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**Imagining Canada, Imagining the Desirable Immigrant:
Immigration Spectacle as Settler Postcolonialism**

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in the
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Communication Studies

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Abstract

Imagining Canada, Imagining the Desirable Immigrant: Immigration Spectacle as Settler Postcolonialism

Tamara Vukov

Using early Canadian immigration promotion as a point of departure, this thesis examines one historical and one contemporary site of what it proposes to call immigration spectacle (following Anne McClintock). It argues that immigration spectacle is a social practice of settler postcolonialism specific to the former British dominions, emerging from the settler need to imagine and people the nation through colonial settlement. The settler trajectory of immigration spectacle is traced through two contexts - early Canadian immigration promotion (1850-1930) and the 1999 reopening of Halifax's Pier 21. Chapter 1 theoretically situates immigration spectacle at the convergence of settler postcolonialism and imperial spectacle (McClintock). Chapter 2 examines how early immigration promotion constituted an institutional practice of imagining nation (Anderson). Chapter 3 considers how the national memorialization of Pier 21 is enacted as much through settler forgetting and traumatic silences as it is through institutional memory (Renan). The memorialization of Pier 21 is framed as a contemporary actualisation of the colonial traces of early immigration promotion, particularly through the spectacle of the desirable immigrant that continues to inform immigration policy and politics.

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Introduction

i. Point de Départ : Immigration Spectacle as Settler Postcolonialism

On the last Canada Day of “Canada’s century” and the millennium, Halifax’s Pier 21, historic point of arrival for over a million immigrants from 1928-1971, became the site of a national memorialization of immigration history. As a former settler colony, Canadian immigration practices have played a crucial role in nation-building, defining the boundaries of the nation-state and national identity. That summer’s national spectacle around immigration, complete with an immigration museum and the anointment of Pier 21 as “gateway to the nation”, resonates with long-standing Canadian practices of immigration spectacle that have strongly informed the development of the settler nation.

In particular, immigration advertising and promotion played a central role in immigration policy and nation-building at the turn of the century (1890s-1930) in a manner very specific to settler dominion/colonies. Traveling shows, touring lantern slide lectures, colorful mass-distributed posters and pamphlets all were deployed by the Canadian government (in conjunction with private transportation companies and the voluntary sector) in order to attract “desirable” immigrants to settle the land. The idealized portraits of national landscapes and desired peoples offered in immigration advertising constitute a rich imaging of the shifting inclusions and exclusions of immigration policy and emerging national identities. From early immigration promotion to Pier 21, the emergence of Canada as a settler nation has been intimately bound up with an institutional process of imagining the nation constituted through immigration spectacle.

Tracing a trajectory from early Canadian government immigration promotion to Pier 21, this thesis proposes the notion of immigration spectacle (McClintock) as a central way to understand the nation as institutionally “imagined” through immigration (Anderson). I do so in order to question how immigration spectacle has been and continues to be shaped by Canada’s settler colonial legacy. In particular, early immigration promotion constitutes a central national

legacy that remains largely unexamined in academic literature (Troper, Dunae). By addressing the specificity of Canadian postcolonialism and framing settlement as a "founding" national practice, this thesis investigates the "spectacularization" of immigration as a specific practice of settler postcolonies in questions of nation-building and belonging. It examines how Canadian immigration spectacle has (materially and symbolically) constructed this invented/imagined community.

ii. The Problem of Description

As a response to what she calls the dilemma of cultural studies' "desire for history," Meaghan Morris has argued that the problem raised through this dilemma does not so much relate to history or disciplinarity *per se* as it does to the question of "creating a referent." The predicament of delineating a stable object of study in a rapidly shifting context resonates with some of the methodological concerns I initially faced in this project (Morris 1-8). Morris relates this to "the problem of *description* in the writing of a cultural study" based on an unstable object, an object undergoing rapid change or located in the past (19). The obverse of this problematic is the ostensibly stable object of study. Morris cites the status of the Eiffel Tower in Barthes' writing, which requires no description because of its allegedly "universal" recognition and decipherability, "it's fiction of presence and stability over time" (19). This problem of description - what does and does not require delineation, and what counts as a fixed object of study - is thereby embedded in relations of "exchange between national and local cultures" (19), as well as in social perceptions of stability and change.

So how to address the historical specificity of early Canadian immigration advertising for instance, how to reconstitute this long-gone object of study, without resorting to description as my primary task? One possibility is to consider how traces of the practices and functions it served in settler postcolonialism persist and continue, albeit in different historical circumstances as well as different formations and practices. This is the theoretical impetus for my broader notion of

immigration spectacle. It also led to my interest in the opening of the Pier 21 Immigration Exhibition in Halifax as a contemporary instance of immigration spectacle.

I am further influenced by Morris' response to this dilemma of stable referents. Morris suggests that, rather than attempting to answer to the demand for history as an implicit foundational project, we look at what is meant by history in particular public debates and conjunctures. By framing history in the Western academic sense as a set of practices of statecraft and nationhood, as an institutional project of nations, we move away from a method that privileges linear description as a primary foundational metanarrative. Such an approach resonates with my interest in considering immigration spectacle as a set of institutional/governmental practices of settler postcolonial nations.

My own response to Morris' approach is to consider history not only as an institutional project or set of public debates, but also as a prime object of national spectacle. My theoretical point of departure in Chapter 1 is Anne McClintock's investigation of nineteenth century colonial narratives of progress that led to the incorporation and transformation of history into spectacle (37). This is singularly true for immigration spectacle because of its key role in colonial settlement and nation-building. Not only is immigration continually narrativized as part of the historical development and progress of the Canadian nation, but history is one of the privileged figures invoked either implicitly or explicitly in immigration spectacle (see Chapter 3). In this sense, historical spectacle is one of three modes of immigration spectacle introduced below, often articulated to the other two modes (national display and the desirable immigrant) examined throughout this thesis.

iii. From Imagining to Memorializing the Nation: Interpretive Contexts as Methodology

My thesis seeks to investigate the formation of immigration spectacle and its role in settler postcolonialism by exploring the trajectory linking two central contexts: early Canadian government immigration promotion (1893-1930), and the 1999 opening of the Pier 21 Immigration Memorial Center. A third minor context, a promotional campaign of the Empire Marketing Board in the late 1920s, will receive very brief consideration in my first chapter as a means to elucidate the notion of imperial spectacle. My primary research for these contexts includes archival research at the National Archives of Canada (NAC) on early immigration promotion and the Empire Marketing Board, as well as additional microfilm research of the NAC's RG76 immigration records obtained through interlibrary loans. For Pier 21, I conducted on-site research at the Pier 21 Opening Ceremonies in Halifax in July, as well as media analysis of the fairly extensive media coverage of the Pier 21 opening.

Since my primary methodological concern is not to produce either a historical or a case study, I have not necessarily followed traditional archival or ethnographic methods in conducting and synthesizing my research. I have avoided the typical route delineated by case study methods that involves turning a certain ritual of thick description into the end goal of my research. Instead, following Morris, I am more interested in an approach that explores *contexts* rather than *case studies* as a method of research. For Morris, a context is “understood as a ‘specific body of practices’, and particular social forces, institutions and relations of power” (7). My approach to these contexts is largely interpretive and reflective (Geertz 18-21, Stake 242) according to my larger research problematic, which situates settler postcolonialism as a ‘social force, institution and relation of power’, and immigration spectacle as a specific body of social practices.

While these contexts are embedded in two different historical conjunctures, they consist of a shared body of social practices that can be framed and explored as two moments in a settler postcolonial trajectory. In this sense, I investigate the colonial traces of contemporary

immigration spectacle at work in Pier 21 by revisiting early immigration promotion. Rather than a historical approach, Pier 21 is explored as a contemporary actualisation of early Canadian immigration spectacle. The role of imagined community and memory in nation-building, a major preoccupation of postcolonial theories, constitutes a central methodological element in this trajectory.

Benedict Anderson's celebrated notion of imagined communities is a key structuring element of the thesis. If Anderson has been rightly critiqued for his emphasis on the modular character of nationalism, rendering 'third world' nationalisms as derivative of Europe (Chatterjee), Anderson's argument about the so-called "creole" or "New World" origins of nationalism is significant for this project. I argue that the link between Anderson's emphasis on nationalism as a "new world" creation (i.e. that of the settler colony) and his formulation of the nation as an imagined community is not coincidental. This institutional project of imagination, of the created or invented nation, bears particular resonances for settler nations such as Canada.

The particular strands of Anderson's project that I invoke then relate to this rather ubiquitous definition of nation as an imagined political community. Drawing on Renan's classic formulation of memory and forgetting as the source of the nation (11), Anderson examines how the institutional project of imagining a nation proceeds through this work of memory and forgetting (187-206). This thesis focuses on the ways in which immigration carries particular material and symbolic importance for former settler colonies in the project of imagining the nation, and how the selective memory and forgetting of immigration practices carry particularly politicized ramifications. I argue that immigration spectacle has emerged from the distinctive need of former settler dominions to imagine the nation and define a national space through the project of postcolonial settlement.

Following Renan and Anderson on the role of imagination, memory, and amnesia in nation-building, I frame Canadian immigration spectacle as an institutional project of imagined community that both spectacularizes and enacts the boundaries of those national imaginings.

Immigration spectacle is one of the central material and institutional forms that imagined community has taken in Canada. The forgetting of aspects of colonial settlement informs immigration spectacle as much as institutionalized memory and national history do. They are very much bound up with each other.

By considering imagination and memory as specifically institutionalized projects in relation to Canadian immigration, I frame immigration spectacle as a formation that mediates between a series of methodological tensions. In Chapter 3 in particular, I examine how the immigration spectacle of Pier 21 mediates between the institutional and the subjective, between national history and personal memory, and between memory and forgetting. This mediation is activated as much through the imaginative and affective components of spectacle, as through the coercive and disciplinary apparatus of institutional policy and bureaucracy. Through immigration spectacle, these tensions are intimately linked.

My interpretive approach to Anderson's imagined communities offers a productive structure for the thesis. The two central contexts I consider constitute two particular institutional moments in the building of the nation as an imagined community:

1. **Imagination:** Early immigration promotion constituted an institutional practice of imagining the nation; it offers a concrete institutional trace of the spectacularizing of a nation according to the dictates of colonial settlement,

2. **Memorialization:** Pier 21 constitutes a practice of national memorialization, in which official memories of the settler practices that created the imagined nation are inscribed as an institutional project.

In this way, the thesis follows the trajectory of immigration spectacle from the institutionalized imagining at work in early immigration promotion to its fulfillment in the memorialization at work in Pier 21. Memorialization is positioned as an actualization of an earlier institutional moment of imagining. Both are moments in the larger trajectory of the imagined nation in immigration spectacle. Whereas the early moment of immigration promotion has produced institutional imaginings of the future nation, the Pier 21 memorialization inscribes and

spectacularizes imaginings of the national past. Throughout these two moments, I explore the settler forgetting and regulated memory that is central to settler postcolonialism.

iv. Settler Postcolonialism: Peopling the Nation

My decision to anchor this analysis of immigration spectacle in the term ‘*settler* postcolonialism’ has arisen from two related impulses. Both seek to address the lack of specificity with which postcolonial studies have tended to consider the colonial legacies at work in former settler Dominions such as Canada (with some notable exceptions, see Whitlock, Bannerji, and Nadeau). To begin with then, the focus on settler postcolonialism allows me to accentuate the historical continuum linking colonial settlement to immigration in such nations, most evident in the racialized hierarchies that continue to inform immigration practices. This entails a renewed emphasis and rethinking of the *settler* dimension of settler postcolonialism, in which the interrelated displacement of indigenous peoples and settlement of the colonizing societies established the framework for national formation.

Secondly, my usage of settler postcolonialism is self-conscious in that it references debates about the theoretical and political efficacy of “the postcolonial” as a generic academic category. Ella Shohat has mounted a vigorous and important critique of the ways in which postcolonial theory has been taken up in the western academy. On the one hand, Shohat argues that the expansion of ‘the postcolonial’ as a locus of knowledge production in the western academic market has led to the collapsing of distinctions between very different national formations. It has led to the “equation of the relations of the colonized white-settlers to the Europeans at the ‘center’ with that of the colonized indigenous populations” in ways that tend to “mask the white settlers’ colonialist-racist policies” (102). Secondly, Shohat takes issue with the failure of some variants of postcolonial theory to address the regeneration of colonial relations in the contemporary moment, banishing colonialism to a past that fails to account for how “the colonial master narrative is being triumphantly restaged” (105).

If postcolonial theory has been productively problematized, then, “as a singular monolithic term, used ahistorically and haunted by the nineteenth-century image of linear progress” (McClintock 13), I believe that it is crucial to consider the political nuances and distinctions between different colonial legacies, to rethink or “remember them differently” (to paraphrase Catherine Hall). In many ways, this thesis seeks to contribute to this project of remembering empire and nationhood differently, of conducting “‘memory work’ on the legacy of Empire” (C. Hall 66). It does so in part by examining the ways in which memory and forgetting are enacted through immigration spectacle (see Chapter 3). Given the active forgetting that characterizes the former settler dominions regarding their colonial legacy, I want to examine processes of colonial settlement by focusing on immigration spectacle as a specific formation to Canada. Following Shohat’s critique, such an endeavor requires attention to the colonial traces at work in the current conjuncture, to the modes of regeneration of that colonial legacy in contemporary immigration politics (hence my attention to the trajectory between early immigration promotion and Pier 21). This is also why questions of imagination and memory are key sites in my methodological framework, as it is at precisely these sites that the colonial traces at work in contemporary immigration spectacle are submerged or ‘forgotten’ in ways that facilitate their material perpetuation in contemporary immigration practices.

Berger argues that imperialism in Canada has been a variant of, rather than opposed to, Canadian nationalism (9). My use of the term “settler postcolonialism” foregrounds the continuities in Canada’s transition from settler colony to nation-state, particularly around racialized formations and the regeneration of colonial relations within the structures of the nation. Settler colonies are generally distinguished from what are termed colonies of occupation or exploitation. In the former, the imperial power seeks to root or reproduce itself in the very fabric of the colonial population through a project of permanent settlement, rather than a “thin white line” of colonial administrators as with the latter (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 3). Yet the question

of what constitutes a settler society and how to demarcate it from other types of colonies is open to contestation, as Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis argue:

If we define 'settler societies' as societies where Europeans have settled, where their descendants have remained politically dominant over indigenous people, and where a heterogenous society has developed in class, ethnic, and racial terms, then it becomes clear that 'settler societies' must be seen as falling along a continuum rather than within clear and fixed boundaries. (3)

As such, the formations of settler postcolonialism that I will be elaborating in this thesis will be of the variant relevant and limited to the former "white dominions" (Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) rather than other settler nations that carry their own conjunctural specificities.¹ Of course, Canada complicates this model further insofar as it has been shaped by two competing settler societies, of which the French settler project functioned quite differently from the British one.² While the competing settler claims and attempted assimilation of the French-Canadian (and later Québécois) population inform the contours of settler postcolonialism in Canada, in this thesis I focus on the British imperial legacy of settler colonialism in a phase where it had become hegemonic and crystallized in Canadian federal institutions.³ Heightened all the more by this insecure hegemony of British settler culture vis-à-vis the competing settler claims of French-Québec, the settler colonialism of the white dominions in general and Canada in particular is

¹ Such as Zimbabwe, South Africa, Peru, Israel, or the United States as a settler republic (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis).

² Stasiulis and Jhappan elaborate some of the ways that the French settlement project in Québec operated differently from the competing British one (104). My concern here is with the hegemonic operation of the British settler model in federalist nationhood more so than the subordinated national claims of Québécois settlement.

³ With the ascendancy of the Canadian federation, the settler claims of Québec were relegated to a provincial concern. In the 1960s, this model was contested when Québec created its own Ministry of Immigration in 1968 (Paquet 20). An interesting context that could be invoked as a provocative parallel to Canadian immigration advertising would be the resettlement promotional campaigns conducted by Québécois clergy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to stem the tide of French-Canadian labour migration to the United States (Painchaud). In other respects, Québec has more recently tended to reproduce its own colonial categories and hierarchies of desired immigrants, though they depart in their linguistic definition of the desirable immigrant from anglophone favoritism. Yet in reordering this federalist model to encourage francophone immigration, the Québec government's model of the desirable immigrant nonetheless tends to reproduce similarly racialized hierarchies. Furthermore, with respect to policies towards indigenous peoples, the stance of the Québec government is clearly still that of a subordinated yet nonetheless settler colonialist nation.

characterized by an intensified (cultural and material) dependency expressed as a privileged linkage to British imperialism (10). As Stasiulis and Jhappan argue,

The white settler society construct refers to the intentions of colonial administrators to build in Canada an ‘overseas extension’ or replica of British society [...] Hence, the dominant culture, values, and institutions mimic those of the ‘mother’ country; they must constantly be replenished via *immigration* and importation of British goods, ideas [...] and institutions [...]

The cloning of British identity required more than the transplant of British bodies and British dispositions... It also meant the reproduction of British institutions.” (emphasis added, 97)

The institutional infrastructure of immigration spectacle that I examine in Chapter 2 stands as a unique convergence of the reproduction of both British bodies and institutions as a central agenda of settler postcolonialism. Chapter 1 (section 1.3) also considers this state of privileged dependency and mimicry in terms of the peculiar dilemma of incompleteness faced by the former settler dominions.

The desire to “people the nation” is a defining settler impulse that captures the continuities between settler colonialism and contemporary immigration spectacle. Throughout this thesis, I will return to the “peopling the nation” as a privileged motive and touchstone of the settler colonial imagination that structures immigration spectacle. Of course, any project to people the nation presupposes another classic tenet of settler ideology that belies the very existence of indigenous peoples, as well as the colonial violence visited upon them: the socio-legal construct of *terra nullius*, or what McClintock calls the myth of the empty lands (30). The land (particularly Western Canada) was figured as an anachronistic and barren space, effecting an erasure of indigenous peoples and producing the impetus for settlement. Indeed, settler colonialism is borne of this tension between an originary myth of a barren land crying out to be peopled with an active project of indigenous genocide and dispossession from the land. Colonial settlement was enacted through the commodification of this expropriated land into agricultural settlements. Land promotion as means to people the nation thus emerged as the first phase of early immigration promotion (see Chapter 2). Institutionally, this implies tight links in the peopling of the nation

between the development of 'Indian' policy in the Indian Act of 1876, immigration policy, and agricultural settlement, though this has yet to be seriously taken up by scholars in the Canadian context as far as I have been able to find.

The viability of this settler colonial dyad of the empty lands myth and the imperative to people the nation clearly relies on a suppression of the colonization of indigenous peoples. As such, it is the very locus of a process of active forgetting that I will take up particularly in Chapter 3 as a key element of settler postcolonialism. Peopling the nation as a defining impulse relies for its very intelligibility on this active forgetting and slippage through which immigration spectacle and national history have been constructed. Out of the precolonial void that is created through active forgetting, a project of imagining the settler nation emerges to fulfill the absence of a nation. Such a project of imagining is both a function of memory (of British colonial ties) and forgetting, as Renan and Anderson have formulated. In this sense, I suggest that it is no accident that Anderson argues that nationalism is a new world (i.e. settler colonial) creation, proposing the notion of imagined communities as a way to make sense of it. This thesis suggests that immigration spectacle emerged as a key means of fulfilling this concurrent process of imagining and peopling the nation.

A final critical aspect of the peopling of the nation that I want to stress concerns the profoundly racialized and sexualised dimensions of the settler project as a means of colonial reproduction. The imperial impetus for peopling the nation was not only a matter of expanding colonial markets for the purposes of resource extraction and colonial consumption, it also implied a 'cloning of British identity' as Stasiulis and Jhappan put it. While the racialised bases of such a project are apparent enough, this was also a sexualised project insofar as women constituted the key racial and imperial boundary markers assuring the "purity" or effecting the "pollution" of the

settler population (McClintock 24).⁴ Furthermore, the dependence of settler colonies on emigration for colonial reproduction suggested that the peopling of the nation performed the material and symbolic functions of maternity. As an extension of colonial settlement, immigration was and continues to be figured as a form of national reproduction, with all the sexualised dictates that implies. The imperative to people the nation strongly shaped the sexualised contours of immigration spectacle (see next section).

Anne McClintock's focus on the gendered basis of imperial spectacle is particularly helpful here in understanding these sexualised dimensions of the peopling of the nation. In Imperial Leather (1995), McClintock elaborates the sexualisation of empire and nation through the mutual articulations of domesticity and empire, what she calls domestic colonialism (see 1.2.2). According to McClintock, the nexus of empire and domesticity has been expressed through an extended analogy between family and empire that has been centrally crystallized in the imperial figure of the Family of Man. McClintock argues that the British settler colonies came to be seen as the site of the regeneration of the white father and family of man in response to the threat of imperial crises at home. This was a major impetus of the Empire Settlement Act of the 1920s for instance, the purpose of which was to encourage the emigration of "surplus" British women and men to the dominions, generating much resentment in the daughter countries about colonial dumping of the "unfit."⁵ McClintock argues that the hopes of imperial regeneration were pinned on the emerging colonial bureaucracy, including such national state formations as the emerging immigration bureaucracy (see Chapter 2). The imperial spectacle that emerged from these institutional formations in the nineteenth century was replete with expressions of imperial ties as family ties (for both the purposes of economic trade and national identity), along with pervasive images of Mother Britannia and her dominion daughter of empire, Miss Canada.

⁴ As such, women have carried a formative and charged significance in the racialized hierarchies of immigration, as I will consider in sections 1.4 and 2.3.1.

With respect to the peopling of the nation as a sexualised project then, McClintock's approach allows us to understand the familial metaphor for empire as the very basis of colonial settlement and emigration. In this way, settler colonialism was popularly figured through immigration spectacle as the perpetuation and reproduction of a family bond. The imperial family was a key means of imagining empire that directly informed the modes of imagining nation that structure Canadian immigration spectacle.

v. Three Modes of Imagining Nation

Immigration spectacle, as a social practice of settler postcolonialism, is shaped by notions of imagined community and national belonging that continue to be strongly informed by the colonial privileging of social identities (according to such social markers as race, sexuality, class, language, and health/hygiene). In this section, I propose three central modes of imagining nation as a way to understand immigration spectacle. These three modes structure both moments of immigration spectacle under investigation, and constitute the main trajectory of the settler colonial legacy. Each mode takes as its imagined object a central constituent of nationhood, respectively spectacularizing: a) community, b) nation, and c) history. They are:

- a) the preferred social identities of the desirable immigrant (imagined community)
- b) national display/promotion (imagined nation)
- c) the Janus face of national history (imagined history/future)

These three modes of immigration spectacle all relate to the colonial settlement imperatives of the settler postcolony, whether in its more imperial loyalist or Canadian nationalist variants. A brief elaboration of the second and third modes of imagining nation follows in this section, while the first mode of imagining nation is taken up in Chapter 1 (1.4) as part of the theoretical formulation of immigration spectacle. All three modes are manifested through certain formative tensions that permeate the processes of immigration spectacle: in particular, the

⁵ See Stephen Constantine, ed. Emigrants and Empire: British Settlement in the Dominions Between the (over)

interplay between *memory* and *forgetting*, and *absence* and *presence*. These tensions structure the process of imagining nationhood, as suggested by Renan and Anderson. In a project of imagined nationhood rooted in settler colonialism, the contours of these tensions, especially in relation to absences and forgetting, carry particularly politicized ramifications.

With respect to the second mode of imagining nation, immigration spectacle consists of dynamic promotional practices of national display that project highly manicured images of the nation to be built through the appeal to the desirable immigrant. The selectivity of national display in early immigration promotion is a matter of popular renown, most notoriously recounted in the lack of winter scenes, exaggerated crops, and erasure of indigenous peoples shown in advertisements. Yet to read such practices as propaganda or false images is to fail to account for the promotional agenda of immigration spectacle. These selective practices of national display were tactics of national commodification closely bound up with promotional attempts to interpellate desirable immigrants. The contours of national display were carefully targeted to the prospective settlers (as we shall see in the Chapter 2). As a “promotional commodity”, the nation imagined through such practices was a nation yet to be fulfilled, and the very function of immigration spectacle was to seek to actualize the imaginings it purveyed.

While I cannot offer any detailed consideration or overview of the vast range of practices of national display encompassed in immigration spectacle, they ranged from realist modes of factual and statistical display in official government advertising, to the more celebratory and carnivalesque modes of national representation. In Chapter 2, I will consider two of the more spectacular instances of national display that were deployed in early immigration promotion, that of the Chicago World’s Fair Mammoth Cheese and the lantern slide lectures. Each instance offers insight into the close relationship between the forms of national display employed and the desirable immigrants sought.

Wars. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990.

As a third mode of imagining nation, historical spectacle functions through the twin figures of *national history* and *national future*, the Janus-faced temporal referents of the progress narrative implicit to nationhood (McClintock 358). Immigration spectacle implicitly appeals to the past and future of the nation and its (ontological?) grounding in immigration as central to the definition of a national space. According to Smith, “Canada ... celebrates its identity as a nation of immigrants whose *past* and *future* rest on the attraction of new settlers” (emphasis added 52). In this way, immigration and nation-building are implicitly tied to historical progress, and immigration spectacle promises to fulfill the incompleteness that plagues the settler postcolony through a celebratory historical narrative. It is therefore implicitly tied to the notion of progress for the settler postcolony, as Clifford Sifton put it, “propelling Canada forward and laying the foundation for future prosperity” (D.J. Hall 2: 75). As such, historical spectacles offer a colonial progress narrative as a resolution for these dilemmas of settler incompleteness.

As I have already suggested, the need of settler colonies to build a history on which to hinge their national strivings reveals the extent to which their incompleteness is rooted in forgetting, the active forgetting of indigenous dispossession and colonial violence. As such, the institutional practice of forgetting with respect to colonial settlement informs contemporary immigration spectacle as much as national history and institutionalized memory do. Indeed, they are very much bound up with each other. In Chapter 3, I will take up the question of history and forgetting in immigration spectacle as they are employed in practices of memorialization. In the spectacle of Pier 21, the memorialization of Canadian immigration history is structured through this settler colonial tension between memory and forgetting.

The settler colonial imperative to people the nation as a racialised and sexualised project also finds a strong expression in the historical component of immigration spectacle. As McClintock’s formulation of panoptical time and anachronistic space shows, this appeal to the national past and future is a particularly racialised formation, banishing indigenous peoples of pre-colonial lineage to the anachronistic temporal realm of pre-history (40). Furthermore,

historical spectacles of immigration are also sexualised insofar as they are often articulated with the anxious fusion of immigration and maternity, as seen in this contemporary instance (see Figure 1 in the Appendix). Here, the trajectory of this thesis from imagination to memory is fitting, insofar as immigration spectacle continually interpellates memory of its past as constituted through immigration (such as the memorialization of Pier 21) and imagination of the future of the nation (as in early immigration promotion).

One celebrated dictum that implicitly links immigration and historical spectacle is the popularized proclamation made in 1904 by Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier that, “As the nineteenth century was that of the United States, so I think the twentieth century shall be filled by Canada.” This notion of the twentieth century as Canada’s century has become a foundational national myth that was intrinsically linked to the mass settlement of the prairies (Stitch 19).⁶ It highlights the ways in which national history is an implicit object of immigration spectacle, linking nation-building to temporal progress. As the source countries for Canadian immigration have progressively shifted to the traditionally non-preferred areas of the non-European world, immigration spectacle addressing the future of the nation tends to take on the tone of racial anxiety and alarm. The Time Magazine special Millennium report on “the transformation of the Canadian mosaic” is a clear example, pointing to a rising immigration tide and a declining birth rate to anxiously portend on “the future that is already here” (Fig. 1). The Time editorial rather openly declares the spectacular intent of the special report: “We wanted to give you a vivid visual sense of the changes that will overtake the country in the next few years” (Russell 2). The transformation of immigration history into spectacle tends to evoke a quasi-eugenic response to selective immigration as the means to control the future of the nation and its demographic makeup.

⁶ Indeed, Laurier went on to exclaim in that famous speech that, “For the next hundred years, Canada shall be the star towards which all men who love progress and freedom shall come”. Wilfred Laurier. Campaign Speech. Massy Hall, Toronto. Oct. 14, 1904.

It is in this deeply intertwined spectacle of preferred identities, national display, and national history that the social practice of immigration spectacle is constructed. I further examine the desirable immigrant as a mode of imagining nation in the theoretical formulation of immigration spectacle in Chapter 1. As an institutional moment of imagining the nation, the early immigration promotion that is the subject of Chapter 2 foregrounds national display. As an institutional moment of memorialization, the Pier 21 spectacle considered in Chapter 3 centers most explicitly on historical spectacle. Yet throughout the colonial trajectory running between these two moments from institutional imagination to memorialization, the desirable immigrant will be stressed as the critical locus of this settler colonial project of peopling the nation.

Chapter 1. Immigration Spectacle as Settler Postcolonialism

1.1 Colony to Nation, Settler to Immigrant

“[C]olonial administrators [sought] to build in Canada an ‘overseas extension’ or replica of British society [...] The cloning of British identity required more than the transplant of British bodies and British dispositions... It also meant the reproduction of British institutions.”

- Daiva Stasiulis and Radha Jhappan

“Some historians... argue that British imperialism rested largely on spectacle and was so illusory and theatrical that it was remembered less ‘as a political organism than as a sort of great exhibition’. What better expression of empire than an imperial exhibition?” (191)

- Elsbeth Heaman (citing Jan Morris, The Spectacle of Empire)

“The current Immigration Act (1976-77) organizes the ongoing racialization of the nation and immigrants, as well as the gendering of immigration... In committing itself to strengthening the ‘cultural’ and ‘social’ fabric of Canada... the Act becomes complicit in perpetuating a particular colonial construction of ‘Canadian-ness’.” (12)

- Sunera Thobani

How are settler nations, nations born of settler colonialism and mass immigration, imagined and constructed? What social practices define and endure the transition from settler colony to nation? The following chapters seek to elaborate a set of settler postcolonial practices that I call *immigration spectacle*, and to examine their role in the colonial construction of ‘Canadian-ness’. Using Anne McClintock’s work as a theoretical point of departure, this chapter traces how the convergence of two critical formations, settler postcolonialism and imperial spectacle, produced immigration spectacle as a key means of constructing the Canadian nation. I open by considering McClintock’s notion of imperial spectacle, along with a brief context that nicely encapsulates this formation, a film by the Empire Marketing Board called *One Family*. The notion of immigration spectacle is proposed as a way to understand this set of social practices so central to the emergence and building of former dominion settler nations. The chapter closes with a focus on the centrality of the desirable immigrant to immigration spectacle.

