboys Selling Journal With Scare Head," *Windsor Evening Record*, December 23, 1916, 1.

names of the offenders. If Emperor Wilhelm Rochester decides that they must be prosecuted why–well they must be prosecuted, that's all."[62]

Despite the determination of Windsor residents to have the Lord's Day Act altered or overturned, the ban on American Sunday newspapers would remain in place throughout the war. And while time passed and attacks by Rochester and the *Evening Record* became less frequent, the matter remained highly charged. Months later, Rochester released a special pamphlet on the subject of Sunday newspapers, in which he specifically targeted the people of Windsor by insinuating that the city's demands for special consideration under the Lord's Day Act put them at odds with their countrymen. "To have restored to them a privilege which for years they enjoyed contrary to law, the local petitioners seek to impose Sunday traffic in newspapers upon the whole dominion," Rochester wrote. "They ask Canada what they want only for themselves."[63] Disgusted with such remarks, the *Evening Record* yet again likened the work of Rochester's Lord's Day Alliance with German "Kultur" while emphasizing that such "oppressive domination" would continue to be circumvented by the determined people of Windsor.[64]

Clearly, the *Evening Record* was willing to go to considerable lengths to protect the distribution rights of its primary competitors from Detroit. However, it would appear that the defence of Windsor's border-crossing culture was more important than newspaper rivalries. Just as Windsor's newspaper and its many citizens opposed the use of a "lady searcher" at the ferry dock, many of these same people were convinced that legislation which prevented Windsorites from purchasing Detroit Sunday newspapers ran counter to the region's traditional cross-border economy. In several instances they used the war as a way to emphasize their point, a tactic that became necessary when Rochester subtly questioned their loyalties. But it was Windsor's determination to protect its border-crossing culture that was at the heart of this and the Easter 1915 affairs. Those who threatened ties between Windsor and Detroit, like William Rochester, Martha White, and

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[62] "Sunday Paper Clubs Doomed?" *Windsor Evening Record*, January 15, 1917, 1.
[63] "The Tyranny of Rochester," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 10, 1917, 4.
[64] "Mercy! Rochester Loose Again!" *Windsor Evening Record*, November 2, 1917, 4.

the provincial and federal governments, simply did not understand the "special conditions" that existed along the Detroit River.

Just as they despised customs searches and provincial Sunday newspaper laws, Windsor residents proved equally unappreciative of tightening immigration policy, condemning the Canadian and American governments alike for imposing ever more stringent security measures as the war progressed. This was despite the fact that the Peabody bombing and subsequent trials of those involved demonstrated the existence of a clear and present danger to Windsorites.

The job of a Windsor immigration inspector was by no means easy. Like its armed forces, Canada's immigration department was not in any way prepared for war in 1914. In Windsor, its weakness during the conflict was glaring for several reasons: the department was under incredible pressure to prevent enemy aliens from entering and leaving the country, even though the office was painfully understaffed; few Germans or Austrians looked much different than their Canadian- or American-born counterparts, making the job of preventing enemy aliens from entering or leaving the country virtually impossible; agents were poorly paid and turnover was high; and by the end of the war the job of immigration inspector became a place for the government to put returned soldiers who struggled to find steady work elsewhere. Provided virtually no training and in many cases poorly educated, for the most part veterans proved to be inadequate inspectors. And although some locals complained to the government that enemy aliens were too easily passing through this weak point at what was rapidly becoming Canada's most important border crossing, the larger movement in Windsor towards the end of the war was to clamp down on the immigration agents themselves, with even city council petitioning the federal government to relax the intensity of their inspections.

In 1915 there were twelve immigration agents stationed in Windsor, including Inspector-in-Charge J.S. Austin.[65] Despite increasing pressure on these men to keep out criminals and men and women with physical and mental health issues, the resources

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[65] D.H. Reynolds, to J.S. Austin, Nov. 27, 1915. LAC, RG76 MF C-10616 File 801552, Part 3.

allocated to hiring and keeping particularly strong agents remained low.[66] In July, Windsor immigration officers sought an increase in their pay, but were denied, Superintendent of Immigration W.D. Scott pointing out that, across the border in Detroit, inspectors were being asked to take a one month leave without pay in order to reduce costs.[67] It was poor consolation and throughout the period turnover remained high primarily because of the position's low pay, which was $900 per year.[68] Understaffing was also a problem; in November 1915 Windsor resident F. Wensley wrote to the Immigration Department to complain that on at least eleven occasions between mid-September and mid-October the ferry dock immigration office had remained vacant during the early morning hours. "I want to say that I have saw many foreigners walk right by some of your offices here and never get [stopped]," Wensley reported. "It is a very easy matter for any person to get into Canada through [the] Windsor Port."[69]

Although understaffing remained a problem for immigration inspectors at Windsor throughout the Great War era, Superintendent of Immigration W.D. Scott frequently blamed the inspectors themselves for such complaints. "Various members of the staff have been guilty of negligence, incivility and improper conduct and have displayed a lack of ordinary intelligence and judgment," Scott grumbled in a February 1916 letter to Deputy Minister of the Interior William Wallace Cory. "Letters of censure have either been disregarded or have had no effect and the Inspector-in-charge seems to have no control over the staff." Austin and the Windsor immigration officers drew particularly vitriolic commentary from Scott for allowing Albert Kaltschmidt, at that time

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[66] Until 1916 the focus was not on preventing enemy aliens from crossing, but those who would become a burden to the state. In October 1915 the immigration authorities in Ottawa berated Austin and his team for allowing Bert Harris (a.k.a. Albert Ashburner) into the country sometime between February and June; within months he was an inmate at the Ontario Reformatory in Guelph. W.D. Scott to J.S. Austin, Oct. 4, 1915. LAC, RG76 MF C-10616 File 801552, Part 3.
[67] W.D. Scott to J.S. Austin, July 23, 1915. LAC, RG76 MF C-10616 File 801552, Part 3.
[68] To put this into perspective, consider that Ford Canada employees – who in most cases were unskilled or semi-skilled labourers with little education – were after 1915 paid $4 per day, or $24/week and approximately $1,248 per year.
[69] F. Wensley, 119 Ouellette Ave., Windsor, to D.H. Reynolds, Nov. 1, 1915. LAC, RG76 MF C-10616 File 801552, Part 3.

the primary suspect in the 1915 Peabody plant bombing, to enter the country on multiple occasions.[70]

In response to the complaints, Scott assigned Special Investigating Officer Percy Reid to Windsor in early March 1916. Reid spent fifteen days at the ferry docks and made several key observations on the activity of the immigration agents as well as the general atmosphere at the Windsor-Detroit border. During that time it became clear to Reid that the problem was not necessarily the inspectors but the inspection process in place at Windsor. With an estimated average of 340,000 people crossing the ferry boats one-way every month in the summer (270,000 in the winter), this handful of men faced an enormous challenge in weeding out the undesirables coming into the city. Reid estimated that just two minutes passed from the moment a ferry's gang-plank dropped to the time passengers walked by the immigration office's front door. "It means that every ten minutes from 250 to 300 passengers pass our inspectors," Reid wrote in his report. "This means that the inspectors must be extremely keen of eye and quick of foot." Besides all of this traffic at the ferry dock, inspectors were also required to investigate passengers traveling underneath the river by rail. As a result, Reid found that most people, including enemy aliens, entered Windsor with no more difficulty "than they would have in going from Hull to Ottawa." There was also no system in place to prevent enemy aliens from entering the United States, where they could find easy travel back to Europe and into the factories, farms, and armies of the Central Powers. While he was stationed in Windsor, Reid contacted the local 21st Regiment in an attempt, for the short term, to improve security at the ferry dock and prevent enemy aliens from leaving so easily; as a result, about twenty-three men were apprehended during his stay, those deemed the most "dangerous" being interned, the rest sent back to their homes all across eastern Canada.[71]

In concluding his report on the situation in Windsor in March 1916, Reid recommended that a more capable officer be hired to replace Austin as Inspector-in-

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[70] W.D. Scott to W.W. Cory, Deputy Minister of the Interior, Feb. 28, 1916. LAC, RG76 MF C-10616 File 801552, Part 3.
[71] Percy Reid to W.D. Scott, March 29, 1916. LAC, RG76 MF C-10616 File 801552, Part 3.

Charge, that three other officers be fired, and that at least two additional inspectors, preferably between the ages of thirty and thirty-five, be hired immediately.[72]

But this was a surprisingly tall order. By this point in the war the immigration authorities were having as much trouble finding men as the Canadian Expeditionary Force. With Windsor- and Detroit-based manufacturers hiring more and more workers, both cities experienced significant manpower shortages.[73] The power lay with labourers, who could pick and choose their employers based on which one offered the best pay and work environment. Even as pressure to keep a close eye on enemy aliens increased, the resources allocated for hiring new inspectors remained the same: $900 per year, per inspector. It was hardly a terrible wage, but given the stress associated with the job, particularly during wartime, applications were not forthcoming.

In an effort to find new inspectors, the Canadian immigration authorities altered their hiring protocol in late 1916. Rather than seek out individuals with an above-average education and intellect–as proposed by Special Investigating Officer Reid in his March 1916 report–Ottawa turned to hiring returned soldiers as well as members of the local home defence force, in the process relaxing its previous standards. Despite personnel changes throughout the summer, people of German and Austro-Hungarian descent continued to move in and out of Windsor with ease.[74]

In November 1916, Scott inquired to Captain Paddon of the 21st Regiment about using several members of the militia to reinforce a desperately understaffed Windsor immigration office. Scott requested that these men be placed under the direction of new Inspector-in-Charge, Orval Adams, while on duty at the ferry dock, with any enemy

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[72] Ibid.
[73] For more on Detroit's manpower shortage in early 1917, see "Our Canadian Newcomers," *Windsor Evening Record*, January 5, 1917, 4; Similar problems in Windsor were revealed in a report by the city's Fire Committee on April 15, 1918, when it was discovered that the local fire department could not keep its men from leaving for better-paying positions in the region's factories. Windsor Public Library Archives, Report of the Fire Committee, April 15, 1918. Windsor City Council Committee Records and Reports, RG2 A Box 14 Unit 28.
[74] M.B. Scarth, Travelling Immigration Inspector, to W.D. Scott, Nov. 1, 1916. LAC, RG76 MF C-10616 File 801552, Part 3.

subjects who might be apprehended being turned over to the immigration officials. Scott recognized that such a plan would face challenges–most notably placing militiamen under the authority of an immigration inspector–but he was under intense pressure from the Chief Commissioner of Dominion Police, Sir Percy Sherwood, to curtail the flood of enemy aliens moving across the Detroit River.[75]

By June 1917 returned soldiers and members of the 21st Regiment were aiding immigration inspectors at the border. As summer turned to fall that year, Windsor, Walkerville, Sarnia, and Point Edward had all received guards from Military District 1 (MD1) headquarters in London, Ontario. These men were drilled on their duties and pertinent legislation, none more important than Order-in-Council P.C. 1433 (passed in May), which required all men of military age crossing the border to carry a passport. Once again the guards would be subordinate to the Inspector-in-Charge, while nominally under the control of a local military official. Clearly outlined instructions were made by Inspector-in-Charge Adams for these men to follow once they arrived.[76]

There was some hope that the number of enemy aliens and other undesirables making their way into Canada via Windsor would be reduced through the use of better trained men. But that was not the case. By early December Scott told Adams he had been informed that men of military age who had been refused exemption from conscription and who did not possess passports were being allowed to travel between Detroit and Windsor.[77] Initially, Adams defended his inspectors, telling his superiors that they were "taking every precaution to prevent any person evading the draft."[78] But still complaints about the military guards persisted. In late December 1917 a soldier was found drunk on duty and Adams continued to face difficulty in navigating the local military hierarchy in order to have situations like this properly addressed. The immigration authorities were

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[75] W.D. Scott to Capt. Padden, Nov. 21, 1916. LAC, RG76 MF C-10616 File 801552, Part 3.
[76] D.H. Reynolds to W.D. Scott, Oct. 27, 1917. LAC, RG76 MF C-10616 File 801552, Part 3.
[77] W.D. Scott to O.G. Adams, Dec. 3, 1917. LAC, RG76 MF C-10616 File 801552, Part 3.
[78] O.G. Adams to W.D. Scott, Dec. 15, 1917. LAC, RG76 MF C-10616 File 801552, Part 3.

constantly searching for a way to have their Inspector-in-Charge given direct control over the Military Police, but it was never granted by the 21st Regiment or MD1 headquarters.[79]

In 1918 a slew of new problems complicated the system of placing returned troops and militiamen in Windsor's immigration office. The most troubling issue arose early in the year, when allegations were made that Military Police had been taking bribes from local men eligible for conscription but desperate to get across the border to Detroit.[80] J.N. Taylor, a Dominion Police inspector, claimed to have "positive evidence that soldiers employed on the inspection of persons leaving Canada at the Windsor and Walkerville Ferry Dock had accepted funds or presents for a non-enforcement of the [P.C. 1433] regulation and had permitted men…to leave Canada who should not have been allowed to leave."[81] The anxiety created by these rumours compounded a March *Detroit Free Press* report that estimated there to be at least 200 draft evaders living in Windsor, dangerously close to the U.S. border.[82]

That was enough for the Immigration Department, which again changed its strategy for patrolling the international boundary with Detroit. While it continued to use returned soldiers for inspecting men and women entering Canada, for the purposes of investigating men of military age (or 'Class 1') leaving for the United States the department turned to Canada's fledgling federal security service, the Dominion Police.

Prior to the Great War, Canada lacked an official intelligence agency. Aside from the federal government's commissioning of limited intelligence work on the Irish Fenian Brotherhood in the 1860s, there had been little demand for such a service. That changed with the outbreak of war in 1914. A force which had been earlier created out of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police for the purposes of providing intermittent security services, such as the protection of public buildings, saw its responsibilities expanded considerably. Officially, the Dominion Police was tasked with the registration and internment of enemy

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[79] D.H. Reynolds to W.D. Scott, Dec. 27, 1917. LAC, RG76 MF C-10616 File 801552, Part 3.
[80] W.D. Scott to W.W. Cory, June 24, 1918; W.D. Scott to W.W. Cory, April 5, 1918. LAC, RG76 MF C-10616 File 801552, Part 3.
[81] W.D. Scott to W.W. Cory, April 5, 1918. LAC, RG76 MF C-10616 File 801552, Part 3.
[82] "200 Draft Evaders in Essex, Estimated," Detroit *Free Press*, March 8, 1918, 12.

aliens as well as securing the border, but as this paper has shown, they were not utilized in the latter capacity at Windsor until the last year of the war.[83]

Officers of the Dominion Police (DP) first reached the Border Cities in the spring of 1918. The Immigration Department feared that their presence would create tensions with the official inspectors since the DP was, like the Military Police, not under the sole authority of Windsor's Inspector-in-Charge. Furthermore, unlike most of the Canadian immigration inspectors posted to the Detroit River in August 1914, they were not locals.

In barring the passage of men of military age, the Dominion Police had an immediate impact: in mid-March the *Detroit Free Press* reported the arrest of several draft evaders living in Windsor, including a few who were hauled away from three local dance halls on a Saturday night.[84] The arrests and investigations created quite a stir in the Border Cities, but more was to come: DP Captain Asa Minard told the *Free Press* he believed there to be at least 100 Windsor draft evaders living in Detroit who would be brought back, by force if necessary, over the coming months.[85]

Thus, by April 1918 the Windsor immigration office, aided by returned soldiers and Dominion Police, was finally beginning to make headway in preventing enemy aliens and draft evaders from traveling across the Detroit River. All men wishing to visit Detroit for work or play were required to show some form of documentation to both American and Canadian immigration authorities. For residents of Windsor, the entire border-crossing experience had changed dramatically since 1914, when immigration authorities limited their interrogations to visible and undesirable racial groups, criminals, prostitutes, and people with obvious mental and physical illnesses. Now, a fifth-generation Windsorite with family living in Ypsilanti and a job in downtown Detroit could expect the same kind of attention. All of this, of course, was designed to ensure Canadian men of military age did their duty and to keep the people of Windsor–who by that point had been

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[83] Gregory S. Kealey, "The Surveillance State: The Origins of Domestic Intelligence and Counter-Subversion in Canada, 1914-21," *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1992): 197-210.
[84] "Two Alleged Slackers Arrested in Detroit," *Detroit Free Press*, March 16, 1918, 8; "Slacker Hunt Halts Dances," *Detroit Free Press*, March 17, 1918, Part 1, Page 16.
[85] "Slacker Hunt Halts Dances," *Detroit Free Press*, March 17, 1918, Part 1, Page 16.

witness to the work of Detroit-based enemy terrorists–safe from German-American raiders and saboteurs.[86]

But Windsorites hardly welcomed the changes, repeatedly protesting the use of force at the border. This was not a new phenomenon, since throughout the war similar objections had been made against tightening border controls. When it was decided shortly after war began that uniformed Windsor recruits should not venture across the border, the *Detroit News* inquired as to the necessity of such measures. "Question has been raised as to the propriety of permitting troops from Windsor to visit Detroit in uniform and unarmed," the *News* reported on April 6, 1915. "This seems to go considerably beyond the proprieties of neutrality. Many of the troops about Windsor have relatives in Detroit whom they visit, but even if they have no such incentive there is not the slightest reason why they should be barred from visiting Detroit as long as they conduct themselves properly."[87] Windsorites protested the use of force by American immigration agents in August 1916, when officials roughly handled a woman claiming to be on her way home to Detroit after having finished her shift at a Windsor cigar factory. Windsor onlookers were disturbed by the events, many of them protesting her treatment to the American inspectors and, later, the local newspaper.[88]

Immigration inspections at the border became more frequent as the United States prepared to enter the war in April 1917. It introduced an $8 head tax early that month, and although Windsorites who had resided in Canada for over a year were exempt, the measure still managed to arouse indignation on the Canadian side of the line.[89] Even so, the tax did not prevent new Canadians from visiting the United States. After three months, American immigration authorities told the *Detroit Free Press* that approximately

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[86] The years 1917 and 1918 saw a number of reports in Detroit and Windsor newspapers about the activity of U.S.-based German-American terrorists. "Canada 'Raid' From Detroit Revealed," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 6, 1917; "Federal Agents Arrest Michigan Bomb Plotters," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 1, 1918; "Plot to Invade Canada," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 17, 1918.
[87] "Windsor Troops in Detroit," *Detroit News*, April 6, 1915, 4.
[88] "Woman Dragged on Board Ferry At Detroit Side," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 1, 1916, 2.
[89] "Canadians Free From U.S. Head Tax," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 2, 1917, 9; "Voice of Readers – New Immigration Law," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 12, 1917, 4.

$20,000 had been raised through the $8 head tax alone, most of the income coming from Windsor-based aliens working in the U.S. border city.[90]

On April 6, 1917 the United States declared war on the Central Powers. When word of the event reached Windsor, local soldiers immediately petitioned the federal government for permission to celebrate the occasion alongside their American neighbours in Detroit. Washington approved, but in Windsor local military authorities found Ottawa unwilling to cooperate. Frustrated, the *Evening Record* blamed the “long process of unwinding red tape.”[91] Although members of Windsor’s 241st Battalion were disappointed with the federal government’s decision to bar their passage to Detroit for the celebration, many went anyway, joining thousands of Windsorites in the American border city for the Saturday night festivities.[92] These members of the 241st Battalion left for Detroit the previous Wednesday, and not until the weekend were they finally rounded up by the military authorities.[93]

As a result of the American entry into the war, some locals expected regulations at the border would be relaxed. After all, the United States Congress on May 18 approved its own policy of conscription, presumably stopping the flow of Canadian “slackers” over the boundary.[94] Instead, the federal government–determined to reverse a trend that saw recruiting dip from 30,000 per month in January 1916 to 5,000 per month in April 1917–tightened its stranglehold on cross-border movement in the months after the U.S. declaration of war with Order-in-Council P.C. 1433.[95] Initially, this meant males aged eighteen to forty-five travelling to the United States required a temporary permit (valid for three days) bearing name, age, and nationality. Eventually, however, every Canadian

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[90] “Canadians Pay $20,000 Head Tax,” *Detroit Free Press*, August 1, 1917, 8.
[91] “Ottawa Refuses 241st Permission to Cross River,” *Windsor Evening Record*, April 12, 1917, 8.
[92] “Parade Witnessed by Great Throng,” *Windsor Evening Record*, April 16, 1917, 6.
[93] “Kilties Had Time of Their Careers,” *Windsor Evening Record*, April 17, 1917, 8.
[94] “President Wilson’s Proclamation Establishing Conscription, 28 May 1917 – First World War.com,” accessed March 1, 2011, http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/usconscription_wilson.htm.
[95] A.M. Willms, “Conscription 1917: A Brief for the Defence,” in *Conscription 1917*, eds. Ramsay Cook et al (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 8.

man of military age was required to carry a passport, which would include all of the above personal information in addition to a photograph.

P.C. 1433 was not particularly well implemented in Windsor. Unbeknownst to most Windsorites, the Order-in-Council was invoked quietly on the night of Thursday, May 24, and was put into practice the following morning at 5:30 a.m. Thousands of Windsor men, who the day before had crossed to Detroit with minimal inspection, were now required to have a temporary card that few knew existed. Once it became known that such documentation could be acquired through Windsor's Inspector-in-Charge, Orval G. Adams, the immigration office was flooded with angry and frustrated day labourers facing the possibility of missing work. Men rushed the immigration office with such desperation that the glass on the office's door was shattered amidst the chaos. Within hours the store of 600 temporary cards had been exhausted, leaving scores of men anxious to get across the river out of luck.[96] Although rush orders were sent to the local printers for new cards, Adams and his team of inspectors were forced to turn deaf ears on the remaining men pleading that they would be punished severely by employers for not getting to work on time.[97] Mayor Charles Tuson offered assistance by identifying some of the men hoping to get across, and surprisingly this tactic seems to have worked for at least a few.[98]

Even for those inspectors who dealt with Windsor's cross-border labourers on a daily basis, the anger and frustration of the crowd was startling. "I never before had any idea how important to Detroit business life the citizens of Windsor really are," one officer told the *Evening Record*. "To hear some of them talk, one would think that they are holding down bigger jobs than the president of the United States." Men shouted protestations against the government's ignorance of the cross-border economy of Windsor and Detroit. Others offered raw opinions of the conscription scheme. Aside from those who showed up too late for temporary cards, about 300 men were refused

[96] "Ban at Border Halts Throngs," *Detroit Free Press*, May 26, 1917, 5.
[97] "Thousands Detained at Ferry Dock," *Windsor Evening Record*, May 25, 1917, 1.
[98] "Ban at Border Halts Throngs," *Detroit Free Press*, May 26, 1917, 5.

temporary passes. For the most part, these cases involved individuals who did not already have work in Detroit but were planning to search for a job that morning. Those who admitted they were crossing for the purpose of visiting a theatre, baseball game, or friends and family were immediately refused a pass.[99]

For Windsorites accustomed to moving across the border on a frequent basis, the impact of the passport system was immediately realized. "The Detroit girls having Windsor beaux waited in vain for them to arrive Friday night," noted the *Evening Record* on May 26. "The same was the case with Windsor girls whose 'young men' did not care to leave Detroit and run a chance, as they apparently thought of being held in Canada and forced into the army." As a result of these fears, the Windsor and Detroit telephone exchange, still in its adolescence in 1917, was "practically demoralized" by a flood of phone calls between the two cities.[100] Detroit theatres were noticeably less crowded, and few Ontario motorists were seen lining up at the ferry dock.[101]

Many Windsorites lashed out at the federal government's new requirements for crossing the border. The *Evening Record* referred to the measures as "iron clad," the process leaving the city in a state of "confusion, causing loss of time and money to thousands of Windsor and Walkerville residents who work in Detroit." Windsor's newspaper was equally dismayed by the requirements associated with the passport system (to be finalized and introduced by June 1), which would require a cross-border day labourer to renew his application at the immigration office once a month.[102]

The *Evening Record* was not alone in expressing bewilderment with the passport system. Windsor's mayor, who had seen the chaos at the immigration office on the morning of May 25 first hand, sent a telegram to Prime Minister Robert Borden

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[99] "Thousands Detained at Ferry Dock," *Windsor Evening Record*, May 25, 1917, 1.
[100] Windsor's phone service was inconsistent throughout the Great War era. One problem, according to its local manager, was that operators (most of whom were women) could not be maintained long enough to properly train them. Some suggested this was due to the position's poor pay, but the manager dismissed this, instead blaming his employees' work ethic. "Phone Service Here is Target for Complaint," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 2, 1916, 1.
[101] "Ban Temporarily Lifted Pending Arrival of Forms," *Windsor Evening Record*, May 26, 1917, 1.
[102] Ibid.

protesting the government's ignorance of Windsor's cross-border economy when implementing the passport measure. Given such a slapdash approach to the passport scheme's realization, the $2,500 fine and threat of five years' imprisonment for violation also struck Tuson as rather draconian.[103]

Many Windsorites underestimated the determination of the immigration authorities in enforcing the passport scheme, some forsaking the process of acquiring proper documentation on the assumption that inspectors would recognize them and allow them to pass. Over the coming weeks, such hopes were dashed.[104] In early June, a 21st Regiment band member with plans to perform in Detroit was barred from crossing the border, despite being a well-known member of the community and having shown his passport to the immigration authorities on several previous occasions. A Windsor onlooker who chose to remain anonymous expressed confusion and frustration with the tightening border controls. Drawing comparisons to the work of American immigration authorities in Detroit, he noted, "Conditions are worse here now than they ever were at the other side of the river."[105] Windsor's newspaper remained critical of the process as well, noting how men returning from Detroit were "indiscriminately jammed in" to the "stuffy" and "poorly lighted and poorly ventilated" immigration office, where they were intensively examined by inspectors. On the weekend of June 8, 9, and 10, these checks were led by Traveling Inspector D.H. Reynolds and several assistants hailing from outside the Windsor region; as such, the *Evening Record* criticized them for being "unfamiliar with the local situation and local conditions" in carrying out such exhaustive inspections.[106]

Although many Windsorites felt the passport scheme went too far and came too quickly, it did have the desired effect of convincing some locals to join the manpower-starved Canadian Expeditionary Force. Windsor recruiters reported having a busy few hours on the morning of May 25, signing on an additional sixty-nine recruits at a time

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[103] "Ban at Border Halts Throngs," *Detroit Free Press*, May 26, 1917, 5.
[104] "Order Detaining Americans Not Received As Yet," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 1, 1917, 1.
[105] "Passport Order Being Strictly Enforced To-day," *Windsor Evening Record*, June 9, 1917, 1.
[106] Ibid.

when five or six might be enlisted in a period of several months.[107] Certainly, many unmarried men probably saw the writing on the wall: conscription was coming, and the government was willing to do just about anything to make it a success. However, of equal importance was the fact that Windsorites continued to dismiss threats to the border from Detroit, with just four men joining the city's 21st Regiment (snidely referred to by many locals as the '21st Safety First') after an exhaustive province-wide home defence campaign that ended in late May.[108] It represented the poorest showing of any municipality in Ontario, demonstrating that although the federal government believed tightening the border was important in protecting the people living there, most Windsorites felt much differently.[109]

Despite new reports of German-American terrorist schemes against Windsor and other Canadian cities in early 1918 (from bomb plots to invasions), opposition to strict immigration controls mounted throughout the spring and summer.[110] Many of the complaints were directed at the Dominion Police, who had only recently appeared at the border to reinforce the official immigration inspectors and the Military Police, the latter being considered largely incapable and in some cases even corrupt. Locals found the DP, most of whom were from outside the Windsor region, not only overly disruptive in their inspections, but arrogant and melodramatic. "It is really funny to watch the procedure," noted the *Evening Record*, "when a Dominion officer, in civilian clothes, throws back his coat lapel, like a stage detective, and points to the badge of authority on his vest."[111] The *Evening Record* believed it was only a matter of time before the DP started inspecting a man's teeth to determine his age, "same as a horse". "The winter of our discontent is over, and now we have the Dominion police," the *Record's* editor sighed. "Always

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[107] "Ban at Border Halts Throngs," *Detroit Free Press*, May 26, 1917, 5.
[108] "Views of Readers – Men on Guard Duty," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 5, 1917, 4.
[109] "Home Guard Unit Idea Abandoned," *Detroit Free Press*, May 25, 1917, 22.
[110] In spring 1918 several new German-American plots against Canada were discovered. In early March, U.S. Department of Justice agents discovered a Brighton, Michigan-based terrorist cell producing bombs intended for Canadian munitions factories. In April, a Syracuse University professor alleged that as many as 500,000 German reservists in the United States were preparing for an invasion of Canada. "Federal Agents Arrest Michigan Bomb Plotters," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 1, 1918, 11; "Plot to Invade Canada," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 17, 1918, 4.
[111] "Those Dominion Police," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 2, 1918, 4.

somebody taking the joy out of life."[112] A week later, Windsor's newspaper half-heartedly noted that the only way to get around the suffocating red tape at the border might be to join the two countries together, once and for all.[113]

In June, Windsor's political leaders took up the matter. In a note to the Canadian immigration authorities in Ottawa, members of city council asked "if the department cannot at this time make arrangements for a less rigid enforcement of the immigration rules at the border," adding "We feel that the very friendly relations that now exist between Canada and the United States were brought about largely by the friendly relations and social intercourse that has always prevailed by the residents of the border municipalities and we would ask that an Inspector be sent here to report to your department as to how much more rigid the immigration law is enforced in Canada than it is in the United States."[114] Superintendent of Immigration W.D. Scott's response to this letter has been lost, but he probably assured Windsor's council and its citizens that the tighter immigration controls were there to protect the people of the Border Cities. Still, the council's insistence that changes be made to the operations of the immigration office indicates the *Evening Record* was not complaining on behalf of a minority.

One last episode in 1918 revealed Windsor's insistence that its border-crossing culture be maintained at all costs, even during wartime. In April the federal government, at the insistence of the Canadian Railway Board, instituted daylight saving time. After the United States implemented DST earlier in the year, Canada's railway companies complained that trains were having to wait an hour before crossing to the U.S., in order to maintain published schedules.[115] Across much of the country the measure was readily adopted–except in Windsor, where city council voted ten to one against DST. This was because most of Detroit's businesses remained on Eastern Standard Time, and council, under considerable pressure from cross-border day labourers in Windsor (the latter not

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[112] Editorial, *Windsor Evening Record*, April 5, 1918, 4.
[113] Editorial, *Windsor Evening Record*, April 18, 1918, 4.
[114] Windsor City Council Minutes, June 11, 1918. Windsor Public Library Archives, RG 2, AIV-1.
[115] David Prerau, *Seize the Daylight: The Curious and Contentious Story of Daylight Saving Time* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2005), 97.

wanting to have to wake up one hour earlier for work), felt the adjustment would cause too much confusion with Detroit, "more than offsetting any advantages that might be derived from daylight saving."[116]

However, not everyone agreed that a break should be made with the government in order to maintain ideal business relations with Detroit. Speaking before the Chamber of Commerce, Windsor merchant Clarence Smith declared the government's order should be complied with, arguing that "Windsor is a Canadian city…Let us stand behind the government as a matter of patriotism."[117] Over the coming days, the federal government applied its own pressure, forcing Windsor and area banks, courts, and government offices to make the DST adjustment. In response, Walkerville town council gave in on April 20, its mayor proclaiming that the move was necessary "if for no other reason than to back up the government and as a matter of principle." Patriotism once more became a major theme in the controversy over Windsor's cross-border economy and culture. Over the coming days most of the other Border Cities also capitulated, citing similar reasons, leaving Windsor and Ford City alone in opposition to DST.[118]

Pressure on Windsor to adopt the new measure mounted over the coming week. Increasingly, the question became whether Windsor and its citizens were being "unpatriotic" by refusing to adopt DST. Windsor resident T.D. Niven noted these feelings in a letter to the *Evening Record* on April 27:

> I should not be surprised to hear that the man who…permits his watch to run on eastern time is regarded as a pro-German and fast qualifying for internment…The times are indeed precarious. Windsor's council and board of commerce had the temerity to prefer eastern standard and see what they have brought on their devoted community.[119]

The questioning of their loyalty was too much for most Border Cities businesses and municipalities. Windsor's Retail Merchants Association favoured daylight saving

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[116] "Old Time and New Time," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 16, 1918, 4; Windsor City Council Minutes, April 15, 1918, Windsor Public Library Archives.
[117] "Border Businesses Balk at Time Change," *Detroit Free Press*, April 12, 1918, 6.
[118] "Walkerville Indorses 'Daylight Saving Plan,'" *Detroit Free Press*, April 20, 1918, 12.
[119] "Voice of Readers – What O'Clock Is It?" *Windsor Evening Record*, April 27, 1918, 6.

time. Everywhere the question seemed to be whether or not it was unpatriotic for a city to refuse a government measure like DST. But Niven vehemently defended the city's request for an exception to the rule, since, as so many Windsor residents had emphasized before, conditions in the Border Cities were exceptional. "Certain parts of this wide Dominion are subject to very unusual conditions," Niven proclaimed. "In this special class are Windsor and her sister municipalities. Our connection and intercourse with Detroit are so extensive, so vital and so constant that we simply cannot afford to use a different time standard."[120]

Nevertheless, patriotism remained a persuasive tool for the government. Feeling in Windsor was that, as the only municipality in the country not to adopt the change, the city had left itself open to attack from the likes of William Rochester. Indeed, the *Detroit Free Press* made note of these emotions when it suggested that Windsor was "in bad" with the rest of the Dominion, a black sheep that throughout the war had demanded its own way on matters involving provincial as well as federal legislation.[121] Critics of Windsor's intransigence in the DST matter blamed Mayor Tuson, who defended himself by declaring, "What am I to do if a majority of the people are against a change?"[122]

Ford of Canada general manager Gordon McGregor's decision to adopt DST on April 27 was the last straw.[123] As the largest employer of labour in the Border Cities, Ford's insistence that the plant advance its clock one hour indicated that the position of Windsor's leading manufacturers had changed.[124] Within two days Mayor Tuson, Windsor City Council, and the Border Chamber of Commerce acquiesced to the government's demands for DST. It was by no means unanimous; manufacturers with a substantial number of Detroit men in their labour force, including the Kelsey Wheel Company, Canadian Bridge Company, and Seely Manufacturing Company, all protested the change. Each insisted their opposition "was not a matter of patriotism but of

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[120] Ibid.
[121] "Mayor is Blamed for Time Squabble," *Detroit Free Press*, April 24, 1918, 10.
[122] "Mayor Would End Confusion in Time," *Detroit Free Press*, April 27, 1918, 14.
[123] "Ford Motor Co. Adopts New Time," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 27, 1918, 2.
[124] "Ford Plant Will Set Time Ahead," *Detroit Free Press*, April 28, 1918, Part 1, Page 30.

business.” However, despite their boisterous support for Windsor’s special time (the *Evening Record* reporting that Mayor Tuson only barely maintained control of the April 29 meeting), the DST measure was adopted.[125]

In many ways, Windsor was not unlike other Canadian communities during the First World War. True, local citizens met the war with a mixture of excitement and uncertainty, the doubts inspired in part by the determined neutrality of their neighbours in Detroit. While Torontonians greeted the conflict as an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalties to the great British Empire, in Windsor the *Evening Record’s* editor expressed a deep fear that the war would rob the country of its best and brightest, suggesting that the Allies send their lunatics and criminals to the front instead.[126] But Windsor men joined the colours anyway, and they did so in numbers comparable to their compatriots in Toronto, Ottawa, Halifax, and Vancouver. Not until 1916 did battalions recruiting for service overseas fail to meet their manpower goals. By then, most other communities in Canada were facing the same problem.

But for every characteristic of life in wartime Windsor that seemed to reflect other communities in Ontario, there were just as many that set it apart. This was a region that repeatedly emphasized its uniqueness in the Canadian cultural and economic landscape. Before the war, the people of the Border Cities engaged in cross-border activity to an extent that blurred boundary lines. Men living in Detroit and Windsor often worked across the river. Women in Windsor did much of their shopping across the boundary, while social and sporting events in the Canadian border city often drew the attendance of Detroit people. Courting knew no boundaries and cross-border marriages were common. Families were often a ferry ride away. Windsor-based athletic teams rarely met up with clubs from London or Chatham, but they regularly engaged in intense but friendly matches against Detroit competition.

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[125] “Border City Turns to ‘Daylight Time,’” *Detroit Free Press*, April 30, 1918, 10.
[126] Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 16.

When war came, few Windsorites felt it was necessary to adjust this vibrant border-crossing culture. Locals were willing to go overseas to fight, they were willing to part with their hard-earned wages in order to support the families of soldiers, but they were most definitely not willing to allow either the federal or provincial governments to complicate matters at the ferry dock. Tighter border controls, be they in the form of more thorough customs inspections, the banning of Detroit goods, or the imposition of a passport system, were seen as anathema to the region's border-crossing culture. And no wonder locals were so upset: while the rest of the country languished in recession in 1914, the economy of the Border Cities was booming. Most credited this condition to the pre-war era's relatively permeable border.

It is also worth noting that, despite American neutrality and constant reports of German-American terrorist cells operating across the river, relations between Windsorites and Detroiters remained amicable throughout the war. At no point did Windsorites blame Detroiters or their authorities for the existence of these radical groups within city limits. Indeed, even after the destruction of the Peabody plant and the attempted bombing of the Armouries, Windsorites continued to be more wary of tightening border regulations by the government than of subversive threats to their community by Detroit-based German Americans.

The war changed much in and about Canada, but for Windsor residents the challenge was maintaining the good times that predated it. Windsorites throughout the conflict struggled to uphold prewar conditions and lifestyles, most of which were defined by the city's proximity to and integration with Detroit. Those that challenged these traditions, including the federal and provincial governments and organizations like the Lord's Day Alliance, were denounced as outsiders that did not and could not understand the unique conditions present in the Detroit River border region. This kind of rhetoric, which was used frequently in Windsor's newspaper (by editors and residents alike), demonstrates the existence of a distinct borderland identity that set the people of this area apart from other Canadians. The people of Windsor were willing to do their part to protect Canada (and to a much lesser extent the British Empire), but there were clearly limits to the sacrifice they intended to make on the home front.

Perhaps the existence of this borderland identity was best demonstrated not by the "lady searcher" episode or even the Sunday newspaper debate, but in 1917, during the early stages of the Border Cities' amalgamation process (eventually completed in 1935). The question was what would a metropolitan area encompassing Windsor, Ford City, Walkerville, Sandwich, and Ojibway be called? In a May 1917 letter to the *Evening Record*, Windsor resident Robert Timms thought "South Detroit" was the best choice. It had a history: when the French Canadians of Detroit departed for the opposite shore after the announcement of Jay's Treaty in 1796, this was the name they allegedly gave the new community. In the time since, South Detroit had been replaced by several other titles, including "Richmond," "Sandwich Ferry," and finally Windsor in 1836.[127] But for Timms South Detroit seemed more appropriate. "It will be news to the public generally that Windsor came within a hair space of being named South Detroit, instead of the name it now goes by," Timms wrote. "It has always been my impression, though, that the name South Detroit would have been received in a kindlier spirit by the people of Detroit, and might have redounded to its advantage in a greater measure than its present purely English name."[128] In the months following, Timms' proposal gained strength. Dr. Thaddeus Walker, President of the Border Chamber of Commerce, publicly agreed with the idea, arguing that the name was evocative of life along the border. "I believe the people of Dynamic Detroit will welcome the spreading of the name across the border and our joining them in making the Detroit River known all over as the center of the greatest industrial region of the world," Walker told a crowd on November 2.[129] Shortly thereafter, Windsor resident George Bouteiller wrote the *Evening Record* to voice his support for the name, though he suggested dropping the "South".[130] The road towards amalgamation was a long one and would not reach its end for nearly two decades, and eventually Windsor would become the region's all-encompassing title. But in May 1917,

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[127] William Oxford, *The Ferry Steamers: The Story of the Detroit-Windsor Ferry Boats* (Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 1992), 6; 23.
[128] "South Detroit," *Windsor Evening Record*, May 23, 1917, 46.
[129] "Suggests 'South Detroit' As Name for Border Towns," *Windsor Evening Record*, November 2, 1917, 15.
[130] "Voice of Readers – Prefers 'Detroit, Canada'" *Windsor Evening Record*, November 12, 1917, 2.

a time when the rest of the country was reveling in the Vimy victory, in Windsor the preeminence of national over transnational identities was not quite so clear.[131]

[131] For more on the South Detroit debate and the use of isolationist rhetoric in Windsor during the war, see Brandon Dimmel, "South Detroit, Canada: Isolation, Identity, and the U.S.-Canada Border, 1914-1918." *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2011).

Chapter 6: St. Stephen, New Brunswick, and Calais, Maine: An Introduction

It is a sunny, summer afternoon and I am waiting for my lunch at the Border Café in downtown St. Stephen, New Brunswick. I have only just arrived in the sleepy riverside village, having parked my rental car at a nearby bed and breakfast before wandering downtown. It is a quiet weekend in St. Stephen, though some folks, mostly elderly tourists, are making their way through the Ganong Chocolate Museum across the road. After lunch I stroll down to the Ferry Point Bridge connecting the Canadian border town with its American neighbour, Calais, Maine. After visiting the very modern Canadian Border Services office and flashing my passport I get the "OK" to make my way across the dividing St. Croix River. It is a short, two-minute walk from one side to the other and there are relatively few cars waiting for inspection, making it easy to cross the bridge en route to the U.S. Customs and Border Protection office. The latter is not quite as modern as its Canadian counterpart in St. Stephen, even though there are more agents inside. They are less friendly (perhaps as a result of the size of their offices), but I eventually get permission to wander around Calais. Making my way into town from the bridge, I saunter past a seafood restaurant, a pizza joint, and a tiny movie theatre. None seem particularly busy; these days, much of the town's activity appears to revolve around the new Wal-Mart located a few miles further from the border.

However, the international boundary still has a great deal of meaning for the people of Calais and St. Stephen. In the summer they congregate along the St. Croix River to celebrate a tradition of transnational good-feeling with the International Homecoming Festival, an event that began in 1974 and today features parades during the day and fireworks at night. "The two communities of St. Stephen, N.B. and Calais, ME become one, hosting and attending events on both sides of the border," the festival's main

website reads. "We WELCOME friends, old and new, to join us in celebrating our years of friendship."[1]

The communities of St. Stephen, Calais, as well as the nearby towns of Milltown, New Brunswick, and Milltown, Maine, have shared friendly relations since the late eighteenth century, when the surrounding borderland, known popularly amongst locals as the "St. Croix Valley," was settled by Loyalists and Patriots following the American Revolutionary War.[2] Even when other parts of North America became embroiled in bitterly divisive conflicts, such as the War of 1812, St. Stephen, Calais, and the nearby Milltowns remained at peace. By the outbreak of a new and very different kind of war in 1914, decades of transnational social, cultural, and economic integration had led to the emergence of a border-crossing culture in the St. Croix Valley. As was the case in Windsor this did not mean locals dismissed their affiliation with the national community. However, it did affect the way they approached traditionally national events and how they reflected upon government policies which directly or indirectly affected the region's border-crossing culture.

