

Connections between Canada and Brazil before World War One

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Resumo: Na maioria das discussões sobre as relações entre o Canadá e o Brasil, o foco está colocado nas relações diplomáticas e comerciais desde a metade do século vinte até o momento. Uma mínima atenção é dada ao período antes da Primeira Guerra Mundial com exceção da Companhia Brasileira de Energia e Luz. Muitas áreas do relacionamento entre o Canadá e o Brasil não receberam a devida atenção. A melhoria no acesso a fontes contemporâneas através da sua digitalização abriu oportunidades para se entenderem as conexões dinâmicas e complexas entre os países. Este estudo explora essas conexões através dos temas geográficos do ‘movimento’ e da ‘difusão’ em três áreas: 1) as relações comerciais e de transporte; 2) os viajantes e os itinerantes ou o movimento temporário de pessoas e 3) a migração. Todos os indicadores apontam para a relação comercial direta entre o Canadá e o Brasil que foi baseada em gêneros de primeira necessidade – peixe e madeira do Canadá e – café e açúcar do Brasil. Mas existe também um considerável comércio indireto. Poucos brasileiros visitaram ou imigraram para o Canadá. Entretanto, houve um considerável número de canadenses que visitaram ou trabalharam no Brasil. Os membros das famílias que nasceram no Brasil subsequentemente migraram para o Canadá. Pequenos grupos de imigrantes europeus foram para o Brasil e sua prole escolheu migrar para o Canadá. O estudo ressalta uma rede de conexões entre o Canadá e o Brasil que é muito mais ampla e multifacetada do que está indicado na produção bibliográfica.

Palavras-chave: Relações Brasil / Canadá; comércio e transporte; viajantes e itinerantes; migração

Introduction

In most discussions of the relations and connections between Canada and Brazil, the focus is placed on the diplomatic and trade relations from the mid-twentieth century until the present (Rochlin, 1994; Barbosa, 2007). Minimal attention is paid to the period before World War One with the exception of the Brazilian Traction Light and Power Company, commonly known as “the Light.” Starting in 1899, this Canadian company played a role in the early development of hydroelectric power generation, installation of street car lines, and gas and telephone systems in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (Armstrong, 1988; McDowall, 1988, Dean, 2005). Researchers have identified additional connections. For example, Barbosa (2007: 32-33) highlighted Dom Pedro II’s short visit to Canada in 1876 and Braz (2001) related to Brazilian poet, Mathias Carvalho’s poem from 1886 on Métis leader, Louis Riel.¹

During the visit of Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper to Brazil in August 2011, Harper and Brazilian President Dilma Vana Rousseff made mention of early Canadian and Brazilian connections. Rousseff (2011) related briefly to Dom Pedro’s visit to Canada. Harper explained that “[...] in 1866, even before our provinces united in Confederation, Canada realized the importance of Brazil by opening our first trade office here.² Ten years after that – this is 1876 –

¹ Louis Riel (1844-1885) was a founder of Manitoba and a central figure in the North-West Rebellion. He is one of the most controversial figures in Canadian historiography.

² Prime Minister Harper’s speech has a number of inaccuracies or misrepresentations vis-à-vis early Canadian and Brazilian connections. Regarding the “trade office” it was actually a trade commission from colonies in British North America which visited Brazil and the West Indies. The commission spent over a month in Rio de Janeiro but no permanent representation was established.

Furthermore, the Prime Minister drew a misleading connection between Dom Pedro II’s visit to Canada and an encounter with Alexander Graham Bell. Harper said that “He [Dom Pedro II] also paid an early morning visit to

we were pleased to receive a state visit from the Brazilian Emperor Pedro II, during his trip to North America” (Harper, 2011).

However, many areas of the relationship between Canada and Brazil did not receive fitting attention. This was partially due to the limited access, or lack thereof, to resources. Recent research on the pre-World War One connections between Canada and the Holy Land/Palestine/Eretz Israel produced a portrait of a multifaceted nexus due to the improvement in access to contemporary sources through their digitalization and ease of internet access. The resources include newspapers, government publications, books and journals that are out of copyright, select archival documents, locally published community histories, ship manifests, Canadian census enumeration pages, Canadian and American border crossing records, photographs, maps, and more. The research allowed for the identification of the two-way migration, although small, between these distant places, and an understanding of the factors leading to these migrations and decision making processes. This wealth of information also facilitated the writing of immigrant stories and the understanding of cultural transfers and diffusion. The investigations extended into areas of trade, transportation, communication, investments, and other economic relations. The research investigated the portrayal of the “Other” in the Canadian travel descriptions and its propagation in Canada (Glass 2009; 2010).

This paper applies the data mining techniques utilized in research on the relationship between Canada and the Holy Land to explore early connections between Canada, including the British colony of Newfoundland which joined Canadian confederation in 1949, and Brazil. It elaborates

Montreal’s Bonsecours Market, expressing, as a contemporary Canadian newspaper reported, ‘a favourable opinion in regard to Canada’s productions.’ And there is a charming story of how he received a personal demonstration of the telephone from Alexander Graham Bell. As Bell recited some Shakespeare, the astonished Emperor blurted out, ‘This thing talks!’”. This incident took place at the International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures, and products of the Soil and Mine in Philadelphia in May 1876, prior to the Emperor’s visit to Canada.

upon the geographic themes of “movement” and “diffusion.” The discussion relates also to the effects of these movements on the two countries respective landscapes, societies, and economies. Three areas of movement are investigated: 1) trade relations and transportation or in other words the movements of goods; 2) travellers and sojourners or the temporary movement of people if for a short term or for longer periods of months and years; and 3) migration or the permanent movement of people from one country to the other. These areas have been related to in the research literature to varying degrees but not assembled and investigated in a systematic manner. This exploratory study elaborates upon various levels and facets of the connections between Canada and Brazil by the categorization and characterization of the general movements as well as identifying some of the anecdotal links. This study strengthens Barbosa’s argument that “Brazil and Canada have in fact not been isolated from each other” (2007:32). This study contends that there was a very complex series of connections that permeated into the different regions of the two countries and spanned the various socio-economic classes of their respective societies.

