

**Demographic Engineering:
Post-War Canadian Immigration Advertising and Scottish Migration, 1919-1929**

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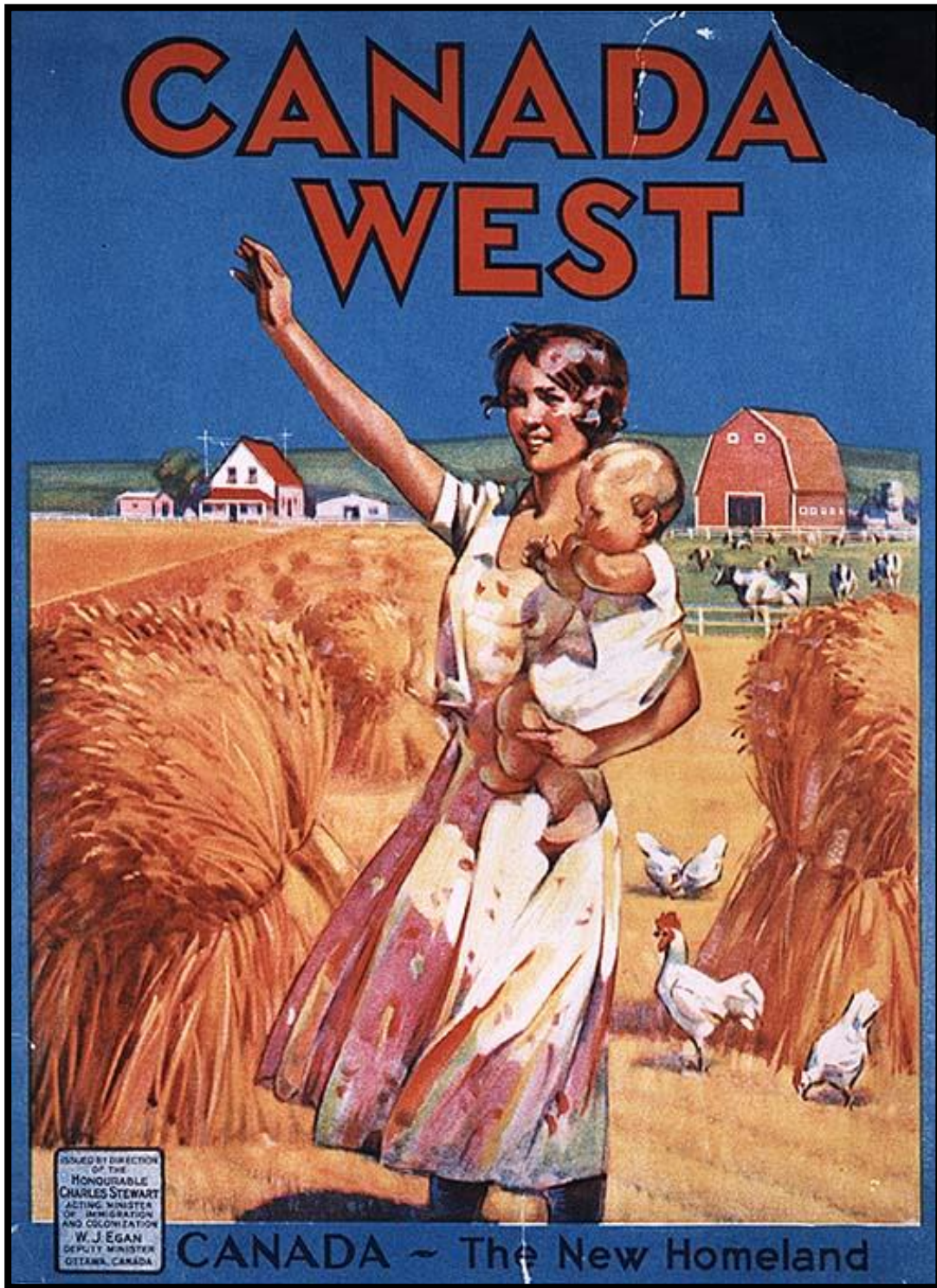


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“It is apparent, therefore, that much Canadian publicity, having a direct effect upon immigration to Canada, is carried on by agencies quite outside the control of the Department of Immigration and Colonization. Letters from settlers to their friends in other lands; impressions gathered by visitors to Canada; newspapers sent from Canada to subscribers elsewhere; press despatches; contributions to magazines printed in the British Isles, Europe, or the United States of America; stories or books using Canada as the scene of action; motion pictures purporting to depict Canadian life or scenery – all these are forms of publicity which have their inevitable effect upon immigration.”¹

Robert J.C. Stead.
Director of Publicity, 1924

¹ United Kingdom, Parliament, “Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1922-23” *Sessional Papers, Volume 4, Third Session of the Fourteenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada 1924*, 4th ed., vol. 60 (Ottawa: F.A. Acland), Accessed November 12, 2016, <https://archive.org/details/n04sessionalpaper60cana> p. 29

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Introduction

In 1924 Norman MacKenzie, a Scottish World War I naval veteran, decided with his wife Annie MacKenzie to move their young family to Saskatchewan farmland in Canada. They boarded the famous *Metagma* ship sailing from Stornoway, on the Isle of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides of Scotland, for a new life in the Canadian prairies. My great-grandparents' and grandmother's story is not uncommon. This was a familiar movement for many Scottish Highlanders and Islanders in the 20th century. Additionally, this post-war emigration from Scotland was certainly not an isolated incident. Scotland has experienced mass emigration, particularly from the Highlands, throughout the late 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries to destinations such as America, New Zealand, and Australia. However, as a prominent Dominion of the Great British Empire, Canada was a particularly popular destination for Scottish emigrants. In fact, between 1920 and 1929, approximately 34,946 Scottish immigrants moved to Canada making it the most popular destination for emigrants during the interwar period.² Certainly the implementation of immigration and dominion policy between Great Britain and Canada encouraged the migration event, but where were the Scots in this decision? Stated another way, why did Highland Scots willingly move to Canada away from their family, their country, their Scots Gaelic community? What were the legislative pressures, socio-economic conditions, and political climates in post-war Canada and Britain that may have influenced one of the biggest mass migrations out of Scotland?

Many scholars have focused on British and Canadian legislation, but have yet to include a comprehensive study on Canadian propaganda within interwar resettlement schemes. Both Britain and Canada had a vested interest in interwar Scottish migration to Canada. Economic and

²Timothy Steven Forest. "Kith but not Kin: The Highland Scots, Imperial Resettlement, and the Negotiating Identity on the Frontiers of the British Empire in the Interwar Years". (PhD. Diss., 2008 The University of Texas at Austin) p.71

imperial instability plagued Britain following World War I, while Canada experienced a national identity crisis as a Dominion of the British crown. Scottish migration to Canada seemingly bolstered dominion unity under Britain and helped to re-establish a Britishness to counteract a pervasive Canadian identity crisis. Through the study of Canadian immigration advertisements, framed by legislation and personal accounts, Canada's socio-economic and identity insecurities may reveal an ulterior motive in immigration recruitment. New insights into post-war mass Scottish emigration are demonstrated as the narrative shifts focus to Canada's identity crisis and racial immigration policies. In exploration of these advertisements, the socio-economic factors that pushed Scottish emigrants from Britain and pulled immigrants to Canada aid in explaining the interwar mass movement event within a transnational historical narrative.

Motivation behind mass migration is the pervasive question driving historiographic research into post-war Scottish emigration to Canada. Could this migration event be the result of economic hardships experienced in the Highlands and Islands, adventurous Highland spirits, incentivized governmental migratory schemes, or Canadian desire for British settlers? Certainly, many factors motivated migrants and participants within the narrative of Scottish emigration to Canada and there is some historiographical literature surrounding these factors. Although it is popularly thought that Scottish migration was driven largely by personal motivation and the suggestion of family members already settled in Canada, there were pervasive attempts to attract Hebrideans and Highlanders to Canada through various advertisement strategies such as print publication, posters, and speeches distributed by Canadian agents. Some research has been done on the role of these Canadian agents and use of advertisements, but current historiography does not fully explain the extent to which these print pieces targeted British settlers. In other words, there is much less extensive research on the possible connection between Britain's post-war

economy and imperial instability, the racially focused immigration policies of Canada, Canadian advertising abroad, and interwar Scottish emigration.

The Highland Clearances, the Scottish diaspora, and Scottish emigration have been widely studied and analyzed, but the post-war period has not received as extensive historiographic attention. Perhaps the lack of romanticism, which is written into the historical narrative of the 19th century Highland Clearances, lends to an understudied interwar migration event. In any case, because of previous narratives and assumptions about Scottish migration, this period in Scottish history is certainly understudied and presents a unique opportunity to provide a new perspective of Hebridean and Highland emigration across two national historical chronologies.

Historiography

Literature on interwar emigration from Scotland to Canada typically poses two different schools of thought. The first proposes that Hebrideans emigrated of their own accord in search of adventure and a more prosperous life, typically on the recommendation of family and friends who already migrated. The second school of thought argues that specific government intervention encouraged another mass exodus much like the famed Highland Clearances of the 19th century, through immigration agents, propaganda, and legislative schemes. However, ultimate motivation for migration is much more complex within the context of post-war Canada and Britain. The Empire Settlement Act of 1922 suggests that Britain pushed for Scottish migration to dominions, such as Canada, in an attempt to not only alleviate economic burdens, but also unite the Empire during post-war instability. Similarly, Canadian recruitment advertising and immigration policies indicate a heavy focus on British settlers, especially hearty Highland Scots.

Marjory Harper, of the University of Aberdeen, monopolizes literature on Scottish emigration during the interwar period. Harper focuses heavily on Scottish emigration to Canada through the lens of the Scottish experience. Using statistical data, newspapers, government documents, and the correspondence of Canadian agents, Harper constructs a typical Scottish emigration narrative that acknowledges both economic hardships and personal motivation as significant factors in her book, *Emigration from Scotland between the wars: opportunity or exile?* Harper acknowledges that government aid and intervention through propaganda and booking agents encouraged Highlanders to move to Canada, but she proposes that families acted as the main influence behind interwar migration from Scotland. Harper does mention the notion of governmental involvement in her analysis of Canadian agent activities in Scotland and acknowledges that the bad post-war economy of the Highlands contributed to migration. In numerous articles, such as “Enticing the Emigrant: Canadian Agents in Ireland and Scotland, c.1870-1920” and “Crossing borders: Scottish emigration to Canada”, Harper still largely suggests that Highland settlers in Canada resulted from family influence rather than government involvement or economic activity.³

Angela McCarthy, a research fellow at the University of Aberdeen, studies personal testimonies from Scottish migrants during the interwar period to glean a better understanding of this understudied phenomenon in her article “Personal Accounts of Leaving Scotland, 1921-1954.” Not satisfied with the typical broad narrative of interwar Scottish migration, McCarthy presents testimonies to explain the data often employed in Harper’s literature. McCarthy reveals a Highland attitude inclined towards adventure and better opportunities.⁴ Although McCarthy

³ Marjory Harper “Enticing the Emigrant: Canadian Agents in Ireland and Scotland, c. 1870 – c.1920” *The Scottish Historical Review* 83, no. 215 (part 1) (April, 2004) p.58

⁴ Angela McCarthy “Personal Accounts of Leaving Scotland, 1921 – 1954” *The Scottish Historical Review* 83, no. 216 (part 2) (October, 2004) p. 201, 209

also mentions economic hardships and familial ties, like Harper she proposes that Scottish migration was predominantly a personal decision.

While Harper and McCarthy primarily delve into the Scottish experience surrounding migration to Canada, other scholars focus their study on the Canadian government's immigration policies pertaining to Scotland. Did Canadian immigration policies at that time favor a predominantly white European settler, such as a Hebridean Scot? Rebecca Mancuso explores post-war Canadian selective settlement policies in attracting the British settlers in "Three Thousand Families: English Canada's Colonizing Vision and British Family Settlement, 1919-39." Mancuso takes into account the Canadian Immigration Act of 1919 as well as Britain's Settlement Act of 1922 as major incentive forces for Scottish migrants.

Similarly, Timothy Forest explains the Hebridean emigration to Canada as a product of Britain's demand for imperial unity among the dominions in an unstable post-war period in "Defenders of Empire or Agents of Ruin? Hebridean Scot Colonies in British Columbia in the 1920s." Forest also proposes that Canadian immigration policies favored the white British settler.⁵ In his PhD dissertation, "Kith but not Kin: The Highland Scots, Imperial Resettlement, and the Negotiating Identity on the Frontiers of the British Empire in the Interwar Years", Forest navigates the moving legislative parts of Canadian and British immigration policies. One of his main arguments suggests that Highland migration to Canada was rather a British export of potentially troublesome economic and social situations, while encouraging imperial rejuvenation across the dominions.⁶

⁵ Forest, Timothy S. "Defenders of Empire or Agents of Ruin? Hebridean Scot Colonies in British Columbia in the 1920s." *Canadian Historical Review* 96, no. 2 (June 2015): 194-222. Humanities Full Text (H.W. Wilson), EBSCOhost. Accessed October 23, 2016.

<http://search.ebscohost.com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=hft&AN=103429996&site=ehost-live&scope=site>

⁶ Timothy Steven Forest, "Kith but not Kin", p. 235

Current historiography adequately summarizes and explains legislation surrounding interwar Scottish emigration, reveals some Scottish sentiment from personal accounts, and acknowledges a complex narrative. Although quite comprehensive in some areas, current historiography on interwar Scottish emigration to Canada is quite fragmented by nationality and subject focus. Literature exists on Canada's relationship with Britain, as well as Scotland's relationship with migration, Britain, and Canada. There is acknowledgement of Canada's involvement in immigration advertisement strategies that may have swayed some Scottish Highlanders and Hebrideans to migrate, but how does this propaganda align and collaborate with the socio-economic atmospheres of Canada and Britain? As Scottish migrants are typically the main focus of this interwar emigration period, there is value in pivoting the historiographical focus to Canada's national identity crisis, advertising efforts, and Britain's post-war economic and imperial instability to help explain the interwar Scottish emigration to Canada. Through the study of Canadian advertising, the socio-economic conditions of Scotland and Britain, as well as interwar immigration legislation, the historiographical narrative of interwar Scottish emigration synthesizes across three nations.