1.2 Imperial Spectacle

1.2.1 *Spectacle as Social Practice*

The notion of spectacle offers a rich theoretical frame through which to explore the ‘immigration question’ as a focal point of Canadian nation-building, and how it has been popularly articulated across a vast range of media and technologies of national display (whether through immigration promotion in Chapter 2, or with the Pier 21 memorialization in Chapter 3). It provides a stronger theoretical lens than an effects model of propaganda,⁷ which would tend to focus, for example, on the falsity of representations of the Canadian climate in immigration promotion. As Heaman argues, “[...immigration] advertisements contained overstatements... that could be easily disproved, but the overall message is not one that could be called true or false [...]. By exaggerating Canadian prosperity, Canadian agents could generate the faith in Canada ... so badly needed, and in so doing bring this prosperity within reach... In short truth was relative [...].” (196). The practices by which this faith in the future nation was generated, and the ways in which “Canada [was constructed] as an object susceptible to and largely consisting of practices of representation” (Heaman 180), can best be understood through the social practice of spectacle.

I engage a broader notion of spectacle⁸ than the sort proffered in such classic works as Guy Debord’s La Société du Spectacle. Aside from his Frankfurt School-style suspicion of spectacle and his determinist model of audience reception, Debord reduces the function of spectacle to solely that of the commodity in consumer capitalist society.⁹ While I concur that commodity spectacle has been and continues to be among the most prominent formations of twentieth century spectacle, the reduction of the former to the latter misses other very significant

⁷One hallmark of traditional theories of spectacle that I depart from is this tendency towards determinist models of reception.

⁸I want to avoid facile or totalizing readings of spectacle that simply equate it with modernism or consumer society. Yet while the vastness of the notion of spectacle has been grounds for its dismissal by some (Crary, “Spectacle” 97), it’s breadth is part of why I find it evocative as a theoretical frame for early Canadian immigration promotion

(and often interrelated) formations such as sexual, racial and national modes of spectacle (Nadeau), or indeed, imperial spectacles (as I will consider with McClintock).¹⁰

Despite this critique, one aspect of Debord's approach that I want to retain for the purposes of my theoretical project is his insistence on spectacle as a form of social practice (Turner 40-42). Debord argues that "the spectacle is not a collection of images; rather it is a social relationship between people that is mediated by images" (Debord 12). Morris' notion of the "aesthetic" in her critical project also fleshes out some of the related political and cultural elements that an approach to spectacle as social practice might encompass: "the 'aesthetic' in my sense includes institutional ways of using images and stories to legitimize powers and policies as well as to produce cultural values, historical memories, desires and ethical ideals" (22). For instance, Chapter 3 considers the institutional use of affect and memory in immigration spectacle.

By approaching spectacle as a social practice rather than simply a set of visual markers or a modernist mode of distraction, the "eventfulness" and physicality of spectacle is stressed. Refusing to restrict spectacle strictly to the terms of visual representation or iconography, I am more concerned with how visual imagery and social events are made to mediate and organize social relationships shaped by settler postcolonialism.¹¹ Spectacle is not solely constituted by visual representation, but through representation in Spivak's more complex dual resonance of representation as both an aesthetic and a political project (275). In this way, the representational

⁹ Furthermore, Debord's anti-ocular approach tends to reduce spectacle to a strictly visual paradigm as the privileged mode of capitalism. Philip Auslander (2000) has interestingly critiqued this Debordian tendency to graft an anti-ocular centrism onto a totalizing Marxist critique of reification and commodification.

¹⁰ Indeed, feminists have recentered gender and sexuality as key dimensions of spectacle that theorists in the tradition of Debord continue to neglect. Furthermore, the notion of spectacle itself tends to become gendered and sexualized in its association with artifice, sensuality, pleasure, non-rational affect and female sexuality (Russo 53, Landes 39-66), thereby enhancing the distrust and suspicion it is met with in masculinist accounts of the public sphere. As such, I also want to avoid the pitfalls of Habermas' iconoclastic and derogatory suspicion of spectacle that frames it as the corruption of an idealized and masculinized rational public sphere (Durham Peters).

¹¹ Some poststructural renderings of spectacle tend to perpetuate this detachment of spectacle from social practice that I want to avoid. Most notoriously, in his later works, Baudrillard has come to argue that spectacle has been eclipsed by a new era of simulation, characterized by the loss of referentiality of visual representations vis-a-vis "reality" (or perhaps, the eclipse of reality by representation).

project of immigration spectacle must be understood as fundamentally rooted in the institutional and governmental structures that evolved out of the project of imagining nation through immigration. This analysis of immigration spectacle encompasses its institutional infrastructure, ranging from the governmental networks of immigration agents from which it arose to the more coercive apparatus of medical checkpoints and deportations.

Moving away from certain traditional formulations towards a more nuanced approach, I understand the social practice of spectacle in terms of the staging of an *event* or the creation of an immersive situation. This occurs through a range of representational and affective strategies so as to intervene in or engage with everyday life, often for specific social or political purposes. Rather than a form of distraction or disengagement, spectacles seek to engage participants in an immersive situation or an “event”. This “eventfulness” seeks to interpellate attention and participation, to circulate and provoke cultural values and memories rather than passivity, to elicit affective responses and pleasure rather than detachment, often through a range of strategies such as celebration, social panics, cultural anxieties, and memorializations. They involve the staging or dramatization of events and situations through a whole range of media, seeking to capture the attention and imagination of onlookers into ulterior purposes or agendas.¹²

John Grierson’s vision of the Empire Marketing Board’s imperial mission (see section 1.2.3 below) captures a key aspect of spectacle as a means of imagining empire; Grierson saw the work of the EMB as “bringing the empire alive in the mind of its subjects”. Precisely what constitutes bringing a specific formation alive in the mind is the subject of great debate and ferment in cultural studies. Institutional and governmental efforts to engage this process, attempting to bring nations or empires alive in the mind, have led to specific practices of spectacle. In settler colonies in particular, these practices have taken shape through the project of

¹² As such, this thesis focuses less on the specific iconography or instances of visual display than on the broader social context of spectacle in which they occur.

imagined nationhood.¹³ Such a project emerges from a settler colonialism premised on the material bases of land conquest, displacement of indigenous peoples, and the closely regulated movement of settler and immigrant bodies. As such, the imaginative work of nation-building implies a material, discursive, and affective project.

This applies not only to the more overtly charged forms of racialized spectacles where affective investments tend to be foregrounded and highly pitched, but also to the forms of national spectacle that serve to articulate racialized yet unmarked norms, i.e. (in this case) the desirable immigrant. In this sense, the processes of racialization and stratification at work in the forms of immigration spectacle I focus on in the coming chapters are of a somewhat different kind than racialized spectacles of the marginalized “other” that have tended to be the focus of recent cultural theory.¹⁴ Both Stuart Hall and Edward Ball have argued that spectacle is implicitly linked to otherness (Ball 147, Hall, Representation 231-2). Yet while many cultural studies focus on spectacles where the articulation of the marginalized “other” is effected in hyper visible and marked terms, the forms of immigration spectacle addressed here define the other through absence or erasure from the representational frame. The forms of immigration spectacle taken up in the next chapters tend to visually and textually articulate the unmarked racialization of the norms of preferred whiteness, of the desirable immigrant, and the preferred categories of immigration policy. The non-preferred and excluded classes or “others” are rendered representationally absent. Yet, such an invisibility translates into heightened regulation at other points in the immigration apparatus, where non-preferred immigrants are materially as well as symbolically excluded from the imagined national polity. Similarly, the lavishness and scale of immigration spectacle (with respect to distribution, governmental infrastructure, and

¹³ By examining settler postcolonial spectacle within the terms of this *attempt* to “bring empire [or nation] alive in the mind,” I seek to avoid reducing spectacle to another determinist model of reception.

¹⁴ Xenophobic practices of immigration spectacle include everything from racial panics around immigration, and racial political cartoons (Buxton and Niquette), to minstrel shows, and carnivalesque displays of racialized peoples.

visual/representational terms) remains relative to the desirability of its targets. Large-scale spectacle for preferred countries and classes (primarily British and white Americans of the appropriate classes) was reduced to spartan labour recruitment for non-preferred and excluded peoples.

Finally, I understand spectacle as an imaginative endeavor that is crucially activated through pleasure, memory and affect. They are key sites through which structures of feeling are constituted (Williams),¹⁵ the animating forces that bring particular formations and modes of power alive in the mind. Heaman explicitly links imperial and immigration spectacle together with respect to the ways that they have been animated through affect and pleasure. She argues that towards the end of the nineteenth century, exhibitions in Canada veered from their rationalistic pedagogic intent, becoming increasingly “spectacularesque.”¹⁶ By this she means that they came to rely on material practices of display that would “create emotional associations and ... make them more vivid and compelling... The emphasis was on giving body and substance to existing ideas – emigration, imperialism – to make them more pleasing” (208). Through their engagement with imagination and memory, spectacles as staged events are constituted through partially real and partially fictive elements that effectively play on the boundary between reality and representation.

¹⁵ Here I indirectly invoke Raymond Williams’ notion of structures of feeling, “a kind of feeling and thinking which is indeed social and material” (131).

¹⁶ This is a term coined by Heaman based on the intersection of Bakhtin’s notion of the carnivalesque and Debord’s spectacle. She does so to argue that spectacle “did not lend itself so easily to hegemonic purposes. Designed to educate popular taste, it ended by strengthening its impact... The spectacularesque refers to their [the exhibitions] potential to subvert the sober values they were expected to inculcate” (285). Yet Heaman too strongly dichotomizes hegemonic intent from spectacularesque populism, when they often mutually inform one another as McClintock shows.

1.2.2 Anne McClintock on Imperial Spectacle

While primarily focussed on commodity spectacle, Anne McClintock's analysis of the rise of spectacle in relation not only to twentieth century industrial capitalist modernity but also to nineteenth century British colonialism is significant here. Such an approach allows McClintock to provide a nuanced consideration of the gendered and colonial bases of spectacle, to trace the roots of the industrial progress narrative of commodity spectacle in imperialism, as well as to consider the incorporation and transformation of history into spectacle.¹⁷ In this section, I examine McClintock's account of the emergence of imperial commodity spectacle. I trace McClintock's expansion of the notion of commodity spectacle through the closely related yet distinct modes of spectacle (historical, national) she employs in her analysis of the links between spectacle and imperialism. These expanded forms of spectacle inform the theoretical basis of immigration spectacle.

McClintock traces the interrelated emergence of domestic colonialism with commodity spectacle in the second half of the nineteenth century (34-36). Central to her analysis are the social articulations between the public masculinized realm of empire and the ostensibly 'private' feminized realm of domesticity, along with the racial, sexual, and class formations at work in both. Whereas some feminists critique masculinized theories of the public sphere as a domain of gender exclusion, McClintock argues that British imperialism suffused the articulated separation of public and private spheres, as well as the Victorian cult of domesticity. She shows how the public domain of empire did not simply abject gender but also depended upon and worked through this excluded private sphere. In this mutual articulation, McClintock argues that as domestic space became racialized, the domestic sphere was a crucial organizing motif of the

¹⁷ I am less interested in pursuing the psychoanalytic strands of McClintock's approach linking spectacle to fetishism. Yet I find her expanded approach to commodity spectacle (relative to traditional formulations) theoretically appropriate to the unique context of immigration spectacle.

imperial project in the implantation and expansion of colonial markets. As a result, colonial space was domesticated through commodity spectacle (36).

McClintock positions commodity spectacle as a crucial formation of domestic colonialism that mediated the relation between domesticity and empire. The practices of commodity spectacle that emerged from the nineteenth century British imperialist project transformed the imperial progress narrative into mass spectacles. In such emergent forms of spectacle as advertising and photography, imperialism was figured as coming into being through Victorian domesticity (32-33).¹⁸ McClintock argues that imperial spectacles were staged through a series of “technologies that emerged for the commodity display of [imperial] progress and the universal family, ... [the central technologies being] those quintessentially Victorian institutions of the museum, the exhibition, photography, and imperial advertising” (44). She also links the Victorian empiricism and technologies of visibility that shaped imperial spectacle to the invention of race through commodity racism.

Yet commodity spectacle is only one form of imperial spectacle to coalesce in the late nineteenth century. The roots of imperial spectacle lie in an earlier eighteenth and early nineteenth century enlightenment project with global ambitions, what McClintock calls the *imperial science of the surface*. The imperial science of the surface transformed enlightenment notions of a linear narrative of temporal progress into the spectacle of a single imperial history and global project. It operated by mapping two figures, what McClintock calls *panoptical time* and *anachronistic space*, onto a single unified surface (most often figured as a globe) for mass consumption in commodity spectacle. Panoptical time served to effect a spatialization of time, imprinting a spatial trajectory of historical progress on the globe running from imperial center (civilized, rational) to colonial periphery (primitive, atavistic). This imperial equivalence between geographic space and historical progress also produced anachronistic space, in which “the agency

¹⁸ See McClintock’s analysis of the Pear’s soap ads.

of women, the colonized, and the industrial working class are disavowed and projected onto anachronistic space: prehistoric, atavistic, and irrational” (McClintock, 40).

The spatialization of panoptical time effected in the imperial science of the surface generated a kind of precursor to later forms of commodity spectacle, an imperial mode of historical spectacle (37). It is here that McClintock begins to expand her analysis of spectacle beyond strictly that of the commodity variant. A visual paradigm of history was required to effect this spatialization of time through a unified imperial narrative. This transformation of history into spectacle created an “image of global history consumed - at a glance - in a single spectacle from a point of privileged invisibility” (37). This quest for instant scopic consumption of a unified history led to a long tradition of spectacles staged around the imperial progress narrative. While the later emergence of commodity spectacle served as an innovation on the imperial science of the surface through the mass marketing of commodity racism, the roots of these later forms were based in historical spectacle.

McClintock also accounts for the emergence of a broader form of spectacle at another site, that of the imperial exhibition. She locates the 1851 Crystal Palace World Exhibition in London as a key turning point in which the imperial progress narrative began to be transformed into mass spectacle. McClintock emphasizes how the experience of the exhibition served to merge panoptical surveillance, the voyeuristic discipline of spectacle, with affective modes of pleasure and enchantment. According to McClintock, “implicit in the exhibition was the new experience of imperial progress as a *national* spectacle” (59, original emphasis).

Although McClintock opens her analysis by examining commodity spectacle as one articulation of domesticity and empire, it is significant that McClintock closes her work with an analysis of national spectacle. She pursues and concludes the trajectory of imperial spectacle by considering the national formations that have emerged out of these imperial projects.

Significantly, this leads her to focus on settler nationalisms, particularly in South Africa. McClintock challenges Anderson’s argument that nationalism arose primarily out of print

capitalism by arguing that “national collectivity is experienced preeminently through spectacle” (374). She argues that the gendered and racialized elements of national spectacle continue to be rooted in the imperial legacy of domestic colonialism. This imperial legacy of the nation is evident in the fact that, for instance, nationalisms continue to position women as the racial boundary markers of the nation.

McClintock emphasizes the invented nature of white nationalist traditions in South Africa created through the political staging of spectacle, revealing the extent to which “nationalism is a theatrical performance of invented community” (373, 375). As with Anderson, I argue that McClintock’s emphasis on invention or imagination as a central feature of nationalism is closely linked to the settler colonial status of the nations she considers.¹⁹ McClintock specifically states that white national traditions were invented *where none had existed before* (373), alluding to the settler past underlying such traditions that are forgotten and reinvented. One of McClintock’s richest theoretical contributions for the purposes at hand lies in her analysis of how practices of national spectacle effect the invention of national collectivity. It is a central theoretical strand that I draw from her work to develop the notion of immigration spectacle as a settler colonial practice.

1.2.3 One Family: A Dream of Real Things (The Empire Marketing Board)

If McClintock’s account of the nineteenth century emergence of imperial spectacle was to be encapsulated in a specific social context, the Empire Marketing Board could be counted as one of its highest expressions. While the Empire Marketing Board (EMB) merits its own study, I want to very briefly focus on the first EMB film production, *One Family: A Dream of Real Things* (1927), as a key articulation of the links between imperial and immigration spectacle. As the title suggests, these links are channeled through a familial conception of colonial emigration

¹⁹ This is not to say that invention/imagination is not a feature of non-settler/colonial nationalisms, but that invention and imagination carry particular exigencies for settler nations. Furthermore, theorizations where national imagination and invention are emphasized (as with Anderson) are usually based on settler nations.

(McClintock 45) and rather excessively spectacularized in the film. *One Family* stands as a key articulation of the imperial ideologies that inform immigration spectacle and its modes of imagining nation. It vividly illustrates how immigration spectacle is implicitly embedded in imperial/settler colonial spectacle.

“Bringing the Empire alive in the mind of its subjects” was the infamous mission statement of the Empire Marketing Board (EMB), an official British government publicity and research body active for eight short years, 1926-1933. Through its colorful and vast-ranging imperial publicity campaigns²⁰, the EMB was both a proponent and innovator of a vast range of media and publicity techniques, most notably documentary film.²¹

The first of the Empire Marketing Board film productions initiated prior to the arrival of John Grierson, *One Family: A Dream of Real Things* (dir. Walter Creighton, 1927),²² turned out to be the white elephant of the EMB film unit productions. It was Rudyard Kipling’s brainchild, based on his film treatment that borrowed largely from the “Pageant of Empire” that Kipling had organized as part of the 1924 British Empire Exhibition at Wembley (Swann 17). Kipling convinced the EMB to hire his old army buddy and film novice, Walter Creighton, as the director. Creighton proceeded to waste several years touring the empire and squandering the majority of the Board’s film budget. The film that was meant to be a major release feature of the sort to compete with Hollywood blockbusters went on to become a box office and critical disaster. Some film historians have gone so far as to suggest that Grierson’s documentary genre emerged in part as a stylistic, non-theatrical and financial counterpoint to the overblown fiasco that was *One Family*. Consequently, film histories have tended to focus on the EMB documentary tradition of

²⁰ Interestingly enough, the General Secretary of the Empire Union’s contended that while the impact of the EMB’s major poster campaign on Empire consumption was unclear, the campaign was effective in that it “induced people to emigrate” (Constantine, *Buy* 16).

²¹ For more on the background of the EMB and its political and institutional structure, see Constantine (“Bringing the Empire Alive” and “Anglo-Canadian Relations”). For more on the documentary productions of the EMB, see Meredith and Swann.

Grierson, Rotha, and Flaherty.²³ Yet I think that there is something to be gained by considering some of the grand failures as well as the triumphs of imperial promotion and cultural production.

In the opening scenes of *One Family*, a young British schoolboy walks past several huge EMB poster displays on his way to school, daydreaming of the King's Empire Christmas pudding. The pudding, of course, is an EMB recipe composed entirely of empire ingredients. His pudding daydream continues in geography class where a teacher lectures on an EMB map, sending the boy drifting off to sleep in the middle of class. He awakens into a dream sequence where he is greeted by a group of fancy dress ladies each representing a Dominion or colony. Miss Canada, wearing a fur-trimmed cap, is the most flirtatious. He is then led on a series of dream visits by each of the ladies to the different dominions and colonies, where he tours the primary resources and industries of each member of the Empire family and returns with the respective territory's ingredient for the Christmas pudding. The Canadian wheat he retrieves is sifted together with British wheat, a telling image for the racial stock of the "white" dominions. The film as a parable of empire migration is entirely structured by the recipe and image of the EMB Empire Christmas pudding. It offers a scrumptious and spectacular impetus for the settlement of Britannia's children in the daughter dominions and colonies.

Yet, true to the Empire Exhibition roots of the EMB, the pudding spectacle extended beyond the film to constitute a 'multi-media' imperial spectacle. It was mass-distributed as a recipe, included in several EMB posters, and became the subject of a 1926 ceremony in London that involved the mixing of a 14 lb. pudding (see Fig. 2). After each empire ingredient had been ceremoniously paraded by "Indian servants" and the last egg had been broken, representatives of

²² This is a film I discovered in the National Archives of Canada. Only a partial version of it exists at the NAC, and the reel ends before the close of the film right after the tour of Canada. I have therefore been unable to view a complete versions of the film.

²³ Of course, it is quite significant that Grierson left the EMB and went on to join the Canadian Wartime film Bureau and then found the National Film Bureau. In what might be framed as another form of immigration spectacle, Grierson produced a series of films concerned with the Canadianization of immigrants for rural non-theatrical film circuits that toured communities of non-preferred immigrants during the second world war (Nelson 128).

the dominions each took a turn stirring the King's Empire Christmas pudding. In The Times coverage of the pudding mixing ceremony, it was noted that the pudding...

...could not fail to touch the imagination of every British family... When the pudding was carried to the Royal table next Saturday, it would furnish a symbol of Imperial unity and an epitome of inter-Empire trade. If the Royal example were followed by housewives throughout the Empire, they would in some measure have laid the foundations of inter-Empire trade, not only symbolically, but in actual practical fact. ("Empire Christmas Pudding" 9)

The spectacular pudding not only offered an image of imperial unity, it was meant to single-handedly resurrect empire trade through the lure of imperial abundance. As a rather unique expression of the imperial science of the surface, Constantine confesses that "the EMB's apparent obsession with Christmas pudding was not altogether misjudged since such a sphere, rich with a wide range of ingredients from all round the Empire, was an appropriate image for the imperial globe they were trying to present" ("Bringing" 215).

As such, the film provides a key articulation of the imperial spectacle of settler colonial migration. The imperial peregrinations of the white boy are clearly figured, not only as a precondition of empire trade and colonial resource exploitation, but as the basis and ultimate expression of colonial settlement. The imperial motif of family unity in the title is telling. The sexualised project of settler reproduction in the colonies, of the peopling of the nation with Britannia's sons and daughters, is captured in this dream of one family reproducing itself throughout the proliferating colonies.

Not coincidentally, the institutional structures of the Empire Marketing Board were directly linked to the imperialist structures of colonial settlement. The EMB was one of two prongs in the colonial development policy of EMB head Leo Amery and other imperialist Conservatives.²⁴ The second was the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 (in which Canada was a

²⁴ As a hard-line imperialist conservative in the Baldwin government, Amery played a key role as Secretary of State for the Dominions in the formation of the EMB as an anomalous government department and administrative novelty (Constantine, "Anglo-Canadian Relations"). Another central figure in the EMB was Stephen Tallents, known as the "imaginative civil servant" and moving force behind the EMB Film Unit.

favoured participant). Perhaps one of the most telling encapsulations of the continuities between settler colonialist and immigration practices in the labour of nation-building was exuberantly pronounced by *One Family* visionary Rudyard Kipling. On a 1907 cross-Canada tour, this original Son of the Empire proclaimed:

[I]mmigration is what you want in the West. You must have labourers there. You want immigration, and the best way to keep the yellow man out is to get the white man in. If you keep out the white, then you must have the yellow man, for you must have labour. Work must be done, and there is certain work to do which a white man won't do so long as he can get a yellow man to do it. Pump in the immigrants from the Old Country. Pump them in; England has five million people to spare. (Canadian Annual Review 357, qtd. in Trebilcock 123)²⁵

1.3 Immigration Spectacle

One Family offers a vivid articulation of the centrality of settler colonial migration to imperial spectacle. Empire settlement is presented as the basis for reproduction of the imperial family and the peopling of the nation. This parable of empire migration reveals how the immigration spectacle of settler dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand) was closely tied to the larger colonial project of empire settlement. In the transition from colony to nation, imperial spectacle gave way to immigration spectacle, a transition that retained and reproduced the colonial categorization of desirable immigrants.

In this way, immigration carries particular material and symbolic importance for former settler colonies in the project of imagining the nation. Drawing from Renan and Anderson regarding the role of imagination, memory, and forgetting in nation-building, I frame Canadian immigration spectacle as an institutional project of imagining community that both spectacularizes and enforces the boundaries of that national community (through the state

²⁵ Following Kipling's tour of Canada, he published Letters to the Family: Notes on a Recent Trip to Canada, in which he offered the following poem: "The stranger within my gate / He may be true or kind / (over)

immigration bureaucracy). As Smith puts it, “imagined communities... [are] an important variable in determining the permeability of the boundaries of the nation-state” (52). Immigration spectacle is one of the central material and institutional forms that imagined community has taken in Canada. It emerged from the specific need for former settler dominions to imagine the nation and define a national space through the project of postcolonial settlement.

The emergence of Canadian immigration promotion out of the conjoined forces of imperial spectacle and empire settlement has much to do with the ‘birth’ of the settler nation at a time when such central technologies of spectacle as advertising were being consolidated. As Heaman argues, “in the late nineteenth century, commercial advertising was becoming a powerful social force... Canada emerged as a nation just as this new force of commercialism arose. Advertisements affected Canada’s material conditions, as well as Canadians’ sense of themselves” (194). The project of imagining Canada through immigration spectacle has from the start been intimately bound up with practices of national commodification. A primary motive of this process of commodifying and spectacularizing the coalescing nation was to draw desirable emigrants to secure the transition of this settler colony. Heaman suggests that the internal organisation of the Canadian state was partly designed to produce advertisements (see Chapter 2). As such, the early formation of Canadian immigration spectacle was implicated in a circular and somewhat contradictory process of imagining and spectacularizing a nation to attract the sort of desired settlers that would actualize and fulfill this imagined nation.

Canada is certainly not the only nation to be consolidated in part through national commodification, given that both colonizing and colonized nations have been historically implicated in this central process of imperial spectacle and trade (as exemplified by the Empire

But does not talk my talk - / I cannot feel his mind / I know the face and eyes and voice / but not the soul behind” (qtd. in Stitch 27, Kipling 39).

Marketing Board).²⁶ However, the unique status of the former “white dominions”/settler nations in this regard is rooted in the settler imperative of selling an imagined nation-in-formation to attract the select settlers that would allow for its actualization. Heaman goes so far as to argue that Canada was a promotional commodity, and confederation a kind of advertising tactic intended to turn a fuzzy and distant colonial outpost into a legible and comprehensible site of settlement for prospective English settlers (195). Of course, the impact of the superior capacity of the United States in attracting these desired immigrants and luring away Canadian settlers greatly enhanced the motivation and urgency of this practice of national commodification.

The temptation to limit the terms of early Canadian immigration promotion to commodity spectacle is facilitated by Clifford Sifton’s contention that “immigration work has to be carried on in the same manner as the sale of any commodity. Just as soon as you stop advertising and missionary work the movement is going to stop” (D.J. Hall 1:258).²⁷ Certainly, the process of colonial settlement that proceeded the project of indigenous dispossession and land expropriation was predicated upon a colonizing commodification of land. One could argue that this material and discursive conversion of land from a space of indigenous sustenance to one of resource extraction and commodified property is a central process of settler colonialism. As Heaman states, “[h]ere were governments advertising their lands ...*as if they were commodities like any other*... This emigration propaganda was more ambitious than business advertising – emigration agents sought not only to create a brand loyalty... but to convince the average farmer and his wife that their situation was intolerable” (emphasis added) (183, 197). The commodification that informed immigration promotion at the turn of the century reveals the degree to which the federal government ran “immigration...upon a business basis” (D.J. Hall 2:63).

²⁶ See Rosemary J. Coombe. “Embodied Trademarks: Mimesis and Alterity on American Commercial Frontiers.” *Cultural Anthropology* 11.2 (1996): 202-224.

²⁷ As Minister of the Interior, Sifton is generally credited as the moving force behind the heyday of early immigration spectacle (see Chapter 2).

Yet Heaman's allusion to the anomalous status of land as a commodity and the ambitious scope of immigration promotion is significant. For we are very far from the typical commodity fetish scenario or classical commodity racism that McClintock considers in such domestic commodities as soap, portable objects that succinctly crystallize the domestic/imperial dialectic in discrete and tidy terms (hence boosting their allure as fetish objects). It is certainly true that the development and expansion of colonial migration was closely tied to imperial markets and that the colonial resource extraction that undergirded the imperial commodity trade fuelled this colonizing project (through such glittering resources as fur, see Nadeau).

Yet the early immigration spectacle of settler nations is, if not temporally, then at least analytically distinct from the kind of developed commodity spectacle that at the time could only exist for the colonial centers (and some settler colonial elites).²⁸ Only once a stable settler population had been implanted could this fully developed commodity spectacle in the more restricted classical sense be achieved in the settler dominions, for without colonial settlers and preferred immigrants, there could be no developed commodity market. Hence the settler imperative to people the nation as an antecedent to the development of full-scale colonial markets and an established circuit of commodity circulation.

In this way, the anomalous status of immigration promotion confounds any standard formulation of commodity spectacle. In addition to the fact that it was never only configured as a discrete, portable trading commodity such as a bar of soap, the nation imagined and commodified in immigration spectacle, particularly at the outset, was an unfinished and coalescing entity. As Heaman notes, "it was not simply a matter of packaging a pre-existing commodity, for little systematic information about British Columbia [or Canada] existed at all" (7). Furthermore, "the Canada that was displayed was still not a finished product...it was no more than a façade until it had been peopled by industrious immigrants" (182). This points to the inadequacies of even an

expanded notion of commodity spectacle as a way to understand immigration promotion, suggesting a more appropriate and distinct social formation: immigration spectacle.

As a specifically settler colonial formation, immigration spectacle has been one of the key institutional forms that the project of imagined nationhood has taken in Canada. It emerged as both a material and discursive response to the incompleteness of the settler nation. Immigration plays a defining role in materially enforcing who may belong and who is excluded from that collectivity through the ultimate enfranchisement of citizenship. Yet the ongoing project of imagining that collectivity through immigration spectacle and actualizing its settlement suggests that the project of settler nationhood remains incomplete, its fulfillment continually deferred.

As another key legacy of settler postcolonialism, a singular dilemma of incompleteness plagues (non-republican) settler nations on many levels (national, economic, ethical, and identitarian). It is inextricably tied to the remainders of a colonialism interrupted by nationhood, yet continually reactivated in its national aspirations. Immigration spectacle, along with other forms of national spectacle, continues to be mobilized as a means of fulfilling this incompleteness.