The first peoples to visit the St. Croix Valley–long before it was known as such–were the Passamaquoddy Aboriginal peoples, who engaged in friendly trade network with the nearby Maliseet of the Saint John Valley and the Penobscot of present-day Maine.[3] According to historian Harold Davis, this was a quiet region where hunters and fishermen passed through rather than populated the environs. This was also the case when Europeans first arrived in 1604: that year, the French under Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts, and Samuel Champlain made a brazen and rather foolish attempt to establish a settlement on nearby St. Croix Island, where the St. Croix River meets the Bay of Fundy.

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[1] "International Homecoming Festival," accessed October 31, 2011, http://internationalhomecomingfestival.com/.
[2] The St. Croix Valley does not appear to have been given permanent geographical bounds, but in studying interaction between the communities lining the St. Croix River appears to stretch from Woodland, Maine southeast to St. Andrews, New Brunswick and Eastport, Maine. It is a distance of roughly fifty kilometres.
[3] Harold Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix, 1604-1930* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1950), 3.

When winter set in, wicked winds whipped across the island and froze the settlers' supplies in the storehouse. Inevitably, scurvy and starvation took many lives. Eventually, the crew withdrew to the Annapolis Basin across the great bay, where they established Port Royal in 1605.[4] With the exception of a few traveling French missionaries, it would be more than a century and a half before Europeans again spent substantial time in the quiet forests lining the majestic and peaceful St. Croix River.[5]

Following the Revolutionary War, however, this region proved a haven for American farmers and lumberjacks. The founders of both St. Stephen and Calais hailed from various parts of New England, though many of St. Stephen's first settlers had sided with the British, Calais pioneers with the Americans.[6] Political ideology, however, had little bearing on the relationship that emerged between those who settled at the head of tidewater along the St. Croix River. In day-to-day life, Calais and St. Stephen residents shared similar occupations, with farming and lumbering emerging as the primary concerns of Americans and Canadians alike.[7]

The first pioneer to settle on the Calais side was Daniel Hill, a lumberjack originally from Jonesport, Maine, who moved to the St. Croix Valley between 1776 and 1779. He was followed by his cousin, Samuel Hill, a farmer, and a number of other

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[4] In 1969 researchers unearthed twenty-three bodies from the French expedition. Archaeological investigations on the island are ongoing. Andrew Rankin, "Researchers in a Race Against Time on Historic Island," *Toronto Star*, August 16, 2011; William Francis Ganong, *Champlain's Island: St. Croix (Dochet)* (Saint John: New Brunswick Museum, 1945), xviii.

[5] A "Father Baird" studied the Passamaquoddy peoples in the early seventeenth century and estimated their numbers (including those along the St. Croix and Saint John Rivers) to be around 1,000. Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix*, 6.

[6] Today, St. Stephen has a Loyalist Burial Ground appropriately located on King Street. Approximately seventy-five of the community's original settlers are buried there. In August 2008 the town officially re-opened the site after a $150,000 restoration project. "St. Stephen Loyalist Burial Ground," accessed October 31, 2011, http://www.heritagecharlotte.com/cemetery/ssloyalistburial.html; "Town of St. Stephen: Event Display," accessed October 31, 2011, http://www.town.ststephen.nb.ca/townevents/eventdisplay.php?id=332; "Loyalist Burial Ground, King Street, St. Stephen, N.B.," accessed October 31, 2011, http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nbststep/loyalistcem/loyalistbg.htm.

[7] St. Stephen received its name in the 1780s, while Calais was named in 1806 out of respect for the French De Monts expedition. Doug Dougherty, *St. Stephen Yesteryear* (St. Stephen: Parsons Printing, 2000), 10; William Wallace Brown, "Pioneers of Calais," in *Calais Centennial, 1909* (Calais: St. Croix Historical Society, 2009), 34.

farmers and lumbermen from Massachusetts.[8] The first substantial settlement at St. Stephen was led by Captain Nehemiah Marks, a Loyalist veteran of the Revolutionary War. Accompanying him in May 1784 were 108 men, forty-five women, thirty-eight children, and roughly half a dozen servants.[9] When they arrived at the area that would eventually become St. Stephen, Marks and his followers found both Loyalists and non-Loyalists living peacefully along the St. Croix, most engaged in farming or lumbering operations.

Over the next few decades more sawmills were built and more farms carved out of the dense forest lining the meandering river.[10] Lumbering was the primary industry and cut timber entered both the British and American markets at a time when Britain had eliminated New England as a major wood source.[11] Initially, those settling on the British side of the line fared better, primarily because the British colonial government in Nova Scotia was willing to offer 100-acre land grants to Loyalists.[12] By contrast, in the late 1780s Calais pioneers became entangled in land negotiations with wealthy merchants who bought up the surrounding townships. The legal wrangling that followed forced many Calais residents to pay high prices for the lands they had held for years and probably delayed development of the surrounding environs.[13]

From the beginning, relations between Loyalist residents of St. Stephen and the Americans of Calais were amicable. The first store in the area, built in the late 1780s, was located on the Calais side, not far from where the Ferry Point Bridge connects the two communities today. Residents of both towns purchased goods from the store and paid in kind before the development of a recognized monetary system.[14] (Even when distinct currencies did emerge in the early nineteenth century, banks and businesses on both sides

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[8] Brown, "Pioneers of Calais," 33; Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix,* 64.
[9] Ibid, 66.
[10] Ibid, 83.
[11] During and after the Revolutionary War, both Americans and Loyalists acquired contracts to produce masts and lumber for sale in the British Empire. Francis M. Carroll, "Drawing the Line," *Beaver*, August/September 2003, Vol. 83, Issue 4; Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix,* 41.
[12] Ibid, 63.
[13] Ibid, 64-67.
[14] Dougherty, *St. Stephen Yesteryear*, 10.

of the river accepted both Canadian and American currency. Such a tradition continued even into the First World War era.[15]) Customs duty was a foreign idea to residents of Calais and St. Stephen at this time, as lumberjacks from both sides of the St. Croix cut timber without paying heed to the boundary. Not even rising tensions between Britain and the United States affected this; locals ignored both governments' insistence that cross-border trade be terminated shortly before and during the War of 1812.[16] By 1820, there were more than forty sawmills operating along the St. Croix River, with twenty on each side. These mills often used the river to transport materials, and were so tightly packed together that it was often hard to tell if the timber was located in British or American territory.[17]

The War of 1812 had little impact on the quiet lumbering communities of St. Stephen and Calais. This was the result of regional factors, for while New Englanders were upset with Britain's policy of naval impressment they were not prepared to go to war over the issue.[18] The continuation of a vibrant cross-border economy–even when the British and American governments discouraged such activity–was a key factor in shaping northeastern attitudes towards the international frontier. Beyond economics, the people of this region shared similar ethnicities; most were English-speaking Protestants descended from New England stock. So opposed to war were New Englanders that following setbacks for the American army at Detroit and Queenston Heights in 1812 many states in this region threatened U.S. President James Madison with secession from the Union.[19]

Along the St. Croix, amity was maintained thanks to the diplomatic work of locals. Because the war's origins had little to do with residents of the northeast, there was minimal interest in fighting among residents of New Brunswick (which became a British

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[15] Aubrey G. Davies, "International Frontier Week," in *The Days Before Yesterdays in the St. Croix Valley*, ed. Edward Boyd (Unpublished manuscript, St. Croix Public Library, 2001), Ch. 4, Section 2.
[16] Ronald Rees, *Historic St. Croix: St. Stephen – Calais* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2003), x.
[17] Ibid, ix.
[18] The Chesapeake Affair of 1807, whereby American sailors were forcibly removed from the *USS Chesapeake* and then tried in Halifax for allegedly deserting the Royal Navy, was perhaps the most visible diplomatic offence by Britain against the United States prior to the War of 1812. John Boileau, *Half-Hearted Enemies: Nova Scotia, New England and the War of 1812* (Halifax: Formac Publishing Company, 2005), 12-13.
[19] Ibid, 15.

colony in 1784) or Maine (which became a state in 1820). Residents of nearby St. Andrews, New Brunswick, and Eastport, Maine, met and agreed that no fighting would occur across the international boundary.[20] Further up the river at Calais and St. Stephen, Reverend Duncan McColl preached peace in sermons to inhabitants of both communities, and by all accounts his efforts appear to have been successful in maintaining harmony.[21] In the end, not a single shot was fired by residents of Calais or St. Stephen. In fact, to this day locals tell a story involving British gunpowder stored in St. Stephen being given to Calais party planners for the purpose of ringing in the Fourth of July, at a time when the two sides were technically at war.[22]

Although the War of 1812 was, for the most part, a matter that more directly impacted Americans and Canadians in other parts of the continent, in the 1830s a dispute originating between New Brunswick and Maine lumbermen threatened to embroil this long-peaceful region in a new conflict. The problem stemmed from the Treaty of Paris in 1783, which failed to properly draw an international boundary between British North America and the United States in the densely forested Aroostook Valley. For decades the issue was allowed to rest, until late 1838, when New Brunswick lumberjacks were discovered harvesting timber that their Maine counterparts felt rightfully belonged to the United States. The Maine legislature reacted by sending a posse to the region to arrest the offending lumberjacks and stop the cutting. Led by 54-year-old Rufus McIntire, a retired Congressman, the group of Mainers arrived in the area in February 1839 only to encounter a well-armed force of angry New Brunswickers. McIntire and his Maine associates soon found themselves behind bars in a Saint John jail cell.

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[20] Grace Helen Mowat, *The Diverting History of a Loyalist Town: A Portrait of St. Andrews, New Brunswick* (Fredericton: Brunswick Press, 1953), 80.

[21] The Methodist Reverend Duncan McColl was the only minister present in the St. Croix Valley during the crisis and split his time between the American and British sides of the St. Croix River. For generations, local memory of McColl's peacekeeping would evoke strong feelings from residents of St. Stephen and Calais. Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix,* x-xi; Chas. G. McCully, "Our Men and Women in the Past," in *Calais Centennial, 1909* (Calais: St. Croix Historical Society, 2009), 51; "Biography of Rev. Duncan McColl," St. Croix Public Library, Project Preservation File, Reel 2.

[22] According to legend, once the war was over British colonial authorities requested the gunpowder, which had been stored at St. Stephen, be sent to Fredericton. However, these same authorities found the gunpowder missing, with locals admitting that they had given the entire batch to their Calais neighbours. Edward Boyd, *The Days Before Yesterdays in the St. Croix Valley* (Unpublished manuscript, St. Croix Public Library, 2001), Ch. 3, Section 9.

On both sides of the international boundary angry protests by politicians and journalists alike served to inflame the situation. Soon, hundreds were descending upon the frontier, ready to make war. However, diplomats from the United States and British colony of New Brunswick were able to quell the threat by promising to settle the international boundary dispute sooner rather than later. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty, signed August 9, 1842, used the Saint John River as a boundary weaving through the Aroostook Valley and it represented a major coup for the U.S., which acquired more of the disputed territory than Britain (and, more specifically, unlucky New Brunswick).[23]

Relations between Calais and St. Stephen do not appear to have been dramatically affected by the Aroostook War, primarily because the St. Croix River had long been established as the international boundary in this part of the New Brunswick-Maine frontier. Davis notes that the conflict, popularly known as the "Bloodless Aroostook War," had only a marginal impact on life in the St. Croix Valley, with the only noticeable difference being Maine's decision temporarily to increase the number of militiamen stationed at Calais. Despite this greater military presence, Davis finds no sign that locals came to blows over the issue.[24]

Peace reigned in the St. Croix Valley until the mid-1860s, when Irish-American nationalists known as the Fenians targeted British North America in an attempt to trade Canadian sovereignty for Irish independence. At one point the rebels gathered here, planning to invade New Brunswick from United States territory. However, the Fenians stationed in the northeast had less intestinal fortitude than their colleagues forming along the Niagara frontier.[25] Using Eastport, Maine, as a launching point, in mid-April the Fenians briefly landed on Indian Island in British territory. They charged the island's customs house and seized its Union Jack before triumphantly returning to Eastport.[26] In response, the British sent several naval vessels to the area in a demonstration of force the

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[23] The U.S. acquired 58 per cent of the disputed territory. Richard Sassman, "A Borderline War," *American History*, Vol. 35, Issue 6 (February 2001).
[24] Edward Boyd supports this point when he notes that the issue "passed without dislocation of amity in the St. Croix Valley." Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix,* 145; Boyd, *The Days Before Yesterdays in the St. Croix Valley*, Ch. 3, Section 9.
[25] Mowat, *The Diverting History of a Loyalist Town*, 125.
[26] Muriel H. Dixon, "The Story of Indian Island," *Saint Croix Courier*, October-November 1977.

Fenians had no hope of matching; their elation defused, the frustrated Irish dispersed and abandoned the international frontier for good.[27]

Early on, navigation between Calais and St. Stephen was limited to travel by boat during the summer months and foot across the frozen St. Croix River in the winter. Due to the relative narrowness and slow current of the St. Croix, such passages were not particularly difficult, though eventually locals pressed for the construction of bridges across the waterway. The first was built in 1804 at Upper Mills, New Brunswick, and Baring, Maine, roughly eight kilometres from St. Stephen and Calais. As the populations of these communities increased, demands for a new bridge closer to home grew. Finally, in 1825 a bridge was constructed that linked the nearby Milltowns of New Brunswick and Maine, although because it was owned by private citizens, crossing the bridge was not free.[28] The same situation affected travel across the Ferry Point Bridge, linking downtown St. Stephen and Calais directly. This structure was completed in 1827 and for years the fee for crossing was one cent per pedestrian or three cents for a carriage. In February 1894 the New Brunswick provincial government and City of Calais jointly purchased the Ferry Point Bridge outright and waived the crossing fee. Locals on both sides of the river celebrated the event by blowing whistles, tolling church bells, lighting massive bonfires, and closing schools and businesses for the day.[29]

These bridges facilitated the advancement of an international economy along the St. Croix River between Calais and St. Stephen, as well as the adjoining Milltowns. In the mid-nineteenth century, the expansion of the local lumbering industry led to the development of equally successful shipbuilding operations along the boundary waterway. Although a number of shipbuilding firms were established at this time, few were as successful as that run by the Short family, which constructed vessels for the American and British markets in facilities on both sides of the St. Croix River.[30] Between 1861 and 1878, the Shorts constructed thirty-five ships, twenty in St. Stephen and fifteen across the

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[27] Mowat, *The Diverting History of a Loyalist Town*, 125.
[28] Dougherty, *St. Stephen Yesteryear*, 107.
[29] Ibid, 108.
[30] Berla Short, "Short's Shipyards," Charlotte County Archives, Berla Short Collection, Box A787, 1.32.

river in Calais. Those built on the Canadian side were sold to Britain, while those completed in Calais made their way into the U.S. market.[31] Technically, the Calais branch of the firm was known as Short Brothers, while the St. Stephen wing went by J. & C. Short. In all, there were six Short siblings involved in the family's operations at this time, and their residencies reflected the international character of their profession. Three of the brothers–Daniel, James and Cornelius–lived in Calais, while John and Charles lived across the St. Croix in St. Stephen.[32]

For generations the basis for a border-crossing culture was the St. Croix lumbering industry. Ironically, it was an industry that gained momentum in the late eighteenth century precisely because the boundary was so permeable; both American and British residents profited from selling their lumber into the British market in the wake of the Revolutionary War. The people of the St. Croix Valley effectively exploited the boundary for their own benefit, using the border's liminality to their economic advantage. As time progressed and Britain and the United States clashed once again in the War of 1812, the international character of the St. Croix Valley only became more visible as the mighty lumbering industry grew to include a number of vibrant shipbuilding operations, like that run by the Short Brothers.

But the good times would not last. Just as these communities shared the lumbering and shipbuilding boom of the post-Revolutionary War period, so too would they share the unhappy result of those industries' steady decline in the late nineteenth century. In this regard, St. Stephen and Calais shared in the fate of many other communities in New Brunswick and Maine; by the 1870s, it was becoming apparent that the northeast's dependence on a select few industries–fishing, farming and especially lumbering–would become a problem as the North American economy rapidly industrialized.[33]

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[31] Dougherty, *St. Stephen Yesteryear*, 38.
[32] A last Short's residency remains unaccounted for. Vincent Short and Edwin Sears, *Sail and Steam: Along the Maine Coast* (Portland, Maine: The Bond Wheelwright Company, 1955), 91-92.
[33] According to the 1871 Census of Canada, more than half of all New Brunswick residents were occupied in these three industries. Only 13.8 per cent were employed in manufacturing, and only 2.9 per cent in trade and finance. Historian Erica Risberg notes that Maine was equally dependent on these three industries in

Until the 1840s, New Brunswick's economy had depended largely upon an exchange with Britain: into the British market went New Brunswick timber and wooden vessels in exchange for British manufactured goods, such as china, silver, furniture, and textiles. During the early nineteenth century, between two-thirds and three-quarters of New Brunswick's exports went to Britain and other colonies within the Empire.[34] That changed considerably with Britain's decision to dismantle preferential trade with its colonies in favour of free trade.[35] For a time, disaster appeared on the horizon for New Brunswick's economy with the loss of this guaranteed market. The solution for New Brunswick–indeed, for all of British North America in the 1850s–was reciprocity with the United States. Between 1854 and 1866 the U.S. became an important trade partner for New Brunswick, with 31.4 per cent of all exports going south of the border.[36]

Generally speaking, the period between 1850 and 1880 marked a high point for the economies of New Brunswick and Maine. Timber cut and ships built in the region made their way into both the British and American markets. It was a "wood-wind-sail" economy that depended heavily on exports far more than other parts of the continent, particularly the comparably self-sufficient United Province of Canada.[37] In 1861, 76.4 per cent of all of New Brunswick's exports were forest products.[38] This, unfortunately, made it extremely vulnerable to fluctuations in world markets. The United States' abrogation of the reciprocity agreement in 1866 reduced the demand for lumber and wooden sailing vessels south of the boundary, while Britain's demand for such goods remained low as it continued to pursue free trade.

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the late nineteenth century. Joseph Richards Petrie, *The Regional Economy of New Brunswick: A Study Prepared for the Committee on Reconstruction* (Fredericton: Publisher Unknown, 1944), 100; Erica Risberg, "The Hillbillies of Maine: Rural Communities, Radio, and Country Music Performers," *Maine History*, Vol. 45, Issue 3 (December 2010): 281-290.

[34] Petrie, *The Regional Economy of New Brunswick*, 107.

[35] W.T. Easterbrook and Hugh G.J. Aitken, *Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 244.

[36] Petrie, *The Regional Economy of New Brunswick*, 101.

[37] New Brunswick was far more dependent on trade than the United Province of Canada on the eve of Confederation. According to Petrie, New Brunswick's per capita trade in 1860 was $45.46, compared to $26.29 for Canada. Ibid, 107.

[38] Ibid, 106.

Complicating this dependence on international trade was a reliance on a single export commodity, timber and related products, which in the late nineteenth century saw demand reduced dramatically by the advent of steel steamships. Even though New Brunswick's dependence on forestry did not change in the period that followed, the market for such goods did. In the 1880s, the demand for New Brunswick timber in the British market declined substantially as steam and steel ships–which were faster, safer and capable of carrying larger cargoes–appeared on world trade routes.[39]

Making this transition more difficult was the greater appeal of central and western Canada as sites of agricultural development in the late nineteenth century. By comparison to central Canada, the American Midwest, and the western plains and prairies, both Maine and New Brunswick featured less arable land and shorter growing seasons. The land that did exist for farming was limited to small and separated plots.[40] Whereas central and western North America featured wide areas devoted exclusively to agricultural production, in the northeast farming districts were often dispersed across a state or province. A European agriculturalist arriving in the late nineteenth century would undoubtedly have chosen the region where he could purchase fertile land for little money with the goal of expanding his operation by purchasing adjacent lots. This was rarely a viable option in Maine and New Brunswick. Because so many immigrants at this time were focused on continuing a deep farming tradition carried with them from Europe, this region's appeal was extremely limited. The result was population growth that remained far behind the rest of North America.[41] This only compounded the problem of the Maritimes' economic stagnation in the late nineteenth century because the lack of nearby urban markets kept agricultural incomes low.[42] Furthermore, population growth in central Canada and the American Midwest provided the capital required to expand the wider region's nascent transportation networks. By the outbreak of war in 1914, it was much

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[39] Ronald Rees, *Historic St. Croix*, xiii; 40.
[40] Petrie, *The Regional Economy of New Brunswick*, 146.
[41] Between 1871 and 1941 New Brunswick's total population growth was 60.1 per cent, compared to 211.9 per cent throughout the rest of Canada. Ibid, 111.
[42] Kris E. Inwood, "Maritime Industrialization from 1870 to 1910: A Review of the Evidence and its Interpretation," in *Farm, Factory and Fortune: New Studies in the Economic history of the Maritime Provinces*, ed. Kris Inwood (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1993), 164.

easier and much cheaper to ship goods into the rapidly developing west from central Canada and the American Midwest than the increasingly isolated northeast.[43] In New Brunswick, these factors together reduced the province's influence in the federal government, greatly limiting the chances for recovery.[44]

In St. Stephen and Calais, the decline of the shipbuilding industry had a lasting economic as well as cultural impact on local residents. In the mid-nineteenth century, when ships and lumber packed the St. Croix River between the towns, hopes for local development were high. People arrived in search of work at either the shipyards or the lumber camps a few miles into the surrounding forest. In exchange for St. Croix lumber, ships carrying West Indies fruit, British china and beer, German woolen textiles, and French wine docked at both St. Stephen and Calais. By 1860, this vibrant economic activity supported a local population of about 13,500, with roughly 7,500 living on the Canadian side (including St. Stephen and Milltown, New Brunswick) and another 6,000 residing in the U.S. (including Calais and Milltown, Maine). At the time, it appeared the lumber boom would see to the wider region's expansion in the ensuing years, and in 1875 local Reverend and historian Isaac Knowlton predicted that together the two American and two Canadian border communities would one day become the singular "Queen City of the East."[45]

However, by the beginning of a new century the total number of people living along the St. Croix River had not increased substantially since the U.S. Civil War. Many of the reasons for the Maritimes' economic decay at this time apply to St. Stephen and Calais, though there were a few factors specific to the St. Croix Valley region. First, even though Calais businessman Frederick Pike successfully lobbied to have lumber cut in Maine but milled in New Brunswick re-enter the United States without a duty, the

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[43] Kenneth Norrie et al, *A History of the Canadian Economy* (Toronto: Nelson, 2002), 313; Charles E. Clark, *Maine: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976), 152-153.
[44] Freight rate adjustments by the federal government's Board of Railway Commissioners in 1912 increased the cost of shipping goods from the Maritimes west, making the hope for industrial development comparable to that experienced in central Canada highly unlikely. Ken Cruikshank, "The Intercolonial Railway, Freight Rates and the Maritime Economy," in *Farm, Factory and Fortune: New Studies in the Economic history of the Maritime Provinces*, ed. Kris Inwood (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1993), 171.
[45] Rees, *Historic St. Croix*, xiii.

termination of the reciprocity agreement in 1866 had an adverse effect on the local economy.[46] Second, extensive lumber cutting in the region since the Revolutionary War drastically reduced the number of tall trees, meaning that even if the Maritimes' wooden shipbuilding industry had remained active after 1900 it is unlikely the St. Croix Valley would have factored prominently in it.[47] Third, extensive dumping of sawdust by local mills in the late nineteenth century resulted in mounting deposits along the bottom of the St. Croix River, preventing large trading vessels from easily reaching St. Stephen and Calais by the 1890s. Worse still, the dumping meant disaster for local fishermen who eventually noticed that the pollution reduced the number of salmon headed upriver.[48] Finally, in 1905, a new pulp mill and dam completed at Woodland, Maine, served to reduce further the depth of the St. Croix as it reached St. Stephen and Calais, making shipbuilding virtually impossible.[49] During Calais' centennial celebration in 1909, visitors remarked at how the sweet smell of pine lingered, even if the sight of grand sailing vessels launched into the river had become little more than a distant memory.[50] With fewer and fewer trading ships coming to the region, even the local lumbering industry reached its conclusion at this time, with most sawmills terminating production by the end of the First World War.[51]

Although they could in no way replace the shipbuilding and lumbering industries, a number of new and profitable businesses did emerge in the St. Croix Valley during the late nineteenth century. These industries, while considerably different in terms of resources used and markets targeted, were, like their predecessors, dependent upon the permeability of the international boundary in this section of the northeast. Some were more successful than others, but all ignored citizenship when hiring employees.

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[46] Jacques Poitras, *Imaginary Line: Life on an Unfinished Border* (Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 2011), 171.
[47] Rees, *Historic St. Croix*, xiii; Trudy Irene Scee, *City on the Penobscot: A Comprehensive History of Bangor, Maine* (Charleston: The History Press, 2010), 152.
[48] Neil S. Forkey, "Anglers, Fishers and the St. Croix River: Conflict in a Canadian-American Borderland, 1867-1900," *Forest & Conservation History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (October 1993).
[49] Rees, *Historic St. Croix*, xiii.
[50] Boyd, *The Days Before Yesterdays in the St. Croix Valley*, Ch. 4, Section 10.
[51] Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix*, 275.

One of the first transnational industries to emerge in the St. Croix Valley in the late nineteenth century was axe-making, after the Massachusetts-owned Douglas Axe Manufacturing Company established a plant in St. Stephen in 1866. For nearly twenty years the firm thrived in the region, primarily because it could sell its axes into either the British or American markets and avoid having to pay a duty on raw goods shipped from the United States for manufacturing in St. Stephen. However, the Canadian federal government's introduction of the National Policy in 1879 (which forced firms to pay a heavy tariff on products shipped across the boundary into Canada) had a hugely negative impact on the economic viability of the St. Stephen plant, and the Massachusetts owners sold the operation to a Saint John businessman in 1885.[52]

Although the National Policy reduced the number of raw goods crossing the border in the 1880s and afterwards, there appears to have been no decline in the number of people who daily moved back and forth across the St. Croix River to work. Perhaps the best example of this cross-border traffic was seen after the establishment of the Ganong chocolate company in 1873. Throughout the late nineteenth century and during the First World War, the St. Stephen-based Ganong plant employed hundreds of Calais residents.

Two men, James and Gilbert Ganong, represented the driving force behind a candy empire that would flourish even as the economic prospects of the St. Croix Valley faded in the late nineteenth century. Born in King's County, New Brunswick, in 1841 and 1851 respectively, James and Gilbert were brought up in an intensely devout Baptist family that could trace its origins in North America back to seventeenth-century New York City. The Ganongs' paternal grandfather moved to New Brunswick shortly after the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, where for several generations the family grew crops and raised livestock. When they set out to build careers for themselves, neither James nor Gilbert were particularly interested in farming or confectionary. After a brief stint as a Boston-based jockey, James took a job as a traveling salesman for the Thurston

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[52] Dougherty, *St. Stephen Yesteryear*, 40.

& Hall Biscuit Co. of Cambridgeport, Massachusetts.[53] Gilbert, by contrast, became a teacher in the late 1860s with hopes of eventually entering medical school. However, in 1873 James convinced his younger brother to invest in a wholesale grocery business on the St. Croix River in St. Stephen, New Brunswick.[54]

For several years the Ganongs sold all kinds of merchandise, from fruits and vegetables to Thurston & Hall crackers. Because people in St. Stephen and Calais were suspicious of outsiders like the Ganongs, the business struggled early on. Finding good help was also tough; luring men away from the profitable lumber camps and shipbuilding yards to help in a grocery store was nearly impossible, and those who did make their way onto the Ganong payroll tended to be drunks too incompetent for those other industries.[55] But the Ganongs' biggest problem was the fact that, in the late nineteenth century, many men in the St. Croix Valley were paid in goods rather than wages and received most of their supplies from a company store.[56] That left little cash to spend on the Ganongs' groceries, and since no one really knew the brothers, there was little incentive to visit their establishment. There was, however, one ray of sunshine in an otherwise cloudy first few years along the St. Croix: people gobbled up the Ganongs' candy, which they produced by combining the molasses, coconut, and sugar shipped to the region in the hulls of West Indies trading vessels.

Eventually, the candy proved just what the Ganongs needed to set themselves apart from other grocers in St. Stephen and Calais. Not only did the revenue from confectionary help the Ganong grocery store survive, but it also gave the brothers the financial capital necessary to establish the St. Stephen-based St. Croix Soap Manufacturing Company in 1879. Five years later, James and Gilbert dissolved their partnership, with James focusing on soap, Gilbert on candy.[57] The latter raised the stakes

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[53] Margaret McCallum, "Separate Spheres: the Organization of Work in a Confectionery Factory: Ganong Bros., St. Stephen, New Brunswick," *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 24 (Fall 1989); David Folster, *The Chocolate Ganongs of St. Stephen, New Brunswick* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1990), 8.
[54] "Ganong, Gilbert White," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, accessed Nov. 29, 2011, http://biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=7386.
[55] Folster, *The Chocolate Ganongs of St. Stephen,* 18.
[56] Ibid*,* 12.
[57] Ibid, 30.

further by building a new, three-storey factory facing the St. Croix River in 1886.[58] In order to fill the plant with labourers, Gilbert looked beyond St. Stephen to Calais, hiring a number of Americans.[59]

Both Ganong enterprises proved extremely successful in the years that followed. Over at the St. Croix Soap Manufacturing Company, James blended caustic soda, greases, and fats shipped from Australia and New Zealand to produce a highly effective laundry detergent.[60] Called "Surprise Soap," the product proved so popular that James was able to make four additions to his company's Depot Street facility in the 1880s.[61] Business continued to boom thereafter, despite James Ganong's death from pneumonia in 1888.[62] Meanwhile, the 1891 census revealed that Ganong candies accounted for seven per cent of all confectionary produced in Canada. Profits were large enough that Gilbert Ganong was able to afford two rebuilding ventures after fires destroyed his plant in 1888 and again in 1903.[63] By this point the total workforce had reached 200 and gross annual sales were $330,000.[64]

From the beginning, the Ganong operations were transnational in nature. As they slowly expanded their confectionary enterprise in the mid-1870s, the Ganongs began both storing and selling candy across the border in Calais.[65] When they decided to use their candy capital to enter the soap market in 1879, additional funding came from Calais businessman James Picard.[66] The Ganongs' first candy producer was a Calais

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[58] "Ganong, Gilbert White," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, accessed Nov. 29, 2011, http://biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=7386.
[59] Davis estimates that the total number of Calais residents employed at the Ganong plant in the late 1880s was around 100. Dougherty and other local historians do not provide hard counts, but insist the number was considerable. Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix,* 295; Dougherty, *St. Stephen Yesteryear*, 43.
[60] Rees, *Historic St. Croix*, 64.
[61] Folster, *The Chocolate Ganongs of St. Stephen,* 30.
[62] Although the Ganong brothers were initially seen as outsiders by residents of St. Stephen, upon his death in April 1888 the *Saint Croix Courier* referred to James Ganong as one of the town's "best citizens" and most businesses in the area closed on the day of his funeral. Ibid, 38.
[63] "Ganong, Gilbert White," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, accessed Nov. 29, 2011, http://biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=7386.
[64] McCallum, "Separate Spheres," 59.
[65] The only drawback was that some Calais residents had sticky fingers, in more ways than one. Folster, *The Chocolate Ganongs of St. Stephen,* 21.
[66] Dougherty, *St. Stephen Yesteryear*, 44.

confectioner named J.Q. Gould; the Ganongs provided Gould with the necessary supplies, and the latter made the treats that became so popular amongst locals.[67] Eventually, the Ganongs hired Gould full-time to work in their St. Stephen bakery.[68] By the end of the First World War, Arthur Ganong (son of James) employed 500 employees from both sides of the river, making his firm one of the largest candy businesses in the Dominion.[69]

Ganong's was not the only company in the St. Croix Valley that hired American labourers or depended upon American capital for its survival. The St. Croix Cotton Mill was established in 1882 through the organizing efforts of a joint committee consisting of businessmen from both sides of the river and funding from a Rhode Island capitalist.[70] When the Providence-based investor requested the organizing committee raise $30,000 to help with starting costs, all four communities–Calais, St. Stephen, and the Milltowns–jumped into action. With the help of contributions from each of these towns, the $30,000 was raised and construction of the cotton mill began in June 1881.[71] The participation of Calais and Milltown, Maine, in paying for construction costs was contingent upon the expectation that American residents of the St. Croix Valley would be employed in the mill once it was complete. They were not disappointed; by 1887 there were 650 workers at the St. Croix Cotton Mill, many of whom were American.[72] Although the plant suffered a number of financial setbacks and labour crises in the 1890s and early 1900s,[73]

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[67] Folster, *The Chocolate Ganongs of St. Stephen,* 20.
[68] Ibid, 23.
[69] Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix*, 256.
[70] Two Calais businessmen, L.G. Downes and A.E. Neill, reached out to Providence-based Lewis Dexter to help fund the construction and running of the facility, which would be based in Milltown, New Brunswick. Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix,* 258.
[71] Boyd, *The Days Before Yesterdays in the St. Croix Valley*, Ch. 3, Section 9; Bill Eagan, *Woven in Time: An Oral History of the Milltown (St. Croix) Cotton Mill* (Bayside, NB: Korby Publishing, 2004), 7.
[72] Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix,* 259; "Canadian Royal Labor Commission," in *Index to the Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the Fiftieth Congress, 1887-1888* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), 397.
[73] In early 1886 the cotton mill's weavers went on strike to protest a pay cut and were eventually joined by other employees. The 700 workers participating in the walkout hired the Milltown, New Brunswick, band to play as they paraded to Calais and back. Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix,* 259.

during the First World War business boomed and relations between workers and management were mostly harmonious.[74]

Although the cross-border traffic of workers between Calais and St. Stephen in the late nineteenth century generally favoured Canadian plants and American labourers, there were a number of successful businesses operating on the U.S. side of the St. Croix that employed New Brunswick residents. In 1893 the Maine and New Brunswick Granite Company was established in Calais by St. Stephen and Calais businessmen. The factory employed 200 men to polish granite mined from St. George, New Brunswick; the refined material was then used for various construction projects, most notably New York City's Museum of Natural History in 1894.[75] Calais' shoe factory also hired St. Stephen residents who crossed the border on a daily basis.[76] A little further down the river at Eastport, Maine–a distance of forty kilometres from Calais–many St. Stephen residents worked at the local sardine canneries, often on a seasonal basis.[77]

Throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the governments of the United States and Canada allowed for the frequent cross-border movement of workers between Calais, St. Stephen, and the surrounding communities. Davis notes that there was a constant fear in the late 1880s that the U.S. government would investigate this activity and force St. Stephen and Calais business owners to respect the United States' alien labour laws.[78] Luckily, federal officials advised local collectors to treat the matter moderately, and the result was no apparent pressure on Canadian or American firms to hire from within their own borders exclusively.[79]

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[74] Eagan, *Woven in Time*, 23.
[75] Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix*, 262.
[76] Ibid, 295.
[77] Ibid, 295.
[78] The Alien Contract Labor Law came into effect in February 1885. The primary purpose of the law was to prevent employers from hiring Chinese immigrants at low wages on a contract basis. As such, it was not originally designed to keep white Canadians out of American factories. However, as historian Thomas Klug has demonstrated, Detroit labourers later used the law to protest Canadian hires when jobs were in short supply during periods of economic depression in the 1890s. Samuel P. Orth, "The Alien Contract Labor Law," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (March 1907); Thomas A. Klug, "The Detroit Labor Movement and the United States-Canada Border, 1885-1930," *Mid-America*, Vol. 80, Issue 3 (1998): 209-234.
[79] Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix*, 295.

The St. Croix Valley's economic integration translated into deep social and cultural connections between St. Stephen, Calais, and the Milltowns. Local men joined fraternal organizations that not only welcomed members regardless of their citizenship but attempted to maintain good relations between residents of St. Stephen and Calais. For example, the Orphan's Friend Lodge, established in 1809, held meetings on both sides of the St. Croix River during the War of 1812 in an attempt to maintain harmony along the border.[80] They were greatly aided in this endeavour by Reverend Duncan McColl, who preached peace throughout the area. In the years afterwards, the construction of new bridges facilitated greater social integration. Many local merchants imported goods across the border and rarely faced heavy customs duties; in fact, it is said that customs officers stationed here in the late nineteenth century and early 1900s held unlimited credit at local stores as a kickback for overlooking the region's rampant smuggling operations.[81] Although their textbooks and curricula varied–with the emphasis in New Brunswick and Maine institutions being British and American society, respectively–St. Stephen residents often attended Calais schools, and vice versa.[82] In the late nineteenth century, the communities regularly engaged in athletic activities with one another and national events and holidays–such as Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in June 1897 or the Fourth of July–became international celebrations.[83] Calais and St. Stephen even shared the same City Directory (published by E.H. McAllister & Sons in Calais) in the late nineteenth century and just prior to the First World War.[84] All this interaction fostered plenty of romances between men and women from the adjacent communities; Calais marriage

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[80] Isaac Case Knowlton, *Annals of Calais, Maine and St. Stephen, New Brunswick including the village of Milltown, Me., and the present town of Milltown, N.B.* (Calais: Sears, 1875), 97; "Orphan's Friend Lodge," Charlotte County Archives, Henry F. Eaton Steamer File, Box 9-12.

[81] This practice appears to have continued into the twentieth century. At a town council meeting held in St. Stephen in 1913, councillors openly discussed the "extras" which the local customs officer received as a supplement to his salary. "Matters of Importance Dealt With at August Meeting of Town Council," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 14, 1913; Dougherty, *St. Stephen Yesteryear*, 160.

[82] "Calais Schools: Yesterday and Today," Charlotte County Archives, Box A796, 10-11; Dougherty, *St. Stephen Yesteryear*, 28; Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix,* x.

[83] Both baseball and horse racing were extremely popular in St. Stephen and Calais during the early twentieth century. The Diamond Jubilee festivities celebrating Queen Victoria's sixty years on the throne featured a parade that wound its way through all four communities, including Calais, St. Stephen, and the Milltowns. "Milltown Won From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, Sept. 29, 1910; "Horse Races at the Fair Were Well Contested," *Saint Croix Courier*, Oct. 6, 1910; Rees, *Historic St. Croix*, 74.

[84] "General Directory of Calais and St. Stephen, 1890-1891" Charlotte County Archives, Box A792, 6-4 (2); "General Directory of Calais and St. Stephen, 1908-1909" Saint Croix Public Library.

records show that nearly one in ten marriages in the 1890s involved a resident of Calais marrying a person from St. Stephen or Milltown, New Brunswick. During the decade encompassing the First World War (1910-1919), approximately 17 per cent of all marriages recorded in Calais were of the transnational variety.[85]

When they built a home for themselves, chances are these couples depended on a foreign company for at least one of their basic utilities. In the mid-nineteenth century, a central water system was established by the Calais Water Company. However, pollution by a local pulp and paper mill forced area residents to look for an alternative water source, which they found at Maxwell's Crossing not far from St. Stephen. The spring water was pumped to all of the surrounding communities, including Calais and Milltown, Maine.[86] In the twilight years of the nineteenth century, homes in the St. Croix Valley were powered by electricity distributed by Calais' St. Croix Gas & Light Co.[87]

In an emergency, St. Stephen and Calais residents could contact one another through a shared telephone exchange, first established in 1894. (Unfortunately, the service was wracked with problems and it remained easier to simply walk across one of the three adjoining bridges in order to chat with a friend or family member.[88]) In the case of a fire, St. Croix Valley residents might summon help from any or all of the surrounding fire departments, which were automatically alerted when a blaze occurred. If it was a particularly serious fire, people would seek safety across the river, the bridges temporarily waiving their tolls.[89] If someone was hurt in such a blaze (or any other kind of accident, for that matter), chances are they would have been cared for at St. Stephen's

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[85] Of the 492 marriages recorded between 1892 and 1899, forty-six were cross-border marriages. Of the 456 recorded between 1910 and 1919, seventy-eight marriages involved a local Canadian wedding a local American. Calais Marriage Records, 1892-1955, Calais Free Library.
[86] Dougherty, *St. Stephen Yesteryear*, 117-118.
[87] The Calais-based St. Croix Gas & Light Co. also supplied power to streetlights in Calais, St. Stephen, and Milltown, New Brunswick. Dougherty, *St. Stephen Yesteryear*, 116-117.
[88] Ibid, 122.
[89] In December 1913 the St. Stephen fire department reported having responded to sixty-one alarms during the year, including thirty-seven in Calais and twenty-four in St. Stephen. "Work of the Firemen During the Year Just Closed," *Saint Croix Courier*, Dec. 13, 1913; Dougherty, *St. Stephen Yesteryear*, 125.

Chipman Memorial Hospital. Established in 1902, it was considered the region's best healthcare facility, and attracted both patients and medical professionals from Calais.[90]

The daily movement of people across the dividing St. Croix River for work and pleasure remained a prominent part of local culture during the period leading up to the First World War. In a transnational border region where the vast majority of Canadians and Americans were born in the state and province in which they lived–and where immigration from Europe was virtually nil–the focus of St. Croix Valley residents was on their permeable section of the U.S.-Canada boundary.[91] However, the war itself would place new pressures on this international community. First, the United States would remain neutral for the war's first three years while Canada diligently sent its young men to face the enemy in late 1914. This led many St. Stephen boys to join the colours, while Calais residents looked on with a mix of scepticism and fascination. As the next chapter will demonstrate, sometimes this combination manifested itself in criticisms of the war as extremely costly in human and economic terms.[92] But the residents of Calais ultimately threw their support behind the Allies because of their deep social connections to St. Stephen and Milltown, New Brunswick.

The final chapter in this section is more specific and investigates how the war affected the cross-border traffic of people between the communities of the St. Croix Valley. It attempts to show not only how the practice of crossing the international boundary changed between 1914 and 1918, but how residents of this region reacted to threats at the border and the government's response to those threats. This chapter will show that, for the most part, efforts by both federal governments to improve national security by reducing the permeability of the boundary in this region were unpopular.

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[90] Dougherty, *St. Stephen Yesteryear*, 83; Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix*, 299.
[91] Census statistics show that 91 per cent of Charlotte County residents and 86 per cent of Washington County residents were born in the province of New Brunswick and state of Maine, respectively. Together, immigrants from Britain and continental Europe accounted for just 3 per cent of Charlotte County's total population in 1911. *Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, by Provinces, Districts, and Sub-Districts, Volume II* (Ottawa: C.H. Parmlee, 1913), Volume 2, Table XV, 381; *Thirteenth Census of the United States 1910, Volume 3: Reports by States, Alabama-Montana* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912-1914).
[92] Editorial, *Calais Advertiser*, September 30, 1914.

