

Case Study: Theme

Approaching Migration in World History: How to Use Primary Sources

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Author(s): Somak Biswas (Institute of Historical Research, London, UK)

Author(s)

Somak Biswas holds a *Past and Present* Fellowship at the Institute of Historical Research, London. He is a historian of race, empire and migration focusing on South Asia and its diaspora in Britain and North America. He is currently developing his new project on 'Transnational Hinduism', exploring the making of a global culture discourse in the decades between 1940 and 1980.

Abstract

This case study will introduce you to the larger historical theme of migration and how it has made the modern world. It will familiarise you with the concepts, tools, and methods required to research migration and identify the various actors, networks, and institutions that partook in its processes. What were the different causes, context, and effects of certain kinds of historical migrations, for instance, and how do we understand them through a given primary source/s? Using the example of a British pamphlet titled 'Practical Guide to Workers' (1884), which concerns assisted passages – a key scheme in the project of imperial migration – this case study will show what questions to ask of given sources, how to interrogate the silences and presumptions that

inhere in them, and ways to overcome them. While situating the given source in its historical context, you will also learn how to read such sources critically and in relation to other primary and secondary sources. You will be able to shed light on how different kinds of push and pull factors intersected in determining the scope and limits of migration schemes in different places of the world.

Learning Outcomes

After reading this case study, you will be able to:

- Gain an insight into the theme of migration and why we should study it.
- Identify the different types of migration in modern history (emigration, immigration, internal migrations) and apply appropriate frameworks available to study them.
- Analyse and interrogate historical sources critically to research migration processes.
- Understand the causes and contexts that underline certain kinds of migration and effects such as violence, dispossession, and displacement.
- Able to formulate an intersectional understanding of migration processes through the application of analytical categories such as class, gender, religion, and race.

Initial Steps and Questions

Before reading this piece and evaluating the primary source in full, you may want to reflect on these questions and initial steps:

1. When was the source published, and where? This helps us situate the source in its historical time and place. What cities, regions, and countries does the source index?
2. Who is the author, and what is their affiliation? This helps us understand the stakes involved in the writing of this text. Who benefits from such a text (and who doesn't)?

3. Who is its audience? This is key in approaching the kind of circuits – official and nonofficial – through which this book will move/moved. Pay close attention to the intended demographic.
4. How can we think of migration and its processes through this source? What is its importance in researching migration? How does it shed light on the nature of migration, its various actors and vast networks? The above questions will prepare you to analyse in close detail the structure and content of the given source and how it connects to the theme of migration.

Contextual Information

Migration has made the world as we know it. Since prehistoric times, human migrations have resulted in the creation of empires, civilisations, and communes. The slow movement of the human species ‘out of Africa’ about 40,000 years ago and their gradual spread over all parts of the earth is a classic example of how human migration shaped the course of history. The relative isolation and proliferation of certain population groups also explain a wide range of physical features or mutations such as the colour of skin and eyes, developing fully over tens of thousands of years. Yet, no race is ever ‘pure’; claims to racial superiority are in fact ways for dominant ethno-social groups to legitimise their control over land and resources.

Human history is generally perceived as a slow but sure shift from nomadic to sedentary social forms. However, this process has neither been uniform nor unique. While nomadic communities have generally thrived on shifting forms of life and livelihood, many came to eventually settle, forming powerful empires, such as that of the Mongols and Mughals in Asia, or various Germanic tribes (Danes, Anglo-Saxons, Gauls) in different parts of Europe. The relative disadvantages of a certain region act as push factors for human populations to migrate outwards. In prehistoric and protohistoric times, ecological catastrophes such as floods, famines, or earthquakes led populations to look for new homelands. The serial migration of proto-Indo-European peoples from the Eurasian steppes between 6000 and 3500 BCE east, west, and southward explains the connections and spread of the Indo-European language family across Europe, West and South Asia. Today, almost half the world speaks some form of Indo-European language.

The interaction between different migrant groups has historically determined the formation of polities, economic networks, and religious communities. The Silk Route, for instance, was a historic network of trade routes crucially connected by a dense intersection of various mobile entities such as merchants, marauders, and monks. Stretching from northern Africa through the Mediterranean and all the way across Italy, Arabia, Persia, India to eastern China, the Silk Route was one of the earliest examples of a global pathway based on movement and exchange from the second century BCE to the fourteenth century. Nor were these pathways limited to the use of trade and commerce alone. Artisans, artists, and labourers constantly moved in search of work and better prospects. Buddhism, and later Islam, expanded through these same routes, leaving in its wake enduring effects on its people and places. The rhythms and volume of their migrations have left behind a rich trail for historians to study.