In settler postcolonialism, immigration constitutes a crucial means of nation-building and population settlement, of anxiously inventing a national identity where it is feared that none exists, of fulfilling a nation that is still coalescing and fragile, of rupture from, yet at the same time, persistent definition by colonial ties. Most nationalist responses to this dilemma continue to reassert and reactivate the very colonial relations from which they stem. This sense of incompleteness is embedded in a nation-building logic of national progress. The resulting insecurities and instabilities of national identity are fundamentally rooted in forgetting; forgetting of the settler colonial legacy that undergirds that instability. It is a forgetting of the retrospective

²⁸ Indeed, settler nation-building is typically portrayed as a matter of attracting capital, trade, and immigrants, which suggests the extent to which these terms are interdependent yet analytically distinct.

absence, the sheer empty content, of the settler nation at the time of colonization. This settler forgetting creates the imperative to imagine and invent the nation.

1.4 Imagining the Desirable Immigrant

Immigration spectacle is implicitly structured around the notion of the desirable immigrant or desirable classes of immigrants that it is seeking to attract. The ideal of the desirable or preferred class of immigrants with which to constitute the imagined community has been central to the production of political and social hierarchies encoded in specific sets of ethnic/racial, linguistic, medical, sexual, and class markers. This is not to reify such social categories anachronistically, but to address some of their very conditions of formation through the process of immigration spectacle.

Such processes of immigration spectacle must be understood in relation to the population imperatives of settler postcolonialism. The social articulation of the desirable immigrant has always been tied to the necessity of imagining and then seeking to attract a long-term settler colonial population, followed by the economic project of nation-building that stems from population settlement. This settler link between immigration and population settlement was explicitly articulated in government policy in the 1970s, when Hawkins shows that there began a “general movement towards a population policy for Canada, and the growing recognition that ... immigration must be a central variable in this policy” (380-381). In this sense, the peopling of the nation as an ongoing sexualised project has meant that immigration has occupied a kind of surrogate maternal role in colonial reproduction. Hawkins cites a report issued by Statistics Canada in the mid-1980s, entitled Fertility in Canada: From Baby-boom to Baby-bust, regarding the “important role immigration is likely to play in ... Canada’s demographic future” (383). According to the report, “the current regime of low fertility... [is] creating an historically new situation which may affect immigration strategies. Indeed if the fertility rate does not increase substantially... then large-scale immigration is clearly the alternative” (Romaniuk, qtd. in

Hawkins, 383). Consequently, the desirable immigrant ideal at the center of immigration spectacle has been employed as a kind of eugenicist gate-keeper of the purity of settler reproduction.

Early immigration spectacle offers a key institutional trace of the settler process of imagining the nation through the figure of the desirable immigrant (see Chapter 2). In early immigration promotion, it is notable that this figure does not just exist as an abstract conception or referent of policy. The desirable immigrant has been tangibly represented and constantly spectacularized throughout the nation-building years of immigration.

This social practice of imagining the desirable immigrant has informed what Bonnie Honig, writing in the context of the United States, calls the myth of an immigrant America. Honig refers to the mythic role allotted in settler national narratives to the “iconic immigrant who once helped build this nation and whose heirs might contribute to the national future” (1). The mythic status of the desirable immigrant carries a specific resonance for settler nations, in a manner that differs from non-settler colonial nations whose nation-building capacity relies on immigrant labour but not on the long-term settlement of a settler population. For former settler dominions such as Canada, this mythic icon²⁹ led to the emergence of an entire infrastructure of national imagining and systematic spectacle, along with an immigration bureaucracy and policy apparatus structured through the politics of selection of the desirable immigrant.

Yet this spectacularization of the desirable immigrant also generates a crucial antinomy; that of the undesired immigrant. As Honig notes, “the iconic good immigrant who upholds American liberal democracy is not accidentally or coincidentally partnered with the iconic bad

²⁹ I employ the term “icon” here and in Chapter 3 advisedly, insisting on the social and political as well as the visual dimensions of this form of representation (as with spectacle). Batty captures these dimensions when she argues that “icons are culturally resonant units that convey a familiar set of ‘original’ meanings and images...they also provide a surface on which struggles over meaning can be waged” (59). The desirable immigrant serves as a highly charged and resonant unit that condenses struggles over the desirable social contours of incoming immigration.

immigrant who threatens to tear it down” (3). Honig argues that this xenophilia for the desired immigrant is interdependent with xenophobia towards the undesirable foreigner.

Yet the iconic polarities of *good* and *bad*, *desirable* and *undesirable* immigrants are tied to the historically shifting production and stratification of a complex series of racializations and social hierarchies rooted in settler colonialism.³⁰ The spectacle of the desirable immigrant is centrally bound up with the politics of exclusion of these undesirable immigrants, historically rendered in Canadian immigration policy as non-preferred and excluded classes of immigrants. While undesired immigrants are scrutinized and spectacularized at other points in the immigration circuit,³¹ they constitute a structuring absence, the suppressed and actively forgotten objects of the forms of official immigration spectacle I consider in this thesis. Immigration spectacle engages a continuous process of defining and representing the social (racial, economic, sexual) markers necessary for settler reproduction and the peopling of the nation. They are inflected by the shifting social characteristics privileged in settler postcolonialism, as well as those of the undesired alien. The politics of selection underpinning immigration have unfolded along colonial lines, shaped by the social definition of the undesired foreigner, abjected from the national polity and denied citizenship. This leaves the social markers of the desirable immigrant as the constituent force of the nation (both representationally and materially).

The settler colonial stratification of immigrants along a continuum from desirable to undesirable is rooted in nineteenth century imperialist schemes of racial classification. As Stoler notes, such a scheme was produced by the “competing criteria for reproducing a colonial elite and for restricting its membership... The latter, the colonial politics of exclusion, was contingent on constructing categories... What mattered were not only physical properties but who counted as European and by what measure” (345). In other words, the project of settler colonial reproduction

³⁰ The classic text that illustrates the production of this racial hierarchy in immigration through the lens of cultural nationalism is J.S. Woodsworth’s Strangers Within Our Gates: The Problem of the Immigrant (1909).

relied on the construction of racialized categories, a system of colonial classification that became entrenched in immigration policy.³²

Such processes of colonial classification underpinned the formation of racial hierarchies that came to be encapsulated in a key figure of empire according to McClintock; that of the Family of Man. As an “indispensable figure for sanctioning hierarchy within a putative organic unity of interests” (45), the ‘hierarchy within unity’ of the colonial family was extended as an image for humanity. The least desirable and ‘degenerate’ races were figured as children at the bottom of the family ladder, while the acme of evolutionary progress was figured in the colonial male at the head of the family.

The classificatory hierarchies of the Family of Man structured the sedimentation of racial categories within immigration policy. They defined the distinctions between preferred (British and Northern/Western European), non-preferred (South and Eastern European, Middle Eastern), and excluded classes (Africans, South Asians. “Asiatic”), along with an entirely separate stream of Chinese immigration (based on their early status as migrant labourers as opposed to potential immigrants).³³ These racial and ethnic hierarchies were channeled into a singularly Canadian (and perhaps alpine) colonial logic that racialized the climate as a screening mechanism for desirable immigrants. According to Berger, “The adjective ‘northern’ came to symbolize energy, strength, self-reliance, health, and purity, and its opposite, ‘southern,’ was equated with decay and effeminacy, even libertinism and disease. A lengthy catalogue of *desirable national attributes* resulting from the climate was compiled” (emphasis added, 129). This colonial logic was institutionalized in the immigration and medical checkpoints that systematically deported “degenerates” (racial, sexual, medical), along with the mass deportations of non-preferred ethnics

³¹ For more on the deportation of non-preferred and excluded races, see Roberts and Avery (Dangerous).

³² David Spurr has investigated how, through nineteenth century colonial ideology, classification became the formative method of colonial administration. The hierarchies that became entrenched in immigration policies of settler nations are one of the most explicit expressions of this kind of colonial classification.

and political radicals at times of labour unrest.³⁴ In the early twentieth century, the sedimentation of these racialized immigration categories gained a scientific veneer in the use of eugenic scientific theories to rationalize the racial hierarchies that were explicitly entrenched in Canadian immigration policy until the 1960s.

Immigration spectacle is crucial to the articulation of restrictive policy objectives in settler postcolonies. The early spectacle of the desirable immigrant eventually became encoded in explicitly restrictive immigration policies that persisted in Canada until the policy revisions of the 1960s. In this way, restrictive policies formalized and continue to be shaped by the politics of selection articulated in immigration spectacle (see Chapter 2).

Yet the official abolition of explicitly racial criteria in the immigration policy of the 1960s does not mean that colonial hierarchies are no longer at work in the selection of contemporary immigrants. Contemporary immigration spectacle and policy reactivate these colonial categories through a series of less explicit yet effective means (see Chapter 3 on the active forgetting that suffuses the Pier 21 spectacle). While the social contours of these colonial hierarchies tend to be masked in the formally liberal veneer of contemporary immigration policy, they continue to be activated in the construct of the “desirable immigrant”.

As I will further elaborate in Chapter 2, the desirable immigrant of immigration spectacle appears to be in tension with the economic nationalist pull for and dependence on exploitable labour. Arat-Koc attributes this to “conflicting immigration priorities of meeting labour-market demands and populating Canada with people of preferred races” (“Mothers” 71). This practical gap between the spectacle of the desirable immigrant and the realities of mass undesired migration is actually a defining tension of settler postcolonialism. As Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis

³³ From 1892-1910, Chinese immigration was administered through the Department of Trade and Commerce, before it was transferred to the regular Immigration Branch of the Department of Interior in 1911 (RG76, Administrative History and Outline 35).

³⁴ Whitaker shows that in the post-Winnipeg General Strike period, the number of deportations escalated and later hit an all-time high during the depression of one deportee for every three immigrants (Canadian Immigration Policy 13).

argue, “because there is usually an insufficient supply of ‘desirable’ immigrants, the immigration policies of most settler societies can be described as a process of accommodation which involves gradually opening the gates to ‘less desirable’ immigrants” (24). This is partially rooted in the acute material dependence of settler nations on the labour of non-preferred and undesired migrants. Yet the accommodation of less desirable immigrants does not imply that the spectacle of the desirable immigrant has failed. In fact, this seemingly contradictory economic nationalist pull is, just as Honig suggests in relation to xenophilia and xenophobia, actually interdependent with the spectacle of the desirable immigrant. Indeed, the latter structures the racial stratification and labour cleavages that makes the exploitable labour of non-preferred immigrants available to economic nationalist forces. As such, the spectacle of the desirable immigrant also serves to socially imagine and define who will be shunted into the vulnerable social and citizenship status of the undesired migrant.

The explicitly racist selection criteria that had been entrenched in Canadian immigration policy was replaced in 1967 by a point system established according to labour market requirements (“skill”) and family relations (Hawkins 11). As such, the new social criteria through which the desirable immigrant is defined is now based on explicitly economic criteria and the gendered conditions of familial dependence. While this policy shift has commonly been celebrated as a progressive and humane liberalisation of immigration policy (Hawkins), many have shown that the gender and class-based contours used to define the desirable immigrant continue to perpetuate colonial exclusions, not only in terms of class, but along intersecting racial, sexual and other social lines (Arat-Koc, “Mothers” 55).³⁵

Reflecting the sexualized and racialized reactivation of domestic colonialism, one category of immigration where this is particularly evident is that of domestic work. Arat-Koc has

³⁵ Not least because global economic inequalities between the ‘First’ and ‘Third’ World (that Canada is actively engaged in perpetuating) restrict the economic access of many of those who were previously *(over)*

shown that the immigration status of domestic workers has actually declined since the second world war to the point where they are denied basic citizenship rights, relegated to the status of migrant workers bound to conditions of indentured labour.³⁶ This has everything to do with the post-1960s shift from Europe to the 'Third World' as the predominant source region for Canadian immigration. When primarily composed of desirable British and Northern European immigrants, domestic workers were considered 'mothers of the nation' and "and daughters of the empire", and therefore partners in nation-building. For example, a major element of the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 was the attempt to attract post-war British "surplus women" as domestic workers. Since the shift to predominantly non-European traditionally 'undesirable' sources, domestic workers currently not only constitute undesirable immigrants themselves, but are defined, according to Sunera Thobani, as "'polluting' the nation, and reproducers of the 'non-preferred races' that [pose] ... a threat to the whiteness of the nation" (11).³⁷

In her excellent article, Thobani particularly critiques the gendered divisions of an immigration policy that disproportionately processes women through the family class category of immigration.³⁸ The explicit gendered and sexualised (particularly heterosexualised) basis of immigration policy is most evident in the emergence of the feminized family class as a counterpoint to masculinized independent class immigration. After other forms of explicitly racial criteria had been abolished, family class immigration remained the final preserve in which northern Europeans were privileged over southern and non-European immigrants based on the fear of an "unbridled and threatening flood of [unskilled and non-preferred] relatives" (Hawkins

excluded by explicitly racial and ethnic criteria. For more on the regulation of gender and race through economic criteria in immigration policy, see Arat-Koc ("NAC's Response").

³⁶ For more on the live-in caregiver program (the federal government recruitment program for primarily 'Third World' domestic workers and nannies), see Bakan and Stasiulis.

³⁷ For more on the impact of the historical exclusions of immigration policy on Caribbean domestic workers, see Calliste.

³⁸ For instance, family class status carries sponsorship regulations that maintain the family class immigrant in a relationship of literal dependency on their sponsor for ten years, while independent class immigration remains free of sponsorship requirements and is implicitly defined as an economically productive category (Thobani 12).

125, 282). Reproducing the imperial articulation of empire and family, the definition of the family class is a key site for the racial and sexual regulation of immigration. Thobani concludes that “the current *Immigration Act* organizes the racialized nationalization of white immigrants on the basis of their cultural, linguistic, and social affinity to a colonial definition of Canadian-ness” (15).

In this way, the ideal of the desirable immigrant at the center of immigration spectacle both perpetuates and is structured by this colonial definition of Canadian-ness. Prospective immigrants are defined in relation to a colonial ideal, and ranked based on the degree to which critical social markers (racial, sexual, class, medical) conform or diverge from those of the desirable immigrant. As such, the desirable immigrant is fundamentally shaped by this “racialized distinguishing of immigrants; immigrants who are defined as compatible with the nation – on the basis of their cultural, social, and linguistic characteristics – become ideologically constructed as future citizens; immigrants who are defined as incompatible – on those very grounds – become constructed as immigrants, outsiders of the nation” (Thobani 12). Immigration spectacle is structured around and productive of the iconic compatible immigrant, and has been a central means of popularly diffusing and materially enforcing the social hierarchies that underpin this social imagining of the desirable immigrant.

Chapter 2. Imagining the Nation: Early Canadian Immigration Promotion

2.1 The Emergence of Settler Spectacle

“[Early Canadian immigration promotion constituted] a key element in an elaborate, ambitious communications network established for the purpose of projecting an enticing image of Canada to the outside world... [It] reveal[s] much about how the government viewed *prospective settlers* and *the way the country perceived itself*” (emphasis added, “Promoting” 92-3).

- Patrick Dunae

How did the nation perceive itself and its settlers? How were these perceptions constituted and managed? Early immigration spectacle offers a critical institutional trace not only of the symbolic but also the material means through which the nation and its settlers were imagined and constructed. As Dunae suggests, early immigration promotion was fundamentally structured through practices of national display and the quest for desirable immigrants, two modes of imagining nation that are closely intertwined in the project of settler nation-building. In this chapter, I explore the institutional emergence and some of the central processes that constitute this form of early immigration spectacle. Rather than a strictly historical account, this chapter considers the emergence of Canadian immigration promotion in relation to the larger question of immigration spectacle as a practice of settler postcolonialism.

I also emphasize the extent to which spectacle and national commodification became key processes in the emergence of the settler nation. The commodification and spectacularization of Canada were central in the transition from empire-building to nation-building, as the settler dominion sought to secure imperial markets, capital, and immigrants. As Heaman has argued, “Canada more than most countries, existed in advertisements... [and] advertising was the first step towards securing settlers for Canada” (196).

I open this chapter with a consideration of the fragmentary status of knowledge that has been produced on early Canadian immigration promotion, offering a brief overview of existing sources. Section 2.3 frames immigration promotion in relation to settler colonial and immigration

policy, delineating its relation to a broader institutional infrastructure of early settler colonialism. I then go on to consider the emergence of early immigration promotion as an institutional practice of imagining the nation. In the latter two sections of the chapter, I will consider two instances of early immigration spectacle, the Mammoth Cheese of 1893 and the lantern lecture program, each allowing me to further articulate its central processes and modes of national imagining.

2.2 Status of Knowledge: The Fragmentary Archive of Settler Postcolonialism

For a nation whose emergence has been so intimately linked to the development of immigration spectacle, the theoretical and historical questions such links might provoke remain surprisingly absent from the Canadian academic record. The weak status of knowledge on the subject is in part related to the disciplinary biases of the fields in which questions of immigration and nation have traditionally been situated. Much of the social scientific work on Canadian immigration has had a largely quantitative, empirical, and policy-oriented thrust, while much of the traditional historical work on immigration is of a historiographically rigid and descriptive nature.³⁹ While McClintock has argued that spectacle has been one of the central modes through which nations are expressed, cultural and social formations of spectacle have long been marginalized in traditional disciplines. As Heaman notes in her historical study of Canadian exhibitions, in an assessment that also applies to the status of early immigration promotion, “[e]xhibitions are not the stuff of traditional historiography. Long dismissed as too ephemeral and frivolous for serious historians, they were left to local historians who unearthed details about the dates of the first county shows, the prizes offered, and who ran the refreshment booths” (3). With the advent of postcolonial theory and cultural studies, such issues have become relevant and even

³⁹ With respect to the scattered field of Canadian immigration history itself, as Franca Iacovetta has noted, “historical literature on Canada’s immigrants is a fragmented body of work”. It is divided among the “nation-building” school of Canadian history of the 1930s-1960s, the whiggish and pro-Canadianizing ethnic histories of the 1960s and 1970s, amateur genealogists and historians, and the so-called “new immigration history” that emerged as a branch of social history from the 1970s onward (Iacovetta 1-4).

de rigueur, but they have rarely been broached in terms of the specificities of Canadian settler postcolonialism.

However, a larger politics of knowledge production is at stake in the relative absence of academic inquiry into the questions posed by immigration spectacle. If, as Morris argues, history is a practice of nationhood and statecraft (4), much institutionalized historical inquiry is embedded in the same project as immigration spectacle: both take shape as institutional practices of settler postcolonialism. In this sense, the relative absence of immigration spectacle from the archive of Canadian knowledge production is tied to the institutionalized forgetting that regulates settler colonial histories.

Despite the prominence and specificity of immigration promotion to settler postcolonies such as Canada, it has yet to receive sustained historical attention or theoretical consideration. Most of the academic sources I have been able to locate are fragmentary, scattered amongst brief treatments in larger histories of Canadian immigration, biographies of political figures (such as Clifford Sifton), popular Canadiana, early communications history, school textbooks, coffee table books (Bruce), and occasional articles in academic journals. Apart from its immediate role in colonial settlement and nation-building, Canadian immigration promotion has been situated by writers and historians at the inception of a wide range of national formations key to the development of Canada. These include the emergence of the foreign diplomatic service, along with histories of Canadian public relations, print, photography and film. In his history of the development of the Canadian foreign service, H. Gordon Skilling considers early immigration promotion to be the first form of Canadian representation abroad. Skilling also considers the expanding network of “immigration salesmen” and agents who promoted immigration in Great Britain and the United States to be a fundamental precursor to the diplomatic corps and foreign embassy system. Merle Emms has also argued that official government immigration advertising constituted the very origin of Canadian public relations.

As far as works that address early immigration promotion as a central concern, among the few serious in-depth treatments of immigration advertising include Patrick Dunae's archival overviews and Harold Troper's Only Farmers Need Apply. Troper's focus is restricted to American promotional campaigns, particularly the media relations that afforded Canadian immigration much coverage in the American press in exchange for large-scale paid advertising in the same publications (Troper 79-101). In a French-Canadian context, Franco-Manitoban historian Robert Painchaud examines the centrality of the Catholic Church and "les prêtres colonisateurs"⁴⁰ in francophone immigration and settlement promotion of Québec and Western Canada. In particular, Painchaud depicts three different strategies of promotion, respectively directed towards desired French Catholic immigrants from Europe, efforts to promote Western Canadian francophone settlement (Manitoba in particular), and the Québec repatriation movement that sought to stem the flow of French-Canadians out of Québec and into New England between 1870 and 1920.⁴¹

Others have linked early immigration to the emergence and development of a whole range of communication media in Canada. Patrick Dunae notes that immigration promotion was a "key element in a communication network that was crucial to the growth of the Dominion" ("Promoting" 74). In the National Library of Canada's web-based exhibition Impressions: 250 Years of Printing in the Lives of Canadians, curator Michel Brisebois accords printed immigration literature a key place in the history of Canadian print. Peter Morris' early Canadian film histories show how the first Canadian films produced by James Freer were distributed by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in 1899 to promote immigration (3), while Greg Eamon examines some of the thematics and imagery of "phantoms, farmers, and princes" purveyed in the

⁴⁰ Père Lacombe, of course, being the most renowned of the agents/missionaires colonisateurs.

⁴¹ Here Painchaud argues against what he considers a simplistic reading of the repatriation question by later Québécois nationalists (130). He claims that strong reservations were widely held throughout Québec about the possibilities of repatriating French-Canadians already established in New England. Combined with the political sensitivity of any direct solicitation that might lead to the further 'dépeuplement' of Québec, a *(over)*

early CPR film tours. Anna Maria Carlevaris also considers the emergence and employment of photography in the early Canadian immigration bureaucracy. Writing as an art historian, she positions these photographic representations of immigration as a set of “visual corollar[ies] to [... dominant] cultural views of the immigrant (2). Most significantly for my purposes, Elsbeth Heaman contends that early immigration promotion was the source of Canadian exhibition culture. International exhibitions were “an opportunity to address Anglo-Saxons, the preferred immigrants... Canada had twenty years of experience in emigration propaganda to draw on [in developing international exhibitions], dozens of [emigration] agents...and hordes of hack writers in Canada” (193). The links Heaman suggests here between the impulse to mount national spectacles and to address preferred immigrants are tightly bound in immigration spectacle.

Yet, each of these accounts offers only a piecemeal approach to immigration promotion in terms of the development of a particular media form or national institution, not in terms of the broader context of immigration spectacle. Early Canadian immigration promotion has not been seriously examined on its own terms for what it might contribute to our understanding of processes of Canadian nation-building and settler colonialism. As I have suggested, this may in part be due to a traditional historical dismissiveness of what is considered by many to be unclassifiable ephemera, as Dunae has suggested, too often thought of as “quaint, colorful, but of little intrinsic value as historical documents” (“Promoting” 73). Interestingly enough, the most comprehensive articles on early immigration promotion have been produced by archivists, or in archival publications (Scheinberg, Dunae). Yet the rich social and cultural scope of immigration promotion has rarely been broached. As a subject of academic inquiry, it has tended to fall through the cracks of standard disciplinary boundaries.

This chapter situates the tandem development of early immigration promotion and the late nineteenth century emergence of Canada as a nation-state in relation to the rise of the

‘preventative’ strategy of repatriation emerged targeting those about to leave for New England and *(over)*

modernist markers of spectacle: advertising, public relations, visual media (photography, film), as well as popular entertainment.⁴² My focus on early immigration promotion accentuates these links between spectacle and the emerging nation as mutual processes, bound to one another by more than just historical coincidence.

2.3 Settler Colonial Policy as a Component of Immigration Spectacle

2.3.1 Imagining/Peopling the Nation

In settler societies, to imagine a nation intrinsically entails the peopling of that nation. The projects of *imagining* and *peopling* the settler nation are thus closely linked and enacted through immigration spectacle. The “peopling of the nation” as a means of fulfilling the imagined nation carries both *sexualised* and *nationalist* connotations that have shaped the institutional and policy infrastructure of immigration spectacle (which I will further consider in the next sections). The peopling of Canada as a specifically gendered and sexualised undertaking has strongly structured the construction of the desirable immigrant. Secondly, the postcolonial project of peopling the nation has traditionally been constructed through a perceived tension between two social formations: that of cultural nationalism versus economic nationalism. I frame immigration spectacle as a mediating formation for these tensions.

As discussed in Chapter One, the fundamental imperative of settler colonies to “people the nation” with desirable settlers betrays not only the racialized but also the sexualized and gendered terms from which settler postcolonialisms emerge. To people a land implies a project of reproduction, and settler nation-building premises itself on such a sexualized project of settler reproduction. As such, the politics of settlement and immigration have long been infused with the patriarchal and moralistic dictates associated with heterosexual reproduction: of reproducing a

redirecting them towards Western Canada.

⁴² Traditional forms of popular and carnivalesque entertainment inform social practices of spectacle in ways that tend to be underestimated in modernist accounts of spectacle.

desirable and pure nation.⁴³ As Arat-Koc has argued, “The arrival of white women in western Canada underlined the permanence of settlement and the conscious effort to define Canada as a British society... [while] in Britain, female emigration was emphasized by some as perhaps the most important part of empire-building” (61). Often absent but assumed in many immigration policy studies, these sexual dimensions of colonial settlement and reproduction are central processes of immigration spectacle.

In this sense, the sexualized functions of immigration spectacle in the early twentieth century were also bound up with and informed by the eugenics movement. They shared a common discourse of racial selection, elimination of degeneracy (sexual, class, and medical), and reproductive control (whether through immigration or “biologically”) for the future of the nation (McClaren 48-49). As Mariana Valverde has shown “eugenic ideas gave racist immigration policies a scientific veneer” and served to reinforce the links between “deviant sexuality, immigrants, and national degeneration” often forged through racial panics (107-108).

McClintock’s analysis of women as the boundary markers and key reproducers of empire and nation is important here. As I discussed in Chapter One, McClintock shows how the terms of empire have been sexualised, notably in the analogy of family and empire explicitly articulated through the figure of Mother Britannia and her daughter dominions (Miss Canada). This familial analogy was domesticated into the preferred categories of immigration spectacle, and the British family remained its quintessential target and object (see Fig. 3).

Gillian Whitlock has further argued that because the fertility of colonial women and the ‘civilizing mission’ they performed were vital to the project of settler colonization, colonial women were more highly valued in settlement colonies than in colonies of occupation. As a

⁴³ The association of undesirable immigration with sexual degeneracy is a deep-rooted one. Valverde has shown how fears of immigration and sexual excess were linked in social purity campaigns against national degeneration (108). Reciprocally, Roberts has shown how the evolving social categories of sexual deviancy (from sexual ‘promiscuity’ to homosexuality) became a central focus of deportation practices in early twentieth century Canadian immigration policy.

result, pro-natalist discourses assumed a particularly central place and charged valence in nineteenth century settler colonies. According to Whitlock, this led to a "...fusion of emigration with maternity [...]. Discourses of maternalism and imperialism coalesced to produce the collective identity of the immigrant gentlewoman"(Whitlock 352). In the 1850s, Susanna Moodie was a prime embodiment of this model of immigrant gentlewoman, and she became one of the most prolific and renowned producers of nineteenth century immigration literature, from pamphlets to emigrant women's handbooks.⁴⁴

Furthermore, due to colonial gender imbalances,⁴⁵ the place of the immigrant gentlewoman in settler colonialism was central to the framework of the selective functions of immigration policy and spectacle. As Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis claim, "the arrival of European women (in settler colonies) was particularly significant in reinforcing racial and class distinctions" (14). Furthermore, "state policies such as immigration both fostered and reinforced hegemonic images of dominant and minority women" of which "the predominant image of racially/ethnically dominant women were those of virtuous and dependent wives, breeders, and mothers of children, as well as courageous yet feminine 'frontier women'" (16). Other significant elements of the gendered terms of settler colonialism emerged in such aspects of settler policy as the Dominion Lands Act (1872) that excluded colonial women from acquiring free homesteads unless they were sole heads of family (Kelley and Trebilcock 69). As such, the same settler logic that positioned colonial women as central to settler reproduction, as mothers of the nation and symbolic markers of the purity of the land, also excluded them from property ownership and enfranchisement to assure the male lineage of the nation.

⁴⁴ Moodie's most renowned work, Roughing It In the Bush (1852), was used as a form of immigration literature and a 'how-to' account of the settlement process before it was later resurrected as a canonical classic of Canadiana and maternalist feminism.

⁴⁵ It was thought that the (so-called) surplus women in the "Mother Country" should emigrate to correct the deficit of women in the settlements with respect to colonial reproduction.

As introduced in Chapter 1, one way to critically situate the sexualised nature of domestic colonialism and settler immigration spectacle is to consider the historically shifting immigration politics regarding domestic workers (Arat-Koc, “Mothers”). Considered a key strategy to increase the settler population (Stasiulis and Jhappan 108), domestic workers constituted the only category of single female emigration that was targeted towards British women in early immigration promotion (see Fig. 6b). Once domestic work became a primary route for emigration by women of non-preferred ethnicities and excluded races, the regulations, conditions, and terms of immigration for domestics severely deteriorated (78).

The relationship between the gendered and colonial dimensions of immigration spectacle was continually at work in immigration promotion (see Fig. 4). They ranged from the widespread proliferation of emigrant guidebooks for gentlewomen (such as Moodie's writings and Catherine Parr Traill's The Backwoods of Canada), to the campaigns for domestic servants (“Canada wants women”), to the distinctly Victorian domestic scenes depicted in Canadian lantern slides. Similarly, immigration promotion targeted at men and boys portrayed the settler nation and the task of nation-building in masculine terms. Dunae examines how, in popular boy’s literature on the Canadian West at the turn of the century, “young Britons ..., like the personified Dominion,... were being exhorted to manly purposes” by immigrating to Canada (“Making” 178). One strikingly gendered instance of early immigration spectacle was staged by immigration agent H.M. Murray for the Exeter (England) Carnival in 1907. Of his “Miss Canada” display (see Fig. 5), Murray noted that “I gave her all the material for this get-up and you will observe that she took first prize. It was a good advertisement for Canada” (Bruce 19).⁴⁶ As performed in this embodied display of the daughter dominion for Mother Britannia, the sexualised terms of empire

⁴⁶ Murray’s reference to the prize is literal. This ‘living’ display garnered a first prize at the Exeter Carnival Parade. Conflicting dates are cited for the event; Bruce dates it as 1909, Avery as 1907 (Avery, “Peopling”).

