History of Hate:

Getting a Grip in order to Move Ahead

Study Circle Plan

According to Stats Canada, hate crime in Alberta rose 39% in 2015, the highest increase seen across the country. In order to grapple and deal with hate however, it is important to understand its historical foundations. This study circle plan will engage participants in learning and discussing our complex history, with a focus on Alberta, and reflect on how this history manifests in communities today. We will engage in a reflection on how we as individuals can respond and act towards hate in our communities.

Note:

This activity can be adapted for any community by conducting research on similar themed milestones from your treaty area, municipality or province. The activity also is not an exclusive list of relevant milestones, it provides a sample to enable the conversation to get started. The LGTBQ2S history is missing for example. Feel free to add in your own before you begin.

Required materials:

- Tape/sticky tack
- Print out of the milestones (included below)
- Sticky notes
- Markers
- Talking piece/stone
- Projection and sound
- Internet connection

Activity One:

Begin the activity seated in a circle. Introduce yourself.

Tell the we will begin the circle with a bit of a reflection on our individual histories.

If you have the capacity to show a video, share the ohitsy teaching here: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tIO7R_3CXT8&feature=youtu.be</u>

If you do not have the capacity to show the video, begin the circle of introductions asking people to share where their belly button comes from. We are our ancestors, who did your belly button connect to? Where is your mother from? How does your history connect into Canada?

As facilitator, start the circle and lead by example. Share your brief story of who your mother is and where she comes from. What is your connection or history in Canada? Be open and share, but be fairly brief.

Activity Two:

Split the participants into groups of 3-4 people. Provide them a group of milestones from those provided below. You can group the milestones by community or allow a discussion across the diverse milestones. Try to keep the number of milestones per group between 5-10.

Have the groups review their milestones together and give them the following questions to discuss:

- Did any of this surprise you?
- Do they have any milestones they would add? If they have any to add in, write them on a sticky note.

Give them 15-20 minutes at least to discuss.

Have each group come back and share one big idea or issue that came came up for them in their discussion. Ask the groups to place their milestones into a larger timeline on the wall. They should include their own milestones as well. Invite the group to do a gallery walk and explore the milestones more informally. Allow them to take a break.

BREAK

Activity Three:

Come back in the circle and place the talking piece in the centre of the circle. Ask the participants: *How does this history manifest in our community today?*

Invite whoever wants to start to open the circle.

Activity Four:

At this point, if you have time, you can do another round in the circle moving the conversation into a conversation on witnessing:

- How do you respond when you experience or witness racism or discrimination? What do you think is a good approach?

If you are low on time, move into a final closing circle asking participants for one word or one take away that they have from the study circle.

The Milestones are provided below.

In Canada, the notion of "hate" as a social/criminal policy concern emerged following the 1965 Report to the Minister of Justice of the Special Committee on Hate Propaganda in Canada (Cohen Committee). The mandate of the Cohen Committee was to ascertain the nature and scope of hate propaganda in Canada. Some of its conclusions stressed that although the extent of the problem in Canada was limited to a small number of persons, such activity could create a climate of malice and destructiveness to the values of our society (Cohen Report, 1966:24). As a result of the committee's efforts, Parliament amended the Criminal Code in 1970, thus rendering hate propaganda as a punishable offence (Law Reform Commission of Canada, 1986:7). These laws fall under sections 318-320 of the Criminal Code. During the 1920s, Ku Klux Klan chapters opened in Quebec, Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta, and in the '70s, the Western Guard rallied around slogans like *Keep Canada White, Jews Out* and *Hitler was Right.*

https://globalnews.ca/news/3678021/canad a-racist-movement-history-violence/ Inspired after meeting former Klan boss David Duke in Louisiana, Wolfgang Droege and James McQuirter resurrected the Canadian KKK on Toronto's Dundas St. in the early 1980s under the motto Racial Purity for Canadian Security.

To advance their goal of a white Canada, Droege and McQuirter helped organized a coup d'état, joining forces with Black and a team of mercenaries to overthrow the government of Dominica in the eastern Caribbean. "Our purpose was to make a lot of money for white nationalist circles," McQuirter said.

