

Foreigners from the Far North: Canadians in Miami and South Florida During the 1920s

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From the 1920s to the present, there has existed a strong connection between South Florida and Canada. While Canadian tourists and immigrants had been coming into the state since the late nineteenth century, it was the 1920s that witnessed both an increase in their numbers and a clustering in the Greater Miami area. By mid-decade 6,585 Canadians were living in Florida. They had become the most numerous foreign-born group in five counties: Pinellas, Orange, Palm Beach, Broward, and Dade. In 1925, Dade claimed the largest number of Canadians: approximately one percent of the county's total population. Most of these immigrants lived in the city of Miami, but many were also found in Miami Beach, Coral Gables and Hialeah.¹

In the early 1920s, Canadians began to follow the example set by Americans from northern states, by moving to Florida in order to participate in the land boom. As part of the effervescent enthusiasm of the boom, Canadians were enticed to the state because of its well-publicized ambience and the hope of financial gain.² Some vacationed and then went home, while others stayed on and became part of south Florida's society. Newcomers from Canada gravitated to jobs in service industries, bought stores and apartment houses, or joined the wave of real estate speculation.

From 1920 to 1925 the number of Canadian-born residents in Florida increased by 51 percent. More Canadians had moved into the state during the first five years of the 1920s than had done so during the entire previous decade. Those five years marked the period of a steadily escalating land boom, which peaked in the summer of 1925, before entering a gradual decline late in the year, which became a free fall by 1926.³ The press in Canada analyzed his phenomenon in 1926:

Even before the great boom...the climate and almost everlasting sunshine of southern Florida had drawn many Ontario and Toronto people there as residents for the months and in many cases the year round. But as the boom of the past few years swelled in proportion and became one of the greatest real estate hysterias in the development of North America, scores upon scores of the people of eastern Canada left their Canadian homes and turned their faces Florida-ward.⁴

During the early 1920s Canadian newspapers and magazines were peppered with tourist advertisements that fed on the Florida dream. The Canadian Pacific Railroad, for instance, offered Florida trips, with connections to the "land of sunshine" to be made at Detroit or Buffalo, with through sleeper service to Tampa, but, especially, south Florida and Miami⁵. During the same time, a rival line, the Canadian National, suggested letting the "cold blasts of winter blow you South⁶." American railroads also placed advertisements in Canadian papers.

Thus, the Louisville and Nashville encouraged people to see the "American Rivera, while the Atlantic Coast Line scheduled seven through trains daily from Buffalo to Florida⁷. Additionally, many Florida cities, particularly Miami, placed advertisements in Canada's press, each promoting its own charms and offering booming, sun drenched destinations that promised relief from Canadian winters⁸.

As noted earlier, the city most successful at drawing Canadians south during the 1920s was Miami. While it is impossible to know just how many visitors Miami received from Canada each year, their presence

was routinely noted in the city's press. During the "high season," from late December to March, when the hotels welcomed most of their northern guests, the *Miami Herald* frequently ran photographs of prominent Canadian arrivals. Such was the case with the appearance, in March 1925, of C.O. Stillman, president of Imperial Oil, who arrived by yacht, and in November 1926, of George MacKey and his wife, owners of MacKey's Bread Ltd., "one of the largest baking companies in Canada." Even a Canadian business firm received recognition in the press when the "Quarter Million Dollar Club" of the Canada Life Assurance Company arrived in January 1925.⁹ The *Herald* also published a special column for all of the city's northern guests. It was called "Back Home News" and it offered Americans who were visiting Miami brief (and usually banal) news blurbs about their home states. On occasion, one of the "home states" listed was Canada.¹⁰