Secondary sources provide the typical migration data and construct a narrative of personal gain and motivation for Hebrideans to move to Canada. However, the Great War acted as a catalyst for uncertainty and instability amongst not only citizens, but the British government as well. As Britain rebuilt her country following World War I, the government also sought to rebuild their Empire through the reallocation of British migrants to the Dominions. If indeed interwar mass emigration from Scotland to Canada was predominantly the result of familial influence, bad economy, compelling propaganda, and Canadian agents, was there any distinct connection between these players and the British crown? Stated another way, was post-war

migration out of Scotland part of a bigger governmental scheme to reallocate work force and resources to the Dominions in an attempt to boost imperial power in the aftermath of a world war? Alternatively, was Canadian immigration policy a result of British Canadians' attempts to settle predominantly white Anglo-Saxons and thus heavily recruited migrants from Scotland? In order to determine the extent of the role of the British and Canadian governments in the movement of Highlanders from Scotland during the interwar period, it is imperative to analyze Canadian recruitment efforts and propaganda posters, the studies of British expats who migrated to Canada between the wars, alongside government documents such as parliamentary papers and legislation.

Primary Sources

The primary sources focused on in this thesis project are shaped by Canadian and British legislation regarding immigration policy and settlement. Notably, the amendment to Canada's Immigration Act in 1919 and Britain's Empire Settlement Act of 1922 both function as legislative framework with which Canada's propaganda efforts could flourish. With a national identity crisis that undergirded racially restrictive and specific immigration policy, Canada leaned into an aggressive recruitment campaign targeted at desired nationalities. Utilizing Canadian immigration agents abroad, recruitment included literature such as posters, pamphlets, booklets, atlases, and maps distributed in conjunction with lectures and face-to-face communication. Immigration recruitment was not a new concept in Canada. However, in the 1910s and 1920s Canadian immigration posters evolved and adopted bright, bold designs to encapsulate prosperous farming, indicating a targeted advertising and marketing plan. In addition to posters, Canadian immigration agents based in Great Britain held lectures, agricultural events, with new eye-catching technology at the time such as glass lantern slides or

motion pictures. Although some Canadians expressed skepticism towards British settlement schemes in Canada, a study of Canadian immigration propaganda efforts may reveal an even stronger desire for a more British nation.

Additionally, a 1923 report on the *Social and Economic Conditions in the Dominion of Canada* allude to the Canadian government's immigration policy to be restrictive to people they did not want settling in the country and expansionist to people they did want, such as Hebrideans.⁷ These primary sources from British expats in Canada provide a sentiment that most British Canadians probably shared. It is important to note that not all Canadians, certainly immigrants, fostered feelings of animosity towards Canada's racial diversity. However, sources from British expats living in Canada provide contextual evidence that a Canadian national identity crisis did exist to some extent, which initiates study into recruitment propaganda and restrictive immigration policy.

Multiple immigration recruitment posters, circulated in Britain during the 1920s were part of a broader effort in Canada to attract settlers to farmland during the interwar period. Analysis of these posters reveals a specific target audience and may better illuminate the pull of Canada particularly on Scottish emigrants. Although there are limitations in our understanding of the specific impact of these posters, these pieces can be studied through the lens of restrictive and racially specific Canadian immigration policy. Figure 1 explicitly mentions "British Farmers of Moderate Capital – Payments in Easy Instalments", which indicates a target focus on skilled British farmers who may not have the financial means to migrate, much like Highland Scots. Further analysis of 12 recruitment posters will provide more contextual evidence of Canada's immigration goals and insecurities post World War I. Utilizing the framework of transnational

⁷ King, Clyde L., and J. H. Willits, eds. "Social and Economic Conditions in the Dominion of Canada" *The Annals*. Vol. 87. Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1923. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed March 19, 2017 <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3sCoA8>

immigration legislation, policy, government reports, and personal accounts, this thesis analyzes 12 Canadian immigration recruitment posters distributed between 1900 and 1929. This analysis of Canadian immigration advertising will attempt to explain the broader implications of Canada's national identity crisis within the narrative of mass post-war Scottish emigration.

Additional analysis of these recruitment posters is aided by governmental reports found in the "1924 Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada". The Canadian government reported on the practices, implementation, and result of these immigration recruitment campaigns. This primary source reveals specific quantities of publications sent out to each territory from Canada, as well as the number of immigrants, and nationalities, that settled in Canada the year previous. Notably, the Sessional Papers of 1924 reveal the importance of immigration to Canada during the post-war years as well as the advertising campaigns that proved successful.

Alongside propaganda, Canadian legislation supported racially targeted immigration policies. Canada's Immigration Act of 1919 seemingly made it easier for Canada to restrict immigration, based on race, to nationalities that they deemed acceptable. Coincidentally, restrictive immigration policy aligned with British settlement schemes in reallocating manpower to the Dominions. The Empire Settlement Act of 1922 awarded £3,000,000 annually in migration aid to the Dominions, such as Canada.⁸ The push and pull immigration strategies of both nations facilitated Scotland's mass movement to Canada. However, this was one of many British settlement schemes. From the interwar period, Report of the Oversea Settlement Committee for the year ended 31st December, 1922, provides insight into government involvement in overseas settlement. This annual report briefly mentions the notion that inner-dominion migration was

⁸ Timothy Steven Forest, "Kith but not Kin", p.63

beneficial to the crown and further analysis may reveal a deeper connection between the British government and the work of Canadian agents in the Hebrides.⁹

Finally, correspondence between Canada's Minister of the Interior and the Commissioner of Immigration in 1921, indicate incredible skepticism regarding Britain's previous settlement schemes. J.A. Greenway, the Canadian Commissioner of Immigration, purports to W. Cory, the Minister of Interior that over 90% of British settlers have been inexperienced.¹⁰ These personal memorandums provide information regarding Canada's sentiment towards British involvement in migratory settlement schemes and demonstrate the fears of post-war immigration.

In conjunction with the historiographic narrative constructed by Marjory Harper, Timothy Forest, and Angela McCarthy, this thesis contextualizes and synthesizes the Scottish emigration story through the analysis of immigration advertising, legislation, government documents, personal testimony, and reports. The overarching question of what ultimately motivated Scottish Highlanders and Hebrideans to mass migrate to Canada following World War I is complex, to say the least. Many motivating factors, incentives, and economic instabilities certainly facilitated such an event. Current historiography is fragmented by subject and national focus, but there is a lack of attention on Canada's identity crisis and the role this played, alongside British instability, within the narrative of interwar Scottish migration. This presents an opportunity for further study into Canadian recruitment efforts which demonstrates racially specific immigration policies through those efforts. Alongside the current historical framework of interwar Scottish emigration to Canada, this thesis analyzes 10 Canadian recruitment posters

⁹ Oversea Settlement Committee, UK. February, 1923. *Report of the Oversea Settlement Committee for the year ended 31st December, 1922*. (Cmd. 1804. CH 131.125. London) House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. Online

¹⁰ Cory, W. and J.A. Greenway. "Memorandums for state-aided imperial settlement" May 20th to June 4th, 1921. *State aided Immigration by British Government within the Empire*. Library and Archives Canada, online. MIKAN no. 1432195 (11 items) Accessed March 19, 2017

http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayEcopies&lang=eng&rec_nbr=1432195&title=State+aided+Immigration+by+British+Government+within+the+Empire.+&ecopy=e006154595-v6

circulated in Britain during the early 20th century and 2 posters that were distributed in the Ukraine. These advertisements demonstrate Canada's specific recruitment of the British and reveal deeper national identity issues as Canada grappled with its Dominion status. Secondly, the study of both Canadian and British legislation contextualizes the political pressures that both countries exhibited on Scotland. In conjunction with a study on British economics as a whole, analysis of Scotland's interwar economic situation is imperative in understanding internal motivating factors. Was Scottish migration to Canada predominantly a personal decision or were governmental incentives from two nations driving the move? This thesis comprehensively answers these questions through the analysis of Canada and Great Britain's post-war economic and imperial instability. Although interwar mass migration was not an isolated incident, Scottish emigrants found themselves between two national identity crises. Canadian immigration recruitment strategies and print advertisements reveal imperial ties between Great Britain and Canada, post-war socio-economic decline, and a Canadian national identity crisis rooted in post-war racial fears. These advertisements certainly do not instigate migration, but help explain the push-pull factors involved in post-war Scottish migration to Canada.

Posters and Methodology

Canada introduced immigration recruitment posters for international distribution in the late 1800s and continued this print advertisement strategy well into the 20th century. Clifford Sifton, Canadian Minister of the Interior during the 1890s, believed immigration recruitment to be like any product advertising. Sifton revamped the nation's advertisement strategies with pointed content directed at selling Canada to potential settlers. Sifton told the House of

Commons in 1899 that “Just as soon as you stop advertising, the movement is going to stop.”¹¹ A strong indication of the aggressive strategy moving forward, Sifton did indeed push immigration recruitment advertising internationally. With heavy international migration following the First World War, the Canadian government continued print advertisement alongside other immigration recruitment strategies such as lectures, overseas agents, and glass-lantern slide presentations. Print advertisement comprised posters, magazines, and atlases distributed internationally. However, between 1900 and the 1920s, there was a marked shift in Canada’s immigration advertising creative design, especially out of the strategies implemented with wartime propaganda.

Previous posters and creative print of the late 19th century and the turn of the 20th century were more information-based with realistic images of farmland and people. In the 1920s, these posters were replaced with brighter, more colorful posters that embodied an image style much like a magazine. Similar to wartime propaganda, these images were meant to pique interest rather than provide all of the necessary information. Wartime propaganda from the First World War aimed at emotional appeal rather than a solely informational offering. Although Canada distributed posters that were often word-based during the war, they focused upon sentimental calls-to-action with similar bright and colorful animated designs.¹² These campaigns drew citizen support based upon an emotional response to propaganda and post-war immigration advertisement followed suit. The Canadian Department of the Interior continued this style of advertising in their recruitment strategies. Simplistic, but colorful, styles of print advertising included images of prosperity, healthy farmland, and domestic bliss to grab the attention of

¹¹ Murray, Jeffrey. “Sell, Sell, Sell” *Moving Here, Staying Here: The Canadian Immigration Experience*. Library and Archives Canada, online. Accessed March 19, 2017. <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/immigrants/021017-2310-e.html>

¹² “Canadian Wartime Propaganda: First World War” *Canadian War Museum* Exhibition online. Accessed March 19, 2017 http://www.warmuseum.ca/cwm/exhibitions/propaganda/first_e.shtml

potential immigrants. However, just as the Canadian immigration department put much thought into its recruitment strategy, these posters were not meant for all immigrants. Through poster imagery and content, Canada clearly aimed to attract a very specific type of immigrant: a hearty and young British farmer. Farm life depictions in interwar immigration print propaganda, such as posters and geographical atlases, reveal the British farmer as the quintessential desired Canadian settler.

The Canadian Department of the Interior utilized many marketing mediums besides print pieces in their overall advertising recruitment strategy. For example, international agents living in Britain, or traveling to Britain, often presented speeches, held forums, and advertised at exhibition events. Agents also gave glass lantern slide presentations at these events, which was not necessarily new technology but rather a sign of diversified and aggressive marketing. As another approach to immigration recruitment, Canada created print atlases for distribution abroad. These geographical atlases not only provided information on various provinces and settlements, but also acted as an advertising tool to illustrate land-holdings open for immigration settlement. Informative and sales driven in nature, these geographical atlases promoted Canada in a unique way. In fact, the Superintendent of Emigration in Great Britain noted the popularity of these atlases in 1923 and reported that demand increased so much for such publications that it was not possible to supply every enquirer with an atlas.¹³ These atlases were translated into 12 European languages and it was common to print close to 400,000 copies per year.¹⁴ Despite their popularity, these informative atlases were more expensive to produce due to the nature of the publication. The Canadian government therefore relied heavily upon cheaper pamphlets and poster advertisements for widespread international distribution.

¹³United Kingdom, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1922-23" *Sessional Papers, Volume 4, Third Session of the Fourteenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada 1924*, p. 21

¹⁴Jeffrey S. Murray, "Sell, Sell, Sell" <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/immigrants/021017-2312-e.html>

As noted above, the Canadian government used posters to attract settlers beginning in the late 19th century. Although Canada directed immigration propaganda at more diverse nationalities in the late 19th century than the interwar period, the popularity of utilizing posters for recruitment purposes increased. It's not to say that print advertisements were only distributed in Great Britain during the interwar period. In fact, the Canadian Pacific distributed ads in the Ukraine between 1910 and 1930, as illustrated by Figures 11 and 12. However, print publications such as *Canada West* targeted British settlers. These posters and pamphlets were cost-effective to distribute internationally. Additionally, the effectiveness of wartime propaganda posters prompted the usage of posters for advertising in the post-war era. The inside cover of the 1921 first issue *Canadian Marketing and Business Management* magazine discusses the use of posters in advertising: "POSTERS have proved their effectiveness in creating, stimulating and maintaining consumer demand. With no lapse between insertions, your advertising is continuous, powerful in its reiteration, permanent in its impressions. There's a place for POSTERS in your sales plans which no other medium can fill."¹⁵ As a first page focus, businesses clearly praised posters and print pieces as an effective means of marketing and advertising. The Canadian government followed suit and utilized print advertising and posters heavily in their immigration recruitment campaigns across the world. For example, during harvesting seasons Canada recruited workers from the United States, typically from Minnesota for seasonal work. Figure 9, to be further explained, illustrates this type of seasonal migration advertising.

Although Canada also advertised to other regions such as the United States, the government did take an unusual approach in their recruitment with Great Britain. There was a particularly heavy focus on farmers in Great Britain, especially from the Scottish Highlands and

¹⁵Lydiatt, W.A. ed. *Marketing and Business Management* vol. 15, no.1. January 1, 1921. Toronto Online. Accessed March 19, 2017 <https://archive.org/details/marketing1921toro>

Islands, so advertising practices were geared towards rural areas. For example, Canadian agents traveled to Great Britain with exhibition items for speeches and events along with literature and print posters. An informational exhibit on Canadian immigration in the Library and Archives Canada online stated that the “people targeted by this campaign were thought to make ideal settlers because of their familiarity with the physical labor and isolation that prairie life required.”¹⁶ For example, in 1924 a British Empire exhibition was held in Wembley, England, and Canada hosted an official pavilion to display immigration advertisements, information, and posters.¹⁷ The Canadian Pacific Railway Company ran a print advertisement at this exhibition, Figure 8, which called for “Three Thousand British Families Wanted for Canada” and illustrated photos of new British settlers on their farms in Canada.¹⁸ The verbiage “Three Thousand British Families” would have been familiar to British citizens as the British government enacted the “Three Thousand Families Act” which incentivized three-thousand families to settle in Canada. In a sense, this marketing message by the Canadian Pacific Railway, representing Canada at the Empire Exhibition, would have resonated with the British and at the very least, captured their attention.