More recently, the phase of mass migrations initiated by the spread of European imperialisms to other parts of the world has had distinctive and continuing effects. Beginning from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, early modern European explorations paved the way for increased connections between Europe and other parts of the world. The major contenders for this intensifying contest to monopolise land, labour, and goods were the Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese, followed by France and Britain. The Americas were a major focus of control. Touted as the 'New World' and claimed to be empty, it was neither particularly new nor empty. Various Eurasian peoples had long settled different parts of America through historical migrations stretching back tens of thousands of years, migrating through the narrow Beringia strip that connected eastern Russia and Alaska during the last major Ice Age that occurred between 20,000 and 15,000 BCE.¹

Early modern European contact with the Americas and its indigenous peoples generally ended in violent dispossession and severe depletion of these communities, through war, disease, and enslavement. Long in isolation, Indigenous American communities were devastated by the introduction of flu, plague, and smallpox that came via European contact. Increasing European migration to the Americas and their extraction of its rich natural resources had major implications for the wider world. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, America became integrated within world economic networks as the new site for experiments in capitalist agriculture. African slave labour was transported into these 'emptied' lands, giving birth to the infamous system of Transatlantic slavery that sustained plantation capitalism, an early phase in

American colonial history that other historians have termed mercantilism. The system of triangular trade connected the continents of Europe, the Americas, and Africa in an ever-tightening global economic network, through which people, goods, and labour moved.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the colonisation and integration of both Americas by various European powers was complete. Britain emerged as the chief colonial power in North America and Spain in the south. Massive British emigration to different parts of the Anglo-world indexed a new division of labour. While it created enduring stress on indigenous peoples everywhere, it also normalised a transnational mode of identity in everyday life.² In 1901, an empire-wide census revealed that almost three million British natives were living in different parts of this vast world.³

Through this 'world', British emigrants moved perpetually in different capacities: their colonies offering avenues for better economic and social opportunities (USA and Canada) or transporting convict labourers (Australia). Yet, this imperial mobility was not just one-sided. Other non-British groups also made the most of the opportunities afforded by imperial networks, though, overall, their proportion was much smaller and their circumstances limited. Indian and Chinese labour and merchants, for instance, moved and settled extensively in the Indian Ocean world under British control. There was a decided racial hierarchy in such mobilities. Ethnic British migrants moving to different parts of their empire was very different from that of non-British colonial subjects. Anglocentrism imparted a position of far superior privilege to white British emigrant communities, especially in settler colonies. This was followed by other European groups, with Asian and African groups further down the order. Assisted passage schemes played a key role in populating vast areas of America, Australia, and New Zealand with ethnic British people. British women migrating to these colonies in large numbers by the end of the nineteenth century indicated the gradual consolidation and success of the empire project both at home and abroad.

To regulate the movement of peoples in this vast and increasingly connected world, mechanisms of immigration control had to be developed, in which all major European powers played a key role. Within the settler colonial world, elaborate regimes around 'passport, tickets, and rubber stamps'⁴ were devised to keep non-white migrants strictly under check. Almost, as a rule, free Asian and African immigration was never encouraged and routinely denied. Empire-led globalisation increasingly connected the world in a tighter embrace but also foisted deep forms of exclusion and inequality everywhere.

Source Analysis Questions

1. What kind of source is this?
2. What kind of framework should we apply to situate this source?
3. What kind of migration/s does the source discuss?
4. What position does the author/s occupy? Who is/are its intended audience?
5. Who are the main stakeholders of this migration narrative, and why?
6. What are the push and pull factors for migration in this context?
7. In what ways do gender, class, ethnicity, or race figure in this source?
8. What are the limitations of this source?

Critical Evaluation

Tools of Analysis: Positionality

As students of history, we occupy certain positions. This is often referred to as positionality or a location shaped by the socioeconomic privileges or disprivileges we have owing to our identity. This identity – both ascribed and achieved – can be understood in terms of our race, class, ethnicity, and gender (though not exclusively). It often explains (not always) why someone belonging to a particular socioeconomic identity holds a certain kind of world view. As historians, we need to be aware of the position we inhabit as they sometimes come with inherent biases. British children educated in private schools, for instance, will usually have very different worldviews than children of immigrant labourers working at minimum wage. This awareness is crucial so as not to reproduce the bias that comes with certain positions we may occupy as students of history.