Even in an age of unprecedented nationalism bordering on jingoism, the people of the St. Croix Valley not only remained proud of their international spirit, but intensely defended it.

Chapter 7: Relations between St. Stephen and Calais during the First World War

As spring turned to summer along the St. Croix River in 1914, the focus of locals was not on troubles abroad in Europe, but on planning a grand celebration of one hundred years of peace between Canada, Britain, and the United States. Since 1911 representatives from all three countries had been working together to commemorate the occasion with a series of events along the Canada-U.S. border. Known as the Anglo-American Peace Centenary, the celebration involved the construction and erection of monuments across the three countries, but there were also plans for what St. Stephen's newspaper, the *Saint Croix Courier*, described as "educational propaganda": teaching local school children about the border's history and mostly harmonious Canadian-American relations. "The most important feature of the celebration will be its educational side," the *Courier* noted. "The peace of the next hundred years will depend upon the children in our schools to-day."[1]

As a major border-crossing point in the northeast, the Ferry Point Bridge linking Calais and St. Stephen appeared to be the best site for a monument celebrating a century of peace between the United States and Canada. St. Stephen's newspaper hoped the memorial would be something grand. "Ferry Point bridge is the artery through which flows the life of the two communities during the passing years, and a grand arch spanning the bridge and resting on piers at either side would be an impressive and enduring reminder of the event celebrated," the *Courier* noted.[2] St. Stephen's newspaper embraced the idea of making Ferry Point the site of a major peace memorial because, after all, relations between the people of Calais and St. Stephen had remained harmonious even as war afflicted other parts of the continent in 1812.[3]

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[1] "Peace Hath Her Victories Not Less Renowned Than War," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 21, 1914.
[2] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, May 21, 1914.
[3] Ibid.

This attachment to a regional–and in the case of the St. Croix Valley, transnational–identity was visible as residents of St. Stephen, Calais, and the Milltowns turned their attention to celebrating Dominion Day and the Fourth of July in 1914. Although both were officially national holidays, in Calais and St. Stephen they were equally celebrated by Canadians and Americans.[4] On Dominion Day, residents of Calais and St. Stephen lined up in the latter town for a parade that slowly made its way through all of the neighbouring communities. Leading the revelers across the St. Croix River was the Calais City Band, followed by local mayors, councilors, and visiting dignitaries. Residents of both communities built floats for the parade, which wound up in St. Stephen in the afternoon and was followed by foot races, horse races, and a baseball game between Milltown, Maine, and St. Stephen.[5] Several days later similar events–including baseball games between St. Stephen and Milltown, Maine, and Calais and Milltown, New Brunswick–were played out in Calais for that community's Fourth of July celebration.[6]

News involving these communities dominated the pages of the local newspaper, the fiercely pro-Conservative *Saint Croix Courier*.[7] Rarely did events from outside the immediate region, like the assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in June 1914, arouse much attention. That week, it was the death of a prominent local politician and businessman, George A. Murchie, that had a clear impact on residents of the St. Croix Valley. Born in St. Stephen in 1849, as a young man Murchie moved across the

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[4] In a May 1915 story written by a Canadian correspondent for the *Calais Advertiser*, the author notes that "No other holiday can take the place of the 4th. We remember when as a small boy we, with all the rest of the loyal Canadians boys, looked forward to the fourth of July with great longing...One boy at schol (sic) used to say the day was just as much ours as it was the Yankee[s']." "Around the Union," *Calais Advertiser*, May 9, 1915.

[5] "Canada's Natal Day Was Well Celebrated," *Saint Croix Courier*, July 3, 1914; "The Ball Game," *Saint Croix Courier*, July 3, 1914; "Horse Races," *Saint Croix Courier*, July 3, 1914; "Dominion Day Celebration," *Calais Times*, July 3, 1914; St. Stephen Municipal Records, June 4, 1914, New Brunswick Provincial Archives, RS420, F81.

[6] "Fourth of July in Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 25, 1914; "The Fourth in Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, July 3, 1914.

[7] The *Courier's* political slant reflected the voting habits of Charlotte County, which elected Conservative candidate Thomas Aaron Hart as MP in 1911 and 1917. In St. Stephen and area voters elected Conservative candidate George Johnson Clarke MPP in 1903. He held the post until being appointed premier in 1914 amidst a party scandal. "Charlotte County Government," accessed April 26, 2012, http://www.heritagecharlotte.com/documents/CharlotteCo-Government.pdf; "Clarke, George Johnston," accessed April 26, 2012, http://www.gnb.ca/legis/leglibbib/Special_Projects/premiers-bios/english/GJClarke.pdf.

river to Calais, where he became an alderman and was then elected mayor in 1892. During his four-year mayoral tenure, Murchie fought hard for Calais' purchase of the Ferry Point Bridge, which put an end to toll payments by locals.[8] After his term as mayor of Calais, Murchie went on to serve in the state senate. Murchie also figured prominently in the regional lumber industry, owning and overseeing operations in both New Brunswick and Maine.[9] For these reasons, Murchie's death was felt throughout the St. Croix Valley and coverage of his passing dominated Calais' newspaper, the *Advertiser*, on July 1. By contrast, Archduke Ferdinand's assassination was relegated to a small section in the bottom right corner of the newspaper's first page.[10] In St. Stephen, the *Courier* was even more apathetic about events in the Balkans, wedging its article on Ferdinand's assassination between a page-seven story on dandruff prevention and another relating the health benefits of eating eggs.[11]

It would be more than a month before either of these publications speculated that Europe's political troubles–partly resulting from the Archduke's death–would lead to war between the world's greatest imperial powers.[12] Even when Britain finally declared war on August 4, bringing Canada (along with the other dominions) into the fray, the bulk of the *Courier's* content remained focused on local events, including a highly anticipated baseball game between Calais and St. Stephen and the Charlotte County Sunday School Convention.[13] News of Canada's contribution to the fighting, including an estimated 20,000 troops to be sent overseas, was relegated to page three.[14]

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[8] Ronald Rees, *Historic St. Croix: St. Stephen – Calais* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2003), 93.

[9] R. Peter Gillis and Thomas R. Roach, *Lost Initiatives: Canada's Forest Industries, Forest Policy, and Forest Conservation* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), 169; Harold Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix, 1604-1930* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1950), 274.

[10] Murchie was buried in St. Stephen Cemetery. "George A. Murchie," *Calais Advertiser*, July 1, 1914.

[11] "Austrian Archduke and Wife Victims of Assassins," *Saint Croix Courier*, July 2, 1914.

[12] Not until July 30, 1914, did the *Saint Croix Courier* speculate that war would spread beyond the Balkans, and even then it was not convinced Britain (and thus, Canada) would be dragged into the fighting. Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, July 30, 1914; "All Europe Trembles on the Edge of War," *Saint Croix Courier*, July 30, 1914.

[13] "Battle was Disaster for Local Team"; "Charlotte County Sunday School Convention," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 6, 1914.

[14] "Canada's Contingent Ready in a Fortnight," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 6, 1914.

Although the *Courier's* editor threw his support behind Conservative Party Prime Minister Robert Borden and, unlike Windsor's *Evening Record,* immediately expressed support for the notion of protecting the Mother Country in its time of need, it would appear that the vast majority of Canadians living in the St. Croix Valley had only a marginal interest in the war overseas.[15] Aside from Reverend E.B. Wyllie's sermon "War" in the local Presbyterian Church, there is little evidence to suggest that the conflict was a popular topic of discussion in the days following August 4. Certainly, the lifestyles of those living along the St. Croix Valley were not immediately altered by events in Europe; members of the local Roman Catholic and Methodist churches went ahead with plans to picnic at nearby Oak Bay, New Brunswick; the ball game between Milltown, Maine, and Milltown, New Brunswick, was played out as scheduled; and the Calais City Band crossed the boundary to play a concert at St. Andrews, New Brunswick.[16] And unlike Windsor residents, the people of St. Stephen do not appear to have rushed into the streets to celebrate the war's declaration, nor did they bombard local recruiting offices; in those first two weeks, enlistments were slow but steady, with thirty-two men from St. Stephen and seven from Milltown joining up.[17]

Canadians in the St. Croix Valley were also slow to contribute financially to the war effort; at an early meeting to discuss raising funds for the newly-formed Canadian Patriotic Fund, which would provide soldiers' dependants with financial support while their primary breadwinners were fighting overseas, organizers lamented that residents of St. Stephen appeared to care little about defending the British Empire in its time of need.[18] Reverend E.B. Wyllie emphasized that Canadians had a duty to defend their country and their empire but bemoaned the fact that, in his opinion, residents of the St. Croix Valley had failed to take the matter as seriously as they should. "We go about the tenor of our pleasures undisturbed," the *Courier* reported Wyllie as saying. "It is the duty of the young men to go to the front. They should all give up their pleasures and be out

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[15] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, August 6, 1914.
[16] "The Talk of the Town," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 6, 1914.
[17] "We'll Eight (sic) for Englands (sic) Glory, Lads," Saint Croix Courier, August 20, 1914.
[18] The Canadian Patriotic Fund was designed to provide a regular stipend to the wives (and in some cases, mothers) of soldiers. Dependant fathers rarely received the stipend, no matter their need. Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 50.

drilling. We may not have to shoulder guns but we should be ready. Our first duty is to the flag and if it is worth living under, it is worth fighting for."[19]

Others criticized the St. Stephen town council for failing to set an example by providing a satisfactory contribution to patriotic organizations; while other municipalities in Charlotte County had already begun such fundraising by September, in St. Stephen neither the mayor nor his councilors had organized a committee capable of collecting financial contributions. Business leader Gilbert Ganong attacked local council for failing to establish and contribute towards such a fund. "This town and county should raise $5,000 to $10,000 for this fund, on the basis of its assessed valuation," Ganong said. "It is time the town was taking some action instead of waiting until the war is over."[20] The *Courier's* editor supported this criticism of local council, noting that "while this community is rich in many things, it is poor in leadership."[21] Although St. Stephen Mayor William Dinsmore reacted to this pressure by establishing a local account for contributions that would later be forwarded to the national Canadian Patriotic Fund, his council contributed just $1,000 in October 1914, far short of the donation earlier proposed by Ganong.[22]

There is no clear explanation for why some residents of St. Stephen were slow to get behind the war effort. It may have been the result of the region's lack of immigration from Britain; with most early recruits hailing from the British Isles, an almost total absence of St. Croix Valley residents born and bred in England, Wales, Ireland, or Scotland likely affected how locals saw the conflict.[23] However, St. Stephen's slow response to the war may also have been the result of its relationship with its American neighbour, Calais. Across the St. Croix River, the *Calais Advertiser* wholeheartedly

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[19] "Preliminary Steps for Patriotic Fund Taken at Meeting of Thistles," *Saint Croix Courier*, September 3, 1914.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, September 3, 1914.
[22] "Patriotic Fund Meeting Was Largely Attended," *Saint Croix Courier*, September 10, 1914; "Town Will Rebuild Shoe Factory and Contributes to Patriotic Fund," *Saint Croix Courier*, October 8, 1914.
[23] Just two per cent of Charlotte County residents reported being born in Britain in 1911. *Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, by Provinces, Districts, and Sub-Districts, Volume II* (Ottawa: C.H. Parmlee, 1913), Volume 2, Table XV, 381.

adopted President Woodrow Wilson's policy of neutrality. This led the *Advertiser* to criticize not only the war, but also those who embraced it. Given that the people of St. Stephen and Calais had for generations shared a common social sphere, it is possible that American neutrality had an impact on Canadian perceptions of the conflict in this region.

Like the *Saint Croix Courier*, the *Calais Advertiser* did not immediately suspect Franz Ferdinand's assassination would lead to a global conflict. A month later, it deduced that the disagreement between Serbia and Austria-Hungary might balloon into war, but expected that the fighting would be limited to the Balkans. A few days later, all of that had changed; with Germany, Russia, France, and Britain involved, the *Advertiser* speculated that the war would become a "world-changing" event. "You will have to learn your geography over as soon as its treaty of peace is signed…If England loses, India and her colonial empire goes. Russia would be relegated to a third rate power. France would be hopelessly crippled in the race of nations."[24]

As the war moved into high gear by late August 1914, the *Advertiser* provided its readers with a steady diet of news from the front. As in many American newspapers, including the *Detroit News*, *Detroit Free Press*, and *Blaine Journal*, these stories were distinctly neutral in their tone.[25] The *Advertiser* also provided some startling criticisms of the war. Initially, it focused on the conflict's forecasted cost: "Canadian military authorities agree that it will cost $5 per day per man to keep Canadian troops in the field," the *Advertiser* noted in September 1914. "As Canada proposes to have 50,000 men under arms, the cost for [twelve] months will not be less than $90,000,000."[26] A month later, the *Advertiser* expanded this forecast to include the other belligerents, the total representing a ghastly sum that seemed to justify the United States' policy of neutrality.

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[24] "All Europe in Turmoil," *Calais Advertiser*, August 5, 1914.
[25] Canadians received most of their war news through the heavily censored United Press service. Prior to 1917 American newspapers were not censored. As a result, Canadians located near the border had access to much different accounts of the fighting than Canadians living further from the boundary. Even after the American declaration of war, the U.S. government was comparably more lenient with censorship than Ottawa. "Allies Retreat," *Calais Advertiser*, August 26, 1914; Jeffrey Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship during Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1996), xiv, 112; Edward Costrell, *How Maine Viewed the War, 1914-1917* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1940), 20.
[26] Editorial, *Calais Advertiser*, September 30, 1914.

"The cost in money is being figured out fairly closely...The amount generally agreed upon is from $50,000,000 to $55,000,000 a day. In a year the total would reach the enormous amount of $18,000,000,000 to $20,000,000,000."[27]

Like Detroit newspapers, the *Advertiser* also offered a less optimistic forecast of how long the war would last. While many Canadians suggested the conflict might be over by Christmas 1914, the *Advertiser* believed it would continue well into the following year.[28] When it did, the *Advertiser* raised its criticism to ridicule not only the war's economic cost, but also its human toll. "Thousands of soldiers have received iron crosses," the *Advertiser* noted in April 1915, "but hundreds of thousands have had to be content with crosses made of wood."[29]

Early on, Calais' attachment to the United States' official policy of neutrality does not appear to have aroused anger in St. Stephen, where the first period of the war had only a limited impact on the Canadian border community. Casualties for the nation's first contingent–which did not reach the front lines until February–were relatively light until late spring, 1915.[30]

However, Canada's participation in the Battle of Second Ypres in April changed how St. Stephen residents perceived the conflict, their role within it, and their opinion of U.S. neutrality. For the first time, the Canadian Expeditionary Force encountered stiff resistance from the Germans, as was revealed in letters home by St. Stephen soldiers. "I suppose you have read all about the big battle," wrote Private Harry Bonnell in a letter to his mother later published in the *Saint Croix Courier*. "It was long and very nerve-breaking, the shelling was terrific, the asphyxiating gas terrible, and I thought my days were numbered…If we ever get a chance at the Germans again we will hand them some

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[27] "The War Losses," *Calais Advertiser*, October 28, 1914.
[28] Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 34; "The War Losses," *Calais Advertiser*, October 28, 1914.
[29] Editorial, *Calais Advertiser*, April 7, 1915.
[30] Tim Cook notes that in February and March the Canadians lost only "a trickle of men" to casualties. Tim Cook, *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War, 1914-1916* (Toronto: Penguin Group, 2007), 101.

hot dope to pay for our men who are lost."[31] Although word of the first St. Stephen soldier's death in battle would not reach the community until June, it is evident that events at Ypres changed the public's perception of the conflict and led to friction between residents of the Canadian border community and the people of Calais.[32]

New tensions were revealed in May 1915, when the *Advertiser* aroused considerable anger in St. Stephen after it suggested recruits departing the Canadian town for training in Saint John were under-sized and under-aged for the physical demands of warfare. "One thing impressed us very much. We had always thought [of] the British soldier as a big stalwart fighting machine, but when we saw the volunteers who left St. Stephen…we couldn't help thinking why don't the big fellows enlist?" an *Advertiser* correspondent asked, before adding, "But none of these seems to have enlisted, to judge by the size of the kids just departed."[33] When the *Advertiser's* comment spread through St. Stephen, the *Courier* responded by passionately defending its local recruits. "There are not many of their critics who would stand much show with them in any trial of physical endurance," the *Courier* shot back, adding, "Don't worry about those boys or the others serving under the colors, they are made of the right kind of stuff and will give good accounts of themselves."[34]

For months the comment appears to have stirred animosity between the people of St. Stephen and Calais. With the *Saint Croix Courier* circulated amongst the men in the trenches and training overseas, even St. Stephen soldiers stationed in England and France learned of the "kids" comment. One St. Stephen soldier, Sergeant Christopher McKay, decided to weigh in on the subject in late June from Shornecliffe, England, his letter being published in the *Courier* on July 15. Clearly bothered by the *Advertiser's* "kids" quip, McKay took aim at the Calais newspaper:

> Say, if that correspondent of the Advertiser only knew what the world thinks of the stand that the United States is taking he would not say a word about the so

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[31] "Brave St. Stephen Boy Tells of Terrible Ordeal," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 20, 1915.
[32] "How Can Man Die Better," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 17, 1915.
[33] "Around the Union," *Calais Advertiser*, May 12, 1915.
[34] "Short Stories of Events in Town and Country," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 20, 1915.

> called 'kids' of the 55th battalion. They may be kids but when they are called to do a man's work it shows that they are not afraid of the job.

McKay then focused on U.S. neutrality, something he felt was far more shameful than the recruiting of a few (allegedly) under-sized or under-aged Canadians.

> I have talked with a number of Americans, one of whom served seventeen years in the United States army, and they are all disgusted with their own country.[35]

Together, McKay's letter and the *Courier's* editorials (presumably accompanied by some testy words shared in private conversations) prompted the *Advertiser* to offer an apology in late July 1915. "When we some time ago in this column spoke of the recruits in the 55th battalion and alluded to them as 'kids' we didn't think for a moment it would stir up such a commotion. The fact is we used the term 'Kids' more in a spirit of admiration than of derision, just as some of the greatest pugilists have been called kid this and [kid] that." The *Advertiser* also noted that the people of St. Stephen had become "so touchy" about "anything pertaining to Canada," to the point that "one must guard one's words."[36]

Indeed, by the summer of 1915 residents of St. Stephen had become quite sensitive about their role in the ongoing international conflict. The war had not ended in late 1914 as many had expected, and as it became clear that the hostilities would not come to a close any day soon, pressure on locals to take the conflict more seriously grew. As spring turned to summer in 1915, both the *Courier* and local Reverend E.B. Wyllie pressed men to enlist in separate forums, the newspaper in its editorials, Wyllie in sermons throughout Charlotte County.[37] Finally, in June it appeared the pressure was starting to have an impact on the once intransigent young men. After announcing the enlistment of thirteen new recruits, the *Courier* noted that it "is expected that the number will be considerably augmented in a few days, as the young men and the mothers are beginning to more fully understand the stress that is upon the nation and the need of men."[38] In the same issue, the *Courier* ratcheted up its pressure by taking aim at St.

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[35] "Just a Glance at What the 'Kids' Are Doing," *Saint Croix Courier*, July 15, 1915.
[36] "Around the Union," *Calais Advertiser*, July 21, 1915.
[37] "The Appeal For Men to Do Their Duty," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 3, 1915.
[38] "Joining the 55th Battalion," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 3, 1915.

Stephen women, asking “Is your ‘Best Boy’ wearing Khaki? If not, don't *you think* he should be?”[39]

Two weeks later, the true cost of the war hit home when St. Stephen received word of its first man killed in action. Chester McLaughlin, just nineteen years old when he enlisted in late 1914, had followed his father and uncle into the Canadian Expeditionary Force. “Private McLaughlin has paid the full price of his devotion to King and country,” the *Courier* solemnly noted on June 17, 1915. “He saw his duty and he did it nobly and in his death he has done honor to his family and to his town. The liberties that we hold dear are that much more secured to us by the sacrifice that he has made.”[40]

It was also during the summer of 1915 that the *Saint Croix Courier* began publishing letters from St. Stephen recruits stationed overseas. Starting with Private Bonnell’s note in May, the *Courier* published several letters in most editions of the newspaper during the war’s remaining years. In most cases the letters reassured friends and family back home that the author was alive and well. However, in some cases these soldiers offered their opinions of events back home, including the activity of young men not yet in uniform.

After receiving a letter outlining recent bowling games played in the St. Croix Valley, Sergeant Christopher McKay, training on Salisbury Plain in January 1915, wrote,

> Now I would sure like to come in and roll a few strings, but at present I have something to do that is needed more than bowling. Some day I will come and show you all up in hitting the pins, but just leave it to us to make strikes and spurs in the little game we are playing now, because I believe that the boys here all mean business and they will give a fine account of themselves before they get home.[41]

Writing from Belgium in August 1915, Private Archie Connolly offered little patience for those young men who refused to enlist. “Every man in Canada, who should come here and doesn’t do so, is, in my estimation, purely and simply a coward,”

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[39] “To the Young Women of Charlotte County,” *Saint Croix Courier*, June 3, 1915.
[40] “How Can Man Die Better,” *Saint Croix Courier*, June 17, 1915.
[41] “Letters From the Soldiers in Camp at Salisbury,” *Saint Croix Courier*, January 7, 1915.

Connolly wrote.[42] Sergeant Arnold Budd proclaimed "I'D RATHER BE TRAMPING IN MUD THREE FEET DEEP THAN WALKING THE STREETS OF ST. STEPHEN AND KNOWING THAT I WASN'T DOING MY BIT TO BRING THIS WAR TO AN END."[43] Lance-Corporal Fred Clark was equally critical of the men who stayed home, writing, "Just tell the boys around there to forget the movie shows and ball games and put on a nice new khaki suit and they will get a free ticket to England and France where they will get lots to eat of the best English beef, potatoes, soup, puddings, tea and coffee."[44]

Together, pressure from local preachers, newspaper editors, and soldiers already abroad had an indirect impact on the border-crossing culture of the St. Croix Valley. Activities and events that had been for generations shared amongst the American and Canadian communities of this region underwent significant changes as residents of St. Stephen and Milltown, New Brunswick, shifted their focus from peacetime pastimes like baseball and holiday parades to winning the war. In July 1915, Dominion Day festivities were almost cancelled in St. Stephen after several members of the local town council suggested it would be in poor taste to hold a full day of events while some of the community's young men were fighting a life-and-death struggle in the trenches overseas.[45] Only when mayor Parker Grimmer insisted that the day's events feature a baseball game, horse racing, and band concerts did the celebration come to include more than just patriotic addresses by prominent members of the local community.[46]

Three weeks later, this kind of pressure led to the outright cancellation of the St. Croix Baseball League, which for several years had featured clubs from the four St. Croix Valley communities, St. Stephen, Calais, and the Milltowns.[47] From that point forward, young men of military age were not quite told they could not play baseball (games between all four towns continued to be played in an exhibition format on a regular basis), but there was no effort to raise the funds necessary for league play. The following spring,

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[42] "From Pte. Archie Connolly," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 12, 1915.
[43] "Interesting Letters From the Soldier Boys," *Saint Croix Courier*, September 9, 1915.
[44] Ibid.
[45] "The Talk of the Town," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 3, 1915.
[46] "St. Stephen Council in Lengthy Session; Scott Act in Limelight," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 10, 1915.
[47] "Ball League Ended," *Saint Croix Courier*, July 22, 1915.

when Milltown, Maine, ball players attempted to revive the league, they were met with disappointment for reasons summed up by the *Saint Croix Courier*: "On this side [of] the line it is not likely that much will be heard of senior base ball 'till the boys come home.' Then St. Stephen will be heard from with a big noise."[48] For the remainder of the war, the only organized baseball league in the St. Croix Valley featured teenaged boys too young to enlist.[49]

The war's intensification also brought out somewhat dormant attachments to the British Empire in St. Stephen and Milltown, New Brunswick, communities that had prior to the war demonstrated only mild interest in their imperial connection. This had been something of a tradition; according to the *Saint Croix Courier*, in May 1886 there was "no great demonstration" of the Queen's birthday, with the celebration amounting to little more than a short concert by a local band.[50] By 1914 things had hardly changed, the *Courier* noting that the day had passed "with no particular observance in the border towns."[51] This was again the situation in May 1915, with most locals leaving town rather than staying to remember their dead queen.[52]

But there was a dramatic change in local attitudes towards the holiday in May 1916. Along with a day commemorating the second anniversary of the war, Victoria Day was the year's biggest celebration, with troops visiting St. Stephen from New Brunswick centres Fredericton, St. Andrews, and Woodstock.[53] Unlike previous years, some of these soldiers attended the day's exercises at the local schools, giving each programme "a touch of reality," according to the *Courier*.[54] It was an affair "all for the soldier boys" the *Courier* noted, with the holiday's main event being a concert and ball at the local curling

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[48] "Short Stories of Events in Town and Country," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 18, 1916.
[49] See for example, "Milltown's Breezy Budget," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 25, 1916; "Junior Baseball," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 1, 1916; "Milltown's Breezy Budget," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 24, 1916; "Milltown's Breezy Budget," *Saint Croix Courier*, April 26, 1917; "Of Local Interest," *Calais Advertiser*, July 11, 1917.
[50] "Thirty Years Ago," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 25, 1916.
[51] "The Talk of the Town," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 21, 1914.
[52] "The Talk of the Town," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 27, 1915.
[53] "Victoria Day Observance for the Boys in Khaki," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 18, 1916.
[54] "The Talk of the Town," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 25, 1916.

rink organized to raise money for the local Red Cross.[55] Attendees came from beyond the St. Croix Valley, including Maine centers Woodland and Eastport and New Brunswick towns St. Andrews and St. George. The only sports event included a baseball game in Milltown, New Brunswick, between local teenagers and a junior team from Calais.[56]

The revival of the British connection in St. Stephen and Milltown, New Brunswick, was not visible only on holidays, however; instead, for locals defending the empire became a way to justify making great sacrifices in the ongoing struggle. When St. Stephen resident Augustus Cameron learned of the death of his son Morton at the front, he told the *Courier* he remained confident that the Allies would win the war "in the old British form."[57] At a dinner held by the St. Stephen Retail Merchants Association in June, members toasted the King, pledging their devotion "not only…to the person of the sovereign, but to the principles for which he stands."[58] In a retrospective on the challenging year past in December, the *Courier* made known its feelings about defending the Empire in a characteristically sentimental editorial. "What a favoured land we live in…Generation after generation have grown up within her confines and has known naught of the rude alarms of war because Britain's might protected her."[59] There were also several clubs in St. Stephen and Milltown that celebrated the British connection at this time, in particular the Women's Canadian Club, the St. Andrews Society, and the Over-Seas Club (the latter organized in 1915 to "promote the unity of British subjects the world over," with membership limited to subjects of the Empire).[60]

The emergence of a pro-British identity in St. Stephen by mid-1915 was accompanied by a growing interest in the military, which was on display during the community's commemoration of the second anniversary of the war. Only enlisted

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[55] "Victoria Day Observance for the Boys in Khaki," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 18, 1916.
[56] "Milltown's Breezy Budget," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 25, 1916.
[57] "Short Stories of Events in Town and Country," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 3, 1916.
[58] "Words of Eloquence and Inspiration Heard at Retail Merchants' Banquet," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 22, 1916.
[59] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, December 21, 1916.
[60] "A New Club," *Saint Croix Courier*, April 8, 1915; "Empire Day Celebration Arranged for Tomorrow," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 20, 1915; "Burns Night Observed by Banquet at the Queen," *Saint Croix Courier*, February 1, 1917.

soldiers were invited to participate in the day's festivities, which included a parade led by members of Fredericton's 236th Kiltie Battalion, Woodstock's 65th Battery, and St. Andrews' 4th Pioneer Battalion. In the afternoon, troops from these units engaged in a baseball game at St. Stephen's diamond, followed by a series of horse races at the local trotting park. Aside from the baseball and horse racing, other events were martial in their orientation, including a boots and puttees race, a bayonet exercise, a skirmishing demonstration, and a tent-pitching contest. As the athletic events wound down in the late afternoon, donations of cash for the soldiers were collected while the ladies of St. Stephen's Red Cross Society prepared a meal for the troops in the evening.[61]

Calais and Milltown, Maine, residents probably attended these events in St. Stephen (they received ample attention in the *Calais Advertiser*) but unlike previous years they were not a central part of them.[62] By the summer of 1916, U.S. neutrality was the subject of regular derision in the pages of the *Saint Croix Courier*, a fact that likely ruffled a few feathers on the American side of the line. This kind of criticism started with the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915, when the *Courier's* editor expressed disappointment with U.S. President Wilson's decision not only to maintain his nation's policy of neutrality, but to act as if everything was business as usual. After Wilson was reported to have spent the days following the ship's torpedoing by a German U-boat motoring, golfing, and attending church, the *Courier* suggested the U.S. Commander-in-Chief may have been out of touch with the sentiments of the wider American population, noting that "it is suspected that the genuine United States citizens generally felt hot under the collar over the cruel act of piracy that sent many of their unoffending fellow countrymen to a watery grave."[63] Across the St. Croix in Calais, the *Advertiser* offered no editorial on the subject of the *Lusitania* and over the next several months affirmed its commitment to the U.S. policy of neutrality by publishing the financial cost of the war to Britain, suggesting that if America were to join the war it would see to the United States'

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[61] "A Fitting Observance of the Second Anniversary," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 3, 1916; "Short Stories of Events in Town and Country," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 3, 1916; "The Second Anniversary Was Fittingly Observed," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 10, 1916; "Local and General," *Calais Advertiser*, August 9, 1916.
[62] "Local and General," *Calais Advertiser*, August 9, 1916.
[63] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, May 13, 1915.

economic ruin, and dismissing rumours that German submarines were haunting the coast of Maine.[64]

The *Courier* offered more criticisms of U.S. neutrality in 1916, after reports surfaced that the Americans were having trouble finding recruits to patrol the Mexican border as tensions with that nation rose. In the opinion of the *Courier's* editor, this was not surprising given the Wilson administration's tendency to look the other way when Americans were threatened:

> The conditions could not have been entirely unexpected, for the course pursued by President Wilson and his cabinet, both in their dealing with Mexico and with the warring nations of Europe, has not been of a nature to stir the young men of the country to military deeds, not even for the defense of their own country.[65]

It is possible these ideological divisions between Calais and St. Stephen fostered tensions between the St. Croix Valley communities in 1915 and early 1916. However, the American town's attachment to Wilson's policy of neutrality appears to have waned as the United States neared the presidential election of late 1916. As the campaign heated up that summer, representatives of the Democratic Party visited Calais and received a rude awakening when proudly trumpeting Wilson's ability to maintain U.S. neutrality. "One of the speakers enlarged on the fact that President Wilson had kept the United States 'out of the war,'" the *Courier* reported, before adding, "but it was noticeable to people from this side of the river who were in attendance that his glorification of this achievement was received in silence by his audience."[66]

Like other Americans, Calais voters faced the decision of backing the Democrats and Wilson, who supported continued neutrality, or the Republicans, who advocated military preparedness.[67] In the end, the people of Calais voted for change in November

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[64] Editorial, *Calais Advertiser*, July 28, 1915; "The War," *Calais Advertiser*, August 4, 1915; Editorial, *Calais Advertiser*, September 22, 1915.
[65] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, May 25, 1916.
[66] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, August 31, 1916.
[67] "Bet Your Life, Says Hughes; Startled Into Slang by Question About Preparedness," *The New York Times*, July 26, 1916.

1916, though support for neutrality in other parts of the country was substantial enough to help Wilson eke out a narrow victory.[68]

Ultimately, neither criticism of American neutrality nor the emergence of an imperial identity in St. Stephen and Milltown, New Brunswick, saw to the eradication of a transnational identity in the St. Croix Valley. True, the war's length coupled with rising casualties resulted in an adjustment of traditional events and activities that had for years been a key part of this region's border-crossing culture, but for the most part the communities of this region adapted to these changes. The *Courier's* attacks on U.S. neutrality and the *Advertiser's* "kids" comment represented episodes that were exceptions to the rule; the people of Calais appear to have been very sensitive to the situation affecting people in St. Stephen and Milltown, from the beginning of the conflict in August 1914 to the United States' own declaration of war in April 1917, and beyond.

On a number of occasions following the British declaration of war, the *Advertiser* and residents of Calais also threw substantial moral support behind Canadian friends and family across the St. Croix River in St. Stephen and Milltown. Shortly after the war began, an inebriated German found screaming "Hail the Emperor!" in downtown Calais had his face lit up by a barrage of tomatoes.[69] The Calais City Band provided music for patriotic fundraising concerts and recruiting drives during the war's early stages in the fall of 1914, something the *Calais Advertiser* saw as evidence that the people of the American border town were behind St. Stephen and Milltown, and by extension, the Allies:

> The fact that the Calais Band volunteered its services for the occasion and that the Stars and Stripes were carried together with 'the flag that's braved a thousand years,' and the outpouring of people from this side the line, proved, if any proof were needed, the wholehearted sympathy of the people of this city with our cousins of the empire in the tremendous struggle now being waged in Europe.[70]

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[68] "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, November 23, 1916.
[69] "Around the Union," *Calais Advertiser*, September 6, 1914.
[70] "Of Local Interest," *Calais Advertiser*, September 30, 1914; "Patriotic Concert and Ball Thursday Evening, Sept. 24," *Saint Croix Courier*, September 17, 1914.

Calais residents also showed their support for the Allies by contributing money to various Canadian patriotic fundraising campaigns during the early stages of the war, including a drive to raise $100 for the purchase of two beds to be used in the Duchess of Connaught Hospital in France. The St. Stephen Red Cross Society reached its goal with great help from the people of Calais, including one American woman who contributed $50.[71] In November 1914 members of the Calais Tennis Association held a bridge party to raise money for the Belgian Relief Fund, established to purchase food and other supplies for occupied Belgium.[72] A month later the Calais Baptist Church contributed $106 to the same fund, while the Calais Fair Association donated one-quarter of its total income from its annual midwinter fair.[73]

After St. Stephen organized a local branch of the Canadian Patriotic Fund (CPF) in October 1914, Calais residents made their own contributions. In a letter to the *Courier* outlining why he decided to contribute to the CPF, Harvard university professor and former Calais resident C.T. Copeland said he wanted his donation to be used "for hospital relief or whatever will give most aid to my friends and neighbors of St. Stephen in the field…or families left at home," suggesting such contributions from the American side of the line were largely motivated by sympathy for old acquaintances and family members living on the far shores of the St. Croix.[74] Calais women also contributed to the Allied war effort during the period of American neutrality, some joining St. Stephen's Women's Canadian Club,[75] which throughout the period of fighting collected items desired by the soldiers overseas, including socks, handkerchiefs, tobacco, Ganong candy (donated by the firm), pencils, and paper.[76] Finally, prior to the United States' entry into the war, Calais residents attended soldier send-offs to wave good-bye to their Canadian friends

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[71] "St. Stephen," *Calais Advertiser*, May 5, 1915.
[72] "Held a Bridge Party for Belgian Relief," *Saint Croix Courier*, November 12, 1914.
[73] "Short Stories of Events in Town and Country," *Saint Croix Courier*, December 3, 1914; "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, January 1915.
[74] "Calais Man is Interested," *Saint Croix Courier*, September 16, 1915.
[75] It also invited Calais religious leaders to attend its meetings. St. Croix Public Library, Canadian Club Minutes, Reel 2, March 12, 26; November 24, 1913.
[76] The ladies of the WCC also raised $100 for the purchase of a machine gun in 1915 and refused to have he money spent on any other item. St. Croix Public Library, Canadian Club Minutes, Reel 2, November 7-24, 1914/July 29, 1915; "The Talk of the Town," *Saint Croix Courier*, April 15, 1915.

and family members heading off to fight the Germans. When members of New Brunswick's 55th Battalion departed St. Stephen in May 1915, an estimated 4,000 locals attended the event, which reportedly included "a large contingent from Calais."[77]

Calais' support for the Allies and specifically their Canadian neighbours in St. Stephen only increased in intensity over time, as it became more and more obvious that Canadian friends and family in the St. Croix Valley were paying a dear price for victory in Europe. Even though it made the mistake of referring to St. Stephen recruits as "kids" at the time, the *Calais Advertiser* expressed great pride in the accomplishments of the Canadians as they battled the Germans near Ypres during the spring of 1915. "The Canadian troops appear to have manifested high courage and other soldiery qualities of the first order in the recent furious fighting in the Franco-Belgian arena," the *Advertiser* reported on May 5. "As they are our neighbors we are justified in feeling a particular interest in their brave doings."[78] After the Canadians arrived at the front in April 1915 the *Advertiser* continued to provide its readers with a constant diet of news from the front, much of it involving the Canadians.[79]

The fact that a substantial number of Maine residents had joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force during the period of U.S. neutrality contributed to Calais' interest in the events overseas.[80] Although Calais' newspaper continued to support American neutrality until Wilson's decision to declare war in 1917, it condoned the movement of Maine men across the border to New Brunswick in order to join the Canadian army, and specifically the American Legion.[81] After reminding its readers of the role played by

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[77] By 1914, this had become something of a cross-border tradition in the St. Croix Valley. St. Stephen residents showed their support for Calais residents who headed off to fight during the U.S. Civil War and then again during the Spanish-American War. "American Legion," *Calais Advertiser*, February 16, 1916; Rees, *Historic St. Croix*, 79-83.
[78] Editorial, *Calais Advertiser*, May 5, 1915.
[79] "Canadians Face Death Unwaveringly," *Calais Advertiser*, May 5, 1915.
[80] Editorial, *Calais Advertiser*, May 5, 1915.
[81] The idea for the American Legion was proposed by Canada's Minister of Militia, Sam Hughes, shortly after the war began. For more than two years the Legion recruited U.S. citizens, most of whom were ex-servicemen, across Canada. Unfortunately, pressure from the Wilson administration (concerned the Legion's deployment threatened U.S. neutrality) led to the unit being dispersed in November 1916. For more on this subject, see Eric Smylie, "Americans Who Did Not Wait: The American Legion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1915-1917" (M.S. Thesis, University of North Texas, 1996).

Canadians in helping the Union Army win the U.S. Civil War, the *Advertiser* suggested that those who joined the American Legion were not "mercenaries, nor soldiers of fortune," but instead should be considered "knights errant, offering their lives, without hope of distinction or emolument, for a cause which they believe to be the cause of America as well as of Great Britain, and in a supernational sense the cause of humanity and righteousness."[82] Beyond approving American enlistment in the Canadian army, the *Advertiser* also advertised patriotic fundraising events in St. Stephen and reported on the events affecting St. Croix Valley Canadians stationed overseas (even the outspoken Sergeant Christopher McKay, whose promotion to platoon commander in February 1916 was relayed to residents of Calais by the local newspaper).[83] The *Advertiser* also followed recruiting in Charlotte County and periodically listed St. Stephen and Milltown, New Brunswick, men killed, missing, or wounded in action.[84]

Aside from the termination of the St. Croix Baseball League, the American and Canadian communities of this region remained socially integrated as the war progressed. Transnational organizations like the Odd Fellows and Ladies Friendship Club, which included members from both sides of the boundary, continued to operate.[85] A religious integration reminiscent of Reverend Duncan McColl's early nineteenth-century cross-border preaching endured, evidenced by the April 1916 exchange of pulpits by Calais' Dr. Ramsdell and St. Stephen's Dr. Goucher.[86] Blazes like the October 1916 wood shop fire in St. Stephen or May 1918 brush fire in Milltown, New Brunswick, continued to prompt a response from the fire departments of St. Stephen, Calais, and the Milltowns.[87] St. Stephen's Chipman Memorial Hospital remained the healthcare facility of choice for

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[82] "American Legion," *Calais Advertiser*, February 16, 1916.
[83] "Around the Union," *Calais Advertiser*, February 23, 1916; "Of Local Interest," *Calais Advertiser*, February 23, 1916.
[84] Recruiting: "Around the Union," *Calais Advertiser*, June 30, 1915; "Around the Union," *Calais Advertiser*, August 11, 1915; "Around the Union," *Calais Advertiser*, February 9, 1916; Casualties: "Of Local Interest," *Calais Advertiser*, October 4, 1916; "Of Local Interest," *Calais Advertiser*, October 11, 1916; "Of Local Interest," *Calais Advertiser*, October 18, 1916; "Local and General," *Calais Advertiser*, January 31, 1917.
[85] Odd Fellows: "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 4, 1916; Ladies Friendship Club: "Milltown, Maine," *Saint Croix Courier*, November 25, 1915.
[86] "The Talk of the Town," *Saint Croix Courier*, April 27, 1916.
[87] "Big Woodworking Factory is Consumed by Fire," *Saint Croix Courier*, October 19, 1916; "Milltown's Breezy Budget," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 23, 1918.

all residents of the St. Croix Valley throughout the Great War era.[88] Even in death there were connections between these communities, as demonstrated by the funeral services for the Milltown, New Brunswick-born John G. Murchie, who spent time as director of both the St. Stephen Bank and Calais Tugboat Company. Passing away in January 1916, Murchie was buried in St. Stephen Cemetery, with Calais businesses closing so locals could attend the funeral.[89]

Economically speaking, this border region remained entwined during the war years. As the St. Stephen-based Charlotte County Exhibition approached in 1916, there were protests against allowing taxis from communities outside the St. Croix Valley to operate in the region, the hope being that St. Stephen, Calais, and the Milltowns would have exclusive rights over such business.[90] When the retail business lagged during the summer months, store owners in St. Stephen and Calais coordinated Thursday afternoon closures so that neither community would have an unfair advantage.[91] These same retailers also accepted foreign currency at face value in 1916, even though Canadian money was worth less.[92] Finally, both Calais and St. Stephen businesses continued to advertise in the *Saint Croix Courier* and *Calais Advertiser*, just as they had done prior to the war.[93] As will be seen in the case study involving White Rock, British Columbia, and Blaine, Washington, cross-border tensions led to a termination of this kind of advertising as the war progressed.