¹⁶ Jeffrey Murray, “Sell, Sell, Sell” <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/immigrants/021017-2311-e.html>

¹⁷ <http://www.historymuseum.ca/cmhc/exhibitions/hist/advertis/ads7-03e.shtml>

¹⁸ Figure 8

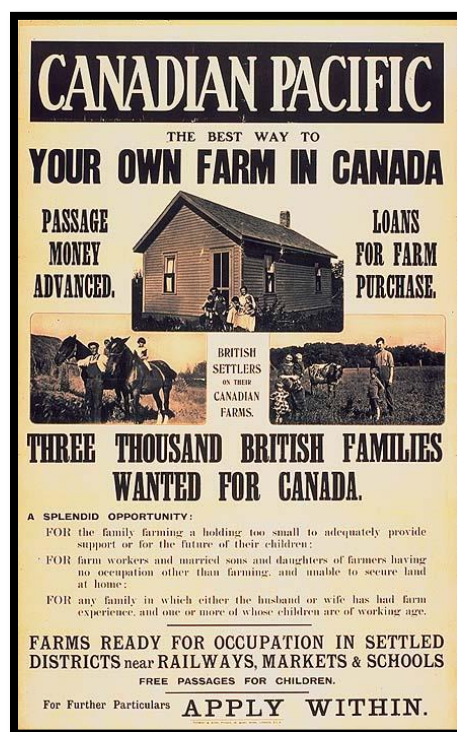


Figure 8

Much like in rural areas of England, numerous promotional events and speeches were held in northern Scotland as well. Aberdeen served as the Highland headquarters of a federal Canadian immigration office from which posters and publications were distributed.¹⁹ Marjory Harper notes that in other parts of Scotland, local agents collaborated with Canadian federal agents to hold events and secure immigrants.²⁰ D.J. Murphy, an Aberdeen booking agent, held a lecture tour on the Isle of Skye in 1923 and kept a journal of his travels. Murphy gave a speech to 131 people in Portree on Skye on January 16, 1923, after which he gave a lecture the next day about 10 miles away in Uig, and immediately following he gave another lecture in Colbost to 147 audience members.²¹ In this lecture tour Murphy gave 7 speeches in total to a diverse mixture of audiences, including schools. He stated in one instance that these Highland Scots “swarmed in to hear about Canada.”²² Murphy distributed print publications such as “Atlases”,

¹⁹ Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p.61

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p. 58

²² Ibid.

“Women’s Work”, and “Canada, Where When & How” at these events and boasted that “our literature was very widely and wisely distributed.”²³ Similarly, Canadian Pacific Railway agents also presented speeches and lectures to audiences in the Highlands and Outer Hebrides.²⁴

Canadian advertising to Britain therefore included a heavy focus on northern Scotland, with lecture tours to accompany literature distribution.

Legislation from both Canada and Great Britain also incentivized or, conversely, limited migration. Notably, the Canadian government passed an amendment to the Immigration Act in 1919 which made it easier to exclude certain nationalities from settlement with ambiguous phrasing such as exclusion of “Any persons who in the opinion of the Board of Inquiry or officer in charge at any port of entry are likely to become a public charge.”²⁵ Further, this amendment gave authority “to prohibit or limit...for a stated period permanently the landing...of immigrants belonging to any nationality or race deemed unsuitable” in section 38.²⁶ This allowed the Canadian government legal, albeit rather arbitrary, grounds to discriminate among immigrants based on nationality or race. Such ambiguous wording gave immigration officers sweeping authority in these matters. If an officer did not like Eastern Europeans, then he could provide a number of ambiguous reasons to bar that immigrant from entrance. In other instances, restriction on immigration manifested in the way of literacy tests. William George Smith, an Anglo-Canadian scholar, noted in *A Study in Canadian Immigration* from 1920 that any immigrant over 15 years old must read in English or French to satisfy Immigration Act requirements.²⁷ In this sense, the newly revised Immigration Act of 1919 facilitated official discrimination against

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p.59-61 (Harper extensively researched and presented the stories of many Canadian agents abroad, both federally and privately employed)

²⁵ Immigration Act, 1919, Canada

²⁶ Immigration Act, 1919, Canada

²⁷ Smith, William George. “A study in Canadian Immigration” (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 192). *Sabin Americana, 1500-1926*. Web. p. 356 <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3sCo86>

immigrants of certain races or nationalities and its subjective implementation strongly suggests racist immigration policy.

On the other hand, British legislation incentivized the British to migrate to the dominions. Alongside Canadian immigration policy, which sought to exclude unwanted nationalities but was inclusive of British immigrants, Great Britain passed the Empire Settlement Act of 1922. This act aided in relocating British migrants to the dominions of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Great Britain agreed to allocate £3 million per year, split between the dominions, as settlement aid with fare passages, and training.²⁸ Additionally, Great Britain passed the Three Thousand British Families Scheme in 1924, which offered British migrants assisted travel fare, money towards owning a farm, and training to settle in Canada.²⁹ Settlement acts and schemes devised by the British not only assisted aspiring British migrants, but also strengthened the imperial bond between Great Britain and the dominions.

Despite such schemes, there was significant disconnect between the Canadian government looking for settlers, the people looking to settle, and those who had already settled. Contention between different groups of Canadians bred animosity and racism from Anglo-Canadians desiring an Anglo-Saxon or Nordic based Canada. To clarify, Canada did not actively recruit from the Nordic countries but the ideal of a Nordic based race came from British or Anglo-Saxon races. There were “high hopes of an ethnically pure Canada”, but to most Canadians that really meant white Anglo-Saxon farmer settlers.³⁰ However, the identity crisis felt by most Anglo-Canadians at that time was compounded by the fact that the Eastern European

²⁸ Constantine, Stephen, ed. *Emigrants and Empire: British Settlement in the Dominions Between the Wars*. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press: 1990) p. 4

²⁹ Wright, Glen. “Settlement Schemes” *Moving Here, Staying Here: The Canadian Immigration Experience*. Webpage. Library and Archives Canada, online. Accessed March 19, 2017
<http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/immigrants/021017-2441-e.html>

³⁰ Avery, Donald. *Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1980) p.90

population percentage had increased to 35 percent in 1935 from 29 percent in 1921.³¹ While Canada desperately needed an economic and worker stimulus in the form of successful immigrants, strong racial ideologies hindered the recruitment of such immigrants in favor of “white” farmers.

In its recruitment of the preferred immigrants versus the non-preferred, Canada arguably worsened an employment crisis. Recruitment for race rather than skill proved a hindrance to Canadian progress in industry and farming. Many British immigrants either crossed into the United States or quickly gave up on farming due to harsh conditions, lack of knowledge or community, and moved to the cities thereby continuing a cycle of poverty and becoming a drain on government finances. This vicious circle somewhat paralleled the post-war economic situation in Great Britain, but with English farmers and Scottish Highlanders and Hebridean farmers. Industry could not supply employment demand, requiring the British government to dole out welfare. Ultimately, could this have played a factor in incentivizing the move of these “problems” to Canada in an attempt to simultaneously bolster dominion support and improve the economy? In his dissertation, Stephen Forest argues that British settlement aid was believed to cost the government less than potential economic problems brought about by idle highlanders and islanders.³²

Despite the economic issues, the advertising budget for immigration recruitment increased early on and was hyper-focused on targeting Great Britain and the United States. Following the implementation of this advertising, the Prairie West expanded from 1.3 million people in 1911 to 2 million people in 1921 – a 54% increase in just 10 years. Alongside revamped recruitment strategies and advertising by Canada, British legislation aided the process

³¹ Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, p. 91

³² Timothy Forest, “Kith but not Kin”, p. 63, 235

in the form of various settlement schemes. The notion of empire settlement for Britain proved to be an ideal solution for post-war imperial instability and volatile economy. It has been suggested that in fact, the British needed these settlement schemes more than Canada and were “prepared to go to any lengths to promote it.”³³ The actual numbers amounted to about 127,654 British, who moved to Canada under various schemes during the interwar time period.³⁴ Of the British, between 1920 and 1929, specifically 34, 946 migrants (or about 27%) were Scottish, heavily influenced by British settlement schemes and Canadian recruitment strategies.³⁵

Canada’s immigration posters reveal much more to us than just a progressive new strategy for recruitment. These posters reveal a transnational imperial struggle and identity crisis, post-war economics, and the racist fears of interwar Canada. The analysis of twelve posters, dated 1900-1930 with the majority from the post-war period, lends pictorial insight into the socio-economic factors driving racially specific immigration recruitment. In addition to revealing the interwar Canadian political and socio-economic climate, these posters can also reveal a transnational narrative in the migratory result from the nations in which Canada was advertising. In other words, migratory response to various advertising messaging reveals particular concerns for that group. For example, strong financial messaging geared towards the Scottish Highlands and Islands reveals economy as a driving force for mass Scottish migration to Canada. Specifically, 1923 had the highest number of emigrants out of Scotland in the famous interwar mass migration.³⁶ This lends insight into the economic decline that plagued Scotland following the war.

³³ Schultz, John A.. “Leaven for the lump: Canada and Empire settlement, 1918-1939”. *Emigrants and Empire: British Settlement in the Dominions Between the Wars*. Stephen Constantine, ed. 150-173. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990) p.152

³⁴ Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, p. 97

³⁵ Forest, “Kith but not Kin”, p.71

³⁶ Angela McCarthy, “Personal Accounts of Leaving Scotland, 1921 – 1954”, p. 202 (Table 1)

The analysis includes 7 print posters that were distributed in Great Britain as well as 3 covers of the *Canada West* magazine. The *Canada West* was just one of many recruitment publications that the Canadian government printed and distributed in Great Britain and in some cases, the United States. Clifford Sifton, Canadian Minister of the Interior in the 1890s, created these immigration atlases such as *Canada West* in 1897 as part of a new recruitment strategy which was utilized throughout the early 20th century as well.³⁷ A few posters from the early 1900s provide context for the change in advertising style and copy indicative of advertising in the early 1910s and certainly the interwar period. Each image not only reveals a target market, a message, and a goal for that message, but it also speaks to transnational imperial congruity in the midst of one of the largest migration periods out of Scotland. Although part of a broader recruitment scheme, these posters and magazine covers illustrate the larger Anglo-Canadian alliance, desire for white British settlers, and post-war economic stresses.

Canada as a Dominion of the British Crown reported on various federal financial and civic standings to the British House of Commons. The 1924 Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada reported on the fiscal year previous and noted the distribution of immigration literature, whether atlases or posters, to the various regions. In 1923, applicants from Great Britain requested 8,029 publications, while 11,247 were sent to the United States and a remainder of 1,064 was sent to other countries.³⁸ The Superintendent of Emigration for Canada in London, J. Obed Smith, noted that “The *Atlas of Canada*, *Eastern Canada*, and *Canada West* are three standard publications of excellent value and merit. They are not distributed without great discrimination because of their cost, but that they are effective and of lasting value is beyond question. We only wish that it were possible to supply them in sufficiently large numbers to give

³⁷ Jeffrey Murray, “Sell, Sell, Sell” <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/immigrants/021017-2312-e.html>

³⁸ United Kingdom, Parliament, “Report of the Department of the Interior, 1922-23”, *Sessional Papers, Volume 4, Third Session of the Fourteenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada 1924*, p. 23

every enquirer a copy, but this is not presently possible, we are obliged to utilize very much cheaper pamphlets of a general character, of which hundreds of thousands will be necessary.”³⁹

J. Obed Smith reveals both a need for the publications in the United Kingdom and the success of such a campaign. Recruitment publications reflect a Canadian need and the British response. Analysis of these publications and posters lends insight into post-war political, socio-economic, and imperial circumstances in Canada and Britain thus revealing the push-pull factors in Scottish migration. Although intensive advertising was a good strategy to satisfy Canadian desire for hearty farmers to settle the unsettled farmland, it was common for highlanders and islanders to feel misled after they had moved to the Canadian prairies. Effective print literature and recruitment strategies by Britain may have led to an influx in immigrants, but they also ultimately resulted in disillusioned “new Canadians” ready to move back to their homeland.

Certainly, there are limits imposed on analysis of historical posters. Although reports on where posters and other advertising materials have been distributed exist in archives, it is nearly impossible to attribute any migratory movement to one specific part of a recruitment strategy. It is important to remember that these items did not inspire mass movement on their own, but aid in understanding the transnational climate surrounding a mass movement event. Through these sources it is possible to glean insights into the socioeconomic and political climate in post-war England, Scotland, and Canada. Canada implemented a diverse recruitment marketing mix between print ads, posters, atlases, events, and incentives, but these posters and print covers provide insight into the socioeconomic and political climates of Britain and Canada during the interwar time periods. Canada’s recruitment strategy did not solely utilize print, but as an advertising medium these print pieces not only reveal the overall Canadian recruitment

³⁹ United Kingdom, Parliament, “Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1922-23”, *Sessional Papers, Volume 4, Third Session of the Fourteenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada 1924*, p. 21

strategies, but they also illustrate the socioeconomic and political climate surrounding a mass migration from Scotland to Canada.

Chapter 1

Post-War British Empire: Tottering on the Brink

At the center of the impetus for interwar Scottish migration to Canada was a British Empire with a 19th century imperial ideology that Great Britain carried into the 20th century. In fact, post-war economic instability and population decline heightened the perceived need for this British imperial ideology that England felt would provide support following the war. However, England wasn't the only influential player in the imperial game. Canada also implemented legislation and used aggressive marketing tactics to cultivate its own new sense of empire. Certainly, within the context of the Dominions and the Commonwealth, each nation developed their own sense of empire and nationality after the war. For example, Canada had a post-war identity crisis that stemmed from a newfound sense of national pride, separate from their historical identity as a British colony. Although Canada fought for Great Britain, as did Australia and New Zealand, there was a sense of separateness and dignity in that independence they all expressed. As Canada struggled with identity, in the middle of a volatile socio-economic climate, Anglo-Canadians rallied, conversely, to promote a stronger sense of loyalty to the crown, the "home country". Anglo-Canadians and advocates for stronger ties to the crown were primarily concerned with racial demographics as evidenced by Mr. Smith's concern that Canada was more like Babel than Britain.⁴⁰ Likewise, Great Britain sought deeper imperial and commonwealth connection following the war in an effort to bolster dominion support should a similar war situation ever arise. The British Empire Exhibition in 1924 and 1925 in Wembley, England, attempted to reinforce the concept of a strong Empire as England invited all the Dominions to represent their nations via presentations and pavilions. Canadian involvement in this Exhibition

⁴⁰ William George Smith, "A study in Canadian Immigration" p. 348-349

paradoxically revealed both national separateness and crown loyalty, a struggle for state uniqueness. This paradox was evident in Canada's immigration policies and recruiting strategies.