Undercover Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents infiltrated the plot, codenamed Operation Red Dog, and arrested Droege and Black as they were loading weapons onto a ship in New Orleans. McQuirter was arrested in Canada.

From his prison cell, Droege played penitent. "I would like to return to Canada, and to my home and live a more positive and productive life," he wrote to the trial judge. But upon his deportation to Canada, he resumed his attempts to build the far right.

Initially, he wanted to unite the KKK and Aryan Nations into a single national organization he proposed calling the Society for the Preservation of the White Race. Instead he decided to name his new group the White Heritage Front.

Launched in 1989, the Heritage Front aimed to infiltrate mainstream Canadian politics and end non-white immigration. It compiled lists of enemies, threatened to kill opponents, and randomly attacked minorities, notably a Tamil refugee who was left paralyzed.

https://globalnews.ca/news/3678021/canada-racist-movement-history-viole nce/

A/ 1. GROUPS, ORGANIZATIONS AND IDEOLOGIES

HERITAGE FRONT (HF)



+ SYMBOL: Heritage Front logo

DESCRIPTION

The year the Heritage Front (HF) was created, some of its members traveled to Tripoli to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Libyan revolution. The Libyan President, Muammar Gaddafi, funded left and right wing groups that shared his anti-Jewish, anti-capitalist and anti-communist vision. Extreme right groups in need of funds and support easily forged ties with the regime. A few years later, HF became the most important advocate of white supremacy in Canada.

The group had two branches: political and military. The Heritage Front was allied to The Church of the Creator. It is no longer active today.

ILLEGAL OR VIOLENT ACTIVITIES

Some members of the HF participated in violent confrontations along with members of <u>The Church of the Creator</u>, while several members belonged to both groups. Events of violence were attributed to the group, such as the attack on a Vietnamese shopkeeper in Toronto in <u>1989</u> and on a <u>Tamil refugee</u> in 1993.

RCMP Violent Extremism Awareness Guide

"Nowadays, they've jettisoned the Klansman's robes and the Hitlerite uniforms for shirts and ties, and they've moderated their language," said <u>Warren Kinsella</u>, who exposed the racist movement in his book Web of Hate and recently authored Recipe for Hate. "They learned that from David Duke. And starting in the mid-90s they embraced the Internet with a vengeance."

Canada has a long history of hate-motivated violence towards racial or ethnic minorities. For example, in 1907 in Vancouver, a mob of whites attacked the Chinese and Japanese communities, causing at least extensive damage to stores and, it was claimed by one report, "several fatalities". During World War II, members of the Japanese Canadian community were interned and their property confiscated. In the 1970s, a series of subway attacks against members of the South Asian community in Toronto helped to result in creation of a task force to study that problem..." http://canada.justice.gc.ca/

Successive waves of Asian immigration gave rise to a public anxiety over the "Yellow Peril". It reached a fevered pitch in 1907 when a crowd at an anti-Asian rally suddenly turned into a mob and marched through Vancouver's Chinatown and Japanese town breaking store windows...

Constance Backhouse is a professor of law at the University of Ottawa... She is the author of Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950, where she takes the reader through the history of Canadian law in which non-whites have experienced systemic racism in the justice system

Colour-Coded, A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950 - Constance Backhouse

Although I have merely begun to scratch the surface, I have decided to publish what I have completed.

Writing a book about the legal history of race is an exercise that is fraught with difficulties for a woman who is the beneficiary of 'white' privilege. I am indebted to the men and women of colour whom I have been privileged to teach in my classes in history, women's studies, and law at the University of Western Ontario, the Native Law Centre in Saskatoon, and the Nunavut Arctic College on Baffin Island. It was their insistence that mee had controlity in Conscion local my initial efforts here.