1) Trade

Harold Innis (1954, 1956) in his groundbreaking research on the role of staple products in the development of Canada’s economy related to place of Brazil in the Canadian fur trade and fisheries. Wimmer (1996) and Carlos and Lewis (2001) added to the discussion of the role of Brazilian produced tobacco in the fur trade in Canada from the mid-sixteenth century until the early nineteenth century. The Hudson Bay Company (HBC) supplied its trading posts with Brazilian grown tobacco which it purchased in Lisbon and English tobacco from the southern colonies. Canadian aboriginal groups preferred the higher quality Brazilian product. Thomas McCliesh, the overseas governor of the HBC in the early 1730s, referred to it as “that cursed

bewitching weed,” and suggested that adequate supplies of it to be on hand (Quoted in Johnson 1974). When there were shortages in this favoured tobacco at the English trading posts, the aboriginals would take their business to the French competition. In 1755 Anthony Hendry reported on the British trade with the Indians and their competition. “The French talk several languages to perfection; they have the advantage of us in every shape; and if they had Brazile [sic] tobacco which they have not would entirely cut off our trade” (Quoted in Innis, 1956: 99). “Brazil” became a word representing high quality tobacco among many Canadian aboriginal groups. However, Brazilian tobacco was not directly exported to Canada in any significant quantities before World War One.

Salted dried codfish was an important export from Newfoundland and Canada to Brazil especially after 1775. The demand for *Bacalhau da Terra Nova* in Brazil rose. Competition with other exporting countries, changes in prices, and other factors led to the rise and fall in the quantity of Canadian and Newfoundland codfish reaching Brazilian ports. For example, the cholera outbreak in Argentina in 1886 led to Brazil prohibiting the importation of beef from Argentina and Uruguay. This led to “an unusual consumption of *Newfoundland* fish this year in *Brazil*” (DesVœux, 1903, 2: 345)

During certain years, Brazil was the second largest market for Newfoundland exports after the United Kingdom. In 1879 the values of exports to Brazil neared \$1.4 million and in 1881 it topped \$2.1 million. This accounted for 23.4 percent and 27.3 percent respectively of Newfoundland’s exports. In comparison, Canada exported \$410,000 worth of cod to Brazil in 1882, 84 percent from Quebec and 16 percent from Nova Scotia. Brazil only accounted for 18.6 percent of Canada’s \$2.2 million in exports of cod (Canada 1883: 769; Keeble, 1970).

The vicissitudes of the saltfish trade had a significant effect on the economy of Newfoundland, its investment in trading fleet, and the shipbuilding industry in other parts of British North America. For a period in the 1840s and 1850s there was increased investment in larger ships - brigs and brigantines produced in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island (PEI) – in order to handle increased cod exports to Brazil. But with the drop in demand in the 1860s, there was disinvestment from brigs and brigantines to smaller ships (Ryan 1986). Ships based in Canada and Newfoundland anchored at Brazilian ports. They crisscrossed the Atlantic and sometimes picked up coal in Cardiff destined to Rio de Janeiro or brought goods from other ports of call (Spencer, 1968).

In the mid-nineteenth century, with the growth and expansion of the British colonies in North America and the development of steamship and railroad links, there were a number of attempts to develop direct trade with Brazil. In 1865 a commission from the British colonies in North America – Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and PEI - was appointed “to proceed to the British West Indies and to the Foreign West India Islands, Brazil and Mexico, for the purpose of inquiring as to the trade of these countries, and of ascertaining how far it might be practicable to extend the commerce now existing between them and British North America” (Canada, 1866: v). Exports to Brazil from the British North American colonies in 1864/1865 totalled \$791,090 with \$12,000 from Nova Scotia, \$3,560 from Canada (not including Gaspé), and the vast majority from Newfoundland. For the same period, only \$6,493 in goods (coffee and \$60 in tobacco) were exported to Nova Scotia. However, this did not take into account Brazilian goods transferred via a third country. The Commissioners visited Para, Pernambuco, and Bahia before reaching Rio de Janeiro in February 1866. The Commissioners submitted a memorandum to the Imperial Government proposing fuller reciprocal free trade. They received a polite reply from José

Antonio Saraiva, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, expressing a general willingness on the part of Brazil's government. The Commissioners expressed great pleasure at being received by Emperor Dom Pedro II and Empress at Palace of Boa Vista at Saint Cristoval and their many enquiries about British North America (Canada, 1866: 14-17).

The Commissioners explored areas for expansion of Canadian export and provided insights into the Brazilian market. Wheat flour, for example, needed to be of the highest quality for the wealthy classes and the urban population who were referred to as fastidious in their tastes but willing to pay top price for a superior product (Canada, 1866: 28). This suggestion was exploited by the Ontario Grain Drying Machine Company which called on millers and grain dealers to adopt Sutton's Patent Grain Dryer. The company published an 18 page pamphlet entitled: *The Commerce of Canada considered and the character of its breadstuffs exposed: With an earnest appeal to millers to prepare their flour and meal by Sutton's patent process, to adapt them to the trade of the Maritime Provinces, the West Indies, Mexico and Brazil.* (1867). It placed within context the need for carefully prepared flour from properly dried wheat that would withstand the moist tropical heat without deteriorating or spoiling within the larger framework of Canadian confederation.

[...] and if due attention be paid by the millers of Canada to the preparation of their flour, to adapt it to the trade which is now being favorably opened to them, under the .aegis of Confederation, they will not only succeed in securing the permanent control of this large outlet for the surplus flour of the Upper Province, but they will be enabled to contribute, under the advantages they possess in their unrivalled water power and other facilities for manufacturing purposes, a large share of the flour required for the West Indies, Mexico and Brazil, which trade, until our inland water communications are more fully developed,

will no doubt be carried into effect through the medium of the Maritime Provinces, whose merchants will become the distributors of our breadstuffs and other products of the Province, and the gleaners of our supplies of tropical commodities (Commerce of Canada, 1867: 3).

