

## EARLY EMIGRATION FROM HUNGARY TO CANADA<sup>1</sup>

AROUND the seventies of the last century, when the stream of migration from the various ethnic units living along or near the Atlantic seaboard started to decline, when the superfluous labour of those adventurous nations, which had taken such an active part in overseas immigration, was no longer available to supply the demand for man-power necessitated by the growing industrial development of the United States, a new, yet undepleted area, South-Eastern Europe, was discovered by the agents of the New World. The remote agricultural population of Austria-Hungary offered at this time a fresh reservoir of labour to the solicited emigrant trade.

The United States, with its well-organised and active European connections, was, within a relatively short time, so successful in inducing people to emigrate to the Union, that in the eighties immigration became an established phenomenon. The regular flow of this movement had found its channels to the industrial East and required no further inducement.<sup>2</sup>

The economic benefits attainable in the New World influenced a large number of these newcomers to adopt the new standards of

<sup>1</sup> This article is an extract from a large work which will shortly be ready for publication and will deal with the origin of the South-Eastern European immigration to Canada. The importance of such a work will readily be understood when we realise that the ethnic groups living in the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, supplied during the past forty years a large number of settlers for the Prairie Provinces of Canada and are today a factor in the industrial life of the East.

The United States were well known at the beginning of the 19th century in South-Eastern Europe, which at that time sent large numbers of political refugees to the New World. The landless peasantry, who emigrated for purely economic reasons, started to come to the shores of North America in the seventies, when, through the contract system, the poorer classes were enabled to cross the ocean.

It should be mentioned also that prior to the movement described in this article there had already started a migration from three East European groups.

I. The Mennonites of Southern Russia and small German groups of Roumania.

II. Russian and Roumanian Jewish refugees, directed by the West European Jewish relief organisations.

III. Poles living in the eastern provinces of Germany, who were more or less influenced by the propaganda in Germany. The Ruthenes, Slovaks, Galicians, Ukrainians, Magyars, Southern Slavs and Roumanians living in Austria-Hungary are more or less isolated; and their movement is a separate chapter in the history of immigration.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the people coming to the United States from Austria-Hungary were brought as contract labourers to the coal mines, steel and other heavy industries. In 1882 contract labour was prohibited by the U.S. Congress.

life and decide to establish themselves permanently in North America. With increasing prosperity, becoming adapted to their new surroundings, this group started in time to build up its own institutions along the lines indigenous in the parent country; this natural tendency in social organisation made itself evident in the most remote settlements where these people were to be found.<sup>3</sup>

Jealousy of the different religious denominations, with the fight for race supremacy, was renewed on the arrival of the new groups, all jealous of their race inheritance, and the strife was nourished in some cases by propaganda received from the Mother Country.<sup>4</sup>

These new immigrant elements on the American continent not only were prevented from arriving at an accord which could express their mutual interests by the racial feuds exported with them to America, but their unity suffered and was lessened by the waste of energy in the fight to overcome the opposition of the older West European immigrant groups, which manifested their antipathy to the newcomers and weakened their organisation for social progress.

Canada, with its limited offers, had in the last century very little inducement which would tend to divert this migratory movement towards her shores. Not only were Dominion agents in Europe unable to compete with the soliciting machinery of the Western States of the Union,<sup>5</sup> but, even where they were so fortunate as to secure a group for Manitoba or the North-West Territories, there was not the necessary organisation to look after the immigrants on their arrival at their destination.<sup>6</sup>

By the eighties of last century the Canadian Government realised that the only method by which it could succeed in colonising Mani-

<sup>3</sup> New York was the first centre of South-East European institutions. Political organisations and benefit societies sprang up like mushrooms.

<sup>4</sup> In New York in the eighties there appeared the *American Austrian News*, which defended the Empire's interests, while the Hungarian news-sheet *Amerikai Magyar Nemzetor* advocated the unity of Hungary, with Magyar hegemony. *Amerikanske Slovenske Noviny*, published in Pittsburgh, Pa., the first Slovak news-sheet in America, was hostile to the existing Dual Monarchy and especially to the Magyar hegemony.