Like ourselves, our historical sources too come with certain inherent biases, reflecting their author's position and politics more generally. To interrogate these presumptions, we need to constantly clarify the who and why of these sources. Migration narratives are embedded in a

hierarchy of privilege. These privileges are relational and contextual, that is, they are determined by the specific relationships and contexts they are embedded in. It is important to gauge the different actors and the relative positions they occupy in migration narratives. Whose voice does the source amplify? Who seems to embody positions of privilege, and how do they assert or negotiate a position of power? What role do institutions and regimes play in producing and reproducing forms of that hierarchy? How is such a hierarchy sustained, and how do they shift over time? What economic, social, and political factors underlie processes of migration, and how do various entities participate in them? A careful examination of the source helps us illustrate these questions and structure our answers around them.

Identifying Source Types

Like any theme, migration history can be studied through a wide range of sources. State-published literature on immigration forms an important source for historians. These include, but are not limited to: census documents, ministry exchanges, ship records, immigration brochures, and detailed guides of the current type on various government schemes. While extremely useful as historical records, almost all state documents use categories that reflect its constitutive bias around whom to include or exclude. Official statistics frequently do not record what it sees as 'illegal' immigrants, resulting in serious absences that could skew historical narratives on migration. Nonofficial sources such as private letters and diaries by authors who are themselves immigrant subjects give us a more personalised view of their experiences. Yet, the location of the author and the relationship to their texts also need to be closely understood. What kind of privileges, aspiration, and access structure the sources authors identify with? How much of these are determined by social markers such as class, gender, or ethnic locations of the author? There is no truly objective source that speaks to historians from a value-neutral position. It is important to understand the priorities of different sources to get at their subjects. Together, official and personal sources shed light on each other's emphases and silences. They need to be read in light of their authorship, audience, and context.

Identifying Migration Type/s

Once we have identified the source, we need to identify the kind of migration for the purposes of our analysis. Since the nineteenth century, states have increasingly sought to regulate the

movement of peoples across its boundaries. The kind of fluidities that abound in premodern forms of travel narrowed significantly, with the institution of major border regimes at national and international levels. Listed below are the broad types of modern migration⁵:

1. Internal migration: migrating within the boundaries of a state or geopolitical unit.
2. External migration: migrating to another state, country, or geopolitical unit.
3. Emigration: leaving one's country of citizenship to move to another.
4. Immigration: migrating into a new country or state, referred to as host country.
5. Return migration: to return to one's 'original' home country.
6. Seasonal migration: the cyclical pattern of migration when workers travel back and forth based on labour demands or seasonal conditions, as, for instance, agricultural labourers migrating during harvest season.

Determining a Framework for Analysis

The type of migration determines the framework we need to adopt and adapt for our analysis. If the source given is on internal migrations within a fixed territorial unit, you need to pay close attention to the local and national factors that mediate its processes. What are the institutions, networks, and actors involved? More often, several different types of migration intersect to present a more complex narrative, as, for instance, our source on 'assisted passages' will show.

The centrality of any national space is not a given, even when a group of migrants are operating within the bounds of a given political unit and its institutions. Syrian refugees seeking asylum in Britain, for instance, represent a complex scenario: as immigrants crossing international borders under conditions of extreme duress, their rights and Britain's obligations to them are determined by the international protocols of sanctuary formulated by supranational organisations such as the United Nations or the European Union. As always, the governance of migration is a fraught business. Almost all host countries prefer migrants who are coming from positions of relative privilege or wealth, not less, and are seen to contribute further to a country's national wealth through more business and employment opportunities. Those migrating with little to no privileges at their behest often get absorbed into coercive cycles of work, joining the pool of low or

underpaid, labour-intensive work that caters to a variety of sectors in the national and international economy (e.g., garment workers).

Contextualising Migration Type: ‘Assisted Passages’

The source examined in this case study, a pamphlet titled ‘Practical Guide to Workers’, concerns assisted passages. Assisted passages represented a key scheme in the project of imperial migration. Different kinds of migration intersected in this scheme of settler colonialism: internal, external, immigration, and emigration. As such, frameworks that focus overly on national territory would only offer a partial understanding of the diversity of processes encapsulated in the source. Overly territorial approaches occlude our understanding of how different macroregions connect to each other.⁶ This is where a global historical framework becomes useful in making sense of the diverse mobilities that constitute migration processes spanning several macroregions. It allows us to interrogate the seeming boundedness of national space as well as discourses built around forms of essential ‘purity’. Applying a global historical framework to analyse the scheme of ‘assisted passages’ through this source offers us the tools to analyse the machinations of different statist institutions while making us attentive to larger forces at work. Britain’s central position in the history of modern capitalism paved the way for its pioneering role in the development of an imperial immigration policy across a multinational, multiethnic British empire. In this, not all parts of the empire were equal. Discourses of racialisation were crucial in the formulation of a hierarchy ranked on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender, and skill.