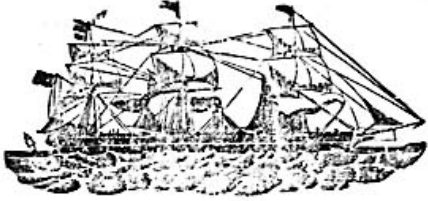
In the 1870s there was an additional Canadian export to Brazil. R. M. Wanzer and Company of Hamilton, Ontario produced sewing machines. It exported its popular “Little Wanzer,” which cost much less than American machines, around the world and established a number of branch offices including one in Brazil. The parts were produced in Hamilton and the sewing machines were assembled in London, England which explains why this item did not appear in Canadian and Brazilian trade statistics (Brent 1980; Kiefer, 1990).

Following the visit of Dom Pedro II to Canada in 1876 there were renewed calls for expansion of Canadian trade with Brazil and the West Indies. The Canadian government budgeted an annual \$50,000 subsidy, for three year period with the option for extending it, for a direct steamer line between Canada and Brazil, contingent upon Brazil’s reciprocation. W. Darley Bentley, the Brazilian consul in Montreal, had met with Canadian leaders and provided them with a memorandum on direct trade between Canada and Brazil (Bentley, 1880). He also suggested establishing museums in Montreal and Rio de Janeiro for the exhibition of potential trade items from the other country. On May 8, 1879, the matter of the steamship subsidy was address by the House of Commons. Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald in response to questions elaborated upon the service which would be monthly with a fleet of three large steamers. The line would depart from Montreal and Halifax, depending upon the season and would stop in Saint Thomas in the Virgin Islands, before reaching Rio de Janeiro (Canada, 1879: 1853) [See Figure 1]. William J. Patterson, the secretary of the Board of Trade and Corn Exchange Association, also

wrote on commercial relations with Brazil. He held that the magnitude and general character of the trade with Brazil were ample inducements for increased Canadian enterprise (Patterson, 1880).

Figure 1: Advertisement for a steamship line between Canada and Brazil

The Shortest and most Expeditious Route
BETWEEN
Canada, the United States, West Indies and Brazil.



THE
SOCIETE POSTALE FRANCAISE DE L'ATLANTIQUE,
*Carrying the Royal Mails and those of H. I. M.
the Emperor of Brazil.*

Direct from Montreal and Halifax with Mails, Passengers and Freight, to and From St. Thomas from ports in the West Indies. Para, Maranhão, Ceará, Pernambuco, Macies, Bahia, and Rio de Janeiro—connecting at Rio with steamers for Santos, Santa Catharina, Rio Grande dos Sul, Porto Alegre, Monte Video and Buenos Ayres.

The attention of Shippers in the United States, and of Merchants generally who contemplate shipments to the West Indies, and the Empire of Brazil (the development of trade to and from the Empire is annually increasing) is called to the excellent service now being performed by the vessels of this line: being built and fitted expressly for the trade, with a view to permanently keeping on the route, the accommodations for passengers and facilities for freight cannot be excelled.

Through Bills of Lading from ports of the United States and Canada to all ports of the West Indies and River Plate.

Postage Letters, 5 cts. per 1/2 oz., Newspapers, 1 c. per 2 oz., Patterns and Samples, 2 cts. first 2 oz., 1 c. each 2 oz., Post Cards, 2 cts., Commercial Papers, 5 cts. per 10 oz.

An exporters register is kept, and every information afforded them as to markets, suitable shipments, etc., etc., personal charge is taken of consignments, and orders obtained for them.

Address,
WILLIAM DARLEY BENTLY,
BRAZILLIAN CONSUL GENERAL,
317 ST. PAUL ST., MONTREAL & WEST INDIES WHARF, HALIFAX.

Source: MacAdam, 1882: 377.

On April 23, 1883 the House of Commons discussed reciprocal trade between Canada and Brazil, the West Indies and Mexico. A caveat opened the presentation that the data regarding Brazilian trade was dated, from 1878, because there was nothing more recent in the Parliamentary and departmental libraries. Pierre Fortin, the Conservative member for Gaspé, explained:

Of course, the reason is that we are a colony; we have no consul or agent in Brazil, or in the West Indies, and we are not, consequently, informed as to the state of trade in those countries. The information I have, I have been obliged to obtain from the reports of consuls of the United States. They, of course, look after the interests of their own country. There are English consuls and *chargés d'affaires*, in Brazil; but, although they would defend our interests if they were threatened in any way, these officials would, of course, work for British interests against ours. (Canada 1883: 768)

After presenting detailed information he concluded with a call for Canada to exert its sovereignty by developing its trade relations with Brazil. Fortin paid special attention to sugar. In this context the only Canadian sugar refinery stopped production between 1876 and 1878 due to competition with larger American producers. With the establishment of tariffs on refined sugar, an element of Sir John A. Macdonald's National Policy, the refinery reopened and an additional refinery opened in Montreal. The tariffs led to increased sugar prices to consumers and the 1879 duty on sugar was often debated in the House of Commons. Fortin concluded:

What we recommend is that the Government be authorized, by this House, as the Government of Brazil has by the Parliament of Brazil, to make, during the Recess, any arrangement which they may think in the interest of the country, to extend our trade with

Brazil and the West Indies. We pay over \$2,000,000 a year of duty on sugar and molasses, which are articles of food and should not pay duty. But I do not recommend that it should be abolished without getting an equivalent from other countries. Let us do in this case, as independent countries, as England, France, and other countries do. We cannot make treaties, but we can make arrangements; and those countries what do they do? In order to foster their commerce, in order to enrich their merchants, they get their best men to study the question, and the Government, by its diplomacy, does its best, to the extent sometimes to the use of retaliatory threats, we can do is to offer to reduce, or even abolish molasses or sugar of any country which will diminish [sic.] or abolish the duties on the goods we send it. In doing that, the results would be twofold. We would increase the trade of this country, and we would procure to our people, especially the laborers, and the seafaring classes, an article of food which is not only excellent and savory, but necessary in this cold climate (Canada 1883: 772).