<sup>5</sup> Canadian agents in Britain and the Continent made this clear every year in their reports. John Dyke, the European adviser to the Dominion in matters of immigration, states plainly: "I must, however, distinctly point out that the competition on behalf of Texas and Arkansas is especially keen and powerful. The whole of the German Empire, Austria, Switzerland, and Northern Italy have been systematically flooded with literature upon these States for the past ten or fifteen years." (See report of 22 Feb., 1883) gen. correspondence, Department of Agriculture No. 38,885, Public Archives of Canada.

<sup>6</sup> The agents of Dakota and other neighbouring States were lavish with their promises and paid the immigrant his railway fare.



toba and the North-West Territories, the only possible way to secure a regular influx of settlers from Europe, was to give some financial assistance for the formation of group settlements, which would serve as a nucleus to which the individual settler of the particular nationality could be directed by the various agencies.

In the development of the new settlements, the elements of past environment and racial inheritance have not shown much difference. The formation of colonies of uniform racial origin was successfully started with Scots, English, Scandinavians, Germans and Austro-Hungarians. The difficulties encountered in organising these different racial groups were more or less the same in all cases. "Preferred" and "non-preferred," as applied to classes of settlers, are useless and valueless terms, and are more or less expressions invented by the local political clique, according to the political support which the immigrant group was willing to extend.

As early as 1880 the Canadian Government called the attention of her Immigration Official in Europe to the large movement from Austria-Hungary to the United States, and in 1883 Mr. John Dyke, the European adviser to the Dominion in immigration matters, left for continental points, including Vienna, to study the situation. The Canadian Immigration Agent during his visit to Austria made arrangements with shipping interests which asserted that they had a clandestine organisation of about six hundred agents spread over Austria-Hungary, through which they controlled the South-East European immigration trade.<sup>7</sup> A bonus of five dollars was promised to these shipping agents for each settler induced to go to the Dominion—to be paid promptly after the arrival of the settler in Manitoba or the North-West Territories. In addition, propaganda, consisting of printed material descriptive of the advantages of the new country, was issued in various South-East European vernaculars and spread over the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.<sup>8</sup> Thousands of dollars were expended, and yet not one settler could be secured. It looked as if Canada could not hope to gain recognition as a favourable field for immigration from South-East Europe, when, in the spring of 1885, the agents of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the

<sup>7</sup> The Cunard Line controlled the immigrant trade of South-Eastern Europe through Mr. Hirschman, of Hamburg, the same man who had succeeded in bringing the Mennonites from Southern Russia. (See Dept. of Agriculture, No. 39,538, P.A.C.)

<sup>8</sup> From a letter which John Dyke addressed to Sir Alexander T. Galt on 12 April, 1883, about the work in Austria-Hungary, it may be learned that besides the advertising of the Cunard Line, the Canadian Government itself advertised in a dozen newspapers of Austria-Hungary, and Mr. Maas was stationed in Vienna to keep the Press informed about Manitoba.

United States discovered an influential Hungarian nobleman, one of whose projects for settlement of his compatriots in the United States had just turned out a failure.

Count Paul O. Esterházy, a descendant of one of the oldest Hungarian families, had, years before, made his home in New York and had taken great interest in the future well-being of his compatriots.

Seeing their hopeless life in the mining towns, their misery and the measure of their exploitation by industry and the degeneration due to change of environment, he decided to lead these people back to the cultivation of the land, to the toil by which their forefathers had earned their livelihood for generations. His first effort in the United States had failed, and in this failure he had lost his own fortune.<sup>9</sup>

The Canadian Pacific Railway, greatly interested in the colonisation of the company's lands in the West, invited Count Esterházy to the Dominion. During the first days of his visit he saw on the political horizon the dark clouds which threatened a British-Russian war; he made an offer to the Hon. A. P. Caron, Minister of National Defence, to form a Hungarian legion in the United States, which would be brought over to Canada quietly, in small detachments, and thence transported to the area of conflict.<sup>10</sup> Before this offer, which had the support of the Minister, could be discussed with the Governor-General, the political tension in diplomatic circles died down, and more peaceful plans were resorted to.