(imperial mother and dominion daughter) are vividly fused with the drive for desirable mothers of the nation as preferred emigrants.

Turning to the nationalist resonance of this foundational project of the settler nation, the means of envisioning the peopling of Canada has commonly been depicted in immigration literature as a formative tension between economic versus cultural nationalist approaches to immigration. I argue that this ostensible tension between cultural and economic nationalism in immigration policy is a distinguishing feature of settler postcolonialism and constitutes the formative social context of immigration spectacle. As commonly framed in Canadian historical literature, these two underlying drives are portrayed as intrinsically at odds with one another, one a short-term economic nationalist (ostensibly) "open door" pressure for mass settlement, and the other a longer-term cultural nationalist restrictive impulse (Knowles 79, Whitaker 8). On the one hand, the former was shaped by the urgent imperative of peopling the nation by securing both a stable permanent population base and the national economic infrastructure required to build a nation viable against the threat of American annexation. It is characterized by the pre-multicultural assimilationist perspective expressed by the Liberal politician W.M. German in 1906 that "we should fill up our country with people...and make them desirable when we get them here" (Knowles 79). The latter was rooted in the cultural nationalist drive for a selective policy that would preserve the so-called "(white) British character of Canada", that "in building our nation we should aim to have (and bring) the best kind of men" as Conservative politician Frederick Monk put it in the same 1906 debate (Knowles 79).

This perceived tension has historically been resolved in European former colonial nations such as Germany by the exclusionary non-enfranchisement of non-preferred immigrants through migrant guest worker systems, since such countries have not had the same settler postcolonial imperative of securing a long-term population base through permanent immigration (Whitaker 9-10). Such an official migrant guest worker policy was not a widespread option in settler postcolonies that sought to build a nation through imported labour *and* a permanent immigrant

population base.⁴⁷ Smith contrasts British and Canadian approaches to immigration according to these settler specificities, noting that immigration in Canada “...is the very tool of nation-building. The immigration programme[’s]...role is to regulate, rather than restrict, access to Canadian territory. Its hallmark is *selectivity* rather than exclusivity...” (emphasis added, 53). Selectivity became the mediating principal between the economic and cultural nationalist tensions of settler nations, and immigration spectacle emerged as a crucial practice through which this principal of selection was enacted. In this settler postcolonial conjuncture, immigration spectacle mediated the celebratory (economic) impulse of immigration promotion with the (cultural) selection of preferential classes. The promotional allure of immigration spectacle functioned to articulate and set into place the selective criteria and imaginings of the desirable immigrant.

The selective functions of immigration spectacle operated on several key levels: where it was staged, to whom the spectacle was targeted (and to whom not), where the infrastructure of the immigration bureaucracy developed (where embassies were stationed), how it enacted and effected policy objectives, the content (the national displays and preferred identities represented), and how it was implemented (as I will show in the Mammoth Cheese section). Immigration advertising campaigns were conducted almost exclusively in Britain and the United States, with a much smaller degree in Northern and Central Europe due to legislation prohibiting open immigration recruitment in many countries.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Yet even in settler postcolonies at certain key conjunctures (usually times of economic depression for non-preferred ethnicities, and many other conjunctures for excluded races, notably the Chinese and other foreign navvies employed in the construction of the CPR), many have argued that Canada has effectively used mass deportations of non-preferred ethnic, class, and sexual groups as a disguised migrant labour policy (Roberts 5-6; Avery, *Dangerous* 12). In a contemporary context, such practices are perpetuated in the shifting policy and material dependency of most settler nations on the *sans-papier*, or undocumented and migrant workers. A recent *New York Times* article notes that the regular workplace raids and deportations conducted by Immigration and Naturalization Service agents in the United States over the last decade have virtually ground to halt in the last year, due to the fact that “in a booming economy running short of labor, hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants are increasingly tolerated in the nation's workplaces. A downturn in the booming economy and any resulting uptick in unemployment could lead the I.N.S. to revive its pursuit of illegal immigrants at work” (Uchitelle).

⁴⁴ For more on the North Atlantic Trading Company, see Petryshyn.

Yet, the most notorious and visible operation of the selective functions of immigration spectacle lay in the racial and ethnic hierarchies that structured immigration along the lines of preferred, non-preferred and excluded social categories. These ranged from the desirable and preferred British and Northern/Western Europeans, to the almost total exclusion of Asian and Black immigration (Whitaker). In an intermediate position, the complex and shifting racializations of the non-preferred ethnic immigrants of Southern and Eastern Europe was particularly heightened during such conjunctures as the empire settlement era of the 1920s, and Frank Oliver's 1905-1911 term as Minister of Immigration.⁴⁹ In practice however, the cultural nationalist directives of immigration spectacle, the visible surface of immigration spectacle, tended to be eroded by the imperative to "people the nation" and fulfill the short-term labour needs of economic nationalist interests. The impact of capital on immigration policy was thereby heightened in settler postcolonies, due to their greater economic dependence on cheap labour from the non-preferred and excluded categories of immigrants to build such national infrastructures as the railway (Avery, *Dangerous*). As noted by Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, "because there is usually an insufficient supply of 'desirable' immigrants, the immigration policies of settler societies can be described as a process of accommodation which involves gradually opening the gates to 'less desirable' immigrants" (24).

On a descriptive level, early immigration spectacle was more of an institutional practice of imagining and articulating the officially preferred categories of desirable immigration rather than a practical means of regulation of large-scale non-preferred ethnic and racial labour migration. Between 1890 and 1930, the desirable immigrants targeted in early immigration promotion remained limited to male farmers and agricultural labourers, their families, and female domestic workers from preferred countries (see Fig. 6). Yet, mass migration of non-preferred and

⁴⁹ The latter non-preferred ethnics, who have historically been alternately subject to policies of exclusion and assimilation, have more recently received greater theoretical focus in the burgeoning field of *(over)*

undesirable immigrants (predominantly Southern and Eastern European) was particularly pronounced in the middle years of this era of ostensibly agricultural immigration. As Knowles notes, “popular image to the contrary, approximately 70 percent of newcomers obtained work in industry and transportation” (73). Yet I would argue that this does not, in fact, suggest a failure of immigration spectacle so much as it points to a more complex social formation at work than what is displayed on its surface.

While the ostensible tension between the economic versus cultural nationalist objectives of immigration policy were often at odds in practical (short versus long-range) terms, the two poles of this tension so often depicted as antagonistic are in fact interrelated and interdependent. The cultural nationalist articulation of undesirable categories through immigration spectacle completely structured and regulated the pool of exploited labour available to economic nationalist interests. According to Abella and Troper, “Canadian immigration policy has always been as ethnically selective as it was economically self-serving. When economic necessity dictated the admission of non-British and non-American immigrants, it was always in a descending order of ethnic preference” (5). The institutionalization of non-preferred and excluded categories in immigration policy produced the regulatory apparatus required to shunt undesirable migrants into the target classes for exploited labour. Operating as absent and invisible referents in the visible display of official immigration spectacle, the production of undesirable immigrant classes made their exploited labour available to the economic demands of nation-building. In this sense, the two impulses informing immigration policy were interdependent and jointly shaped by the settler postcolonial nation-building imperatives of peopling the nation (promotion) and keeping it “pure” (selection).

Just as Honig argues that nationalist xenophilia and xenophobia are intrinsically interdependent, economic and cultural nationalist responses to immigration are interlinked in the

"whiteness studies" with respect to their complex racial positioning and post-World War II incorporation
(over)

same settler postcolonial dynamic. In fact, this tension between xenophilia and xenophobia, of the iconic good and bad immigrant, is one popular articulation of the larger interdependence of economic and cultural nationalism. As a complex set of social practices of promotion, visibility, and textuality, immigration spectacle offers a key mode of imagining and articulating the iconic immigrant and the preferred categories (racial, gender, class) of immigration policy with which to people the nation and institutionalize those hierarchies of preference.

In this sense, the selectivity necessary to the building of the settler nation was not only enacted through the coercive apparatus of policy (deportations, medical checkpoints) usually depicted in historical literature (Roberts, Avery, Dangerous), but also through the promotional allure of spectacle. By framing policy in relation to immigration spectacle in this way, I show how the settler postcolonial tensions between economic and cultural nationalisms have given rise to the mediating formation of immigration spectacle. The extent to which immigration promotion has played a formative but underrecognized role in relation to immigration policy is significant. As I discuss in the next section, key policy-makers considered immigration policy to be a formalization or extension of the initial work of immigration advertising and promotion in the emerging immigration bureaucracy.

into the cultural categories of whiteness (see Roediger, Frankenburg).

2.3.2 Immigration Policy as a Component of Immigration Spectacle

In examining the relations between the promotional impulse of emigration and the settler postcolony, it is especially significant that immigration promotion campaigns and the accompanying infrastructure of emigration agents (primarily based in Britain and the US) preceded official immigration policy by at least fifteen years. As such, I argue that the principal of selectivity articulated through immigration spectacle constituted the framework for the emergence of more formalized immigration policy. According to Valerie Knowles, “no sooner had the fledgling dominion come into being than measures were taken to establish a network of emigration agents to advertise the country’s attractions to prospective immigrants” (46). Immigration promotion was a key impetus of John A. MacDonald’s National Policy (Kelley and Trebilcock 61). Although sporadic immigration legislation was passed as early as 1841, the first comprehensive and formal immigration act was not passed until the post-Confederation era in 1869. As Knowles notes, “In 1869, one year after the London [emigration promotion] office opened, Parliament passed Canada’s first act dealing with immigration matters” (47). Yet the first parliamentary appropriations for immigration advertising were recorded fifteen years earlier in 1854. This was followed in 1859 by a crucial step in the development of an active immigration recruitment and promotion program, the posting of the first stationery agent and office in Liverpool [Knowles 44].

Even after the legislation of the first immigration act, Canadian High Commissioner Charles Tupper, considered by Emms to be Canada’s first public relations worker, reported in 1895 that “under the present system, the policy of our department is largely directed to the dissemination of information about Canada, and to the stimulation of enquiries from persons who are contemplating changing their homes” (Report of the Dept. of Interior, 11). Well past the most active era of immigration promotion and recruitment of the Sifton years (1896-1905), Minister of the Interior Frank Oliver (a notorious enforcer of a highly racially restrictive policy) explained “Our Immigration Policy is in the first instance simply an advertising policy - a means of placing

the advantages of Canada before such people in other countries as we desire to induce to come to Canada[...]" (Knowles 76).

It is significant that immigration policy tended to follow upon and codify the informal yet colonial-structured dictates of immigration spectacle. The racialized hierarchies at work in postcolonial settlement were not solely enacted through coercive exclusions or codified policy, since these were formalized and instituted relatively late in the settlement process.⁵⁰ They were also constructed and enacted through immigration promotion as a selective practice.

In fact, before many exclusionary practices were formally codified in official immigration policy, they were first put into social practice through these selective practices structuring immigration spectacle. As Kelley and Trebilcock note, "Given that the principal focus of immigration policy throughout this period [1867-1896] was the promotion of immigration to Canada, it is not surprising that immigration legislation contained relatively few restrictions on entry" (62). As Knowles shows, the first official immigration act of 1869:

... says nothing about which classes of immigrants should be admitted and which categories should be proscribed. Not until 1872 was the act amended to prohibit the entry of criminals and other 'vicious classes' into this country and not until 1879 was an order-in-council passed excluding paupers and destitute immigrants. With the introduction of these amendments, the pattern was set for future Canadian immigration policy: it would be evolutionary and implemented largely by amendments to the current immigration act...enabling the government to put new policies into effect quickly - usually in response to pressure from the general public and vested interests. (47)

It was not until the post-Siftonian advent of the rather infamous cultural nationalist Frank Oliver to the head of the Department of the Interior that the selective practices of immigration spectacle were legally enshrined into immigration policy. Oliver's notoriously restrictive immigration act in 1906, which effectively favored only Anglo-Saxon emigration, became,

⁵⁰ It also worth noting that many of the exclusionary policies adopted were instituted through regulations that were not explicitly codified as racial exclusions, but had that effect. This includes the Continuous Journey Regulation of 1908 that halted most South Asian immigration. Efforts to institute the explicit exclusion of Black settlers in 1911 failed (Knowles 86). Yet quasi-official but effective exclusionary measures were instituted through local immigration agents and medical checkpoints, based on the argument that Black peoples were biologically incapable of adjusting to the Canadian climate (Calliste 72, 75).

...the first legal mechanism for enforcing a policy of selective, i.e. restrictive immigration. Admittedly there had been, since 1869, laws prohibiting certain kinds of immigration, and since 1889 laws permitting designated classes of immigrants to be returned whence they came. The 1906 act, however significantly increased the number of categories of prohibited immigrants [prostitutes, the medically and mentally unfit] and gave official sanction to the deportation of undesirable immigrants. (Knowles 78)

In 1910, Oliver spearhead a second landmark restrictive immigration act which, while it “did not bar any specific group of immigrants on the basis of racial, ethnic, or national origin, [...] provided the Immigration Branch with the necessary machinery to encourage some immigrants and to restrict or virtually exclude others” (80). Yet prior to the advent of Oliver’s officially restrictive policies, Canada’s immigration practices were only (and not even completely) open-door on paper. Before their entrenchment in the formalized legal and state machinery, selective social practices had been effected in an organized fashion for over fifty years through the government promotion of immigration spectacle. Prior to the formation of any extensive coercive immigration apparatus, a central site for the implementation of selective practices was located in the immigration promotion program.

2.3.3. Institutional and Policy Infrastructure of Immigration Spectacle

The strong articulation between immigration spectacle, immigration policy, and settler postcolonialism as practices of nation-building is especially evident in the governmental structures and policies out of which the Canadian immigration apparatus grew. The entire project of Canadian nation-building in the early days of Confederation, whether of MacDonald’s National Policy or the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, depended upon immigration and colonial settlement. Hence the fundamental impetus and imperative of immigration spectacle upon which the settler nation was premised. As Heaman notes of MacDonald’s blueprint for nation-building, “MacDonald had to ‘gamble upon belief which Canadians – and outsiders – held in the future of the Dominion...It all depended on faith in the end.’ He could inspire faith in Canada by exhibiting in Europe” (193). It is here that the third mode of imagining the nation, the

dual spectre of national history and national future, become apparent. Heaman shows that the entire project of settlement and nation-building rested on an imagining of a national future, a 'faith in the future', in which immigration was implicitly tied to national progress. In this sense, a crucial function of this historical component of immigration spectacle was to materialize these national imaginings, to fulfill this faith in the future.

As a result, this organized attempt to inspire faith in the future through spectacle carried particular institutional ramifications for a nation whose governmental structures were just beginning to emerge and coalesce. As Heaman argues, "Canada's internal organization was partly designed to produce advertisements" (195). In other words, the emergence and development of the Canadian government's institutional structure was embedded in and structured by immigration spectacle.

Immigration has also always been a key component of British colonial development policy and Canadian national development, strongly linked to labour policy, Indian affairs, land and railways policy through the broader project of colonial settlement and national formation. Indeed, the fundamental condition and process of settler colonization was the dispossession and displacement of indigenous peoples through colonial aggression and their ongoing subjection through Indian policy. Thereafter, the intersections between colonial development and Canadian national development policy from John A. MacDonald's National Policy onward was repeatedly mobilized to relieve surplus populations and colonial gender imbalances, as in the case of the Empire Settlement Act of the 1920s (jointly administered by Mother Britannia and the "white dominions") (Constantine).

Land settlement was the foundational imperative that linked immigration policy to settler colonial policy. In its earliest pre-Confederation incarnations, land settlement was implicitly linked to immigration promotion. Free land grant schemes were a key promotional tool used by the Dominion government in immigration schemes (Kelley and Trebilcock, 70). This spectacular commodification of the land that informed immigration promotional strategies from the start was

of course premised on settler colonialism and indigenous dispossession.⁵¹ If the first step to securing settlers for the land was advertising (Heaman 196), then this interrelated colonization and commodification of the land was the first step to securing the land for settlers. In this sense, the settler commodification of “free” and “empty” land was a material component of the larger commodification and spectacularization of Canada that informed early immigration spectacle and nation-building. Institutionally speaking, the settler colonial roots of immigration in land settlement were also evident in the joint administration of immigration with the Indian Affairs portfolio at several key junctures of national development, such as under Deputy Minister James Smart in Clifford Sifton's Department of Interior. Social historians are beginning to examine the ways in which ‘Indian’ policy and immigrant settlement policy were closely linked.⁵²

The critical links between immigration policy and labour demands explain the evolving institutional trajectory of the immigration bureaucracy. Originally, the immigration program was institutionally located as a service in the Department of Agriculture from its inception up until 1892. It was then promoted to branch status in the Department of Interior from 1892-1917, which was created expressly to bring together immigration and land settlement policy.⁵³ In 1917, it was again upgraded to form an independent Department of Immigration and Colonization through to 1936. When immigration was virtually shut down during the years of the depression, it was reduced to a branch of the Department of Mines and Resources [Roberts 2]. In another telling institutional arrangement, Chinese immigration was administered completely separately from the

⁵¹ For more on the use of agriculture as a means of settler colonization in the western United States, see Frieda Knobloch, Culture of Wilderness: Agriculture as Colonization in the American West.

⁵² For instance, University of Wisconsin (River Falls) history professor Betty Bergland is currently undertaking research on Norwegian immigrant and Native American relationships during the settlement of Wisconsin and Minnesota, particularly with respect to the effects of federal land policies and land cessions on Native Americans. Her research project is entitled, "Norwegian Immigrants, Norwegian Americans, and Native Americans in Wisconsin and Minnesota, 1837 to 1997: Rethinking Meanings of Immigration."

⁵³ RG76 Administrative History, page 2.

Immigration Branch between 1892 until 1911 under the Customs authority in the Department of Trade and Commerce.⁵⁴

Finally, immigration was intimately linked to the development of the national transportation infrastructure that was a precondition and promise of Confederation. As Whitaker has argued: "human migration was simply part of the economics of transportation in a developing country dependant upon staple extraction within a wider imperial framework" (5). With its own Department of Colonization and Immigration as a central component of its bureaucratic infrastructure, the Canadian Pacific Railway was strongly implicated in immigration promotion on several levels. The CPR's central role in the unfolding relationship between immigration and nation-building came in several mutually reinforcing forms: as a seller of land for immigration settlement;⁵⁵ as the largest commercial purveyor of Canadian immigration publicity; as a transporter for whom immigrants constituted a highly visible market; and, last but not least, as an employer for whom immigrants, particularly Chinese and South and East European men, constituted a cheap source of labour with which to build the railway. The CPR subsidized the first films produced in Canada which were then exhibited for the purposes of immigration promotion (Eamon). There was both a collusion and a rivalry between government immigration agents and the CPR's own network of agents, that operated parallel to tensions of cultural and economic nationalisms respectively.⁵⁶ As such, the CPR was a key commercial purveyor, not only of a wider immigration spectacle, but of the economic nationalism that structured and

⁵⁴ NAC, RG 76 Index, page 35. It was transferred to the Department of the Interior in 1911.

⁵⁵ Indeed, the company was created through a massive federal land grant on the condition that it play a role in colonization and settlement, see Whitaker (1991, 6).

⁵⁶ In much of the intradepartmental correspondence housed at the National Archives of Canada, the government agents portray themselves as being highly selective vis-à-vis the rampant profiteering of commercial agents who were oblivious to the quality of incoming emigrants.

pervaded it.⁵⁷

Other key objectives reflected and enacted by immigration spectacle included the need to counter the vast American drain on Canadian settlers, and intercolonial competition with other settler colonies. Anxieties about the American “drain” referenced both the needs to counter American expansionism and the massive immigrant flowthrough to the United States. Until the 1890s, Canada experienced a net American drain in the ratio of emigrants to immigrants, a perceived threat that continues to dominate national concerns today (Whitaker). To counter the American drain on Canadian settlers, the first campaigns to promote American immigration to Canada were inaugurated at the turn of the century. They quickly expanded to include the opening of sometimes colorful immigration offices, large-scale press campaigns in American newspapers, touring delegations of farmers and press junkets through Canada, and exhibitions at county fairs (Troper).

The intra-imperial competition amongst the other “white dominions” was also fierce, and both Australia and New Zealand produced their own flamboyant immigration spectacles to secure their own shares of the intracolonial migration flows. The National Archives of Canada’s immigration archives contain many instances of Australian immigration promotion in particular, indicating that interdominion competition was carefully noted and studied. With respect to this intercolonial competition, Sifton believed that: “owing to the persistent representation in Britain of Canada as a land of ice and snow, emigration is chiefly going to Australasia and South Africa, and it is now the endeavor of the department to counteract the effect of such literature” (D.J. Hall, 1: 260). Such a statement offers stark insight into the tight relationship between the promotional objectives of national display in immigration advertising and the national settlement imperatives

⁵⁷ The Railways Agreement of 1925 played a key role in eroding the cultural nationalism of prior immigration policy (the Empire Settlement Act of 1922) by importing cheap labour through mass immigration from non-preferred countries (primarily East/Central Europe). Cancelled in 1930, Knowles notes that, “while it was in effect Canada received a higher proportion of newcomers from the ‘non-preferred’ countries than from those countries from which she was supposed to be encouraging immigration” (108).

of colonial migration flows. This relationship between immigration and imperial spectacle informed the actual institutional emergence of early immigration spectacle, to which I now turn in order to consider the rise of the Canadian nation as a promotional entity.

2.4 Institutional Imaginings: Development of Government Immigration Spectacle

The development of the immigration promotion program was a key starting point for the institutional structures of the Canadian government. In this section, I consider the proliferation of this institutional infrastructure of immigration spectacle out of a need for the promotional imagining of the nation. Canada's internal institutional organization as well as its symbolic construction was designed in part to produce spectacle. Heaman goes so far as to argue that, as 'exhibitionism penetrated Canadian society to the core, one might claim that Canada was a promotional commodity... [and that] Confederation itself was a clever advertising tactic' (195).

She notes that:

In 1873 an agent remarked that, before Confederation, 'it would have been useless to address the emigrating classes of Great Britain in the name of Canada, for they would have been bewildered by territorial distinctions they could not understand. Confederation however has changed all of that, and the Dominion of Canada is coming home to the minds of Englishmen as an idea which they can grasp and comprehend....In 1864 George Brown also argued that the point was 'to establish a government that will seek to turn the tide of European emigration into this northern half of the American continent.' (195)

Ultimately, Heaman suggests that exhibitions taught Canadians to view Canada from the outside, as a commercial nation, such that "packaging Canada's external form was as important as its internal structure" in imagining and promoting the nation (166).

The vast range of media and publicity techniques enlisted for Canadian immigration promotion in Britain and the United States is the basis of this early formation of immigration spectacle. There were two key facets that led to the development of immigration promotion, promotional advertising and financial inducements (such as offers of free land and assisted transport costs). Initial efforts at immigration promotion were largely ineffective (Kelley and

Trebilcock 63), but proliferated with increased sophistication in the use of publicity and media as elements of spectacle. As suggested in Chapter One, these different media were not used in isolation, but mutually reinforced one another and were jointly enlisted in concerted campaigns of dynamic spectacle (see section 2.6 on the lantern lectures). Dunae cites a passage from Ralph Stock's Confessions of a Tenderfoot (1913) that vividly describes "the aggressive million-dollar advertising campaigns waged by the Canadian government and allied agencies", capturing this sense of spectacle in a more experiential register:

[Edwardian London at the turn of the century was]... plastered from end to end with flaring posters, representing fields of yellow grain and herds of fat stock tended by cowboys picturesquely attired in costumes that have never been heard of outside the covers of a penny dreadful...Unctuous gentlemen met you in the street with six-page pamphlets, imploring you to such and such an address and hear of the fortunes in store for the man of initiative who would take the plunge and emigrate to Canada. What chance was there, then, of the average city youth, cooped in an office from nine o'clock until six, resisting such an appeal to the spirit of adventure? (qtd. in Dunae, "Promoting" 73, Stock 1)

From the very first recorded government appropriations for immigration publicity in 1854, immigration pamphlets, leaflets, and literature formed the core of the campaigns. Dunae characterizes three waves of sustained campaigns leading up to the first World War: the first in 1854; the second much more coordinated and orchestrated campaign of 1872 reaching pamphlet print runs of over 300,000; and the third most renowned phase in the Sifton era of mass immigration flows that attained print runs of over 1.5 million in 1901 ("Promoting" 75-89). These were supplemented by newspaper advertisements, media relations and letters to the press, emigrants gazettes and handbooks such as Catherine Parr Trail's renowned Canadian Emigrant Housekeeper's Guide (1858). The governmental immigration promotion program was only one part of a wider context of immigration spectacle that also involved commercial immigration advertising. Most notable and prolific was the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), who opened their London emigration office in 1881. Along with other transportation and shipping companies, they established their own vast network of railway and shipping agents that formed their own

respective publicity infrastructure, often in coordination with but at times in conflict with the governmental agents and policies (Skilling).

With the advent of Charles Tupper as Canada's High Commissioner to London in 1884, as Dunae and Emms have shown, a whole new range of publicity innovations were enlisted well in advance of the Sifton years usually credited for flamboyant immigration publicity. In addition to the distribution of maps of Canada that had been an important part of the publicity effort, immigration campaigns focussed on the British educational curriculum, particularly geography classes, distributing maps, literature, and even a school textbook, sponsoring popular schoolboy essay contests, and seeking to generally influence schoolteachers opinions in favor of Canada (Dunae, "Making" 175-177). Lantern lecture tours were undertaken throughout the British countryside, drawing crowds to prepared lectures illustrated by magic lantern slides in what came for many to constitute a form of popular entertainment. These travelling lecture tours were often announced and supplemented by horse-drawn or motorized exhibition vans that also toured the countryside and distributed pamphlets and posters to desired communities (Scheinberg, see Fig. 7). Here, "the ambulatory nature of the work" was linked to the quest for desirable immigrants as Carlevaris notes:

The idea of using these vehicles [the exhibition van or 'omnibus', and later the exhibition rail car] in immigration work had been appropriated by Sifton from the techniques of the travelling salesman. The exhibition van allowed agents to have access to communities that were not located alongside rail lines where 'desirable farming types' were most likely to be found. (26)

Clifford Sifton has been constructed historically as the pioneer of the "golden age" of Canadian immigration promotion, although Emms takes issue with this characterization⁵⁸ (Emms 86). Nonetheless, with the Sifton year's (1896-1904) came a full-fledged consolidation of immigration spectacle. The dour style of earlier pamphlets were stylized and updated with

⁵⁸ Emms argues that many of the sweeping changes that facilitated the spectacular promotional campaigns of the Sifton era were not simply a matter of Sifton's forceful personality, as is commonly attributed, but *(over)*

colorful graphics and snappier texts, such as the most famous pamphlet, the Last Best West (1906). Immigration displays were prepared by agents for county, state, and world's fairs, exhibitions, markets, special events and shows from the 1890s onward. Emigration offices themselves became national display cases and window shops, as was the London Immigration Office when it was moved to the city's busiest thoroughfare next to Trafalgar Square in 1902 (Dunae, "Promoting" 90) (see Fig. 8). Large colorful posters appeared on billboards and hoardings throughout British urban centers and towns. Sifton, a newspaper man and owner of the Manitoba Free Press (D.J. Hall), also formalized the touring farmer's delegations and press junkets through Canada that offered testimonials and stimulated media coverage on the benefits of immigration (Troper 91-97).

Agricultural trophies adorned with various emblematic natural resources (wheat, wood, fruit, etc) were displayed at international exhibitions as a way to encapsulate the nation and spectacularize the vastness and bounty of the land available for immigrants (Heaman 159, 171, see Fig. 9). Of course, no spectacle would be complete without publicity stunts, such as the Canadian Coronation Arch constructed under Immigration Commissioner W.T.R. Preston in 1902 in Whitehall, London. As described by Dunae, it stood "sixty feet high, electrically illuminated, and covered with Manitoba Red Fife Wheat", the maple leaf interspersed with yellow grain ("Promoting" 88, see Fig. 10).⁵⁹ While such national displays reached their peak in the flamboyant Sifton years, practices of immigration spectacle continued on through the post-Siftonian era of immigration restrictions under such notorious ministers as Frank Oliver until the 1930s. At that point, the depression halted immigration and almost completely shut down much of the immigration bureaucracy that had governed it.

came about due to the routinization of the public relations functions of the immigration bureaucracy prior to Sifton's arrival.

⁵⁹ The Coronation Arch recalls the design of the agricultural trophies at international exhibitions. Compare Figure 9 and 10. Elsewhere, Dunae notes that jubilee arches were a standard promotional tactic for advertising emigration to western Canada ("Making" 179).

The thematics of national display at work in early immigration spectacle are as complex and diverse as the media and publicity techniques that deployed them. However, they were always framed within a promotional appeal to the desirable immigrant. They covered a vast range of styles: immigrant success stories and testimonials; idealizations of national development and independence; the often excessive display of Canadian bounty and natural resources; the downplaying of climactic extremes ("brisk cold" was a common expression); realist displays of facts and statistics; and distinctly British traditions of domestic display and pastoral landscapes (such as posters referring to the British Columbia "Lake Districts"). They all contributed to a vast project of national display, of the nation as spectacle (Bennett 78). While a comprehensive investigation is beyond the scope of this thesis, I turn to two instances of immigration promotion that offer further insight into early immigration spectacle.

2.5 Mammoth Cheese

While this particular context does not offer anything like a comprehensive encapsulation or synecdoche of immigration spectacle, it does provide a particularly striking instance, even prior to its flamboyant Siftonian heyday. Among the three modes of imagining nation that I have delineated in Chapter One, it most directly articulates a mode of national display. It is not the most overt example of the enactment of preferred or racialized identities, given that it does not depict the typical images of national identities or landscapes. Yet it shows how the desirable immigrant could be a structuring presence of immigration spectacle without being explicitly encoded in the visual scene. Furthermore, Heaman shows that "as Canadian immigration and press agents grew skilled at selling the country abroad, they became more conscious of the instability of this boundary between reality and representation, and learned to capitalize on it" (Heaman 180). The unusual strategy of national display employed in this context is rather exemplary of the immigration agents' shift to increasingly conscious and explicit tactics of spectacle.