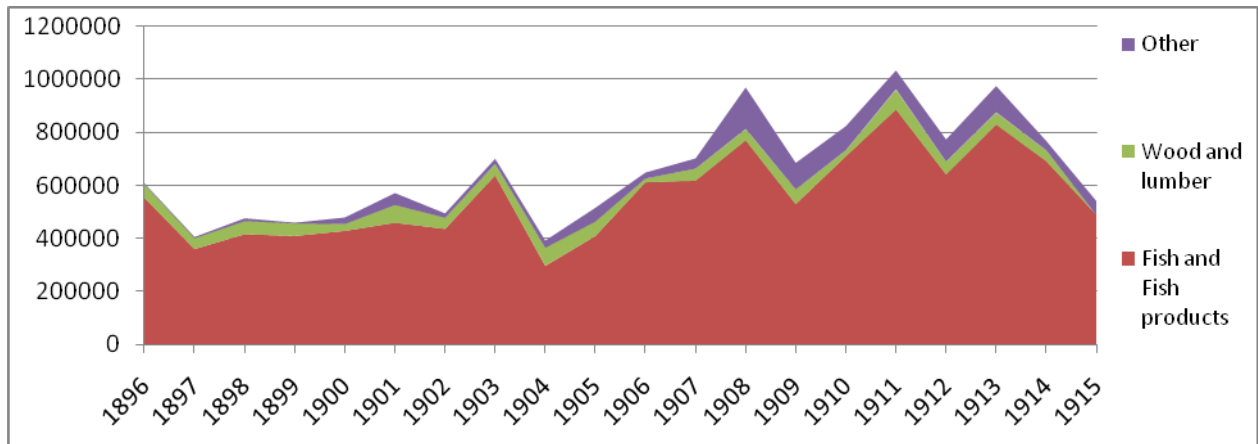
Although Canada could not appoint representatives to Brazil, facilitating the trade was the establishment of Brazilian consular representation in Canada and Newfoundland. The *Business and general directory of Newfoundland 1877* listed Francis Winton as Brazil's Vice Consul in St. John's and three Consular agents – W.H. Thompson at Conception Bay, Thomas Winter at Burin; and Henry T. Holman at Harbor Breton (Rochfort, 1877). They were local merchants that had business interests in Brazil. Toronto merchant George Musson was appointed vice consul for Brazil in 1883 and appeared in that position in Brazilian records in 1905 (Decreto N. 6592). The main connections of his company, Musson & Morrow, Tea Importers and Commission Merchants, were with China, Brazil, and the West Indies. (Mulvany, 1885: 121). In 1890 Musson was referred to as the consul of Brazil and George R. Hart of Halifax was consul general of

Brazil. In 1903 Claude de B. Leprohon was the acting consul and vice consul for Brazil in Montreal and vice consuls were found in Halifax, Gaspé, Paspébiac (Quebec), Quebec City, St. John (New Brunswick), St. John's (Newfoundland) and Toronto (*Canadian Almanac*, 1903: 264).

In 1888 Simeon Jones, a businessman, brewery owner, and mayor of St. John, New Brunswick from 1881-1884, was sent by the Canadian government to Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil in order to investigate prospect of trade with Canada. He saw Rio de Janeiro as a regular stop on a shipping line between Canada and Rio de la Plata but ascertained that the Brazilian government would not participate in a subsidy to a line of Canadian steamers. Furthermore, Simeon was sceptical that reciprocal trade relations could be developed between Canada and Brazil. He held that Brazil was unlikely to reduce or eliminate export duties on products that Canada would be interested in importing (Canada & Jones 1888: 25).

During the 20 years leading up to World War One trade between Canada and Brazil was limited to a small number of items. On average between 1896 and 1915 Canada exported \$652,000 in goods to Brazil and imported \$517,000. This trade with Brazil account for a mere 0.1 to 0.3 percent of Canada's total two-way trade. Fish and fish products made up about 80 and 90 percent of Canadian exports. Wood and lumber accounted for between five and 10 percent through most years. Coffee dominated Brazil exports to Canada through most of this period. In 1900, 1901, 1902 and 1905 hides and skins made up 39, 67, 59 and 35 percent respectively, of Brazil's exports to Canada. Brazilian sugar sporadically reached Canada – 18 percent in 1897, five percent in 1906, 30 percent in 1911, and 19 percent in 1915 [See Figures 2 and 3].

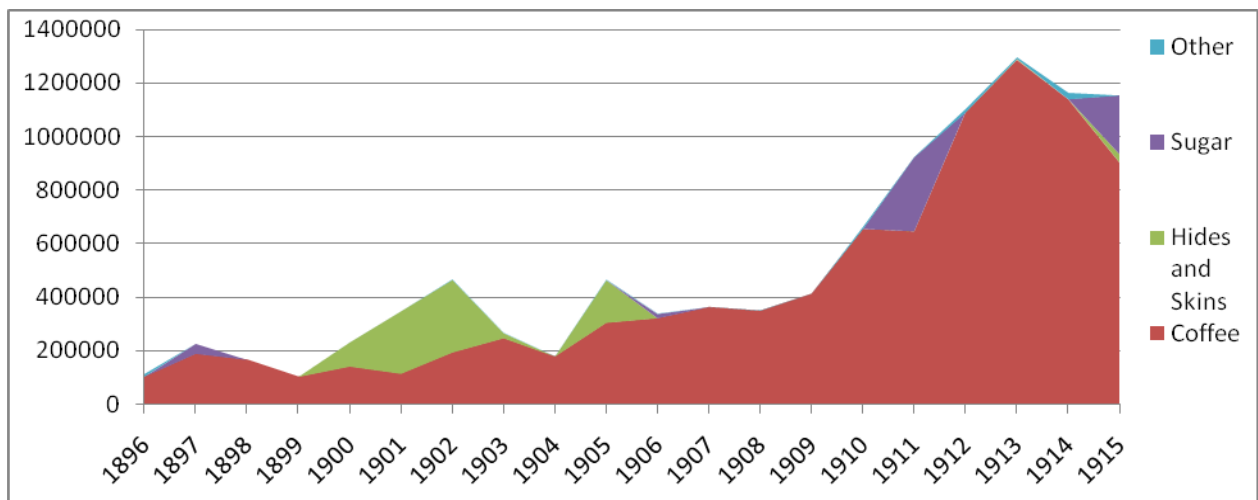
Figure 2: Canadian Exports to Brazil, 1896-1915 in Canadian dollars



Source: CANADA. *Parliament Sessional papers of the Dominion of Canada* 35:4, Sessional Paper 10

(1901): 563; 40:4, Sessional Paper 10 (1906): 568; 45:4, Sessional Papers 10b (1911): 38; 50:4, Sessional Paper 10b (1916): 65.