The American declaration of war in April 1917 not only served to extend these positive relations, but may have even resulted in their growth. After two and a half years of neutrality, by this point in the conflict the Wilson administration could no longer

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[88] "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, October 15, 1914; "The Talk of the Town," *Saint Croix Courier*, April 15, 1915; "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, February 1, 1917; "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 13, 1918.
[89] "Funeral of John G. Murchie," *Saint Croix Courier*, January 13, 1916.
[90] "The September Meeting St. Stephen Town Council," *Saint Croix Courier*, September 14, 1916.
[91] "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 31, 1916.
[92] "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, December 14, 1916.
[93] "St. Stephen's Greatest January Sale Starts With a Rush," *Calais Advertiser*, January 15, 1913; "St. Stephen Business College," *Calais Advertiser*, January 22, 1913; "Girls Wanted in Ganong Bros. Candy Factory," *Calais Advertiser*, January 12, 1916; "Calais Dollar Day," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 3, 1915; "New York Store," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 3, 1915; "The Store That Saves You Money," *Saint Croix Courier*, March 1, 1917.

ignore Germany's policy of unrestricted submarine warfare, which wreaked havoc on American shipping to Allied powers France and Great Britain.[94] For the people of St. Stephen–indeed, for many citizens of the belligerent nations–the United States' declaration of war came at a critical juncture in the war. Heartbreaking letters home subsequently published in the *Courier*, like that written by Private Earl Bartlett, made visible the desperate situation facing the troops stationed at the front. "The day I was wounded there were a lot of St. Stephen boys killed or wounded. I don't know how many," Bartlett wrote in a letter to his uncle.[95] Some looked for salvation in the sacrifice, like St. Stephen's Dick Gray, stationed in France. "Very sorry so many of the St. Stephen boys have been killed, but we have all got to die, and it seems to me that's the ideal way to die and a pretty sure ticket to the better land," Gray wrote in November 1916.[96] Each weekly edition of the *Courier* published these kinds of letters from the soldiers stationed overseas, and by late 1916 and early 1917 many presented similarly solemn messages.

Perhaps, then, it is easy to understand why residents of St. Stephen and Milltown, New Brunswick, were so pleased to hear of the United States' entry into this increasingly desperate conflict. When hosting the Maine convention of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows–a fraternal organization designed to provide members with a social outlet as well as sickness and life insurance–on April 6, 1917, the Calais chapter invited Odd Fellows from St. Stephen to participate.[97] While waiting for their dinner show to begin, both Maine and St. Stephen members broke into song, belting out "God Save the King," before offering "three lusty cheers for the Red, White and Blue."[98] Two weeks later, St. Stephen residents of all ages were invited to a children's festival at Calais' St. Croix Opera House, where young ones from both communities put on a show to raise money for patriotic purposes. The programme included a solo dance by Elizabeth Miner

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[94] Despite Wilson's ongoing commitment to a policy of neutrality, Germany's declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare on January 30, 1917, left him little choice but to press Congress for a declaration of war on April 2. Robert W. Tucker, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great War: Reconsidering America's Neutrality, 1914-1917* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 188.
[95] "Interesting Letters From the Soldier Boys," *Saint Croix Courier*, November 16, 1916.
[96] "Interesting Letters From the Soldier Boys," *Saint Croix Courier*, November 23, 1916.
[97] Donald Swartz, "A Young Man's Benefit: The Independent Order of Odd Fellows and Sickness Insurance in the United States and Canada," *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 48 (Fall 2001).
[98] "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, April 12, 1917.

(daughter of Calais mayor W.N. Miner), a recitation by St. Stephen's Barbara Vessie, and a procession of Allied flags, carried by the local Boy Scouts.[99] It was, according to the *Saint Croix Courier*, a fundraising effort designed to involve "children from both sides of the river, since the fund is to be sent from the children of the St. Croix Valley".[100]

The *Saint Croix Courier*, which had for two years criticized Wilson's policy of neutrality, could hardly contain its pleasure upon discussing the United States' economic and military potential in April 1917. "Both branches of the U.S. Congress approved of the principle of the measure giving the Government power to borrow $7,000,000,000 for carrying on the war against the Teutonic allies," the *Courier* noted. "Not even Great Britain has made such a single grant for the common cause. If the rest of the services required are conducted on a like scale and with like speed, the newest entrant into the great struggle will indeed be a factor of force in the final days."[101]

As the Americans continued to mobilize into the summer months, the *Courier* reflected on what fighting for a common cause would mean to Canadians, Americans, and specifically residents of the St. Croix Valley. Referring to the U.S. entry into the war as an occasion to celebrate "a renewal and a strengthening of the 'ties that bind,'" St. Stephen's newspaper suggested that "the longer the strife against a common foe the stronger will be cemented the tie between two peoples who have shown their worth, separated brethren for a century and a half but now in sentiment happily united to a common cause."[102]

After several years of supporting American neutrality, the *Calais Advertiser* similarly looked forward to a "new era" of Canadian-American relations where a "commingling of spirit" would aid the "two great nations" in their fight for democracy.[103] The *Advertiser* changed its perception of the war considerably in 1917; gone were estimates of the war's economic or human cost to the belligerents, seen earlier in the

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[99] "Help Wanted," *Saint Croix Courier*, April 26, 1917.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, April 26, 1917.
[102] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, June 4, 1917.
[103] "Shoulder to Shoulder," *Calais Advertiser*, August 29, 1917.

conflict.[104] Also gone were reports of military victories by the Germans, who for the first time in early 1917 were referred to by the *Advertiser* as "Teutons," the derogatory term used frequently in the Allied media to describe the enemy. The conflict itself was described as the "War of Teutonic Aggression" by Calais' newspaper in February 1917, a marked change for a periodical that had embraced both neutrality and a neutral tone throughout the war's first two and a half years.[105] In its place was a glorification of Allied military accomplishments; in one April 1917 story, the *Advertiser* described a British offensive as "Crunching the German defences in its jaws".[106] Later that year, the *Advertiser* portrayed a Canadian cavalry charge in heroic terms: "Canada was splendidly represented in the great British advance of Nov. 20...Charging straight for the battery sabring [sic] everything as they came, the officers and men raced to the guns. In line of troop columns they advanced, coming on so quickly that the enemy had no time to man two of the guns."[107]

As America mobilized in 1917 and Calais residents prepared to make the kinds of sacrifices experienced by their Canadian neighbours for years, members of the two communities came together on a number of occasions to celebrate this renewal of the social, economic, and cultural ties that bound them together. Some of these shared events were merely continuations of past traditions; for example, at St. Stephen's Victoria Day festivities in May 1917, the keynote speaker before a gathering of school children in the local curling rink was Associate Justice of Maine's Supreme Judicial Court George M. Hanson, a former mayor of Calais.[108] As in years past, the Dominion Day and Fourth of July celebrations that year featured Canadian and American participants, and both observances were well attended by residents of the St. Croix Valley.[109]

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[104] In fact, in September 1917 the *Advertiser* suggested that Calais recruits were "lucky boys" about to embark "on an experience that will show its beneficial results through all their lives." "Off For Camp," *Calais Advertiser*, September 19, 1917.
[105] "The War," *Calais Advertiser*, February 7, 1917.
[106] "The War," *Calais Advertiser*, April 18, 1917.
[107] "Canadian Cavalry Charge," *Calais Advertiser*, November 28, 1917.
[108] "The Talk of the Town," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 17, 1917; "Calais Academy, Class of 1875," accessed January 19, 2012, http://www.calaisalumni.org/class1875.htm.
[109] "A Good Celebration of Dominion Day," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 28, 1917; "Dominion Day Races Were Well Attended," *Saint Croix Courier*, July 5, 1917; "Calais Races on July 4th," *Saint Croix Courier*, July 19, 1917.

However, there were also a number of shared events that celebrated not only the border-crossing culture of the St. Croix Valley, but the region's common goal of defeating Imperial Germany. With local senior baseball defunct in 1917, organizers of the Charlotte County Exhibition used a reproduction of the European trench system as its main attraction for the September event. Designed by members of the local Great War Veterans Association, the trenches–complete with barbed wire and machine gun nests (and operational machine guns)–were constructed at St. Stephen's fair grounds.[110] "It will be an accurate reproduction of the life that is being lived today by our brave Canadian boys in the trenches," the *Saint Croix Courier* excitedly proclaimed in the weeks leading up to the event. "Every feature will be true to actual conditions 'over there' and all will be open to the inspection of the patrons of the fair."[111]

The event was well attended by residents of Maine, who anxiously waited to see what impact the American Doughboys would have on the fighting overseas. Many, having taken the Maine Central Railway (which offered reduced fairs for the event), stayed in Calais and St. Stephen hotels, though some were forced to wander the streets all night as vacancies quickly ran out.[112] And while people came from all over New Brunswick and the neighbouring American state to see horse races and the usual agricultural displays, it was the trench reproduction that drew the most attention. "The trenches built by the returned soldiers are thronged all day and evening and the realistic reproduction of the life that the boys are living on the Western Front in France is greatly enjoyed," the *Courier* noted, adding "We can only say to our readers, see it all, early, and often."[113]

When St. Stephen hosted the Charlotte County Exhibition in September 1917, few American Doughboys had reached the front lines. But by the following spring the United States had several hundred thousand troops stationed along the Western Front and were

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[110] "Meeting of the Great War Veterans Association, August 27, 1917," St. Croix Public Library, Royal Canadian Legion Records, St. Croix Branch #9, Reel 1.
[111] "Only Three Weeks Now to the Big Fair Days," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 23, 1917.
[112] "Big Military Features at Charlotte County Fair," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 30, 1917; "The Big Fair," *Saint Croix Courier*, September 13, 1917; "Short Stories of Events in Town and Country," *Saint Croix Courier*, September 20, 1917.
[113] "The Big Fair," *Saint Croix Courier*, September 13, 1917.

about to experience one of the most frightening offensives launched by Germany since the beginning of the war.[114] Intended to defeat the British and French armies prior to the Americans' arrival in numbers that would tip the manpower balance in the Allies' favour, the "Michael" offensive–which began in late March 1918 and lasted four months–saw the Central Powers push the enemy back to the Marne River, less than fifty miles from Paris.[115] The German offensive was the Americans' trial by fire, roughly equivalent to the Canadians' initial engagement at Ypres three years earlier. Between 200 and 250 Calais and area recruits in the American Expeditionary Force were stationed in France at the time, with an indefinite number (perhaps a few dozen) also serving in the CEF.[116]

Thus, by the spring of 1918 Americans and Canadians from the St. Croix Valley were fighting and dying together in the trenches of Europe. Communities that had shared festivals and sports for generations were now sharing in the sacrifices of a brutal and merciless war. It was a realization that would have a huge impact on the towns lining the St. Croix River. "It is a time when we should 'get together' and become as one people," the *Saint Croix Courier* proclaimed to its American and Canadian readers, adding that "most of all should we, on both sides of the little river, hold sacred above reproach the conduct of the real men among us who have gone and who are going to fight our battles and to preserve for us all that we have regarded as our birthright from our infancy."[117]

These "real men" had been the focus of the Charlotte County Exhibition in September 1917 and they would continue to be the focus of transnational events of this kind in 1918. After members of St. Stephen's Great War Veterans Association appeared before Calais City Council to formally request members of the latter organization attend the Canadian border community's Victoria Day celebration, Calais' mayor and its aldermen–along with the Calais Boy Scouts, the Calais City Band and members of the American border town's fire and police departments–joined New Brunswick soldiers, fire

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[114] According to U.S. Army Colonel Hugh Drum, by late January 1918 there were roughly 180,000 American troops stationed in France. Gary Mead, *The Doughboys: America and the First World War* (New York: Penguin Press, 2000), 208.
[115] Sandy Antal and Kevin R. Shackleton, *Duty Nobly Done: The Official History of the Essex and Kent Scottish Regiment* (Windsor: Walkerville Publishing, 2006), 273.
[116] "Calais Stands Among First in Enlistments," *Saint Croix Courier*, March 14, 1918.
[117] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, May 2, 1918.

fighters, Boy Scouts, and other dignitaries in the day's parade, which wound through both St. Stephen and Calais.[118] Also joining in the procession that year were members of Calais' branch of the Grand Army of the Republic, the first recorded instance of their participation in Victoria Day festivities in the St. Croix Valley during the Great War era.[119] With the procession passing through both St. Stephen and Calais and receiving the waves and cheers of thousands of bystanders, the *Courier* referred to the event as "a happy manifestation of the bonds of sympathy that unite the allies."[120]

A few days later, at Calais' Memorial Day exercises, returned Canadian soldiers were invited to parade with local members of the Grand Army of the Republic. Until then Memorial Day exercises had been limited to U.S. veterans; however, this changed as Canadians and Americans faced a common foe in the trenches of France.[121] Marching alongside GAR members, the Calais Boy Scouts, the Calais Academy junior cadets, and the Calais City Band were eight Canadian soldiers returned from France and members of the St. Stephen branch of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. As was tradition, the procession made its way through downtown Calais before stopping at Ferry Point Bridge, where flowers were strewn across the St. Croix River. Besides the addition of Canadian veterans and Odd Fellows, also new to the program was the recitation of the poem, "An Englishman's Tribute Upon the Entry of America Into the War," by Miss Marion Cobb, a student at Calais Academy.[122]

The American entry into the war marked a turning point in the conflict. Germany's two great presumptions in 1917 and 1918–that unrestricted submarine warfare would strangle Allied transatlantic shipping and that a major offensive on the ground

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[118] "Meeting of the Great War Veterans Association, May 23, 1918," St. Croix Public Library, Royal Canadian Legion Records, St. Croix Branch #9, Reel 1; "Regular May Meeting Calais City Council," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 16, 1918; "Getting All in Shape for Victoria Day," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 16, 1918.
[119] "Victoria Day Celebration," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 30, 1918.
[120] Ibid.
[121] See, for example: "Programme Arranged for Memorial Day," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 29, 1913; "Memorial Day," *Calais Advertiser*, May 31, 1916; "Flag Raising Feature for Memorial Day," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 24, 1917.
[122] Unfortunately, the words of this poem are unknown. "Grand Army Observance of Memorial Day," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 7, 1918; "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 20, 1918; "Calais Academy, Class of 1919," accessed January 21, 2012, http://www.calaisalumni.org/class19.htm#Cobb.

could knock Britain and France out of the war before the arrival of American troops–both proved misguided.[123] In the end, Germany's Michael offensive proved to be its last desperate attempt to snatch victory from the Allies. By the fall of 1918 both sides were exhausted, but with American men and materiel reaching the Allied lines in ever-increasing proportions the Germans were forced to admit defeat in November.

In the St. Croix Valley, Americans and Canadians came together once more to celebrate the triumph. On Sunday, November 10, rumours circulated in the surrounding communities that an armistice was close at hand. In St. Stephen, locals constantly flowed in and out of the Western Union office in search of telegrams bringing news of a peace, while the local telephone exchange was overwhelmed by men and women frantically searching for the neighbour with the most up-to-date information on an impending peace.[124] Finally, at four in the morning on November 11, official word came: an armistice had been signed and the war was over. Almost immediately people in St. Stephen and Calais were awoken from their slumber by the sound of bells chiming and whistles blowing. By 4:30 a.m., hundreds of sleepy-eyed men, women, and children poured into the streets to learn what the fuss was about. On the sidewalk in front of Thomas McCurdy's St. Stephen barber shop, dozens gathered to hear Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic preachers conduct services under the shining stars. No matter their faith, all appreciated the sentiment of Baptist Reverend Dr. Goucher, who before the gathering proclaimed, "The message of peace which is being flashed over a war weary world at this hour, is the greatest news of which has come to man since the morning the angel choir sang its song of 'peace and good will to men' when the Prince of Peace was born."[125]

In St. Stephen, Calais, and the Milltowns, locals spent the morning merrily cheering, chatting, and hanging American and Canadian flags in preparation for an afternoon parade. Beginning at 2:30 p.m., the procession–described as "the most impressive that has ever been seen in the border towns"–formed in St. Stephen and from

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[123] Hew Strachan, *The First World War* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2004), 290-300.
[124] "Dawn of Peace Brought Rejoicing," *Saint Croix Courier*, November 14, 1918.
[125] Ibid.

there slowly made its way west to Milltown, where the automobiles, horse-drawn floats, and flag-waving pedestrians turned and crossed the upper bridge to Milltown, Maine, before proceeding back east to Calais.[126] Commanding the most attention and applause along the route were veterans returned from Europe and Calais members of the Grand Army of the Republic, who waved proudly to the crowd. It was such a long procession that by the time the pack's leaders reached Calais they could look across the St. Croix River to St. Stephen, where the tail end was just beginning its long and happy march. Later that evening, a crowd of two thousand residents of all four communities gathered in front of St. Stephen's Queen Hotel for speeches by local political and religious leaders. Afterwards, all gathered at the foot of the river for a colourful fireworks display that lit up the serene St. Croix River.[127]

As was the case along the Detroit River, in the St. Croix Valley the war's end brought Americans and Canadians together to celebrate the Allied victory. This was because the American entry into the conflict in April 1917 served to unite the people of this region against a common foe. However, initially the war did present significant challenges to Canadian-American relations in the St. Croix Valley, particularly when the people of Calais and Milltown, Maine, remained committed to their government's official policy of neutrality while residents of St. Stephen and Milltown, New Brunswick, prepared to make sacrifices in their defence of the British Empire. Certainly the war aroused the kind of national pride not typically seen in this region; in St. Stephen and Milltown, it renewed interest in the British connection, revealing a sort of passion that had rarely been seen from Canadians of the St. Croix Valley in generations prior to 1914.

Across the river, U.S. neutrality led the *Calais Advertiser* to make frequent criticisms of the war and, in one rather notorious case, of the men volunteering for the Canadian Expeditionary Force. These differences all contributed to the emergence of nationalism and patriotism rarely seen in this region prior to the war, on both sides of the dividing St. Croix River. But such slings and arrows were not enough to poison positive

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[126] Ibid.
[127] "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, November 14, 1918.

relations between the Americans and Canadians living in this unique borderland. Although its newspaper periodically offered criticisms of the Allied war effort from late 1914 until early 1917, the people of Calais showed their support for their Canadian "cousins" by contributing to patriotic fundraising campaigns and even joining the CEF. When the Americans finally did declare war on Germany in 1917, it was as if those minor squabbles over U.S. neutrality and the size of St. Stephen's recruits had never existed. The American entry into the war renewed and perhaps even enhanced the relationship between these communities. As the next chapter will show, it may have also made the people of St. Stephen less accommodating when the federal government attempted to increase border security during the war, making the movement of people and goods across the international boundary more challenging than ever before.

Chapter 8: The St. Stephen-Calais Border during the First World War

> Sir, I beg to state that an Inspector at St. Stephen is far more necessary than at St. Andrew, a short foot bridge only separates Callis [sic], Me., from St. Stephen, N.B., after crossing which, one can take the C.P.R. to McAdam Junct. or the N.B. Southern to St. John.[1]
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> - Letter from J.V. Lantalum, Dominion Immigration Agent, to W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, July 11, 1908.

The above letter, which for the first time expresses the need for a full-time immigration officer at St. Stephen, New Brunswick, also recognizes St. Stephen as an important border-crossing point in the northeast, given its transportation links, most notably the New Brunswick Southern Railway connection to provincial capital Saint John. St. Stephen's proximity to Calais also made it more critical to have an agent stationed there than at St. Andrews, where the St. Croix widens and empties into the Bay of Fundy, and where there is no American community within walking distance.

Nevertheless, in 1908 St. Stephen was considered a relatively peaceful section of the international boundary. Local customs officers reported seeing few "undesirables" (men and women with criminal histories, or mental, physical, and financial deficiencies) making their way into the country from the United States. Furthermore, few people of Asian heritage had ever seen St. Stephen; according to census statistics recorded three years later, not a single person of East Indian, Japanese, or Chinese descent lived within town limits.[2] Given that more than 90 per cent of Charlotte residents reported being born in the province of New Brunswick, it is unlikely many would have ever carried on a conversation with someone of Asian descent. In effect, for the people of St. Stephen the "Chinese Question" was out of sight and out of mind, a fact that would have made

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[1] J.V. Lantalum to W.D. Scott, July 11, 1908. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), MF C-10632, File 804947.

[2] *Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, by Provinces, Districts, and Sub-Districts, Volume II* (Ottawa: C.H. Parmlee, 1913), Table VII, 178-179.

attitudes towards the border much different here than in White Rock, B.C., where more than 1,000 people of Chinese and Japanese descent lived in the surrounding census district of Delta.[3]

Given the absence of undesirable traffic, it was determined that rather than appoint a full-time inspector to patrol the region's three bridges (Ferry Point, Union, and Milltown), the federal immigration authorities would train a local customs officer to prevent undesirables from entering the country.[4] In October 1908, Ottawa made the decision to pay one of the four customs officers operating in the St. Stephen and Milltown, New Brunswick, area, S.N. Hyslip, an additional $100.00 per year to perform both jobs.[5] Not until May 1912 did the department finally appoint a single, full-time immigration inspector at St. Stephen.[6]

Such actions reflected the relatively relaxed attitude of the federal government towards cross-border traffic in the Maritimes and New England.[7] The St. Croix Valley does not appear to have represented a problem area for Ottawa officials in 1914, evidenced by the department's decision that spring to abstain from appointing an agent in Milltown, the belief being that having a single immigration inspector in St. Stephen would be enough to cover the wider region.[8]

The war, however, introduced new challenges for the immigration inspectors manning the U.S.-Canada border. Not only were agents expected to weed out traditional undesirables, but they were also told to prevent Germans, Austro-Hungarians, and other enemy aliens from crossing the border either way, into or out of the country. Pressure on local immigration agents to prevent these enemy aliens from crossing the boundary increased following the attempted bombing of an international railway bridge running

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[3] Ibid, Table VII, 170-171.
[4] T.B. Willans to W.D. Scott, July 31, 1908; John McDougall to W.D. Scott, Oct. 2, 1908. LAC, MF C-10632, File 804947.
[5] W.D. Scott to S.N. Hyslip, Oct. 12, 1908. LAC, MF C-10632, File 804947.
[6] W.D. Scott to W.W. Cory, April 16, 1914. LAC, MF C-10632, File 805189.
[7] Harold Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix, 1604-1930* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1950), 295.
[8] W.D. Scott to W.W. Cory, April 16, 1914; W.D. Scott to Mr. Willans, Oct. 28, 1914. LAC, MF C-10632, File 805189.

between Vanceboro, Maine, and St. Croix, New Brunswick, a short distance from Calais and St. Stephen. Agents were also told to keep Canadian soldiers from visiting the United States, and when recruiting stalled later in the war, immigration agents were then pressured to prevent all men of military age from crossing the boundary without proper documentation. In St. Stephen, the *Saint Croix Courier* supported such a measure but some locals questioned why enlisted men should be prevented from visiting friends and family in Calais simply because they now wore the uniform of the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

The war introduced other changes to the border beyond who could and could not get across. In 1916 the federal government began discussing the introduction of a daylight saving time scheme that would, in theory, increase productivity and save fuel by turning back the clocks one hour in April before turning them ahead in late October. It was believed that this would increase the number of sunlight hours during which people were awake, reducing the number of candles burned and amount of coal used while getting the most out of workers.[9] Historian Cheryl MacDonald has examined how this measure aroused controversy between rural and urban residents (the former preferring to stick with Mother Nature's time), but it also received considerable criticism in border communities like St. Stephen and Milltown, where the change to daylight saving affected their relationships with American neighbours in Calais and Milltown, Maine.

As the following chapter will demonstrate, government measures directly or indirectly affecting the border were not always popular in St. Stephen and Milltown, New Brunswick, even if their intent was to protect Canadian citizens from enemy aliens, prevent soldier desertion, and increase the nation's productivity. Those changes that threatened the permeability of the U.S.-Canada border were seen as anathema to the St. Croix Valley's border-crossing culture, which, above all else, included a relatively lax attitude towards the movement of people and goods from one side of the St. Croix River to the other. Where government measures threatened border permeability, locals attacked

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[9] Cheryl MacDonald, "Spring Ahead," *Beaver*, Vol. 81, Issue 2 (April/May 2001).

the actions as the work of those who failed to understand "border conditions" and the transnational traditions of this region.

Initially, the war had little effect on the administration of the border separating St. Stephen from Calais. As the previous chapter has shown, cross-border social activity continued unabated, for the most part.[10] The movement of workers across the border was also unaffected by the war during its first full year. In his late 1914 correspondence with Canadian Superintendent of Immigration W.D. Scott, St. Stephen business mogul Gilbert Ganong makes reference to a "large floating population" across the St. Croix River, specifically between his town and Woodland, Maine, home to a large pulp and paper mill.[11] The attitude of the Canadian as well as American immigration inspectors stationed in the St. Croix Valley to this kind of traffic was considerably relaxed from 1914 to 1916, as it had been prior to the emergence of immigration bureaucracies in the early twentieth century.[12]

For residents of the St. Croix Valley, then, life along the international boundary stayed mostly the same through the war's first twelve months. For the vast majority of people living in this region, the act of crossing the border remained just as easy as it had been before August 1914; this was a surprising fact, given that there were several significant threats to local security during that time.

Most early scares involved reports associated with the movement of enemy aliens across the New Brunswick-Maine border. In late August, two German reservists

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[10] "The Opening Games in St. Croix League," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 11, 1914; "The Talk of the Town," *Saint Croix Courier*, December 17, 1914; "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, February 4, 1915; "Base Ball," *Saint Croix Courier*, June 3, 1915; "Of Local Interest," *Calais Advertiser*, June 23, 1915.

[11] Woodland is located roughly fifteen miles from Calais. W.D. Scott to Mr. Willans, Oct. 28, 1914. LAC, MF C-10632, File 805189.

[12] In late April 1914 Canadian Superintendent of Immigration W.D. Scott noted that neither U.S. nor Canadian immigration inspectors stationed in St. Stephen, Calais, or the Milltowns refused admission to aliens crossing the border for work purposes. There is no evidence in the Immigration Department's correspondence or local newspapers to suggest this policy changed dramatically until 1917, when both countries began stopping men of military age from crossing the boundary. W.D. Scott to W.W. Cory, April 16, 1914. LAC, MF C-10632, File 805189.

attempting to make their way to the United States en route to their homeland were arrested by immigration officials at McAdam Junction, not far from the international boundary and roughly fifty kilometres from St. Stephen.[13] About a month later, a suspicious-looking Austrian walking the streets of St. Stephen on a Sunday afternoon was found by local immigration inspector, C. Herbert Maxwell. The enemy alien in question was locked up overnight before being escorted by three armed guards to the Canadian Pacific Railway station, from where he was shipped to a military prison in Saint John.[14] None of the Germans apprehended appear to have posed a legitimate threat to the security of locals, and, as a result, neither episode warranted much comment from local newspapers.

There were, however, rumours of more sinister plots, including reports that Germans were planning to invade Canada from the United States. In late August 1914, the *Calais Advertiser* documented the emergence of an alleged scheme by Germans to blow up the Milltown Cotton Mill or, perhaps, some critical section of a nearby rail track. Calais' newspaper hardly bought into the supposed plot, however, noting that "the story is without the slightest foundation."[15] In St. Stephen, the *Courier* never bothered to report the rumour.

A few days later, Maine Governor William T. Haines learned of a rumoured scheme by German subjects to invade Canada through the forests of Vermont, Maine, or both. Haines dismissed the rumours, as did the *Bangor Daily Commercial*, which (as reprinted in the *Courier*) noted, "it is considered extremely unlikely that anything in the nature of a raid on Canada by armed Germans would be attempted from northern Maine or Vermont."[16] Both Haines and the *Daily Commercial* doubted such an attack would ever occur because New Brunswick was not a major training area for the Canadian military and no soldiers traveled along the province's rail lines between Canada's primary training ground, Valcartier, Quebec, and its main naval port, Halifax, Nova

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[13] "Short Stories of Events in Town and Country," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 27, 1914.
[14] "Short Stories of Events in Town and Country," *Saint Croix Courier*, October 1, 1914.
[15] "Of Local Interest," *Calais Advertiser*, August 26, 1914.
[16] "German Raids from Maine?" *Saint Croix Courier*, August 20, 1914.

Scotia. Given these circumstances, it made little sense to target the province and the *Daily Commercial* suggested that any such attack would be "valueless" for the Germans.[17] However, the *Daily Commercial* did suggest German reservists stationed in the United States might attack New Brunswick's transportation lines in an attempt to (however minutely) degrade the Allied war effort by preventing the easy movement of goods.[18]

This proved an accurate prediction. In February 1915, a German reservist attempted to demolish the international railway bridge at Vanceboro, Maine, only fifty kilometres from Calais.[19] Leaving New York City the previous Friday, the reservist–a man by the name of Werner Van Horn–arrived in Vanceboro on Saturday, January 30. That night he met with another man who supplied him with a dynamite satchel, which Van Horn later suspended from one end of the bridge.[20] On the morning of Tuesday, February 2, Van Horn detonated the charge, resulting in a massive explosion that rocked the surrounding community, shattering windows and startling local townsfolk. Rushing to the site of the blast, locals found the bridge and track in rough shape but by no means impassable. Tests showed the structure could still withstand locomotives and within a few hours trains from Saint John headed west were able to continue on towards their destinations.[21]

Soon after the bombing, Van Horn was arrested at a nearby hotel by astounded local authorities who only the day before had ridiculed a Canadian man for raising concerns about suspicious activity at the boundary.[22] Because Van Horn claimed he had never set foot in Canada, attempts by Ottawa to have him extradited initially failed.

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[17] "German Raids from Maine?" *Saint Croix Courier*, August 20, 1914.
[18] Ibid.
[19] The distance between Vanceboro and Calais is approximately fifty kilometres if one is to cut across Canadian territory.
[20] "Plot to Embroil U.S. With Britain, Canada's View of Bridge Attack," Detroit Free Press, February 3, 1915.
[21] "C.P.R. Bridge Over the St. Croix Dynamited by German Officer," *Saint Croix Courier*, February 4, 1915.
[22] St. Croix, New Brunswick, resident John Rideout later told the *Saint Croix Courier* that he had seen Van Horn acting strangely near the railway bridge the day before the attack and warned local authorities. However, they dismissed his concerns. "Short Stories of Events in Town and Country," *Saint Croix Courier*, February 18, 1915.

Instead, Van Horn, who was indicted on and subsequently pleaded guilty to a charge of transporting explosives from New York City to Vanceboro, was sent to an Atlanta jail.[23] He remained there for some time, until following the United States' entry into the war in April 1917 he was finally shipped across the boundary to New Brunswick where he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to time at Dorchester Penitentiary.[24] Eventually, Canadian authorities learned that Van Horn had been paid the sum of $700 by Franz Von Papen, German ambassador to the United States (and later in life an ally of the Nazi leadership) to carry out the attack.[25]

For a brief period, the Vanceboro bombing had a noticeable impact on attitudes towards the border in the St. Croix Valley. Locals became far more attuned to activity along the border and watched keenly for suspicious behaviour or the presence of enemy aliens. After Milltown residents reported seeing a suspicious figure making notes near the bridge spanning the St. Croix River adjacent to the cotton mill, railway authorities on both sides of the border temporarily stationed more guards at either end of the overpass.[26] Shortly thereafter, a German entered a Milltown, New Brunswick, barber shop and received an amateur interrogation along with a shave. (The barber was not able to confirm whether or not his customer was the same man seen snooping around the railway bridge.[27]) Even more startling was the escape of several German prisoners from Halifax's Citadel prison. Making their way across New Brunswick and into the United States at Vanceboro only two weeks after the Van Horn bombing, they were eventually apprehended in the Maine town of Marion, a short distance from Calais.[28] The *Advertiser* noted the increased tensions at the border when it wrote, "We heard a man say the other

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[23] Henry Landau, *The Enemy Within: The Inside Story of German Sabotage in America* (New York: Van Rees Press, 1937), 21.
[24] Jennifer Crump, *Canada Under Attack* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2010), 148.
[25] Proof of Von Papen's involvement in the Vanceboro bombing was later discovered when British authorities searched his luggage and found a chequebook showing that he paid Van Horn to blow up the bridge. According to Costrell, this kind of conduct did not help Germany's efforts to win the hearts and minds of Maine residents. Graeme Mount, *Canada's Enemies: Spies and Spying in the Peaceable Kingdom* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1993), 32; Edward Costrell, *How Maine Viewed the War, 1914-1917* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1940), 49.
[26] "Look on Strangers with Some Suspicion," *Saint Croix Courier*, February 11, 1915.
[27] Ibid.
[28] "Escaped German Prisoners Located Near Border," *Saint Croix Courier*, February 25, 1915.

day, that all one had to do to get the Canadians going was to disguise oneself a little, walk around the [Milltown] Cotton Mill or railroad bridge, and make a few marks in a note book and walk away."[29]

Although the *Advertiser* poked fun at the situation, the Canadian federal government took these threats seriously. Immediately following the Van Horn incident, Ottawa reached out to Washington with a request that the latter increase the number of guards stationed at critical border-crossing locations. U.S. Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan was, unfortunately for Canadian officials, more concerned with maintaining American neutrality and believed stepping up border security would threaten this official position.[30] With the American government refusing to help, Canadian Immigration Department Superintendent W.D. Scott encouraged agents stationed at the border to be especially alert in the months that followed. In a circular memorandum to inspectors on February 6, 1915, Scott warned, "it is possible that similar attempts may be made at other Border Points," and that officers were "hereby advised to exercise vigilance in handling all suspicious strangers and also to detain for investigation where that action seems necessary."[31]

Locally, however, the bombing's influence on cross-border activity and attitudes appears to have been minimal. Most people in Calais gave up on monitoring potential enemy aliens shortly after the attack because so many foreigners regularly passed through the community en route to nearby Woodland, where the local pulp and paper mill attracted men of various European backgrounds.[32] Indeed, throughout the state of Maine locals appear to have considered the bombing an anomaly and not evidence that German agents were getting ready to launch regular raids upon their communities or those across the border in Canada.[33]

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[29] "Around the Union," *Calais Advertiser*, March 17, 1915.
[30] W.J. Bryan to Sir Cecil Spring Rice, February 27, 1915. LAC, RG25 1160, File 312.
[31] Circular to Border Inspectors from W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, February 6, 1915. LAC, MF C-10632 File 805189.
[32] "Look on Strangers with Some Suspicion," *Saint Croix Courier*, February 11, 1915.
[33] Costrell has noted that the Vanceboro bombing "was not taken too seriously" south of the border. Costrell, *How Maine Viewed the War,* 48.

In St. Stephen, the editor of the *Saint Croix Courier* rarely commented on the event in the pages of the local newspaper. Only one editorial touched upon the topic in the weeks that followed the explosion, and in it the editor simply lamented that Van Horn was unlikely to be immediately extradited to Canada.[34] There was also no effort on the part of St. Stephen residents to organize a home guard force capable of monitoring the border and reporting on suspicious activity, like that seen near the Milltown Cotton Mill.[35] In Milltown, there were discussions of organizing such a force in April 1916 at a meeting of the local town council, but, presumably due to lack of interest or absence of able-bodied men, the force never materialized.[36] Later, there were attempts to have the Militia Department send men to patrol the boundary at Milltown, but there is no evidence that the federal government responded favourably to this call and the matter was allowed to drop.[37]

Overall, the Vanceboro bombing, rumours of German invasions, and the apprehension of Germans or Austrians at the international boundary all failed to convince St. Stephen residents that their section of the border required additional security. In 1917, town councilors even considered reducing the number of policemen patrolling the community at night from two to one.[38] The proposed manpower reduction was not passed by council, but the fact that the town was discussing reducing rather than increasing the number of night patrolmen suggests few locals were worried that Germans or Austrians would soon attempt to invade from Calais and attack their town.[39] There was also no public outcry when, on the night part of the Ferry Point Bridge collapsed into the St. Croix River in August 1916, no immigration or customs agent was stationed close enough to hear or see the event occur.[40] It is safe to assume that if part of the bridge

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[34] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, February 11, 1915.
[35] Close investigation of the *Saint Croix Courier* and St. Stephen town council minutes turn up no discussion of organizing such a force.
[36] "Milltown is Moving for Home Guard Company," *Saint Croix Courier*, April 6, 1916; "A Quiet Session of Milltown Council," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 4, 1916.
[37] "House of Commons to F.M. Smith Esq., Town Clerk, Milltown, NB," May 16, 1916. Charlotte County Archives, Milltown Records, Box A787, File Wars 1.20.
[38] "A Ghost Was Made to Walk at Town Council Organization," *Saint Croix Courier*, February 15, 1917.
[39] "St. Stephen Town Council Deals With Matters of Interest," *Saint Croix Courier*, March 8, 1917.
[40] Only the night policeman noticed the problem. He immediately alerted the local customs officer stationed at the St. Stephen end of the bridge who, for whatever reason, had not heard the structure crumble. The

could crumble without a customs or immigration officer knowing it, an enemy alien could cross; it is likewise safe to assume that the apparent lack of frustration with this fact in the community in the days that followed indicates few locals were worried that such movement of Germans or Austrians was occurring.

The people living along this part of the border did not suffer from great fear of enemy invasion, nor did they face overbearing customs and immigration agents when trying to cross the boundary. Locals crossed the boundary frequently without contacting those officials stationed at the pedestrian and automobile bridges; for example, employees of the Milltown Cotton Mill living in Calais or Milltown, Maine, often used the unpatrolled Canadian Pacific Railway bridge to get to and from work.[41] In the winter, when the St. Croix River froze over, residents of the surrounding area made the trip between U.S. and Canadian shorelines by walking across the ice.[42]

Until the late stages of the war, this was hardly a problem for local customs and immigration officials, who, for the most part, were integral members of the local community that appreciated the border-crossing culture of the St. Croix Valley.[43] When customs collector Thomas McGeachy died in July 1918, the *Saint Croix Courier* ran an extensive biography that told of a man who had spent nearly his entire life along this section of the international boundary. Born in Saint John, McGeachy moved with his

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Courier article covering the story makes no mention of an immigration agent, suggesting that none of the four men hired to inspect new arrivals was anywhere near this particularly sensitive section of the St. Croix River at the time of the incident. The bridge was still passable for automotives, horse teams, and pedestrians. Only streetcar service between Calais and St. Stephen was affected by the issue. "An Accident Happened at Fortunate Time," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 17, 1916; W.D. Scott to W.W. Cory, Feb. 6, 1917. LAC, MF C-10632, File 804948.

[41] Although there were customs officers stationed at Milltown during the war, at no point did the Immigration Department hire a full-time inspector to patrol this part of the international boundary. John McDougald to Acting Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization, Ottawa. Dec. 5, 1918, LAC, MF C-10632, File 805189; T.B. Willans to Mr. Geska, Dec. 17, 1918. LAC, MF C-10632, File 805189; "Of Local Interest," *Calais Advertiser*, February 14, 1917.

[42] "The Talk of the Town," *Saint Croix Courier*, April 4, 1918; "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, April 4, 1918.

[43] The *Saint Croix Courier* notes in a March 1915 article that customs collector W.L. Grant was a frequent curler in the community. "Some Lively Nights at the Curling Rink," *Saint Croix Courier*, March 11, 1915.

family to Charlotte County at a young age. Like the Ganongs, he joined the St. Stephen grocery business in the 1860s, before moving to Vanceboro to work as an accountant. His business brought him back to St. Stephen late in the century before he joined His Majesty's Customs Service in 1904. McGeachy married a St. Stephen woman and had three children over the course of his life along the St. Croix River; at the time of his death, one lived in Niagara Falls, New York, one in St. Stephen and another in Calais. "He was a gentleman of the old school," the *Courier* noted upon his death. "He performed his duties with the conscienciousness [sic] that characterized his life but with the constant courtesy that held for him the esteem of the community."[44] Immigration inspectors stationed in St. Stephen during the war were also locals; for instance, Inspector-in-Charge C. Herbert Maxwell, was born to St. Stephen's Robert Maxwell in the early 1880s and died in the Canadian border community in 1947.[45]

Both customs and immigration inspectors stationed at St. Stephen and Milltown, New Brunswick, during the war faced a number of new challenges after August 1914. Indeed, nearly every year of the conflict brought new demands of the few men stationed at this busy border crossing. First, in the fall of 1914, immigration inspectors (and customs officers performing dual roles) were told not only to prevent the passage of enemy aliens across the boundary, but also recruits in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. In December 1914 the *Courier* reported that such measures were unpopular amongst St. Stephen recruits who found it "a little curious to have to remain away from Calais."[46] Although the rule remained in place, several weeks later the American consul in St. Stephen and immigration inspector at Calais successfully lobbied to enable St. Stephen recruits a visit to the U.S. border town over the holidays. It was "a favor that was much appreciated," the *Courier* reported.[47]

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[44] "Reached the Close of an Honourable Life," *Saint Croix Courier*, July 18, 1918.
[45] W.D. Scott to W.W. Cory, Feb. 6, 1917. LAC, MF C-10632, File 804948; "First Families, New Brunswick Genealogical Society," accessed January 26, 2012, http://www.nbgs.ca/firstfamilies/FAMILY-N-2006.pdf.
[46] "The Talk of the Town," *Saint Croix Courier*, December 14, 1914.
[47] "The Boys in Khaki Home for Christmas," *Saint Croix Courier*, December 31, 1914.

Customs and immigration inspectors were also responsible for preventing enemy aliens from moving back and forth across the boundary, a tough job when there were so few officers posted to Milltown and St. Stephen during the war. Nevertheless, the customs and in particular immigration agents stationed at these points did their best to prevent such cross-border movement and in a few cases were successful in picking out and apprehending their targets. For example, in a February 1917 letter by Immigration Superintendent W.D. Scott, St. Stephen Inspector-in-Charge C. Herbert Maxwell was commended for catching U.S.-bound Germans escaped from an Amherst, Nova Scotia, internment camp.[48] Having split up before making their attempt to cross the boundary, only those unlucky fugitives who chose Maxwell's section of the line were apprehended.