In North America, changing property relations marked a decisive shift from earlier forms of collective ownership practiced by indigenous American communities to an increasingly private form of ownership, following modern Anglo-Saxon landholding practices. With the loss of the USA as a colony in 1776 and the cessation of Napoleonic wars in Europe by 1815, Canada emerged as the northern frontier of the British empire in America. The British government and its Canadian counterparts colluded to create a society that would closely resemble the British nation. Unlike the USA, Canada did not wish to opt-out of a British cultural and political identity, but wanted to be a faithful ally in the British empire.

Canada was portrayed as the quintessential land flowing in ‘milk and honey’ to prospective emigrants. To preserve its Anglo-Saxon character, the Canadian government greatly solicited migrants from the four constituents of the United Kingdom: England, Ireland (till 1922; thereafter,

northern Ireland), Scotland, and Wales. Schemes of assisted passages, whereby government and nongovernment agents subsidised travel and settlement costs to attract agricultural, domestic, and industrial labour, formed a regular feature in inducing British emigration. Within Britain itself, the home government regularly used it to relieve domestic distress caused by rising unemployment and other contingencies. Assisted passages became central in British government schemes to transfer some of its 'excess stocks' abroad to colonies such as Canada, often necessitated by push factors such as industrial and agricultural depression and crop failures, particularly in Ireland, but also Scotland. The massive expansion of transatlantic shipping and communication networks reflected the growing importance of northern America to Britain. Assisted passages became a key site to connect the metropole to its last American outpost. Canadian emigration agents aggressively lobbied in the deepest parts of the British Isles for prospective interest, often competing with other agents representing Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

Assisted Passage Schemes: Push Factors

The promise of greater economic opportunities in an almost 'empty' land was regularly advertised – primarily in Britain, but also other parts of Europe – as an incentive to attract a range of communities, prominently farmers and female domestic workers. They were promised a range of incentives: settling virgin land and generating personal wealth, whilst stabilizing control over the territory and boosting government income. Assisted passages provided a convenient way out for lower- and middle-class migrants seeking to escape overcrowded industrialised cities or depressed agricultural conditions in parts of the British Isles that acted as push factors. Immigration controls and regimes converged to reproduce the desirability of British ethnic stock. Over the century, this expanded to include northern, southern, and eastern Europe. Unlike the USA, British Canada avoided importing black slaves for its labour needs; instead, it relied on the steady supply of southern and eastern European immigrants to provide cheap labour. This helped to preserve the overall 'white Canada' character of the British colony, with significant internal variations of European ethnic types. The rhetoric of Anglo-Saxon superiority was deployed to great effect throughout the nineteenth till the mid-twentieth century and accounted for enforcing exclusivist policies in immigration.

Analysing Authorship and Audience: Practical Guide to Workers

In this section, we will examine a range of questions – the author’s location, the theme covered, target audience, their relative positions – in reference to the source. Drawing on the main questions flagged at the beginning of the critical evaluation, we will read the source and analyse its role to understand historical processes around imperial migration.

The text is written by Adelaide Ross, affiliated with the United Englishwoman’s Emigration Association (henceforth UEEA) and published in 1884. It is intended to instruct usefully on the weighty matter of emigrating British women, generally from lower social classes, to seek employment in Canada. The Association itself is testimony to the growing traffic and demand for female domestic labour in different parts of its settler-colonial empire in Australia, Canada, and South Africa.⁷ In 1885, Ross would become co-head of the Association along with Ellen Joyce, an important stakeholder in the proliferating discourse of women’s emigration within the empire.

The guide is written from the position of an Englishwoman, aware of England’s increasing reach and power in the late nineteenth century, and hence zealous of securing an image of superior morality for its women. The sense of duty and charge she derives from this realisation is not taken lightly:

In issuing a new edition of the practical guide... I can only say that the experience gathered during the past two years only confirms the conviction, that no young women should be sent to the Colonies, but such as are of unimpeachable character, of good capacity, and who are in sound health.⁸

The guide reflects this conviction, acknowledging the vast opportunities awaiting ‘young women of industrious habit and good character’.⁹ It is written very much for an English audience, replete with references to English girls and English women. The other British nations – Wales, Scotland, Ireland – find little mention, reflecting the tense internal hierarchy within British nationhood.