Figure 3: Canadian Imports from Brazil, 1896-1915 in Canadian dollars



Source: CANADA. *Parliament Sessional papers of the Dominion of Canada* 35:4, Sessional Paper 10

(1901): 562; 40:4, Sessional Paper 10 (1906): 587; 45:4, Sessional Paper 10b (1911): 39; 50:4, Sessional Paper 10b (1916): 66-67.

Sometimes ships plying between Canada and Brazil brought unwanted cargo. In 1887 Montreal escaped the introduction of smallpox. Two ships – the brigantine *Aeronaut* and the barque *Virginia* – which departed Bahia for Montreal were delayed landing since smallpox had developed on board (Laberge, 1888: 68).

In summary, trade connected Canada and Brazil from the mid-sixteenth century with Brazilian tobacco taking an important place in the fur trade in British North America. The trade expanded into other commodities – Canada supplied saltfish, lumber, and wheat flour and Brazil supplied tobacco, sugar, coffee. Canadian and Newfoundland trade statistics do not necessarily reflect all the Brazilian goods reaching the ports of British North America nor some of Canadian and Newfoundland goods that reached Brazilian seaports. A portion of the goods were transferred through third countries, particularly the United States and Great Britain.

2) Travellers and Sojourners

People from British North America visited Brazil throughout the nineteenth century and Brazilians, in small numbers, visited Canada and Newfoundland or stopped in their ports en route to other destinations. The lengths of stay varied from short visits, like the trade commissioners from Canada discussed above, to long stay lasting a number of years.

Most noteworthy was the visit of Dom Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil and his wife Empress Theresa who made a three-day side trip to Canada on their visit to the United States during its centennial celebrations in 1876. The Canadian press reported on the tour providing various degrees of detail. The Toronto *Globe and Mail* took particular interest in Dom Pedro's voyage along the St. Lawrence River. He boarded the steamer *Spartan* at Kingston. The captain was not notified of

the imperial party. The Emperor was described as quite jovial and the newspaper recounted a number of amusing incidents.

During the descent of the rapids he was much interested, but assured the passengers there were much grander rapids on Brazilian rivers, and that with the exception of Niagara Falls he had seen nothing coming up to them in this country. He admired the skill with which the boat was handled and wished he had such pilots for Brazil's rivers. On catching sight through a glass of some Indians on the bank near the Long Sault he jumped up exclaiming, "A squaw, a squaw," and get the Empress to look at the dusky females. He had an amusing conversation with an old farmer whom the Emperor wished to persuade that Brazil was a more fertile country than Canada (*Globe and Mail*, June 7, 1876: 1)

The Emperor was not the only Brazilian to visit Canada. The same year mention was made of "R. W. Bro A. T. de Oliveire of Rio Janeiro [sic.], Brazil," a freemason who attended the annual address of the Grand Master of Quebec (*Globe and Mail*, October 3, 1876: 2).

It would appear that more Canadians visited and stayed in Brazil than the opposite. Brice and Figueirôa recently drew attention to the significant contributions of a Canadian-born and educated geologist to the development of Brazilian geology.

Charles Frederick Hartt was a celebrity in his day (*The Daily Graphic: New York* devoted a full page to his obituary) and was one of the great explorer-geologists of the 19th century. He is best remembered for his work in Brazil. In 1875, he founded Comissão Geológica do Império do Brasil, the first countrywide geological survey. Hartt was born in Fredericton, New Brunswick, on August 23, 1840, but grew up and was educated in

Wolfville, Nova Scotia. Hartt's interest in geology started at age 10 or 11 when he began working for a professor at Acadia College, where he had his first field experiences. Eventually, Hartt received his B.A. (1860) and M.A. (1863) from Acadia College (Brice and Figueirôa 2003).

He joined Harvard University professor Louis Agassiz on the 1865 Thayer Expedition and subsequently went on a solo journey to Brazil. He published *Geology and Physical Geography of Brazil...*, in 1870. It was one of a few works about Brazilian geology written in English. Although it received mixed reviews, it did boost Hartt's reputation, and in 1870, Hartt mounted his own Cornell expedition, the first of two Morgan Expeditions, named for Colonel Edwin P. Morgan, the major underwriter.

By late 1877, the Imperial government, seeing little immediate economic benefit and few published results, reduced and then, by January 1878, cancelled all funding for the commission. Hartt's family had returned to the United States a few months earlier, but he continued his futile attempt to regain the commission's financial support. In early 1878, Hartt contracted yellow fever. On March 18, 1878, he died, not with his family but in a rooming house in Rio de Janeiro surrounded by the men of his commission. With his death, all hope of restarting the commission died as well. He was first buried in Rio de Janeiro [...](Brice and Figueirôa 2003).

Rochlin (1994: 11) pointed the presence of clergy from Quebec in Brazil. The surplus of priests in Quebec filled a demand in Latin America where there was a scarcity of priests. It fostered institutional connections and a special bond between the people of Quebec and the people of Brazil. In 1870 the role of Quebec's clergy and missionaries was described in the following

manner. “Lower Canada is the instrument chosen by Providence to evangelize the American continent, to instruct the ignorant, help the poor, care for the sick, guide children on the right path of life, over the whole face of this immense continent.” Brazil was listed among the destinations to where French Canadian bishops, priests, missionaries, and nuns were sent. (Silver, 1997: 234 quoting *La Revue Canadienne*, VII (1870): 545). This avenue warrants further research and discussion.

For certain Canadian protestant groups, Brazil was a place whose population needed saving. The Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada published the travel account of American missionary Hugh C. Tucker entitled *The Bible in Brazil: Colporter experiences*. He wrote of “the tremendous responsibility that rests upon the Christian people of the United States for the deliverance of the Brazilians from the Roman [Catholic] yoke of bondage and the awful tyranny to which they have become enslaved” (Tucker, 1902: 6). This responsibility would have extended to Canadians as well.