I am also indebted to the many scholars of colour who have begun to publish works of critical race theory, whose ideas have helped me to begin to understand more about race and racism.² The recognition that racism is perpetuated through institutionalized and systemic practices, rather than through the idiosyncratic behaviours of isolated individuals, is fundamental to the accurate assessment of Canadian racial history. The academy

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1972

Aboriginal Elders in Federal Penitentiaries This year marks the first time an Aboriginal Elder entered a federal penitentiary to conduct a traditional ceremony. Just over twenty years later, two Healing Lodges for Aboriginal offenders were established with an emphasis on traditional spirituality and healing. In the early 1900s, Chinese immigrants settled in Canada to escape poverty and war at home but encountered prejudice and eventually violence on this side of the Pacific. Asians were the under-class in Canadian society with few rights and no power. They were not allowed to become citizens. Chinese are "unfit for full citizenship" reported a 1902 Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration. "They are so nearly allied to a servile class that they are obnoxious to a free community and dangerous to the state."

Many Asians were brought to Canada to provide cheap labour. More than 15,000 Chinese came over in the early 1880s to build the most dangerous and difficult section of the Canadian Pacific Railway. One worker died for every mile of track lay through the Rocky Mountains between Calgary and Vancouver.

When work on the railway ended, many Chinese settled in British Columbia and were joined by more Chinese immigrants seeking a better life. By 1900 the Chinese population in B.C was growing by 4,000 annually. As before, the newcomers took dangerous jobs in sawmills and fish canneries.

Employers found them industrious, sober and cheap. Canadians resented them for the same reasons. "Canada would be strengthened by exclusion of the Chinese race," the Reverend Leslie Clay reported to Commission. "It has a tendency to deter white immigration. They depress wages ... lower the standard of living."

The Canadian government tried to discourage immigration. In 1900, it increased the \$50 entry fee for Chinese immigrants to \$100 dollars. In 1903, the government raised its "head tax" to \$500. Chinese immigration dropped from 5,000 in 1904 to just eight people the following year.

But the move to keep Asians out of B.C proved difficult as many immigrants continued to arrive from Japan. A Vancouver paper observed a boatload immigrants from Japan in May 1907. "Eleven hundred & seventy-seven of the little brown men were on the steamer ... The decks were crowded with the swarming Japanese, who covered her from stem to stern like a swarm of ants."

Hatred against Asians boiled over in September 1907, at a huge protest rally at Vancouver City Hall organized by the newly formed Asiatic Exclusion League. Half the citys 30,000 people turned out for the rally wearing ribbons that said "For a White Canada." Part of the crowd of about 7,000 men turned on Chinatown. For three days, Asian homes and businesses were vandalized.

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"The mob soon left the Chinese quarter and headed in the direction of Japtown ... " the Vancouver Province reported. "The crash of glass was continual. Window after window was shattered in stores and boarding houses as the riotous gang pushed farther into the thoroughfare lined with nests of Japanese." There were no deaths from the riots but bitter feelings simmered for decades. On July 1, 1923 Chinese immigration was banned outright. Chinese would call it "Humiliation Day." It would take another 25 years before the ban was repealed.¹



¹ <u>http://www.cbc.ca/history/EPISCONTENTSE1EP11CH3PA3LE.html</u>

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1788²: The first Chinese immigrants came to Canada in 1788, to assist in the building of a trading post on Vancouver Island. Chinese immigration began in earnest in 1858, when Asian gold prospectors came to British Columbia and drastically increased when approximately 15,000 Chinese men came to Canada to assist in constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1885, the Government of Canada passed the Chinese Immigration Act which forced all Chinese immigrants to pay a \$50 fee, known as a head tax.

² David Chuenyan Lai, "A Brief Chronology of Chinese Canadian History." *David See-Chai Lam Centre for International Communication*. Accessed May 30, 2016. http://www.sfu.ca/chinese-canadian-history/chart_en.html#.

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March 5, 1912³: An Act to Prevent the Employment of Female Labour in Certain Capacities- Saskatchewan legislation designed to "protect" white women from the dangers of being employed in establishments run "by any Japanese, Chinaman or other Oriental person." Quong Wing, a Canadian citizen with Chinese heritage, was convicted for hiring two Caucasian women to work in his restaurant as waitresses.⁴

³ Beth Bilson, "Female Employment Act." *The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan*. Accessed May 28, 2016. http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/female_employment_act.html.

⁴ Constance Backhouse, "The White Women's Labor Laws: Anti-Chinese Racism in Early Twentieth-Century Canada." *Law and History Review*, 1996., 315, *JSTOR Journals*, EBSCO*host* (accessed June 1, 2016).