The weight of this accomplishment can only be appreciated if one notes how busy this border was during the war years. Despite the fact that many local men were training in Saint John, England, or fighting in the trenches overseas at the time, in August 1916 the *Calais Advertiser* estimated that more than 3,300 people made their way over the Ferry Point Bridge connecting the downtown areas of St. Stephen and Calais in a single day: August 9, 1916. While most crossed by foot, some were packed into the 411 horse teams or 311 automobiles that made the journey, with another 552 individuals crossing by electric streetcar. Although only 187 people were recorded crossing at the Union bridge and another 517 at Milltown, together the bridges of this region saw roughly 4,000 individuals pass in a single day, presenting an enormous challenge to the four full- and part-time immigration inspectors tasked with preventing the passage of soldiers and enemy aliens, in addition to other undesirable classes of immigrant.[49]

Perhaps the greatest challenge for local immigration agents came in May 1917, when the Canadian federal government began demanding all men of military age, even those not in uniform, acquire a passport before being permitted to cross the international boundary. In Windsor the legislation, which was invoked overnight by Order-in-Council P.C. 1433, had an immediate impact on the lives of local day labourers attempting to

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[48] W.D. Scott to W.W. Cory, Feb. 6, 1917. LAC, MF C-10632, File 804948.
[49] "Of Local Interest," *Calais Advertiser*, August 30, 1916.

make their way to Detroit shops and factories the following morning. In the bustling Ontario border city where thousands daily made the trip to Detroit and back, all men were immediately forced to show identification. However, in St. Stephen the legislation was not enforced in the same manner. According to the *Calais Advertiser*, men known to the immigration officials were allowed to pass without the documentation and only those not recognized by C. Herbert Maxwell and his fellow inspectors were stopped and asked for identification. Still, the *Advertiser* suspected such legislation could present a problem to the rural residents of Charlotte County in the habit of visiting Calais but not known to the local immigration authorities. “This may result in a suspension of social and business visits on the part of these people until such time as requisite documents are obtained,” the *Advertiser* noted.[50] Across the river in St. Stephen, the *Courier* noted that the new rules were seen as an “inconvenience,” but that locals accustomed to going back and forth were “accepting them with resignation.”[51]

No doubt the furor seen in Windsor was avoided because immigration agents stationed at St. Stephen and Milltown were willing to bend the rules for local men of military age who could be trusted to return from Calais or Milltown, Maine, after a brief visit. With most immigration and customs officers originally from St. Stephen and the surrounding area, these agents appreciated the importance of the border’s permeability and made attempts to find a satisfactory middle ground between somewhat draconian federal policies on one hand and the interests of local residents on the other. In the case of the border crossing between St. Stephen and Calais, then, these agents played a critical mediatory role.

The importance of this mediation was evident in May 1918, when Ottawa sent two investigators, referred to by the *Courier* as “specials,” to evaluate the work of customs officers stationed in St. Stephen. These special investigators, whose names were never given by the *Saint Croix Courier*, aroused the indignation of the newspaper for enforcing federal customs regulations down to the colour of shoes worn by officers. It

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[50] “Of Local Interest,” *Calais Advertiser*, May 30, 1917.
[51] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, May 31, 1917.

was not a pleasant visit, and the language used by the *Courier* to describe the event reveals that residents of St. Stephen resented attempts by forces from outside the region to regulate cross-border traffic and disturb the permeability of the St. Croix Valley.

The arrival of these "specials" was not a surprise for St. Stephen's customs officers, who, told of the visit beforehand, carefully prepared for the investigators' arrival. "The local officers were all in uniform and thought that they were 'quite right' so far as appearances went," the *Courier* sympathetically noted. Unfortunately, they made a few oversights. Several of the men wore "fancy colored shoes" and were told to immediately discard them in favour of plain black footwear. Others wore coloured ties, and were told to discard them, too, the specials preferring white. Those officers who chose to wear their customs badges pinned to their vests rather than their coats were also corrected, told that if someone had a problem with the way the officers treated them, they needed to be able to easily make out the customs man's name and badge number. "Well now, that was something entirely new," quipped the *Courier*, "something 'quite novel,' for local officers have always been accustomed to exercising such courtesy to strangers and all others that the necessity for complaints had not been thought of…But it was all in 'the regulations' and that was what the specials were here to talk about."

The investigation moved on to the way St. Stephen's customs agents interacted with locals. The specials were shocked when a woman returning from Calais and recognized by local officers was allowed to march past, small package in hand, without so much as a scrutinizing glance. "It was explained that such things had come to be regulated by the custom of many years in a border community," noted the *Courier*. "If any person passed with a parcel of any size or of any apparent value, he or she was stopped and duty collected, but many of the parcels going past had not cost more than ten cents and the duty was difficult to appraise." But that was nonsense to the specials, and the St. Stephen customs officers were told to inspect each package and collect duty on every item–"no matter what the value, or what the consequence"–making its way back into Canada from Calais.

Then an automobile approached. Filled with Calais residents known to the local customs agents, the car was initially allowed to pass without inspection. "But the 'specials' could not see that at all," and the vehicle was taken aside and examined. The local agents were told that, like small packages carried by local ladies, every automobile was to be taken aside and thoroughly searched for dutiable goods. Even when it was explained by the local officers that "some people do business in Calais and reside in St. Stephen, and that they had to cross and recross and there was no good reason to hold them up every time that they passed the custom house," the answer was the same. "Nothing doing with those specials, those very 'specials'," the *Courier* seethed.

The investigators' visit was deemed outrageous by St. Stephen's newspaper, which emphasized that the visitors "clothed with a little temporal authority but know[ing] nothing of border conditions" were out of their element. In condemning the specials' intransigence and ignorance, the *Courier* also turned the local officers' military and patriotic achievements into a form of moral currency, giving them a higher status than their superiors from distant Ottawa. "Nobody knows anything about the 'specials' who visited us or of what they or theirs have done for Canada," the *Courier* admitted before adding:

> But of the 'locals' involved, one has given his eldest son to the cause of Empire to 'sleep in Flanders field,' and two others have risked their lives in the cause of Empire and returned…They did this for Canada, and it is safe to assume that the interests of Canada will not suffer at their hands, whether they wear black shoes or tan shoes, white ties or verigated ties, part their hair on one side or in the middle.[52]

Before ending the story, the *Courier* emphasized that the people of St. Stephen and Calais who "suffer inconvenience" in the days, weeks, and months following the specials' visit should not "unjustly" blame the local customs officers for the new regulations.

Similar rules introduced by Washington did not escape this kind of ridicule. Only a week later the *Courier* offered harsh criticism for an American law that prevented coal

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[52] "Great Differences Between Understanding and Perception," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 9, 1918.

from being shipped by vessel between Canadian and U.S. ports. In reality, it meant that coal on an American schooner docked in the St. Croix River at Calais could not unload its cargo in St. Stephen. "She tied up at the [Maine Central Railway] dock so near to the dock where the coal belonged that a man with a strong right arm could have thrown a lump of coal…to where the coal belonged," the *Courier* complained. It was an episode that the newspaper insisted demonstrated "how the business of a community can be tied up by the application of a…binder." Only when the coal was loaded onto sixteen coal cars, sent upriver and then across the St. Croix to New Brunswick and back by rail to St. Stephen was the shipment completed.[53]

Not all perceived threats to the border-crossing culture of the St. Croix Valley were related to customs and immigration regulations. As in Windsor, residents of St. Stephen were also unsure about the daylight saving time scheme, first discussed on a national basis in 1916. Most worried that the plan, which would see St. Stephen's time advanced an additional hour, might negatively impact a region where people crossed the international boundary for work, school, and pleasure. If implemented, the plan would increase the time division to two hours because of the Canadian town's traditional usage of Atlantic Time and the American community's use of Standard Time. For most residents of St. Stephen, this was unacceptable. Given the circumstances, the change to daylight saving, which some towns and cities in New Brunswick were already considering in the spring of 1916, "will not be adopted in this section," the *Courier* noted, because to expand the time difference between Calais and St. Stephen would "result in endless discomfort owing to the close business and social relations of the two municipalities."[54]

Although a number of major Canadian centres, including Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Winnipeg, Manitoba, and Brantford, Ontario, made the time change in 1916, St. Stephen refused to implement daylight saving.[55] They were hardly alone; farmers felt the adjustment made little sense, since their days revolved around Mother

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[53] "All the Red Tape Artists Not Located in Canada," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 16, 1918.
[54] "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 4, 1916.
[55] MacDonald, "Spring Ahead."

Nature's time frame, not that of the government.[56] (One problem was that hay could not be cut before the dew dried, and under the new time this did not occur until midday.[57]) But border towns like St. Stephen and Windsor instead suggested the switch should not be made because of its negative impact on a long-running economic, social, and cultural relationship with a neighbouring American community.

Despite these kinds of protests, in April 1918 the federal government, believing it could improve worker efficiency and safety with daylight saving, introduced the measure on a national scale. When St. Stephen made the change later that month, initially it was not as discomforting as had been feared, largely because Calais had made the switch to daylight saving itself a few weeks earlier. This meant that, for a very brief period, Calais shared St. Stephen's time. This was much appreciated by St. Stephen residents who now disliked the idea of moving back to a one-hour time difference with Calais, even though it was a condition they had known for years.[58] Nevertheless, that is exactly what happened.

Immediately, a number of protests were raised. Employees of Milltown's Cotton Mill complained that they were getting up before sunrise and eating their breakfasts in the dark. That meant using more coal and candles to light the home, an expensive prospect for some working-class households.[59] St. Stephen residents soon began making similar complaints, some literally counting down the days until the end of daylight saving in late October.[60] When that time finally neared (and unbeknownst to most just a few weeks before the war ended), the *Courier* suggested some kind of arrangement be made whereby Calais and St. Stephen returned to the same time, and remained there permanently. "It would be a very convenient arrangement for the people on the border," the *Courier* insisted, "if the new time was continued in Maine and New Brunswick was allowed to go back to Atlantic standard for the communities would then have the same

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[56] Farmers complained that crops and livestock would not operate by an adjusted time. MacDonald, "Spring Ahead."
[57] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, May 23, 1918.
[58] "Short Stories of Events in Town and Country," *Saint Croix Courier*, April 11, 1918.
[59] "Milltown's Breezy Budget," *Saint Croix Courier*, April 18, 1918.
[60] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, May 23, 1918; "Milltown's Breezy Budget," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 29, 1918.

standard of time."[61] As much as such a change might have meant to the people of the St. Croix Valley, it never took place. To this day, St. Stephen residents get up and go to work an hour ahead of their Calais counterparts.

Many of these initiatives affecting the border and pursued by the federal government during the war were seen as meddling by outsiders who, as the *Courier* insisted, "know nothing of border conditions."[62] Certainly there were locals who were willing to make these kinds of sacrifices–paltry as they were when compared to food rationing and the horrors facing the men in the trenches overseas–but for many residents of this border region the new rules went too far. For people accustomed to moving across the boundary at a moment's notice, it did not make much sense to prevent a man from visiting his Calais sweetheart simply because he had enlisted, or was of an age suitable for enlistment. For most of the war, residents of St. Stephen and Milltown, New Brunswick, were not concerned their border was under threat, and made little attempt to organize a home guard, even though enemy aliens regularly tried to cross at sections of the line in this region and, in one case, did target a nearby community. People were not particularly patient when the government insisted customs officers inspect purses, packages, and cars owned by locals coming across the line. They also did not like the idea of tinkering with local clocks, even if the daylight saving scheme left residents of St. Stephen an hour ahead of their friends and family in Calais, a situation that was familiar to residents of the St. Croix Valley by 1918. Certainly these were not the only people to complain about government measures that were designed to help the war effort but, in many cases, were annoying for one reason or another. But what set the people of this region apart were the reasons why they protested against increased border security or a daylight saving time scheme: it threatened to erode the border-crossing culture of their international community.

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[61] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, October 17, 1918.
[62] "Great Differences Between Understanding and Perception," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 9, 1918.

Chapter 9: White Rock, British Columbia, and Blaine, Washington: An Introduction

Just a few days in August separated my visit to the St. Croix Valley from a separate trip to the shores of Semiahmoo Bay on North America's western coast. The brief interlude highlighted the many differences between these distinct places: whereas St. Stephen was almost sheepishly quiet on the afternoon of my arrival–a noteworthy transformation from its once-bustling status as a major lumbering and shipbuilding centre in the late nineteenth century–White Rock was absolutely booming on the weekend I arrived. Thousands crowded the bars, restaurants, and shops lining Marine Drive overlooking the great bay and White Rock's iconic pier. This, too, is a significant departure from the past: when St. Stephen boomed during the late 1800s, White Rock–named for the massive boulder adorning its seafront–was little more than a lumber camp surrounded by dense forest on one side, beaches on the other. But even then people recognized White Rock's potential; as early as the mid-1880s residents of pioneer communities Hall's Prairie and Cloverdale would venture to the beaches of Semiahmoo Bay for an afternoon of swimming and sunbathing.[1]

Crossing the border is also a much different experience in White Rock. For residents of St. Stephen, visiting Calais, Maine, means only a short walk across the Ferry Point Bridge. However, in White Rock about three miles separate the Canadian town from its American neighbour, Blaine, Washington. And while a relatively indistinguishable land border separates White Rock from Blaine, running between these towns along the often congested Highway 99 are imposing Canadian and American customs and immigration offices, where border agents methodically inspect cars as they

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[1] In 1968, Mrs. Minnie Peterson recalled such ventures to White Rock with her family. She also remembered future British Columbia premier, 'Honest' John Oliver, being there with other families. Margaret Lang Hastings, *Along the Way: An Account of Pioneering White Rock and Surrounding District in British Columbia* (Cloverdale, B.C.: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1981), 186.

pass from one country to the next. Nowadays, walking from downtown White Rock to Blaine is theoretically possible, I suppose, but hardly practical.

And so, unlike my visit to the St. Croix Valley, I did not simply walk from one nation to the next during my time in White Rock. Instead, I took the rental car, passed through the American Customs and Border Protection inspection point, and parked in downtown Blaine. It was there that I discovered what a difference three miles can make. Unlike bustling White Rock, downtown Blaine was eerily quiet. Lacking the beaches and waterfront view that have turned its Canadian neighbour from a lumber camp into a summer resort hotspot, Blaine more closely resembles Calais or St. Stephen, communities that have struggled to compensate for the decline of resource-processing industries, in Blaine's case, salmon canning and lumbering. In White Rock the population has increased from a few families at the turn of the twentieth century to nearly 20,000 (a number that balloons when visitors from across the Pacific coast arrive during the busy summer months).[2] Blaine, on the other hand, has seen its population remain fairly stagnant, from an estimated 1,800 in 1889 to roughly 4,100 in 2012.[3]

Today, there is little indication that these are cities that have been socially, culturally, or economically bound together. Evidence of just such a community once existed between Windsor and Detroit, St. Stephen and Calais, and one could certainly argue still exists in the latter two towns. But, as the following section will demonstrate, such a community never truly existed along Semiahmoo Bay, for a number of reasons.

First, and most importantly, settlement did not precede the introduction of a modern, bureaucratized border in this region. Along the Detroit and St. Croix rivers, farms, ferries, lumber mills, and shipyards had been around for generations prior to the introduction of immigration policy in the early twentieth century that led to the inspection of travelers at popular border-crossing sites. That, however, was not the case at the section of the international boundary running between White Rock and Blaine, where the

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[2] Hastings, *Along the Way*, 31; "About White Rock," accessed February 14, 2012, http://www.whiterockcity.ca/EN/main/community/about-white-rock.html.
[3] "Fires, Border Play Important Role in History of Blaine," *Blaine Journal*, July 30, 1959; "About Blaine," accessed February 14, 2012, http://www.ci.blaine.wa.us/index.aspx?NID=132.

populations of both communities remained small until the late nineteenth century (and in the case of White Rock, would not surpass a few dozen families until the eve of the First World War). Whereas border-crossing cultures had become entrenched in Detroit, Windsor, St. Stephen, and Calais and were the basis for locals defending the border's permeability during the First World War, in White Rock and Blaine the push was often in the opposite direction, towards cementing the international boundary as a way to protect area residents from a number of perceived threats.

Secondly, in a wider Pacific coast region fixated on race and specifically the local population of "Asiatics," the border became a necessary filter for monitoring the movement of people born in China, Japan, and India. Starting with the Fraser River gold rush in 1858, Asians–at this time, mostly Chinese–moved in large numbers to Washington Territory and land loosely controlled by Britain's Hudson's Bay Company.[4] Upon arriving in this region, most Chinese were relegated to positions whites refused (or, at the very least, detested), from operating laundries to laying railway track. Although they worked harder and longer shifts than their white counterparts, the Chinese rarely earned more than one-third of a white man's wage. The cultural habits of the Chinese, which were deemed strange by their white counterparts, hardly endeared them to the Americans or the British living in the wider Pacific region. Making them even less popular in the late nineteenth century was their tendency to send earned wages back home to families in China, giving the impression that they were not interested in contributing their share to the local economy.[5] These factors, together with Anglo-Saxon conceptions of a racial hierarchy gleaned from a selective reading of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (published in 1859), combined to make tensions between Asians and whites more than a little rancorous in the Pacific Northwest.[6] Moving into the twentieth century, East Indians became the target of white suspicion when a number of anti-colonial rebels with a mind for throwing off British rule in the homeland were detected

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[4] Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 65-69.
[5] See Yuen-fong Woon, "The Voluntary Sojourner among the Overseas Chinese: Myth or Reality?" *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 56, Issue 4 (Winter 1983).
[6] Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 133-136.

operating in the region. As historian Seema Sohi argues, Americans and Canadians in the Pacific Northwest shared concerns about Asian immigration, but their response was to enforce the line between them in an effort to better monitor such activity and use nascent immigration apparatuses to apprehend individuals of particular interest to the authorities.[7] By contrast, race was not such a major concern in central Canada or the Maritimes (and their neighbouring American regions), where the influx of Asians through border-crossing points was comparatively low.

As the primary crossing point for travelers moving between major west coast metropolises Seattle and Vancouver, the international boundary lying between White Rock and Blaine was critical to keeping undesirable immigrants out of Canada and the United States. As such, fears that Asians would overwhelm the Anglo-Saxon population troubled residents of this region. For Canadians in other parts of the country, such concerns seemed strange, even exaggerated. In July 1915, the Toronto-based *Canadian Courier* criticized British Columbia's anti-Asian sentiment by pointing out that both India and Japan were technically allies of Great Britain, suggesting that this should result in the better treatment of Asians on Canada's west coast. "This is utter piffle," the New Westminster-based *British Columbian* shot back, adding, "If the Courier would live up to its high sounding title, would be truly national in outlook, it can hardly disagree with the contention of our people that only by a close regulation of Asiatic immigration will this Pacific province be kept truly British."[8]

But race was not the only factor setting this border region apart from the Detroit River area and St. Croix Valley before and during the First World War era. There were also social, cultural, and economic factors that served to reinforce the need to monitor and control activity at the international boundary. For one, in 1910 Blaine enacted prohibition at the local level, while the neighbouring Canadian municipality of Surrey, of which White Rock was a part, refused to follow suit. Taking advantage of this situation was Richard Asbeck, owner of the St. Leonard Hotel, which operated within walking

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[7] Seema Sohi, "Race, Surveillance and Indian Anticolonialism in the Transnational Western U.S.-Canadian Borderlands," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 28, Issue 2 (September 2011).
[8] "Silly Comment," *British Columbian*, July 6, 1915.

distance of downtown Blaine. For four long years, Blaine progressives pleaded with their Canadian neighbours to shut down the St. Leonard, and were refused. Not until offal from Blaine's salmon canneries started washing ashore in White Rock did the American town have the leverage to blackmail their neighbours into closing the hotel. The issue highlighted not only the need to monitor and enforce border regulations, but key differences between Canadians and Americans living in this border region.

These towns were also fundamentally different in an economic sense. While residents of both communities depended heavily on lumbering for a steady wage in the early twentieth century, by the First World War White Rock was rapidly evolving into a resort community that depended more on its beaches and fair climate than its fir and cedar trees. By contrast, Blaine remained committed to more traditional industries, including lumbering and salmon canning. Together, these factors served to distinguish Blaine from White Rock, where locals focused on making their community as attractive to summer visitors as possible and showed little interest in prohibition.

Finally, White Rock depended on Canadians for its economic development, not Americans. Its focus on tourism in the early twentieth century made it dependent on federal and provincial representatives who together helped to expand the community's primitive infrastructure during the war years. Furthermore, most tourists visiting the seaside town during the summer months were from Vancouver and New Westminster, not the United States. The vast majority of White Rock's early investors were Canadian, not American. And while White Rock's economic development owed a great deal to the American-owned Great Northern Railway's decision to connect Seattle with Vancouver through the community in 1909, an acrimonious relationship with the GNR did not engender the kind of cross-border good feeling seen in Windsor, where locals expressed deep attachment to U.S. firms like Ford.

Together, all of these factors served to shape a cross-border relationship between White Rock and Blaine that, while mostly friendly (at least, after the St. Leonard's closing in 1914), was entirely distinct from relations existing between Windsor and Detroit or St. Stephen and Calais. The following chapters will demonstrate this finding by

examining the history of White Rock and Blaine before and during the First World War era, where changes to the administration of the international boundary–including the prevention of goods and people from easily crossing from one nation to the next–provoked little anger in a region long accustomed to the existence of a visible, bureaucratized border between them.

"54-40 or Fight!" was the incredibly provocative campaign slogan that captured the imaginations of thousands of Americans in 1844 and helped presidential candidate James Knox Polk (formerly a Speaker of the House and one-time Governor of Tennessee) upstage his rivals in the federal election that fall.[9] The idea, that the United States was willing to go to war with Britain in order to establish the 54th parallel as the official international boundary in the Pacific Northwest, appeared to set the young Republic and the British Empire on a collision course only a generation after the bitterly-fought War of 1812. For its part, Britain believed it held a legitimate claim to a much different boundary, one running along the Columbia River. Evidence of a British presence here prior to the establishment of Fort Astoria by the Americans in early 1811 was weak; in fact, it amounted to little more than British writers claiming that, at one point on his epic journey around the world in the late sixteenth century, Sir Francis Drake had stopped for a moment along North America's Pacific coast at the 48th parallel. Others in Britain argued that Captain George Vancouver, who mapped a large part of the Pacific coast and interacted with its First Peoples more than two centuries later, had established a British presence that allowed London to dictate where the international boundary lay.[10]

In the end, war was averted. In the spring of 1845 Polk turned his focus south, to the annexation of cotton-rich Texas. Mexico disputed the move, along with American

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[9] "54-40," or 54 degrees, 40 minutes north latitude, would have established the border at the Alaska panhandle and the edge of Russian America. Dave McIntosh, *The Collectors: A History of Canadian Customs and Excise* (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1984), 194.
[10] Chad Reimer, "Borders of the Past: The Oregon Boundary Dispute and the Beginnings of Northwest Historiography," in *Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies*, eds. John M. Findlay et al. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 232.

claims to New Mexico and California, and throughout the year the two nations rattled their sabres.[11] When Mexico refused to negotiate on the matter with the United States' chosen representative, Louisiana Senator John Slidell, war became imminent. In May 1846 Mexican and American forces clashed along the Rio Grande.[12]

The Mexican crisis revealed that, however bold his campaign slogan, Polk could fight only one war at a time. And in the grand scheme of things, acquiring the densely forested backwoods of the Pacific Northwest was a lower priority for Washington.[13] As tensions with Mexico escalated in the summer of 1845, American and British representatives met to hammer out a compromise. It took nearly a year, but by June 1846 the two sides had come to agree on the 49th parallel as the new boundary. Proponents of "Manifest Destiny" (a term coined by an American journalist the year of Polk's inauguration), excited by the prospect of fighting Britain for the whole region north of Washington Territory, rejected the measure, but nevertheless it passed through the U.S. Senate with a vote of thirty-seven to twelve.[14] On June 15, 1846, the Oregon Treaty (known by many in the U.S. as the Treaty of Washington) was signed.[15]

Although the precise location of the sea boundary west of the coast would remain unclear for another quarter century, the Oregon Treaty firmly established the 49th parallel as the land demarcation point from the sea to the Rockies, passing through bogs, forests, hills, streams, and meadows. But in a practical sense the border remained invisible to anyone actually venturing across it in the 1840s and 1850s. The discovery of gold along the Fraser River in 1856 changed that; recognizing an influx of California miners from the south could lead the United States to re-think its decision to compromise on the 49th parallel, the Hudson's Bay Company alerted the British government to the situation, and the latter promptly sent troops to the vulnerable Victoria colony. Britain also requested

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[11] Sam W. Haynes, *James K. Polk and the Expansionist Impulse* (New York: Longman, 1997), 109-114.
[12] Charles A. McCoy, *Polk and the Presidency* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1960), 95-96.
[13] Haynes, *James K. Polk and the Expansionist Impulse*, 118-122.
[14] Charles Sellers, *James K. Polk, Continentalist, 1843-1846* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 412.
[15] George F. G. Stanley, ed., *Mapping the Frontier: Charles Wilson's Diary of the Survey of the 49th Parallel, 1858-1862, While Secretary of the British Boundary Commission* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970), 7.

the United States appoint representatives to help survey the agreed upon boundary and map the frontier.[16]

The American Boundary Commission arrived at Victoria in June 1857 and was joined a year later by a contingent of Royal Engineers. The leaders of each boundary commission, U.S. chief commissioner Archibald Campbell–whose name would eventually grace the river running through White Rock's southeastern section–and Captain John Summerfield Hawkins, first met along the shores of Semiahmoo Bay in mid-August, 1858.[17] Although relations between the two groups were somewhat icy, for the next four years they went about the process of demarcating the line, pushing through oozing bogs, tall grasses, and mosquito-infested woods.[18] Across this vast expanse, from the shores of Point Roberts to the crest of the Rockies, they laid over two hundred iron pillars and stone cairns.[19] With the land boundary laid, the commissioners went home, leaving their markers behind. And while thousands of American miners pushed through the boundary in search of fortune along the Fraser River, few settled along Semiahmoo Bay.

During the period that followed, the Semiahmoo First Peoples remained the sole inhabitants of this land. Few recognized the boundary imposed by the survey crews (in fact, some of the Semiahmoo allegedly used the stone cairns to construct traps for catching marten).[20] The problem for the Semiahmoo was that the new border ran between Aboriginal family networks, separating them from their traditional allies, the Lummi band of northern Washington. The process of delineating the boundary had begun with the Point Elliott Treaty; completed in 1855 and signed by representatives of the United States government and Amerindian bands of the Puget Sound area, the treaty served to

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[16] Ibid, 8-9.
[17] Vin Coyne, "Letter, Number or Name? How Our Streets Got Their Names," *Semiahmoo Sounder*, Date Unknown. White Rock Museum and Archives, Vin Coyne Collection.
[18] In a journal entry dated June 25, 1859, British Boundary Commission member Charles Wilson noted waking up "covered with mosquitoes," a problem he solved by rushing "frantically into the river." Stanley, *Mapping the Frontier*, 54; G. Fern Treleaven, *Roads, Rivers and Railways: 100 Years of Transportation in Surrey* (Surrey: Surrey Museum and Historical Society, 1981), 10.
[19] McIntosh, *The Collectors*, 194.
[20] Stanley, *Mapping the Frontier*, 10.

reinforce the 49th parallel by preventing the movement of Aboriginals then residing in British territory across the international boundary without the written consent of an Indian superintendent or agent.[21] The Semiahmoo never signed the Point Elliott Treaty (ratified in 1859), though it did have an important impact on their relationship with bands that did recognize it.[22]

Due to years of raids by enemy tribes, the tiny Semiahmoo band–whose numbers dwindled from about 300 in the eighteenth century to just fifty in the 1850s–were unable to stand effectively against such action by the American and British governments.[23] With few alternatives, they appear to have quietly respected the imposition of the border as well as their relegation to a reserve of 392 acres between the White Rock beaches to the north and the international boundary to the south. In the years that followed, smallpox took its toll on the Semiahmoo; in 1890, Indian Agent Peter Byrne estimated their numbers at sixty, but by 1909 a new assessment placed their population at just thirty-eight.[24]

By most accounts–which, admittedly, are written by descendants of Europeans–the Semiahmoo got along with their white neighbours in White Rock and Blaine. The first church in the White Rock area, a tiny Roman Catholic chapel, was built in 1860 on the reserve and was successful in converting many of the local Aboriginal peoples to Christianity.[25] In interviews conducted in the mid-twentieth century by local historian Margaret Lang Hastings, early white pioneers recalled playing with Semiahmoo children and attending the band's potlatches along White Rock's beaches.[26] Semiahmoo children were invited to attend White Rock's first one-room schoolhouse, opened in 1910, and their parents worked alongside whites at the nearby Campbell River Lumber Company

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[21] Lorraine Ellenwood, *Years of Promise: White Rock, 1858-1958* (White Rock: White Rock Museum & Archives Society, 2004), 28.
[22] "Reclaimin' Our History," *The Peace Arch News*, October 16, 1995.
[23] Ellenwood, *Years of Promise*, 28.
[24] Hastings, *Along the Way*, 48.
[25] Ellenwood, *Years of Promise*, 33.
[26] Margaret Lang Hastings, "The Ropers Among First Families to Develop Area," *White Rock and District Mercury*, January 7, 1970.

mill.[27] W.E. Johnson, who was a customs collector in White Rock during the Great War, later recalled his mother baking bread and trading it to the Semiahmoo in exchange for fresh fish.[28] The Semiahmoo also appear to have offered no protest when residents of White Rock and Blaine passed through their territory, the route bisecting the reserve being the quickest way to walk between the American and Canadian communities.[29] The relationship between the Semiahmoo peoples and white settlers was by no means perfect, with the bitterest dispute–the appropriation of Semiahmoo land to construct an expanded customs facility at the border following the Second World War–simmering until a federal court decided in favour of the Semiahmoo in 1997 and the land was returned.[30] However, in the early twentieth century, the Aboriginal peoples of this region appear to have engaged in mostly friendly relations with their white American and Canadian neighbours.

The first white settlers to arrive in the Semiahmoo Bay area made their way to the location that would become Blaine in 1870. Initially named Semiahmoo, the town's first homesteaders–including the Dexters, Bobletts, and Richards–arrived on the steamboat *J.B. Libby*, and quickly set to work building a school, sawmill, and church.[31] Most had come from the American Midwest; the Bobletts, for example, started their journey in Milwaukee before proceeding through Iowa, the Dakotas, Colorado, Arizona, California, and Oregon to board the *Libby* in Seattle. Early on, families survived on the profits of their farms, fishing boats, or the wages that fathers and sons earned in sawmills.[32] Some men found work across Semiahmoo Bay in Point Roberts, where salmon canneries were established in the 1880s. Within two decades of the arrival of its first white settlers, the newly-established *Blaine Journal* newspaper predicted that the town's "rich farming,"

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[27] Hastings, *Along the Way*, 88-89.
[28] Margaret Lang Hastings, "At 85, Fred Johnson Storehouse of Memories," *White Rock Sun*, January 16, 1964.
[29] Margaret Lang Hastings, "Along the Way," *The Peace Arch News*, September 28, 1985.
[30] "Reclaimin' Our History," *The Peace Arch News*, October 16, 1995; Ted Colley, "Natives Celebrate Return of Land," *Surrey Leader*, July 5, 1997.
[31] Blaine was originally known as Semiahmoo, then "Concord". Lottie Roeder Roth, *History of Whatcom County, Volume I* (Seattle: Pioneer Historical Publishing Company, 1926), 794.
[32] Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Washington, *Washington: A Guide to the Evergreen State* (Portland: Binfords & Mort, 1941), 472.

"geographical position," and "manufacturies [sic] of all kinds" would result in the rapid increase of local property values over the following years.[33]

Unfortunately, Blaine–re-named in 1884 for James G. Blaine, the former U.S. Secretary of State and unsuccessful Republican presidential candidate–did not immediately become the bustling town envisioned by its newspaper.[34] Setbacks were frequent in the late 1880s, most notably the closing of a major sawmill and the destruction by fire of a shingle mill.[35] Margaret Stewart, whose family moved to the Hazelmere area east of White Rock in 1878, remembers desperate Americans coming across the border into the surrounding municipality of Surrey where they fished trout and hunted grouse almost to the point of extinction. "They had nothing else to do for a while there," Stewart recalled. "And they fished…awful hard, because things was tough."[36]

Across the border in White Rock, progress was even slower. Although the *British Columbia Directory* in 1879 predicted that White Rock was bound to become a popular summer resort sometime in the future, at the time it remained extremely isolated from burgeoning cities such as New Westminster, Victoria, and Vancouver.[37] A road opened between tiny Surrey farming centres Cloverdale and Hall's Prairie shortly thereafter hardly helped the situation, though it did serve to bring a few more vacationers during the summer months.[38]

Although they faced an uphill battle given the difficulty in reaching the beaches of Semiahmoo Bay, investors from both sides of the border did make an effort to advance White Rock's development in the late nineteenth century. In 1886 Englishman W.J. Smith bought up much of the local land, but then sold it off to a Blaine realtor today

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[33] Marie Arbuckle et al, *A Symbol of Our Heritage, the Old Fir Tree: Blaine Centennial History, 1884-1984* (Blaine: Profile Publications, 1984), 15.
[34] James G. Blaine was popular in the Pacific Northwest partly because his main platforms included western development and Chinese exclusion. H. Draper Hunt, "The Plumed Knight at Home: An Intimate Sketch of James G. Blaine," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 28, Issue 1 (1988).
[35] "Fires, Border Play Important Role in History of Blaine," *Blaine Journal*, July 30, 1959.
[36] Margaret Stewart Interview. British Columbia Archives, File 326: 1-2. Accession Tape No. 326, Tape No. 1, Track No. 1.
[37] Ellenwood, *Years of Promise*, 40.
[38] Ibid, 40.

remembered only as “Gerbritsh”. The latter subdivided the lands and sold lots for between $150 and $300, but few buyers actually developed their new properties. The most visible attempt to launch White Rock’s development was the opening of a hotel by New Westminster businessman John Hendry in 1890, but with no easy way for potential visitors to reach it, the establishment went out of business.[39] For the next two decades, White Rock’s development remained at a standstill.

But Hendry was hardly fazed by the hotel failure. The head of a rising British Columbia lumber empire and, for a time, mayor of New Westminster, he played a key role in the promotion of a new railway that would provide valuable transportation links between his city, south Surrey, and Seattle.[40] Opened for service in February 1891, the New Westminster Southern linked Seattle with Brownsville, British Columbia, and provided Blaine, New Westminster, and south Surrey with important connections to nearby markets.[41]

The line had an immediate impact on the American border town’s fortunes. That year, New Westminster businessman Daniel Drysdale opened the first modern salmon cannery in Blaine, which in its inaugural year packed roughly 9,000 cases of sockeye and cohoe. By 1893, production had increased to 36,000.[42] Blaine salmon canning was given another boost when the San Francisco-based Alaska Packers Association (APA) purchased Drysdale’s company in 1894, and in turn infused substantial capital into expanding and modernizing the operation. Three major international conflicts in the next fifteen years–the Spanish-American War, South African Boer War, and Russo-Japanese War–together served to increase demand for packed meat like canned salmon, and this not only helped the Blaine site of the APA, but also led to the establishment of seven new canning operations.[43]

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[39] Ibid, 40-41.
[40] “Hendry, John – Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online,” accessed February 17, 2012, http://www.biographi.ca/EN/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=7438.
[41] Jack Berry, “The History of the Port of Pacific Highway, B.C.,” Reference Files, Canada Customs, Surrey Archives, Surrey, B.C.
[42] Arbuckle et al, *A Symbol of Our Heritage, the Old Fir Tree*, 16.
[43] Jack Brown, “The Blaine-Point Roberts Salmon Fisheries,” accessed February 17, 2012, http://www.surreyhistory.ca/fisheries.html.

By 1913, Blaine was becoming well known not only for its salmon canning but also for its agricultural potential, with much of the harvest going across the border into British Columbia.[44] Blaine also boasted a number of lumber and shingle mills during this period.[45] Although the town's permanent population did not increase substantially between the late 1880s and 1910 (1,800 in 1889; 2,254 in 1910), the outlook of the community most certainly improved with the addition and subsequent growth of these new industries.[46]

Across the border, the development of White Rock lagged behind its American neighbour. However, it too saw a population boost following the arrival of the New Westminster Southern in early 1891. From that point forward more and more residents of New Westminster and Vancouver visited the local beaches, most taking the train to Blaine, disembarking and then walking a few miles to White Rock.[47] In a 1969 interview, Surrey resident Melanie Loney recalled visiting sunny Semiahmoo Bay on Victoria Day weekend in 1895, and being joined by future British Columbia Premier "Honest" John Oliver, who brought sweets for local farmers celebrating their annual get-together.[48] Although the town continued to draw summer visitors during the first years of the new century, transportation shortcomings prevented the growth of a permanent population.

But the new century brought an end to White Rock's isolation. The first step was the completion of the New Westminster Bridge spanning the Fraser River in 1904. Until that time, southbound rail passengers from Vancouver had been forced to disembark at the great river, board a ferry to New Westminster, and then re-train before resuming their trip. The bridge removed this obstacle and reduced the amount of time it took to reach Surrey and the international boundary, thereby encouraging Vancouverites to head

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[44] "Worth Noting by Farmers of Valley," *British Columbian*, July 1, 1913.
[45] Hastings, *Along the Way*, 161;
[46] "Fires, Border Play Important Role in History of Blaine," *Blaine Journal*, July 30, 1959; *Thirteenth Census of the United States 1910* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912-1914), Volume 4: Reports by States Nebraska-Wyoming.
[47] Olive Bell Wilson Interview. Surrey Archives, Acc. No. SMA90.021.
[48] Hastings, *Along the Way*, 120.

south.[49] But the most important step towards White Rock's development was the re-routing of the Great Northern Railway track in 1909. Problems with the New Westminster Southern Railway line–including a dangerously steep grade as the track entered Canada and frequent flooding in low-lying central Surrey–forced its parent company, the Great Northern Railway, to find a new route.[50]

The alternative route would wind its way around the coast of Semiahmoo Bay, proceeding from the western section of Blaine through White Rock, Blackie's Spit (later Crescent Beach), Mud Bay, and on to New Westminster and Vancouver. The new route was not without its problems; the land across North Delta was extremely boggy, and preparing a satisfactory roadbed would be expensive.[51] Trestles would have to be built across the Nicomekl and Serpentine Rivers, with men posted to open swing spans for passing vessels. And while the land along Semiahmoo Bay was flat, the rising bluff next to it at what is now White Rock and Crescent Beach offered the possibility of mudslides that could block or damage the tracks and even result in derailment and loss of life.[52] But there was one advantage the new route offered that no one could ignore: it significantly shortened the distance between Vancouver and Seattle, reducing the time required to make the trip and, it was hoped, encouraging more passengers to come aboard.

Construction of the new line began in July 1907, but negotiations between property owners and the railway for necessary lands, coupled with a downturn in the economy, prevented the project from rapidly moving forward.[53] However, by the end of 1908 construction was complete and on March 15, 1909, the first trains made their way from Blaine north through the tiny hamlet of White Rock. Greeting them at the town's station was local customs collector W.E. "Fred" Johnson, who moved to Surrey from Halifax as a child. In 1909, Johnson and his wife were getting by like summer

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[49] Barrie Sanford, *Railway by the Bay: 100 Years of Trains at White Rock, Crescent Beach and Ocean Park, 1909-2009* (Vancouver: National Railway Historical Society, 2009), 16.
[50] Treleaven, *Roads, Rivers and Railways*, 65; Al Carder Memoirs, Surrey Archives, Reference Files.
[51] In his memoirs, Surrey resident Al Carder remembers this low-lying land with its black peat soil being excellent for farming but subject to flooding during the winter time. Surrey Archives, Al Carder Memoirs, Reference Files.
[52] Sanford, *Railway by the Bay*, 20.
[53] Ibid, 29.

vacationers, living in a tent while they saved up their money to purchase a home.[54] In long-established communities like Windsor and St. Stephen the Johnsons' situation would have raised eyebrows, but not in primitive pre-war White Rock, which Fred Johnson described as a "mere handful of houses in the forest."[55]

But the coming of the Great Northern Railway changed all that. Even though Henderson's *British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory* listed just seven permanent residents at White Rock in 1910, when the town's first post office was established that year it serviced an estimated 200 people.[56] The New Westminster-based land holdings firm White, Shiles & Company sold lots for between $300 and $400; owned by John Hendry, who opened White Rock's first hotel in 1890 only to watch it fail, White, Shiles & Company made an enormous profit selling lots for many times their original value. When another New Westminster-based firm, F.J. Hart & Company, purchased 200 lots from Hendry they too found ready buyers.[57] In 1912, New Westminster businessman Peter Greyell opened a new, fifty-room hotel on White Rock's seafront roadway, Washington Avenue (later renamed Marine Drive). It was a popular destination for both summer visitors and workers involved in the construction of the town's new and improved rail depot, which also happened to be the site of the local customs and immigration office.[58] Split by a breezeway, the depot featured offices and waiting rooms for GNR agents and passengers on one side and workspace for customs and immigration officials (including a lockup) on the other. The new facility, which also included a small shed where veterinarians inspected livestock being imported from the United States (much to the disgust of nearby swimmers), officially opened on New Year's Day, 1913.[59]

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[54] Vin Coyne, "Vintage White Rock: A Life of Firsts," *The Peace Arch News*, January 15, 2000.
[55] "White Rock Before the Railway" (Display), White Rock Museum and Archives, 14970 Marine Drive, White Rock, B.C. August 2009.
[56] *Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory* (Vancouver: Henderson Publishing Company, 1910), 676; Margaret Lang Hastings, "The White Rock Story." White Rock Museum and Archives, Hastings Collection, Box 13.
[57] Ellenwood, *Years of Promise*, 43.
[58] "White Rock's First Hotel" (Display), White Rock Museum and Archives, 14970 Marine Drive, White Rock, B.C. August 2009.
[59] Sanford, *Railway by the Bay*, 49.

By the beginning of the First World War, White Rock's development was well under way. Despite an economic slowdown that led to a reduction in home construction from coast to coast, cottages popped up fast along the towering bluff opposite Semiahmoo Bay.[60] Thousands visited the seaside town (which many likened to the Bay of Naples) during the summer months, while an estimated 430 made it their year-round place of residence.[61] Most of the traffic came from Canadian cities rather than the United States or Blaine; in an April 1911 article on the community's steady growth, the *Blaine Journal* noted that White Rock was becoming the "future summer resort of the New Westminster and Vancouver people."[62] Indeed, many residents of these cities boarded one of the four Great Northern trains that made their way to White Rock each day during the summer months. Holidays brought special rates and travelers could buy packages in bulk that reduced each round trip to less than a dollar.[63] All in all, it meant White Rock was far more accessible than it had been just a few years earlier, when getting to the town's beaches from Vancouver meant boarding a train, a ferry, a train again, and then walking several miles from Blaine. In March 1913, the *Semiahmoo Gazette* estimated that a businessman from Vancouver or New Westminster in need of a day's vacation could board a train from his city in the morning, "be on the beach at White Rock before 2 p.m., spend several hours by the sea and be home again before bedtime."[64]

Cheap rail packages were not solely responsible for White Rock's rapid development. It also helped that some of the province's most influential political figures, including MP J.D. Taylor and MPP Frank J. MacKenzie, had summer homes in White

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[60] In August 1913 the New Westminster-based *British Columbian* sought solace for the city's own construction slowdown by pointing out similar reductions in other major Canadian communities, from Winnipeg to London to Montreal. "City Not Alone in Building Decrease," *British Columbian*, August 26, 1913.

[61] The *Semiahmoo Gazette*, originally a monthly newspaper, refers to White Rock as the Bay of Naples in its first edition, March 1913. "Winter Scene, Semiahmoo Bay," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, March 1913; A census carried out by the Great Northern Railway in early 1914 found just forty-eight families and 200 permanent residents at White Rock. However, locals were outraged at the number and performed their own census, which found 430 winter residents. Locals estimated that this population increased to roughly 3,500 during the summer months. "White Rock Incensed," *British Columbian*, February 17, 1914.