The newspaper also routinely reported on the activities of "state societies" that were formed and reformed each season by the visitors from specific American states or regions. State societies appeared on Miami's tourist landscape in 1920; by 1926, over twenty of these groups existed, each having a registered membership and offerings of organized activities, including dinners, dances and sporting events. In January 1925, a Canadian Society joined the ranks of these state organizations when sixty people from Canada met and established themselves along the lines pioneered by American groups. By the 1926 season, the Canadian Society claimed a membership between 500 and 750. It had grown so large that a bigger hall had to be found in order to accommodate its meetings, while formal membership cards had to be printed to keep track of those who participated in the group's events. The average attendance at meetings fluctuated between 200 and 300. A society was also formed in Coral Gables and there were attempts to amalgamate the two. Once the season started in earnest the Canadian Society in Miami began to hold weekly meetings that included a business session, followed by dancing "until midnight," bridge tournaments, and speakers discussing a range of topics. Entertainment could include as dramatic readings, hand tricks and even a monologue entitled dumb-bells. Music played a significant role in these weekly events, with the singing of such national songs as "Maple Leaf Forever" and "Canada," the performance of a five piece

orchestra, (The Canuck Boys), songs from a male quartet, vaudeville programs, and the activities of two Canadians who performed a black face musical comedy act. Cruises were often arranged, and there was always a good deal of visiting between the Canadians and the various state societies.¹¹

In 1926, several state societies, including the Canadian version,



Tourists on Miami Beach, 1926
HMSF Collection X-0063-1

involved themselves in a stock scheme aimed at building a Miami States Societies Hotel. During a mass meeting to gain pledges for this stock offering, a competition ensued to determine which state would pledge the most toward the project. Canada finished third, behind the Illinois and New York

societies. The pledges were accompanied by checks equal to ten percent of the amount, which would then be held in escrow by the Miami Bank and Trust Company until the \$200,000 that was required for construction to proceed had been raised. If this amount was not secured within ninety days of the meeting (and apparently it was not) then the down payments would be refunded.¹²

These Canadian guests, however, represented the classic seasonal snowbird visitors to South Florida. Many of their fellow countrymen decided not to follow this pattern and instead stayed year round as permanent residents. The federal and state censuses are useful guides in determining the aggregate numbers of these Canadians living in Florida, and in the Miami area, but beyond that they are mute as to details concerning the immigrants' provincial origins, Florida occupations, and other personal data. Information of this type, however, can be gleaned from a unique and improbable source: a ferocious hurricane that struck the southeast coast of Florida on September 18, 1926. It swept through Dade County, with winds in excess of 130 miles per hour, creating great destruction. Statewide it killed over 400 people and left more than 25,000 homeless. It all but ended an already moribund land boom and it jeopardized Miami's claim as a viable tourist center. An unexpected aspect of the storm for anyone seeking

to learn more about Canadians in southeast Florida was the information it provided. This was a result of the effort made by many Canadian newspapers to report on the hurricane and on the fate of those Canadians victimized by it. First news of the storm appeared in the press on Monday, September 20 (since there were no Sunday editions). On both Monday and Tuesday, there were bold headlines, photographs of Miami "as it once looked," and maps of the hurricane's path displayed across the front pages of daily newspapers throughout Canada. Reports on the storm and the devastation in its wake continued to be carried in many newspapers for a lengthy period following the disaster.¹³

Alongside these stories, newspapers also began to provide background information on the whereabouts and status of Canadians in south Florida. This material included lists of the names of hometown survivors of the storm. Much of this coverage was the outgrowth of inquiries from readers who wished to discover the fate of friends and loved ones in Florida. To aid in this process a Canadian Bureau was established in Miami to facilitate and coordinate such information. It acted as something of a clearing house for contacts between Canadians in Miami and those in Canada. F.A. Woodman, its director, asked that all Canadians in South Florida contact the Bureau so that it could inform the Canadian press of the whereabouts and conditions of Canadians resident in Florida. The *Miami Herald* also ran ads, free of charge, in its "personal" column, allowing individuals back in Canada to place a notice inquiring as to the welfare of specific people. Short articles also appeared in the *Herald* in support of this effort:

Relatives in Ontario, Canada, are anxiously inquiring about the following Miami people from whom they have heard no word since the storm. Will those who read this please send their Canadian friends word.¹⁴

Thus, by word of mouth, personal notification and by ads placed in the Miami press, details concerning Canadians in Miami could be passed on. At the center of this network of information were the newspapers of Canada that sent inquiries and received, in return,

answers about Canadians caught in the storm.