Within a transnational context, Canada's post-war recruitment strategy revealed its own imperial ideologies, strategies, and dynamics. Particularly, advertising verbiage endorsed an imperial connection between Britain and Canada. In such immigration advertising, the message of Canada as "The New Homeland" was apparent and heavily utilized in an effort to attract British settlers. But more than that, marketing Canada as "The New Homeland" created both an imperial tie with Great Britain, and it also essentially advertised Canada as a "New Britain". Although crown loyalty still existed, Canada (and other Dominions) asserted their independence as a separate governmental entity from Great Britain which promoted movement away from imperial unity. Immigration advertising therefore revealed support for an imperial union while simultaneously promoting a message of creating a new Canada. While Great Britain sought to strengthen the Empire, Canada struggled to create its own unique nation through migration control. Between these two empires, Scotland was caught right in the middle of the British government settlement schemes and its supportive Canadian advertising.

The Great British Empire: Imperial Deterioration

Some may argue that the British Empire reached its imperial peak in 1914 with a commonwealth system of dominions and colonies. This was the case before World War One. By 1922 the Empire was deteriorating rapidly due to a bleak post-war economic climate in Great Britain, as well as to the losses of hundreds of thousands of men from the war and migration. However, Great Britain recognized the need to strengthen dominion ties and improve financial wellbeing as a defense within a volatile post-war climate. The British Empire boasted dominions such as Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa, all nations that fought with and for

Britain in World War One. Additionally, post-war migration from Great Britain converged heavily upon Canada and Australia, as British settlement schemes incentivized movement solely to the Dominions in order to bolster imperial ties and support. During the 1920s, greater than 65 percent of British emigrants chose to relocate to the Dominions.⁴¹ Stephen Constantine stated that “The preference for Empire was therefore one of the important characteristics of the inter-war experience.”⁴² This sentiment is evidenced by the number of relocated British immigrants to the Dominions between 1922 and 1936. By March 1936, The Empire Settlement Act of 1922 had assisted the settlement of 186,524 British migrants to Canada, compared with 172,735 migrants to Australia and 44,745 to New Zealand.⁴³ Within these groups, an overwhelming majority of Scottish immigrants settled in Canada.

Post-war legislation was designed as the center point of British imperial efforts to further settle the dominions after World War One. To facilitate and implement such migrations, the British government created the Oversea Settlement Committee in 1919 (OSC).⁴⁴ The OSC supported and aided settlement schemes across the British Empire and reported on the progress of such imperial activities to the government. Alongside print advertising and publications, Canada and Britain passed legislation promoting settlement in Canada, although not all such legislation received universal support by Canadian leadership. However, Canada’s Immigration Act of 1919 made it easier for British citizens to settle by restricting nationalities that were not desired, such as Eastern Europeans and Japanese, by arbitrary usage of ambiguous verbiage. In contrast, British immigrants were not even required to have passports in order to enter Canada,

⁴¹ Stephen Constantine, *Emigrants and Empire*, p.2

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Stephen Constantine, *Emigrants and Empire*, p. 16

⁴⁴ Stephen Constantine, *Emigrants and Empire*, p. 13

the only nation with lifted immigration restrictions.⁴⁵ Marjory Harper wrote that the “The British government had begun to consider state-aided emigration as a means of promoting the economic development of the Empire and of preserving its vulnerable political cohesion...”⁴⁶ Therefore, settlement schemes were implemented as an imperial economic stimulus and political glue to bolster dominion relationships with the British government. International collaboration with Great Britain was then fully manifested in 1922 with the Empire Settlement Act and promoted imperial bonds as the mechanism for the British to achieve its goals, for which it allotted £3 million per year to the Dominions as settlement aid.

However not all Canadians, or even Anglo-Canadians, believed in British settlement schemes. J.A. Greenway, the Canadian Commissioner of Immigration, wrote to the Deputy Minister of the Interior, Mr. Cory, in May 1921 that “...probably over 90% of the prospective settlers for any private or state-aided imperial settlement scheme would be inexperienced.”⁴⁷ In response, Mr. Cory agreed and replied “I am of the opinion that such a move would produce a great many settlers who are not likely to make a success on the land and who would give our country a black eye.”⁴⁸ The point of contention was not the immigrant’s nationality, as Canadian immigration officials actively recruited British immigrants, but that the skill set and the overall quality of the immigrants taking part in the settlement schemes would not be sufficient to improve the nation. Immigration and Canadian government officials were more concerned that settlement failure, due to a lack of qualified skills, would ultimately contribute to a cycle of

⁴⁵ United Kingdom, Parliament, “Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1922-23”, *Sessional Papers, Volume 4, Third Session of the Fourteenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada 1924*, p. 22

⁴⁶ Marjory Harper. “Enigmas in Hebridean Emigration: Crofter Colonists in Western Canada”. *Canada and the British Worlds: Culture Migration and Identity*. Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds. 198-214. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006.)p. 203

⁴⁷ Cory, W. and J.A. Greenway. “Memorandums for state-aided imperial settlement” May 20th to June 4th, 1921, (May 20th 1921)

⁴⁸ Cory, W. and J.A. Greenway. “Memorandums for state-aided imperial settlement” May 20th to June 4th, 1921, (June 1st 1921)

poverty in the cities. This concern proved to be legitimate as some young settlers from the British Isles broke agreements shortly after arrival in Canada in order to move to America or work for industrial factories near the cities. Mr. Cory's concern for a "black eye" that would embarrass Canada's reputation was related to the insecurities of a nation just developing an identity separate from the Empire. So although there were many advocates for British settlement and culture in Canada, not all schemes were welcomed with enthusiasm while the nation struggled in the midst of a dominion identity crisis.

Despite settlement schemes and legislative actions that favored them financially, the Dominions deliberately exercised greater autonomy from the Empire during the interwar period. In an article written in 1922, "What Will the Dominions Do?" Archibald Hurd, defines empire as a "grouping of free nations in one commonwealth, pursuing the same ideals with united purpose."⁴⁹ Hurd was, of course, referring to the British commonwealth of dominions such as Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, assuming that each dominion of the Empire actually pursued the same goals and visions as Britain. However, particularly for Canada as a newer nation, fighting for Britain during World War One "...deepened the Dominion sense of national separateness..." and furthered the notion of Canada as a nation able to stand without Britain.⁵⁰ In fact, Canada executed its first treaty separate from Britain in 1923.⁵¹ Canada struggled to define a unique national identity while remaining loyal to the British crown as a dominion. Canadian participation in the British Empire Exhibition in 1924 and 1925 revealed a sense of loyalty to

⁴⁹ Archibald Hurd, 1922. "What Will the Dominions Do?" *Fortnightly Review*. May 1865- June 1934, (112 (667), 104-118) p.118
<https://colorado.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/colorado.idm.oclc.org/docview/2478014?accountid=14503>,

⁵⁰ Timothy Forest, "Kith but not Kin" p. 226

⁵¹ Christopher Tait, "Brushes, Budgets, and Butter: Canadian Culture and Identity at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924-25" *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity*. Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds. 234-249. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006) p. 234

Great Britain, but also presented an opportunity to recruit British settlers to an independent and distinctly separate nation. Figure 8, a Canadian Pacific Advertisement at the British Empire Exhibition, illustrates imperial loyalty as well as an attempt at creating British community in Canada. The ad shows three photos, not animations, of “British Settlers on their Canadian Farms” and further stresses opportunity for British community.⁵² The issue remained, what made Canada unique? What made Canada, Canada? This Exhibition did not reveal a unified Canadian identity, but rather revealed progress towards the discovery of that identity. While Great Britain desired dominion loyalty to the Empire, the Canadian government also proclaimed itself a country as a separate entity. Other dominions also practiced greater autonomy from Britain; for example, in 1922, Australia, South Africa, and Canada denied help to Britain in their Turkish exigency.⁵³ Certainly not the grand imperial support that Britain desired, but rather it was indicative of dominion impetus towards federal self-reliance and identity outside the Empire. The national identity question resulted in Canada expressing different views regarding acceptable separateness from Britain. In the midst of this identity struggle, many Anglo-Canadians strongly welcomed British influence while rejecting other supposedly unassimilable nationalities.

Following a world war that altered Europe and caused widespread instability, it was in Britain’s best interest to sustain an empire that could be called to defend the mother country in case of another war. Ideologically, British implementation and encouragement of dominion migration “...should stem the hemorrhage of British manpower draining away to foreign destinations, stimulate instead the markets and production of the dominions, and strengthen

⁵² Figure 8

⁵³ Christopher Tait, “Brushes, Budgets, and Butter” p. 234

thereby British resistance to her external and internal dangers.”⁵⁴ During post-war years, with labor needs and population seemingly mismatched, Hurd viewed the movement of immigrants to the Dominions as an opportunity to relieve the British government from paying increasing amounts of welfare.⁵⁵ At the same time, Hurd advocated for unification with the Dominions for future defense purposes: “The Dominions set out to solve this problem of the defence of the British interests in the Pacific, and hence the birth of the Dominion Navies of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand...”⁵⁶ Empire settlement was vital to the British empire and, as a result, Anglo-Canadians held on to empire settlement ideals purely from a racial standpoint. Post-war, Great Britain suffered economically, industrially, and agriculturally. Unable to support those on welfare, settlement schemes became more attractive as an option to export the problems. Stephen Forest suggests that “The British government essentially decided to cut its losses and export this...problem to the Dominions, where it was hoped that their “British” status would emerge as it never had at home.”⁵⁷ In this, the British government believed they could relieve some of their financial woes by shipping welfare burdens elsewhere. But more importantly, immigration to a British dominion kept necessary man-power within the umbrella of the British Empire. For all intents and purposes, Britain then did not necessarily lose any man-power, but just reallocated it. The merging of such British imperial and Anglo-Canadian ideals instigated a national shift to move landless British men to the man-less lands of Canada.

⁵⁴ Stephen Constantine, *Emigrants and Empire*, p. 6

⁵⁵ Archibald Hurd, 1922. “What Will the Dominions Do?”, p. 109

⁵⁶ Archibald Hurd, 1922. “What Will the Dominions Do?”, p. 114

⁵⁷ Timothy Forest, “Kith but not Kin”, p. 63

***“Peopling the Dominions”:* Moving Landless Men to the Man-less Land**

A Canadian immigration poster created in the early 20th century, Figure 4 below, utilized wording to elicit strong imperial ties to Britain. Underneath photos of a hardworking farmer, his cattle, and pristine farmland, the copy reads “Westward the Star of Empire Takes Its Way.”⁵⁸ The “Star of Empire” refers to the reallocation of British citizens, and very clearly “Westward” alludes to migration towards Canada. Indeed, westward to Canada the British Empire moved and expanded. Reassuringly, the poster further claims “Nothing to Fear...Protected by the Government” which invokes a sense of stable protection by the Canadian and British governments, for those who were willing to take on such a grand risk. This particular poster suggests an imperial connection to Great Britain and firmly advocates for settlement of the Dominion of Canada.

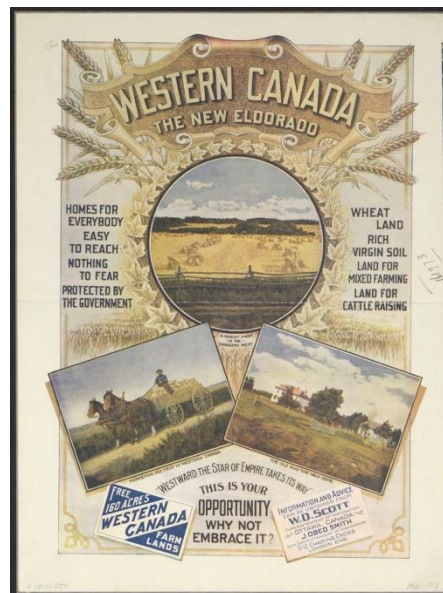


Figure 4

⁵⁸ Figure 4, ca. 1900

By and large there was, as Hurd noted, a large population disparity between Great Britain and Canada. He argued that it was the duty of Great Britain to populate the massive territories under the Empire and in particular the Dominions. South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada were crucial to Great Britain's sense of stability after a particularly brutal world war. Post-war migration from the British Isles to Canada ultimately decreased significantly from 74,262 migrants in 1921 to only 34,508 British migrants in 1923, a decline in settlement that could be due in part to the mass waves of immigration from previous years.⁵⁹ In any case, more migrants were expected to settle in Canada following the Empire Settlement Act of 1922, which was an effort to promote and regain a steady influx of British immigrants. Canada implemented more focused and aggressive recruitment strategies congruent with Great Britain. Canada's recruitment policies reflect the desire for more British immigrants, but initial disappointments in actual quantity of previous Anglo-settlers resulted in better targeted strategies during the interwar period to attract and retain the immigrants that Canada desired. Although overall migration from the British Isles to Canada decreased, 1923 proved to be a monumental year for Scottish migration to Canada as the largest mass movement from Scotland during the interwar period. Although united by the crown and parliament, Scotland operates as a separate nation from England. Historically, the political relationship between England and Scotland has been nothing short of contentious. Events such as The Highland Clearances of the late 19th century severely embittered the Scottish, especially in northern Scotland. British settlement schemes enacted by the government were not always received well by the Scottish due to past contentious colonization and clearance events. As part of broader imperial support, Scotland's experiences were illustrative of various push and pull strategies implemented by both Britain and Canada.

⁵⁹ United Kingdom, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1922-23" *Sessional Papers, Volume 4, Third Session of the Fourteenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada 1924*, p. 6-7

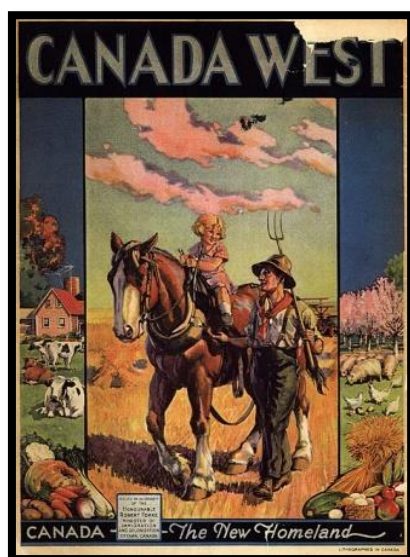


Figure 1

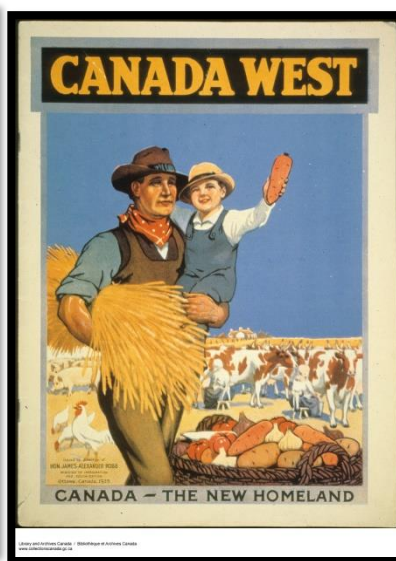


Figure 2

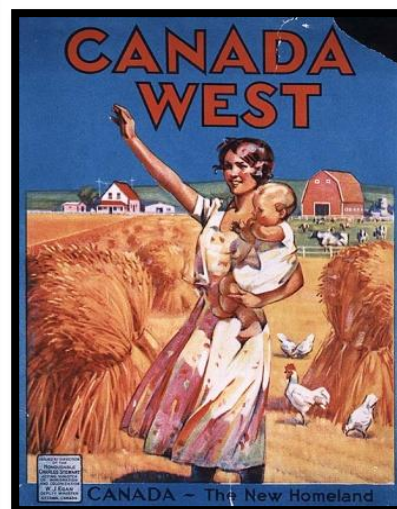


Figure 3

D. Algar-Bailey largely thought that British emigrants held a responsibility to move to the Dominions in an effort to support the British Empire. He urged his fellow Brits by saying “The time has come for a national movement which must be captained by big men and women who realise that their task is ‘Peopling the Empire’.”⁶⁰ Algar-Bailey’s sentiment exemplified the Anglo-Canadian belief in a wholly unified Canada and Britain, as each nation supposedly had an imperial duty to the other. Realistically though, it was primarily that Canada held a duty to Great Britain. In fact, the print covers of the *Canada West* publications each showcase the tagline “Canada – The New Homeland”, as seen on the bottom of Figures 1, 2, and 3 above.