At the time when Tucker published his account, a Canadian family was active in Orobô, a town 320 kilometres northwest of Bahia. This inland market town had a population of around 700 at the beginning of the twentieth century and it served thousands in the surrounding area. John McEwen was born in Maxville, Ontario in 1865. He married Edith McLeod. Together, they decided to dedicate their lives to the church. At first he was stationed in Stouffville, Ontario, north of Toronto, from 1896 to 1899. He was then sent to Brazil by the South American Evangelical Mission which had been founded in Toronto in 1895. Activity in Canada fell off and a group in England took responsibility of the mission. The Brazilian Inland Mission was incorporated in 1910 with the objective of evangelistic work, especially the distribution of the Scriptures. It took over the work of the Rev. J. D. McEwen, at Orobô Grande, and intended to

establish a chain stations across the interior of Brazil all the way to Peru. Rev. J. D. McEwen was named as its Founder and General Director (McEwen, 1915).

Following his arrival in 1899, McEwen was able to learn Portuguese quickly from Dr. Methodio,



lessons. In 1903 he was

for 10 years. The couple

Brazil. They named their

in 1912 in Brazil and the

s, 1913). He viewed his

many doors [see Figure

interior

He later shared his impressions of, and experiences in Brazil in the book *Brazil: A description of people, country and happenings there and elsewhere* which was published in 1915. The third edition was “Authorized for the some 2,000 Quebec School Libraries by the Board of Education in the Province.” This episode’s literary by-product may have shaped the impressions of Brazil in the minds of many young anglophone Quebeckers.

Other Canadians lived and worked in Brazil during this period of time. Many were connected to the Light but not exclusively. Most noteworthy was the lawyer and businessman Alexander Mackenzie. Born in Kincardine, Ontario in 1860 to a Scottish farming family, he became a lawyer and worked for Z.A. Lash, a pre-eminent corporate law firm. Mackenzie was sent to oversee the legal arrangements of the São Paulo Tramway, Light and Power Co. in Brazil. He became fluent in Portuguese and familiar with the Brazilian legal and political systems and over the years took on key positions as resident vice-president and president of the Light, Canada's largest single overseas investment. His activities in Brazil went beyond the business concerns. In 1919 he was knighted for his services in encouraging Brazil to declare war on the Central Powers during World War One (McDowell, 1988).

Prior to confederation, Henry George Clapper Ketchum, born 1839 in Woodstock, New Brunswick, was an engineer involved in the construction of the British owned São Paulo Railway which connected the seaport of Santos via São Paulo to Jundiaí. The project started in 1859 and Ketchum returned to New Brunswick in 1865 (Spicer, 1968: 252; Bowes, 1990). Two other Canadian engineers who worked in Brazil were Frank Turner and Dean Piers. Born in Brantford, Ontario in 1838, Frank Edwin Prince Turner was a civil engineer. His first job outside Canada was on the construction of the Bahia & San Francisco Railway. He worked on this railroad for five and a half years during the 1860s. He returned to Brazil in 1880 and for two

years he was involved in the construction of the Conde D'Eu Railway in Paraíba for Wilson, Sons, & Co. (*Commemorative*, 1907: 23). Dean Edward Otis Temple Piers, 1882-1966, was born in Wolfville, Nova Scotia. Following his studies at McGill University he received an appointment as professor of civil engineering at Mackenzie College in São Paulo in 1911. He held the deanship from 1914 to 1931.

Canadian presence was not limited to engineers and included physicians, dentists, agronomists.

They included:

- Yarmouth born Dr. Bowman Corning Crowell, 1879-1951 who was the chief of pathology at the Oswaldo Cruz Institute in Rio de Janeiro from 1918 to 1922(Marble 1977: 121, 329);
- Joseph William Hart who was born in 1865 at River Philip, Guysboro County, Nova Scotia. He attended Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph, and following graduation in 1887, studied at the Royal School of Artillery at Kingston, Ontario. During his professional career, Hart changed his place of residence many times and worked at the Fazenda Modelo or Experimental College in San Paulo, Brazil from 1905 to 1910. He died in 1914.
- Dr. Martin Frederick Keeley, who was born in Kingston in 1874. He studied dentistry at the University of Toronto and following his graduation in 1906 went to practise in Brazil. In 1909 he returned to Canada and settled in Vancouver (Scholefield 1914, vol. 4: 956).
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These visitors and sojourners were drawn for across the Canada. Highlighted were a number of individuals but it does not represent a complete picture. This area of connection warrants further investigation and can lead to an understanding of the perception of the “other,” cultural transfers, and the influences of Canadians on the landscape of Brazil particularly through the development of its infrastructure.

3) Immigration

Canada to Brazil

A number of persons who were born in British North America settled in Brazil. There were a number of barriers to settlement. In 1876 a caution regarding emigration to Brazil on behalf of the British government was published on the front page of Toronto’s *Globe and Mail*. The Brazilian government had developed schemes to encourage the migration from the United Kingdom and settlement. Many British immigrants in 1872 and 1873 were disappointed and left Brazil after a short stay (27 July 1876: 1).

Two sons of Rector William Ferdinand Pryor of Dartmouth, Nova Scotia moved to Brazil following their fathers’ death in 1873. On the eve of World War One, the eldest Frederick, resided in Rio de Janeiro with his wife and children but his brother Cambridge had died in Maceió in 1905 (Vernon 1917: 120-121). The source does not provide explanations to the reason for migration nor their activities in Brazil. Perhaps there was a connection with William Pryor and Sons of Halifax which pioneered in trade with Brazil (Sutherland, 1982).

Between January 1897 and November 1898, 450 persons from Montreal emigrated to São Paulo but 400 of them were shortly thereafter repatriated (Gay, 2004: 276). This is based on a number

of articles in Montreal newspapers.³ This episode requires further investigation both in Canada and Brazil.

All in all, there were but a few identified Canadians who uprooted themselves to settle in Brazil. This migration requires further attention in order to identify additional immigrants and to understand the “push” factors in Canada and the “pull” factors of Brazil drawing Canadians.