At a time when Canada's immigration publicity campaigns were being consolidated on the verge of an unprecedented explosion, the opportunity that the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition presented for immigration promotion were not to be missed by the immigration branch, newly transferred from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Interior the previous year. As scholars such as Rydell, Niquette, and Buxton have argued, world's fairs constituted one of the first forms of popular media. Chicago fair attendance figures exceeded 27.5 million people. Concluding that the "conditions prevailing in Chicago ...were exceedingly favorable for our immigration work,"⁶⁰ a range of exhibits and several emigration agents were dispatched to site of the Canadian Pavilion.

Immigrations promotion encompassed the distribution of over 10,000 sample grain bags with attached immigration literature at the grain exhibit, large scale posters advertisements for free land at most of the Canadian exhibits, window displays, and the distribution of 40,000 pamphlets and 10,000 folders. On-site agents answered questions and collected over 10,000 addresses of potential emigrants, with one special agent assigned to the specifically recruit German immigrants. Agents reported that "many are of the opinion that we are only a frozen north, where furs can be procured and nothing else: the show of grain has proved to them that it is a farming country as well."⁶¹ This display of grain was a standard promotional component in a spectacle of natural resources that was intended to attract agricultural settlers to this still very colonial vision of the nation.

But a far more spectacular instance of immigration display was to be found at the focal point of the Canadian exhibit, the Dairy Pyramid. There sat the biggest attraction of the Canadian exhibits: The Mammoth Cheese, also known as "The Canadian Mite" (see Fig. 11). According to

⁶⁰ RG 76, Volume 80, File 6854, Letter to T.M. Daly, Minister of the Interior, from A.M. Burgess, June 14, 1893.

⁶¹ RG 76, Volume 80, File 6854, Letter to T.M. Daly, Minister of the Interior, from James Anderson, Superintendent of Canadian Immigration Bureau (Chicago, Ill.), July 31, 1893.

Heaman, the greatest triumph of Canada's emerging exhibitionary complex of the day was cheese, which won Canada top prizes and accolades at British and American exhibitions (201, 241). Initially created under the auspices of the Dairy Commissioner James Robertson using 207,200 lbs. of milk, the Mammoth Cheese toured the country on its way to Chicago in a custom-fitted Canadian Pacific train with a good deal of fanfare (Heaman 242). This "aesthetic of surfeit, gigantism, the colossal" has been closely linked to the challenges of American settler nation-building posed by "the immensity of continental space and the ever-expanding frontiers of imperial ambition" (Coombe 213). The Canadian mammoth cheese as a spectacularization of the productive capacities of colonial settlement relied upon this imperial aesthetic of excessive form to create spectacle.

Impressed by the spectacular possibilities of the Mammoth Cheese, immigration agents at the fair arranged to have massive advertisements painted onto the 28 by 6 foot 22,000 lb. pound cheese announcing "Free Farms of 160 acres in the Canadian North-West," along with information on how to apply for them. Of course, immigration literature was distributed to interested onlookers. The Mammoth Cheese became the hit of the Canadian exhibits at the Chicago World's Fair. According to Immigration Superintendent James Anderson "The Mammoth Cheese has been the center of attraction; it is advertising Canada better than anything else we have on exhibition. The papers are continually referring to it, which in itself accounts for the general interest taken by the public."⁶²

Based on the Mammoth Cheese success story, arrangements were taken upon the close of the World's Fair to send the cheese on a travelling road show through England. According to Anderson, the cheese was to be "exhibited in all parts of Great Britain and Ireland...a splendid opportunity of placing the free land grants before the country, and may be the means of drawing

⁶² Ibid.

many settlers.”⁶³ Furthermore, “... [a]s I am very much interested in this mode of advertising, I suggest that a good man be sent with the Cheese and distribute literature.”⁶⁴ Subsequent negotiations led to the purchase of the cheese for British touring by tea retailer Thomas J. Lipton, and a special truck was built for its tour through Great Britain. The Canadian Dairy Commissioner wrote Mr. Lipton of the possibilities of the cheese spectacle:

I need not suggest to such an experienced and astute advertiser as yourself how it can be used in Great Britain...If it could be taken by train to a few of the main cities and exhibited in them for a few days, it would revive the newspaper interest and secure paragraphs unlimited...It could be distributed through your several shops for a Christmas sensation, and if you decide to use it that way, the Canadian Government would be willing to furnish nice wrappers...for the sake of the space ..to advertise the free farms of the North West and the opportunities offered for successful dairy farming in the Dominion of Canada.⁶⁵

Unfortunately, the spectacle of the cheese curdled before it could fulfill its promise of national display in the mother country.⁶⁶ Upon receipt of the Mammoth Cheese in England, Lipton replied:

I regret to say that it is in such very bad condition that it would be impossible for me to handle it...All report that it emits a very offensive odour. I had made arrangements with the Westminster Aquarium to exhibit it there, but on account of the offensive odour, it could not be exhibited under glass. It will be a great loss to me, after having made arrangements to exhibit it all over the country. Had the cheese been good, as an advertisement I could not have had anything better.⁶⁷

Perhaps Lipton was encountering the reverse predicament of many of the immigrants who pursued the lures of immigration spectacles in the other direction, only to find its promises similarly curdled in the transatlantic journey.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ RG 76, Volume 80, File 6854, Letter to the Secretary, Department of Interior from James Anderson, Superintendent of Canadian Immigration Bureau (Chicago, Ill.), October 1, 1893.

⁶⁵ RG 76, Volume 80, File 6854, Letter to Thomas J. Lipton from Professor J.W. Robertson, November 23, 1893.

⁶⁶ Heaman's version of the Mammoth Cheese display does not account for this part of the mammoth cheese tale, and she mistakenly reports that the Mammoth Cheese tour through England did in fact take place. This may be due to the fact that her sources are derived from the archives of the Canadian Exhibition Commission rather than the Department of Agriculture's Immigration records (241-242).

⁶⁷ RG 76, Volume 80, File 6854, Letter to the Secretary, Department of the Interior from J.G. Colsen, December 19, 1893.

The imaginative associations created by such forms of immigration spectacle as the Mammoth Cheese transfigured a particular resource, landscape, or product into a national symbol that promised settler bounty and future prosperity. Such practices of national display sought to engage, with varying degrees of success, the desirable prospective immigrants in such a way that they would imaginatively insert themselves into the colonial scenario of land settlement. More broadly, as Heaman has noted, “The Mite created a mental association between Canada and cheese. [As one newspaper at the time noted] ‘The senses of sight, taste, and smell will have forever connected Canada and cheese’” (242). Such a multi-sensual spectacle sought to construct a repertoire of national imaginings that were closely bound to processes of national commodification (whether of land, cheese, natural resources, or the nation itself).

Yet a less visible (or visually encoded) dimension of the Mammoth Cheese spectacle lies in the persistent links between national display and the selective functions of immigration spectacle, particularly in terms of preferred races and classes in this instance. Niquette and Buxton argue that the power of enchantment of the world’s fair was closely linked to a politics of differentiation. As such, people traditionally excluded from the bourgeois public sphere were further marginalized on the basis of nationality, gender, race and class through racialized humour or the exhibition of people of color. Similarly, the enchantments of immigration spectacle were linked to an implicit selective function with respect to the racial, class, and sexual hierarchies implicit in the ideal of the desirable immigrant. The selective processes of the mammoth cheese spectacle were not overtly encoded in the visual iconography, but were nevertheless enacted in the selective practices of the agents who staged it. For example, one agent report noted of the prospective emigrants encouraged at the Chicago World’s Fair that “the class of people...are almost without exception men of some means, who would make the best kind of settlers.”⁶⁸

⁶⁸ RG 76, Volume 80, File 6854, Letter to James Anderson, Superintendent of Canadian Immigration Bureau (Chicago, Ill.) from C.A. Munson, September 1, 1893.

Immigration Superintendent Anderson reassured the Immigration Branch that with respect to the recruitment of German immigrants at the Fair “none of these are Jews.”⁶⁹ Given the broader settler colonial context in which the Mammoth Cheese display was enacted, such selective practices were continuously being implemented as a central function of spectacle.

Unlike the overtly racialized fairground spectacles discussed by Niquette and Buxton however, the politics of selection at work in early immigration promotion was not enacted through the blatant visibility or spectacle of the marginalized ‘other’ in relation to the unmarked and submerged dominant categories. Rather, the normative and unmarked racial, gender, and class categories were continually imagined and constructed as spectacle through the ideal of the desirable immigrant. Excluded categories were marginalized through selective practices and coercive immigration restrictions. By analyzing immigration spectacle as a social practice rather than strictly a matter of visual representation, the governmental infrastructure and selective practices of immigration agents are brought into critical focus in ways that would otherwise be missed. Through the national display of natural resources, landscapes, and preferred identities, the Canadian government’s institutional imaginings of the nation and its desired immigrants fundamentally structured such early instances of immigration spectacle.

2.6 Lantern Slides: Projecting the Nation

A component of the Canadian immigration promotion program that constitutes a compelling site for further exploration of practices of immigration spectacle is the lantern slide program. As a popular form of entertainment, the lantern lectures were an ideal format for immigration promotion, integrating diverse forms of immigration publicity into the dynamic contours of immigration spectacle. The lantern lectures were seen as a key means of “keeping

⁶⁹ RG 76, Volume 80, File 6854, Letter to T.M. Daly, Minister of the Interior, from James Anderson, Superintendent of Canadian Immigration Bureau (Chicago, Ill.), July 31, 1893.

Canada before the [English] public."⁷⁰ Indeed, the "mission" of the agents/lecturers was explicitly defined as such: "Our agents would be equipped as missionaries of Canada, carrying propaganda to the smallest towns and the remotest hamlet" (Scheinberg 14).

Conducted primarily in England from the early 1890s onward, the lantern program relied on an expanding network of overseas immigration agents who toured the English countryside in what amounted to a travelling showcase of immigration promotion and techniques. Posters, pamphlets, the exhibition carts and vans, newspaper advertisements, press coverage, and of course, the lantern lecturers themselves were enlisted in this touring spectacle seeking to bring Canada alive in the minds of desirable potential immigrants. In this sense, the lantern shows drew their promotional allure from a long-standing tradition of ambulatory performance (from medicine men to early cinematic exhibition) as a form of popular entertainment.

The lectures were held in community halls, church basements, fairs, exhibitions, and local cinemas, with audience numbers of 1-2000 not uncommon in the latter. A report on one 1908 lecture noted that "...regarding a lecture at Bridgewater...the hall contained 1800 people, and many were turned away...in addition, a certain amount of musical entertainment [was arranged]."⁷¹ Often the slides were also projected in cinemas as advertisements before regular films, and there was much debate throughout the years of the program on the disadvantages and merits of transitioning from lantern slides to moving picture films. The general view was that film was not suitable for the purpose, not only for the technical constraints it placed on agents, but because it was too "low" a form of entertainment and tended to draw undesirable classes (Scheinberg 15).⁷²

⁷⁰ NAC, RG76, Vol. 81, File 7224, May 22, 1922.

⁷¹ RG76, Vol. 49, File 1945, March 5, 1908.

⁷² Because of its less selective policy, the CPR was keen to use film as part of their publicity, which caused a certain degree of jealousy and friction in the government program.

Lectures were thematically organized into slide lecture sets, the full scripts of which are still available at the National Archives of Canada.⁷³ They focussed primarily on scenes of agricultural fertility and bounty, so as to attract the desired agricultural settlers, but also included "tours" of "Canada's Beauty Spots", industry, natural and national history, and national parks and monument. Professional photographers such as H.N. Topley (Figs. 12-15)⁷⁴ were commissioned to capture "suitable scenes" or specific types of images for the slides, which were often subsequently hand-painted (Scheinberg 15).

Another major target of the lantern program was British schoolchildren, and the British educational system was a significant arena of activity for the program. According to the Superintendent of Emigration in 1921, "You will judge that our sets have been in constant use when I tell you that among the schools alone 89 lectures have been given and between a hundred and a hundred and twenty are already booked for this year."⁷⁵ The lantern lectures were just one component of the school campaigns, which included the free distribution of Canadian atlases. According to the Superintendent of Immigration in 1917,

...the distribution of the Atlas is a form of publicity entirely distinct from any other form of advertising we do ...it is distributed not with the idea of getting immediate results, but rather to reach the children of the Mother Country during their most impressionable years

⁷³ The reciprocal links between imperial and immigration spectacle that I discuss in Chapter One are also evident in the holdings of the NAC immigration archives in which the lantern lecture scripts are found. Among the additional materials accompanying the lantern lecture scripts are a separate series of lantern lectures developed by the Colonial Office of the British government on imperial migration. Likely used as model for the Canadian lantern lectures, "A Course of Seven Lectures Illustrated by Lantern Slides, on a Journey to England from the Eastern Colonies" was distributed to schools throughout the colonies so as to educated school children on empire and migration. Further correspondence reveals a reciprocal series of lantern lectures developed for British school children on the colonies, with the overall "object of giving to the school children of the United Kingdom a better knowledge of the Colonies, and of giving to the school children of the Colonies a better knowledge of the United Kingdom and of other parts of the Empire..[so as to promote] the establishment of more intimate relations between the schools and school children of the Colonies and those of the Mother Country" (RG76, Vol. 49, File 1945, Letter from Alfred Lyttleton, April 18, 1905). The links with discussion of the Empire Marketing Board film *One Family: A Dream of Real Things* are self-evident (see Chapter 1).

⁷⁴ According to Carlevaris, Topley started off in the William Notman studio in Montreal in 1864 before going on to open a branch of the Notman studio in Ottawa. In 1872, Topley bought the studio and it was subsequently known as the Topley studio (31).

⁷⁵ RG76, Vol. 81, File 7224, January 4, 1921.

and to place in their hands up-to-date information about this part of the Empire, so that we may reap a harvest in the coming years.⁷⁶

As such, British schoolchildren were prime targets for early emigration recruitment. In fact, many school teachers, along with clergy and private citizens, went on to enthusiastically participate as volunteer lecturers for the Canadian lantern lecture program.

The lantern lecture as a social practice of national display was completely structured and permeated by the selective function of immigration spectacle on a number of levels. According to Frank Oliver, the first minister to implement explicitly codified exclusionary policies, "It does not accord with our policy to encourage lecturing campaigns of this [unspecified] nature... our experience has been that propaganda work of this kind does not reach the classes which we desire to reach and does not reach classes which we do not desire."⁷⁷ While the forms of national display at times veered into excess (such as "the land of milk and honey", see Fig. 12), they were always structured according to the preferred categories of immigration. The sites where the lectures were conducted were based on the likelihood of drawing desirables, with large towns and poorer districts often avoided. As J. Obed Smith noted in 1909, "it is practically impossible to arrange lectures in these large districts for the reason that the people are very poor."⁷⁸ The targeting of prospective settlers by agents was continually informed and regulated by this selective imperative.⁷⁹ As D.J. Hall put it, this was achieved through individual contact and communication, "...by knowing where people were on the move and 'talking up' Canada to the most desirable of them" (1: 258).

But it was the images depicted on the lantern slides themselves that offered the most interesting insights into the connections between the selection of desirable immigrants and national display in immigration spectacle. There was a conscious effort to counter images and

⁷⁶ RG76, Vol. 49, File 1945, Aug 31, 1917.

⁷⁷ RG76, Vol. 49, File 1945, March 11, 1908.

⁷⁸ RG76, Vol. 49, File 1945, March 15, 1909.

perceptions of an "untamed north" among the British public, to offer "positive images" of the nation that lead to specifically gendered and racialized strategies of representation. Bountiful agricultural scenes and pastoral landscapes predominated (see Fig. 13). One slide offered a rather literal depiction of the peopling of the land through settler bounty, with settlers springing from the soil with the abundant wheat fields (see Fig. 14). Of course, images were restricted to harvest season and the summer, while winter scenes were carefully avoided.

As a classic manifestation of domestic colonialism (McClintock), neo-Victorian domestic scenes in lantern slides were specifically designed to reassure women who were considered to be pivotal to the decision-making process of prospective emigrant families (see Fig. 15). A request by the emigration program in 1922 to further "pursu[e] the policy of furnishing us in the British Isles with photographs of the interior and exterior of homes...[and of] labour-saving devices in farmer's homes"⁸⁰ was followed by an order by Mrs. Muldrew, the women's lecturer from the Women's Division, for lantern slides of such items as " a vacuum cleaner being used...an electric washer in use... a hand power washer" etc.⁸¹ In this way, the lantern slides held out the promise of reduced domestic labour as one means to ensure the sexualized legacy of colonial settlement.

The images of the nation proffered through the lantern lectures were highly racially regulated according to the dictates of settler postcolonialism. In particular, the practices of national display employed in the lantern slides enacted a regulated forgetting of the place of indigenous peoples in the settler nation. The Director of Publicity, R.J.C. Stead instructed one of the lectures in 1922 that "we do not particularly stress Indians in our publicity propoganda. We try to divorce Old Country minds of this association of Indians with Canada."⁸² The lecturer responded that "as far as publicity is concerned, I always did draw the line at emphasizing

⁷⁹ As I have noted, this was less true for commercial transportation agents, who were more interested in making a sale and collecting a bonus than the supposed "quality" of their passengers.

⁸⁰ RG76, Vol. 81, File 7224, November 21, 1922.

⁸¹ RG 76, Vol. 81, File 7663, January 31, 1924.

⁸² RG76, Vol. 81, File 7224, August 22, 1922.

anything about our Indians. That is already overdone here by the Wild West Films...which give the idea that the American Continent is overrun by Indians."⁸³

Such instances illustrate the role played by the lantern lectures in an institutional practice of imagination and display that played a direct role in the enforced forgetting and erasure of indigenous populations in settler nations. As McClintock claims with respect to 'the myth of the empty lands', such enforced forgetting has served as a rationale for indigenous dispossession and colonial settlement of the land. This institutional practice of enforced forgetting is also intimately linked with the third mode of imagining nation, the spectacle of national history. It informs the imagining and spectacularizing of a national history generated from the founding moment of colonial settlement, while indigenous peoples are relegated to the anachronistic realm of pre-history much as they were banished from the representational frame of immigration spectacle (McClintock 40).

Betraying the critical significance of absences and suppressions in the processes that constitute immigration spectacle, the racialized practices of the lantern slide program were enacted as much in what was regulated out of the frame of visual representation, the *mise-en-scène*, as in the display. Further research might examine how the shifting immigration objectives were reflected and enacted in the shifting practices of national display at work in the lantern lecture program. Because the lecture sets were easy to adjust and modify, the images they proffered could be easily adapted to the shifting objectives of the immigration program.

Ultimately, the magic lantern slide program offers a particularly compelling trace of the institutional imagining of Canada in the early days of immigration promotion. Staged as imaginative events, lantern lectures encompassed the dynamic terms of spectacle rather than a single media or practice of visual communication. As Carlevaris notes:

the lantern show was a theatrical event – a social outing that drew people together in an atmosphere of ease and emotional expectation... Assisted by the magic lantern and the

⁸³ RG76, Vol. 81, File 7224, September 4, 1922.

cinematograph, the immigration lecturer sometimes delivered his anxious appeal between vaudeville acts, competing amongst a variety of entertainment spectacles...the lantern slide was an indispensable vehicle for attracting potential immigrants. (27)

The development of such an infrastructure of national imagining facilitated the transformation of a colonial outpost into a settler nation. This instance of the spectacularizing of intracolonial immigration accentuates McClintock's insights into the connections between empire and national spectacle with an evocative and burlesque flavor.

In exploring the emergence of an institutional apparatus of early immigration spectacle, I have sought in this chapter to emphasize the intimacy of processes of national commodification with such modes of imagining Canada as national display and the desirable immigrant. As a result, I have argued that selectivity emerged as a central process of early immigration promotion. The settler postcolonial tension between cultural and economic nationalism gave rise to immigration spectacle as a mediating formation for policy, one that has been fundamentally shaped by preferred racial, class and sexual categories articulated along colonial lines. In this sense, immigration spectacle as a complex set of social practices of promotion, visibility, and textuality offered a key mode of articulation of the imagined settler nation and the preferred categories of immigration policy. While I have focussed more in this chapter on national display and preferred identities as selective practices of the imagined nation, in the next chapter I move on to further consider how a third mode of historical spectacle and the related institutional process of memorialization at work in Pier 21 are implicated in immigration spectacle.

Chapter 3. Memorializing the Nation: Pier 21

3.1 “Welcome Home to Canada”: Introductory Context of Pier 21

It is not a coincidence that the national memorialization of Halifax’s Pier 21 took place on the last Canada Day of “Canada’s Century” and the millenium (July 1, 1999). Under the auspices of funding from the Canadian government and the Chrysler Corporation, the Pier 21 memorial promised “to do for Canada and Canadians what Ellis Island has done for the United States”. This chapter explores what it is precisely that Pier 21 does for ‘Canadians.’ To what extent does the promotional spectacle of Pier 21 recapitulate the long-standing social practice of Canadian immigration spectacle? How is the settler colonial legacy of contemporary immigration both activated and forgotten at Pier 21?

The permanent exhibition at the new Pier 21 facility, entitled ‘The Immigration Experience,’ seeks to “trace the physical and emotional journey” of immigrants at Pier 21. Installed in the former Pier 21 immigration-processing center, the exhibit is organized around a series of iconic moments in the immigrant journey. Heightening the sense of re-enactment of the immigrant experience, visitors pass through these dramatized moments in the following stations of the exhibit: Leaving, Travelling, The Journey (with ship lists and graphics), Waiting (with the actual recreation of the actual Waiting Room), Customs, the ‘Welcome to Canada’ Immigration Interview, ‘Papers Please,’ Baggage Inspection, and New Beginnings. Along the wall, life-size cutout images are arranged of the different types of immigrants processed through Pier 21 (War Brides, Home Kids, Evacuee Children, Displaced Peoples, etc.), along with listening stations at which their oral histories are played. The “In-Transit Theatre” entrance is designed like the boarding of a ship, and inside, a holographic film recounts the story of immigration at Pier 21 in a tone of epic melodrama. To further enhance the sense of interactivity and reenactment, picture

and role-playing games such as “Find Your Suitcase’ and “Be A Customs Officer” are placed along the route.

At the start of the journey, visitors are given a Pier 21 passport to be stamped at each station in the ‘journey’. Once passports are properly stamped at each stage of the route, visitors complete the journey by boarding a stationary Via Rail car with projections of the Canadian countryside in the windows and moving floor boards, recreating the train journey immigrants undertook from the pier. In each train compartment, videotaped oral histories of Canadian immigrants from throughout the world are projected. The final train compartment is a video booth, and visitors are exhorted to record testimony of their own immigration experiences. Stepping off the train, visitors face a wall-sized video mosaic of diverse faces and origins projected over Canadian landscapes to the accompaniment of the national anthem.

As I follow the journey and get my passport dutifully stamped along the way, several curious elements in the exhibit strike me. I try to pay close attention to the main text and official narrative of the exhibit, comparing it with the personal narratives presented in the oral histories. As I pass through the “Crossing the Atlantic” section of the exhibit, a large wall of statistics and graphs chart the “Waves of Immigration” that Pier 21 received. The charts and graphs show how British immigration constituted by far the largest group (1,252,435 according to the chart), over half of all immigrants that passed through Pier 21. Mention is made of the world events that determine who came to Canada, from “economic cycles, war, oppression - as well as government policy and individual choice”. Yet no mention is made of how government policy systematically determined and regulated the preferential and disproportionate admission of British and Northern European immigrants, nor the settler colonial framework behind such policy. Moving to the listening stations, I notice that references to mistreatment and exclusions very occasionally surface in the personal testimonies and oral histories, some of them quite moving.

Such stories fleetingly surface in the individualized voices of personal experience in the oral histories, but they are simply absent or naturalized in the main exhibition narrative and

statistical displays. The official narrative of the exhibit only serves to obfuscate and relegate these matters to the vicissitudes of individual struggle and overcoming, rather than framing them as a question of systematic policy. A small easily missed text on the side describes the detention facilities (“dorms, cafeterias, recreation areas, even a hospital”), where those who were “ill or lacking proper papers stayed at Pier 21 until the situation was resolved.” As an almost accidental detour in the flow of the exhibit, one small section on “Barriers to Immigration” does gingerly mention the history of racial restrictions of Africans, Chinese, Indian, and Jewish immigration, as well as the deportation of political radicals and the medically unfit.⁸⁴ Yet it naturalizes and elides the settler colonial structures of Canadian immigration in the following terms: “Until 1961, immigration policies favoured immigrants who would *blend into the existing population*” (emphasis added). The text then quickly jumps to the progressive new point system introduced in the 1960s that “opened the door to immigration from all over the world”. The passage narrative culminates in the customs station, and I watch the lineup of visitors perform their immigration interviews and get their passport cheerfully stamped under the “Welcome to Canada” sign. Needless to say, no deportations are reenacted, and no one is refused entry.

3.2 Memorialization as Immigration Spectacle

“Nationalism is a theatrical performance of invented community,” according to McClintock (375). If Canadian immigration spectacle has long served to imagine and enforce the bounds of the settler nation, the Pier 21 opening ceremonies constituted a striking contemporary performance of the immigrant nation through the practice of memorialization. It vividly recapitulated the theatrical role occupied by immigration in the arena of national invention. Honig

⁸⁴ Even within the strictures of the European immigrant narrative that Pier 21 offers, there is a continual managing and silencing of the cleavages and exclusions that have stratified British, white American, and Northern European settlers as preferred immigrants, as opposed to Jews and South/East Europeans, who *(over)*

argues that “the myth of an immigrant America serves to renationalize the state and reposition it at center of any future... politics” (17). Similarly, Pier 21 dramatizes immigrant consent (Honig 12) in order to recuperate immigrant energies in this recentering of the nation state in the memorial legacy of Canadian immigration. As part of the mythic machinery of imagining nation, Pier 21 spectacularizes both national history and the desirable immigrant (the latter embodied in the figure of Rosalie Abella, as I will show).

In Chapter 2, I largely focus on two modes of imagining nation, the desirable immigrant and national display, in framing early immigration promotion as a form of immigration spectacle. My formulation of a third mode of imagining nation, historical spectacle, is largely derived from McClintock’s notion of the imperialist transformation of history into spectacle. Thus far, it has been implicitly considered in the early spectacle of the imagined nation, bound up as immigration promotion was with the future of nation-building. In this chapter, it will be foregrounded as a central component of the memorialization that constitutes this contemporary form of immigration spectacle. The central role of historical spectacle in the memorialization of Pier 21 strategically engendered both historical remembrance and forgetting in order to spectacularize a *celebratory* mode of national display.

In framing historical spectacle as a process of settler postcolonialism, Jennifer Kelly’s astute summary of the role of forgetting and repetition in the project of national history is worth quoting at length. Citing the work of Homi Bhabha, Kelley writes:

Nations require the production and assertion of a particular version of history (an “imagined community”) that gains authority from claims about a (celebrated) past, but this past is itself a narrative performance that requires constant repetition in order to maintain its authority... [The] dominant narrative of national origin requires an active forgetting of an aspect of the past, a forgetting that must be reproduced continuously within the performance of the nation (Bhabha)...the active, collective forgetting of the dispossession of Aboriginal peoples – and the implication of race, gender, and class politics and economics that are constitutive of that dispossession – has been a

were defined as non-preferred immigrants and were at various times excluded from immigration. Indeed, the cohesion of whiteness that defines Canadian national identity requires such suppressions (see Sacks).

foundational feature of the dominant discourses of performances of nation in Canada and Australia. (5)

Here, Kelly succinctly delineates the key processes of national performance that permeate the settler spectacle of Pier 21.

This chapter considers how the repetition of this settler postcolonial performance of national history is popularly enacted through the social practice of historical spectacle. In particular, the spectacle of Pier 21 attempts to construct a unified historical narrative for radically diverse and disparate immigrant histories, in order to ground the structures of the settler nation in an imagined community unified through national identity. To construct this unified history and (therefore) nation, Pier 21 produces a settler historical spectacle that actively suppresses the political cleavages of race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality that have structured immigration history and that pose the possible threat of ‘disunity and division’. In this sense, the repetition and performance of the forgetting of the settler colonial structures of Canadian immigration shapes the historical spectacle of Pier 21.

The national memorialization that Pier 21 performs ‘for Canadians’ functions through certain highly selective iconic moments of immigration spectacle. It spectacularizes a selective version of immigration history into a celebratory nationalism. For example, a Toronto Star editorial answers the question posed at the outset of this chapter rather candidly:

The opening of [this] shrine...will help raise national consciousness about the centrality of immigration to the story of Canada. Pier 21 should do for Canada what Ellis Island has done for America - romanticize and idealize immigration, and put poetry around it.
(Siddiqui)

This insistence on romanticism and melodrama as way to frame immigration history is closely tied to the workings of the Pier 21 spectacle. By embedding a celebratory narrative of immigration into the popular construction of the nation, a highly selective version of national identity and history is produced. In this way, the memorialization of this site sanctifies the following narrative of the nation: “On Pier 21 Canada opened its doors, and a nation walked in”

(Schiller, see Fig. 16). Of course, this obscures the ongoing reality that the doors of the nation have never been open to everyone, and the complexities and exclusions that have been formative to Canadian immigration spectacle must be forgotten or effectively downplayed in the celebratory zeal of Pier 21.

In this sense, memorialization as a form of immigration spectacle is a project of imagining and managing the bounds of immigration history through which the settler nation is produced. Memorialization offers a rich site from which to consider the active workings of memory and forgetting in the historical spectacle of Canadian immigration.⁸⁵ For instance, the oral history and testimonial component of Pier 21 constitutes one central strategy through which national memory and forgetting are managed. By incorporating personal testimony into an institutional agenda of national memorialization, subjective immigrant memory is selectively institutionalized into national history. The complex mappings that immigration spectacle enacts between the institutional and the subjective are traced throughout this chapter.

This strategy of memorialization relies on a practice of historical spectacle that is clearly structured by Renan's classic formulation of memory and forgetting as the source of the nation (11). Pier 21 faithfully articulates Renan's linkage of history with the essence of the nation. To cite the famous passage: "A nation is a soul, a spiritual principal. Two things constitute this soul or spiritual principal. One lies in the past, one in the present" (Renan 19). The main promotional slogan of Pier 21 proclaims it to be "Canada's National Historical Soul." Pier 21 literature continually circulates such claims: "[immigration] enriched our social and cultural landscape and uplifted the very soul of the nation forever!" All of the promotional literature closes with the invocation to visit Pier 21 as a way to "start you national historic soul searching." In this way,

⁸⁵ National memorializations tend to function cross-institutionally across a range of governmental and national structures. For example, Pier 21 was also proclaimed a National Historic Site, and was featured as a Millennium Collection Stamp by Canada Post.