Nomenclature such as “the new homeland” invokes transference of British culture, lifestyles, and community to Canada. In essence, this phraseology links Canada and Britain as equally suitable

⁶⁰ Algar-Bailey, D. (1925). “Peopling Canada”. *The English Review*, 1908-1937, (417-420) ProQuest. Accessed March 19, 2017) p. 420 <https://colorado.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/colorado.idm.oclc.org/docview/2447624?accountid=14503>.

homelands. Canada as synonymous with Britain was an important association for those looking to settle in an area with strong community, much like they enjoyed in their real homeland. The woman waving in Figure 3 appears to be waving to an unseen family member or neighbor, indicating a sense of community. Or perhaps, this action of waving is meant to grab the reader's attention. In any case, community, whether new or native, played a very important role in settler success. Norman MacKenzie's daughter, Jessie MacKenzie, attended a school in Chipperfield, Saskatchewan during the interwar period that was an exact replica of the school she would have attended on the Isle of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides. Jessie attended the Aird School with other children of Scottish immigrants, all of whom likely spoke Scottish Gaelic and who immersed themselves in community very similar to the community they would have had back on the island. This was the Scottish way of creating a new homeland in Canada.

The notion of a British community in Canada, as envisioned by Anglo-Canadians, largely stemmed from strong imperial ties to Great Britain. Although Canada sought to establish itself as a nation unique from Great Britain, or its position as a dominion of the Empire, conveying loyalty to the Great British Empire was beneficial for Canada's targeted immigration recruitment campaigns. After World War One, Great Britain sought to bolster the support of the Dominions and Commonwealth. Britain leaned heavily on incentivized settlement plans to promote the reallocation of man-power within the Dominions while Canada utilized imperial verbiage to indicate an allegiance to the British Empire. However, the British Empire deteriorated as the Dominions practiced more autonomy and international economy declined.

Chapter 2

Economic Decline and the Inclination for Scottish Immigration

Following the First World War, economies across the world suffered due to the losses of young working men, industrial decline, and overall consumer confidence. Millions of young men died during World War One, which significantly hindered economic progress across all industries internationally. Harsh economic times instigated mass migrations as unemployed men followed available jobs. For example, post-war movement from Scotland to Canada was indicative of economically driven migration. Canada's advertising posters and immigration recruitment publications reveal this uncertain post-war economic climate across Canada and Britain. Recruitment poster imagery acknowledged unstable interwar economies in Canada and Britain through messages that targeted farmers with little capital and those willing to move. Scotland's industrial and economic downturn resulted in migration, while Great Britain searched for alternatives to limit welfare spending on Scottish Highlanders and Islanders unable to work. As many northern Scots looked towards migration, print advertisements from Canada illustrated a farming utopia for any and all who decided to settle the vast western lands. In Canadian recruitment advertising there is a clear sense of eagerness for quality farmers, coupled with desperation from migrant Scots looking for employment and a livelihood. Overall, publications and advertisements reveal an economic push from the homeland and a financial pull from the new land, Canada. Canadian desperation for quality settlers, combined with a British desire to evade potential economic problems, and a Scottish propensity to find a quality life, factored in to interwar Scottish migration to Canada.



Figure 7

Private industry also experienced negative effects of the international post-war economic decline. In many cases federal and private corporation alliances were created in an effort to revive the economy via new settlers in Canada. The Canadian government collaborated with private entities in their recruitment of the British. For example, immigration agents who traveled or lived abroad were typically financially compensated for each successful migrant and in some cases awarded bonuses.⁶¹ These agents could be independently operated, part of federal recruitment, or employees of private entities such as the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). The Canadian federal government worked alongside railways, such as the CPR, to recruit settlement

⁶¹ Marjory Harper, "Agents and activists". *Emigration from Scotland*, p.41-66. (Harper discusses agent activities at length in this chapter)

throughout Canada. Many advertisements, such as Figure 5, “Get your home in Canada from the Canadian Pacific”⁶², Figure 7 “Canadian National Railways”, and Figure 8, “The Best Way to Your Own Farm in Canada”⁶³, reveal a federal alliance with the private sector to boost settlement. It was thought that this partnership would ultimately stimulate the overall economy through much needed settlement. This was not just the case with British settlers, as the Canadian Pacific also advertised ship voyages to Canada in the Ukraine, as will be explained further by Figure 12. Private corporations needed settlers in Canada to stimulate the economy for business, so it was just as beneficial for the private sector to participate in immigration recruitment advertising as the federal government. However, it is important to note that in this instance, the Canadian Pacific was not advertising Canada necessarily, but rather selling the voyage to Canada. In the end, both the private and public sectors in Canada required more settlers.



Figure 5

⁶² Figure 5

⁶³ Figure 8

In order to attract the quantity of settlers needed, Canada produced appropriate advertisements geared towards prosperity and self-determined destiny in a time period of economic stress. Post-war economic decay inspired movement and advertising posters emphatically depicted prosperity and success. From the *Canada West* covers to stand-alone advertisement posters, each piece illustrates vast farmland with a sizable home, family, children, healthy crops, and abundant livestock. Advertisements specifically offered prosperity to those who chose to settle in Canada. For example, Figure 1 illustrates a strong, white farmer with his healthy young daughter beside him on a horse and in the background is a large home with substantial cattle and crops throughout the image. All imagery points towards idyllic health, prosperity, and farming success.⁶⁴ Such images of success and livelihood appeal most to those who are without. These print pieces reveal transnational economic climates by virtue of what is depicted; the Canadian Department of Interior utilized imagery of flourishing farms in order to attract Scots who desired that prosperity. Canada's requirement for quality settlers, who are also racially acceptable, coupled with a Scottish desire for a livelihood are revealed in these interwar ads. In this, both nations' precarious interwar economy is revealed. However, advertising and recruitment strategies from Canada were argued to be financially misleading and sometimes resulted in disillusioned new settlers.

Post-War Economy

"Passage Money Advanced" and "Loans for Farm Purchase" in large font flank both sides of a farmhouse photo in the top portion of a Canadian Pacific advertisement from 1924.⁶⁵ In this particular poster, Figure 8, the Canadian Pacific offers "The Best Way to Your Own Farm

⁶⁴ Figure 1

⁶⁵ Figure 8

in Canada.”⁶⁶ Besides a sales pitch for British farmers and the promise of community, prosperity, and new opportunity, this poster explicitly incentivizes British farmers of little capital to relocate. Additionally, the ad states that this offer is excellent for farmers who are unable to secure land at home in Great Britain and heavily emphasizes the word “own” as a play-on-words to promote ownership. In turn, this financially focused recruitment strategy suggests a volatile economic climate in the recruited country. The Canadian Department of the Interior and Immigration Department understood that there were land-less, job-less men and families looking for work and a new life following the war, especially in northern Scotland. In theory, Canada supplied the land and the Scottish Highlander provided the demand. Partnership between the Canadian Pacific and Canadian federal government then capitalized on the economic slump with incentivized settlement recruitment.

Post 1919, Canadian policies for immigration recruitment drastically shifted from a wide acceptance of ethnicities, due to economic concerns, towards cultural and political acceptability.⁶⁷ To be discussed in Chapter 3, advertisement imagery shifted to attract British nationalities. For example, the *Canada West* cover images embody the message that this “New Homeland” is for a specific nationality. The ironic outcome of this racialized recruitment policy was that it furthered economic decline in Canada. Canadian immigration historian Donald Avery notes that “The immediate post-war years did not favor the old free enterprise immigrant labor traffic. Between 1919 and 1925 Canadian immigration policy discouraged the entry of both European workers and agriculturalists. The purpose of the Dominion government now was to re-establish the Anglo-Saxon character of the country.”⁶⁸ Such deviation from recruitment driven by industrial and economic considerations, towards racially focused recruitment resulted in

⁶⁶ Figure 8

⁶⁷ Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, p. 90

⁶⁸ Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, p. 96

deeper economic downturn in Canada between the wars. From 1896 until 1914, Canada experienced unprecedented economic growth largely attributed to immigrant population increase.⁶⁹ The skill sets that Canada needed in order to sustain industrial and agricultural growth had historically been met by immigrant workers from countries which Canada actively excluded following the amendment to the Immigration Act of 1919.⁷⁰ Racially targeted recruitment strategies therein imposed limitations on economic growth due to Canadian exclusionary policies. Focus on nationality rather than economy marked a shift in immigration recruitment. Furthermore, this pivot towards racially targeted recruitment excluded economic concerns and revealed a volatile economic climate in Canada, England, and particularly Scotland

In the midst of mass migration, already settled Canadians were unable to financially support themselves during this post-war economic slump. In 1921, J.A. Greenway, Commissioner of the Canadian Department of the Interior, posed an excellent question regarding the economic status of Canada in the context of accepting new settlers via various British settlement schemes. He asked “What would the settlers now in the country think of the scheme, particularly those in the Western Provinces? Many of them at present are finding it hard to make ends meet, and the prospects for the next few years are not encouraging. How would they, who have been through the mill, regard a system of financial aid to new and inexperienced arrivals from overseas?”⁷¹ The general Canadian public required a better economy and Greenway’s speculation regarding Great Britain’s settlement schemes reveal an unstable economy in Canada. While seemingly beneficial for both countries to implement immigration settlement plans, a weak economy in Canada required skilled settlers rather than casting a wide net for a large

⁶⁹ Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, p. 16

⁷⁰ Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, p. 16

⁷¹ Cory, W. and J.A. Greenway. “Memorandums for state-aided imperial settlement” May 20th to June 4th, 1921, (June 3, 1921)

quantity of settlers. Instead, Canada required quality settlers who could prove successful in farming ventures.

Similarly to Canada, Great Britain experienced its own economic stresses following the First World War. The war had cost the nation many men, many resources, and the decline of industry and employment. The volatile economic environment in post-war Britain acted as a catalyst for the unemployed Highlanders and Hebrideans to emigrate in search of better opportunities. In particular, the Highlands and Islands in the Outer Hebrides faced severe economic depression. Many young Scottish males migrated to Canada in 1923 because there was no work for them on the Isle of Lewis. One young man stated that “I left as there was nothing else to do – there was no [work] there. That’s why we all left. You had to go somewhere for a livelihood.”⁷² Another Scottish immigrant, Margaret Kirk, who moved from Scotland in 1923 stated “...that’s why so many people came from Scotland because of the depression. There was nothing. There was no work. So they were grasping for a job.”⁷³ As such oral accounts demonstrate, Scotland’s economic deterioration after the war stimulated emigration to other countries. Canada’s immigration advertising seemed to portray livelihood that so many Scots were looking for, offering them better economic opportunities and the chance to create their own destiny.

However, in some instances, Scottish immigrants moved because of family nomination. In the case of Norman MacKenzie, he moved his family from the Isle of Lewis to Saskatchewan, Canada, in 1924 on the recommendation of Uncle Malcolm. Malcolm already held a farmstead in Saskatchewan, on which Norman and his young family lived for almost 5 years before acquiring their own farmhouse. At this juncture, Norman worked for a railway company but desired a

⁷² Angela McCarthy, “Personal Accounts of Leaving Scotland, 1921 – 1954”, p. 200

⁷³ *Ibid.*

farmstead for his family. In 1929, Norman and his wife with their 7 children moved into a very small home in Chipperfield, Saskatchewan (pictured in the Epilogue). Although Norman MacKenzie moved because of family suggestion, ultimately there were some economically driven factors involved in starting a farm.

Decline in Highland and Island economy and industry, as experienced by Norman MacKenzie from the Isle of Lewis, facilitated a mass movement to new countries with better opportunities, like Canada. This Highland problem – a vicious cycle of high unemployment, too many people, and financial instability - compelled the British government to reconstruct settlement solutions similar to past colonization schemes. One such resolution was incentivized migration out of the problem areas in the Highlands and Outer Hebrides. With incentivized migration “Great Britain would be able to deflect a looming crisis by literally shipping off the potential agitation that ex-servicemen and women, the poor, and the Celt might have stirred up at home to the far and corners of the British Empire.”⁷⁴ While the “problem” incorporated economic issues, the potential for revolution and political unrest also concerned the British government, especially in the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917. An unstable Russian economy bred a tumultuous socio-economic climate for potential anarchical activities and ultimately created a workers’ revolution. Wary of potential revolution and unrest in Scotland, the British government increasingly supported migration incentives for these under-employed Scots to relocate to British Dominions.

Economic unrest in the Outer Hebrides increased in 1922 and 1923 as once flourishing industries were now destitute. Landlord raids, alongside failing agricultural and fishing industries, provoked discouraged Hebridean attitudes. Disillusioned by a lack of immediate aid from the British government, the Hebrideans were more susceptible to the idea of immigration

⁷⁴ Timothy Forest, “Kith but not Kin”, p. 235

than in previous years. The Empire Settlement Act did not pass as legislation until 1922, so there was a substantial period of governmental inactivity which bred restlessness. However, it is clear that many local newspaper publications in the Highlands and Islands disapproved of dominion settlement schemes, mass emigration, and in many cases depicted unfavorable conditions of immigrant life in Canada.⁷⁵ A June 1924 editorial in the *Stornoway Gazette* condemned the large-scale movement out of the Isle of Lewis: “Nothing in recent years has been more deplorable – or depressing – than the streams of emigrants leaving the Highlands for the Colonies. It is pathetic to hear of shiploads of able-bodied men and young women sailing away from their homeland for life and labour under other skies.”⁷⁶ Indeed, the largest outflows of Scottish migrants to Canada and other countries occurred in 1923 and 1924, shortly after the Empire Settlement Act of 1922. Alongside such local denunciations, some individual immigrants who had already settled in Canada wrote back to their homeland with further condemnations of the move. One emigrant wrote to the *Stornoway Gazette* in 1924 that “Canada is an awful place – nothing doing of any kind... There are about 20,000 idle in Toronto...”⁷⁷ The same vicious cycle of unemployment and lack of government aid that occurred in Scotland during the interwar periods also plagued Canada. During the mid-1920s, advertising shifted focus towards quality settlers rather than quantity. This advertising shift occurred in response to failed farming attempts as some emigrants moved into the cities or to America for industrial work. More so than quantity, Canada required quality skilled settlers.