Now let us examine the cover of our pamphlet (see image 1). There is a four-line verse by the English poet Arthur Clough (who later migrated to the USA). It alludes to light entering through the ‘eastern windows’, going on to suggest ‘But westward look, the land is bright’. Why does Ross include it in a manual guide for emigration workers? The ‘westward look’ is used seemingly as an invocation to Britain’s colonial assets in Canada and the promise it provided for its people. But this could also be read in relation to its growing eastern assets as well: the vast imperial expansion in Asia, and in particular the annexation of large parts of South Asia by the end of the nineteenth

century. It draws attention to the many possibilities of imperial careering for Britons not only on its eastern frontier but also on its western front, or more specifically, Canada.

Assisted Passages and the Demand for Female Labour

Ross sets out her task in the first few pages: how to ensure safe and secure travel for young British women in a foreign territory, full of moral and physical dangers. The supply of female domestic labour from England and other parts of Britain across the Atlantic to Canada without any reproach is risky. The subsequent pages lay out in some detail the precise and practical ways of ensuring this task. It ends with a longish list of contacts that include government agents, clergy members, and voluntary associations located in different parts of the Anglo-Canadian world. All of them, in differing capacities, mediated actively on the business of emigration. These bases also index the important areas of emigration activities: Quebec, Toronto, Montreal, London, Leeds, and Bristol, among others.¹⁰ They sought to meet the high demand for female domestic labour in both urban and rural areas of Canada. Supply for this labour market was pooled from unattached or unmarried English/British single girls and women generally coming from orphan homes, without family care or support. This was a broad spectrum in principle that included 'women of superior education' to orphan girls coming from institutions in Britain.¹¹

Page 2 lays out the advantages of emigration: (1) higher wages, (2) better health, (3) better social positions, and (4) better matrimonial prospects. The average wages for young girls were \$4 a month or about £10/year. In rare cases of highly skilled servants, it could go up to £40 a year. Everywhere, supply was far short of demand and especially in rural areas, the guide stresses this strongly for favourable consideration by emigration agents, and the demand was in thousands.¹²

Delivering working-class girls and women from possible moral lapses, generally meant as sexual, in British industrial towns and cities, served as a strong prerogative in assisted migration schemes. The migration of weak-willed and weak-bodied women was, however, strongly discouraged, highlighting the role that idealised female bodies played in conjuring the vigour of an imperial nation. The vision of moral and physical fitness is repeatedly underlined as essential in accruing to national strength. Church attendance was strongly enjoined, and regular contact with family and friends in England was a way of keeping alive their Englishness in another land. Ross advises guardians: 'to furnish her with a Canadian post card on which your own address is written, and

on which she may write that of her Canadian home. Urge her to write frequently to friends and relations in England.’¹³

Personal letters to English connections were important in rekindling periodically their English origins.¹⁴ The availability of the *Imperial Penny Post* (1898 onwards), for instance, revolutionised postal networks for personal communication. A person could send a postcard for as little as one penny to most parts of the British imperial world.

Analysing Ethnicity, Gender, and Class

This section will show how to analyse the specific ethnicity, gender, and class expectations that determined the demand for female domestic labour. For instance, the trope of good character and respectability is a constant refrain in the guide. How was good character defined? What does this preoccupation with good character and careful censure tell us? Closely tied to the discourse of ‘good character’ and respectability are ideas of class and ethnicity. Given that recruits for domestic labour generally came from lower social classes, this, therefore, needed to be achieved through emulating a strict regimen of social practices generally applicable to rigid upper-class Victorian femininity. Any stigma arising from sexual liaison or the wrong kind of socialising would deem them thoroughly unfit for purposes of recruitment in ‘respectable’ homes. The travel passage – from Britain to different parts of Canada – emerged as a central site of many insecurities. In transferring women emigrants from home to host, ports, train stations, and guesthouses became subject to the critical scrutiny of state and civilian authorities. The guide strongly prescribed group travel under the strict supervision of a ‘Matron’ figure. The UEEA, as a responsible mediating authority, pledged (page 4):

1. To emigrate women of good character and capacity only.
2. To secure proper protection on the voyage and on arrival.
3. If possible, not to lose sight of them for a year or two after emigration.