Pier 21's institutional articulation of the national soul positions immigration as the core essence of the settler nation.

This evocation of the national 'soul' as central to the memorialization of Pier 21 clearly implies an affective if not a spiritual project. Indeed, affect was central to the staging of Pier 21, it constituted the very *mise-en-scène* of this form of immigration spectacle. It is through the affective component of spectacle that the linkages between institutional histories and subjective memories of the nation are sought and regulated. In particular, Pier 21's promotional narrative of the settler nation spectacularized immigrant gratitude to produce a celebratory structure of feeling. Yet, if Renan is to be taken seriously, such affective investments in the national 'soul' occasion forgetting as much as they do remembrance. In this chapter, I explore trauma as a crucial site of elision in the Pier 21 spectacle, of absence and forgetting of the settler colonial antecedents of Canadian immigration. Trauma constitutes the shadow side of immigration spectacle at Pier 21, mobilized in the melodrama of national(ist) resolution yet fundamentally elided in its implications for the politics of immigration.

Finally, the timing of the opening ceremonies on the last Canada day of the twentieth century and the millennium was a deliberate strategy of this historical spectacle. Not only was the millennial resonance effectively exploited in the spectacularization of the past and future of the nation, but Laurier's famous trope of the twentieth century as Canada's century was widely circulated in connection with Pier 21's opening. McClintock has shown how a linear imperial narrative of national progress underpins such practices of historical spectacle (37). In the opening ceremonies, an affective linkage of immigration with nation-building and historical progress was repetitively articulated through Pier 21's celebratory structure of feeling. Pier 21's other key slogan encapsulates this deployment of national history in immigration spectacle as a matter of

nation-building: “Pier into our past, and see the future of Canada” (see Fig. 17).⁸⁶ The articulation of this historical progress narrative to the celebratory affect of Pier 21 is rooted in institutionalized forgetting.

3.3 Pier 21 Opening Spectacle

3.3.1 Institutional Structure of Pier 21

An overview of its institutional framework will illuminate the material interests shaping the promotional discourse of Pier 21. The project emerged from the kind of governmental/corporate partnership that Kevin Dowler has characterized as Canada’s absent or simulated civil society. Dowler employs this term to refer to the cultural apparatus of arms-length agencies that administer Canadian cultural policy on behalf of the government.⁸⁷ He argues that the state sought to create an absent civil society to act as a mobile interface between the government and its citizens: “the Canadian state has created a simulated civil society in the form of cultural agencies that are inserted between the formal structures of the state and its citizens” (336). Instead of an instrument of cultural policy administration however, the institutionalization of Pier 21 serves a somewhat different governmental purpose – the creation and memorialization of a nationalist narrative around Canadian immigration that is ultimately produced and delivered through immigration spectacle. Yet the institutional formation of Pier 21 is a product of this mobile interface between the government and its citizens, along with the additional participation of its corporate citizens (i.e. private corporations) and tourists seeking to consume a specific image of Canada. This government-citizen interface is productive of the links between Pier 21 as an institutional project of national history and the interpellation of affective engagements and remembrance from Canadian immigrants as the perfect Canadian citizens.

⁸⁶ The pamphlet continues: “Think about it! Part of Canada’s past and what continues to shape our future began at Pier 21” (*Pier Into Our Past*).

⁸⁷ Such as the Canada Council, National Film Board, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Yet, beyond the modern (post-Massey Report) formation of a simulated civil society, the institutional emergence of Pier 21 is also rooted in a longer-standing settler colonial legacy of governmental-corporate collusion in immigration spectacle and national commodification. Given that this collusion has long informed postcolonial Canadian immigration (see Chapter 2), it is not surprising that Pier 21 is structured through a similar relationship embodied in its own unique institutional formation. In particular, the process of garnering governmental and corporate sponsorship for its institutionalization has strongly shaped the promotional discourse that frames Pier 21 as a cultural project.

The Pier 21 Society was initiated in 1988 as a ‘non-profit volunteer organization’ made up of a consortium of ‘private citizens’ from the governmental, business, and cultural sectors. Modeling itself on the Ellis Island Immigration Museum⁸⁸ that would strongly influence its structure and design, the project’s impetus arose from the perception by individuals “working in the areas of immigration and culture that the building which had once housed a major immigration port of entry had fallen into disrepair...more importantly, the history surrounding Pier 21 was in danger of being lost.”⁸⁹ As such, the two goals of the society involved, firstly, transforming Pier 21 into a permanent exhibition and learning resource center, and secondly, “...interpret[ing] the immigration experience of those who came through Pier 21, thereby paying tribute to them, recognizing the important role immigration has played and continues to play in forming our Canadian identity.”⁹⁰ As such, the retrieval of this endangered history was from the outset framed as an institutional matter of historical interpretation and national tribute to “the immigrant experience”.

⁸⁸ Ellis Island Immigration Museum. Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation. June 26, 2000. <www.ellisland.org>.

⁸⁹ “About Pier 21 Society”. Pier 21. Ed. Erez Segal. June 21, 2000. Pier 21 Society. June 26, 2000. <<http://www.pier21.ns.ca/about.html>>.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

The institutional structure that emerged in the Pier 21 Society includes a board consisting of current and former members of government, academics and cultural administrators, and several business executives. The National Advisory Committee includes several more Chief Executive Officers (at one time including the now deceased Peter Bronfman), university administrators, governmental officials (former Governor-General Ramon Hnatyshyn, Senator Mira Spivak), and several members of immigrant community elites (from lawyers and doctors to CHIN Media's Johnny Lombardi). Notable members include staunch Canadianist Peter C. Newman and the controversial Metro Toronto Chief of Police Julian Fantino. The President and undisputed moving force behind Pier 21, Ruth Goldbloom, is a prominent member of Halifax society and a noted arts philanthropist.

In June of 1995 at the Halifax G7 summit, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien announced that the Canadian government would donate \$4.5 million for the establishment of a "permanent monument" to Canada's immigrants (amounting to half of the Society's capital campaign target of \$9 million).⁹¹ The other half of the Pier 21 Capital Gain campaign was to come from a \$4.5 million private sector campaign. On June 23, 1998, a ceremony was held in downtown Halifax to unveil an artist's rendition of Pier 21's Chrysler Canada Welcome Pavilion. The pinnacle of the ceremony was the announcement of Chrysler Canada's support for Pier 21, as Chrysler CEO William C. Glaub presented a donation of \$250,000 to what he called a "permanent and living testament to freedom and to Canada" (in an already ideologically overdetermined choice of words). The ceremony was attended by "over a hundred dignitaries, civic, business, and community leaders" (including the Premier of Nova Scotia and Mayor of Halifax), prompting Ruth Goldbloom to enthuse: "This is a very tangible demonstration of Chrysler Canada's

⁹¹ In fact, the funding consisted of moneys from all three levels of government: \$2.5 million from the federal government, and the rest from the Nova Scotia provincial and the Halifax municipal levels of government.

commitment to the community and to Canada... and we are immensely grateful to this *great Canadian company*" (emphasis added).⁹²

The fund-raising drive was later bolstered by a \$150,000 donation from Canadian National (CN), delivered personally by CEO Paul Tellier to much media fanfare. Part of the donation went towards a replica of a CN car complete with a pulsating floor for the immigration exhibition, followed by a second restored 1937 railcar for display outside the entrance of Pier 21 (Passages). While it is unsurprising that the obvious historical link between the railway and immigration in the work of nation-building is invoked and reinforced here, it is rather interestingly rearticulated and commodified for the purposes of national display. This suggests another strategy for corporate sponsorship, the linking of various themes and sections of the exhibition to particular sponsors. For instance, a section of the exhibit dealing with the historical role of volunteers at Pier 21 was sponsored by Canada Trust. In this way, various corporate entities such as Sobeys or Nesbitt Burns underwrote various parts of the national narrative and linked themselves to desirable figures in Canadian immigration (Passages). This made for a unique promotional commodification of the national narrative of immigration history.

As a cultural initiative then, the Pier 21 Society was not a typical non-profit organization composed of 'everyday' volunteers. It clearly materialized out of an informal but powerful social network of "establishment heavyweights," as Newman put it, rooted in the governmental and corporate sectors (Newman). This elite network was brought into coalition to create the political and financial momentum that gave the project its legitimacy. The informal social ties and eventual governmental sponsorship that underpinned the fund-raising campaign coalesced through the promotional display and narration of Pier 21. This promotional commodification required the conjunction of a particular reimagining of the Canadian immigration narrative and the reconstruction of Pier 21 as a particular place (see 3.4). The process of reimagining and

⁹² "Chrysler Canada Becomes Major Sponsor of Pier 21 Project." Pier 21. Ed. Erez Segal. June 21, 2000. (over)

reconstruction was thoroughly structured by these governmental-corporate links in ways that interestingly reconstitute their historical collusion in immigration spectacle.

In this way, the capital campaign and the promotional work necessary to secure the commitments of the governmental and corporate sponsors required a promotional narrative of the nation from the very outset of the Pier 21 project. The promotional narrative was shaped as a “testament to freedom and to Canada”, of “Canada’s Ellis Island”, and a celebratory tribute to immigration. It also adopted an economic nationalist narrative of immigration (see Chapter 2),⁹³ in which the very companies (such as CN) that historically profited from and promoted immigration contributed to the promotional spectacularization of immigration history. Their participation in the promotional structuring of the Pier 21 spectacle informed the selectivity of the historical narrative, in its framing and articulation for sponsors. In particular, this was manifested in the active forgetting and silence surrounding the less flattering aspects of some of the sponsors’ historical roles in immigration.⁹⁴ As such, the promotional and discursive work involved in fund-raising, in ‘pitching Pier 21’ to secure its governmental and corporate sponsors, set the stage for a process of national commodification that has long structured immigration spectacle. As a result, a settler postcolonial practice of forgetting was necessarily embedded in the national display of Pier 21. In this way, the historical spectacle of the nation that emerged through the institutional structures of Pier 21 came to constitute a contemporary mode of immigration spectacle.

Pier 21 Society. June 26, 2000. <<http://www.pier21.ns.ca/pressrelease-june23.html>>.

⁹³ This was also reproduced in the media component of the Pier 21 spectacle. See, for example, “A Tribute to our Investment in Immigrants” (Siddiqui, *Tribute*), which presents a xenophilic pro-immigration perspective by framing the value of immigration in the economic terms of nation-building.

⁹⁴ Such as Canadian Pacific’s exploitative labour practices or its role in the 1885 expulsion of Chinese migrant workers once the railway was completed.

3.3.2 Opening Ceremonies

The focal point of the Pier 21 spectacle was the 1999 Canada Day opening ceremonies. Given Laurier's renowned dictum of the twentieth century as Canada's century, the staging of the Pier 21 celebration on the last Canada Day of the millenium brings clear historical resonances to the critical role of immigration in future nation-building. Yet the opening ceremonies also had a local historical resonance. They were spotlighted in seasonal tourist promotions as part of a summer-long celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Halifax, alongside such events as the reenactment of the landing of the city's founding families on the HMS Rose. This was one of the few sites in the Pier 21 celebration where the settler colonial lineage of Canadian immigration was overtly manifested. As one newspaper article noted of the anniversary celebrations, "the settlers who arrived on the Rose were the earliest in a long and ongoing line of immigrants whose first glimpse of their new country was the Halifax harbour... One of the biggest events of the summer is expected to be the opening ... of Pier 21" (Munn). Aside from a few notable exceptions that I will discuss, the settler colonial legacy of the Pier 21 story was otherwise largely obscured or actively forgotten.

As for the opening ceremonies themselves, the pier queen and Mistress of Ceremonies was Hana Gartner of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), accompanied by her mama Sasha. Gartner led the ceremonies as a distinguished member of what the Pier 21 Society calls "Pier 21 Alumni". In this way, the national media, and the CBC in particular, literally merged into the spectacle of Pier 21, as this child of the Pier and the CBC orchestrated both the ceremony and media coverage. The continual emphasis on the upward mobility and class achievements of prominent immigrants was central to the national display of tolerance and Canadian multiculturalist benevolence. Gartner recounted her arrival from Czechoslovakia in 1952, departing from her stoic demeanor and becoming misty-eyed and sentimental. Such enactments of remembrance, testimony, and affect were abundant throughout the day. Their continual repetition and circulation was crucial to the performance of xenophilia that marked the

celebratory nation-building narrative of immigration dramatized at Pier 21. As Gartner put it, implicitly linking this xenophilia with the historical spectacle of the day, “Our nation owes its greatness to the diverse group of people who came through Pier 21, therefore it is fitting that Pier 21 open its doors on the nation’s birthday.”⁹⁵

The ceremony took on the less than carnivalesque tone of an official governmental ritual, with featured presentations by federal, provincial, and municipal officials. Throughout the speeches there was a continual if at times rather incongruous attempt to interpellate memory and affect into this conspicuously governmental project. As Senator Al Graham said of the one million ‘new Canadians’ that came through the pier, “We can hear their voices. We can feel their strengths. The walls behind us whisper” (Jeffrey and Duffy). Proclaiming the opening of the ‘permanent monument to immigrants’, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien delivered a live video-relayed national address in which he offered the following less than nuanced analysis of Canada’s settler colonial history: “Canada Day is important for the values that we share. We had first the natives who were here before the French and the English, and after that people came from all over the world to build this nation... Here in Canada we are all equal.”⁹⁶ This ‘pithy’ historical summary, rather stunning in its simplification, set the tone for the official work of active forgetting enacted throughout the memorialization. The complexities of settler colonial power relations and immigrant legacies were repeatedly flattened into a cheerful liberal framework of formal equality.

Several other vignettes capture the repetitive performance of xenophilic nationalism throughout the opening day spectacle. At the peak of the ceremony, a specially commissioned Pier 21 musical anthem was performed by folksinger and composer Lennie Gallant, along with a cross-Canadian entourage of folksingers. The songs refrain proclaimed, “Oh Canada ... a new life

⁹⁵ Hannah Gartner. Address. Pier 21 Opening Ceremonies, Halifax. 1 July 1999.

⁹⁶ Jean Chrétien. Address. Pier 21 Opening Ceremonies, Halifax. 1 July 1999.

has begun, when we first set foot, on Pier 21.”⁹⁷ In a similar narrative vein, a poem entitled “Ode to Pier 21” was also performed by the nephew of Pier 21’s founding president. The song and the poem established the celebratory parameters of the affective expression solicited throughout the day. Further heightening these affective parameters, Pier 21 President Ruth Goldbloom pronounced that, “as one of the greatest symbols of Canada’s national heritage, Pier 21 is a tribute to immigrants, a living icon in the hearts and minds of Canadians, the heartbeat and pulse that makes up Canada.”⁹⁸

The ceremony was closed with the ceremonial placing of puzzle pieces over images of Pier 21 immigrants so as to complete a jigsaw Maple Leaf flag (see Fig. 18). The completion of the flag constituted a fairly literal-minded display of the founding multicultural myth of the Canadian mosaic,⁹⁹ symbolically confirming the integration of immigrants into the national fabric and recognizing their contribution to the project of nation-building. In case the message of national unity underpinning the mosaic metaphor was missed by anyone, Gartner was there to drive it home: “As the pieces of our puzzle show, we are one Canada. It doesn’t matter where you are from, we are one people. Pier 21 is a testament to this. Canada’s front-door is now officially open.” This belies the extent to which the fabric of Canadian unity relies on a dual forgetting, both the forgetting of Canada’s settler colonial legacy and the forgetting of immigrant pasts as a condition of absorption into the Canadian unity mosaic. In this sense, the ceremonial covering up of the immigrant photographs in the mosaic by the missing pieces of the Canadian flag is a telling gesture after all. As one news reporter put it, “many of the same people who came through this shed... [are] back to remember and to celebrate. Only this time they... come through Pier 21 not as immigrants but as Canadians” (Graham). Completing this circuit of historical spectacle in

⁹⁷ Lennie Gallant, Michelle Campagne, Connie Kaldor, and James Keilahan. Pier 21. Musical Performance. Pier 21 Opening Ceremonies, Halifax. 1 July 1999.

⁹⁸ Ruth Goldbloom. Address. Pier 21 Opening Ceremonies, Halifax. 1 July 1999.

⁹⁹ The notion of the Canadian mosaic is also set up as a contrast the American melting pot. A Toronto Star editorial on Pier 21 editorial was quick to point this out, noting that “Canadian immigrant identification (over)

“honouring the history and future of immigration” (Gartner), a citizenship ceremony was later held for fifty new Canadians who swore allegiance to the Queen of England, something that was given high visibility in media coverage that accentuated their largely non-European provenance from over 22 countries such as Egypt, Libya, Mozambique, India, and Uganda.¹⁰⁰

Yet the central moment of spectacle captured in media coverage of the Pier 21 opening happened in the prelude to the official ceremony, when an early morning on-ship reenactment took place performed by 160 former war brides reliving their arrival at the pier. The ceremonial landing of the HMCS Preserver (provided by the navy) allowed the war bride reunion contingent to recreate the 1945-1947 arrival of 48,000 war brides from the British Isles and Northern Europe. Also continually emphasized throughout the ceremony and media coverage were the 22,000 children that the war brides brought with them, completing the sexualized spectacle of preferred female emigration. The apples of the imperial eye, the ceremonial brides were escorted ashore by young men dressed in wartime uniforms and paraded into the opening ceremony where they were accorded privileged seating and tributes throughout the ceremony.

In this way, the war bride performance rearticulated the sexualized resonances of historical spectacle in this classic settler colonial fusion of preferred female emigration with maternity. The war bride spectacle constituted one of the few sites where the settler colonial legacy of Pier 21 could be openly recapitulated and transparently manifested through the liberal multicultural rhetoric so determined to mask it. It is significant that this settler colonial legacy was explicitly reactivated through its gendered and sexualized contours. Once again, the colonial resonances of empire settlement and the peopling of the nation audibly reverberated with the tune of the Old Girls singing “Roll Out the Barrel” just prior to the ceremony. However, if the imperial overtones of the war bride’s arrival lent itself nicely to the process of spectacularization of one of

with Canada is far more subtle and sophisticated” than the “overt and exuberant” American immigrants (Siddiqui, *Wave*).

the final episodes of mass preferred female emigration, little if any contextualization was furnished either in the media or the exhibit of the still restrictive post-war immigration bureaucracy's preferential treatment reserved for their arrival. This included the establishment of special wives processing bureaus that came to be known as "Operation Daddy", in a glorious convergence of the gendered and familial terms of empire (McClintock). Yet the high romantic tone of national love¹⁰¹ was happily redeployed to naturalize the preferred (British and Northern European) female terms of their emigration for the purposes of immigration spectacle.

As a researcher, perhaps the most fascinating component of the Pier 21 spectacle that I experienced was the active participation of approximately 6,000 people in the opening day ceremonies. Many were (less eminent) Pier 21 'alumni' or relatives of those who arrived at Pier 21. It was among these participants that the operation of the Pier 21 spectacle was most interesting and effective, where the active interpellation of affect, memory, and ritualized testimony into the national narrative proved to be most complex, contradictory, and potent. Such families as the Leegwater's of Pictou County actively participated in the multiply referential layers of immigration spectacle. Having donated the suitcases with which they arrived at Pier 21 to the exhibit display case, the Leegwater's posed for the media as they watched a National Film Board film of their 1952 arrival and immigration processing (Mail-Star). Some were more hesitant and uncomfortable with the media attention, others strongly played into the media spectacle as journalists scrambled to find Pier 21 immigrants to rehearse the stories of their passages and arrival to Canada. As this was only one layer in the larger interpellation of immigrant testimony at Pier 21, which included the oral history component of the exhibition/archives and the "Calling All Memories" project (see 3.5), the role of the national media in the Pier 21 spectacle bears further consideration.

¹⁰⁰ After the ceremony, a series of performances by various cultural groups took place in the typical style of Canadian multicultural heritage rituals, headed by Will Millar of the Irish Rovers.

3.3.3 Pier 21 Media Spectacle

The media coverage that accompanied the Pier 21 opening ceremonies became a crucial component of the immigration spectacle, popularly diffusing this promotional rendition of Pier 21 nationally and even internationally. The extensive local, national, and international media coverage of the Pier 21 opening ceremony had an official governmental component: a strategic and “innovative” broadcast partnership was struck between Pier 21 and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) to “provide a living testament to Canada’s immigrants.” This exclusive broadcast partnership was explicitly framed in terms of the mandated role of the CBC in national promotion and display. According to CBC Vice-President Jim Byrd, “CBC Television’s mandate is to tell the stories of Canada and Canadians. This partnership offers a unique opportunity to tell the personal stories of immigrant Canadians, and to share an important part of Canadian history and the Canadian experience with our viewers across the country.”¹⁰² The terms of national spectacle are boldly pronounced here by Byrd. On the other side of the partnership, the redoubtable Pier 21 President Ruth Goldbloom, noted that, “the Pier 21 Center could simply not tell the stories of immigrant Canadians without the vital contribution of CBC Television. As a country, we are the sum of our individual experiences and having Canada’s national public broadcaster as our exclusive broadcast partner ensures that these stories are heard by the widest possible audience.”¹⁰³ The broadcast announcement went on to highlight the prominent Pier 21 alumni amongst the CBC ranks, from Luba Goy to Al Waxman, and, of course, ‘child of the Pier’ turned broadcast doyenne, Hana Gartner. The avid participation of the CBC in this national mediatisation of the Pier 21 immigrant narrative recalls the governmental legacy of immigration spectacle rooted in early immigration promotion.

¹⁰¹ This, of course, also masked many stories of mistreatment, abandonment and abuse among the lived experiences of war brides.

¹⁰² “CBC Television and the Pier 21 Society Form Strategic Partnership to Provide A Living Testament to Canada’s Immigrants.” *Pier 21*. Ed. Erez Segal. June 21, 2000. Pier 21 Society. June 26, 2000. <<http://www.pier21.ns.ca/cbc-pier21-release.html>>.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

The partnership resulted in several co-productions that were broadcast in concert with the opening ceremonies. This included “Pier 21: Welcome Home to Canada”, an hour long program hosted by Gartner on Canada Day, and a two-hour ‘celebration of Canada’s immigrants’ on CBC Radio entitled “Through an Immigrant’s Eyes,” hosted by former Irish Rover Will Millar. Live coverage of the official opening ceremony of Pier 21 was broadcast by Newsworld as part of the Canada Day programming, and extensive coverage was also provided on nightly national newscasts. Finally, the CBC “film[ed...] immigrants in every part of Canada telling their stories, in their own words, of coming into this country to Pier 21” to become part of the center’s exhibition, archives and oral history collection.

In terms of other media coverage beyond the official broadcast partnership, the Pier 21 opening was prominently featured in all national mainstream media, as well as receiving a degree of international coverage. While space does not allow any detailed media analysis, a general pattern and discourse emerged in the national media coverage. This generalized media discourse typically drew its narrative and buzzwords directly from the Pier 21 press releases and promotional materials. In general, the promotional narrative of Pier 21 circulated throughout the wider media coverage of the opening. The standard format for most of the mainstream media coverage drew heavily on Pier 21 promotional rhetoric in combination with the testimony of local immigrants who came through P21. Historical spectacle permeated the media, as evidenced in such headlines as “A Pier Into the Past” (directly reiterating the Pier 21 slogan, Jeffrey), “History Key in Holiday Celebration” (Halifax Mail-Star), and “Where History’s Soul Remembers” (Toughill). In this sense, the widespread circulation of this promotional discourse throughout the mainstream broadcast and print media constituted an important extension of the Pier 21 immigration spectacle.

One of the few articles to circulate widely in the national media coverage of Pier 21 that even alluded to the thorny question of Canada’s exclusionary history reveals how the implications of that history tend to be managed and contained. This classic performance of immigrant

gratitude played a central role in Pier 21's production of the desirable immigrant. Ontario Court of Appeal Justice Rosalie Abella delivered a speech at the inaugural dinner of the Pier 21 opening which was reprinted and widely cited in the ceremony and the media, particularly with respect to the emotional nature of the speech that drew tears around the room. Abella arrived at Pier 21 as a four-year old Jewish D.P. (displaced person) in 1950, her family having attempted to get into Canada for several years. Her parents were survivors of the Treblinka concentration camp, where her father had lost his two-year old son and entire family. Although he had worked as a lawyer for displaced persons in Germany, as an immigrant, her father was barred from practicing law in Canada. These tales of persecution and exclusion constituted the backdrop to Abella's immigrant paean, as she recounted the significance of Pier 21:

The story of Canada is the story of immigrants, and Pier 21 is their proud celebratory symbol... Every immigrant who landed at Pier 21 has two stories – the story they came from and the story they started when they landed in Canada... There was one thought attached to every immigrant who set foot here: gratitude. This country is full of tenaciously grateful immigrants and their descendants who bloomed in Canada's field of opportunities... This triumvirate of opportunity, generosity, and idealism is what Pier 21 stands for - Canada's best self. It is *the Canada that let us in*, the Canada that took one generation's European horror story and turned it into another generation's Canadian fairytale. (emphasis added)

The fairytale alludes to Abella's determination and triumph, upon learning of her father's exclusion from the bar, in becoming, not only a lawyer, but an Ontario Court of Appeal Justice. In this way, historical exclusions become exonerated by the reproductive vindication of the next generation, while the structural barriers that remain in place or are mobilized against other would-be immigrants go unspoken and unquestioned.

Also unspoken in this story's circulation in the media, is the fact that, a few years prior to Abella's arrival in 1950, her family was likely unable to enter due to Canada's singularly anti-semitic immigration policy. Under Director of Immigration Frederick Blair, it was designed to keep out all undesirables (basically any non-British or white American), particularly Jewish peoples at the height of the explosive refugee crisis and mass Jewish extermination campaign that

precipitated World War II. Interestingly enough, this exclusionary history is amply documented by Irving Abella, Rosalie Abella's husband (!), and Harold Troper. In None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948, Irving Abella and Troper assert:

What Canadian History books do not mention, and few Canadians talk about, because they don't know, or worse don't care, is that of all the nations in the Western world... theirs has arguably the worst record for providing sanctuary to European Jewry. Thus, although Canada is seen today as a land of immigrants, it was in fact only selectively so. For most of its history Canada has had a restrictionist immigration policy and, from the outset, an immigration policy with unabashed ethnic and racial priorities.
(x)

Abella and Troper not only point to the racial and ethnic selectivity of Canadian immigration practices (including the period of Rosalie Abella's passage through Pier 21), they also emphasize the regulated forgetting and silence that constitute the practice of Canadian history and Canada's promotional self-image.

Much of the Pier 21 spectacle as it has thus far been staged continues to be structured by this mode of regulated forgetting. Indeed, its promotional appeal and celebratory imperative demand such silences. When facets and fragments of Canada's exclusionary history do surface, they tend to be contained within a rags-to-riches narrative of progress and triumph against the odds. Such methods of containment and management strongly permeate the discursive strategies of Pier 21. Tales of immigrant hardship and the very real persecution recounted in stories such as Abella's are emblemized. They are continually emphasized and mobilized as a means to give the Pier 21 story affective force in order to serve the melodramatic structure of immigration spectacle.

However, these potentially disruptive moments are contained within the celebratory narrative of Pier 21 by being ultimately transformed into nationalist vehicles. They are fashioned into progress narratives of freedom and fairytales that serves to deny and obscure the implications

and continued operation of such exclusionary social forces to the present day.¹⁰⁴ The stories of prominent and successful immigrants are promoted and spectacularized as emblematic of the immigrant experience and the glory of Canada as a nation – they become contemporary iconic renditions of the desirable immigrant.¹⁰⁵ Their life narratives are interpellated into the strictures of this promotional spectacle, just as personal and subjective experiences are selectively incorporated into the larger institutional and national project of memorialization. In this sense, the stories of prominent immigrant Canadians (in the most governmental ‘CBC-ish’ sense of the word) are taken up to construct what ultimately becomes a *class* narrative. In the historical spectacle of Pier 21, the individual progress narrative of immigrant class achievement becomes a microcosm for the institutional progress narrative of the nation. In this highly selective spectacle of the ‘desirable’ immigrant, the exclusionary social barriers erected through Canada’s settler colonial legacy only appear as the dramatic backdrop for the individual immigrant’s determination and ultimate class triumph.

Ironically, one of the few pieces of “mainstream” media coverage to offer a more critical and less celebratory assessment of the Pier 21 opening, to begin to take seriously the continued legacy of exclusionary practices in Canadian immigration, surfaced outside the national press in a *New York Times* article.¹⁰⁶ The headline points out the selectivity at work in the promotion of desirable immigrants and the celebratory national display of Pier 21: “Canada Celebrates Immigrants, but Which Ones?” Adopting an unapologetically condescending tone, Anthony

¹⁰⁴ For instance, one segment in the CBC Gartner special-hosted “Welcome Home to Canada” does address the racialized past of Canadian immigration through the stories of Gim Wong and the Uppal brothers, second generation Chinese and Indo-Canadian men respectively. In particular, Gim Wong’s testimony recounting racial harassment in his youth is one of the few instances where so much of what is suppressed in the Pier 21 narrative actually breaks through the surface of spectacle in a very poignant way. Yet the implications of these stories are contained in two ways: by stressing the successes and achievements of these men, and by locating these stories in the distant (pre-World War Two) past. Similarly, one *Toronto Star* article also explicitly addresses the racialized history of immigration policy, only to firmly distance it in the era prior to the policy reform of the 1960s (Schiller).

¹⁰⁵ This is not to dismiss the subjective sense of achievement and overcoming of immigrants such as Abella, nor to seek to minimize the social barriers they may have surmounted by attributing some sense of false consciousness to their life histories.

DePalma focuses on the weak and confused character of Canadian nationalism in contrast to its more “boisterous and noisy neighbors to the south.” He goes on to claim,

National birthdays inevitably invite reflection on a nation’s character..[which] can be a squirmy subject for Canadians, who may not be sure what their vast land is but who are certain of what it is not – the United States.

The article mentions Canadian awkwardness and restraint in nationalist celebration, insecurity regarding the possible replacement of the weak Canadian dollar by the American ‘buck’, and the ironic performance of the American classic “This Land Is Your Land” at the opening ceremonies. Framing Pier 21 as Canada’s Ellis Island, the author nonetheless finds that “it is no surprise ... Canadians would devote so much attention to a squat ugly pier in Halifax’s bay that this morning was officially designated the soul of the good land.”