After a personal audience with the Governor-General, the Count made his formal request on 9 May, 1885, for the formation of military settlements in the Canadian West; these would be colonised with Hungarians then living in the United States, who while being trained farmers had also had military experience and could be used in case of rebellion or invasion to defend British interests.<sup>11</sup> The proposal was highly interesting to the Government and especially to the Minister of Agriculture, the Hon. F. H. Pope. The Department was willing to extend some financial assistance, as its officials had long been interested in finding suitable settlers for Manitoba and the North-West Territories.

<sup>9</sup> The organisation for colonising Austro-Hungarians was called "Első Magyar Gyarmatosító Társaság" ("The First Hungarian American Colonisation Company), New York. See correspond., Agric. Deptmt. No. 48,870, P.A.C.

<sup>10</sup> G. Series, Governor-General's Corresp., No. 395, P.A.C.

<sup>11</sup> The outlines of the Governor-General's reply to Esterházy is enclosed; see *ibid.*





Count Esterházy, after completing his arrangements with the Department, left, upon the invitation of the Government, for the North-West. It was his desire to inspect the lands offered for settlement in the company of his assistant, Géza Döry, an agricultural expert, in order to be able to give a description to his people at home of the lands reserved for his colonisation project.<sup>12</sup> Recognising the value of the rich prairie soil,<sup>13</sup> and having a promise of financial aid from Sir George Stephen, the president of the C.P.R.,<sup>14</sup> the Count threw all his energy into the accomplishment of his plans. At last, after so many failures and discouragements in North America, he saw on the horizon some prospect that his desire to free his compatriots from the slavery of the coal mines would be realised. Knowing the character of his race, he realised that his fellow nationals would only be respected for their virtues, for the possession of the quality upon which for a thousand years they had based their hegemony; and they must demonstrate their worth by creating a garden in the wilderness of the west, as their ancestors had done in the midst of the Carpathian mountains.

The Count was no dreamer or adventurer; but he foresaw clearly in 1885 the great future of the Canadian West.<sup>15</sup> His impressions of Manitoba and the North-West, together with the call to his compatriots to build a "New Hungary" in Canada, were set in type. At once, from Winnipeg, hundreds of circulars, printed in the several vernaculars of Austria-Hungary, were mailed to the principal centres of Hungarian settlement in the United States. These circulars, signed by one so well and favourably known, awakened the liveliest interest, and when he returned to the mining towns of Eastern Pennsylvania, he was received as a liberator who delivers his people from the slavery of contract labour. It looked for a time as if at least one half of the 400,000 Hungarians in the Union would follow him in an exodus to the "promised lands" of the Canadian North-West.<sup>16</sup> But cowardly enemies, tools of an unknown power, set themselves to work irreparable injury. A German news-sheet in New York, the *Oesterreichisch-Amerikanische Zeitung*, published an article with the intention of damaging Esterházy's

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, letters received, filed No. 456, but later enclosed to No. 395, F.A.C.

<sup>13</sup> See Esterházy's report of 25 June, 1885. Dom. Sess. Papers (No. 10A), 1886, pp. 117-118.

<sup>14</sup> Gen. corresp., Dep. of Agric., No. 48,672.

<sup>15</sup> See Esterházy's report, already quoted, pp. 121-5.