Toronto Star, September 21, 1926

This approach was typical of newspaper reporting in the 1920s (and later), employing catchy headlines and “human interest” stories that were interconnected to a newspaper’s direct participation in the story. Many of the newspapers used in this study followed this

format, but perhaps the best, and most extreme, example of this style was that of the *Toronto Star* and its coverage of the hurricane and the Canadian “angle.” The *Star* quickly put itself forward as a primary go-between for news about Canadians in Miami and their relatives and friends in Canada, and especially in Toronto. Its radio station, CFCA, began broadcasting hourly reports about the storm on Sunday, September 19. It also rushed two reporters to Miami to send back exclusive, on the scene reports. It ran ads in Miami newspapers requesting information about Canadian nationals, encouraged Torontonians to use the *Star’s* resources to help locate people in the stricken area and called for letters from survivors describing their ordeal. Such letters were then printed in the next edition of the paper. Throughout, along with all the glaring headlines and photographs about the hurricane, the *Star* played up its own involvement in the story and its helpfulness in the crisis. Therefore, as a result of both humanitarianism and salesmanship, the *Star*, and perhaps to a lesser degree, most of the Canada press, attempted to locate as many Canadians living in the storm zone as possible.

For this study, hurricane coverage in the newspapers of eight major Canadian cities was surveyed in order to learn more about Canadians in South Florida. They were Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Ottawa, Winnipeg, London, Halifax and St Johns, Newfoundland (a separate British colony at this point). From these sources one can glean data on the Canadians’ place of origin in Canada, their Florida residence (often including city, neighborhood and even street address), their occupations and the length of time that they had lived in Florida. In addition, press stories concerning the storm tended to examine

Canadian attitudes about Florida and provide descriptions of Canadian involvement in state relief efforts and in Florida society.¹⁶ While large gaps of information remain, the reporting in the press helps fill in the picture of the Canadian population of Miami that was only a sketch in the federal and state censuses.

Halifax People Hear From Relatives In Devastated Florida

Reassuring Messages Came Through From Former
Haligonians Who Escaped Uninjured
in Hurricane

NEWS of gradually increasing damage in Halifax from the depressed
state of Miami bringing the reassuring word that former Halifax
people received corresponded to the reports that some 100
of Florida and were victims of that state on Friday and Saturday.
If a Halifax local resident had also received a telegram from
his daughter the young woman stating that she escaped and her
well preserved, and was following the storm. The telegram added that
the hurricane was "terrible."
Mrs. Frank Adams, 22 Macdonald street, also received word to
the effect that her sister and members of her family were "safe."
Mrs. Macdonald's sister is Mrs. George John, formerly of this city,
and a daughter of Dr. H. Taylor, for 20 years a member of the Nova
Scotia Legislature.

Halifax Herald, September 21, 1926

A pattern emerges from these sources. For instance, it becomes clear that the Canadian migration to Dade County during the 1920s was an overwhelmingly Anglo-Canadian experience, a fact that is supported by the census returns that differentiate between "French Canadian" and "Other Canadian." Also, of the eight cities in the survey, Toronto was far and away the most important source of immigrants to Florida. Other Anglophone cities, of course, contributed to the exodus, most important of which were London, Winnipeg and Halifax and their immediate hinterlands. By contrast, very few Canadians in South Florida were former residents of Montreal, as neither francophones nor Anglophones of that city moved there in significant numbers. While some Toronto figures may be inflated because of the *Star's* vigorous reporting, it is unlikely that every other paper in the other seven cities simply were less involved, since most of them tracked their own former residents in Miami. In addition, membership lists of the Canadian Society and other groups in Miami also showed a preponderance of Torontonians.¹⁷

The total number of names collected from the eight cities' newspapers was 680 (352 men, 237 women, 91 children).¹⁸ Of that sample, 504 (or seventy-four percent) came from Toronto. Next, but considerably behind, was London with 55 people (eight percent of the sample), followed by Winnipeg with forty-three (seven percent) and Halifax with forty-four (six percent). Ottawa contributed seventeen residents (three percent) and Montreal, Canada's largest city in 1926, provided eleven (two percent). There was little interest in South Florida from the far western city of Vancouver or the far eastern city of St. John's.