However, DePalma goes on to air criticisms and contextualize popular anti-immigrant attitudes that were rarely mentioned in the national press. Noting that only 20 percent of today’s immigrants originate from Europe (as opposed to 75 percent in the Pier 21 days), he cites sociologist Jeffery Reitz’s contention that rising intolerance towards immigrants to Canada is due to the changing racial composition of those who immigrate. He also cites public criticism of the Pier 21 project with respect to racial questions and the selective focus on an era of predominantly European immigration to the exclusion of contemporary non-European immigration. According to DePalma, “Pier 21’s only concession to the critics is the double row of mostly third-world flags hanging above a lecture hall to reflect some of the countries from which immigrants are coming.”

In this way, it was only in the context of nationalist rivalry that the absences and regulated forgetting at work in the Pier 21 spectacle surfaced within the mainstream media. Ironically enough, the New York Times article closes with a quote from Ugandan immigrant Herman Ssebassaza. Having been sworn in at the Pier 21 opening citizenship ceremony,

¹⁰⁶ An article that also ran in the International Herald Tribune.

Ssebassaza proclaimed that “Canadians are not flag wavers. I just wish Canadians would market themselves a bit more. Canada has so much to offer.” Such a strategic citation tellingly betrays the agenda of the Pier 21 spectacle, just as it speaks to the conditions of nationalist affiliation that structure the visibility and articulation of desirable immigrants in immigration spectacle. Interestingly enough, the citation of Ssebassaza here strongly echoes the agenda of early immigration promotion (elaborated in Chapter 2). Canadian immigration spectacle has always been centrally concerned with the marketing and promotion of the nation.

3.4 Pier 21 as Place

The official practice of memorialization as spectacle is an institutional project of reconstructing place. Here I invoke Massey’s critique of the traditional notion of ‘place’ as a fixed and enclosed, internally bounded entity (53). Massey reformulates ‘place’ to refer to the provisional convergence and intersection of social relations in a particular material location (63). Memorialization involves the delineation of a physical place or monument as a repository for a particular practice of memory. This social practice links material markers with practices of affective remembrance (such as testimony or pilgrimages) for the purposes of a specific institutional/national project. It redefines and designates the memorialized site as a new *place* – a new place that channels particular social and cultural meanings or modes of historical remembrance through the deployment of historical spectacle.

In this section, I frame the reconstitution of Pier 21 as a particular kind of place through the convergence of specific institutional/social determinations and subjective agencies. As I have suggested, the spectacular practice of memorialization mediates between the institutional and the subjective, and between national history and personal memory. In order to do so, the Pier 21 memorialization employs several discursive and material strategies in its rearticulation of place. During the opening spectacle, Pier 21 was repositioned and spectacularized through several convergent markers of the nation: as the site of the national soul, of national genealogy, as a site

of local economic regeneration, as a shrine and site of pilgrimage, and, of course, a national borderzone (both material and identitarian).

The timing of the re-creation of Pier 21, like Ellis Island in 1990, as a “national gateway” speaks to a strategic construction of place. By proclaiming it “Canada’s National Historic Soul”, the Pier 21 Society clearly sought to reposition Pier 21 as the repository of a national immigration narrative centrally implicated in the building of national history. Yet as an institutional project of memorialization, the “placehood” of Pier 21 has been repositioned not only as a site of memory but of active forgetting as well. On the one hand, this insistence on the centrality of immigration to the nation is significant, as the standard marginalization (and forgetting) of the immigrant genealogy of the nation more commonly serves to naturalize and obscure its colonial legacy and social relations. Yet this spectacularized recentring of immigration in the service of national history is enacted within institutional contours that demand its severance from a larger settler colonial context.

Several layers of social relations converge within the Pier 21 spectacle as a rearticulation of place. The memorialization of Pier 21 clearly points to specific national imperatives in its practice of place. Like the Ellis Island museum (which states that 40% of Americans can trace their roots through its gates), Pier 21 legitimates its national memorial status through the promotional claim that 1 in 5 Canadians can trace their lineage through the Pier. Indeed both museums have interactive genealogy database projects in the works. The resource center at Pier 21 is building a database of ship passenger lists as well as acquiring some of the National Archives of Canada’s immigration archives that contain records of immigrant interviews. In a very interesting way, the Pier 21 project is in the process of reconstructing itself as a site of national genealogy for the settler nation.

In addition to the national agenda that I am primarily focussed on, there is also a local economic agenda at work in the creation of a tourist attraction within the context of a larger redevelopment and “upgrading” of the Halifax waterfront over the last five years. Halifax Mayor

Walter Fitzgerald noted at the opening ceremonies that the Pier 21 project was “the cornerstone of the revitalization of the city’s south end” (Mail-Star). This is effected in the context of a regional Maritime economy that has been severely decimated through the decline and closure of traditional industries such as mining and fishing. The federal government has responded to the economic decline in part by funding and promoting heritage and tourist industries.¹⁰⁷ The rearticulation of place at work in Pier 21 thereby plays into an economic progress narrative of “upscaling” and gentrification.¹⁰⁸

Another significant articulation of place that the memorialization of Pier 21 has produced is the site of pilgrimage, a “national shrine” as described by much of the media (Siddiqui; Toughill). Pilgrimages invoke both a physical and affective journey that implicitly link the memorialized place with a practice of affective remembrance. Pier 21’s promotional literature explicitly invokes this double articulation of an affective journey to physical place on another level, promising to “trace the physical and emotional journey of immigrants and refugees” (Pier Into Our Past). This mapping of the physical onto the affective is invoked both in Pier 21’s spectacle of the immigrant journey and in the reverse practice of pilgrimage by Canadianized immigrants. In this sense, Pier 21 responds to the federal government imperative of constructing places of national pilgrimage as a unifying practice.¹⁰⁹ As an institutional as well as a physical and affective practice of place, the pilgrimage to Pier 21 is ultimately mobilized to interpellate (grateful) immigrants as Canadian citizens through historical spectacle. The role of spectacle in establishing the site of pilgrimage as a place of national identity formation is addressed (in

¹⁰⁷ One example is the fortress at Louisbourg, which the federal government funded as a tourist attraction and major site of historical spectacle in response to the ailing Cape Breton economy. Prior to its memorialization, Pier 21 had been used as an artistic venue by local artists for exhibition and studio space, as well as a refuge for squatters and the homeless (see Peck). Yet promotional literature continually calls Pier 21 as a former abandoned shed.

¹⁰⁸ Indeed, in a review of “The Shed Show”, a sculpture exhibition that took place in Shed 22 of Pier 21 from June-July 17, 1993, Robin Peck notes that “the building has so far evaded redevelopment due to its historic use as a center for processing immigrants (primarily from Eastern Europe)” (25).

¹⁰⁹ Particularly at a site that could be so divisive in questions of national identity, a federalist project of national unity seeks to manage and contain those divisions through immigration spectacle.

somewhat differently formulated terms) in Laurent Berlant's discussion of the American pilgrimage to Washington:

If the pilgrimage to Washington is already all about the activity of national pedagogy, the production of national culture, and the constitution of competent citizens, the specific role of mass mediation in the dissemination of national knowledges redoubles and loops around the formation of national identity....pilgrimage-to-Washington narratives have foregrounded the problem, place, and promise of different media in the business of making nationality and making it personal to citizens. (30-31)

One means of 'making it personal to citizens', of linking the institutional to the subjective in matters of national identity, resides in the spectacularization of the "First Steps" on Pier 21 (as the first steps in the nation). The Pier 21 theme song is only one of many instances in which the first steps are (melo)dramatized: "O Canada ... A new world has begun / When we first set foot / On Pier 21". In this sense, Pier 21's articulation of place crucially implies a practice of *borders*, defining and linking the physical borders of the nation to the liminal spaces of national identity. The first steps in the new land are mythologized and retraced as a threshold moment, a crossing of borders that signals a ritual of national becoming. The romanticization and mythification of this transformational moment is effected through the testimonial focus on sensation and memory. The affective component of this construction of place is continually referenced, not only through explicit appeal to national memory, but to a vocabulary of senses, tastes, smells, and apparitions.

The threshold moment of border-crossing, of the first steps in the new world, is also a threshold moment between memory and history. One is positioned at the apex of the Janus-face of history, one face looking forward, and one back. As Abella put it, "Every immigrant who landed at Pier 21 has two stories – the story they came from and the story they started when they landed in Canada". As a crucial moment in the Pier 21 spectacle, it is inscribed as *the* liminal moment between past and future, between memory of the past and imagination of the future. Ultimately, it is a key focus of immigration spectacle because it becomes staged as the moment of arrival into nationhood.

If there is one critical function that Pier 21 serves as a particular construction of place, it is in this image of the national gateway as both a marker of physical geography and national identity. The gateway and border as a place of passage is constantly linked to the iconic moment of assimilation and national becoming (presuming, as the Pier 21 spectacle constantly does, that one is allowed through). Pier 21 becomes a gateway to a federalist construction of national identity and citizenship. As the title of a Macleans' Magazine column by Peter C. Newman announces, "Pier 21: the place where we became Canadians." This is effected through the continual focus on the physical passage through Pier 21, quite fleeting and difficult for many, as a romanticized moment of passage from an old life to a new life, from old world to new.

Based on the strictures of celebratory nationalism, the narrative of this passage becomes an iconic one, and perhaps most revealingly, a narrative of national progress, of leaving behind old world oppression, for a new, better life.¹¹⁰ Such a progress narrative belies the exclusions and suppressions that establish this as *the* iconic immigrant narrative. By invoking dreams and gratitude as the predominant affective responses, the progress narrative at work is clearly a matter of class progress, in the classic mold of the American Dream. Furthermore, recalling McClintock's formulation of panoptical time, the repositioning of Pier 21 as the national gateway to a better life relies on the colonial legacy of historical spectacle. Panoptical time effects a spatialization of time through the imperial equivalence of geographic space and historical progress. Pier 21's implicit scheme of immigrant passage from an oppressive old world to a civilized and rational new world clearly follows the spatial trajectory of historical progress that constitutes historical spectacle for McClintock. In each of the various strategies of place that the Pier 21 spectacle employs, the distinctly settler colonial resonances of this celebration of the "new world" ring unabashedly through.

3.5 Immigrant Gratitude, Immigrant Trauma: National Feeling and Forgetting

In the Pier 21 spectacle, the insistence on *celebration* as a means of spectacularizing Canadian immigration history belies an institutionalized forgetting of Canada's settler colonial legacy. This celebratory mode is closely tied to the processes of commodification that have long permeated Canadian immigration spectacle. The rigid bounds of celebratory nationalism necessarily require a progress narrative of immigration - both to a new life and nation - within which all affective expression must be contained. Central to the work of forgetting that such a progress narrative demands is the question of immigrant *trauma* and its relation to immigration spectacle. As a classic performance of nationalist xenophilia, the celebratory structure of feeling at Pier 21 required the elision of immigrant trauma and the settler colonial roots of Canadian immigration.

As I have been suggesting, memorialization as a strategy of spectacularizing the nation seeks to link the institutional and the subjective. It attempts to establish "institutional ways of using images and stories to legitimize powers and policies as well as to produce cultural values, historical memories, desires, and ethical ideals" (Morris 22). At Pier 21, celebratory nationalism effects an overlap between the institutional project of forgetting and the subjective traumatic silences of immigrants.

In this way, the Pier 21 spectacle naturalizes the settler colonial framework that locates national origins in colonization and perpetuates the social categories of colonial settlement. This imagining of national history simultaneously naturalizes and 'forgets' the legacies of colonial social structures in the national project of immigration. It is condensed in the euphemistic locution, often repeated at Pier 21, of "a nation of immigrants" (sometimes accompanied by the awkward qualification, "except for native peoples"). As such, the matter of colonial violence and displacement visited upon indigenous peoples is not seen as part of Canada's "profoundly

¹¹⁰ This is not to deny that this may have been the experience for some or even many, nor to minimize the *(over)*

emotional immigration experience". The absence of any consideration of the impacts of "immigration" on indigenous peoples marks the basis of this active forgetting structuring the national immigration narrative. The profound erasure of this settler colonial legacy and the dominant British and French settlement projects further renders the question of racialized and ethnic hierarchies in immigration history absent or minimally addressed in the Pier 21 narrative.

A key strategy of Pier 21 is the interpellation of complex personal memory and affect into this sanitized national history. I want to consider some of the implications of this centrality of affect at Pier 21, of the institutional spectacularization of this intense emotionality. Several thousand people undertook pilgrimages to the opening day ceremonies to relive and mark some of the less recognized aspects of their personal histories. The air was thick with affect and tears, emotional displays and testimonies. This was undeniably the most powerful aspect of the event for many - myself included - whose own family histories were tied to Pier 21. Songs and performances at Pier 21 continually referenced this affective component. For instance, former Irish Rover Will Roger's rendition of "My Grandfather's Immigrant Eyes" evoked the renowned image of Ellis Island as the Island of Tears. In fact, such public recognition of personal immigrant histories does mark a departure from the amnesia and assimilation that are too often the means by which Canadian national identity is mediated and white-washed.

The Pier 21 opening ceremonies, exhibition, and promotional discourse were rife with dramatizations of this affect. A typical case among myriad examples: "If these walls could speak, they would tell powerful stories of fear and anticipation, tears and laughter, of those seeking a new life and the promise of a future in this country" (*Passages*). Here, this spectacularized affectivity is linked not only to a national progress narrative, but to the historical spectacle of the imagined future. Thus, while it might at first seem something of a contradiction that this heightened melodrama of emotion would be evoked in the context of the celebratory nationalism

emotional resonance it carries for those to whom it applies.

of Pier 21, it is highly significant that this public display of immigrant affectivity is resolved through a linkage with melodramatic national feeling. Through the celebratory structure of spectacle, the traumatic undertones of such affective expression are transformed into the melodrama and sentimentality of national feeling and individual struggle.

In this way, immigrant dreams, memory, and senses become microcosms of the nation. Immigrant affectivity is strategically mobilized in a spectacle of national(ist) feeling. This explains the highly sentimentalized narrative that permeates Pier 21's promotional discourse, as well as the dramatization of the first steps in the New World. As Pier 21 publicity puts it, "Every immigrant must dream boldly, risk, and dare to create a new life. To achieve greatness, a nation must be equally bold in its dreams. Now, with Pier 21, a new dream has been realized.... a testament to Canada's profoundly emotional immigration experience". In this sense, the memorialization of Pier 21 facilitates "sentimental experiences of the nation through contact with its monumental media" (Berlant 43) by articulating a necessary linkage between immigrant and nationalist affectivity.

This spectacularized affect also circulated widely in the media component of the Pier 21 spectacle. "Canada's newest museum is a place where ghosts come alive and memories whisper out loud, a place of pain and nightmares and hope beyond measure. They call it the National Historic Soul" (Toughill). National melodrama was the privileged genre for this popular memorialization of the settler nation in the media. As such, immigration spectacle is clearly more than a matter of visual display or passive consumption, for it invokes personal affect as a crucial strategy of its *mise-en-scène*.

This clarifies the privileged place accorded to oral history in the exhibit, the media coverage, and the Museum archives. Initiated as a joint project between the CBC and Pier 21, the process of national interpellation was made explicit in the promotional calls sent out for the videotaped oral history archives, encouraging participants to "start your national historic soul-searching" by heeding the summons of "Calling all Memories". The performance of testimony is

explicitly solicited as part of an institutional project of national soul-searching, an institutionalization of personal memory into national history.

Yet, it is critical to question the assumed transparency with which this public performance of testimony is institutionally framed. How are memory and affect, with their potentially destabilizing or subversive effects, being mobilized and contained within the strictures of national history?¹¹¹ What kinds of silences are enacted in a practice of memorialization that seeks to incorporate immigrant testimony and affectivity into a sentimentalized national celebration?

In order to pursue such matters, the question of immigrant *trauma* and its place in celebratory immigration spectacle becomes crucial. Trauma tends to inform subjective processes of migration, even for ostensibly “Canadianized” immigrants. The possible sources of immigrant trauma are manifold, ranging from conditions of exit from the home country, the dislocation and displacement of migration, to the racialized and ethnic legacy of settler colonial social structures in Canada. Indeed, the contentious question of immigrant acculturation is intrinsically couched in the naturalized framework of the two ‘founding’ settler cultures. And as Oliva Espin argues,

... acculturation is not always a simple solution to the traumas of immigration, because it itself can become a traumatic process... Immigrants themselves are seldom able to understand the magnitude of their loss. They and others may miss the extent of the trauma behind a façade of successful adaptation. (21, 31)

In many immigrant testimonies, some of the discursive limits of the more traumatic modes of affective expression are manifested in a certain quality of ineffability, of the unspeakability or inexpressibility of certain painful aspects of the past. Cathy Carruth has argued that the encounter

¹¹¹ Here, I am conscious of the delicacy and nuance with which such questions of affective expression need to be approached, and the hazards of a reductionistic rendering of immigration spectacle. I am sensitive to the complexity of this affect and the broad range of possible immigrant agencies, complicities, and resistances it carries. Yet I do not want to enter into full-scale reception analysis. Nor do I minimize the significance of many immigrants’ desires for pilgrimage, remembrance, and testimony, especially since most have only ever been subjected to an assimilationist model of national belonging that erases or minimizes those personal histories. Yet an important distinction can be drawn here between these subjective modes of testimony and affective expression, and how those subjective modes are being institutionally used, for it is the latter that I focus on here.

with trauma implies “a history that is no longer straightforwardly referential (i.e. no longer based on simple modes of experience and reference)”. This is due to the “complex ways that knowing and *not knowing* are entangled in the language of trauma”. Traumatic testimony transmits something beyond “a (simple) reality that can be grasped in the words’ representation” (4, 112).

Given Carruth’s and Espin’s formulations regarding trauma and immigration, the oral histories of Pier 21 cannot simply be invoked in a transparent or straightforwardly referential way (as they are in the celebratory thrust of spectacle). As Pier 21 volunteer Marianne Echt Ferguson put it on the national news, “It’s emotional. I look at all these pictures and um, the various things. It gets to you somehow” (Graham). Echt Ferguson’s faltering and momentary lapse in speech is accompanied by a pained and haunted expression, an expression that she quickly appears to erase in an attempt to gain composure.¹¹² This ‘somehow-ness’, this affective ineffability, may in part be due to some of the inherently non-discursive components of memory and affect. Yet it also evokes the traumatic silences at work in many immigrant testimonies. In order to fully contextualize and complicate the transparency of immigrant testimonies, a certain attention to their silences and moments of ineffability as potentially traumatic spaces is needed.

Such attention and interpretive sensitivity is usurped by the celebratory impulse of the Pier 21 spectacle. Indeed, traumatic silences are often linked to the very settler colonial structures that immigration spectacle erases. In this way, a collusion is effected between the naturalization of settler colonial structures in contemporary immigration spectacle, the institutionalized forgetting at work in Pier 21’s immigration memorial, and the subjective silences of immigrant testimonies in the celebratory nationalism of Pier 21.

¹¹² In the oral testimonies presented in the Via Rail car at the close of the exhibition, Echt Ferguson does offer more extensive testimony on her personal history as a survivor of the Jewish holocaust. Most of Ferguson’s family perished in Nazi concentration camps after having been denied entry to Canada. Hers is one of the few Pier 21 archival testimonies to mention the explicit anti-semitism of immigration policy under Frederick Blair during the second World War.

Ultimately then, this form of immigration spectacle establishes a regulated mode of remembrance and affective expression structured by the dictates of compulsory celebration. Traumatic and painful immigrant histories are resolved through a progress narrative that recapitulates the glory of the Canadian nation. In the case of the “Pier 21 Alumni,” gratitude becomes the paradigmatic mode of traumatic resolution, the obligatory affective response to the xenophilic spectacle of desirable immigrants. As Rosalie Abella, the iconic Pier 21 Alumnus *par excellence*, put it, “these are the two stories that made me - one joyful and one painful – and which merge in the next generation into a mother’s irrevocable gratitude to a country which has made it possible for her children to have only one story – the joyful story, the Canadian story, the story that started at Pier 21.” In the context of Abella’s personal familial history as a Holocaust survivor, such a restriction of her family’s (unspoken) traumatic experiences to the pre-migration past might be understandable. Yet the larger schematization of immigrant narratives that Pier 21 effects between a painful oppressive past and a liberatory Canadian future obscures both the traumatic processes of acculturation and the ways that settler colonial structures continue to inflict traumatic experiences on racialized immigrants.

Such traumatic aspects of immigrant histories are typically naturalized and resolved through a reproductive progress narrative of intergenerational class achievement. In this sense, Abella’s speech follows Berlant’s schematization of national pilgrimage narratives: “In this mode of national narrative, stories of mass trauma like war or slavery are encoded in plots of familial inheritance, wherein citizen’s of the posttraumatic present are figured in a daughter’s or son’s coming to public terms with a generational past that defines her/him...” (32). In terms of traumatic immigrant histories however, the resolution of such familial inheritances are typically sought through the progress narrative of an anticipated and presumed upward class mobility of immigrant children. As such, Abella’s maternalistic stance is significant, insofar as it resonates with the implicit links between emigration and maternity evoked by the sexualised project of ‘peopling the nation’. This immigrant maternalism reinforces Abella’s performance of the ‘iconic

immigrant who helped build this nation and whose heirs contribute to the national future' (to paraphrase Honig).¹¹³

As such, the immigration spectacle of Pier 21 offers national allegiance, class progress, and celebratory nationalism as a means of traumatic resolution. The mechanisms of institutionalized forgetting that inform this selective celebration ensure the unspeakability of painful histories that might have less than celebratory implications for the nation. At the same time, the continued enactment of traumatic national structures remain buried in the erasure of the settler colonial legacy of immigration.

As a crucial site of forgetting, Pier 21's regulation of immigrant memory and affect is effected through the spectacle of the desirable immigrant. Ultimately, the continual rhetoric of gratitude, of dreams and new life, expressed by such iconic immigrants as Abella usurp the political silences and traumatic histories underlying such affective expression. Through the desirable immigrant, the suppression of traumatic immigrant memories is institutionally aligned to the official forgetting of systematic exclusions in national history. Celebratory nationalism, as well as the liberal discourse of multiculturalism, become the only frameworks in which immigrant memory and affect may be publicly expressed. The conditions of articulation of the desirable immigrant in immigration spectacle demand the espousal of a particular sort of immigrant nationalism, in which nationalist affiliations and class achievement are displayed as indicators of successful assimilation. Whatever vestiges of undesirability persist and whatever traumatic silences remain, they are suppressed through settler colonial forgetting and the lure of class mobility as the ultimate promise of national belonging (available only to a select few). At Pier 21, Rosalie Abella deftly performed and embodied the desirable immigrant that has always been at the center of Canadian immigration spectacle.

¹¹³ Indeed, news coverage emphasized the fact that both of Abella's sons are in law school (Toughill).

Conclusion

This thesis traces a trajectory from institutional imagination to the memorialization of the nation as two critical moments of Canadian immigration spectacle. I have chosen to focus on these xenophilic practices of immigration spectacle as a way to trace the continual restaging of settler colonial relations in the national construction of the 'desirable immigrant' (in conjunction with the two other modes of imagining nation). I want to close this trajectory with two idiosyncratic instances that constitute somewhat unusual twists on these two moments of immigration spectacle. Each one strangely resonates and plays on each of the main contexts of this thesis, and together they illustrate how fragments and remainders of immigration spectacle as a social practice of settler postcolonialism tend to pop up in some rather unlikely places. These two instances also capture the polarities of xenophilic and xenophobic practices of immigration spectacle. The links and permutations amongst the xenophilic forms of immigration spectacle I have taken up in this thesis and Canada's long-standing tradition of xenophobic immigration spectacle is an important matter that I leave open as a future question.

The first instance involves Glaswegian artist Lucy Skaer's provocative restaging of early Canadian immigration spectacle. As part of a larger artistic project and performance that took place in Glasgow in 1999, Skaer produced a contemporary piece of immigration promotion that interestingly echoes earlier forms. On one side of the flyer, a somewhat androgynous butch figure holds an atlas of the world overhead. On the flip side, Skaer promises an "Opportunity to Emigrate / Free Passage to Montreal," offering one free ticket by ship to "someone who wishes to permanently emigrate to Canada" (see Fig. 19). The flyer adroitly mimics the strategies and format of early twentieth century assisted passage schemes and transportation company promotions. The atlas recalls the mass distribution of atlases by the Canadian government throughout the British and Scottish educational system, a major publicity strategy of early immigration promotion. For a 'preferred' region of emigration where these precise forms of

Canadian promotion widely circulated ninety years earlier, Skaer's piece constitutes a striking and unmistakable trace of, as well as a deft play on, this early practice of immigration spectacle.

Another somewhat strange and more unsettling instance that I want to close with relates to a distinctly xenophobic form of immigration spectacle that unfolded during the summer of the Pier 21 celebratory opening. Throughout the summer of 1999, four run-down boats carrying almost 600 Fujian Chinese refugees (living under extremely hazardous conditions) landed on the shores of British Columbia. They instantly sparked a large-scale media spectacle and panic that followed every movement of the advancing boats, in terms that strongly recapitulated the long tradition of racial panics in western Canada around Asian immigration. Despite being the first such arrivals since 1987, when 174 Sikhs refugees landed by boat in Nova Scotia, the spectre of waves of "illegal" and undesirable immigrants invading the shores of Canada sparked a national frenzy accompanied by predictable calls for a clamp-down on illegal immigration and a tightening of immigration policy.¹¹⁴ Suggesting the scale of the immigration spectacle at work, the CBC described the advancing boats as an "an image seared into the minds of many Canadians" (Goble) that "brought the issue of immigration into the limelight" (Haggart).¹¹⁵

However, my interest for the purpose at hand is not so much in the larger media spectacle that accompanied the migrant landings,¹¹⁶ but a rather peculiar instance of immigration spectacle that followed upon them. Almost a year after the landing of the boats, the Port Alberni Reef Society purchased the vessels for one thousand dollars, steam-cleaned and chemically washed them (although the "stench lingers"), and opened them up as tourist attractions. This at a time when many of the boat's passengers remain in refugee detention under conditions severe enough to have sparked several riots, and when the majority of those detainees who have been processed

¹¹⁴ This is yet another instance of how immigration spectacle strongly impacts and influences immigration policy formation, particularly at a time when Canadian immigration policy is under review.

¹¹⁵ This was combined with the *a priori* presumption in much of the public debate that the refugee claimant's cases were illegitimate and should result in immediate deportation.

through the refugee hearings have been deported (to widespread public approval). The vessels, as the CBC put it, “have won something most of their passengers are still fighting for. A permanent home in Canada.” Charging admission to take a look at the boats, a guide seeks to recreate the experience for tourists and locals: “This is the living area. This is where the cooking was done. So picture them all around here, the ship is rolling, people are vomiting, there’s stench.” While some onlookers watch from the shore, too repulsed to actually board the boats, one visitor proclaims, “to actually come here, to actually feel it, to see it, to smell it, it’s a totally different experience” (Goble). While, in one sense, I don’t quite know what to say about this spontaneous, astonishing, and rather macabre restaging of the migrants’ journey, in another sense, it is completely comprehensible insofar as it perfectly recapitulates all of the terms of Canada’s long-standing tradition of immigration spectacle. It eerily shadows the exhibitionary practices and celebratory xenophilia of the previous summer’s east coast inauguration with a strange and xenophobic counterpoint to the spectacle of Pier 21.

In many ways, these two instances capture the larger trajectory of immigration spectacle that I have pursued throughout this thesis in their own idiosyncratic fashion. I have sought to illuminate some of the colonial traces of contemporary immigration spectacle at work in Pier 21 by revisiting early immigration promotion. Immigration spectacle institutionally stages and manages the boundaries of imagined community and memory in nation-building, enacting an ongoing movement between imagination and memorialization in the settler practice of peopling the nation. As a contemporary actualisation of early Canadian immigration spectacle, Pier 21 mounted a promotional spectacle to fulfill the peculiar incompleteness of the settler nation first problematized in early immigration promotion. Similarly, the forgetting and traumatic silences

¹¹⁶ Interestingly enough with respect to the spectacularization of the case, the trial of the Korean sailors accused of smuggling the Chinese migrants into Canada became the first in the history of British Columbia where television cameras were allowed into the courtroom (Milewski).

enacted in the memorialization of Pier 21 echo and recapitulate the strategic absences and forgetting of the settler colonial nation imagined in early immigration promotion.

What Pier 21 does for Canadians, then, is testament to the ongoing settler postcolonial trajectory of xenophilic immigration spectacle. From the imagined nation of immigration promotion to the memorialization of Pier 21, both of these moments are constituted through three central modes of immigration spectacle, each articulated with a unique inflection. From the practices of national display enacted in both the Mammoth Cheese and the lantern slides' screening of the nation, to the historical spectacle of Pier 21, the settler trajectory of each of these moments are crystallized in and structured through the iconic desirable immigrant. Though the social markers of desirability may shift and retract over time, the continuing settler colonial function of xenophilic immigration spectacle is to articulate the social contours of the desirable immigrant as a means of imagining and regulating the boundaries and borders of the nation.¹¹⁷

In this way, the impact of immigration spectacle on policy, or the extent to which policy is an expression of immigration spectacle (see Chapter 2), is also crystallized in the figure of the desirable immigrant. To cite one small instance from the current review that Canadian immigration policy is undergoing, a report issued by the Immigration Legislative Review Advisory Group entitled Not Just Numbers: A Canadian Framework for Future Immigration was released to widespread controversy in 1998.¹¹⁸ Adopting the dominant rhetoric of neo-liberal economic globalisation, the report advocated the strengthening of the economic criteria through which the desirable immigrant is now constructed in policy. The report's first stated objective is to "facilitate the entry, whether temporary or permanent, of those persons who will contribute to

¹¹⁷ In a sense, this is also a function of the selectivity of settler immigration policy. Non-settler (formerly colonial) nations with a permanent population base, defined along ostensibly homogenous national lines and outright exclusionary policies, are not invested in such careful and ongoing articulation of the desirable immigrant (though they do engage in wholesale xenophobic immigration spectacle).

¹¹⁸ Indeed, the very title of the report, Not Just Numbers, heralds a call for heightened selectivity in immigration policy.