<sup>16</sup> See Esterházy's letter from Pennsylvania to the Department of Agriculture.

position in Canada, and called him "a common swindler," a "doubtful character," whose real name was supposed to be John Baptist Papp. For the purpose of greater effect the same story was smuggled into the pages of the *New York Herald*.<sup>17</sup>

This miserable attack was made at a time when Esterházy's family was griefstricken by the sudden death of one of his children and when he was financially unable to prosecute the authors for libel and malicious persecution.<sup>18</sup>

The Canadian Government, especially the Hon. T. H. Pope, was very much disturbed about the matter, fearing an open scandal. Very shortly, the whole of this persecution was proved to be without foundation through the inquiries made by the C.P.R. agents in New York (and documentary evidence provided by Esterházy himself)<sup>19</sup>; and he was informed that the Department of Agriculture would fulfil its obligations under the agreements and that he possessed the full confidence of the Minister.<sup>20</sup> It must be said to his credit that he was able to surmount all these difficulties, and within a short time to organise out of the racial conglomerate originating from Austria-Hungary, and scattered through the mining towns of Pennsylvania, a group which definitely decided to follow him.

By the end of July the first band of settlers, which, owing to the delay, had been reduced to thirty-five families, left for Manitoba under the leadership of Géza Döry<sup>21</sup> and with the assistance of the Manitoba and North-West Railway Land Co. settled west of Minnedosa.<sup>22</sup> At the end of August a second group left for the same place.<sup>23</sup> This ideal location, good grazing land with the forest near by, was named "Hun Valley." Its success, which seemed to be clear to everybody from the first moment, must partly be placed to the credit of the experienced and agriculturally-trained Döry, whose education and tact became a blessing to the settlers of the whole colony.<sup>24</sup> Döry, as a leader, understood the psychology of the members of his colony, who belonged to the landless peasantry of

<sup>17</sup> The Viennese *Fremdenblatt* published the report on 27 July, 1885, under the heading "Der Falsche Graf Esterházy."

<sup>18</sup> See gen. corresp., Dep. of Agric., No. 48,837.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* Book No. 53, pp. 212-216.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* Book No. 29, pp. 16-17.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* Nos. 48,936, 48,906, 48,938.

<sup>22</sup> Dom. Sess. Papers (No. 10) An. 1886, pp. 119-120-121.

<sup>23</sup> Gen. corresp., Dept. of Agriculture, No. 49,590.

<sup>24</sup> This opinion was expressed on several occasions by the agents of the Departments of Immigration and of the Interior, as well as by the Commissioners of the Manitoba N.W. Railway Co.



Upper Hungary. By settling in their midst he encouraged them and taught them how to make use of the great fertile lands of which they took possession.

Only one who has examined a list of the names of the first "Hun Valley" settlers can form any idea of the racial composition of this group and understand Döry's great and beneficial work. Here were representatives of Magyar, Slovak, Ruthene, Czech and South Slav origin,<sup>25</sup> and Döry not only showed them how to break the land and level the forest, but was their teacher of the English language. The satisfactory reports reaching the Department of Agriculture, the admiring descriptions reaching Montreal from the C.P.R. agents in Winnipeg, gave the authorities more confidence to assist Esterházy.

The winter of 1885-6 was not passed in leisure. Several trips were made to the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, where the bulk of the Hungarian emigrants to the United States were living. Personal contacts were made with intending settlers, lectures on the prospects in Manitoba and the North-West delivered, damaging reports about "Hun Valley" contradicted and newspaper articles written by the opposition in the Hungarian news-sheets of the Union were refuted. By January, 1886, the 400,000 Austro-Hungarian subjects in the Union were not the only ones discussing the "pros" and "cons" of the Canadian colonisation project. This movement threatened the mine owners with the loss of their cheap labour, the grocers and saloon keepers with the loss of their patrons, and the clergy of their faithful and deeply-religious supporters.<sup>26</sup>

Moreover, the first letters which arrived from Hungary expressed the joy and sympathy with which the news was received in the old country. The circulars sent to the districts where land shortage had been a problem for many years<sup>27</sup> were received as a promise of salvation direct from heaven. The news of a free homestead of 160 acres distributed under a Hungarian nobleman in "New Hungary" spread as swiftly as the wind, and where the printed words of the "message" could not be read, the preachers disseminated it from the pulpit at the Sunday service. The following is a transcript, in condensed form, of the matter of these letters

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 49,590.