Newspapers in those two cities covered the hurricane story itself but offered no news concerning any of their own former citizens being caught in the storm zone.

In addition to listing the names and origins of Canadians in the Miami area, the press often provided their Florida occupations. Eighty people (or their friends and relatives) supplied the newspapers with this information. Of that number twenty (representing twenty-five percent of the total) had turned to real estate as a profession, not surprising during the land boom. The next largest grouping was categorized as retail/small shop workers (sixteen percent of the eighty), followed by construction or building trades (fourteen percent). Other visiting Canadians were doctors or lawyers (a total of ten percent), hotel/foodservice workers (ten percent) or employed by Miami area newspapers. A small number found themselves as banking/insurance employees (five percent), law enforcement officials (four percent) or public utilities workers (four percent). Therefore, most of those listed were involved in some aspect of the land boom either directly, as in property sales, or indirectly in occupations that prospered as a result of the population increase resulting from the boom.¹⁹

Finally, on occasion, newspapers noted the number of years individuals or families had lived in Florida prior to the hurricane. The sample here is small, only thirty-one cases, but of the thirty-one, one had been in Dade County for less than a year, nine had lived there for a year, eleven for two years, nine for three years and only one for over three years. Overall, then, most had lived there between one and three years, roughly the period of the boom. None of the thirty-one had pre-1920 roots in the region.

Also emerging from these lists is a snapshot of the women who had moved to south Florida in the 1920s, a total of 237 of the newspaper sample, 177 of whom hailed from Toronto. And within this figure were a number of single females who, as far as can be determined, did not arrive with either a husband or their families. Of the 237 women, twenty-six were listed in various reports as "miss," eleven percent of the total. Of these, twenty-three were from Toronto. The more open

society of the 1920s can be discerned in this small sample of single women who were ready and able to move to a boom-time Florida to seek their fortunes. Unfortunately, only six of these women had their occupations listed. One was identified as "a well-known Toronto girl in Miami who is a private secretary to the vice president of the Miami Chamber of Commerce." Three others were secretaries of the *Miami Daily News*, the Gulf and Southern Steamship Company and an unnamed "large southern firm." The remaining two were employed by a real estate firm and by the school board as a teacher.²⁰



Aerobics on Miami Beach, c.1920s
HMSF Collection Matak 282-21

Canadian children in South Florida were the least visible in press reports, and some could have been simply visiting as opposed to being full time residents. Canadian students, however, did enroll in the region's school system, and they can be assumed to have been residents who had joined their families in a new home. An advertisement for George Merrick's Coral Gables, published in the local press in the fall of 1926, following the hurricane, alluded to these children and to their status. It was noted that students in both the new elementary and high schools hailed from thirty states of the Union as well as from the Bahamas, Cuba, South Africa and Canada. As the *Miami Herald* observed:

From New York to California, from Cuba to Canada, the new school pupils in Coral Gables represented at once the finest cross-section of that community. The newcomer is in no sense a 'stranger within the gates.' He is at home, immediately, among congenial friends and neighbors. Bear in mind that the pupils referred to are not the families of old-time residents; nor are they winter visitors. They, therefore, represent the new residential population in the city of Coral Gables.²¹

Coral Gables also became home to a unique Canadian immigrant population, a francophone "colony" that originated not in Quebec,

but in the province of Manitoba. In the mid-1920s, fifty inhabitants of the French Canadian enclave of St. Pierre, Manitoba, a town located just south of Winnipeg, moved to Coral Gables as an organized group. They had come to “engage in real estate and construction work.” They were led by Belgian-born Adhanard Renuart, who had been raised in St. Pierre and who had become involved in the mercantile and building trades in western Canada. By the mid-1920s, Renuart had visited Miami many times and over a span of a decade had invested in south Florida real estate, particularly in Coral Gables and Miami Beach. He became successful at investing millions of dollars for “both American and Canadian clients” in the Greater Miami area. In January 1926, Renuart opened a “shopping center” in Coral Gables that housed the Renuart Realty Company Office, as well as the Renuart Arcade that included nineteen stores and services.²²