Canada's prosperity and to the economic well-being of Canadians" (ILRAG).¹¹⁹ But it further recommended the expansion of those economic criteria to include, for one, an "official language requirement." Immigrants would be required to demonstrate their competence in French or English, at a time when approximately 41 per cent of Canada's immigrants speak neither language (Galt).¹²⁰ Arat-Koc echoes the vigorous critique mounted by many immigrant and community groups in arguing that the report is the product of anti-immigrant and racist sentiment, noting that it "...paints a rather specific picture of who a desirable immigrant would be. [...] [T]his picture is of a male immigrant from a traditional source country and/or somebody who may be able to make up for the 'inferiority' of his race or source country by a privileged class status" (emphasis added, Arat-Koc 18). The work of painting this specific picture of the desirable immigrant that becomes instituted in policy is the central domain of xenophilic immigration spectacle. As in the Pier 21 celebration, immigration spectacle seeks to constantly rearticulate and reassert the desirable iconic immigrant at the same time that it enacts the settler colonial structures of national forgetting that allow for its naturalization and institutionalization in policy.

I want to close by returning to this matter of institutionalized forgetting and exclusion in the celebratory memorialization of Pier 21. Given that Canada has never just opened its doors and let a nation walk in, as proclaimed in the xenophilic spectacle of Pier 21, what are the implications of this selective national memory? By historically locating the key narrative of immigration mythology in the past era of 1928-71 as the exhibit does, and by geographically locating Canada's national historic soul in Halifax, the historical spectacle of Pier 21 centers this

¹¹⁹ Interestingly enough, the report did recommend the expansion of the definition of family in Family Class immigration to include 'same-sex and common law relationships'. Many argue, however, that such a seemingly progressive expansion of the Family Class, when weighed against the added economic and sponsored dependency criteria imposed, effectively serves to close off Family Class immigration (apart from a small elite) (Arat-Koc, "NAC's Response" 21).

¹²⁰ While this particular recommendation generated enough outrage among immigrant and community groups that Citizenship and Immigration Minister Lucienne Robillard publicly distanced herself from the Review, Hyndman argues that many of its elements have been incorporated into the follow-up government report released in 1999, Building on a Strong Foundation for the Twenty-First Century: New Directions for Immigration and Refugee Policy (Hyndman 6).

narrative of the nation on white European immigration. At the same time, it masks the settler colonial structures, the systematic exclusions and internal hierarchies, which have rendered it so. This historical distancing strategy obscures the ongoing political legacies of contemporary immigration at the same time that it also distances its prior settler colonial history. By framing this period as a story of Canadian nation-building, of a “Pier Into Our Past” that shows the “future of Canada”, the racial legacies of immigration history are recapitulated in the imagining of the future nation.

Perhaps the starkest way to foreground the very questions that Pier 21 works to suppress is to contrast this so-called “front door” and gateway to the nation with what would by implication be its back door. A telling picture emerges when one sets Pier 21’s Sobeys Wall of Honour against its shadow counterpart on the West Coast: the Victoria Immigration building, one of the primary gateways of East and South Asian immigration.

At the entrance of Pier 21, the Sobeys Wall of Honour, like the American Immigrant Wall of Honour at Ellis Island, stands as a memorial vehicle for the inscription of personal histories into officially sanctioned national history. For \$200, individuals and families can have their names installed on the Wall of Honour at the entrance of Pier 21, answering the Pier 21 slogan “If these walls could talk” in a promotional register. The Sobeys Wall clearly draws on a classic strategy of memorialization and traumatic resolution most famously embodied in the Vietnam Memorial in Washington D.C. Writing about *In Country*, a film portraying a daughter’s pilgrimage to the Vietnam Memorial, Berlant dissects the project of national pedagogy implicit in this monumentalization of traumatic national history. She argues that “Contact with the monument means more than gaining deeper intimacy with the father’s remains... The monument makes the father’s life public... [through] the immortalizing impersonality of U.S. citizenship ...engraved in monumental time” (33). While the Sobeys Wall of Honour also effects a pedagogy of national belonging through the public interpellation of immigrants as citizens and

builders of national history, true to the xenophilic legacy of immigration spectacle, it does so through an unabashedly commodified mode of national display.

But which walls speak and which walls are silenced in the politics of national memorialization? In his 1996 independent video *Dirty Laundry*, Toronto-based videomaker Richard Fung raises provocative questions around this matter of buried histories and national forgetting, particularly as they pertain to the legacies of the Chinese Exclusion Act on the Chinese-Canadian community today. In a series of haunting vignettes, he reveals the words of Chinese immigrant detainees furtively written on the walls of the Victoria Immigration Building in the detainment cells, words recounting the mistreatment and racism they faced in seeking to enter one of Canada's other gateways where the doors were not so open. These secret inscriptions form a stark counterpoint to the official inscriptions of the Sobey's Wall of Honour and the location of Canada's National Historic Soul in the European rather than the primary Asian gateway.¹²¹ Most tellingly of all, in contrast to the memorialization of Pier 21, the Victoria Immigration Building was demolished in 1977, and its walls only speak through the remaining archival photographs and Fung's video.¹²² Yet, ultimately, these walls also speak volumes about the settler postcolonial politics of immigration spectacle.

¹²¹ A similar politics of memorialization vis-à-vis European and Asian immigration to the United States resulted in the establishment of the Angel Island Immigration Station as a monument to Asian immigration in San Francisco in the 1970s. The walls of the station, containing similar inscriptions of predominantly Chinese and Japanese detainees, remain standing and have been transcribed into books of poetry. A counter-politics of memorialization is clearly expressed on the Angel Island website, "In the 1980s, it was estimated that seventy-five percent of the Chinese and Japanese in California had roots in Angel Island. In light of this, the significance of the Angel Island Immigration Station to Asian American history cannot be overlooked. As a lesson in discrimination, immigration policy, and international politics, it ranks high as a chapter in history for all Americans to study. Just as Ellis Island has become a center for European immigration history, Angel Island should be a focus for Asian immigration history". Angel Island, however, is vastly underfunded relative to Ellis Island, and is the subject of a revitalisation campaign as it has fallen into disrepair. See Angel Island Immigration Foundation Station. Angel Island Foundation. July 15, 2000. <<http://www.aiisf.org/ai/index.html>>.

¹²² Fung notes that the archival photographs exist due to a historian who happened to learn of the demolition plans and documented the walls before they were demolished. Pier 21 was, in fact, the last standing immigration shed in Canada.

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List of Illustrations

Note: Due to matters of accessibility, cost, and ease of reproduction, some of the early immigration advertisements shown here are those of commercial transportation companies (such as CP Rail) rather than the government-produced advertisements (e.g. the lantern slides, Figures 12-15) that are the focus of this thesis. While I am careful to draw a distinction between them, certain key themes circulated amongst the two kinds of promotion (commercial and government) that are reproduced here. However, it is important to call attention to the image sources and note that differences do exist.

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Source: National Archives of Canada, C109470 (CAT-EMB-EMB 055)
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Photographer: H.N. Topley
Source: National Archives of Canada, PA-011543

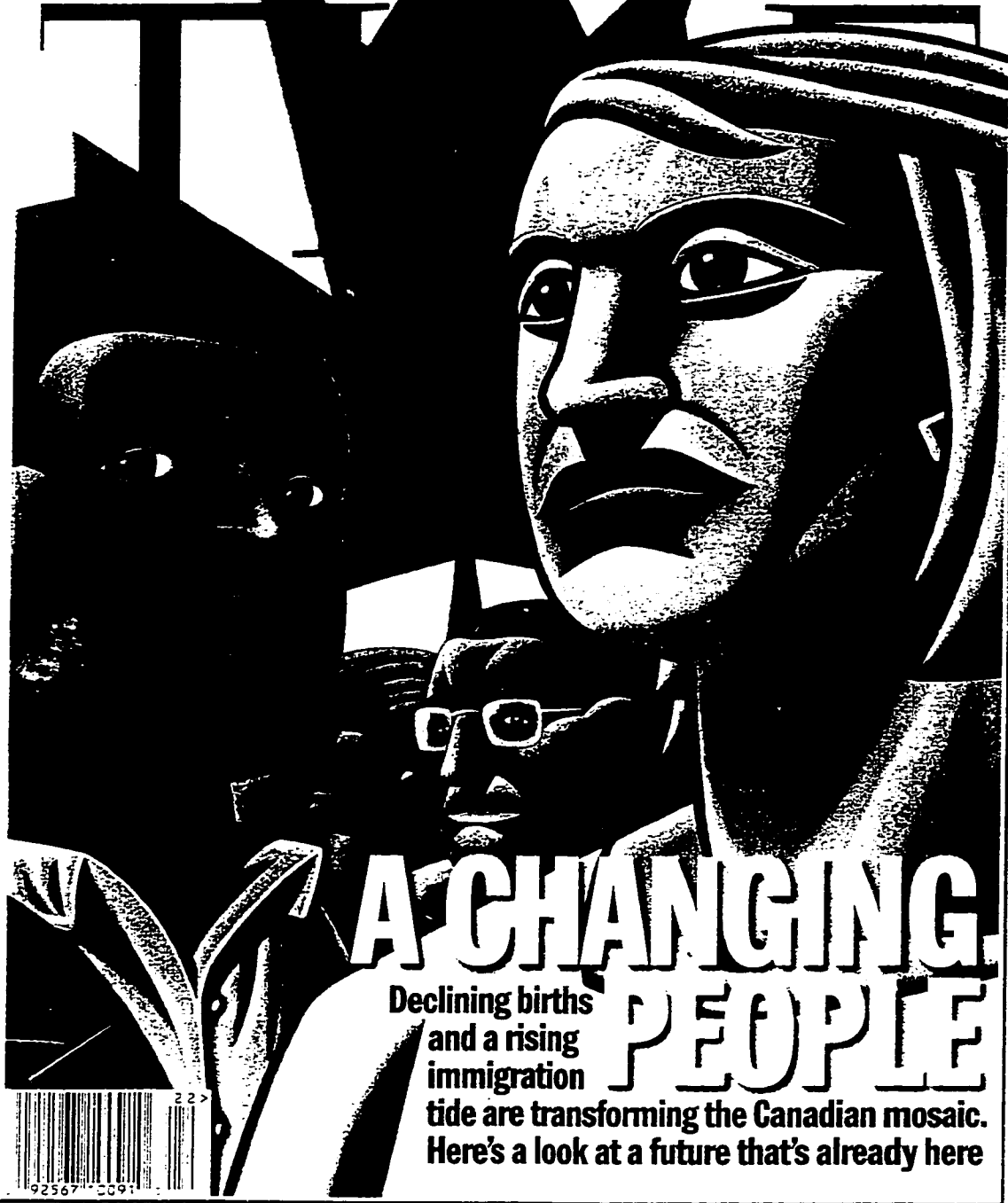
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Source: Lucy Skaer, Transmission Gallery, Glasgow, Scotland

Appendix

\$3.95

SPECIAL REPORT: CANADA 2005

www.time.com



A CHANGING PEOPLE

Declining births
and a rising
immigration
tide are transforming the Canadian mosaic.
Here's a look at a future that's already here



CANADIAN EDITION / MAY 31, 1999

Figure 1. "A Changing People," Time Magazine Cover (1999)



**THE EMPIRE
CHRISTMAS PUDDING**

according to the recipe supplied by the Kings Chef
Mr. CEDARD with Their Majesties Gracious Consent

1lb Currants	//////	Australia
1lb Sultanas	//////	Australia or South Africa
1lb Stoned Raisins	-	Australia or South Africa
5ozs Minced Apple	///	United Kingdom or Canada
1lb Bread Crumbs	///	United Kingdom
1lb Beef Suet	//////	United Kingdom
6ozs Cut Candied Peel	-	South Africa
8ozs Flour	//////	United Kingdom
8ozs Demerara Sugar	-	British West Indies or British Guiana
5 Eggs	//////	United Kingdom or Irish Free State
‡oz Ground Cinnamon	-	India or Ceylon
‡oz Ground Cloves	-	Zanzibar
‡oz Ground Nutmegs	-	British West Indies
‡teaspoon Pudding Spice	-	India or British West Indies
‡gill Brandy	//////	Australia - S. Africa
‡gill Rum	//////	Cyprus or Palestine
		Jamaica or British Guiana
1pint Beer	//////	England - Wales - Scotland or Ireland

WRITE TO THE EMPIRE MARKETING BOARD, WESTMINSTER, FOR A FREE BOOKLET
ON EMPIRE CHRISTMAS FAIR GIVING THIS AND OTHER RECIPES.

Figure 2a. "Making the Empire Christmas Pudding" (1928)
2b. "The Empire Christmas Pudding" (1928)

BRITISHERS! BRING YOUR FAMILIES TO CANADA

ONLY **\$15⁰⁰** 3rd-CLASS
OCEAN FARE
CHILDREN UNDER 17 YEARS FREE



**CANADIAN
PACIFIC
STEAMSHIPS**

APPLY HERE
FOR FULL PARTICULARS

Figure 3. "Britishers Bring your Families to Canada" (1929)



Figure 4a. "Canada's Call to Women" (no date, circa 1921)
4b. "British Women in Canada" (1921)



Figure 5. "A Girl from Canada" (1909)

BRITISH BOYS learn how to
own your farm **IN CANADA**



FREE PASSAGES, GOOD WAGES, FARM INSTRUCTION, AND ASSISTANCE TO BUY YOUR OWN FARM. FOR BOYS 14 TO 19 FOR FURTHER INFORMATION APPLY WITHIN

G.  R.

OVERSEA SETTLEMENT OFFICE.

CANADA WANTS WOMEN

For HOUSEHOLD WORK.

SOME DOMESTIC EXPERIENCE REQUIRED.

ASSISTED PASSAGES
FOR
APPROVED APPLICANTS

GOOD WAGES.
EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEED.

Apply to
Any Employment Exchange,
The Superintendent of Emigration
for Canada,
1, Regent Street, London, S.W.1,
OR TO
The Canadian Government Agents
at the following addresses:

Town.	Address.
ABERDEEN	114, UNION STREET.
BANGOR	210, HIGH STREET.
BELFAST	12-17-18, VICTORIA STREET.
BIRMINGHAM	129, CORPORATION STREET.
BRETON	25, BALDWIN STREET.
CARLISLE	84, CASTLE STREET.
GLASGOW	107, HOPE STREET.
LIVERPOOL	46, LORD STREET.
PETERBOROUGH	MARKET PLACE.
SOUTHAMPTON	8, CANUTE ROAD.
YORK	CANADA CHAMBERS, MUSEUM STREET.

Figure 6a. "British Boys in Canada" (no date)
6b. "Canada Wants Women" (circa 1921)

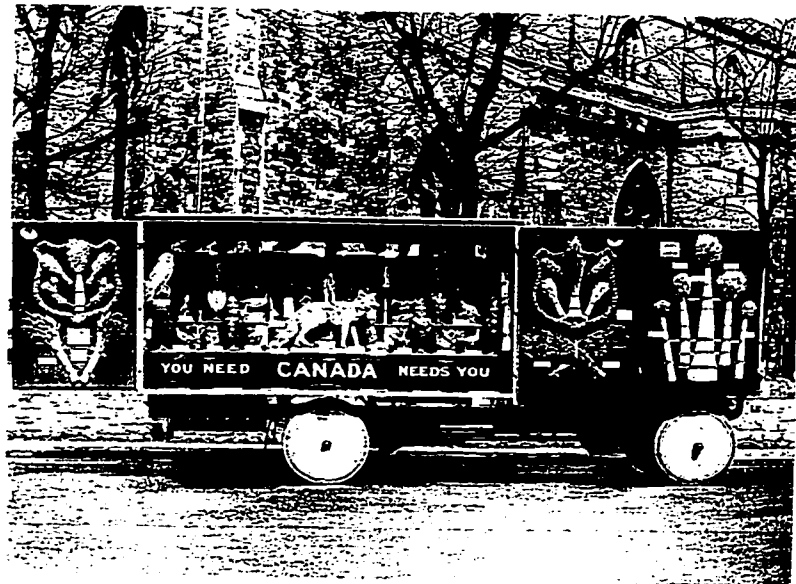
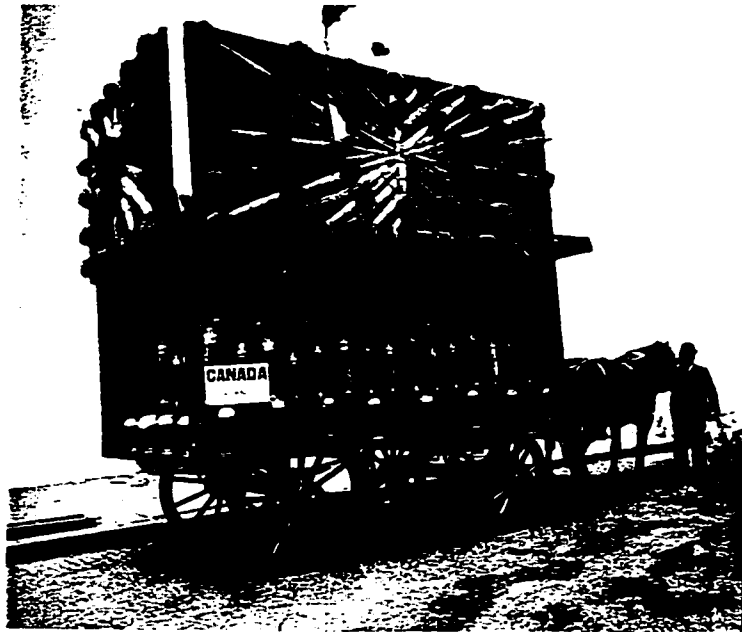


Figure 7a. "Canadian Government Wagon" (no date)
7b. "Canadian Immigration Publicity Wagon" (1905)

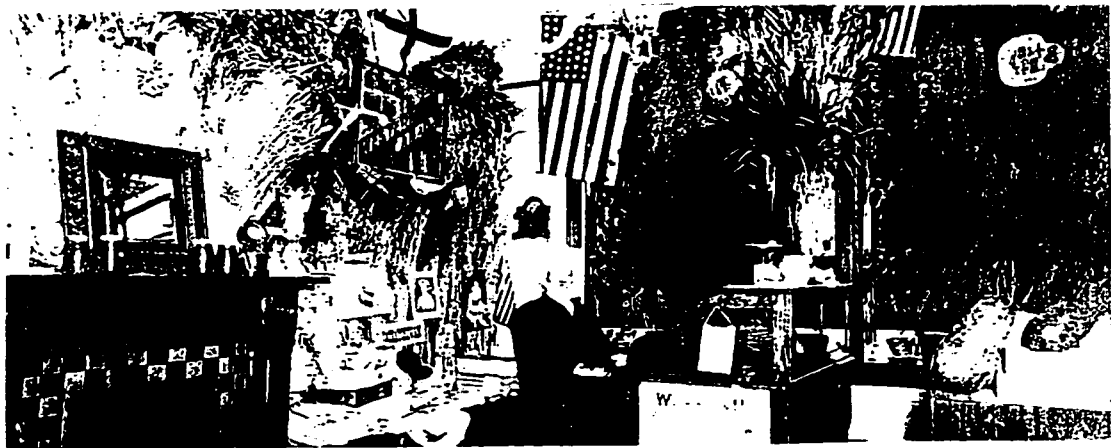


Figure 8a. "Canadian Government Emigration Offices in London (no date, early 1900s)
8b. "Canadian Government Emigration Office in the United States" (early 1900s)

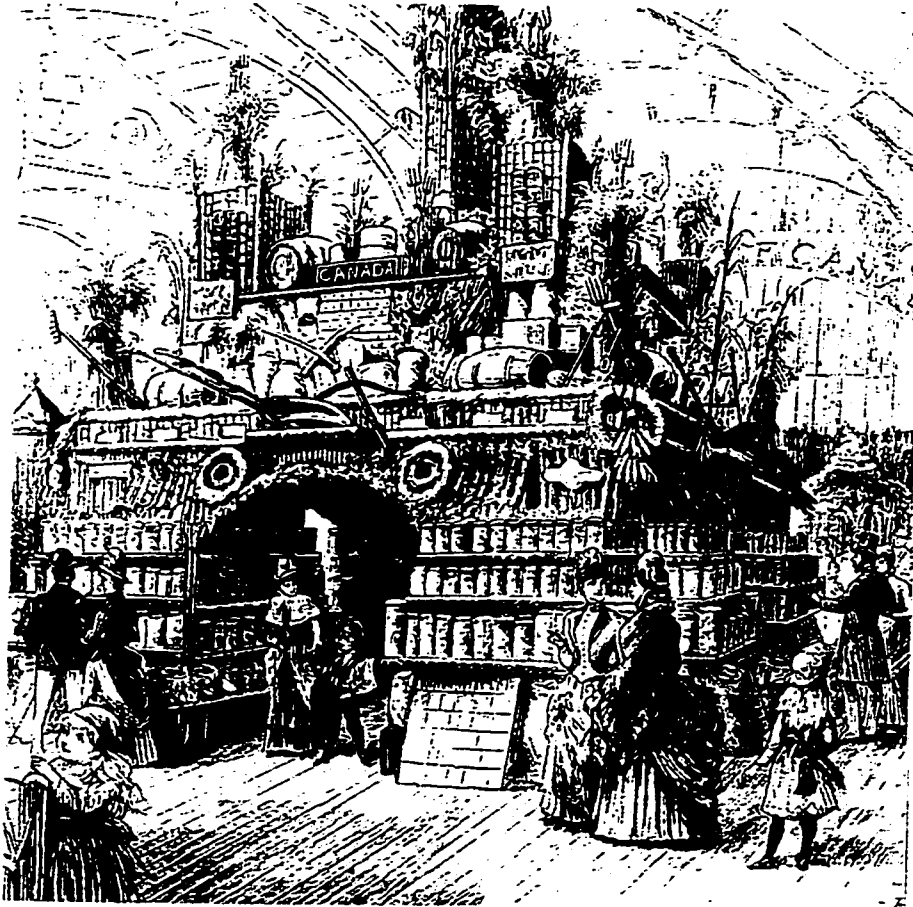


Figure 9. "Canadian Agricultural Trophy," Colonial & Indian Exhibition, London (1886)



Figure 10. "Canadian Coronation Arch," Whitehall, London (1902)



CANADIAN DAIRY PYRAMID
IN AGRICULTURAL BUILDING



The
Mammoth

Cheese

From
Canada

PART OF THE

Canadian Exhibit

AT THE
World's Columbian
Exhibition
Chicago

1893

Figure 11. "The Mammoth Cheese from Canada,"
World's Columbian Exhibition, Chicago (1893)

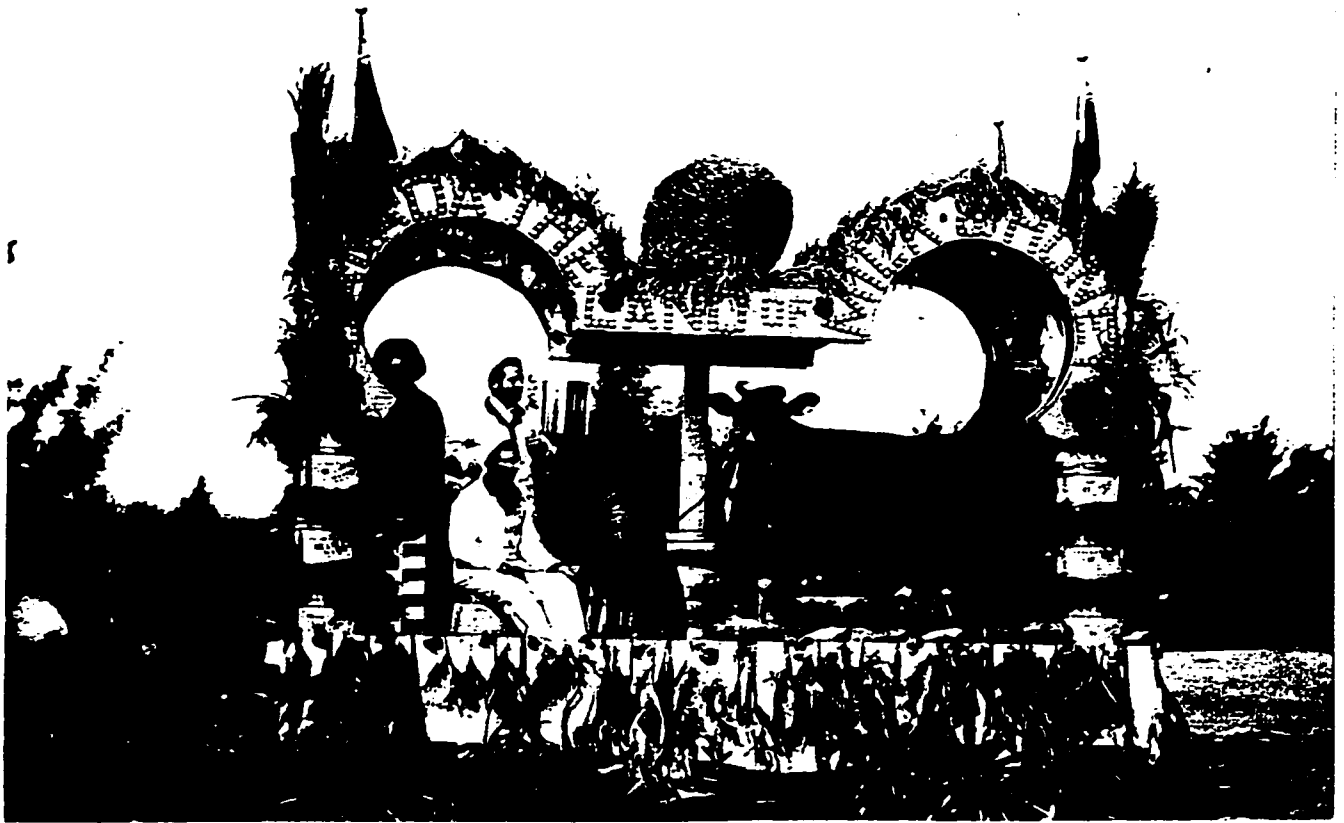


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Photographer: H.N. Topley



Figure 13. "Jacob Strasburger and Agent C.W. Sutter," (Lantern Slide),
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Figure 14. "Family Bounty," (Lantern Slide), vicinity of Edmonton, Alberta (no date)



Figure 15. "Interior of Mr. Rogerson's Parlour," (Lantern Slide), vicinity of Rolland, Manitoba, (September 1905) Photographer: H.N. Topley

BEYOND 2000: Home to the world

On Pier 21, Canada opened its doors. And a nation walked in

By BILL SCHILLER
PHOTO: REINER/STC

HALIFAX — It was a foggy July morning before dawn, and as Nova Scotian fisherman Vernon Malone alighted from his home for a fine day of fishing, he sensed something was out there — out there in the dark.

There were figures in the fog. Many of them.

On closer inspection Malone discovered that, overnight, his tiny community of Charlesville, N.S. (pop. 116) had been visited by more than 170 Sikhs who had disembarked from a boat out on the Atlantic and waded ashore.

A number, bewilderingly large for a



CHANGING FACES OF TORONTO: The city attracts about 70,000 immigrants a year. One in 10 people in Toronto has been born only since 1991, and one in five since 1981. Toronto is home to 42 per cent of Canada's visible minority population.

Figure 16. "On Pier 21, Canada Opened its Doors," Front Page, Toronto Star (1999)

Pier Into Our Past
and see the future of Canada



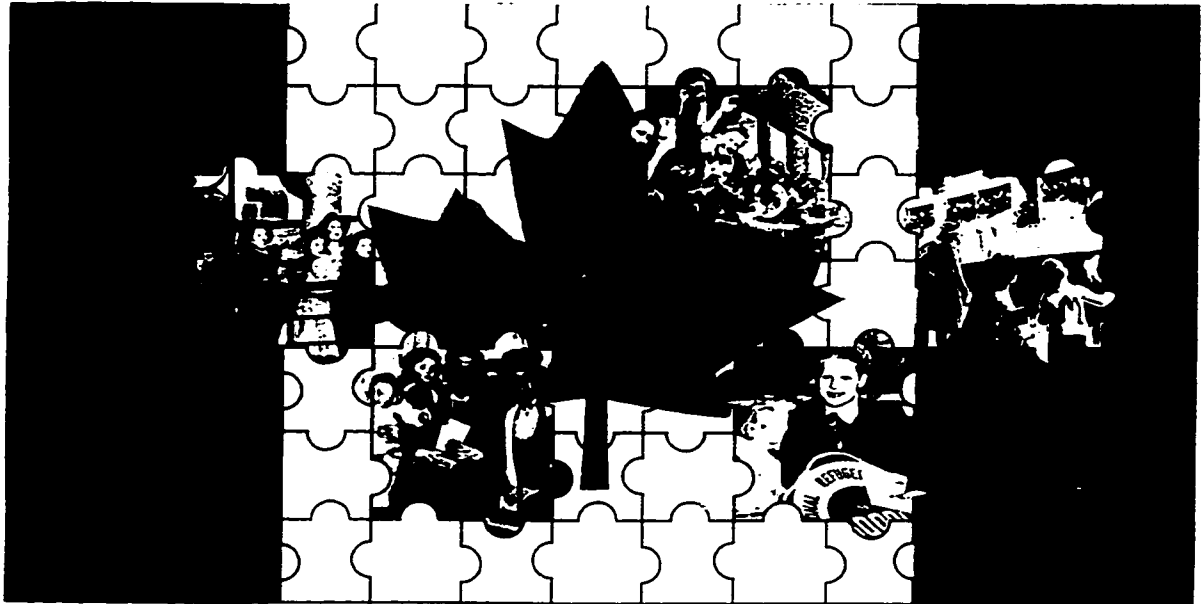
**Opens July 1, 1999
in Halifax
Nova Scotia**

Canada's national historic soul

PIER 21



Figure 17. "Pier Into Our Past", Pier 21 Pamphlet (1999)



Official Opening July 1, 1999
PIER 21

Figure 18. "Canadian 'Multicultural Mosaic'" (July 1, 1999)
Pier 21 Opening Ceremony Publicity

FREE PASSAGE TO MONTREAL

One Free Ticket



I am offering one ticket to Montreal by ship for someone who wishes to permanently emigrate to Canada. The voyage takes ten days and there are three departures a month.

Genuine enquiries only to:

07932 150 183

OPPORTUNITY TO EMIGRATE

Figure 19. "Free Passage to Montreal" (1999)
Artist: Lucy Skaer