[62] "Connect with Big Highway," *Blaine Journal*, April 28, 1911.

[63] "Empire Day Railway Rates"; "Summer Railway Rates," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, May 18, 1914.

[64] "Winter Scene, Semiahmoo Bay," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, March 1913.

Rock.[65] Their presence and political influence brought the community government money that was used to expand the town's primitive infrastructure.[66] In fact, in 1914 White Rock became the home of the South Surrey Conservative Association (SSCA)–whose membership included Taylor and MacKenzie–which constantly lobbied all levels of government for support in making their community the province's most eminent resort area. (This sometimes led to friction with Surrey Council over municipal expenditures, such as in December 1913, when Reeve T.J. Sullivan crashed a meeting of the White Rock Ratepayers' Association with a speech that declared the border town had received "more than its share of Surrey's money."[67]) Besides seeing to the building of new roads, Taylor and the SSCA were also instrumental in acquiring government funding for a long sought after pier in 1914.[68] Completed in 1915, the pier's construction was funded almost entirely by the Dominion government, which put up $10,500 for the project.[69] The flurry of activity led the *Semiahmoo Gazette* to call the SSCA an "energetic body" in June 1914, adding that the organization had "produced good results both for their political party and for the district which they represent."[70] It is little surprise, then, that at a Conservative Party rally in White Rock in 1917, Taylor–who became a senator that year–was introduced as "the man who put White Rock on the map."[71]

In reality, it was the American-owned Great Northern Railway's decision to re-route their line from central Surrey to the shores of Semiahmoo Bay that truly initiated White Rock's rapid development. In an economic sense, the GNR offered White Rock as many advantages as Ford offered Windsor, Ontario (both brought business to these communities in bundles, the GNR in the form of American and Canadian tourists, Ford in

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[65] "Subway Plans Drawn for White Rock," *British Columbian*, December 17, 1912; Editorial, *Semiahmoo Gazette*, February 5, 1914.
[66] In December 1914, the *Semiahmoo Gazette* praised Taylor and MacKenzie for helping White Rock's development by "obtaining government appropriations for main trunk roads connecting White Rock with outside points." "Pioneer Work is Appreciated," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, December 15, 1914.
[67] Surrey Council reportedly paid nearly $6,000 towards improving White Rock roads in 1913 alone. "Surrey Finances and Expenditures," *British Columbian*, December 9, 1913.
[68] "Government Will Build Wharf at White Rock," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, June 20, 1914.
[69] "Wharf at White Rock," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, April 28, 1915.
[70] "White Rock to Celebrate," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, June 20, 1914.
[71] "Wealthy Conscription Applied Literally Would Paralyze Production and Trade," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, December 6, 1917.

the form of actual employment), but the St. Paul, Minnesota-based railway never received much credit from the people of White Rock.

The Great Northern's poor reputation was due to its apparent disinterest in White Rock's development. Unlike Henry Ford, who paid Windsor workers a high wage and organized vacation days to Detroit River resort destinations, the GNR rarely showed any interest in the long-term economic development of White Rock. For example, when it bought up many of the lands in White Rock in 1906, it refused to maintain or improve upon the properties in the years that followed. One major problem for residents was the poor condition of railway crossings, which were critical in a situation where the track divided the beaches and sea on one side from Washington Avenue businesses and private dwellings on the other.[72] The way White Rock's *Semiahmoo Gazette* discussed this tumultuous relationship in late July 1914 helps to illuminate how attitudes towards the boundary might have differed in White Rock when compared to Windsor and St. Stephen. Whereas newspaper editors in these other communities clearly valued U.S. capital and labour, the editor of the *Semiahmoo Gazette* indicated that no such good feeling existed between the area's most prominent American firm and the people of White Rock:

> Property owners, residents and visitors of White Rock, as Canadian citizens and as taxpayers in the municipality of Surrey, British Columbia, a portion of the Dominion of Canada, have a most serious grievance against the Great Northern railway, a United States corporation, operating in British Columbia simply and solely upon and by privileges granted to them by the Canadian people through the legislature and municipal councils. These privileges do not exempt the railway company from being amenable to the laws of Canada in the operating of their line in or through Canadian territory.[73]

The *Gazette's* attack on Great Northern management helped pressure the railway company into addressing the Canadian community's concerns by promising repairs at the crossing sites, making the access point between beaches and businesses safer.[74] However, this did not satisfy the *Gazette*, which continued to attack the GNR for failing to improve

[72] "British Columbia and the G.N. Railway," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, July 29, 1914.
[73] "Great Northern Railway Company and the Laws of Canada," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, July 29, 1914.
[74] "Great Northern Officials Inspect Crossings," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, August 15, 1914.

the condition of Washington Avenue, the seaside road it constructed as part of the agreement giving it permission to build a railway through this section of Surrey. Repeatedly referring to the GNR simply as a "foreign railway corporation," the *Gazette* attacked the company for showing "carelessness" in its maintenance of the lands it owned in White Rock.[75] There was little love between the Great Northern and White Rock five years after the relationship had begun with the re-routing of the former's line, even though that act was the single most important development in the advancement of White Rock's population and economy.

Instead, most of the credit for White Rock's development went to British Columbia businessmen and politicians like John Hendry, F.J. MacKenzie, and J.D. Taylor, who together helped to transform the town from a backwoods lumber camp into a popular resort destination with a steadily growing permanent population by the summer of 1914. Unlike St. Stephen and Windsor, credit for the community's growth was not owed to the international boundary's permeability or to the assistance of American employers and employees in a nearby border town.

Local squabbles between residents of White Rock and Surrey on one hand and people in Blaine on the other also served to limit the amount of cross-border interaction in the years leading up to 1914. The most visible episode revealing deep divisions between Canadians and Americans at this part of the boundary line was the St. Leonard Hotel debate, which began with Blaine's decision to opt for local prohibition in 1910.[76] Residents of the American community then petitioned Surrey Council to shut down the St. Leonard Hotel, located at the international boundary and within walking distance of downtown Blaine. However, in Surrey there was little interest in pursuing that action in 1910 or in the years following Blaine's decision to go dry. Several factors may explain this: first, the owner of the St. Leonard, Richard Asbeck, paid considerable liquor

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[75] "A Case for the Inspector of Municipalities," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, October 27, 1914.
[76] For more on the St. Leonard Hotel debate, see Brandon Dimmel, "Shutting Down the Snake Ranch: Battling Booze at the B.C. Border, 1910-1914," in *Beyond the Border: Tensions along the 49th Parallel*, eds. Kyle Conway and Timothy Patsch (McGill-Queen's University Press, forthcoming).

licensing fees to the municipality. Second, he had improved the property a great deal since he took it over, adding telephone and electric connections, flush toilets, a stable, and grass.[77] Overall, Asbeck's hotel was one of the most modern business establishments in all of Surrey, and since–as White Rock's *Semiahmoo Gazette* reminded its readers–the hotel was breaking no Canadian laws, it seemed a shame to shut it down.[78]

However, everything changed when in early 1913 salmon offal deposited into Semiahmoo Bay by Blaine's canneries began washing ashore on White Rock's pristine beaches. With a diphtheria outbreak partially attributed to the dumping by Surrey's Medical Health Officer, White Rock residents immediately began pressing Surrey Council to address the issue.[79] Unfortunately for White Rock, Surrey Council had as much power to stop the salmon offal dumping as Blaine had in cancelling the St. Leonard's liquor license. The result was a standoff between White Rock and Blaine, with residents of the American community agreeing to stop the dumping only when the St. Leonard Hotel's doors were closed for good.[80] Newspaper editors lashed out at one another in angry editorials for more than a year before Surrey Council finally agreed to cancel the St. Leonard's liquor license in the spring of 1914.[81] Although the *Blaine Journal* rejoiced with the news and credited Surrey residents for shutting down what it repeatedly referred to as the "snake ranch" on the border, White Rock's *Semiahmoo Gazette* offered no such happy sentiment, neglecting to comment on the hotel's closing.[82] And while the Blaine salmon dumping ended shortly thereafter,[83] prohibition continued to be a point of debate between the two communities for years to come.[84]

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[77] Surrey Council Minutes, April 12, 1913, http://www.surrey.ca/bylawsandcouncillibrary/April-12-1913-RC-1A8C.pdf.
[78] "The St. Leonard Hotel," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, November 8, 1913.
[79] Surrey Council Minutes, January 6, 1913, http://www.surrey.ca/bylawsandcouncillibrary/January-6-1913-RC-CFA5.pdf.
[80] "Surrey Has a Kick Coming," *Blaine Journal*, January 31, 1913.
[81] Editorial, *Blaine Journal*, November 28, 1913.
[82] "St. Leonard to Close Jan. 15," *Blaine Journal*, December 12, 1913.
[83] In his January 1915 report, Surrey Medical Health Officer F.D. Sinclair notes that salmon offal is no longer washing ashore at White Rock. Surrey Council Minutes, January 18, 1915, http://www.surrey.ca/bylawsandcouncillibrary/January-18-1915-RC-1894.pdf.
[84] While almost all British Columbia communities voted in favour of prohibition in 1916, White Rock voted against the measure."British Columbia Dry by 8,000," *Blaine Journal*, September 22, 1916; in the years following the war and British Columbia's return to alcohol, the Blaine chapter of the Women's

Such episodes revealed to residents of White Rock and Blaine that the nearby international boundary existed and mattered, even if (unlike in Windsor and Detroit or St. Stephen and Calais) no visible geographic feature clearly divided American and Canadian territory. Although a few miles separated downtown Blaine from downtown White Rock, the major border-crossing points between them–in the west, the Douglas area surrounding the St. Leonard and in the east, the Pacific Highway, completed in 1913–were marked by little more than tiny customs sheds or tents in the middle of fields. But in spite of the primitive quality of this border region's customs and immigration service and open territory at the 49th parallel, by the outbreak of war in Europe the boundary between White Rock and Blaine was firmly cemented in the minds of local residents. In Blaine, a town which was first populated in the 1870s and 1880s, it was an important line separating their progressive-minded community from British Columbia and its booze. In White Rock most residents arrived in the years following the re-routing of the Great Northern Railway track through the seaside town in 1909. Hoping to see the community boom as a resort destination for residents of Vancouver and New Westminster, they showed little interest in prohibition, which might discourage tourists from visiting.

Furthermore, both permanent and part-time residents arrived well after the establishment of Canadian and American immigration apparatuses in the century's first decade, meaning there was no border-crossing culture to defend once the war brought tightened border security. And while residents of White Rock and Surrey frequently shopped in Blaine prior to the establishment of general stores on the Canadian side of the line and there was some movement of Canadians and Americans across the boundary for employment, unlike Windsor and Detroit or St. Stephen and Calais there was little social

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Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) repeatedly filed complaints with the B.C. government for allowing saloons to operate near the international boundary. Stephen T. Moore, "Refugees from Volstead: Cross-Boundary Tourism in the Northwest during Prohibition," in *The Borderlands of the American and Canadian Wests: Essays on the Regional History of the 49th Parallel*, ed. Sterling Evans (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 259.

or cultural integration between the two communities lining Semiahmoo Bay.[85] There were no shared sports leagues here before the outbreak of war, nor were there local festivals widely attended by residents of both communities.[86] Utilities and services were also separate, with White Rock and Blaine acquiring their own water and electricity.[87] The only exception was fire protection, which until the Second World War was provided to White Rock by Blaine.[88] The Canadian community's telephone service was also routed through Blaine, though this ended during the First World War.[89]

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[85] "How They Lived, As Told by Margaret M. Stewart," Surrey Archives, Surrey, B.C.

[86] Newspaper evidence suggests Blaine more frequently engaged with Lynden and Ferndale, Washington, when it came to sports. White Rock residents, meanwhile, tended to compete with people from New Westminster, Crescent Beach, and Barnet, British Columbia, when it came to athletic activities. "High School Notes," *Blaine Journal*, January 15 1915; "Local Notes," *Blaine Journal*, May 28, 1915; "Sports Were Well Attended," *British Columbian*, August 5, 1913; "White Rock Baseball Team Compete with Barnet Athletic Association," "Basketball – White Rock Plays Crescent," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, October 15, 1913; "Baseball," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, May 18, 1914; "Semiahmoo Athletics vs. Barnet Blue Sox," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, August 15, 1914.

[87] Ellenwood, *Years of Promise*, 99.

[88] "Fire Threatens Cottages," *Blaine Journal*, September 2, 1910; Margaret Lang Hastings, "Along the Way," *The Peace Arch News*, December 28, 1978; Vin Coyne, "When the Siren Sounds," *Semiahmoo Sounder*, September, 1991.

[89] Ellenwood, *Years of Promise*, 111.

Chapter 10: Relations between White Rock and Blaine during the First World War

As in Windsor, Detroit, St. Stephen, and Calais, news of Archduke Franz Ferdinand's assassination in Sarajevo in late June, 1914 hardly affected the day-to-day routine of residents of White Rock, British Columbia. The local *Semiahmoo Gazette* newspaper, which at the time was published and distributed by owner and editor Charles E. Sands from headquarters in New Westminster on a bimonthly basis, neglected to make any mention of the event in June or July.[1] Instead, as in the other communities, the *Gazette's* focus was squarely on local events, including rising tensions between the residents of White Rock and the Great Northern Railway over the condition of track crossings.[2] Across the border, the *Blaine Journal*, published on a weekly basis by owner and editor J.W. Sheets, recognized on July 31 that war was imminent between Europe's great powers but neglected to make such a prediction front-page news, relegating the story to its back section.[3]

Although the *Semiahmoo Gazette* showed little interest in the arms race or the assassination that triggered an epic conflict, there was little doubt in the summer of 1914 that, were war to be declared, White Rock would be ready to aid the British Empire in its hour of need. That was made clear the year before, when an anonymous local was reported to have remarked, "The British navy, nothing. Why, if Japan or China sent a war boat to attack Victoria or Vancouver, Uncle Sam would soon settle the business."[4] The comment immediately elicited a response from the *Gazette's* editor, Charles Sands, who

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[1] The *Gazette* was published in New Westminster until May 1915, when Sands moved the newspaper's main offices to White Rock. In October of that year it formally changed its name to the *Surrey Gazette*, though Sands made the name change in the paper itself the previous June. The newspaper remained a bimonthly until September 1917, when it became a weekly until it ceased publication for financial reasons in May 1918. Margaret Lang Hastings, "History of the Semiahmoo Gazette," White Rock Museum & Archives, Hastings Collection, Box 13.
[2] "British Columbia and the G.N. Railway," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, July 29, 1914.
[3] "War Clouds Hang All Over Europe," *Blaine Journal*, July 31, 1914.
[4] "Editorial Notes," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, April 1913.

referred to the remark as "faulty, illogical" and "unpatriotic".[5] Later, in a letter to the editor, a *Gazette* reader called the original commenter a "parasite" and a "bad Canadian," and suggested that the United States would be more likely to invade and annex British Columbia than protect it from enemies.[6]

The *Semiahmoo Gazette* was fiercely loyal to the British Empire from its first edition in March 1913 to the end of its short publication run in May 1918. In the days leading up to Victoria Day in May 1914, it commemorated the occasion with a selection from Pauline Johnson's poem, "Canadian Born," which read: "And we, the men of Canada, can face the world and brag; that we were born in Canada, beneath the British flag."[7] Months later, with Dominion Day approaching, the *Gazette* considered the idea of having to defend Britain in the event of war; referring to Canada as the "first of the dominions in the British Empire," it predicted that the country would "discharge that duty honourably."[8]

In August 1914 the residents of White Rock were asked to do just that. It was a challenge the *Semiahmoo Gazette* believed all residents of Canada would be prepared to meet. "Canada, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, and the Federated Malay States will prove, and indeed are already proving, their loyalty to the Great Mother Land in deeds–not words."[9] Unlike Windsor's *Evening Record*, which viewed the war as a potential disaster for Canada, the *Gazette* saw the conflict as an opportunity for the young nation to prove its worth to the Empire on the world stage.[10] "Canada as a nation has cause to be happy this Christmas. She has been given the opportunity to prove, by deeds, that she is loyal, true, and brave; that she stands for honor among nations as among individuals and that the trend of her young sturdy life is ordered and governed by an efficient [and] capable administration."[11]

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[5] "Editorial Notes," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, April 1913.
[6] "The British Navy Protects Canada," Semiahmoo Gazette, April 14, 1914.
[7] "Empire Day," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, May 18, 1914.
[8] "What Canada Has Done Since 1867," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, June 20, 1914.
[9] "The Hour Has Struck," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, August 15, 1914.
[10] "War Eliminates Factions," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 6, 1914; "Size of Our Soldiers," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 8, 1914.
[11] "Christendom's Day," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, December 15, 1914.

The people of White Rock immediately embraced this sentiment. A town meeting was called once Britain's declaration of war became known; commencing with the singing of "God Save the King," it featured stirring speeches by local politicians, businessmen, and military figures. The addresses were "met with a most enthusiastic reception," according to the *Gazette*, and prompted five local men to volunteer with the 104th Royal Westminster Regiment in nearby New Westminster.[12] Ex-military men enthusiastic about doing their bit but too old to enlist joined the White Rock chapter of the Imperial Veterans' Association.[13] Many of these same men also joined the local Imperial Reserve, a home guard force designed to protect the local community from attacks along the coast or through the southern border with the United States. A month into the war, the Imperial Reserve had already recruited more than forty members, meaning nearly one in ten White Rock residents joined the unit within a few weeks.[14] (By comparison, Windsor's home guard unit remained unpopular throughout the war, while St. Stephen residents neglected to organize such a force.[15]) During the war's early stages, members of the IR, including prominent businessman Henry Thrift, acted as fundraisers for various patriotic purposes, such as the Belgian Relief Fund. At a meeting in early September 1914 they raised $70 with promises for more contributions on behalf of the town's major employer, the Campbell River Lumber Company. Thrift used the meeting to announce a similar commitment by the town's customs and immigration officials, who (almost certainly unaware the war would last four years) pledged to help local patriotic funds by setting aside five per cent of their monthly salaries for "as long as necessary".[16]

This rapid adjustment to war conditions and the ready response of locals to defend the British Empire was the result of a deep cultural connection between the small

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[12] "Volunteers From White Rock," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, August 15, 1914.
[13] "Imperial Veterans' As'sn, No. 2," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, August 15, 1914.
[14] Members of White Rock's Imperial Reserve took their role of defending their community seriously. In December 1914, Henry Thrift invited a Prince Rupert drill instructor to the seaside resort town, where the latter trained reservists throughout the winter. "Local Notes," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, September 21, 1914; December 15, 1914.
[15] "Recruits Drill in Armories Tonight," Windsor *Evening Record*, November 24, 1914, 1; "Views of Readers – Men on Guard Duty," *Windsor Evening Record*, April 5, 1917; "Home Guard Unit Idea Abandoned," *Detroit Free Press*, May 25, 1917, 22.
[16] "Patriotic Meeting," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, September 21, 1914.

Canadian border town and the United Kingdom. Though the Canadian census did not record tiny White Rock's ethnic breakdown in 1911 or 1921, individual stories from the community's original settlers reveal that many residents moving to the area in the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century were either born in Britain or the descendants of British immigrants. Most, if not all, were extremely proud of their imperial connection and this shaped their migration experiences. Together, they appear remarkably different than the story of transnational travel told by the Detroit River region's Jo Labadie.[17]

Several prominent residents make for noteworthy examples. W.E. Johnson, a White Rock customs collector in 1914, was born in Nova Scotia in 1879 and moved with his family to Surrey in the 1880s. In an interview recorded years later, he recalled how his grandmother, when told she had only six months to live by her Boston doctor, decided to move back to Halifax, where she had spent much of her life. She lived for five more years, not six months, and Johnson credited her decision to return to British soil as an explanation.[18] He later made a similar adjustment; when working as a customs collector for the U.S. government at Blaine, Johnson was asked to acquire American citizenship in order to secure a promotion. He balked at the idea and instead moved across the border, where he became White Rock's customs collector.[19]

Margaret Stewart, whose oral interviews with researcher Imbert Orchard provide some of the best glimpses of White Rock's early history, was born in 1876 to Scottish parents who met and married in Ontario before traveling west along American railways. Eventually Stewart's family made their way north to British Columbia, where they settled at Hall's Prairie, just east of White Rock. Stewart remembers that her father refused to make a home for his family in Washington State because "he said he never felt really at home in the U.S.," and "said he felt better when he got under the Union Jack again."[20]

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[17] Jo Labadie to Clarence M. Burton, March 18, 1917. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection Manuscripts Collection, Burton, Clarence M. Papers, Box 11.
[18] W.E. Johnson Interview. British Columbia Archives, Imbert Orchard Records, Tape 1, March 1963.
[19] Ibid, Tape 2.
[20] Margaret Stewart Interview. British Columbia Archives, File 326: 1-2. Accession Tape No. 326, Tape No. 1, Track No. 1.

This deep attachment to the British Empire was a familiar theme in the recollections of many White Rock and area pioneers. The Loney brothers, including Edward, John, and James, were born in Carleton County, Ontario. Before pushing west in the 1880s, two of the brothers, Ed and John, explored the idea of acquiring plots of land for themselves in the United States. Upon learning that this would require they swear an oath of allegiance to the U.S., the pair decided to return to Canada. Eventually they traveled to British Columbia along the Canadian Pacific Railway, where they found work in Vancouver and New Westminster before establishing farms near White Rock.[21]

The story of White Rock pioneer Henry Thrift is very similar. During his years in White Rock, Thrift worked tirelessly to promote not only the town's development, but also its cultural links with the British Empire. Thrift's father, James, served in the British army from 1813 to 1822, and was present when the Duke of Wellington led Allied forces to victory over Napoleon at Waterloo. Henry followed in his father's footsteps, entering the army at a young age. According to his daughter Mary, Thrift was presented with an autographed Bible signed by the Queen herself in 1872 in recognition of his service. When he moved to Canada a few years later, Henry Thrift hardly lost his sense of attachment to the monarchy. Donning the scarlet jacket, striped pants, and pillbox hat of his former unit, the Hampshire Regiment, he went to see the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall (later King George V and Queen Mary) upon their visit to Vancouver in 1901. Evidently stunned to see such a unique uniform in the crowd, the Duke and Duchess approached Thrift for a brief chat. "It was a great thrill to him!" Mary recalled in an interview years later.[22]

Thrift brought this pride in the imperial connection with him to White Rock, where he played a significant role in the town's economic and cultural development before and during the First World War. Within months of arriving in Surrey in 1882, he became the county's municipal clerk. Later, he worked as a bricklayer and a mail carrier and served for a brief period as Surrey's reeve. A successful businessman, Thrift was able

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[21] Margaret Lang Hastings, *Along the Way: An Account of Pioneering White Rock and Surrounding District in British Columbia* (Cloverdale, B.C.: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1981), 116-117.
[22] Ibid, 121-122.

to acquire substantial lands in White Rock in the 1890s, prior to its boom as a resort town.[23] But he was no absentee landowner, using his political clout to help steer White Rock's development in the new century. In 1910 he helped in the construction of the community's first schoolhouse by donating the necessary land.[24] Two years later, he worked with MP J.D. Taylor in a successful bid to win funds from the Dominion government for the construction of a local pier.[25] In 1914 he led the push to shut down the St. Leonard Hotel.[26] During the war he served on a number of local boards and committees, including the White Rock Ratepayers' Association, the White Rock Improvement League, the Imperial Reserve, the South Surrey Conservative Association, and the local Military Service Act exemption board.[27] He also served as an assistant constable and sanitary inspector.[28]

Henry Thrift (along with his brother Colin and, later, his son Edmund) was also a prominent figure in the Semiahmoo chapter of the Loyal Orange Order.[29] As opposed to St. Stephen and Windsor, where the Orange Lodge–a Protestant fraternal organization which celebrated the imperial connection and condemned French, Roman Catholic values–had little influence over local affairs, White Rock's chapter was active throughout the period.[30] Established in May 1914, its membership included some of the most

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[23] "Pioneers of Surrey Municipality – Mr. H.T. Thrift," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, January 5, 1914.
[24] "White Rock Elementary 70th Anniversary, May 19th & 20th, 1984" White Rock Museum and Archives, W.R. Elementary 70th Anniversary File, 1993-30; Margaret Lang Hastings, "The White Rock Story," White Rock Museum and Archives, Hastings Collection, Box 13; Margaret Stewart Interview. British Columbia Archives, File 326: 1-2. Accession Tape No. 326, Tape No. 1, Track No. 1.
[25] "Pier in Hand," *The Peace Arch News*, July 12, 2000.
[26] "Surrey Rate Payers Prepare for a Fight," *Blaine Journal*, November 14, 1913; "Our Neighbors After St. Leonard," *Blaine Journal*, September 12, 1913; "The Year That Is," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, February 15, 1914.
[27] "Surrey Finances and Expenditures," *British Columbian*, December 9, 1913; "White Rock League is Incorporated," *British Columbian*, March 19, 1918; "White Rock Volunteers," *British Columbian*, August 11, 1914; "White Rock News," *British Columbian*, March 31, 1914; "Local Exemption Tribunal, B.C. No. 53," *Surrey Gazette*, December 6, 1917.
[28] "Surrey Council," *British Columbian*, June 11, 1918.
[29] Hastings, *Along the Way*, 134.
[30] In Windsor, the Essex chapter of the Orange Order celebrated the Battle of the Boyne with a parade in July 1916. However, the marchers received a mixed reaction from locals in a city where Catholicism was the dominant faith. The city's mayor also made the Orangemen take down a banner which read, "One Flag, One Language, One School." The Orange Lodge is rarely mentioned in St. Stephen's newspaper, though it appears some locals joined the St. George, New Brunswick, chapter for various events. "Battle of Boyne is

prominent members of the community, including the Thrift family, MP J.D. Taylor, MPP Frank J. MacKenzie, Surrey Councillor George Radford, and local Methodist minister Reverend William Pascoe Goard.[31] The Semiahmoo Orangemen were active throughout the war, from organizing a patriotic banquet attended by 100 members and guests in November 1914 to planning a community-wide celebration of the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne on July 12, 1916.[32] This latter event included a baby beauty contest, a tug-of-war competition, a Boy Scout procession, an evening concert, and recruiting speeches made by Goard, Thrift, and MacKenzie. The ladies of White Rock also used the occasion to raise money for the local Red Cross fund.[33] As men began returning to White Rock later in the war, the Orange Lodge–along with the local Red Cross Society–played a key part in organizing "welcome back" events that featured patriotic speeches and musical concerts.[34] Many of these events, as well as other Orange Order celebrations, were held in White Rock's own Orange Hall.[35]

The presence of proudly British residents and their formation of pro-British institutions like the Orange Lodge had a significant impact on White Rock's military effort. At no point during the war did the town struggle to find recruits, and upon the imposition of the Military Service Act in 1917 the *Semiahmoo Gazette* proudly noted that not a single man of military age was left to be conscripted, all having already volunteered for service overseas.[36]

By contrast, across the 49th parallel Blaine residents rarely focused on the war during its first three years. As opposed to Calais and Detroit, its Red Cross Society was

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Celebrated by Orange Visitors," *Windsor Evening Record*, July 13, 1916; "The Glorious Twelfth Celebrated at St. George," *Saint Croix Courier*, July 18, 1918.
[31] "L.O.L. Semiahmoo," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, May 18, 1914.
[32] "The L.O.L. Entertains," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, November 24, 1914.
[33] Headline unknown, *British Columbian*, July 18, 1916; "Happened Happenings," *Surrey Gazette*, August 1, 1916.
[34] "Wounded Warrior Returns Home," *Surrey Gazette*, March 7, 1918; "Accord Reception to Lieut. MacKenzie," *Surrey Gazette*, April 4, 1918.
[35] "L.O.L. Semiahmoo Annual Banquet," *Surrey Gazette*, November 15, 1915.
[36] "Local Men Have Medals," *Surrey Gazette*, November 8, 1917.

not active until after the U.S. declaration of war.[37] Like many American communities the town did raise money and goods for the Belgian Relief Fund, from cash to a ton of potatoes and even dozens of woolen Tam O'Shanters.[38] But while White Rock's young men were joining the colours and its older residents supported organizations like the Orange Order and Imperial Reserve, the people of Blaine showed far more interest in beating booze than the Germans. Even with the St. Leonard Hotel closed by the outbreak of the war, liquor still made its way into the American border community.[39] That fact enraged J.W. Sheets, owner and editor of the *Blaine Journal*, who throughout the war's early years focused most of his front page headlines and editorials on the battle with the bottle.

Still, Blaine was hardly kept in a cocoon and learned of the war's impact on Canada through various avenues. Many Blaine residents continued to travel to British Columbia during the conflict's first few years, where they would have witnessed how the war affected their Canadian neighbours. Although there is no evidence of organized, cross-border sports leagues involving Blaine and White Rock representatives, the two towns did periodically engage in games of baseball.[40] Preachers from White Rock and nearby Cloverdale appeared before Blaine residents at various church services during the war's early stages, suggesting some level of religious uniformity.[41] Social organizations also featured a degree of integration, with Blaine women participating in White Rock's Ladies Aid events and White Rock women joining Blaine's chapter of the "Royal Neighbors," an American benefits organization established in the late nineteenth century to provide its members, all of whom were women, with affordable life insurance.[42] There is little doubt that Blaine residents learned of the war's impact on White Rock upon interacting with their Canadian neighbours within these various forums.

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[37] "Local News," *Blaine Journal*, July 16, 1915.
[38] "War Relief Association Notes," *Blaine Journal*, January 22, 1915.
[39] In a May 1914 editorial, Sheets claimed that an abandoned barn near the local baseball diamond was being used as a "drinking place for a few booze thirsty during ball games." Editorial, *Blaine Journal*, May 15, 1914.
[40] "White Rock News," *British Columbian*, February 23, 1915.
[41] "Local News," *Blaine Journal*, April 23, 1915; "Local News," *Blaine Journal*, September 10, 1915.
[42] "White Rock News," *British Columbian*, March 24, 1914; "Local News," *Blaine Journal*, January 25, 1917.

And while war news rarely adorned its front page or received discussion in its editorial section, there was ample coverage of the European conflict in other sections of Blaine's local newspaper during the period of American neutrality. For the most part, this coverage was neutral, though not necessarily in its tone and content. The *Journal* often presented its readers with reports from both German and Allied sources; in fact, in one edition, the newspaper provided two entirely different accounts of the same Eastern Front battle, one declaring a massive Russian victory ("Russians Defeat 400,000 Teutons"), the other a significant Russian setback ("Russian Losses Are Huge").[43] The first story, originating from Petrograd, declared the battle a crippling defeat for the German forces, while the second article, written in Berlin, suggested that the Russians had lost at least half a million men over the course of the engagement.[44] The same strange contradictions were presented the following year, when the *Journal* published conflicting reports from the Germans and British amidst the bloody Battle of the Somme.[45]

Rarely did these articles show preference for the Allies, and in some cases they condemned British actions during the war; for example, in early 1916 the *Journal* published a Berlin story accusing the British Navy of refusing to show quarter to drowning German seamen.[46] Even when the neighbouring Canadians were engaged, such as at the Second Battle of Ypres in April 1915, the *Journal* refused to take sides. "The battle of Ypres ended with the Germans consolidating most of the 20 square miles of territory they have won from the allies," it noted. "The engagement has had no result of major importance."[47] Across the border that same month, the *Semiahmoo Gazette* noted that White Rock resident J.W. Robertson had been killed in the fighting at Ypres.[48] The *Blaine Journal's* disinterest in major engagements involving neighbouring Canadians

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[43] See, for example: "War News Bits," *Blaine Journal*, August 7, 1914; "Brief War News," *Blaine Journal*, October 2, 1914; "Brief War News," *Blaine Journal*, April 9, 1915.
[44] "Russians Defeat 400,000 Teutons," *Blaine Journal*, April 23, 1915; "Russian Losses Are Huge," *Blaine Journal*, April 23, 1915.
[45] "Brief War News," *Blaine Journal*, July 21, 1916.
[46] "British Refuse to Save Germans," *Blaine Journal*, February 18, 1916.
[47] "Brief War News," *Blaine Journal*, May 7, 1915.
[48] "White Rock Man Killed at the Front," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, May 1915.

stands in stark contrast to the way newspapers based in Detroit, Michigan, and Calais, Maine, covered these battles.[49]

Despite the conflict's impact on neighbouring White Rock, the *Blaine Journal* directed few editorials towards the Canadian war effort. In fact, by the close of 1914 most stories associated with the fighting overseas had been pushed from the *Journal's* front pages to its back sections. Not even the controversial sinking of *RMS Lusitania*, which took more than 100 Americans with it to the bottom of the Atlantic, elicited a passionate response. While word of the May 1915 disaster received a prominent place on the paper's front page, Sheets provided no editorial on the subject, instead offering commentary on the reduction of whiskey production in Kentucky and Maryland.[50] In fact, the *Journal* rarely discussed the war in its editorial section at all and when it did, as in July 1915, Blaine's newspaper condemned the conflict as "the greatest crime of any age," while calling on the Wilson administration to "initiate the movement for universal peace."[51] The *Journal* also provided readers with weekly sermons from Pastor Charles Taze Russell, who argued in doomsday-themed columns that the war was a sign of an impending class struggle that would end in global anarchy.[52] Russell's controversial tirades rarely appeared in Detroit or Calais newspapers, and later in the war were banned from Canada entirely by the country's main censorship apparatus.[53] There is little doubt that editorials condemning the war, whether written by Sheets or Russell, would have been considered offensive by White Rock residents sacrificing their time, money, and lives in search of victory.

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[49] See, for example, "Private 'Glad of Wound' at Ypres," *Detroit Free Press*, May 29, 1915; "Colonel Captured by Windsor Man at Ypres," *Detroit Free Press*, June 19, 1915; Editorial, *Calais Advertiser*, May 5, 1915.

[50] "Lusitania is Sunk by a Submarine," *Blaine Journal*, May 14, 1915; "Manufacture of Booze Cut Down Two-Thirds," *Blaine Journal*, May 14, 1915.

[51] It should be noted that this article was originally published in the *Washington Call*, and later re-printed by the *Blaine Journal*. Editorial, *Blaine Journal*, July 2, 1915.

[52] See, for example: "Great Need for Christ's Kingdom," "Earthly Wealth, Heavenly Riches," *Blaine Journal*, October 2, 1914.

[53] Eventually, even Russell's supporters were banned from entering Canada. "Russellites Run Foul of Censor," *Windsor Evening Record*, February 28, 1918; M.J. Reid, Dominion Immigration Inspector, to A.G. McColl, Acting Canadian Immigration Inspector in Charge, White Rock, B.C. Nov. 16, 1917. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), MF C-10429, File 774004.

But even anti-war editorials were rare in a newspaper focused almost entirely on prohibition during the period of U.S. neutrality, as had been the case prior to August 1914. Local prohibitionists received a boost that fall when both Washington and Blaine voted overwhelmingly in favour of prohibition, the measure passing in the latter by a ratio of approximately 2.5 votes to 1.[54] This continued a trend already established in Blaine since 1910, when saloons were first banned. Like many progressives in favour of eliminating liquor, the *Journal's* editor saw prohibition as a boon to the local community. Estimating that in 1909 the four local bars took in roughly $30,000 per year, Sheets asserted that, in late 1914, such money "now goes to buy food and clothing and build homes."[55]

But the fight against booze was an ongoing one for the *Journal* and Blaine's many prohibitionists. In June 1915, more than a year after the St. Leonard Hotel's closing, the *Journal* bemoaned the existence of "places where booze is disposed freely," and that few men or women suffered penalties for selling or consuming liquor. "Of all the illicit booze selling that has gone on in Blaine during the past six months only one poor unsophisticated fellow has been arrested and convicted for the offense, while others far more guilty but with more influence, have been allowed to go on unmolested." So frustrated was the *Journal's* editor that he threatened to begin naming suspects engaged in the illicit trafficking of liquor within town limits.[56] It never quite came to that, but later in the year the *Journal* began using its editorials to attack city officials who it believed had not done everything in their power to keep alcohol from reaching the lips of locals.[57]

To be fair, the *Blaine Journal* did not necessarily reflect the opinions of all residents of the American border community during the First World War. However, its preoccupation with prohibition and its relegation of war news to its back pages does suggest that people in the community–who would not have purchased the paper had its opinions not reflected those of the majority–were not particularly interested in the war or

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[54] "Blaine Remains Dry by Majority of 358," *Blaine Journal*, November 6, 1914; "Washington Dry; Republicans Win," *Blaine Journal*, November 6, 1914.
[55] Editorial, *Blaine Journal*, October 16, 1914.
[56] Editorial, *Blaine Journal*, June 18, 1915.
[57] "What Will You Do About It?" *Blaine Journal*, November 12, 1915.

how it affected their neighbours in White Rock.[58] This is somewhat surprising if only for the fact that at least a few Blaine residents, such as Justin Dorr and Clyde Sims, had joined various British Columbia units earlier in the war and were with the Canadian Expeditionary Force overseas.[59]

The frayed relationship with White Rock was almost certainly a contributing factor to Blaine's relative disinterest in the war, and specifically the Canadians' war effort. Relations between the two communities continued to be somewhat fractured after August 1914; for example, in February 1915, members of White Rock's South Surrey Conservatives Association suggested that discouraging local businesses from hiring Blaine residents might improve the Canadian town's unemployment situation. It was an altogether ironic idea, given that one of White Rock's biggest employers, the Campbell River Lumber Company, was owned by Blaine resident Harold Hunter.[60] Nevertheless, the SSCA resolved to discuss the matter with local firms and its secretary was instructed to send a letter on the matter to the immigration authorities in Ottawa.[61]

White Rock residents also pressured the local *Semiahmoo Gazette* (after June 1915 renamed the *Surrey Gazette*) to stop running advertisements for Blaine businesses, presumably because this discouraged readers from frequenting Canadian establishments during wartime. "It has been stated locally that 'a Blaine advertisement is out of place in a White Rock paper,'" the *Gazette* noted in June 1915. For some time the *Gazette* had advertised widely for businesses based in the American border community. The State Bank of Blaine, the Pastime Theatre, the Wolten & Montfort hardware store, and M.M. Barber Jewelers were just a few of the many Blaine enterprises that paid to advertise in

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[58] Unlike the *Surrey Gazette*, the *Journal* thrived during the war, with its readership increasing substantially during the conflict. Editorial, *Blaine Journal*, December 15, 1916.

[59] The *Blaine Journal* rarely published letters from local soldiers serving in the CEF, but there were exceptions, including a note from Private Justin Dorr, sent from France in December 1916. The letter made mention of several Blaine residents fighting with the Canadians. "Soldier Writes From France," *Blaine Journal*, February 2, 1917; "Former Blaine Boy Tells of 'Going Over the Top,'" *Blaine Journal*, April 26, 1918.

[60] *Wrigley's British Columbia Directory, 1919* (Vancouver: Wrigley Directories Limited, 1919), 1178; Barrie Sanford, *Railway by the Bay: 100 Years of Trains at White Rock, Crescent Beach and Ocean Park, 1909-2009* (Vancouver: National Railway Historical Society, 2009), 33. Blaine Municipal Government, City Council Minutes, October 19, 1914. Washington State Archives, NW369-6-1.

[61] "South Surrey Conservatives Hold Session in White Rock," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, February 16, 1915.

White Rock's newspaper on a regular basis in 1914 and 1915.[62] For a newspaper that struggled financially throughout the war (and eventually collapsed in the spring of 1918), it must have been difficult to turn away such financing. As a result, *Semiahmoo Gazette* owner Charles Sands defended his decision to advertise Blaine businesses with this passionate appeal:

> White Rock employs many Blaine men for labor. White Rock people freely patronize Blaine merchants. White Rock men smoke and chew tobacco purchased in Blaine. White Rock ladies, in many instances, are adorned with millinery from Blaine. Articles of clothing from Blaine are worn by White Rock inhabitants. Blaine eggs and butter are found on many a White Rock breakfast table. The gasoline which will clean the ink from this type was purchased in Blaine by a White Rock merchant. The White Rock children, when sick, are invariably dosed with drugs from Blaine stores. Even the agates from White Rock beaches are taken to Blaine to be polished and mounted.[63]

Given all of this interaction between Blaine and White Rock residents, Sands felt he need not defend his decision to accept advertising revenue from American companies. Furthermore, troubling finances dictated he accept that money, given that it cost him $600 to run the newspaper each year and Canadian subscriptions accounted for only $200 of his income.[64]

Despite Sands' fiery defence of his advertising practices, by mid-1915 the number of Blaine businesses advertising in the *Surrey Gazette* had been noticeably reduced. A year later, there were virtually no Blaine firms placing adverts in the Canadian paper at all. It remains unknown exactly why this change was made, and whether or not it was associated with White Rock residents pressuring the *Gazette* to halt advertising Blaine businesses. Sands was a prominent member of various community organizations that helped raise funds for the war effort and had two brothers in the CEF, one being recognized for "brave and efficient military service while under heavy fire"; as such, it is possible Charles Sands faced more intense pressure to advertise "loyally" than the typical

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[62] "State Bank of Blaine, Wash.," "Wolten & Montfort," "White Rock Beach Agates," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, April 14, 1914; "The Pastime Theatre of Blaine," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, February 16, 1915.
[63] "Glass Houses," *Surrey Gazette*, June 1915.
[64] Ibid.

newspaper owner.[65] Regardless, when the war started many Blaine firms advertised in the *Semiahmoo Gazette*, but by the spring of 1916 not a single one continued to do so.

An editorial late in 1915 reveals that the *Gazette's* initial defence of its practice of running advertisements for Blaine businesses was, in all likelihood, related to the newspaper's delicate financial situation rather than its editor's desire to maintain positive relations between residents of White Rock and Blaine. In an October editorial entitled "Border Towns," Sands openly discussed the advantages and disadvantages of living and working in a Canadian community located next to the international boundary. The advantages were almost wholly tied to the creation of local jobs through the establishment of customs and immigration offices. But Sands asserted that there were many disadvantages to residing in a Canadian border town, too, most notably the fact that labour regulations concerning alien workers were not particularly well enforced, allowing Americans and Canadians to cross the border relatively easily in search of employment. In most cases, one side hired more than the other, and in the Semiahmoo Bay border region Sands held that the balance tipped in favour of Blaine. "As far as White Rock and practically the whole of Surrey municipality is concerned this latitude works out as 'give' on the part of the Canadian and 'take' on the part of our United States cousins immediately to the south of us."[66] No such complaints were made in Windsor or St. Stephen during the war, even though they also saw a considerable number of American day labourers arrive each morning for work.