Brazil to Canada

Limited in number, the presence of Brazilians in Canada was not listed in the summary tables of the Canadian censuses and immigration reports. They were listed as “other” and aggregated with immigrants from other parts of the Americas. As such it would appear that there was no movement of Brazilians to Canada.

Shirley (1999) noted that the Brazilian Traction Light and Power Company served as facilitator for temporary labour migration from Canada to Brazil and the permanent settled of Brazilian spouses in Canada. “During most of its history, the company recruited its engineers and administrators from the “North”. Thus for almost a century there has been a small segment of Toronto’s elite profoundly involved in Brazil. A number of the professionals sent to the country by Brascan married there and eventually brought their Brazilian wives and children to Toronto. The reverse was not true. Few Brazilians came to work in the company’s Canadian offices, although many thousands were employed in Brazil.”

³ « Les Canadiens au Brésil. Quelques détails intéressants », *Le Citoyen* (extrait de *La Presse*), 21 janvier 1897, p. 4; Euclide Laferrière, « De retour du Brésil », *Le Citoyen*, 27 février 1897 et « Au Brésil », *La Minerve*, 3 novembre 1898, p. 6.

The immigrants from Brazil to Canada were more diverse than Shirley had described. Gay (2004: 98) identified one black in Quebec who had originated in Brazil. He was named Salvinio Freeman and lived at Coxe, Bonaventure, Gaspé in 1861.

With the availability and digitalization of the enumeration pages of these censuses, search results for Brazil as place of birth returned 40 persons in the 1901 census, 139 in the 1911 census, and 87 in the 1916 Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Not all those identified in the search were born in the country of Brazil and it does not reflect those persons who were born in a third country and lived in Brazil for an extended period of time before migrating again to Canada. A more systematic investigation and analysis of the data is required but preliminary exploration helps understand the groups from Brazil who moved to Canada.

The 1911 Census of Canada enumeration page for Manitoba, MacDonald, 57, Township 5 in range 9 west of the 1st M, the area of Somerset and St. Leon, listed a group of 21 people consisting of six families that had Brazilian connections. These were members of the Butele and Buler families who arrived in Canada in 1908. With the exception of four children born in Canada after 1908 and one born in the United States in 1907, they were all listed as having been born in Brazil, their nationality as Brazilian, their racial origin was listed as Spanish, and their religion as Catholic. The oldest of the group Nicholas and Mary Butele, according to the enumeration listing, were born in Brazil in 1851 and 1853 respectively (Census 1911 - <http://automatedgenealogy.com/census11/SplitView.jsp?id=65967>).

In another example using census data, Louis D'Ormans was of French background, born in Brazil in 1868 and arrived in Canada in 1889. He was listed under naturalization as having no papers. He was married to an Ontario born woman and the couple had two children. His

occupation may have been in the civil service or engineer although the entry is partially illegible (Census 1911 - <http://automatedgenealogy.com/census11/SplitView.jsp?id=3856>).

There were groups of European immigrants - Ukrainians, Germans, and Moravians - who had settled in Brazil but found the living conditions were too difficult. Ukrainian emigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was directed towards the United States, Brazil and Canada. The early Ukrainian migration to Brazil started in 1872. Agents praised the conditions in Brazil, immigrants were offered free trans-Atlantic passage, but the adjustment to the tropics was often difficult. Ukrainian migration to Canada began after 1890 and overtook Brazil as the preferred destination. American based Rev. Iwan Wolansky investigated conditions in Brazil among Ukrainian settlers. His impressions of Brazil being too hot and unsuitable for Ukrainian settlement were published in Ukrainian newspapers. This and favourable reports from Canada diverted the Ukrainian migrants away from Brazil and to Canada instead (Ewanchuk 1977: 12-13; Czuboka and Horodyski 1982: 781, 984). Settlers often maintained connections with relatives and friends, other diasporic communities and sometimes encouraged others to move from one place to another. Ewanchuk (1988: 107, 131) identified visits and attempts at settlement by Ukrainians from Jangada, Mato Grosso in Sifton, Manitoba. One prospective settler worked in railway construction in Dauphin, but after a few months decided to return to Brazil and escape Canada's colder climate. Another immigrant of Ukrainian origin, John Prystupa, was born in Brazil in 1903. In 1914 he moved with his parents, Elias and Rosalia, and siblings to Lorenzo, Saskatchewan. (*Our Treasured Heritage*, 2005: 250, 360).

A few Germans also left Brazil for Canada. The 1911 Census enumeration page for British Columbia, Kootenay, 28, Ymir riding, shows the Ropper family in the Nelson area. Father Theodore whose occupation was listed a labourer, was born in Germany in 1874 and he was

married to Laura who was born in Brazil in 1882. The couple had two children both born in Brazil before the arrival in Canada in 1910 of this Lutheran family of German origin (Census 1911 - <http://automatedgenealogy.com/census11/SplitView.jsp?id=59221>). Jake Long of Hand Hills, Alberta was one of the earlier homesteaders there. He settled in 1907 after moving from Ohio. Prior to that he had lived in a German colony in Brazil (Hands Hill Lake Club, 1968: 184). A group of Moravians from Volhynia settled in Bruderheim in the vicinity of Edmonton, Alberta in 1894. They were later joined by other Moravians from Poland and Brazil (Palmer, 1972: 184).

The number of people who had been born in Brazilian, or who had settled there, and moved to Canada was greater than described in the research literature. The availability and greater accessibility to census data, local community histories, and local newspapers allowed for the identification of immigrants from Brazil who settled across the country although there was a large number who settled on the Prairies. Some joined their families, friends, coreligionists and countrymen in established settlements while others were among the first homesteaders of newly settled areas.