Throughout, concerns regarding possible lapse and fear of contagion characterised the narrative of moral panic around safe passages. Labour emigrants from eastern and southern Europe were frequently portrayed as predatory males and demands repeatedly made by representatives of voluntary women’s associations to segregate British women from contact with any non-British passengers.¹⁵ On page 9, Ross stresses on the need for protection before, during and after the

passage. The constant temptations aboard the ship: 'liable to the danger of forming foolish intimacies', are highlighted to arrange for strict supervision. Care becomes control, manifesting in the form of constant policing of women's bodies and social interactions.

The 'Foreign' Other

Negative factors also played a role in shaping the processes and protocols of assisted migration schemes. Difference, in relation to that of 'Foreign' Others, played a formative role in determining British identity and its superiority. Considerable efforts were put into separating British immigrants from the non-British. In women's dorms, for instance, special care was given to ensure furnishings, such as small tables, window blinds, comfy ironbeds, and chairs, considered 'essential' for British women.¹⁶ Foreign women's needs were seen as different to the extent that their doors did not have locks for a long time. Segregation was espoused in rhetoric and practice. Yet, travel in third-class carriages, often for long distances, was almost an ordeal in itself and regularly blurred boundaries of privacy and purity. Ladies, especially coming from upper classes, frequently complained to Canadian authorities of the privations attendant to British women travelling third class.

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Britain and British-settler colonies remained obsessed in claiming and preserving its Anglo-Saxon character.¹⁷ The figure of the 'foreigner' was used as a constant scare in public discourse to tighten border controls and immigration protocols. Can you identify the major actors of such a public discourse from the guide? There is of course the Department of Colonisation and Immigration in Canada, but also women's emigration associations and ladies' friendly societies, government agents, and a variety of clergymen (pages 20–21, images 21–22) 'known to be interested in the welfare of Emigrant Girls'.¹⁸ The protection offered by a variety of churches in the affair of emigrating women is repeatedly underlined, suggesting the important role they played in policing religious borders. In South Quebec, for instance, a special Emigration Chaplain was appointed to tend to the specific needs of emigrating young women there.¹⁹

Immigration authorities generally categorised emigrants in the following ways: (1) colonists were British emigrants; (2) foreigners were Europeans (generally eastern and southern types); and (iii) Asians and blacks were separate categories altogether; being foreign was clearly insufficient as a category to hold their alien-ness. It is interesting to note that at no point in its history did English-

origin Canadians make up more than a third of its population. The desire for Anglo-Saxon emigrants also ran counter to the agricultural skills Canada was seeking to import. Contrary to the increasing demand for farm labour in Canada, English emigrants generally flocked to industrial areas and took up blue collar and managerial work. Demands for agricultural labour were generally met by eastern and southern European immigrants, largely male, and later reinforced by South Asians.

The source barely makes any significant reference to other categories of migrants who also jostled for opportunity and resources in the same space. These silences prod us to study British migration in relation to migration from other parts of the world. The presence of non-white or non-British migrant groups also significantly complicate migration hierarchies. Often studied as diaspora, their difference signals the tensions that mark non-British, non-white communities, and their relationship to more mainstreamed, dominant groups such as the British.

British emigrants were, however, not always absorbed smoothly into the settler society. There was often pushback from previous Canadian settlers, who bitterly opposed carting off Britain's unemployed 'dregs' on Canada. Trade Unions resented emigrating industrial workers as they drove wages down and made jobs scarce. As the identity of the 'Canadian' nation became stronger in the twentieth century, the Anglo-Saxon connection was perceived more guardedly. Canadian immigration controls tightened on free emigration, especially during times of economic depression.

Conclusion

Female emigration societies were at the forefront of initiatives that sought to make a space for British women in their empire. To this end, supplying domestic labour was only one of its many objectives. More middle-class initiatives included governesses and school teachers who were portrayed as agents of culture and education in the colonial world.²⁰ They eagerly partook in the benefits of assisted passage schemes. At all times, women emigrants had to bear the special virtue of imperial femininity. As Chilton notes, their bodies and selves were regularly appropriated to project an ideal vision of imperial identity.

We have now analysed, in detail, major aspects of the source and how it links to the theme of migration more generally. We have demonstrated what frameworks to apply and how to read

this primary source in close relation to secondary scholarship on a particular kind of migration. Generally, we will need to identify (1) the type of migration; (2) the type of source; (3) the authors, audience, and major actors in the narrative; and (4) how they connect to offer a coherent analysis of migration. It is also important to observe the tensions, ambiguities, and silences in a source's narrative.