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NOTICE TO ALL JAPANESE PERSONS AND PERSONS OF JAPANESE RACIAL ORIGIN

TAKE NOTICE that under Orders Nos. 21, 22, 23 and 24 of the British Columbia Security Commission, the following areas were made prohibited areas to all persons of the Japanese race:---

LULU ISLAND (including Steveston) SEA ISLAND EBURNE MARPOLE DISTRICT OF QUEENSBOROUGH CITY OF NEW WESTMINSTER SAPPERTON BURQUITLAM PORT MOODY IOCO PORT COQUITLAM MAILLARDVILLE FRASER MILLS

AND FURTHER TAKE NOTICE that any person of the Japanese race found within any of the said prohibited areas without a written permit from the British Columbia Security Commission or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police shall be liable to the penalties provided under Order in Council P.C. 1665.

> AUSTIN C. TAYLOR, Chairman, British Columbia Security Commission

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Colour-Coded, A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950 - Constance Backhouse

out even further in The Queen v Mellon in 1900.³⁶ The man to whom the liquor had been sold, Charles Pepin, conceded that he was a 'half-breed.' But he spoke English 'fluently,' 'never dressed like an Indian,' 'never wore moccasins,' and had been employed to move freight between Calgary and Edmonton for several summers. The judge took one look at the man and pronounced that he 'dress[ed] better than many ordinary white men.' In fact, he said, 'there is no indication whatsoever in his appearance, in his language, or in his general demeanour, that he does not belong to the better class of half-breeds.' With some despatch, the judge dismissed all charges, ruling that it was nonsense to convict a liquor seller who could not have known his customer was an 'Indian.' The Indian mode of life seems to be deftly fashioned

from attire, linguistic facility, demeanour, and employment history.³⁷

The Edmonton District Court had an opportunity to pursue this further in *The King* v *Pickard* in 1908.³⁸ In that case a shop-owner sold a bottle of liquor to an individual named Ward. The legal question was whether the shop-owner ought to have known or suspected that Ward, who resided at Stony Plain, was 'Indian.' In contrast with the absence of 'Indian' characteristics in *Mellon*, here there was a surfeit of pointers. There was the now familiar reference to moccasins, which Ward wore. The linguistic signs were definitive, for Ward 'could speak little or no English.' In fact, he purchased a calendar from the shop-owner by 'pointing' and 'asking in Cree.' Skin colour seems to have been equally determinative, with

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Komagata Maru

More than just an isolated "incident", The Komagata Maru story reflects a deliberate, exclusionary policy of the Canadian government to keep out ethnicities with whom it deemed unfit to enter. These justifications were couched in racist and ethnocentric views of "progress", "civilization", and "suitability" which all buttressed the view that Canada should remain a "White Man's Country".

On May 23, 1914, a crowded ship from Hong Kong carrying 376 passengers, most being immigrants from Punjab, British India, arrived in Vancouver's Burrard Inlet on the west coast of the Dominion of Canada. The passengers, all British subjects, were challenging the Continuous Passage regulation, which stated that immigrants must "come from the country of their birth, or citizenship, by a continuous journey and on through tickets purchased before leaving the country of their birth, or citizenship." The regulation had been brought into force in 1908 in an effort to curb Indian immigration to Canada. As a result, the Komagata Maru was denied docking by the authorities and only twenty returning residents, and the ship's doctor and his family were eventually granted admission to Canada. Following a two month stalemate, the ship was escorted out of the harbour by the Canadian military on July 23, 1914 and forced to sail back to Budge-Budge, India where nineteen of the passengers were killed by gunfire upon disembarking and many others imprisoned.

http://komagatamarujourney.ca/incident

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1937

Amendment of Sexualization Sterilization Act to permit the sterilization of "mental defectives" without their consent.