The United States' entry into the war in April 1917 evoked mixed emotions from the people of Blaine, Washington. Some met the news by traveling to nearby Bellingham, the nearest mid-sized U.S. city, to mark the occasion.[67] The *Blaine Journal*, meanwhile, treated the task of sending local men off to Europe and supporting the American war

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[65] Sands' community involvement: "Patriotic Meeting," *British Columbian*, September 15, 1914; "White Rock News," *British Columbian*, February 16, 1915; Sands brothers, Edgar and Harold, in the military: "Corp. E.H. Sands Awarded Medal," *British Columbian*, October 23, 1917; "Local Notes," *Surrey Gazette*, April 15, 1916.
[66] "Border Towns," *Surrey Gazette*, October 15, 1915.
[67] The *Blaine Journal* noted that the town "practically closed up shop" on the afternoon of April 10, as "everyone who could went to Bellingham to either take part or witness in the big patriotic parade." "Local News," *Blaine Journal*, April 13, 1917.

effort as something of a chore: not at all desirable, though admittedly necessary. "What we had been sincerely hoping would not come is a reality," the *Journal* noted the day Congress approved President Wilson's request for a declaration of war on Germany. "The people of this country have not wanted war, and desired that we keep from it by ever self-respecting means, but we believe the time has come when the country must act…The war has been forced upon us and it ought to be prosecuted with vigor to the end."[68]

Despite lamenting the American entry into the war, in the weeks and months that followed the *Journal* worked as hard to sell patriotism as prohibition. Editor J.W. Sheets berated locals failing to stand at attention when the national anthem was played at Blaine's Ivan L. Theatre prior to a show.[69] In April, the *Journal* ran a highly descriptive guide on how to fly the American flag properly, carefully outlining when it should be raised, when it should be lowered, and even how to post it at half staff following a presidential assassination. Bunting and street banner etiquette was also covered, while Sheets emphasized the fact that the Stars and Stripes should never be used for advertising purposes.[70] In May, upon seeing so many Blaine residents treating Old Glory improperly, Sheets added several new rules: first, refrain from piling merchandise on it in your store window; second, do not let children carry the flag, since they will most likely drag it in the dirt; and third, never fly the flag at night, since to do so was a sign of disrespect. Finally, the *Journal* insisted the people of Blaine fly only the Stars and Stripes on a single flagpole, suggesting the Union Jack and other Allied flags probably made regular appearances in town following the U.S. declaration of war.[71]

Indeed, the American entry into the Great War does appear to have facilitated the improvement of relations between the Canadians and Americans of White Rock and Blaine following several years of bitter disputes involving cross-border employment, liquor trafficking, and the pollution of shared Semiahmoo Bay. In the pages of the *Blaine*

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[68] Editorial, *Blaine Journal*, April 6, 1917.
[69] "Are You Patriotic?" *Blaine Journal*, July 20, 1917.
[70] "Etiquette on Treatment of Flag," *Blaine Journal*, April 27, 1917.
[71] "How to Fly the Flag," *Blaine Journal*, May 4, 1917.

Journal, those earlier reports of German victories at the front were replaced with heroic tales of British, French, and Canadian successes, coupled with new condemnations of German diplomatic and military conduct.[72] Although most Blaine residents visited Bellingham to mark the country's declaration of war, a month later they joined their Canadian neighbours in commemorating Victoria Day. In fact, residents of Blaine did not merely attend the day's events in White Rock, but actually hosted their own celebration, inviting their neighbours from British Columbia to participate. It was the first time in its history that Blaine had observed the late queen's birthday, and it marked the occasion by flying Union Jacks along with the Stars and Stripes across town. White Rock businessman Henry Thrift was invited (along with the White Rock Boy Scouts) to participate in a special ceremony, whereby the Union Jack and Old Glory were raised together on the same flagpole (almost surely to the irritation of J.W. Sheets).[73] Afterwards, a Bellingham singer enticed Blaine men to join the colours with the song, "Come Boys, Come". Written by a White Rock woman whose husband was stationed at the front, the *Journal* referred to the song as a "beautiful piece," and "written from the heart."[74] Given the prominent role of White Rock residents in the day's events, it is little surprise that the *Journal* noted the large attendance of British Columbians.[75]

The display of positive cross-border relations, revealed for the first time in years by the American declaration of war, continued over the next few weeks. White Rock Boy Scouts were invited to Blaine to participate in the town's annual Memorial Day events, which included a service at the local Congregational Church followed by a special musical program.[76] In June 1917, Blaine hosted the Chautauqua, a traveling circuit of events that featured musical performances as well as lectures and debates on popular

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[72] On Allied victories: "Germans Abandon Lines to British," *Blaine Journal*, March 9, 1917; "Drive Germans on Wide Front," *Blaine Journal*, April 13, 1917; "French Launch Great Offensive," *Blaine Journal*, April 20, 1917. On condemnations of German actions during war: "American Sailors Tell of Sufferings," "Zimmerman Admits Plot Against U.S.," *Blaine Journal*, March 16, 1917.
[73] "Victoria Day," *Surrey Gazette*, June 1, 1917.
[74] "Local News," *Blaine Journal*, June 1, 1917.
[75] "Many Visitors Here Flag Raising Day," *Blaine Journal*, May 25, 1917.
[76] The following year, White Rock's returned soldiers were invited to attend Blaine's Memorial Day exercises. "Memorial Service for the Grand Army," *Blaine Journal*, May 25, 1917; "Memorial Day," *Blaine Journal*, May 24, 1918.

social and political ideas.[77] Amongst the more popular attractions, as scheduled by the Blaine Chautauqua Association, were performances by Canadians, including baritone H. Ruthven Macdonald and comedian Francis Labadie.[78] In one lecture, attendants sat riveted as a former chaplain of the Canadian Expeditionary Force discussed his harrowing experiences at the front.[79] Finally, an entire day was dedicated to celebrating the culture of British Columbia; though it remains unclear what sort of events were put together for such a celebration, the *Blaine Journal* felt the day's program was "especially attractive to Canadians" and expected many to attend.[80] No doubt White Rock inhabitants crossed the boundary to witness such proceedings.

Blaine residents were also invited to attend social events on the Canadian side of the line following the U.S. declaration of war. First, they participated in a "joint celebration" of Dominion Day in July 1917, and later that month joined White Rock residents in attending an evening dance in nearby Crescent Beach designed to raise money for patriotic purposes.[81]

But unlike the other American and Canadian border communities examined in this study, the U.S. declaration of war had a limited impact on the fractured relationship between White Rock and Blaine. There were no editorials in the *Surrey Gazette* or the *Blaine Journal* declaring that the war was acting as a "renewal" of the ties binding American and Canadian together. In fact, there continued to be some lasting bitterness between White Rock and Blaine; for example, the *Journal* complained in April 1918 that the kind of rationing experienced by residents of Washington was not being imposed on their neighbours in British Columbia.[82] Over in White Rock, the *Surrey Gazette* greeted the American declaration of war with the tongue-in-cheek headline, "The Stars and Stripes are Now Worthy of Full Honours," suggesting that some residents of the

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[77] For more on the Chautauqua, see Jennifer A. Brown et al, "Chautauqua and the Philosophical Origins of Social Reconstruction," *American Educational History Journal*, Vol. 33, Issue 2 (Fall 2006).
[78] "Our Chautauqua," *Blaine Journal*, June 15, 1917.
[79] "Chautauqua is Highly Pleasing," *Blaine Journal*, June 29, 1917.
[80] "Chautauqua Season Ticket Sale Started," *Blaine Journal*, June 15, 1917.
[81] "Victoria Day," *Surrey Gazette*, June 1, 1917; "Extols Crescent's Summer Charms," *British Columbian*, July 31, 1917.
[82] Editorial, *Blaine Journal*, April 12, 1918.

Canadian border town regarded Old Glory as rather inglorious before April 1917.[83] White Rock residents also remained rather unsympathetic to Blaine's continued experiment with prohibition, even after British Columbia voted to go dry in 1916.[84] A year later, booze continued to make its way across the international boundary from White Rock into Blaine, much to the frustration of the *Blaine Journal*.[85] Neither White Rock nor Surrey officials appear to have made any effort to prevent this kind of trafficking from occurring.[86]

These two communities continued to have fundamentally different priorities in 1917 and 1918, just as they had earlier in the war and before it. Blaine embraced moral reform beyond merely prohibition, instituting a number of strict ordinances in the war's latter stages. Young people were banned from visiting pool rooms and pawn shops and restricted from going out late at night by a community-wide curfew.[87] One ordinance banned the sale of fireworks for the Fourth of July, while another forced civilians to aid overwhelmed police officers.[88]

Residents of White Rock, meanwhile, expressed little interest in such reform. When the rest of British Columbia voted for prohibition in 1916, White Rock sought to keep the beer taps flowing.[89] This translated into a visible divergence of interests between White Rock and its American neighbour; whereas the focus of Blaine town council meetings was often the introduction of ordinances designed to limit how wild a summer weekend might become, discussions about White Rock at gatherings of Surrey Council

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[83] "The Stars and Stripes are Now Worthy of Full Honours," *Surrey Gazette*, May 1, 1917.
[84] White Rock was one of only a few B.C. communities to vote against prohibition that year. "British Columbia Dry by 8,000", *Blaine Journal*, September 22, 1916.
[85] "Two Blaine Bootleggers Are Sent to Jail," *Blaine Journal*, June 1, 1917; "Autos and Booze Plenty Here on Labor Day," *Blaine Journal*, September 7, 1917.
[86] The prerogative of the White Rock Improvement League in the latter stages of the war continued to be the town's development as a resort area. As such, it petitioned Surrey Council for funding to help with the improvement of roads, railway crossings, and other infrastructure. See Surrey Council Minutes, 1917 and 1918, http://www.surrey.ca/5515.aspx.
[87] Curfew: October 16, 1916; Pool rooms: May 7, 1917; Pawn shops: August 19, 1918. Blaine Municipal Government, City Council Minutes. Washington State Archives, NW369-6-1.
[88] Blaine Municipal Government, City Council Minutes, October 1, 1917; February 18, 1918. Washington State Archives, NW369-6-1.
[89] White Rock voted twenty-six to twenty-two against prohibition. "British Columbia Dry by 8,000," *Blaine Journal*, September 22, 1916.

typically involved the White Rock Improvement League lobbying for funds to help enhance its appeal to out-of-town vacationers by expanding and enhancing road networks and upgrading sanitary facilities.[90]

Given these differences, it is not particularly surprising that news of the Armistice–which instigated cross-border celebrations in Windsor and Detroit, St. Stephen and Calais–failed to bring these distinct communities together. Since the *Surrey Gazette* terminated publication earlier in 1918, evidence of Armistice celebrations in White Rock are, unfortunately, lacking. What we do know is that White Rock was hit hard by the Spanish flu in October and November 1918. "The influenza epidemic has struck this seaside resort…and there are quite a number of cases amongst residents here," the New Westminster-based *British Columbian* reported, before adding that the Campbell River Lumber Company had lost many employees to the sick list. Given such a dire situation, it is possible any celebration was a quiet and somewhat solemn one.[91]

In Blaine–which would be seriously affected by the global flu pandemic the following year–the news of the Armistice was happily met, but residents did not engage in the community-wide or transnational celebrations seen in St. Stephen and Calais or Windsor and Detroit.[92] Men awoke Monday, November 11 to pleasing news that the war was over, but many continued with their daily routine and went into work. In fact, the only unique feature of the day was the brief blaring of Blaine's fire siren to relay word of Germany's defeat. However, "aside from that there was little evidence of the receipt of such joyous news," the *Journal* reported.[93]

In conclusion, the war did not dramatically alter the relationship between White Rock and Blaine before or after the American entry into the conflict in April 1917 and these continued to be distinct towns whose residents had relatively unique war

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[90] See Surrey Council Minutes, August 11 to August 25, 1917, http://www.surrey.ca/5609.aspx; June 8, 1918, http://www.surrey.ca/bylawsandcouncillibrary/June-8-1918-RC-3E0C.pdf.
[91] "Surrey Second in the Valley," *British Columbian*, November 26, 1918; Lorraine Ellenwood, *Years of Promise: White Rock, 1858-1958* (White Rock: White Rock Museum & Archives Society, 2004), 145.
[92] Ellenwood, *Years of Promise*, 30.
[93] "Blaine Rejoices Over Signing of Armistice," *Blaine Journal*, November 15, 1918.

experiences. By comparison to other communities in this study, American neutrality appears to have been less of a divisive topic in White Rock and Blaine, but this seems to have been precisely because the border-crossing culture existing here was not nearly as advanced as in the St. Croix Valley or Detroit River region. In St. Stephen there was a sense that Canada and the Canadians residing along the dividing St. Croix River had somehow been betrayed by their American neighbours in Calais and beyond, contributing to the emergence of tensions between the two communities in 1915 and 1916. However, the American entry into the war in April 1917 ushered in a period of intense cross-border movement and social integration in the St. Croix Valley that was in no way matched by residents of White Rock and Blaine.

The next chapter will move on from the relationship between the people of White Rock and Blaine to the way the border was practically administered shortly prior to and during the First World War. As will be seen, there was no opposition to the implementation of strict border-crossing regulations by either the residents of White Rock or Blaine because, as opposed to Windsor and Detroit, St. Stephen and Calais, a bureaucratized border was introduced to this region prior to the emergence of a visible border-crossing culture.

Chapter 11: The White Rock-Blaine Border during the First World War

> I have...on several occasions lately received suggestions to the effect that certain Italians from Portland, hearing that there was work in Vancouver and being very anxious to come here...have gone to the expense of coming through on the pullman sleeper, the suggestion being made that a couple of dollars to a coloured porter would secure his silence. It has also been suggested to me that several Hindus have entered by the same method.[1]
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> - Letter from J.H. MacGill, Dominion Immigration Agent, to W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, December 27, 1911.

From the late nineteenth century onward, White Rock, British Columbia, and the surrounding area of south Surrey was considered a particularly sensitive section of the international boundary. Like any other point along the U.S.-Canadian border, however, this was a reflection of circumstances unique to the wider region and not the surrounding localities, in this case White Rock and Blaine, Washington. As the above quote to some extent reveals, this part of the boundary–far more than those sections at Windsor-Detroit and St. Stephen-Calais–was a critical crossing point for people of "undesirable" races; in this particular case, Italians and East Indians, but also Chinese and Japanese.

Throughout the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century the people of British Columbia and Washington State were fixated on race, and more specifically, on keeping out Asians. The real concerns for immigration officials in Ottawa and along the British Columbia-Washington border were Chinese and Indian nationals; the former were considered undesirable since the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, the latter since the emergence of a North American wing of their homeland's anti-colonial movement in the early twentieth century.[2] Both had customs and cultures that, in the

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[1] J.H. MacGill, Dominion Immigration Agent, to W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, December 27, 1911. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), MF C-10429, File 774004.

[2] The first piece of legislation designed to limit Chinese immigration was a $50 head tax imposed in 1885, the year the CPR was completed. Although that represented a substantial sum of money for the time, it was deemed not enough by white British Columbians, who saw to it being increased to $500 by 1903. Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-2006* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2006), 71-73; Seema Sohi, "Race, Surveillance and Indian Anticolonialism in the

minds of many white Canadians and Americans, threatened each nation's Anglo-Saxon heritage.[3] The Chinese were deemed a particular menace, however, because they worked longer hours and for thirty to fifty per cent lower wages than their white counterparts, making them a threat to white employment during periods of economic recession.[4] These concerns were hardly limited to North America's west coast–both federal governments expressed a desire to limit Asian immigration nationwide in the late nineteenth century–but the focus of anti-Asian legislation was most certainly the Pacific region. Given the proximity of British Columbia to Asia relative to the other provinces, it is little surprise that, according to the Canadian Census of 1911, more than 17,000 Chinese-born peoples resided in British Columbia, compared to just over 2,600 in Ontario and fewer than one hundred in New Brunswick.[5] South of the border, the 1910 U.S. Census shows more than 25,000 Indian, Chinese, and Japanese nationals living in the state of Washington, compared to 7,700 in Michigan and 1,000 in Maine.[6]

Monitoring the movement of these undesirable races became a key part of immigration inspection at the British Columbia-Washington border shortly after the expansion of U.S. and Canadian immigration departments. Several of the most popular crossing points were in south Surrey: Douglas, on Blaine's west side, approximately five kilometres from downtown White Rock and directly adjacent to Semiahmoo Bay; Pacific Highway, on Blaine's east section and across from the farmers fields of the Hall's Prairie area; and at rail depots in downtown White Rock and Blaine, a few miles north and south of where the Great Northern Railway crossed the 49th parallel.

Transnational Western U.S.-Canadian Borderlands," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 28, Issue 2 (September 2011).

[3] Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 72.

[4] This was more of a perceived threat than a real one, since, most of the time, Chinese labourers filled jobs considered undesirable by whites. Ninette Kelley and Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 94.

[5] "1911 Census of Canada – Vancouver Public Library," accessed March 2, 2012, http://www.vpl.ca/ccg/1911_Census.html.

[6] The U.S. Census pools these racial groups. *Thirteenth Census of the United States 1910* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912-1914), Volume 4: Reports by States Nebraska-Wyoming.

Watching over this territory was an enormous task for the four Canadian immigration agents hired to patrol an expanse stretching from Semiahmoo Bay's shores to the Pacific Highway, a distance of roughly six kilometres, east to west. In 1913, two inspectors were stationed at White Rock to monitor activity moving along nearby roads, the Great Northern Railway line, and across Semiahmoo Bay. Another inspector was stationed at the Pacific Highway crossing, while a final agent acted in a relief and patrol role, covering territory in between.[7] The task was not made any easier by the federal government's constantly fluctuating immigration policy; for example, when railway companies in British Columbia required labourers, certain standards–like a money qualification requiring that all immigrants have $25 on their person–were waived, meaning the emphasis on keeping out poor central and eastern Europeans (like the Italians mentioned in the quote by MacGill earlier) was relaxed.[8] Immigration inspectors were also expected to be aware of labour conditions in various parts of British Columbia; where workers threatened to strike, any immigrant admitting that place as his destination was supposed to be rejected.[9] Although this was policy for all immigration agents nationwide, it was seen as particularly pressing on the west coast, where the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), or "Wobblies," had a significant impact in organizing labour protests amongst railway employees prior to the outbreak of the First World War.[10]

The two immigration officers stationed at White Rock spent virtually all of their time inspecting trains stopped at the local railway depot while moving between Seattle and Vancouver in 1912 and 1913, leaving them few opportunities to patrol the

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[7] R. Fawcett, Inspector, to Malcolm R.J. Reid, March 8, 1913. LAC, MF C-10429, File 774004.
[8] For example, the Immigration Department removed the money qualification from May 1 to September 30, 1912. Memorandum from W.D. Scott, March 11, 1912; March 28, 1912. LAC, MF C-10429, File 774004.
[9] Circular from W.D. Scott to Port Agents and Boundary Inspectors, March 16, 1912. LAC, MF C-10429, File 774004.
[10] In 1912 the IWW helped organize strikes involving 8,000 workers employed by the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific railways. Although it was formed in Chicago in 1905, the organization's base of power became the Pacific Northwest, where itinerant workers faced particularly harsh working conditions. For more, see Mark Leier, *Where the Fraser River Flows: The Industrial Workers of the World in British Columbia* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1990), 53; A. Ross McCormack, "The Industrial Workers of the World in Western Canada: 1905-1914," *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers*, 1975; W.D. Scott to W.W. Cory, Deputy Minister of the Interior, Feb. 12, 1912. LAC, MF C-10429, File 774004.

international boundary. Instead, that task was left to two other agents, one stationed at the Pacific Highway and a second patrolling the territory near and behind the line on his horse. The difficulty in keeping out undesirables with so few men was alleviated, however slightly, by regular communication with the American immigration agents stationed at Blaine; according to department policy at the time, both were required to alert their American and Canadian counterparts when a traveler was rejected.[11] Blaine immigration agents also tipped off Canadian inspectors at White Rock when they suspected undesirables were preparing for an illegal move across the boundary; this was the case in March 1913, when Blaine officials revealed to Canadian inspectors that a group of thirteen Greek travelers had gathered at the boundary and were suspected of preparing for an overnight infiltration of Canada, presumably because they feared being rejected by Canadian immigration authorities. All available inspectors were called upon for the occasion, with the four Canadian agents fanning out across the territory between Semiahmoo Bay and the Pacific Highway. Unfortunately for the inspectors, they saw only shadows moving that night and were unable to apprehend a single individual. The following morning, they found only five of the original thirteen Greeks remained in Blaine.[12]

This was not the only case where aliens unlikely to gain legal entry into British Columbia crossed the international boundary. For years following the re-routing of the Great Northern Railway track to White Rock, the easiest way to get into Canada illegally was to board a northbound train in Seattle. Because there were only two immigration agents stationed at White Rock to inspect passengers–and they had only minutes to do so, due to tight scheduling by the railway–these inspectors relied on GNR porters to report anyone who might be considered undesirable by the immigration authorities.[13] This was an incredibly flawed system, for several reasons: for one, the porters were not familiar

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[11] Circular letter from W.D. Scott to Boundary Inspectors, April 30, 1913. LAC, MF C-10429, File 774004.
[12] R. Fawcett to Malcolm R.J. Reid, March 8, 1913. LAC, MF C-10429, File 774004.
[13] In December 1917, Dominion Immigration Inspector M.J. Reid complained in a letter to a Great Northern Railway representative that the latter's schedule left literally no time for inspection at White Rock, with trains scheduled to arrive and leave the town at the exact same time. Malcolm R.J. Reid to Kenneth J. Burns, General Passenger Agent, Great Northern Railway. Dec. 15, 1917. LAC, MF C-10429, File 774004.

with the Immigration Act, knowledge of which became a requirement for all men hired to work as Canadian inspectors after 1913.[14] Second, since most porters were poorly paid African Americans, they were easily and often paid off by men and women who suspected that, for whatever reason, they might be rejected by the authorities.[15]

This tactic worked well for some groups, most notably prostitutes, but was hardly a viable option for more visible undesirables like Chinese labourers. But they too found ways to get around immigration inspection; they simply got off a Great Northern train at an American town near the border, such as Blaine, and then moved across the boundary under cover of darkness.[16] Another tactic was to take a boat to Point Roberts–which is American territory but connected by land to British Columbia–and cross the boundary there.[17]

The ease with which undesirables crossed the border into British Columbia saw to a significant increase in their populations prior to the First World War. In 1913, the *British Columbian* newspaper of New Westminster noted the increased population of Chinese- and Japanese-born residents of the province between 1901 and 1911, with these groups' numbers growing from 14,865 to 19,568 and 4,597 to 8,587, respectively.[18] Furthermore, census figures (released in 1913) show that in 1911 people of Chinese and Japanese descent accounted for roughly one-eighth of the entire population of Delta, the census district encompassing White Rock.[19] Had they formed their own, ethnically homogenous communities, separately the Chinese and Japanese of Delta would have outnumbered the permanent population of White Rock. By comparison, the number of

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[14] Circular from Superintendent of Immigration W.D. Scott to Border Inspectors, Jan. 13, 1913. LAC, MF C-10429, File 774004.
[15] W.D. Scott to J.H. MacGill, Dec. 22, 1911; J.H. MacGill to W.D. Scott, Dec. 27, 1911. LAC, MF C-10429, File 774004.
[16] W.D. Scott to J.H. MacGill, Feb. 18, 1912. LAC, MF C-10429, File 774004.
[17] H.G. Lawrence to W.D. Scott, Feb. 29, 1912. LAC, MF C-10429, File 774004.
[18] "Origins of Peoples of Canada," *British Columbian*, April 15, 1913.
[19] By comparison, in the city of Vancouver Chinese, Japanese, and East Indian peoples as a group accounted for one-eighteenth of the local population. *Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, by Provinces, Districts, and Sub-Districts, Volume II* (Ottawa: C.H. Parmlee, 1913), Table VII, 170-171.

people of Chinese heritage living in Windsor that year was just forty-two.[20] No Japanese were recorded living there, while in St. Stephen not a single person of Chinese or Japanese extraction lived within town limits.[21]

In White Rock, these trends were seen as alarming. Prior to the war, locals pointed to Japan and China, not Germany or Austria-Hungary, as the most likely countries to attack British Columbia, meaning that many locals may have looked upon Chinese and Japanese immigrants as if they were advance spies of an enemy nation.[22] But the greater fear was that "Asiatics" would simply displace Anglo-Saxon British Columbians as the province's dominant race. In an April 1914 sermon, Methodist Minister and local Orange Lodge executive member W.P. Goard admitted his fear that the invasion of British Columbia by the "Oriental nations" would soon lead to the province's Anglo-Saxon population being "driven out," not unlike the way European immigration contributed to the decline of Canada's Aboriginal peoples. "Canada holds the fate of the whole Anglo-Saxon race within her grasp and British Columbia especially is the bulwark for the rest of the Dominion and for the continent of Europe against the onward march of the Oriental," Goard insisted. Dramatically pointing to the Union Jack hanging above the platform on which he spoke, Goard encouraged the Anglo-Saxon residents of White Rock to "Go Forth and Possess…by might of arms as well as by right of occupation." With that, Goard's listeners rang out their support for his message with booming applause and the singing of "God Save the King".[23]

White Rock was home to perhaps a few dozen Chinese and Japanese labourers employed by the local Campbell River Lumber Company, located on the town's eastern periphery. Most resided in shacks next to the mill or along nearby Parker Street. White Rock resident Carrie Moffatt, whose father was chief engineer at the mill, years later

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[20] Ibid, Table VII, 214-215.
[21] In fact, the 1911 census reveals that just five Chinese and no Japanese lived in the entire county of Charlotte. Ibid, Table VII, 178-179.
[22] "Editorial Notes," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, April 3, 1913.
[23] "White Rock News," *British Columbian*, April 21, 1914.

recalled that East Indians were also employed by the Campbell River Lumber Co.[24] Moffatt, however, does not discuss whether or not tensions between Asian and white workers were high during the war years, or if they were affected by the nativism of community leaders like Goard. At no point during its publication does the *Surrey Gazette* discuss frictions between white and Asian residents of White Rock, though this does not necessarily mean people of Chinese, Japanese, or East Indian descent were considered valuable members of the community.

Across the boundary at Blaine, a town named for a presidential candidate who stood for Chinese exclusion, there was also concern about the movement of undesirable racial groups.[25] For years the people of Washington, like their neighbours in British Columbia, had depicted Chinese labourers as opium-smoking, strange-looking, diseased peoples.[26] Despite these attitudes, many Asian workers were employed by Blaine's salmon canneries, though there was a concerted effort to have them replaced with white women during the late nineteenth century and early 1900s.[27] As was the case north of the border, Asians were only welcome in Blaine when there was no white person willing to perform a necessary (if not particularly desirable) task, like gutting fish.[28]

Residents of Blaine also saw many Asians pass through town before and during the war, a number attempting to cross the nearby international boundary illegally. Where possible, U.S. and Canadian inspectors not only arrested these immigrants, but also the individuals trying to profit from their surreptitious passage into either country.[29] In one

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[24] Margaret Lang Hastings, *Along the Way: An Account of Pioneering White Rock and Surrounding District in British Columbia* (Cloverdale, B.C.: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1981) 215.

[25] According to historian Edward P. Crapol, Blaine "was in the forefront to exclude…Chinese immigration to the United States." As a senator in the 1870s, Blaine supported legislation designed to prevent Chinese labourers from entering the country. For some, Blaine's position on Asian immigration was surprising, given his rather liberal attitudes towards equal rights for African Americans. Edward P. Crapol, *James G. Blaine: Architect of Empire* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2000), 55-56.

[26] Kristofer Allerfeldt, "Race and Restriction: Anti-Asian Immigration Pressures in the Pacific North-west during the Progressive Era, 1885-1924," *History*, Vol. 88, Issue 289 (January 2003).

[27] Jack Brown, "The Blaine-Point Roberts Salmon Fisheries," accessed May 2, 2012, http://www.surreyhistory.ca/fisheries.html.

[28] Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 119.

[29] In the early twentieth century smugglers allegedly charged $50 for each Chinese person smuggled across the border. Ellenwood, *Years of Promise*, 142.

instance, two Great Northern Railway employees were arrested for attempting to smuggle a pair of Chinese men into Canada in a toolbox.[30] Before transferring from Blaine to White Rock, immigration inspector W.E. Johnson became quite familiar with a number of "Chink Runners," as they were called, from the "Cloverdale Smuggler" to "Chinese Kelly".[31]

With the outbreak of war in 1914, a growing number of European immigrants also began making their way from British Columbia into Washington via Blaine. Although Canada would not pursue conscription until 1917, many ethnic groups fled the country out of fear that they would be drafted into the Canadian Expeditionary Force. This traffic was not limited to enemy aliens, either; in fact, the flow of Greeks and Russians into the United States was so intense that it forced U.S. immigration authorities to post additional inspectors to various points near the international boundary.[32] The following year even more immigration inspectors were hired to help deal with an influx of Austrians and Germans who, according to the *Blaine Journal*, "evidently don't like the atmosphere up there."[33]

Although the heavy traffic of immigrants raised alarms at the local level, Blaine's support for increased border security during the war was primarily associated with its fight against booze. Following the town's decision to go dry in 1910, the *Blaine Journal* lobbied for the hiring of more U.S. officials at the international boundary to monitor cross-border movement and limit liquor trafficking. In 1913 it lamented the U.S. government's decision to move customs inspectors from the Douglas area, on Blaine's west side, closest to White Rock and directly opposite the St. Leonard Hotel, to the Pacific Highway location a few miles to the east. The fear, of course, was that Douglas would now become a major crossing point for drunks and their liquor.

> It is hoped that [Douglas] station will not long be left without attention, a station that is today next to the Great Northern railway, the most traveled along the border for many miles. We are reliably informed that the average number of

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[30] Ibid, 58.
[31] Ibid, 142.
[32] "Many Aliens Try to Cross Boundary," *Blaine Journal*, September 4, 1914.
[33] "Local News," *Blaine Journal*, April 30, 1915.

> vehicles crossing the line at this point daily is above 100 and a great many fail to report after crossing.[34]

Indeed, these were extremely busy crossing points prior to the outbreak of the First World War. Customs reports show that 19,934 people were recorded passing through the Douglas station in vehicles in 1913, the vast majority crossing for the purpose of visiting rather than permanently settling in British Columbia. The White Rock immigration office, headed by Inspector-in-Charge H.G. Lawrence, reported 94,655 passengers in transit across the Great Northern Railway tracks that year, with approximately 4,736 intending to stay in the province. Of these, an estimated 1,231 were rejected, with another seventy-two prosecuted for attempting to enter the country illegally. Of course, given that there were so few inspectors appointed to guard the boundary in this busy border region, the true number of aliens entering the country surreptitiously was impossible to calculate.[35]

Therefore, in their first years of operation in south Surrey, immigration authorities faced the imposing task of keeping out thousands of undesirable immigrants with only a handful of inspectors. These men and the department they worked for also faced unique challenges in this part of the long international boundary with the United States: unlike other points along the border, this was a key crossing point for people of undesirable races, particularly Asians. In communities like New Westminster and White Rock, concern about the constantly growing population of Chinese, Japanese, and East Indian peoples served to arouse unique attitudes to the international boundary not seen in Windsor or St. Stephen, where border permeability was viewed as advantageous to the local economy and culture and where fewer people worried that Anglo-Saxons were about to become outnumbered by the "Asiatic" races. Liquor trafficking, while a concern along the Detroit and St. Croix rivers, did not arouse as much anxiety in these areas during the war because Canadian and American opinions of prohibition were far less divergent than at White Rock and Blaine.[36] Finally, even the matter of pollution was

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[34] "Pacific Highway Station Opened," *Blaine Journal*, July 18, 1913.
[35] "Port of White Rock, B.C.," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, April 14, 1914.
[36] In Windsor and Detroit attitudes towards prohibition were fairly ambivalent. In February 1918 Detroit mayor Oscar Marx discouraged police from watching saloons and instead encouraged them to focus on

handled differently; whereas White Rock, Surrey Council, and Blaine failed to work together effectively to find a peaceful solution to the dumping of salmon offal in shared Semiahmoo Bay, community leaders in Windsor and Detroit came together in 1912 to discuss complaints that factories on the American side of the border were polluting the shared Detroit River.[37] As a result, at no point before or during the war did Windsor and Detroit newspapers engage in a bitter dispute over pollution such as that seen in the pages of the *Semiahmoo Gazette* and *Blaine Journal*. All of these issues affected how the people of White Rock and Blaine viewed the international boundary and their relationship with Canadian and American neighbours entering the First World War. Ultimately, the war did change how the border was administered between White Rock and Blaine, but it did not change attitudes towards the border in either community.

Unlike in Windsor and St. Stephen, immediately following the declaration of war White Rock prepared for trouble at the border. Whereas the 21st Essex Fusiliers home guard remained understaffed and unpopular in Windsor throughout the war and St. Stephen never saw the need to organize such a force, in White Rock the Imperial Reserve attracted forty members within weeks of Britain's entrance into the European conflict.[38] Many of the town's most visible community leaders, such as businessman and politician Henry Thrift, played an important role in the Imperial Reserve, whose membership included men with military experience but who were unfit for duty in 1914.

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catching "burglars" and "slayers". In Windsor, the *Evening Record* supported closing saloons, but believed locals should be allowed to drink alcohol in their homes. In St. Stephen and Calais there was mutual support for prohibition. Liquor smuggling was rampant in all four towns but does not appear to have affected cross-border relations at the local level. "Lessen Watch on Bars – Marx," *Detroit News*, February 18, 1918; "Ontario Temperance Act," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 11, 1918; "Bone Dry Order," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 13, 1918; "As Others See Us," *Saint Croix Courier*, August 9, 1917; "Congratulations Extended From Across the Stream," *Saint Croix Courier*, September 20, 1917. For more on prohibition in Detroit and Windsor, see Philip P. Mason, *Rumrunning and the Roaring Twenties*: *Prohibition on the Michigan-Ontario Waterway* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995).

[37] Journal of the Common Council, City of Detroit, September 8, 14; October 6, 13, 1914. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection.

[38] "Local Notes," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, September 21, 1914; December 15, 1914.

Also unlike Windsor's home guard, White Rock's Imperial Reserve got its first taste of action almost immediately after being formed, when a Russian gang known as the Sedro-Woolley Bandits robbed several banks in Washington State and British Columbia before moving into southern Surrey.[39] The case left a long-lasting impression on residents of White Rock and the surrounding area when the bandits, in a shootout with authorities in the Canadian border town, shot and killed customs inspector Clifford Adams.[40] Blaine's sheriff worked with Canadian customs and immigration inspectors, New Westminster police, MPP Frank J. MacKenzie, and White Rock's Imperial Reserve to track down the bandits, most of whom were eventually found and shot dead at various points around the municipality of Surrey.[41] Only the group's leader escaped with his life, though he did make off with most of the booty.[42]

There were also local and personal links with the movement of enemy aliens–including Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians–following the declaration of war. Shortly before the war, the *Semiahmoo Gazette* noted that the local White Rock Hotel had just been leased by Anthony Kengyel, a Vancouver businessman with experience in managing just such establishments. "The White Rock hotel is therefore in good hands and patrons can rely upon quick, efficient service, an excellent table and all home comforts," the *Gazette* reported.[43]

Imagine the town's shock, then, when shortly after the declaration of war Kengyel abandoned his business and fled across the border to Washington, apparently en route to his Austrian homeland. Initially prevented from crossing by American immigration

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[39] The bandits targeted Washington centres Sedro-Woolley, Granite Falls, and Elma, and British Columbia towns Abbotsford and New Hazelton before making their way to the White Rock area. Margaret Lang Hastings, "Sheriff's Posse Ends Tragic 1914 Shootout," *The Peace Arch News*, October 1, 1986.

[40] Adams' family was from New Westminster, but he moved to White Rock upon being appointed customs officer at Pacific Highway in 1912. "Subway Plans Drawn for White Rock," *British Columbian*, December 17, 1912.

[41] "Retribution Swift and Sure," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, October 27, 1914; "New Westminster Man Shot Dead by Russian Bandits," *British Columbian*, October 27, 1914.

[42] The exact amount of said booty is not known, though authorities did report that during the Sedro-Woolley robbery alone the bandits made off with $12,000 in gold coins, silver, and cash. A fraction of that sum, approximately $3,000, was found on the bodies of the dead robbers. Margaret Lang Hastings, "Sheriff's Posse Ends Tragic 1914 Shootout," *The Peace Arch News*, October 1, 1986.

[43] "White Rock Hotel," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, June 20, 1914.

authorities at Blaine, the undeterred Kengyel backtracked to Vancouver and eventually made it to Seattle.[44] In a letter written from Portland, Oregon, and acquired by New Westminster's *British Columbian*, Kengyel proclaimed that he was on his way back to Austria-Hungary to join the army.[45]

There was considerable movement of enemy aliens across this part of the boundary during the war's first year. Although White Rock immigration inspectors reported working closely with customs officers to keep German and Austro-Hungarian army reservists like Kengyel from fleeing Canada via the United States for Europe, in early 1915 the *Blaine Journal* noted that there had been an influx of just such reservists since the beginning of the war.[46] In July, evidence suggested that Germans living in Hall's Prairie (roughly five kilometres east of White Rock) had been aiding many of these reservists in getting across the boundary line. Ernst Hamel and David Kitzel, having been suspected of smuggling enemy aliens into the United States by White Rock immigration officials, were arrested after a brief but successful undercover scheme executed by Stephen Raymer, an agent working for the Vancouver immigration office. Raymer, who pretended to be a German reservist seeking help in making his way to Washington undetected, was taken in by Hamel and Kitzel and eventually shown a forest path that led to Blaine, where he was to contact a tailor known only as "Uhrrman". Initially charged with High Treason (an offence punishable by death), the accused were eventually prosecuted for the lesser crime of aiding and abetting enemy aliens in illegally crossing the border.[47] Although Raymer's testimony appeared strong enough to secure a conviction, defence attorney Joseph Martin was successful in bringing the star witness' character into question.[48] Because all other evidence was circumstantial, two separate

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[44] "Seek Hotel Proprietor," *British Columbian*, September 1, 1914.
[45] "Kengyell Sends Farewell," *British Columbian*, September 8, 1914.
[46] Malcolm R.J. Reid to W.D. Scott, Sept. 25, 1914. LAC, MF C-10429; "Local News," *Blaine Journal*, April 30, 1915.
[47] "Charge of Treason Against Two Hall's Prairie Farmers," *British Columbian*, July 13, 1915; "Charged with Aiding Alien Enemies Across Border," *British Columbian*, July 20, 1915; "Two Farmers Facing High Treason Charge," *Toronto World*, July 13, 1915; "Treason Charge Not Sustained," *Blaine Journal*, July 23, 1915.
[48] According to the *British Columbian*, Martin often pointed to criticisms of Raymer's character in *Narodni List*, an independent Croatian newspaper published in the United States (though banned during the war by

trials in the summer and fall of 1915 ended in hung juries, in each case eight jury members standing for conviction, four for acquittal.[49] As a result, in November Hamel and Kitzel were freed on their own recognizance, no doubt to the frustration of Raymer and the prosecuting attorneys, who had succeeded in convincing two-thirds of the appointed jurors that the accused were guilty.[50]

Despite the failure of the Crown to secure a conviction, the trial of Hamel and Kitzel revealed that the British Columbia-Washington border was in danger of becoming a site for widespread smuggling of enemy aliens. In Blaine but especially White Rock, it almost certainly stirred up feelings of paranoia, particularly as both men had deep roots within the wider border region; Hamel had once been elected to Surrey Council, while Kitzel had family across the boundary in Birch Bay, Washington, roughly ten kilometres south of Blaine. The latter man had ten children, including seven with first wife Catherine (who died in 1900) and three more with Amaliza Seeling (also known as Emilie Seline), who spent some time in Blaine (and was well-known throughout the community) before marrying Kitzel and moving north of the border to Hall's Prairie.[51] Both of Kitzel's wives were born in Germany, though all ten children resided in the U.S. and Canada.[52] According to the *British Columbian*, Hamel had lived in Hall's Prairie for about fifteen years, Kitzel thirty.[53]

During the years that followed, immigration and customs officers stationed at White Rock and the surrounding area aggressively patrolled the boundary in an attempt

Canada). "Freed On Own Recognizance," *British Columbian*, November 9, 1915; "About Narodni List," accessed May 2, 2012, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030217/.

[49] All other evidence was hearsay, with immigration agents testifying to having heard Hamel and Kitzel were smuggling Germans and Austrians across the border to Blaine. "Hamel-Kitzel Trial Opens," *British Columbian*, October 26, 1915; "Freed On Own Recognizance," *British Columbian*, November 9, 1915.

[50] "Defence Wants Guarantee Witness Won't Be Interned," "Hamel-Kitzel Trial Opens," *British Columbian*, October 26, 1915; "Freed On Own Recognizance," *British Columbian*, November 9, 1915.

[51] "Local Notes," *Surrey Gazette*, July 1915; "Obituary," *Blaine Journal*, July 5, 1918.

[52] Lottie Roeder Roth, *History of Whatcom County, Volume II* (Seattle: Pioneer Historical Publishing Company, 1926), 900-901.

[53] "Charged with Aiding Alien Enemies Across Border," *British Columbian*, July 20, 1915.

to limit the cross-border movement of enemy aliens.[54] White Rock Inspector-in-Charge H.G. Lawrence, after years of requesting more manpower from the federal government, finally saw more inspectors hired to patrol this part of the boundary. By 1918, the staff at White Rock had increased from two to four men, with a man added to the Douglas station (previously unattended by immigration officials) and four more posted to Pacific Highway (previously overseen by a single inspector).[55] At the railway depot in White Rock, their strategies also changed: rather than hastily inspecting passengers on Great Northern Railway cars at the local station, two inspectors now rode the train to Seattle and back each day, one in the morning, the other in the evening.[56] This solved the earlier problem of porters–who were expected to report travelers likely to be rejected–being paid off by passengers nervous about their ability to enter the country legally.