Post-evaluation Questions

1. What kind of hierarchy emerges in this migration narrative?
2. Are there any other considerations the source does not tell us clearly enough?
3. Why are some migrations peaceful and others violent?
4. Can you find more examples of how the moral, physical, and sexual boundaries of certain migrant bodies are policed?
5. Take a map of the regions discussed. Can you mark the major towns, cities, and regions mentioned? Can you decipher any broad patterns in migration from this?
6. What problems do migrants from minority ethnic groups face in integrating with the mainstream culture of the host society?

Further Research Considerations

If you were to research this area further, you might consider the following questions and discussion points.

Carefully consider the following graphs and think about the given questions. Foreign is used here to refer to anyone entering Canada in the given period with an aim to settle permanently.

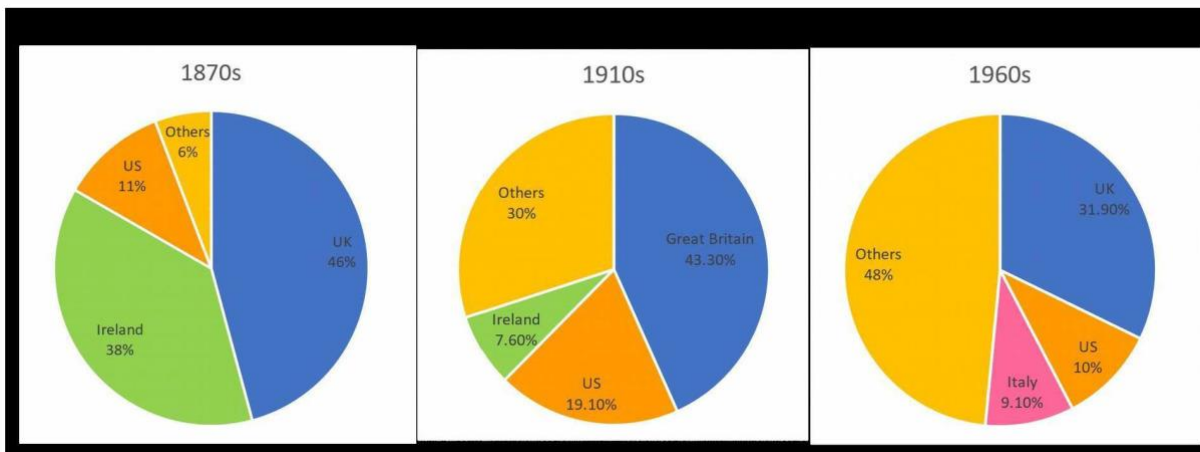
Questions for Figure 1:

1. Ireland (still part of the UK till 1922) has a high proportion of migrants in Canada. What were the push factors for migrants moving to Canada? What kind of issues do you think

this may have posed for a predominantly Anglo-Saxon Protestant government and society there?

2. Compare the three charts and the individual constituents of foreign-born emigrants. Which European country has emerged as a major emigrant presence by the 1960s? Why?

Figure 1. Percentage of foreign population in Canada for the 1870s, 1910s, and 1960s²¹



Alternate Text

Three pie charts for 1870s, 1910s, and 1960s collectively titled, Percentage of foreign born population in Canada by country of origin.

Long Description

Data from the charts in percent are as follows.

1870s—United Kingdom: 46; Ireland: 38; United States: 11; Others: 6.