Conclusion

This exploratory study has identified relatively unknown parts of the history of the connections between Canada and Brazil. It has found that through the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century the connections were more extensive, broader, and deeper than related to in the histories of Canada's Brazilian community and of Canadian and Brazilian relations. These pre-World War One connections went beyond the important Canadian investments in the infrastructures of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

Direct trade between the two countries, although limited in scope, consisted of a number of basic commodities – fish and lumber from Canada and coffee, sugar, and hides from Brazil. Indirect trade brought tobacco, coffee, Brazil nuts, and sugar to Canadian consumers and a number of Canadian goods to Brazil including manufactured goods such as sewing machines in the 1870s. The extent of trade relations and their fluctuations had ramifications for the individual producers dependent upon this trade and for the importers, exporters, and shippers. A number of attempts to expand the trade relations were thwarted by issues of direct Canadian representation in Brazil, the tariffs imposed by the Brazilian, Canadian, and British governments, and a lack of direct and regularly scheduled transport between Brazilian and Canadian ports.

Brazilians visited Canada prior to World War One. However, only a few have been identified. Canadians visited Brazil in larger numbers and for a wide range of reasons. Canadian captains and sailors called at Brazilian ports aboard Canadian and foreign based ships. They brought back tales of their experiences in this distant tropical land. Some of their encounters were published. Two trade missions, commissioned by the Canadian government to investigate the expansion of Canadian trade with South America and the Caribbean, visited Brazil. A number of Canadian engineers worked on British and Canadian infrastructure development projects. The Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Company was an significant initiator for the visits and sojourns of Canadian businessmen, white collar professionals, and their families in Brazil. These Canadians developed business, social and personal relations with Brazilian workers, middle and upper classes as well as with other foreign nationals. Additionally Canadians conducted research in Brazil in the fields of agronomy, geology and medicine. Canadians spent time in Brazil promoting their respective Christian beliefs. These missionaries and priests interacted with the local population on various levels in their attempts to proselytize and when providing social and

educational services. Without a doubt Canadian engagement in Brazil was far greater than portrayed in the research literature and deserves further consideration.

The migratory movement between Canada and Brazil was greater than indicated in studies. Both countries were destinations for large-scale European immigration and settlement. Emigration from these countries was common but drew less attention in the research literature. Canadians, at various times, were warned against settlement in Brazil due to its climatic conditions and unfulfilled promises of assistance from the government. A very small number of Canadians who settled in Brazil have been identified. A greater number of persons from Brazil migrated to Canada. Brazilian-born children and spouses of Canadians temporarily residing in Brazil moved to Canada at the conclusion of their stays. Small groups of Ukrainian, Moravian, and German immigrants and their offspring born in Brazil decided to immigrate to Canada. Difficulties in adapting to the climatic conditions in Brazil were often given as the reasons for migrating to Canada. Some joined their fellow countrymen in agricultural settlements on the Canadian prairies. The study of the migrations between Brazil and Canada is incomplete. Further investigation and the analysis of the data would allow for their quantification, characterization, and periodization. There are many immigrant histories that have yet to be told that compare and contrast life in Canada and Brazil.

In conclusion, the network of early connections between Canada and Brazil is far wider and more complex than indicated in the research literature. The digitalization of resources that facilitate the study of trade, travel, and immigration have opened new avenues of inquiry and opportunities to understanding the early intersections between Canada and Brazil. It is my hope that this exploratory study raises awareness of the multifaceted contacts and exchanges between

Canada and Brazil prior to World War One and inspires in-depth studies of various aspects of this fascinating relationship.

Abstract: In most discussions of the relations and connections between Canada and Brazil, the focus is placed on the diplomatic and trade relations from the mid-twentieth century until the present. Minimal attention is paid to the period before World War One with the exception of the Brazilian Traction Light and Power Company. Many areas of the relationship between Canada and Brazil did not receive fitting attention. Improved access to contemporary sources through their digitalization has opened opportunities to understand the more dynamic and complex ties between the countries. This study explores these connections through the geographic themes of “movement” and “diffusion” in three areas: 1) trade relations and transportation; 2) travellers and sojourners or the temporary movement of people; and 3) migration. All indicators point to a direct trade relation between Canada and Brazil that was based on staple products – fish and lumber from Canada, and – coffee, and sugar from Brazil. But there was also sizeable indirect trade. Few Brazilians visited or immigrated to Canada. However, there was a considerable number of Canadians who visited and worked in Brazil. Their Brazilian-born family members subsequently migrated to Canada. Small groups of European immigrants to Brazil and their Brazilian offspring chose to migrate to Canada. The study highlights a network of early connections between Canada and Brazil that is far wider and more multifaceted than indicated in the research literature.

Keywords: Relations Brazil/Canada; trade and transportation; travellers and sojourners; migration.

Résumé: Dans la plupart des discussions sur les relations entre le Canada et le Brésil, le relief est mis sur les relations diplomatiques et commerciales depuis la moitié du XXe siècle jusqu'à présent. On attribue très peu d'importance à la période de l'avant Première Guerre Mondiale, exception faite à la Compagnie Brésilienne d'Énergie et de Lumière. Dans les rapports entre le Canada et le Brésil, beaucoup de domaines n'ont pas reçu l'attention qu'ils méritaient. Grâce à la digitalisation de documents, l'accès aux sources contemporaines s'est beaucoup amélioré en ouvrant des opportunités pour la compréhension des connexions dynamiques et complexes entre ces deux pays. Cette étude analyse ces connexions à travers les thèmes géographiques du 'mouvement' et de la 'diffusion' en trois domaines : 1) les relations commerciales et de transports; 2) les voyageurs et les itinérants ou le mouvement temporaire de personnes et 3) la migration. Tous les indicateurs signalent la relation commerciale directe entre le Canada et le Brésil qui a été basée sur des genres de première nécessité – poisson et bois du Canada et – café et sucre du Brésil. Mais il existe aussi un considérable commerce indirect. Peu de Brésiliens ont visité le Canada et y ont immigré. Pourtant, il y a eu un nombre important de Canadiens qui ont visité le Brésil et y ont travaillé. Par la suite, les membres des familles qui sont nées au Brésil ont immigré au Canada. De petits groupes d'immigrants européens sont allés au Brésil et leur progéniture a choisi de migrer au Canada. L'étude met en relief un réseau de connexions entre le Canada et le Brésil qui est beaucoup plus vaste et varié de ce qui est indiqué dans la production bibliographique.

Mots-clés: Relations Brésil / Canada; commerce et transport; voyageurs et itinérants; migration

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