<sup>26</sup> See Esterházy's letter, *ibid.*, No. 52,667.

<sup>27</sup> From the correspondence it is evident that the first circulars distributed in Hungary were sent to the counties of Bereg, Ung, and Zemplén in Upper Hungary, populated by Slovak, Magyar, and Ruthene.

written from Szenne, Ung County, in Upper Hungary,<sup>28</sup> and addressed to Count Paul Esterházy:—

"The people at Szenne had been told that the pastor at Lelesz had given notice of Esterházy's call for several thousand farmers, and that this news had been made known to the entire neighbourhood; that they went to Tegenye where it was said that they would see Esterházy's letter and found it was no longer there, but could not get it because the Steward of the Estate of Count Palocz, whose men had put their names down as intending immigrants, became annoyed and appealed to the police, whereupon Esterházy's letter was confiscated and done away with; that in spite of this interference on the part of the police the people of Szenne and of the entire district have opened subscription lists to be signed by all who wish to emigrate and some of the people of Szenne are herewith sending their names for that purpose and have the earnest intention to emigrate.

"We therefore ask you our Honourable Father, gracious benefactor, the great son of his country, to answer immediately our prayers, let us know the truth of all this. We shall have no rest until we have heard from you, we shall not believe anything we may hear until then."<sup>29</sup>

Count Esterházy<sup>30</sup> realised, as early as 1886, that to lead such a growing movement the appeal to the patriotic instinct of the masses would not be sufficient; that there must be an organisation able to finance the project and to provide loans to the settlers in order to buy the necessary outfit to start farming. The chartering of the "Hungarian Immigration and Colonisation Aid Society," with headquarters in Philadelphia and Hazelton, Pa., was intended to serve this purpose. Esterházy was elected as president, Theodore Zboray, a Hungarian Slovak of Hazelton, belonging to the clerical class, as vice-president, while Julius Vass, a young, restless Hungarian with a fair education, but with little knowledge of the English language, became the secretary and treasurer.<sup>31</sup> A skilful propaganda was conducted, and the results were satisfactory.

On 1 May, 1886, Count Esterházy arrived in Ottawa, accompanied by Julius Vass. Mr. Vass, as secretary of the organisation, formally tendered to the Minister of Agriculture the thanks of the Hungarian people of the United States for the gracious help and encouragement extended by the Canadian Government to the Hungarians already settled in the West and assured him of the

<sup>28</sup> Now the most westerly district of the autonomous province of Ruthenia in Czechoslovakia.—Ed.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 51,907.

<sup>30</sup> By 4 February, 1886, Esterházy had the names of some 3,000 families from the above-mentioned counties in Hungary.

<sup>31</sup> The hearing of the application for the charter was held on 26 February, 1886, and it was approved in the common police court.





gratitude of those settlers.<sup>32</sup> With the assistance of Sir George Stephen, Esterházy succeeded in obtaining a loan of \$25,000 on behalf of the colonists, and the Department of Agriculture extended his temporary position as a special agent for another six months.<sup>33</sup> As a result, the first party was settled on 1 June, 1886, on C.P.R. lands near Whitewood, and named the Esterházy settlement, after its originator.<sup>34</sup> At the request of the Count, a post office was established and Julius Vass made postmaster. Encouraged by the year's success and seeing the progress of the "Hun Valley" settlement,<sup>35</sup> Esterházy returned to Ottawa and negotiated the incorporation of the "Hungarian Colonisation and Society" in Canada.<sup>36</sup>