Attracting Quality Settlers

The development of racially focused advertising prompted an economic exclusion and Canada then needed to recruit quality over quantity in an attempt to stimulate and ultimately

⁷⁵ Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p. 75-78

⁷⁶ Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p. 77

⁷⁷ Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p. 78

strengthen the economy. D. Algar-Bailey, a British native who lived in Canada from 1909 until 1923, acknowledged that Canadian immigration recruitment policies focused upon specific nationalities such as Scottish Highlanders and Islanders: “That these adverse conditions are recognized by those actually engaged in the settlement and sale of Canadian land is well evidenced by the fact that they mainly concentrate upon securing settlers from the more humble races of Central Europe, or from such people as the Hebrideans, who have long suffered in their own territory.”⁷⁸ Algar-Bailey predominantly supported migration between the Dominions and promoted his belief that it was the responsibility of Great Britain to populate the empire, so to speak. Farming the Canadian prairies was a hard life, so it was beneficial to the Canadian government to secure experienced farmers or people who were not adverse to hard living conditions. Harsh living conditions in northern Scotland made the Scottish farmer an attractive option to the Canadian government, and aligned with their racially targeted immigration practices.

While national origin was important to the Canadian Department of Interior and Immigration Department, of utmost importance was the quality of the farmer. Too many settlers had abandoned partially settled land in the past and moved into the cities or moved back to their home country, defeated. Or in many cases following 1923, young Highland settlers in Canada breached their agreements almost immediately upon arrival in order to pursue employment in the United States or Canadian cities.⁷⁹ In any case, the rate of unsuccessful settlement prompted the Canadian Department of Interior to respond via advertisements. Therefore, in addition to racially targeted advertisement, immigration recruitment also aimed to attract quality farming skills. During Canada’s early growth years in the mid to late 1800s, quantity prevailed over quality and

⁷⁸ Algar-Bailey, D. (1925). “Peopling Canada”. p.418

⁷⁹ Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p. 99

nationality was less of a concern. As migration increased following World War I, quantity was still important but quality became more important. J.A. Greenway expressed his concern that “It appears to be the view that large numbers should be encouraged to migrate. Large numbers of settlers are desirable, of course, provided they are of the right kind. But I think quality is of more importance than numbers.”⁸⁰ As the need for quality settlers increased, posters from the mid-1920s explicitly state desired qualifications for migrant farmers in an attempt to attract the skill set required to stimulate farming industry and economy.

An example of targeted recruitment campaigns, Canadian Pacific ads explicitly target British farmers. However, the British Empire Exhibition ad from 1924 also emphatically lists preferred qualities of the farm settler. This advertisement was clearly for the “family farming a holding too small,” for “farm workers and married sons and daughters of farming having no occupation other than farming,” and “any family in which either the husband or wife has had farm experience.”⁸¹ Earlier posters and advertisements had promised financial assistance would be available for travel, but were much more ambiguous regarding the skill sets and qualifications expected of the immigrants themselves. The goal of posters in the early 1920s was to pique interest, but advertisements in the mid to late 1920s began to respond to concerns of settlers and the issues that the Canadian government experienced with current settlement schemes. By 1924, Canada understood that many took advantage of farm settlement schemes with no intention of staying in the new settlement, or with every intention of being successful but otherwise unable. Too many relocated to Canada and abandoned their farming land, which put even more of an economic strain on an already struggling post-war national economy. Therefore, the Canadian

⁸⁰ Cory, W. and J.A. Greenway. “Memorandums for state-aided imperial settlement” May 20th to June 4th, 1921 (June 4th, 1921)

⁸¹ Figure 8

government repositioned advertisement messaging to call on specific farming skill sets, still within the acceptable racial realm of Great Britain.

Before the larger waves of Scottish migration to Canada, J.A. Greenway and Mr. Cory, of the Canadian Immigration Department, expressed genuine concern in 1921 regarding the settlement schemes put forward by Great Britain. Although not as concerned about national origin, since the British were desired settlers in Canada, Greenway and Cory articulated apprehension in regards to the projected success of immigrants under these settlement schemes:

The success of any scheme of settlement on the land whether private or state-aided would depend entirely on, -

- (a) The selection of the settler.
- (b) The training of the inexperienced settler.
- (c) The actual placing of the settler on the land and subsequent supervision.⁸²

Britain enacted settlement schemes well before the Settlement Act of 1922, in the late 19th century and early turn of the century, and Greenway suggested these “colonization” plans were not successful.⁸³ Greenway further recommended that migrants from overseas should not settle on the Dominion lands, except with proper local training.⁸⁴ With much foresight, Greenway was equally concerned about settler success as economic progress. However, often immigrants were not farmers, or skilled workers, and this resulted in abandoned farm lands as well as a poverty cycle that drained Canadian government finances. Therefore, advertising focused on attracting quality farmers. Each image illustrates successful farming life, in some form or another. There is depicted prosperity, young family, cattle, land, homes, and barns, all culminating into one bigger

⁸² Cory, W. and J.A. Greenway. “Memorandums for state-aided imperial settlement” May 20th to June 4th, 1921 (May 20th, 1921)

⁸³ Cory, W. and J.A. Greenway. “Memorandums for state-aided imperial settlement” May 20th to June 4th, 1921 (June 3rd, 1921)

⁸⁴ Ibid.

vision of farming livelihood. Canada needed skilled farmers to settle the land and previous settlement schemes proved this to be a challenge for Canada.

The need for quality settlers was not only illustrated through advertisements. In addition to predominantly targeting white Anglo-Saxon males in posters, Canada appealed heavily to farmers in other recruitment strategies such as agricultural shows. *The Canadian Sessional Papers of 1924* report that agent involvement in agricultural shows in Britain proved them to be successful recruitment opportunities. Furthermore, these shows provided ideal opportunities for Canadian agents to be “in personal touch with the classes Canada particularly desires...” in other words, “British Farmers of Moderate Capital.”⁸⁵ In the year 1923, Canada reported to have immigration advertising displays in 79 smaller agricultural shows indicating that sufficient resources and publications were specifically set aside for immigration events such as this.⁸⁶ As part of overall immigration advertising strategy, Canadian agents utilized face-to-face speeches, events, shows, and recruitment offices in Britain to work in tandem with print posters and publications such as *Canada West*. For example, the Canadian Pacific Railway’s advertising initiatives in Scotland were headed by John Cameron, a farmer from Winnipeg, who once gave a speech in 1924 to 500 audience members in Aberdeen, Scotland.⁸⁷ This particular recruitment event in Scotland utilized 7 promotional films and “assured agriculturalists who settled near the railway that Canada offered...good opportunities on small mixed farms of their own.”⁸⁸ In addition to agriculturally targeted advertisements and posters, Canadian efforts to recruit quality farmers included agricultural shows, events, and speeches by immigration agents in Scotland.

⁸⁵ United Kingdom, Parliament, “Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1922-23” *Sessional Papers, Volume 4, Third Session of the Fourteenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada 1924*, p. 23

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p.60

⁸⁸ Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p.60

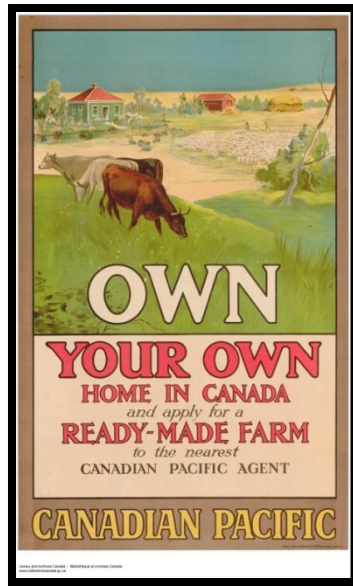


Figure 10

Economic Promises in Advertising

Canadian recruitment not only implicitly revealed transnational economic concerns, but also explicitly made financial promises to those who decided to emigrate. In addition to images of settlement prosperity, certain ads emphatically stated financial promises in the copy. Many advertisements, such as the Canadian Pacific poster above, emphasize the word “own”. This particular poster, Figure 10, illustrates the word “own” centrally in contrasting colors and large font to read “OWN, your own home in Canada.”⁸⁹ In a clever way, Canadian advertisements plainly emphasize and over utilize ownership as a popular selling point. Evidently, messaging geared towards financial promises would have been appealing for the Scottish Highlanders in desperate economic situations. Another print piece from the Canadian Pacific in 1925, Figure 5, advertised homes in Canada for “British Farmers of Moderate Capital; Payments in Easy Instalments.”⁹⁰ Although this copy targeted potential settlers who also have some financial

⁸⁹ Figure 10, ca. 1920s

⁹⁰ Figure 5, ca. 1925

means, it simultaneously reassured those who may not have financial means that payments for land can be made in easy payments. After his Isle of Skye lecture tour, D.J. Murphy indicated that “The great majority are of those who only can pay a portion, say 50%, as money on these Isles is very scarce.”⁹¹ This particular poster is a collaborative piece between Canada and a private railway company, the Canadian Pacific, which also provided financial aid for immigration. It was beneficial to the government and private railways alike to have settlers farming the land and using the railways. As explained in the story of John Cameron, oftentimes these private rail companies sent agents over to Scotland, just like the Canadian government, for recruitment purposes. These agents typically received a monetary bonus or some other type of incentive per immigrant that settled in Canada. While an effective recruitment strategy, there was significant potential for dishonesty regarding settlement promises in competition for relocation quotas. Ultimately, economic promises made in print advertisements and from agents resulted in disillusioned, disappointed, and desperate new immigrants.

False advertising caused many new settlers to abandon the land in search of a better life elsewhere, sometimes even back in the home country. Compounding the problem of unskilled immigrants, there was substantial population movement to the United States and a further drain on industry and labor in Canada.⁹² In his personal experience as a British native settled in Canada until 1923, D. Algar-Bailey indicated that settlers often left their farms due to a lack of community and intense isolation.⁹³ In one instance Andrew McDonell, a professional immigration agent, resettled 28 families in Red Deer, Alberta. These settlers were disillusioned by the lack of land, homes, and employment promised to them. They complained that “the down

⁹¹ Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p.59

⁹² Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, p. 97

⁹³ Algar-Bailey, D. (1925). “Peopling Canada”. p. 417

payments were too expensive and the farms too far from the railway.”⁹⁴ This was entirely contrary to what was promised by both Canadian Pacific ads, in which copy stated that these “ready-made farms” were placed within proximity to community places such as churches and schools as well as close to the rail-lines.⁹⁵ It is likely that the claims made in these Canadian Pacific advertisements were a direct response to the concerns of disillusioned immigrants looking for community. In any case, economic and social advertising promises were often misleading.

Post-war immigration advertising illustrated volatile economic climates in Canada as well as Great Britain. Many families and young men left their homeland in search of a livelihood, employment, and financial security. The harsh reality is that many were not successful or able to live the farm life that was depicted and promised in immigration recruitment ads. Settlement schemes helped Britain reallocate potential economic and social problems to Canada, while Highland Scots often migrated in search of employment opportunities to avoid economic destitution prevalent in northern Scotland after the war. As Canada struggled to find the optimal balance between the quality and quantity of incoming settlers, ultimately in the mid-1920s, the advertising focus shifted towards recruiting immigrants with previous farming experience. In these print pieces and advertisements, messaging to the potential settler reveals an economic need in Canada for successful farmers and simultaneously an understanding that the Scottish immigrant likewise needed employment opportunities.

⁹⁴ Marjory Harper, “Enigmas in Hebridean Emigration”, p. 207

⁹⁵ Figure 5

Chapter 3

The Fear: Racially Focused Immigration Advertising

Exclusionary Policies

Although Canada desperately needed an economic stimulus, immigration recruitment after the First World War predominantly focused upon racial considerations. At the turn of the 20th century, popular scientific studies included race science and eugenics. The notion of a nationally pure race stemmed from a new found international interest in genetics and the idea that undesirable traits, races, and illnesses could simply be bred out of a society, resulting in one master race. Although heavily associated with Nazi Germany regimes, genetic science and pure race ideals became popular in the early 1900s and quickly took root in North America then, as well as in the post-war period. Following World War One, racial tensions intensified as world powers conflicted during a particularly brutal international war. Additionally, post-war economic unrest bred revolutions with labor strikes across the world. Wary of revolutionary tendencies, propagated by fears of something akin to the Bolshevik Revolution, the Canadian government tightened immigration policy to exclude seemingly problematic nationalities and prioritized predominantly Anglo races. Particularly, the amended Immigration Act of 1919 allowed for such racially focused strategies to take place.

Contention between world powers intensified after World War One which caused stresses in foreign relations and subsequently transnational immigration policy. For instance, U.S. immigration policy became much stricter in the post-war period and actively limited the influx of immigrants from Europe and Asia. Before 1914, the Canadian government heavily recruited settlers from Eastern Europe to farm, or work in the mines and industrial factories. In fact, many Eastern Europeans settled in Canada under the NATC and it was acceptable for Eastern

European and Asian immigrants to settle in Canada as agricultural workers or industry workers. Canada desperately needed settlers and pre-1914 exclusionary immigration policies were not heavily



Figure 11

implemented for such economic growth purposes. Canadian governments before the war employed various advertising strategies in order to recruit settlers, including posters, much like the post-war recruitment strategies. Canadian advertisements in the Ukraine utilized similar

messages but very different styles of design. For example, figure 11 above is all text, which is quite different to the bright, colorful, and people-centric ads that circulated in Great Britain. This particular ad placed by the North Atlantic Trading Company (the NATC) in the early 20th century promises “160 acres of free land in Canada.” This message highlights incentive for Eastern Europeans to settle in the vast, empty prairie lands of Canada similarly to Canadian Pacific advertisements that circulated in Britain years later.⁹⁶ Simple in its design and quite different to British ads, this Ukrainian advertisement further demonstrates



Figure 12

Canada’s need for more settlers during the prewar era. Even during World War One and post-war, the Canadian Pacific Railway also ran advertisements in Eastern Europe. One such poster in the Ukraine circulated between 1910 and 1930 and primarily targeted the working class. This

⁹⁶ Figure 11

poster, Figure 12, focused upon the ship voyage as a feasible and safe option while highlighting the financial offerings of the Canadian Pacific.⁹⁷ Again, it was common for private corporations to not only collaborate with the Canadian government's immigration recruitment strategies, but to also advertise for their own benefit. This advertisement's message concentrated upon selling the voyage, but not necessarily Canada itself: "Save money and time. Purchase tickets for ship voyage to Canada. To the homeland."⁹⁸ Advertising to other countries did not stop during World War One or post-war, however it is important to stress that these posters were the product of private entities and not exclusively the Canadian government. Exclusionary immigration policy existed and although the Canadian Pacific and the NATC continued to recruit from Eastern Europe for economic purposes, the Canadian government played less of a role in recruitment from non-Dominion countries, such as the Ukraine. Rebecca Mancuso notes that "...it did not escape reformers' notice that businesses were still able to circumvent existing restrictions by requesting special permits for groups of 'foreign' labourers."⁹⁹ On the other hand, Canada's majority recruitment efforts and financial support very clearly targeted English and Scottish farmers.