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1928: Alberta passes the Sexual Sterilization Act, allowing any inmate of a residential school or institution to be sterilized by the approval of the school Principal. Between 1929 and 1972, 4,739 people were recommended for sterilization and 60% (2,834) were sterilized.⁵ Although the Aboriginal population ranged from 2% to 3%, they composed 6% of all cases.^{\circ} Additionally, the groups sterilized included prisoners, the mentally ill, disabled persons, children, and immigrants. Increasingly, politicians, doctors, and academics believed that sterilization would alleviate poverty and crime. The Board of Eugenics recommended 99% of all cases for immediate sterilization.⁷

⁵ Jana Grekul, Arvey Krahn, and Dave Odynak, "Sterilizing the "Feeble-minded": Eugenics in Alberta, Canada, 1929–1972." *Journal Of Historical Sociology* 17, no. 4 (December 2004): 358-384. *Humanities International Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed May 30, 2016), 358.

⁶Ibid., 375.

⁷ University of Toronto Libraries, "The State in the Bedroom: The Evolution of Reproductive Rights in Canada," Last modified December 8, 2015. http://guides.library.utoronto.ca/c.php?g=251685&p=1675126.

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1830s⁸: "Nigger Heaven" was used to describe the back of the gallery where some churches forced Black worshippers to sit.

⁸ George H. Junne, *The History of Blacks in Canada*. 2003. Bibliographies and indexes in afro-american and african studies. Vol. 44. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 3.

The "Red Summer" of 1919 marked the culmination of steadily growing tensions surrounding the great migration of African Americans from the rural South to the cities of the North that took place during World War I. When the war ended in late 1918, thousands of servicemen returned home from fighting in Europe to find that their jobs in factories, warehouses and mills had been filled by newly arrived Southern blacks or immigrants. Amid financial insecurity, racial and ethnic prejudices ran rampant. Meanwhile, African-American veterans who had risked their lives fighting for the causes of freedom and democracy found themselves denied basic rights such as adequate housing and equality under the law, leading them to become increasingly militant.

1911

Canada bans the immigration of anyone identified as Black to Canada as a result of pressure from Alberta residents.

1920

Three fifths of a Calgary neighbourhood signed a petition asking for a ban on Blacks buying a home in the area.

1946

Calgary Board of Education hires the province's first Black teacher.

1957

Breton schools refuses to allow a Black man to teach white children.

1959 Barclay's hotel in Calgary refuses room to Black Canadian.

1924⁹: Blacks excluded from public pools and parks in Edmonton.

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⁹ Chris Zdeb, "Aug.28, 1924: Racism colours the opening of two new city swimming pools." *The Edmonton Journal*. Last modified August 28, 2014. http://edmontonjournal.com/news/local-news/aug-28-1924-racism-colours-the-opening-of-two-new-city-s wimming-pools

April 1911¹⁰: Edmonton City Council passed a resolution that banned Blacks from the city.

November 8, 1946¹¹: Viola Desmond thrown out of the Rosedale Theatre in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia for sitting in seats reserved for whites, and subsequently charged and found guilty of violating Nova Scotia's *Theatres Cinematographers and Amusement Act* (1915).

¹⁰ Ibid.

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¹¹ Evelyn C., White, "Viola Desmond's Fight for Civil Rights." *Herizons* 28, no. 4 (Spring2015 2015): 37. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed June 1, 2016).

1820¹²: Beginning in 1820, the federal government removed Indigenous children from their homes, families and communities and placed them in church-run boarding schools, often far from their homes. In most cases the children were not allowed to speak their own languages. Most of the children stayed at school for 8-10 months, while others stayed all year. While some report having positive experiences at the residential schools, many Aboriginal people suffered from the impoverished conditions and from emotional, physical and sexual abuse. Many more lost family connections and the opportunity to learn their culture and traditions from their elders. Raised in an institution, many never gained parenting skills. Some students died at residential school. Many others never returned to their home communities, or were shunned if they did. It should be noted that the residential school system was not completely embraced until the 1880s.¹³

¹² See Robert Carney, "ABORIGINAL RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS BEFORE CONFEDERATION: THE EARLY EXPERIENCE." *Historical Studies* 61, (January 1995): 13-40. *America: History and Life with Full Text*, EBSCO*host* (accessed June 1, 2016).

¹³ "Residential School Locations," *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. Accessed June 1, 2016. http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=12.