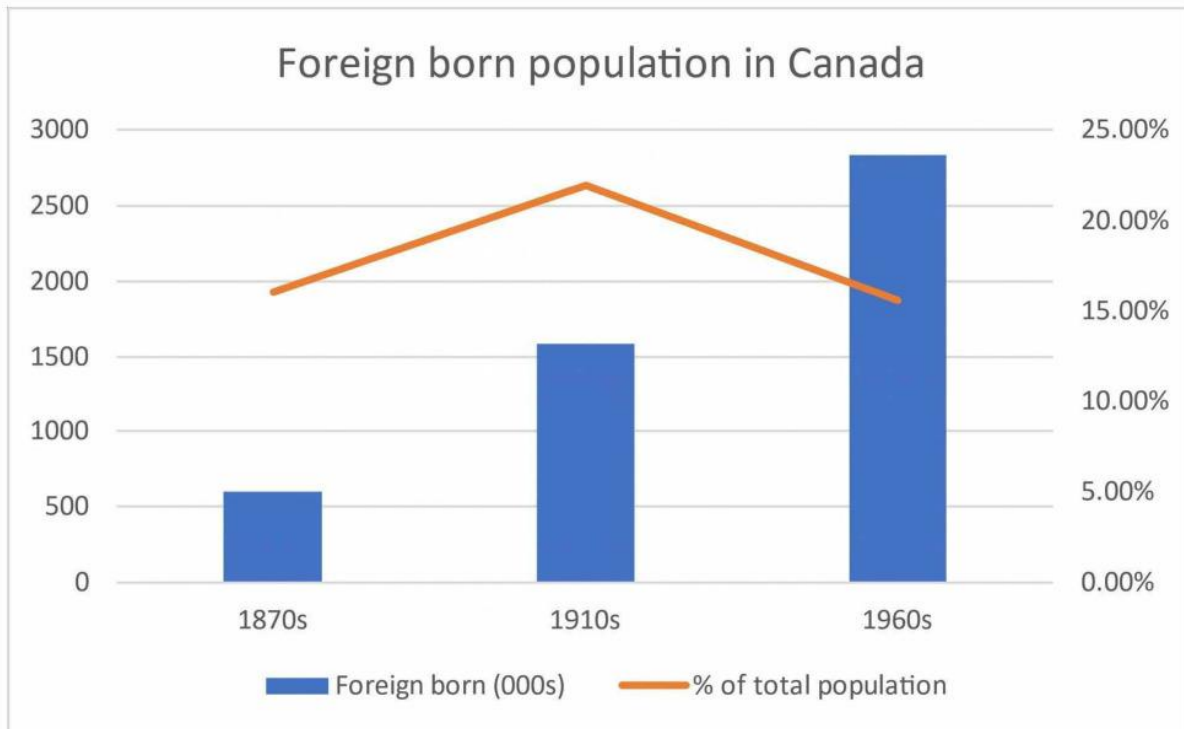
1910s—Great Britain: 43.30; United States: 19.10; Ireland: 7.60; Others: 30.

1960s—United Kingdom: 31.90; United States: 10; Italy: 9.10; Others: 48.

Questions for Figure 2:

1. The percentage of foreign-born Canadians seems to be falling in the 1960s. What does this tell us about the link between emigration and citizenship?
2. Does the notion of foreignness remain static or shift over time?
- 3.

Figure 2. Cumulative population trends



Alternate Text

A bar graph shows the count of foreign born population in Canada and percentage of total population, during three different time periods.

Long Description

Approximate data from the graph in count as thousands and percentage of total population are as follows. 1870s: 550; 16.00. 1910s: 1550; 22.00. 1960s: 2850; 15.00.

Further Resources

Chilton, L. (2015). "Travelling colonist." In *Migration and Identity in the British World Empire*. edited by Kent Fedorowich and Andrew Thompson. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015. Accessed November 23, 2020. <https://www.manchesterhive.com/view/9781526103215/9781526103215.00015.xml>

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Notes

1. By 12,800 BCE, archaeological evidence suggests that these Amerindian peoples had already reached Patagonia in southern Chile since their first landing in Alaska, indexing the speed and scale of their migration, Fisher, *Migration: A World History*, p 5.
2. Thompson and Magee, *Empire and Globalisation*, p. 5.
3. Harper and Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, p. 5.
4. See Singha, "Passport, Ticket, and India-rubber stamp."
5. Adapted from National Geographic, "Introduction to Human Migration," Accessed January 27, 2021.
6. Mishra, "Global Histories of Migration," p. 195.

7. Reference: GB 106 1BWE, *Records of the British Women's Emigration Association*, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/a08a2db5-883b-47d5-95e1-b697f222628d>
8. Ross, *Practical Guide to Workers Assisted Passages to Canada*, p. 1.
9. Ross, p. 1
10. Ross, pp. 19-23.
11. Ross, p. 15.
12. Ross, p. 16.
13. Ross, p. 13.
14. Ross, p. 18.
15. Chilton, p. 169.
- 16 Chilton, p. 179.
17. Fedorowich, "Restocking the British World: Empire," p. 237.
18. Ross, p. 20
19. Ross, p. 12.
20. Magee and Thompson, pp. 94–5.
21. Calculated by author and Matteo Mazzamurro from National Census tables cited in Livi-Bacci, *A Short History of Migration*, p. 134.

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