In conjunction with Eastern European recruitment, Canada also advertised in the United States. Historically, Canada and the U.S. competed for quality settlers and in many cases immigrants would move to Canada simply to sneak across the border to the U.S. Before the war from 1910 until 1914, 19,070 Scots moved to the U.S. and 33,666 moved to Canada.¹⁰⁰ After the war, competition for settlers increased as 31, 649 Scots moved to the United States and 34, 946

⁹⁷ Figure 12

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Rebecca Mancuso, "For Purity of Prosperity: Competing Nationalist Visions and Canadian Immigration Policy, 1919-30" *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 23, 1. p. 1-23. ProQuest. Accessed March 25, 2017 <https://colorado.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/colorado.idm.oclc.org/docview/2049866609?accountid=14503>

¹⁰⁰ Timothy Forest, "Kith but not Kin", p. 71

moved to Canada between 1920 and 1929.¹⁰¹ Consider Figure 9, printed in 1911, this particular advertisement poster calls on 40,000 men in the Minnesota region to move up north to help with a grain harvest. Similar to post-war advertising styles, the imagery here is bright, colorful, and animated with strong visualizations of international camaraderie between the United States and Canada. More than one bridge connects the U.S. and Canada in this ad, suggesting alliance in immigration policies and neighborly aid. Advertisements and print literature to the U.S. did not stop during the post-war period. In 1923 alone, 11,247 copies of resource geological information and land settlement literature were distributed in the United States.¹⁰² Canadian immigration literature distribution in the U.S. indicates a continued recruitment strategy focused upon quality settlers. Furthermore, advertising in the U.S. implies racial acceptance of these seasonal immigrants.



Figure 9

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² United Kingdom, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior, 1922-23" *Sessional Papers, Volume 4, Third Session of the Fourteenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada 1924*, p. 23

However during World War One, and shortly thereafter, animosity towards other races and nationalities increased dramatically. For example, the Canadian government actively excluded Japanese immigration and entered a period known as “Yobiyose Jidai” or the “Restricted Immigration Period” from 1908 until 1924, in which the federal government implemented stricter immigration policies against the Japanese and other Asian nations.¹⁰³ This exclusionary policy intensified after the Winnipeg Strike in 1919 and affected more racial groups than Japanese and Asian immigrants. The Winnipeg Strike of 1919 stemmed from economic and labor unrest, similar to the Bolshevik or Russian Revolution of 1917. Wary of widespread revolution like events in Russia, Canada restricted immigration in an attempt to curtail any potential unrest. Rebecca Mancuso asserts that “Eastern and southern Europeans were ‘undesirable’ people, unfamiliar with Canadian lifestyles and values, while Asians and Africans were deemed ‘foreign elements of evil’, and their exclusion widely support.”¹⁰⁴ Through the amendment to the Immigration Act of 1919, Canada made it progressively more difficult for Eastern, Central, and Southern Europeans to fully settle in Canada. Ambiguous language in the amendment allowed for Canada to be exclusionary with unwanted nationalities and inclusive with acceptable ethnicities. National exclusions and animosity could be partly attributed to war-time enmity, but it is important to acknowledge international fears surrounding the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the idea that such a revolution could take place in Canada, which partially drove decisions to restrict immigration and target specific races.

¹⁰³ Watada, Terry. “The Japanese Exclusion” *Moving Here, Staying Here: The Canadian Immigration Experience*. Webpage. Library and Archives Canada, online. Accessed March 20, 2017. <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/immigrants/021017-2423-e.html>

¹⁰⁴ Rebecca Mancuso, “For Purity or Prosperity”, p. 6

Canadian Ethnic Identity Crisis: Babel or New Britain

As a relatively new nation compared to Britain, and even America to some extent, Canada struggled with national identity. This national identity struggle predominantly stemmed from a lack of a unified racial identity. As a Dominion of Great Britain, Canada's population largely comprised Anglo-Canadians but also immigrants from various parts of the world, much like the United States, due to a large influx of settlers in the 19th century. The U.S. built national identity from immigrants, while especially Anglo-Canadians actively advocated for stricter immigration policies with Eastern European and Asian nations. Although the U.S. poached some settlers from their neighbors to the north, Canada continued to grow in population and infrastructure. Even as a Dominion of Great Britain, World War I prompted Canada to develop a federal independence from the Crown and enter into a Canadian style of empire. Rather than colonization through other countries like the British Empire, Canada sought internal colonization with aligned identity through immigrants and settlers.

William George Smith, an Anglo-Canadian professor, educator, Methodist minister, and civil administrator with Child Welfare, referred to Canada as a "modern Babel" in which a quintessential national identity crisis took place during the interwar period.¹⁰⁵ His book *A study in Canadian immigration* revealed a Canadian identity crisis rooted in immigration policy, and advocated for recruitment from largely Anglo-Saxon and Nordic people. Smith's thoughts on a perceived lack of Canadian national identity clearly offered the British as the only acceptable immigrants to Canada:

¹⁰⁵ William George Smith, "A study in Canadian Immigration", p. 348-349

And such a spectacle of mixed nationalities and races and tongues! No wonder the announcer of doom points his finger at Canada's towns and cities that are but modern Babels, and predicts the utter failure of a civilization possessing so many divers and "foreign" ingredients. Assimilation! It is impossible. Amalgamation! It is unthinkable. Canadianization! A wild dream never to be realized. Far better would it have been if no "foreigner" had ever entered Canada's doors, if the racial stock had been left unmixed and unspoiled and Canada been kept a "white man's country" for genuine Anglo-Saxons!¹⁰⁶

The solution, according to Smith, was a "Second Britain" of sorts in Canada, a Canadian nationality akin to white Anglo-Saxons, Scots, or Nordic peoples. Post-war immigration advertising supported Smith's sentiments in that Canada heavily recruited from England and Scotland for settlers. Although Eastern Europeans provided skillsets that Canada needed at that time, post war sentiments treated Eastern Europeans and Asians as the antithesis of the white western world, including Canada. Despite the fact that many settlers of these nationalities in Canada had migrated far before any exclusionary policies, notions of one national identity pervaded Anglo-Canadian thought processes after 1918.

A primarily Anglo-Canadian national identity was not a disposition solely held by Mr. Smith. Other Canadians expressed similar sentiments. Not surprisingly, the notion of an entirely Anglo-Saxon white Canada was heavily advocated by a Canadian Klan organizer, JH Maloney. Maloney used the same verbiage as William George Smith in his description of national loyalty:

I am loyal to Canada and the British Crown – a Canada composed of those strong virile men of the north, the Nordic of Anglo-Saxon race...but I am not loyal to a Canada composed of men who jabber all the tongues that destroyed the tower of Babel...we are a great melting pot, but let us see what that the slag and scum that refuse to assimilate and become 100 percent Canadian citizens is skimmed off and thrown away.¹⁰⁷

Many Anglo-Canadians shared this emotive vision of Canada as a modern Babel of sorts, fragmented and ethnically chaotic. Additionally, the solution to this perceived ethnic chaos was full assimilation of the already settled and the recruitment of a certain grouping of people,

¹⁰⁶ William George Smith, "A study in Canadian Immigration", p. 328-349

¹⁰⁷ Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, p. 108

Anglo-Saxon or Nordic. In this light, Scotland proved an obvious and attractive choice for Canadian immigration recruitment.

It is important to mention that there is a subtle point of contention between French-Canadian Catholicism and Anglo-Canadian Protestantism. The influx of migrants from Eastern and Southern Europe seemingly threatened Protestant Anglo-Canadians and prompted movement to promote immigration from primarily Protestant Great Britain.¹⁰⁸ In addition to an already complex immigration policy, the desire for a pure Canadian nationality included religious affiliation with Protestantism, typically associated with the British. Therefore, Canadian immigration recruitment was geared towards those Protestant British farmers, such as Hebridean Scots. The Canadian Sessional Papers of 1924 did not record any recruitment from Ireland, which would be similar to the Scottish Highlands in regards to farming, but certainly not in religiosity. Ireland, as a predominantly Catholic nation, did not receive the recruitment resources quite like England and Scotland. However, historian Serge Courville notes that many French Canadians admired the English and thought it necessary to imitate the Anglo-Canadians.¹⁰⁹ French-Canadians experienced a similar identity crisis, but utilized propaganda much like their fellow Anglo-Canadians to attract settlers to the vast prairie lands. In the late 19th century, French-Canadian propagandists heavily recruited European emigrants as competition for settlers with America increased.¹¹⁰

Nationality and Race in Posters: Implicit Target Market

In Canada's recruitment strategy to target mostly British settlers, rather than Eastern Europeans and other foreigners, all print pieces depict predominantly white British

¹⁰⁸ John A. Schultz "Leaven for the lump: Canada and Empire settlement, 1918-1939", p. 160, 167

¹⁰⁹ Serge Courville, "Part of the British Empire, Too: French Canada and Colonization Propaganda" *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity*. Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds. 129-141(Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006) p.129

¹¹⁰ Serge Courville, "Part of the British Empire, Too", p.131

characteristics in the 1920s. Advertising with particular racial features implicitly excluded other nationalities. The purpose of these print pieces was to attract the type of people depicted in the advertisement. For example, the *Canada West* covers from 1925 to 1929 (Figures 1, 2, and 3), portray white parents and children. A little girl with blonde hair sits on a horse and happily looks at her father, a strong white farmer.¹¹¹ In another, a fair skinned woman with a hearty baby on her hip waves to presumably a neighbor.¹¹² The third depicts a strong white farmer holding his son.¹¹³ All embody the message that this “New Homeland” is for a specific nationality.

Additionally, these cover images demonstrate strong family values as an ideal for new settlers.

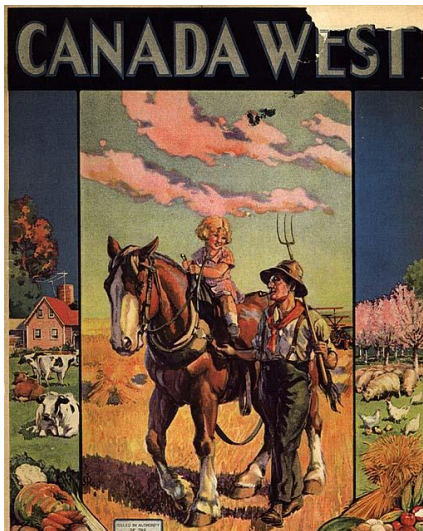


Figure 1



Figure 2

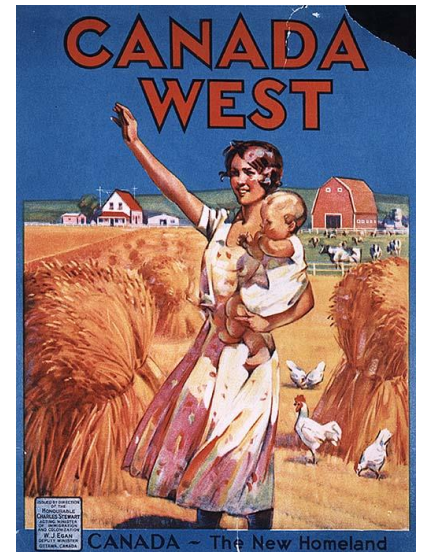


Figure 3

Contrast this message with an earlier message from 1908, Figure 6 below, which simply states “Build Your Nest in Western Canada” with no allusion to nationality or country origin. This poster is racially neutral, as it does not depict any people, and presents a clear message that Canada has vast farm lands needing settlement. The recruitment strategy in the poster from 1908

¹¹² Figure 3

¹¹³ Figure 2

is geared towards many immigrants, while advertisements after 1919 reveal a much more racially focused recruitment strategy in the depictions of new Canadian settlers.

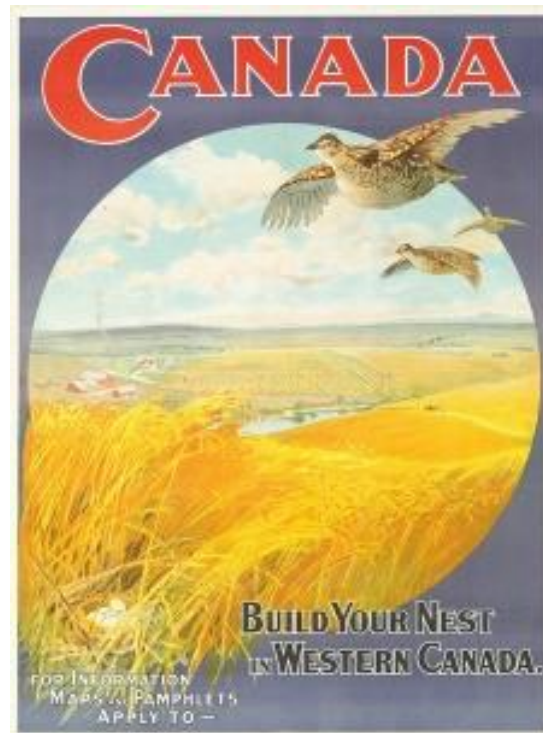


Figure 6

A brief surface level observation of these print pieces reveals the central characters, and even peripheral for that matter, to be racially white. D. Algar-Bailey, a British native settled in Canada, acknowledged that Canadian immigration recruitment policies focused upon specific nationalities such as Scottish Highlanders and Islanders: “That these adverse conditions are recognized by those actually engaged in the settlement and sale of Canadian land is well evidenced by the fact that they mainly concentrate upon securing settlers from the more humble races of Central Europe, or from such people as the Hebrideans, who have long suffered in their own territory.”¹¹⁴ Farming the Canadian prairies was a hard life, so it was beneficial to the Canadian government to secure either experienced farmers or people who were not adverse to

¹¹⁴ Algar-Bailey, D. (1925). “Peopling Canada”, p. 418

hard living conditions. The Scottish Highlanders were an attractive option to Canada as farming in Scotland proved to be an exceptionally harsh way of life.