Money was needed for the future settlers, and the Canadian Pacific Railway, which had assisted the formation of the nucleus of the settlement, declined further assistance. Had the Count at this time had sufficient means of his own to defray all expenses and had he not been obliged to await instructions from the Department of Agriculture, which were usually delayed, he would not only have succeeded in placing a second group of settlers this year, but would have avoided the difficulties which caused the Department to sever connections with him during the winter of 1886-7. He left for Pennsylvania about the beginning of August, and under instructions from the Department gathered his next group. These people had been recruited from the mining towns of Phoenixville, Mauch Chunk, Hazelton, Yeddo, Schamokin, Mount Carmel and Tamayna in Pennsylvania, and had long been ready to leave.<sup>37</sup> The summer was already over, and the Canadian immigration authorities had not issued final instructions. By 1 October, Esterházy's immigrants refused to wait any longer and proceeded to Toronto on their way to the West.<sup>38</sup> He himself hurried to Ottawa and addressed a memorandum to the Government requesting a loan for the establishment of this group of settlers,<sup>39</sup> but without success.

Although he had influential political backing, no financial assistance could be arranged.<sup>40</sup> He left for Winnipeg, hoping to quarter these 130 men with the Esterházy colony for the winter, but "the misfortunes of Job" seemed to follow him. A few days before his arrival a prairie fire had so damaged the buildings of that colony that it was out of the question to winter the group there.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>32</sup> See Dept. of Agric., No. 52,774.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, Box No. 30, p. 18.

<sup>34</sup> Dom. Sess. Papers (No. 12) An. 1887, pp. 237-240.

<sup>35</sup> Gen. corresp., Dept. of Agric., No. 54,442.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 54,088.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 55,028.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 55,534.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, Book No. 31, pp. 186-187.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 55,881.

The energy with which the Count could overcome the hardest tasks did not fail him at this time. Before the men were aware what a rash step they had taken in leaving for the West so late in the season, the Count had arranged with Moore & Co., of Winnipeg, a contract by which these men could find employment in the firm's mine near Medicine Hat for the winter season. This he thought would provide for them until the spring, when they would be able to take up their homesteads. Esterházy now returned to the United States to continue his work.<sup>42</sup>

Two weeks after Esterházy left the North-West, the contractors in whose charge the men had been left at the coal mine refused to abide by the agreement, raised the price of food and sought to take every advantage of these men, by methods all too common in the West at that time. Before Esterházy could take any step to remedy matters, the men left the coal mine in disgust. They returned to the immigrant shed at Medicine Hat in a half-starved condition and with no hope of getting work or food. After a lengthy correspondence the Department was forced, through fear of publicity in the opposition papers, with consequent injury to immigration, to supply food to the men.<sup>43</sup>

The success of colonisation in the West at this time was not due to the efforts of the agents of the Government or of the land companies. These paid officials, living at the expense of the taxpayers, were much more interested in the success of their political organisations. This political clique upon whose reports and advice the administration had to rely and upon whose judgments the progress of the various settlement was rated in Ottawa, classified the people by their willingness to support a particular political organisation, and in some cases to patronise businesses of which the officials were the virtual, if not the nominal, owners.

Agents born in England praised settlers from Scandinavian countries who willingly lent them their support, and were critical of the English colonists for their independent and individualistic views. The success of the more capable individual could not be prevented, but all those requiring assistance from the Department or the Railway had to make peace with these politicians or suffer unendurable hardships.

Count Esterházy travelled to and fro, giving interviews and obtaining publicity, finding employment without requiring the assistance of the Dominion agents, giving directions without con-

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 56,041.

<sup>43</sup> In these cases there was a lengthy correspondence between the agents who handled these immigrants in the sheds at Medicine Hat, Brandon and Winnipeg, and the Department.



sulting the clique. Esterházy's success created jealousy in the ranks of all those who looked upon the western territory as their "kingdom," from which the intruder must be banished.