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1873¹⁴: The Cypress Hills Massacre occurred on June 1, 1873 when approximately 20 Nakoda (Assiniboine) were killed by a contingent of American wolfers who believed their horses had been stolen by the former. This event was one of the most violent episodes in the settlement of the Canadian West and helped to catalyze the creation of the North-West Mounted Police.

¹⁴"Cypress Hills Massacre," *The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan*. Accessed May 29, 2016. http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/cypress_hills_massacre.html.

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1873: The North-West Mounted Police and the Department of Interior are created. The former was critical for ensuring the safety and welfare of new immigrants in the Prairies while the latter was responsible for exploring the West. In addition, the Department of Interior was instructed to "remove the natives from the open plains."¹⁵ The mounted police assisted in enforcing agreements with Aboriginal peoples and curbing aboriginal cultural and religious practices. For example, in the Prairies, the police imprisoned individuals who practiced aboriginal ceremonial dances or rituals.¹⁶

¹⁵ Terry Cook, "The Canadian West: An Archival Odyssey through the Records of the Department of the Interior," *Library and Archives Canada*. Last modified January 21, 2006. https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/publications/002/015002-2230-e.html

¹⁶ "Canadian Authorities and Native Peoples," *Site of Language Management in Canada*. Accessed May 20, 2016. https://slmc.uottawa.ca/?q=authorities_native.

1876¹⁷: In 1876, all laws pertaining to "Indians" were gathered together and put into the Indian Act. The Indian Act is still enforced today and was based on conversion to Christianity, assimilation, and protection.

Historically, the Indian Act pertains only to First Nations, not Metis or Inuit. On April 14, 2016, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that Metis and non-status Indians were included in the legal definition of Indian. The effect of the Indian Act on First Nations people was to transform independent First Nations into physically marginalized and economically impoverished "bands" and individuals into "wards of the state." Through the Indian Act, the federal government denied the basic rights that many Canadians take for granted and established the reserve system.

¹⁷ Dyck, Canadian Politics : Critical Approaches, 74-75.

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1884¹⁸: Ottawa passes legislation, creating a system of church-administered, state-funded Indian Residential Schools.

¹⁸ Deborah Cowen, *Military Workfare : The Soldier and Social Citizenship in Canada*. Studies in comparative political economy and public policy. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008, 266.

1884¹⁹: The <u>Indian Act</u> was revised to prohibit of several traditional Aboriginal ceremonies, such as potlatches.

Section 3 of the Act read:

Every Indian or other person who engages in or assists in celebrating the Indian festival known as the "Potlatch" or the Indian dance known as the "Tamanawas" is guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not more than six nor less than two months in any gaol or other place of confinement; and, any Indian or other person who encourages, either directly or indirectly, an Indian or Indians to get up such a festival or dance, or to celebrate the same, or who shall assist in the celebration of same is guilty of a like offence, and shall be liable to the same punishment.

The ban was not lifted until 1951 and severely limited First Nations people from not only celebrating their culture but retaining important practices and passing them along to future generations.

¹⁹ René R. Gadacz, "Potlatch," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Last modified October 25, 2015. http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/potlatch/.

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1905: The Indian Act is amended, creating the power to remove Aboriginal peoples from reserves near towns with greater than 8,000 people.²⁰

²⁰Jay Makarenko, "The Indian Act Historical Overview."

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1900²¹: Over the next decade, Canada witnessed the largest period of Jewish immigration as approximately 52,000 Jewish immigrants settled in Canada. This massive flow of Jewish immigrants occurred against the backdrop of a greater demand for immigrants to develop natural resources in Western Canada and a need to look beyond traditional source countries such as Britain, the United States, and those in Western Europe. The Jewish community faced significant anti-Jewish sentiment because they were perceived as not embracing the chance to become "real Canadians." For decades they were excluded from many professions, prohibited from living in certain parts of the country and ostracized. The years to come would be one of Canada's darkest and most shameful moments, evident in the fact that during the Second World War, the Canadian government refused the entry of Jewish peoples on the idea that, "None is too many."

²¹ Randal Schnoor, "The Contours of Canadian Jewish Life." *Contemporary Jewry* 31, no. 3 (October 2011): 179-197. *SocINDEX with Full Text*, EBSCO*host* (accessed February 23, 2016), 1-4.