Certain characteristics depicted in print publications implicitly suggest Anglo-Saxon or white settlers, but in some cases the request was very explicit. For example, Figure 5, a previously mentioned 1925 CPR poster explicitly states:

Get Your Home in Canada from the Canadian Pacific
Special Farms on Virgin Soil; Near the Railway
And Close to Schools, Markets, Churches
Are Prepared Each Year for British Farmers of Moderate Capital
Payments in Easy Instalments

This particular recruitment poster explicitly calls on “British Farmers”, especially those within a certain financial bracket. In addition to calling on British farmers, this poster also explicitly addresses the anxieties, fears, and disappointments that many immigrants expressed after settlement. As Algar-Bailey noted, many immigrants abandoned settlement due to intense isolation.¹¹⁵ The advertising tactic to offer farms near the railroad and community areas, such as schools and churches, attempts to bridge the gap between those immigration anxieties and the decision to move. However, this is still within the context of racially specific advertising. Indicative of interwar Canadian immigration advertisements, this colorfully animated ad principally depicts white Western European attributes and complexions.

The previously discussed Canadian Pacific recruitment advertisement distributed at the Empire Exhibition in 1924 (Figure 8) also highlights financial assistance, and unequivocally targets British farmers. The headline “Three Thousand British Families Wanted for Canada” reads in the middle of the poster directly underneath real photos of Canadian farm life.¹¹⁶ This title would not have been unfamiliar to the Scots reading it, as Canada and Great Britain had

¹¹⁵ Algar-Bailey, D. (1925). “Peopling Canada”. p. 417

¹¹⁶ Figure 8

created the “Three Thousand Families” settlement scheme which sought to move three thousand British families to Canada with subsidies and incentivized travel. Similarly to other British settlement schemes, the primary goal entailed migration to a Dominion of the crown so as to reallocate but not lose man power or support following World War One. However, unlike most Canadian immigration ads in the mid-1920s, this 1924 Canadian Pacific poster utilizes realism and more copy, rather than the popular style of bright animation and few words to pique interest. The top of the fold features three photos of Canadian farm families posing with their homestead, cattle, and horses, around the caption “British Settlers on their Canadian Farms.”¹¹⁷ Unlike the idealized images of most post-war ads, the realistic photographs placed in this poster offer evidence of proof that British families migrated and settled successfully. This poster also directly depicts a sense of British community and identity in Canada in an effort to attract more of the same. Realism in this poster provides security and trust to those looking to settle. There is community, there is British community, and there is white British community. With such apparent messaging, evidently there is a sense for the preferred and the non-preferred.

Male Settlers as the Focus

Mostly family units migrated to Canada, but it was also common for Scottish women and children to move independently as domestic help. As expected following a World War, many countries were lacking young men to work the land and industry. Canada especially felt the loss of young men “chiefly in men between twenty-five and thirty years of age.”¹¹⁸ Canadian immigration advertising thus primarily targeted British male farmers who could handle the harsh prairie farming life. Servicemen, World War One veterans, were heavily incentivized to resettle in the Dominions following the war. Canada was a top contender for resettled servicemen as they

¹¹⁷ Figure 8

¹¹⁸ Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, p. 98

needed young men to fulfill the farming duties and servicemen often came home to a destitute industry and no job. Canada seemed to offer a chance to live a better life, at least according to advertising. However, in many cases, young unmarried Scottish men left the farm life almost as quickly as they arrived in Canada.

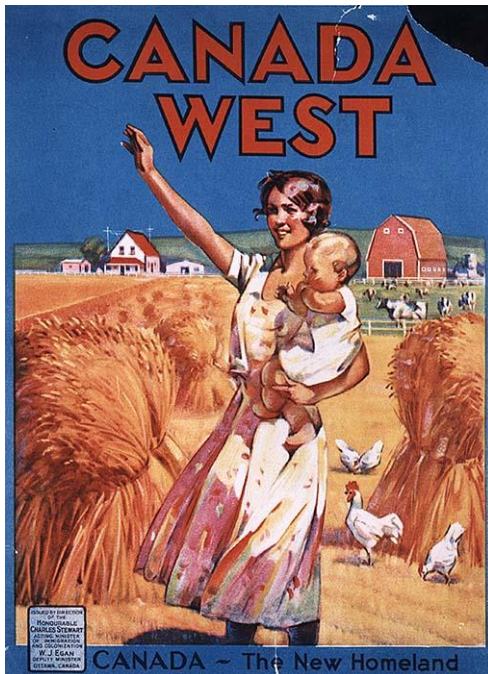


Figure 3



Figure 5

In two images a woman is the central character (see Figures 3 and 5). It could be argued that a female-centric poster targeted domestic women, but it is important to remember that Canada was looking to settle more young men. A *Canada West* cover image depicts a young mother with a healthy baby on her hip.¹¹⁹ She is young, attractive, strong, healthy, and the stewardess of a prosperous farm with a home, barn, crops, and livestock. Another poster from the Canadian Pacific Railway has a young female as the central figure, amongst peripheral

¹¹⁹ Figure 3

characters.¹²⁰ She is also depicted as young, attractive, strong, and within a community of farmers. By virtue of desire for a livelihood, young men were drawn towards advertisements showcasing a prosperous family and farm life. Other posters have a strong British-looking male in central focus, typically with a very healthy looking child, and always surrounded by thriving livestock, abundant crops, and lot of land. These male figures are also depicted as fulfilling typical male duties, such as farming or gardening, working with the livestock or building. On the other hand, women depicted on the *Canada West* covers and Canadian Pacific posters hold primarily domestic duties in child rearing and tending to the homestead. Such gendered messaging not only reinforced the ideas of family unit within an Anglo-Canadian context, but it also attracted the young men who Canada needed and the young men who desired to create their own new destiny following a war.

Economic necessity pushed migrants to Canada; however post-war consideration for nationality excluded many potential settlers especially from Eastern Europe and Asia. Even though Canada advertised for immigrants from countries like the Ukraine during the prewar periods, this federal government advertising stopped doing so after 1914 as Canadian immigration policy changed and began to ambiguously and arbitrarily exclude anyone who was not deemed acceptable settlers. Canadian immigration settlement dramatically shifted focus from economic consideration to racial consideration. Following a world war, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and the Winnipeg Strike in 1919, Canada tightened immigration restrictions for fear of potential revolutions and overall unrest. Anglo-Canadians took advantage of this fearful post-war climate and advocated for racially focused immigration policy and recruitment advertising. In the midst of a national identity crisis, the Canadian Department of the Interior focused recruitment efforts in rural England and northern Scotland to build a New Britain in

¹²⁰ Figure 5

Canada. Print publications predominantly reveal this desired racial trait implicitly in depicted characteristics, but also explicitly in certain copy directed at British farmers.

Conclusion

With the onset of depression in 1929, British and Canadian settlement schemes slowed and with that so did Canadian recruitment of the British. By 1931, print advertising campaigns and other publication strategies ended.¹²¹ In actuality, British immigration to Canada during the 1920s only amounted to around 45% of prewar levels at about 50,000 migrants per year.¹²² A disappointing number to Canada and Great Britain alike, as both governments advocated for heavy British immigration to simultaneously strengthen Dominion ties and economy. The reality was that by 1931 most Europeans, the British included, had decided that they would be better off back home and so instigated a mass reverse migration out of Canada.¹²³ Emigration from Scotland to Canada steadily declined from 20,090 in 1929, to 8,878 in 1930, and finally to 1,931 in 1931.¹²⁴ Following 1931, emigration from Scotland to Canada and the United States steadied in the hundreds, rather than the tens of thousands reported during the earlier interwar years. The Empire Settlement Act was renewed in 1937, but those who utilized this opportunity were very few and far between.¹²⁵ Canada still accepted British and American immigrants so long as they had the financial means to support themselves. Furthermore, Canada did not require a passport from British immigrants for admission, although Canadians going to Britain were still required to produce a passport.¹²⁶

Although the actual number of British migrants to Canada during the post-war period ultimately fell very short of the initial goal, Canada's aggressive post-war immigration advertising campaigns produced many posters and print publications to attract a specific settler.

¹²¹ Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p. 65

¹²² Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, p. 96

¹²³ Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, p. 115

¹²⁴ Angela McCarthy, "Personal Accounts", p. 202

¹²⁵ Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p. 213

¹²⁶ Sessional Papers 1924, p.341

These immigration recruitment strategies provide insight into post-war Canada, England, and Scotland. Specifically, posters and magazine covers aid in understanding the socio-economic environments during the post-war period that instigated a mass migration from Scotland to Canada. Canadian advertisements and print publications reveal post-war imperial instability, economic decline, and racially focused immigration policies driven by a pervasive Canadian identity crisis.

Canadian usage of “Canada – The New Homeland” on *Canada West* magazine covers and verbiage associated with empire, elicit imperial ties between the Dominion and Great Britain. Following implementation of the Empire Settlement Act of 1922, a British solution to bolstering Dominion ties, Canadian immigration advertising continued to strengthen Dominion unity in so much as it helped their targeted recruitment of British settlers. Additionally, recruitment strategies such as participation in the Empire Exhibition of 1924 and 1925, seemingly bolstered nationality as a Dominion of Great Britain while Canada also began to assert itself as a separate entity.

Post-war imperial instability was partially symptomatic of economic decline across Europe. Great Britain and Canada both required economic stimuluses. Great Britain looked to strengthen its economy by bolstering and supporting movement within the Empire to the Dominions. On the other hand, Canada shifted their immigration recruitment advertising to target a specific set of agricultural skills to attract talent rather than quantity. Canadian immigration advertising then pivoted towards targeting British farmers with previous experience, rather than any migrant looking for settlement aid.

Rather than casting a wide net for agricultural settlers, Canadian advertising focused upon England and Scotland as quality settlers. The recruitment of Anglo-Saxon races was

demonstrated in the implicit racial focus of Canadian advertising posters. Canada did not recruit as heavily from other countries following the First World War, for fears of revolutions, and implemented exclusionary policies following the amendment to the Immigration Act of 1919. In this, a Canadian national identity crisis stemmed from simultaneously being under the umbrella of the Great British Empire and asserting itself as a separate nation. Many Anglo-Canadians sought British settlers and Canadian advertising demonstrates this particular focus on British farmers and Canada as a new homeland.

In the midst of a new Canada and the Great British Empire, Scottish Highlanders and Islanders found themselves between two empires. Canadian advertising represented a pull on Scottish migrants looking for new economic opportunities, while British legislation and economic deterioration acted as catalysts to push Scottish emigrants to the Dominions. Although migrant Scots do not make up the entirety of British settlers in Canada, 1923 marks one of the largest mass migrations out of Scotland. Certainly many factors contribute to this migration event, such as post-war economic instability or familial ties already settled in Canada. While Canadian advertising does not instigate mass movement, it does however, aid in understanding the political and socio-economic climates across England, Scotland, and Canada. In shifting focus towards Canadian recruitment strategies, immigration policies rooted in a national identity crisis reveal specific and racially targeted immigration policies.

Epilogue: The MacKenzie Family



Norman MacKenzie ca. 1915

Màiread MacKenzie, the niece of Norman MacKenzie and the mother of Calum Ferguson, remembered the day that her friends and family boarded the *Metagma* for Canada from Stornoway on the Isle of Lewis in 1924. In fact, she remembered it very clearly.

I remember the excitement as my Aunt Annie and Uncle Tarmod [Norman] prepared to leave. Having become very attached to the children both they and I were very tearful when we parted company...On the day the emigrants sailed, very little work was done in the Isle of Lewis...Only when she [the ship] was finally lost in a haze obscuring the horizon, did the people begin to return to their homes. It is hard to imagine the anguish of offspring, there was very little likelihood of their ever seeing them again. The *Metagma*, *Canada*, and *Marloch* carried away the youth of our communities.

That was only five years after the end of the murderous First World War that had drawn its bloody scythe across our island and destroyed a generation.¹²⁷

Màiread was very close with Norman and Annie (my great grandparents) and took care of my grandmother, Jessie MacKenzie, when she was just a baby. Norman and Annie MacKenzie stayed on Uncle Malcolm's farmstead in Saskatchewan until 1929, at which time they were able to move into their own small farmhouse with their 7 children. This farmhouse appears quite small compared to the grandiose farmsteads advertised on Canadian immigration posters.



Uncle Malcolm and Aunt Effie MacKenzie on their farm in Sask. Canada



MacKenzie family residence in Chipperfield, Sask. 1929

Moving our house
from my uncle &
aunt's farm to our new
home right
in Chipperfield
so my Dad could be
right close to work
on Railroad
Fall of 1929

Back of Photo Description

¹²⁷ Ferguson, Calum. *Children of the Black-House.* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2003) p.193

After living on the prairies of Saskatchewan for many years, Norman and Annie MacKenzie moved to Thunder Bay, Ontario, because Norman missed the water he was so accustomed to as a Lewis-man and sailor. It was there where he would pass away in a tragic accident as a dock-worker at the age of 54, never to return to see his beloved Isle of Lewis again. Chipperfield, Saskatchewan virtually does not exist now, although there are some remnants of past Scottish community as local signs for the Aird School can still be found.



Norman MacKenzie and his daughter, Jessie MacKenzie (my grandmother) on the Sask. Farm, ca. late 1930s

Scottish migration events still live in the memories of so many people and the effects of such mass movements linger to this day. The Scottish diaspora disseminated across the world, and in some cases those Scottish immigrants and descendants returned to their homeland. Always curious about my family's story, as a Junior I took the opportunity to study at the University of Edinburgh in the spring semester of 2011. In May 2011, I ventured to the Isle of Lewis and stood right at the port in Stornoway from which my great-grandparents and grandmother left for Canada on the *Metagma* in 1924 like so many other thousands of Scottish migrants. My grandmother's cousin and Màiread's son, Calum Ferguson, poured me a dram of whiskey in his home's living room on the Isle of Lewis. With a hearty "Fàilte" – "Welcome" in Scots Gaelic - he explained to me why he welcomes any and all Canadian cousins that come back to the Isle of Lewis for a visit. Calum vividly remembers the sadness with which his mother described the migration of her closest family and friends. She said that "Only those who had endured the pain of being separated from beloved family members can understand the joy of being reunited with our beloved Canadian cousins, half a century later."¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Ferguson, Calum. *Children of the Black-House.* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2003) p. 195

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