To the hardships and difficulties arising from having to keep 130 Hungarians in the West until some work could be provided for them, another trouble was added in the East.<sup>44</sup> A few men and women, intending colonists, who had arrived during the winter of 1886-7 from Hungary, having been exploited by unscrupulous agents in Hamburg and robbed of their last cent, arrived in Montreal in a destitute condition.<sup>45</sup> The unfavourable reports emanating from the West, combined with these eastern difficulties, aroused the opposition of the Hon. John Carling, the new Minister of Agriculture, to the Esterházy projects. The only man who saw clearly how matters stood was Mr. John Law, Secretary to the Department of Agriculture. Mr. Law, having been in the Department many years, knew how much money had been wasted on barren immigration propaganda and he could properly appreciate the value of Esterházy's work, but he was powerless against the force which influenced Mr. Carling.<sup>46</sup>

Largely owing to the influences of the western clique, on 21 January, 1887, the Minister informed Esterházy that after three months his services would no longer be required.<sup>47</sup>

The severing of the connection with Esterházy did not portend the cessation of immigration from Austria-Hungary; rather the opposite. The real success of the experiment led to the extension of colonisation efforts in this area. It is true that Esterházy's method was too expensive and had resulted in very little profitable business for the railway and shipping interests, but he had accomplished the first and hardest part: he had laid the groundwork of the movement. "The Moor had done his work, the Moor could go." A new method had to be contrived which would not involve the Government in direct expenditure and would at the same time be more profitable for rail and shipping interests.

The stream of immigration of South-East Europeans found its way to the North-West Territories, and Canada became known in Austria-Hungary as a suitable field for settlement.

Theodore Zboray was chosen by the Allan Line and the Canadian Pacific Railway to go to Hungary and win settlers for

<sup>44</sup> The truth of this statement is clearly substantiated by the reports and correspondence from the Winnipeg agents of the Department of Agriculture and of the Interior of Ottawa.

<sup>45</sup> Dept. of Agric., correspondence between the agents in Montreal and the Department, 1 December, 1886, to January, 1887.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Book No. 53, pp. 212-16.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, Book 32, p. 148.

Canada. The Department of Agriculture, influenced by these interests, decided to contribute its share.

Zboray left on 7 May, 1888, for Europe, only to be arrested in his native country for conducting emigration propaganda, and he had to return to Canada without a single immigrant except his sister, whose fare had to be paid by the Government.

Count Esterházy, though no longer a salaried agent of the Canadian Government,<sup>48</sup> was so encouraged by the success of his efforts in the settlement of his people that he continued his work in the United States. Through his efforts, which were later recognised by the Department, a steady flow of Magyars, Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenes, Germans, Croats, and other races of Austria-Hungary, from the United States, as well as from Europe, poured into the Canadian West.

Had it not been for the triumph of the hostile political group in the West, which, between 1886-90, overlooked the damage being done by those in charge of the colony of Esterházy, the rapid development would have taken much larger dimensions.

By the end of 1891 the settlers of the "Hun Valley," "Esterházy," and the small Bohemian settlement of "Nove Cechy," had paid off all the debts incurred in former years, and were so healthy and prosperous that in the report of the Department of the Interior they were described as the most successful settlers of the West.<sup>49</sup> It was thus quite an easy matter for the Department of the Interior, when, in 1892, the Immigration Department was transferred to it, to induce the Ruthenes to emigrate here. Esterházy's call and the encouraging letters from the pioneers had borne fruit, and the shipping agents had only to reap the harvest.

All the immigration and colonisation efforts of the Canadian Government would have been in vain but for the individual leadership of such a man as Count Paul Esterházy, who just as Moses once led the children of Israel to the land of milk and honey, revealed to the people of South-East Europe the promised land of the Canadian West.

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<sup>48</sup> It should be mentioned that Esterházy during his engagement with the Department received the small salary of \$70 per month and travelling expenses. It is also true that his financial position was so bad during the term of his engagement by the Canadian Government that he was obliged to sell his literary works in order to keep up appearances. While he accomplished a great deal but received very little for his work, his enemies thought that he was making money through his connections with the Department; and not only his American associates, but even those who had benefited through his connections with the Canadian Government, were his enemies.

<sup>49</sup> See report for 1891 in Dom. Sess. Papers (No. 7) An. 1892, pp. 200-201. At this time two post offices had been established, one at Kaposvár and one at Esterházy.