Still, these officials faced the enormous task of preventing the cross-border movement of enemy aliens, people of undesirable racial groups, and, after conscription came into effect in 1917, men of military age. The number of people crossing the border in White Rock and area late in the war was staggering, with an estimated 55,000 making their way along the GNR tracks between March 31, 1917 and March 31, 1918 and another 7,000 crossing in automobiles at Pacific Highway in May 1918 alone.[57]

That traffic remained a point of serious concern in both White Rock and Blaine. South of the border, the *Blaine Journal* continued to fret over the movement of alcohol from Canada into town. A newspaper that gleefully met news of British Columbia's move to prohibition on October 1, 1917 by declaring the date "British Columbia Day" was soon disappointed to find alcohol could still easily be acquired. Christmas Eve 1917 was particularly ugly for Blaine prohibitionists, with intoxicated locals stumbling about

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[54] Jack Berry, "The History of the Port of Pacific Highway, B.C." Surrey Archives, Reference Files, Canada Customs.
[55] A.L. Joliffe, Commissioner of Immigration, to W.D. Scott, Sept. 17, 1918. LAC, MF C-10429, File 774004.
[56] B.R. Whiteley, Immigration Inspector, to Malcolm R.J. Reid, Sept. 12, 1916; J.C. Cornish, Immigration Inspector, to Malcolm R.J. Reid, Sept. 13, 1916. LAC, MF C-10429, File 774004.
[57] "Heavier Duties for Border Officials," *Surrey Gazette*, April 25, 1918; "Much Traffic Across the Border," *British Columbian*, June 11, 1918.

town and engaging in fistfights.[58] According to the *Journal*, part of the problem was that U.S. customs officials were woefully inconsistent in how they followed the state's prohibition laws; in Blaine, some customs officers allegedly allowed travelers entering the country to carry one quart of liquor with them.[59] Elsewhere along the border, officials were not so lenient; in 1918, *Journal* editor J.W. Sheets commended Canadian and American customs officials at Sumas, Washington, and Huntingdon, British Columbia, for seizing several cases of cognac and whiskey. At the same time, Sheets suggested the U.S. Customs Department would do well to move some of those capable officers to Blaine, where they could help prevent liquor trafficking there.[60] These incidents indicate that not everyone in Blaine fully supported local prohibition, and their behaviour only reinforced demands by the town's majority (who supported the measure) that the border be closely monitored in order to prevent British Columbia alcohol from being distributed throughout the community.

As Blaine prohibitionists continued to fight liquor late in the war, in White Rock the *Surrey Gazette* expressed its concern over the growing population of non-whites in the province. With reports that the ratio of Asians to whites had increased from 1:7 prior to the war to 1:3.5 in 1917, the *Gazette* suggested immediately conscripting Chinese men into labour battalions to perform manual labour, such as harvesting wheat or cutting timber.[61] In this way, their numbers could be monitored and their behaviour controlled by military authorities. Preventing more Asians from entering the province through strict enforcement of immigration regulations was, thus, a major concern in White Rock in 1917 as it had been prior to the war.

There were also concerns in White Rock about the movement of cheaper American goods across the border into Surrey from Blaine. Specifically, the problem was with Blaine's butchers: because meat could be acquired much more cheaply in the U.S.

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[58] "British Columbia Day," *Blaine Journal*, October 5, 1917; Editorial, *Blaine Journal*, December 28, 1917.
[59] "Government is Not Consistent in Handling Booze Situation," *Blaine Journal*, July 20, 1917.
[60] "Local News," *Blaine Journal*, October 25, 1918.
[61] "The Oriental Invasion," *Surrey Gazette*, March 15, 1917; "Labour Battalions," *Surrey Gazette*, January 24, 1917.

border town, any attempt to open a butcher's shop in White Rock failed.[62] That was until 1918, when intrepid White Rock customs official W.E. Johnson investigated the matter.[63] Johnson found that all meat purchased in Blaine and headed for White Rock needed to be stamped by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) if it was to avoid a duty. Smaller cuts of meat meant for household consumption usually did not carry this stamp. For years, Canadian customs officials had either overlooked the rule or had been unaware of it; regardless, upon finding evidence of its existence Johnson insisted that anyone bringing meat not stamped by the USDA across the line into British Columbia pay duty. This effectively eliminated the price differential between British Columbia and Blaine meat prices, stopping the flow of such products north across the boundary.

In an oral interview conducted years later, Johnson expressed great pride with this achievement, suggesting his actions did not make him an outcast in the community.[64] Indeed, Johnson would go on to become one of White Rock's most popular figures, serving as customs collector and president of the local White Rock Waterworks Company. Later in life he was recognized by the City of White Rock and municipality of Surrey for his contributions to the region's development.[65] Johnson's actions, then, were not seen as detrimental to relations with Blaine, or White Rock's economic advancement. This stands in stark contrast to Windsor, where retailers were verbally attacked by locals angry over the allegation that storeowners had requested Ottawa send a "lady searcher" to prevent the smuggling of goods purchased in Detroit at Easter time, 1915, and St. Stephen, where the arrival of federal customs investigators intent on preventing local officials from bending the rules aroused a vitriolic response from the *Saint Croix Courier*.[66]

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[62] When petitioning for government funding to construct a wharf at White Rock in 1913, local officials noted all businesses present in town, and this included a "meat market". However, in 1918 the *Blaine Journal* noted that there was no meat market in White Rock. Johnson insisted that no such business could survive with Blaine meat priced so cheaply. "Pier in Hand," *The Peace Arch News*, July 12, 2000; "Local News," *Blaine Journal*, August 23, 1918.
[63] "Local News," *Blaine Journal*, August 23, 1918.
[64] W.E. Johnson Interview. British Columbia Archives, Imbert Orchard Records, Tape 2, March 1963.
[65] Hastings, *Along the Way*, 199-201.
[66] "Views of Readers – The Lady Searcher," Windsor *Evening Record*, March 30, 1915, 4; "Views of Readers – That Customs Raid," Windsor *Evening Record*, April 1, 1915, 4; "Great Differences Between Understanding and Perception," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 9, 1918.

As they had prior to the war, both White Rock and Blaine saw the border as a tool that, if administered properly, could improve the lives of locals. This attitude was much different than that held by residents of the Detroit and St. Croix River regions, where being able to cross the boundary easily was seen as key to maintaining a strong economy and positive relations with neighbouring communities.

This kind of a border-crossing culture did not exist in White Rock and Blaine during the First World War. In its early stages the attention of locals was drawn to the dangers posed by border permeability, including the movement of Asians, criminals, and enemy aliens. Unlike Windsor and Detroit, St. Stephen and Calais, these fears were not overcome as the war progressed, but contributed to pre-existing concerns about border permeability, including the surreptitious movement of unwanted goods and people of undesirable racial groups. As a result, there was no protest over the implementation of stricter customs and immigration standards as the war wore on. In fact, local citizens called for greater regulation of immigration and goods, like liquor and groceries. And while the previous chapter has shown that the American entry into the war served to increase cross-border social integration ever so slightly, it did not change attitudes to the border's desired functionality in this part of the continent.

In conclusion, there were several factors that explain why this section of the international boundary was different than that dividing Windsor from Detroit and St. Stephen from Calais. Concerns about the movement of undesirable racial groups, particularly Chinese, Japanese, and East Indians, were far more visible in a Pacific Northwest region where people of these groups existed in far greater numbers than in eastern sections of the continent. Regulation of cross-border movement by Asians was seen as paramount in this region from the implementation of Canadian and American immigration departments in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Second, issues distinct to this particular border region played a key role in preventing the emergence of a border-crossing culture; unlike Windsor and Detroit, St. Stephen and Calais, this region was not settled by Canadians and Americans generations prior to the implementation and expansion of immigration and customs departments, respectively. This meant that cross-border activity was not a part of local tradition prior to the border becoming a visible entity, where crossing the boundary meant receiving approval from customs and immigration officials.

Third, when the populations of these communities did begin to grow in the first decade of the twentieth century, their social and economic interests were already diverging; Blaine's economy continued to be based on resource-processing industries like lumbering and salmon canning, while its social outlook was firmly tied to the progressive movement popular at the time. By contrast, White Rock was fast developing as a resort community with a future based on attracting as many visitors as possible; this not only meant that its economy was distinct from Blaine's, but that locals kept progressive initiatives, such as prohibition, at arm's length throughout the period before and during the war.

Chapter 12: Conclusion

Much has changed in Windsor, St. Stephen, and White Rock since November 1918. All were affected as the increasingly isolationist U.S. and Canadian governments–stunned by the war, socialist revolution in Russia, labour unrest at home, and the onset of a Great Depression–introduced prohibitive immigration laws in the 1920s and 1930s. But just as each border region was affected by the war differently, so too did their post-war experiences vary widely.

Windsor's relationship with Detroit remains unique but a number of events have all but eradicated the border-crossing culture of the Great War era. First, the passage by Congress of the Volstead Act in 1920 banning the sale of alcohol caused the U.S. government to further increase security at the Canadian border, particularly along the busy Detroit River frontier.[1] Concerns about the cross-border movement of eastern Europeans, particularly those with suspected ties to Soviet Russia, also changed the administration of the international boundary, particularly after the implementation of new and more stringent immigration acts in 1919 (Canada), 1921, and 1924 (United States).[2] However, the government was not alone in introducing important changes at the Detroit River international boundary. The completion of the Ambassador Bridge and Detroit-

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[1] With Ottawa and the provinces repealing prohibition in the postwar era, Canadian-produced liquor–and in particular Walkerville's Canadian Club whiskey–was widely consumed after being smuggled south of the border. Although many Detroit River region residents–including local customs officials–engaged in a vibrant smuggling trade, the U.S. government increasingly attempted to clamp down on the surreptitious movement of alcohol across the international boundary during the period following the First World War. After the 1926 Customs Scandal Canada's customs administration underwent a major overhaul.

[2] The postwar period represents an important moment in the expansion of customs and immigration policy and enforcement. For more on the tightening of customs and immigration border controls following the First World War, see Thomas Klug, "Residents by Day, Visitors by Night: The Origins of the Alien Commuter on the U.S.-Canadian Border during the 1920s," *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Fall 2008); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1955); Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at the Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1990* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992); Ninette Kelley, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life, Second Edition* (New York: Perennial, 2002).

Windsor Tunnel in 1929 and 1930 saw to the rapid decline of the ferry system over the following decade.[3] This (perhaps inevitable) development dramatically reduced the intimacy of border crossings; from that point forward, rather than crowd together in massive steamboats, the people of Windsor and Detroit crossed the international boundary in their own automobiles. But that was only the beginning of Windsor and Detroit's social and cultural divergence in the mid-twentieth century. The influx of African Americans migrating north during and after the Second World War drove white Detroiters of European heritage out of the city's downtown core and into distant, outlying suburbs like Ann Arbor, Livonia, and Warren.[4] In the years since, riots, crippling poverty, and urban decay have not only led to a significant decline in its population (from nearly two million in the 1950s to just over 700,000 today) but has also made Detroit a less attractive destination for Canadians.[5] And while Windsor's population has remained stagnant following the recent decline of the regional automotive industry, many residents of the Canadian border city (whose population grew from 50,000 during the First World War to 120,000 in 1951, and 210,000 in 2011[6]) pride themselves on living in a city that is considerably safer than neighbouring Detroit.[7] Further inhibiting extensive cross-border movement has been the escalation of border security, particularly in the period after

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[3] William Oxford, *The Ferry Steamers: The Story of the Detroit-Windsor Ferry Boats* (Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 1992), 93.

[4] See Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

[5] Historian Julie Longo notes that Windsorites were appalled by the July 1967 riots in Detroit, cancelling that summer's Emancipation Day celebration and replacing it in later years with the International Freedom Festival. Julie Longo, "Consuming Freedom: The International Freedom Festival as Transnational Tourism Strategy on the Windsor-Detroit Border, 1959-1976," *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Fall 2008). On Detroit's population: "Vanishing City: The Story Behind Detroit's Shocking Population Decline," accessed April 26, 2012, http://newsfeed.time.com/2011/03/24/vanishing-city-the-story-behind-detroit%E2%80%99s-shocking-population-decline/.

[6] Windsor population during First World War includes surrounding municipalities known then as the Border Cities. These municipalities would be amalgamated in 1935. "Population of Border Towns Nearly 50,000," *Windsor Evening Record*, September 11, 1917; *Ninth Census of Canada 1951* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1953), Vol. 1, Table 3-1; "Census Metropolitan Area of Windsor, Ontario – Statistics Canada," accessed April 26, 2012, http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-cma-eng.cfm?LANG=Eng&GK=CMA&GC=559.

[7] Between September 2009 and November 2011 there was not a single homicide in the City of Windsor. By comparison, during that period Detroit suffered a homicide nearly once every day. "Canadian Border City Has First Homicide in 26 Months," accessed April 26, 2012, http://articles.cnn.com/2011-11-25/americas/world_americas_canada-windsor-first-homicide_1_first-homicide-illicit-guns-drugs-and-guns?_s=PM:AMERICAS.

September 11, 2001. Hefty tolls, long wait times, and intensive questioning by border services agents have made crossing the international boundary more stressful than ever before.[8] Traffic across the Ambassador Bridge has declined forty per cent since the year 2000.[9] Though the people of Windsor and Essex County continue to visit the Motor City's sports venues and concert halls, in comparing the border-crossing culture of the Detroit River region during the First World War era with today, one would have to conclude that there is little chance the people of Windsor will ever again consider re-naming their city "South Detroit".[10]

In St. Stephen and Calais the border-crossing culture of the early twentieth century is somewhat more visible today. Local fire departments continue to ignore the international boundary when an alarm sounds, a surprising arrangement in the post-9/11 age.[11] These communities also celebrate their connection every summer with an International Homecoming Festival that brings residents of the St. Croix Valley together to commemorate the peaceful history of a region where Canadians allegedly handed their entire gunpowder supply over to their American neighbours during the War of 1812.[12] Unlike the massive Ambassador Bridge linking Windsor and Detroit, the tiny Ferry Point Bridge is easily traversed by foot, making crossings and interaction between residents of St. Stephen and Calais more convenient and frequent. Population decline, fuelled by slow economic growth, is an important factor in explaining the maintenance of a relatively undisturbed border-crossing culture in the St. Croix Valley in the twenty-first century.[13]

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[8] See Susan L. Bradbury and Daniel E. Turbeville III, "Are Enhanced Trade and Enhanced Security Mutually Exclusive? The Western Canada-U.S. Borderland in a Post-9/11 World," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 38, Issue 3 (Autumn 2008).
[9] "Ambassador Bridge Traffic Up Slightly in 2011 Compared to 2010," *Windsor Star*, January 4, 2012.
[10] For more on the social and cultural divergence of Windsor and Detroit since the Second World War, see James Laxer, *The Border: Canada, the U.S. and Dispatches from the 49th Parallel* (Toronto: Anchor Canada, 2004), 297-306.
[11] Sharon Kiley Mack, "Two cities in two countries with one emergency-response mission," *Bangor Daily News*, March 26, 2011.
[12] "International Homecoming Festival," accessed April 25, 2012, http://www.internationalhomecomingfestival.com/.
[13] St. Stephen's population in 2006 was 4,780, up only slightly from 3,452 in 1921. Calais, meanwhile, has seen its population decline from 7,665 in 1900 to just 3,123 today. *Sixth Census of Canada 1921* (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1924), vol. 1, Table 10, 227; "Statistics Canada – St. Stephen, New Brunswick," accessed April 26, 2012, http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/mobile/92-591/table-eng.cfm?SGC=1302037; Ronald Rees,

Simply put, the region's international crossings cannot in any way be considered as likely to be targeted by terrorists or smugglers as those lining the Detroit River.[14]

In the years following the First World War the border between White Rock and Blaine became home to the Peace Arch, a massive 67-foot cement and reinforced steel structure with one foot planted in Canadian soil, the other in U.S. territory. Funded primarily by American railroad tycoon Samuel Hill, the Peace Arch was formally unveiled on September 6, 1921.[15] An address written by U.S. President Warren G. Harding, which declared the structure a "temple of peace," was read as a crowd of 10,000 gathered at the international boundary.[16] Ironically, the Arch–which is inscribed with the words "Children of a Common Mother" on one side and "Brethren Dwelling Together in Unity" on the other–for a time stood just feet from the once-controversial St. Leonard Hotel. Eventually, the old saloon was demolished to make room for Peace Arch Park and larger Canadian and U.S. customs and immigration offices.[17] In the decades that followed, residents of White Rock named civic buildings, community publications, and organizations after the Peace Arch. Blaine residents also identified with the monument, organizing a "Hands Across the Border" festival that continues to be held every June within the confines of Peace Arch Park.[18]

Historic St. Croix: St. Stephen – Calais (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2003), xiv; "Welcome to the City of Calais," accessed April 26, 2012, http://calaismaine.org/.

[14] Recent estimates of border-crossing activity suggest that about one million commercial and passenger vehicles enter Canada from Calais each year. By comparison, more than seven million vehicles crossed the Ambassador Bridge alone in 2011. However, this represents a 40 per cent decline since the year 2000. Sharon Kiley Mack, "New Calais Border Crossing Opens," *Bangor Daily News*, November 16, 2009; "Ambassador Bridge Traffic Up Slightly in 2011 Compared to 2010," *Windsor Star*, January 4, 2012.

[15] Workmen from both sides of the border participated in the project, which was started in July 1920. "Blaine, Wash., The Peace Arch City," British Columbia Archives, NWp 979.731, B634-bp.

[16] "The History of a Peace Park," accessed April 25, 2012, http://www.peacearchpark.org/history.htm.

[17] The St. Leonard, closed in 1914, was eventually demolished in 1932 to clear room for the construction of Peace Arch Park. Lorraine Ellenwood, *Years of Promise: White Rock, 1858-1958* (White Rock: White Rock Museum & Archives Society, 2004), 143.

[18] "Hands Across the Border Peace Arch Celebration," accessed April 25, 2012, http://www.peacearchpark.org/peacearchcelebration.htm.

However, these continue to be very distinct communities. White Rock's shift from primary industries towards an economy based around tourism deepened after the war and it remains a popular summer destination for Pacific coast Americans and Canadians alike. Blaine, meanwhile, has not had the same kind of success. Its population, once far greater than its Canadian neighbour during the First World War, is currently just over 4,000, one-fifth of White Rock's 20,000.[19]

Recent trends at the international boundary have also affected cross-border travel and interaction. In the late 1990s the governments of British Columbia, Oregon, and Washington considered lowering border controls and expanding transportation networks within the region in an attempt to encourage transnational tourism. Called "Cascadia," the project was expected to cost upwards of $100 billion. Most criticisms of the plan surrounded this enormous expense rather than the threat posed by terrorists as the process of crossing the border was made "seamless" by opening new expedited border clearance lanes at popular international crossings, including the Peace Arch location.[20] Both Blaine and the municipality of Surrey (of which White Rock is a part) played important roles in these discussions, with their mayors co-chairing the Cascadia Border Working Group (CBWG), formed in 1994. Over the next seven years the CBWG lobbied successfully to prevent the imposition of new fees for crossing the border while convincing the U.S. and Canadian governments to open more accelerated travel lanes at the international boundary, particularly at the Peace Arch (Highway 99) and Pacific Highway (Highway 15) locations near White Rock and Blaine.[21] But 9/11 significantly reduced the prospects for further reduction of border controls in western North America and in recent years statistics show it takes much longer to cross the international boundary in this border region.[22] Long line-ups of automobiles at the border have made crossing the boundary by foot practically impossible, reducing the limited potential for a border-crossing culture

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[19] "About White Rock," accessed February 14, 2012, http://www.whiterockcity.ca/EN/main/community/about-white-rock.html; "About Blaine," accessed February 14, 2012, http://www.ci.blaine.wa.us/index.aspx?NID=132.
[20] "Cascading Across the Line," *Surrey / North Delta Leader*, May 28, 1999.
[21] Alan F. Artibise, "Cascadian Adventures: Shared Visions, Strategic Alliances, and Ingrained Barriers in a Transborder Region," in *Holding the Line: Borders in a Global World*, eds. Heather M. Nicol and Ian Townsend-Gault (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 252.
[22] Bradbury and Turbeville III, "Are Enhanced Trade and Enhanced Security Mutually Exclusive?"

along this particular section of the line. As most residents of White Rock and Blaine will tell you, the Peace Arch monument (which is today rather ironically surrounded by a chain-link fence) and Peace Arch Park make for pleasing sights mostly taken in from the comfort of an idling automobile.

For many Canadians, the word "border" brings to mind these images of long rows of passenger cars and commercial trucks and the pungent smell of exhaust fumes. In the year 2012, a Google search for the term "border" in Southwestern Ontario presents one with the sites Borderlineups.com, the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) home page, and About.com's "Tips for Driving Across the U.S. into Canada". For those of us who have grown up or live near the international boundary as it navigates the Detroit, Niagara, or St. Clair rivers, the complexity of the border-crossing experience is very familiar. And for the younger generation of Ontarians that came of age in the post-9/11 era, it is all they know; I think now of the former student who, upon learning that neither Canada nor the United States had immigration controls in place before the late nineteenth century, wondered who exactly was responsible for checking people as they crossed from one country into the other. Today, the concept that one could cross the international boundary without state approval is in itself completely foreign.

The foundation for the modern border was established over a century ago, as both the United States and Canada attempted to limit the number of undesirable immigrants from entering the country. Initially the focus was on keeping out people who would tax the system by entering state-run prisons, hospitals, and asylums. But by the turn of the twentieth century immigration policy had expanded to exclude people of undesirable races, particularly immigrants from Asia. After 1908 both Canada and the United States placed agents at popular land crossing sites to ensure that these immigration policies were followed.

However, these guidelines were often adjusted and manipulated by local immigration inspectors who, being from the communities where they were posted, administered policies in a way that suited local attitudes towards border permeability.

This was also the case for customs agents, who in places like Windsor, Ontario, and St. Stephen, New Brunswick, were rarely aggressive in their inspections, recognizing that doing so would be unpopular and might negatively impact an inspector's social status within the wider community. By contrast, in White Rock, British Columbia, immigration and customs inspectors were considerably more thorough, precisely because residents of nearby communities believed the close monitoring of goods and people crossing the boundary was to their benefit. Although this dissertation has not focused on the experiences of American customs and immigration officials, limited research indicates that the attitudes of U.S. agents tended to reflect those of their counterparts across the dividing line.

There were a number of reasons that attitudes towards the international boundary varied from place to place. In Windsor and St. Stephen, residents had for generations shared close economic and social ties with American neighbours in Detroit and Calais. An open border was considered beneficial to the local community because it allowed residents to find work and purchase cheaper goods across the boundary. But it also allowed locals to reach and interact with their friends and family across the border on a regular basis, and in both Windsor and St. Stephen these kinds of transnational social networks had existed for generations by the turn of the twentieth century. Many of these people recognized that the Detroit and St. Croix rivers represented international demarcation points, but few saw that as reason to impede the flow of friendly travelers.

In White Rock these cross-border ties, whether economic or social, were not in place by the outbreak of the First World War. As opposed to the Detroit River and St. Croix Valley borderlands, most settlers did not share distant memories with their American neighbours in Blaine, Washington. Economic and social dynamics also played a major role in determining attitudes towards the boundary in this border region: although both White Rock and Blaine were founded on similar industries (lumbering and farming), north of the border there was a distinct push towards tourism in the early twentieth century. Unlike Windsor and St. Stephen, in White Rock Americans were not credited for helping the community's growth, even if the St. Paul, Minnesota-based Great Northern Railway's decision to lay track around Semiahmoo Bay in 1909 was the central factor in

the town's early development. Instead, British Columbia investors and politicians from New Westminster and Vancouver reaped much of the praise for the community's steady population growth between the turn of the twentieth century and the end of the First World War. This divergence of interests was reflected in social attitudes, as residents of Blaine embraced social reform while the people of White Rock showed a distinct disinterest in moral governance, particularly prohibition. Finally, on both sides of the border there was concern about the movement of undesirable races, including Chinese, Indian, and Japanese immigrants, who could be found in much greater numbers in the Pacific Northwest than central Canada and the American Midwest or the northeast.

Although the First World War is widely considered a "turning point" by historians, the conflict did not dramatically alter local attitudes towards the U.S.-Canada border.[23] In Windsor many people reacted to the British declaration of war in August 1914 in a way similar to their countrymen in Toronto, celebrating Canada's opportunity to demonstrate its value to the empire on the world stage. But others, including the editor of the *Windsor Evening Record*, were not so sure the conflict would benefit Canada.[24] Across the international boundary in Detroit, newspapers like the *Detroit Free Press* and *Detroit News* expressed their disgust with events occurring in Europe in the late summer and fall of 1914.[25] There, the costly U.S. Civil War remained a critical part of local memory, particularly as Detroit prepared to host the national meeting of the Grand Army of the Republic that year.[26] There is little doubt that the people of Windsor, who shared workplaces, baseball diamonds, and marriages with the people of Detroit, may have adopted or at least appreciated their neighbours' feelings about the emerging European conflict.

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[23] Robert Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), xi.
[24] "Canadian Contingent," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 1, 1914, 4; "Twenty-First May Be Asked to Send 100 Men to the Front," *Windsor Evening Record*, August 5, 1914, 1.
[25] "The Horrible Cost," *Detroit News*, August 1, 1914, 4; "Keep Neutrality All U.S. Can Do," *Detroit News*, August 1, 1914, 2; "What War Will Do," *Detroit Free Press*, August 3, 1914; "Believes Great War Will Be Long Drawn Struggle," *Detroit News*, September 2, 1914, 9.
[26] "Encampment Makes More Sacred Patriotism of Peace, Says Governor, in Welcome," *Detroit News*, September 2, 1914.

When news of war reached the Canadian shore of the meandering St. Croix River, the people of St. Stephen, New Brunswick, carried on with their plans for the day. In a town with few British-born residents and deep transnational connections to nearby Calais, Maine, reactions to the Motherland's declaration of war were hardly boisterous. It would be nearly a year before the war took hold of the St. Croix Valley.

Nevertheless, residents of Windsor and St. Stephen did support the war effort and received considerable encouragement as the conflict progressed from their American neighbours, some of whom joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force or contributed money and goods to various patriotic organizations, even if they did not wholeheartedly approve of the war. In both the Detroit River and St. Croix Valley border regions U.S. neutrality created tensions between Canadians and Americans, though these episodes were often brief and more than balanced by demonstrations by U.S. residents of support for the Allied war effort. Finally, when the United States declared war in April 1917, the news was welcomed in both St. Stephen and Windsor as a watershed moment that would lead to closer and better relations between Canadians and Americans at both the local and national levels.

In White Rock and Blaine there were also demonstrations that revealed locals were pleased to see Canada and the United States fighting together against a common foe. But in communities where economic and social dynamics pulled locals away from the transnational relationship and into closer ties with their respective national societies, there were no declarations that the war would usher in a new and prosperous age of Canadian-American relations. Ultimately, celebrations of the new military alliance in White Rock and Blaine were as fleeting as tensions over American neutrality in St. Stephen and Calais and Windsor and Detroit. This too was the result of pre-war factors, including an absence of transnational economic and social exchanges across this section of the British Columbia-Washington border. Furthermore, in White Rock many locals continued to identify closely with the British Empire, many having moved from U.S. soil to south Surrey because they did not feel comfortable living under the Stars and Stripes. White Rock residents demonstrated their loyalties during the First World War by joining the Imperial Reserve and Loyal Orange Lodge, organizations that did not exist or were

considerably less popular in both Windsor and St. Stephen, either because British-born residents accounted for only a small percentage of the wider population or because economic and social ties to an American community diminished emotional ties to the British Empire.[27]

The war also affected attitudes towards the government in very different ways in each of these communities. This too had much to do with pre-war circumstances; for example, in White Rock and St. Stephen the majority of residents supported the incumbent Conservative Party, meaning they were, arguably, less likely to criticize the government.[28] By contrast, in Windsor there was substantial support for the Liberal Party in 1914, particularly at the provincial level, meaning city residents may have been more likely to point out perceived faults in the formulation of federal and provincial policies drawn up by the ruling Conservative governments.[29] In each case local newspapers (the *Semiahmoo/Surrey Gazette*, *Saint Croix Courier*, and *Windsor Evening Record*) reflected the political attitudes of the majority.

Given the brevity of their pre-war transnational experience and their support for the federal Conservatives, it is little surprise that residents of White Rock approved of changes by Ottawa to the border's administration during the war years. By comparison, there was outrage in Windsor when the federal government sent a "lady searcher" to the

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[27] The "South Detroit" episode in Windsor in 1917 would suggest that this may have been the case in that city. However, it would be wrong to suggest that social and economic ties to a nearby U.S. community completely eradicated feelings of a cultural connection to Britain in either Windsor or St. Stephen. Brandon Dimmel, "South Detroit, Canada: Isolation, Identity, and the U.S.-Canada Border, 1914-1918." *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2011).

[28] White Rock: The *Semiahmoo/Surrey Gazette* regularly promoted Conservative MP J.D. Taylor and MPP Frank J. MacKenzie. When Taylor appeared in White Rock in 1917, local political and business leader Henry Thrift referred to him as "the man who put White Rock on the map." White Rock was also home to the South Surrey Conservative Association (SSCA). "Wealthy Conscription Applied Literally Would Paralyze Production and Trade," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, December 6, 1917; "South Surrey Conservatives," *Semiahmoo Gazette*, May 18, 1914. St. Stephen: "Charlotte County Government," accessed April 26, 2012, http://www.heritagecharlotte.com/documents/CharlotteCo-Government.pdf; "Clarke, George Johnston," accessed April 26, 2012, http://www.gnb.ca/legis/leglibbib/Special_Projects/premiers-bios/english/GJClarke.pdf.

[29] The federal election of 1911 split Essex County, with Essex North voting Conservative, Essex South Liberal. In the provincial election of 1914 the Liberals swept Essex County, despite resounding success for the Whitney Conservatives elsewhere. Neil F. Morrison, *Garden Gateway to Canada: One Hundred Years of Windsor and Essex County, 1854-1954* (Windsor: Herald Press Limited, 1954), 240-243.

region in 1915, searching local women and seizing smuggled goods purchased in Detroit, and when Ottawa introduced new border-crossing regulations that required men of military age acquire a passport in 1917. Windsorites also voiced their disapproval of the daylight saving time scheme imposed by the federal government in 1918, with many politicians, business leaders, and labourers expressing their concern that it would negatively impact economic relations between their city and Detroit. Windsor eventually acquiesced to the order to make the time change, but only after loud protest. When the change in time was finally made, the Ontario border community was the last in the country to do so. Finally, Windsor residents also vehemently opposed the provincial government's introduction of new parameters to the Lord's Day Act in 1916 that prevented them from acquiring Sunday newspapers printed in Detroit.

Attacking the provincial and federal governments during wartime, however "unpatriotic," did not set Windsor apart. As historians of other Canadian communities have shown, the government did face criticism for a number of reasons, particularly as the war moved on. In Quebec, French Canadians fiercely opposed conscription, while in the west (where the number of munitions contracts awarded was paltry by comparison to those granted central Canadian manufacturers) there was a demand for "conscription of wealth."[30] But what did distinguish Windsor from Regina, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Montreal was the reason residents criticized the government and the language they used to formulate their critique. In every one of the above cases–the lady searcher episode, the Sunday newspaper debate, the passport debacle, and the daylight saving time controversy–border residents expressed their dissatisfaction with the government by dismissing policies that negatively affected traditional economic and social relations with Detroit. At the same time, Windsorites suggested that "outsiders" in Ottawa or Toronto were not in a position where they could possibly understand the unique cross-border ties between Windsor and its American neighbour. In some cases frustration with government policy led Windsorites to make startling comments that simply do not fit with traditional

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[30] See Martin F. Auger, "On the Brink of Civil War: The Canadian Government and the Suppression of the 1918 Quebec Easter Riots," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 89, Issue 4 (December 2008); James M. Pitsula, *For All We Have and Are: Regina and the Experience of the Great War* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008), 196.

conceptions of wartime Canada; for example, the *Windsor Evening Record's* suggestion that Canada and the United States eliminate the boundary so as to abolish immigration inspection[31], or resident Robert Timms' proposal that Windsor replace its very British name with "South Detroit" (or, as Windsor resident George Bouteiller suggested, simply "Detroit").[32]

In the northeast, the people of St. Stephen were less vitriolic in their opposition to government policy affecting the border, perhaps because the majority of locals supported the federal and provincial Conservatives.[33] However, they too expressed concern when men in uniform were prevented from visiting Calais, when the daylight saving time scheme was first discussed in 1916 (and then implemented two years later), and most visibly when Ottawa sent "special" customs investigators to examine the practices of local agents at the Ferry Point Bridge.[34] Much like the *Windsor Evening Record*, the *Saint Croix Courier* suggested that official protocol did not fit with local conditions and that the investigators sent by Ottawa were ignorant of the border-crossing culture of the St. Croix Valley.

There are a number of reasons I believe these findings are important. First, they emphasize that the border was not uniformly conceptualized in each of the regions through which it ran. The implementation of border controls aroused distinct responses in communities where a border-crossing culture already existed and where such transnational ties were absent or undeveloped. In places where settlement long pre-dated the implementation of centralized immigration bureaucracies there was significant apprehension about the changes introduced when the previously distant federal government began making an appearance in the lives of people accustomed to a

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[31] Editorial, Windsor *Evening Record*, April 18, 1918, 4.
[32] "South Detroit," *Windsor Evening Record*, May 23, 1917; "Voice of Readers – Prefers 'Detroit, Canada,'" *Windsor Evening Record*, November 12, 1917.
[33] See "Charlotte County Government," accessed April 26, 2012, http://www.heritagecharlotte.com/documents/CharlotteCo-Government.pdf; "Clarke, George Johnston," accessed April 26, 2012, http://www.gnb.ca/legis/leglibbib/Special_Projects/premiers-bios/english/GJClarke.pdf.
[34] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, May 31, 1917; "The News From Calais," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 4, 1916; "Great Differences Between Understanding and Perception," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 9, 1918.

transnational environment. And while the presence of customs and immigration officials at the boundary was not new in 1914, during the ensuing Great War era inspectors were for the first time expected to act with the best interests of the national rather than local community in mind when carrying out their tasks.

Second, this dissertation reveals how locals reacted to the expansion of the federal government in the early twentieth century. Before the First World War most Canadians would have viewed their relationship to the state in very different terms than when the conflict ended. In August 1914 few citizens could say they had sacrificed their money, time, and lives for Canada. There was no income tax system in place, the federal government relying on customs and excise duties for support.[35] Women could not vote and Aboriginal, Asian, and black Canadians were barred from entering the military.[36] As for Canada's army, it was comprised of just 3,110 professionals on the eve of war, out of roughly 1.95 million men of military age.[37] But the war changed all that. Eventually men of all colours joined the armed forces, while women made such valuable contributions to the war effort that they won the federal (and in most cases, provincial) vote before the war's end.[38] For years after the Armistice these people viewed their relationship with the state as a reciprocal one; in time, they would expect the government to pay them back for their service to the country.[39]

But changes in the relationship between citizen and state did not come to pass without substantial criticism. In Canadian border communities St. Stephen and Windsor, there was a considerable amount of anger directed towards a government that

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[35] When the war started approximately 75 per cent of federal revenue was based on customs and excise duties. By the Second World War, the share would drop to 40 per cent. Dave McIntosh, *The Collectors: A History of Canadian Customs and Excise* (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1984), 133.
[36] See James W. Walker, "Race and Recruitment in World War I: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 70, Issue 1 (March 1989).
[37] Tim Cook, *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War, 1914-1916* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2007), 27.
[38] See Anne-Marie Kinahan, "Transcendent Citizenship: Suffrage, the National Council of Women of Canada, and the Politics of Organized Womanhood," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 42, Issue 3 (Fall 2008).
[39] See Lara Campbell, "We Who Have Wallowed in the Mud of Flanders: First World War Veterans, Unemployment and the Development of Social Welfare in Canada, 1929-1939," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, Vol. 11 (2000).

implemented policies associated with the international boundary as if such legislation affected all citizens equally. In truth, the overnight introduction of Order-in-Council P.C. 1433, which required all men of military age to carry photo identification when crossing the international boundary, did not affect the people of Windsor or St. Stephen in the same way as it did residents of Toronto or Ottawa. In these latter communities such a policy might have proven frustrating for a few hundred people on a handful of days over the course of a year. But in Windsor and St. Stephen, P.C. 1433 (or other government actions affecting the border) altered life for all residents immediately and dramatically. Reactions to legislation of this kind in these two border towns varied from extreme to moderate alarm, but in both cases there was an expression that what was good for the national community was not necessarily in the best interests of the locality.

Third, this dissertation shows that the social, economic, and communications networks of the early twentieth century played an essential role in how border communities identified and interacted with their local/extranational, provincial, and national neighbours. In Windsor and St. Stephen interaction with extranational neighbours in Detroit and Calais was frequent, due in large part to efficient and reliable ferry and bridge links, which carried people to factories, theatres, dance halls, and baseball diamonds across the international boundary. However, because of relatively primitive or expensive rail, road, telegraph, and telephone systems, rarely did residents of these communities interact with provincial neighbours in cities like Chatham and London or Fredericton and Saint John. Sporting activity offers a glimpse of this condition: in Windsor, local baseball, soccer, and basketball teams regularly competed against clubs from surrounding Essex County and Detroit but rarely engaged in matches with squads from outside the wider Detroit River region. The same was true in St. Stephen, where leagues most often included teams hailing from U.S. and Canadian communities within a roughly fifty-kilometre pocket of the dividing St. Croix River known as the St. Croix Valley. Distance was a major issue in both cases: roughly eighty and 180 kilometres separate Windsor from Chatham and London, respectively, while St. Stephen is located approximately 100 and 120 kilometres from Saint John and Fredericton. By contrast, White Rock is just twenty-five and forty kilometres from New Westminster and Vancouver, making transportation quicker and cheaper. As a result of these geographical

factors, Windsor and St. Stephen maintained strong local (and by extension, transnational) identities during the First World War while White Rock was easily absorbed by nearby provincial centers, which offered residents of the British Columbia border community greater economic opportunities and cultural attractions than nearby Blaine, Washington. All of these factors affected how the people of each community felt about border permeability and the importance of maintaining social, cultural, and economic links with their American neighbours. These factors also shaped whether and to what extent residents of border communities felt they were a part of a distinct kind of community that transcended the international boundary.

Finally, this dissertation reveals the many identities worn by Canadians during the First World War era. Historians have explored the way people in Canada shed their imperialist ties and came to articulate a distinctly Canadian national identity as a result of the country's contribution to the war effort, and in the years following the conflict that may have been the case.[40] But during that time when the war was actually fought, the hierarchy of identities was constantly in flux. In Windsor, St. Stephen, and White Rock people fought to defend Canada, the British Empire, the Allies, and their home towns, and not necessarily in that (or any) order. Windsorites were proud of their transnational links to Detroit but not necessarily more than their connections with the national community. However, if their transnational way of life was threatened by legislation haphazardly introduced by the federal or provincial government, there arose complaints that meddling outsiders did not understand that Windsor was "part and parcel of the city of Detroit".[41] In St. Stephen residents clashed with their American neighbours in Calais when the size and age of local recruits was criticized by the *Calais Advertiser* in early 1915.[42] However, all was forgotten when the United States entered the fray two years later, the *Saint Croix Courier* proclaiming the occasion "a renewal and strengthening" of the ties binding the people of the United States, Canada, and specifically the St. Croix

[40] Carl Berger, *A Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 264.
[41] "Views of Readers – The Lady Searcher," *Windsor Evening Record*, March 30, 1915.
[42] "Short Stories of Events in Town and Country," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 20, 1915.

Valley together.[43] The people of St. Stephen also viewed their place within the British Empire differently as the war progressed, from virtually ignoring Victoria Day in 1914 to organizing a large celebration in 1916.[44] In the American community of Blaine people fêted Victoria Day for the first time ever in 1917 and invited their White Rock neighbours to observe as the Stars and Stripes were raised along with the Union Jack in a special and to that point very rare transnational ceremony.[45]

Although 9/11 has significantly affected how Canadians and Americans view the international boundary between them, it was during the First World War that the border as we know it today began to take shape. While the U.S. and Canadian governments had both placed immigration officials at popular land crossing sites from coast to coast in the decade before the First World War, the heightened paranoia of the years 1914-1918 led to the implementation of legislation that completely changed the border-crossing experience. For most Canadians and Americans, this development would have been of minor significance. But in Canadian border communities like Windsor, Ontario, and St. Stephen, New Brunswick, they were viewed as unwanted challenges to a deeply ingrained border-crossing culture based upon years of transnational trade and social exchanges. However, as the White Rock case study has shown, reactions to changes to the border's administration varied, and were largely dependent on the existence of these economic and social ties prior to the early twentieth century. Other important factors included local attitudes towards race, social reform, and Canada's cultural ties to the British Empire.

This study demonstrates that although the First World War has been considered a defining moment in the development of a distinct Canadian national identity, the conflict and its meaning were both interpreted in very different ways depending on the community in question. As historians Robert Rutherdale, Ian Miller, James Pitsula, and

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[43] Editorial, *Saint Croix Courier*, June 14, 1917.
[44] "The Talk of the Town," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 21, 1914; "Victoria Day Observance for the Boys in Khaki," *Saint Croix Courier*, May 18, 1916.
[45] "Victoria Day," *Surrey Gazette*, June 1, 1917.

Jim Blanchard have shown, there was no single home-front experience during Canada's Great War. This dissertation supports that idea. In communities straddling the international boundary with the United States, towing the official line sometimes meant compromising transnational traditions. For some it was a steep price for victory, and it ultimately changed life along the U.S.-Canada border forever.

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"South Detroit, Canada: Isolation, Identity, and the U.S.-Canada Border, 1914-1918." *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2011).

"Bats Along the Border: Sport, Festivals and Identity in an International Community during the First World War." *American Review of Canadian Studies*, Volume 40, Issue 3 (Autumn 2010).

Recent Academic Publications (non-refereed):

Review of James Pitsula, *For All We Have and Are: Regina and the Great War* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008), *Great Plains Quarterly*, Winter 2010, Volume 30, Issue 1.

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Review of Stephen Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar Paris, 1919-1933* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005) in *Canadian Military History Supplement*, Summer 2008.

Review of Serge Durflinger, *Fighting from Home: The Second World War in Verdun, Quebec* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006) in *Canadian Military History Supplement*, Spring 2008.

Recent Conference Presentations:

"Hands Across the Border: Planning the Peace Centenary, 1911-1914." Paper presented at the Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, University of Waterloo, May 2012.

"Heroes to All: Perceptions of the Canadian War Effort in U.S. Border Communities, 1914-1918." Paper presented at the 22nd Annual Military History Colloquium, University of Waterloo, May 2011.

"Shutting Down the Snake Ranch: Battling Booze at the B.C. Border, 1910-1914." Paper presented at The Great Plains, The Prairies, and the U.S./Canadian Border Conference, University of North Dakota, June 2010.

"Bats Along the Border: Sport, Festivals and Identity in an International Community during the First World War." Paper presented at Culture and the U.S.-Canada Border Conference, University of Kent, June 2009.

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Graduate Tuition Scholarship, 2005
University of Windsor

Related Activities:

The Great War: From Memory to History Conference, November 2011
Executive Organizer
Western University

History Graduate Student Association
Executive Member, 2008-2011
Western University