Many of the Canadians living in Florida participated actively in relief work after the hurricane. Reports of their activities appeared in Associated Press releases, where they were identified at times as “Canadian Floridians.” The relief workers in Miami Beach included two former Canadian city mayors, Charles Gray of Winnipeg and Charles Graham of London. In Coral Gables, Denis Renuart, one of the Manitoba francophone group, and a relative of Adhanard, became chairman of the city’s Reconditioning Loan Committee. The Committee floated a bond issue of \$250,000 to be used as a source of loans to homeowners who found themselves in financial distress because of the hurricane. Fred J. O’Leary, who was also involved in relief work, had been born in Texas, but had been trained as an engineer at McGill University in Montreal and had become a contractor in Canada prior to World War I. He moved to South Florida and joined the Renuart Realty Company as general manager. By time of the hurricane he had become president of both the Realty Board and the Chamber of Commerce in Coral Gables. O’Leary was described by the *Miami Herald* as “a leader in civic and business circles,” one who would win election to the Board of Directors of the Bank of Coral Gables two months after the storm.²³

The storm also had the effect of creating or strengthening contacts between South Florida and Canada. For instance, support was offered

to Florida officials by organizations and governments in Canada that recognized not only the sufferings of the devastated area, but its obvious connections with many Canadian families. The Canadian Red Cross, for instance, was prepared to assist in the relief efforts. It decided not to do so only after the American Red Cross in Florida claimed that such outside aid was unnecessary.²⁴ A more unusual offer came from the government-owned Canadian National Railway. As part of the Canadian contribution to assist the stricken Miami area, a special train of twenty-one cars shipped 501 tons of newsprint from Shawinigan Falls, Quebec, consigned as an emergency delivery to the *Miami Herald*. American rail lines agreed to pick up the shipment at the border and to speed it on its way south to readers obviously hungry for *Herald* news.²⁵

The government of the Province of Ontario announced that it was considering possible aid to Greater Miami in the form of a monetary grant. It was unclear whether the funds were to be used solely for Canadian Floridians or for anyone victimized by the storm. The government was quick to recognize the plight of former citizens of Ontario. However, since nothing resulted from this proposed largess, its motivation may stem from an effort to woo future voters in Ontario than to relieve their suffering friends and relatives living in Florida.²⁶

The Province of Nova Scotia considered itself as having a special relationship with the state of Florida. There was, for example, an intermixing of people from the two jurisdictions. Digby, Nova Scotia, in particular, had many of its former residents living in South Florida, while it, in turn, had traditionally been a summer destination for tourists from South Florida.²⁷ Overall, according to the *Halifax Herald*:

Nova Scotians have been more than merely casually interested in Florida. They have felt a direct interest in the 'Peninsula State.' Hundreds of Nova Scotians have settled and 1000s more have visited there in recent years. Miami and other cities of the Florida east coast have drawn a quota of their population from Nova Scotia. Nova Scotians have played a part in the upbuilding of these

cities through investments and by taking up residence there.²⁸

The hurricane also linked Halifax and Miami in a shared sense of recent catastrophe. An editorial in the *Herald* noted that the people of Halifax had a "vivid realisation of personal suffering and hardship,"



Children tourists on Miami Beach, c1920s
HMSF Collection Matlack 12-20

a reference to the wartime explosion of a munitions ship in Halifax harbor in 1917 that leveled most of the north end of the city and killed over 1,600 persons. "The memory of that experience," the editorial observed, "is still with the Halifax people and has been re-awakened by the sad news which has reached this city from "Florida."²⁹

Another important dimension of Canadian ties to Florida was brought out by news of the hurricane--one that involved investment in the state during the previous years, and especially since 1920. There was some confusion at the time over the degree and amount of this investment and over just how much had been lost in the storm. It was clear that many Canadians had become heavily involved in the greater Miami real estate boom, buying and selling property at ever-inflated prices. And some Canadians who had become major players in the boom lost a significant amount of money, a fact that the newspapers played up in order to create headlines. Overall, it was estimated that Canadians had invested over \$50 million in land speculation in Florida, and especially south Florida, by 1926.³⁰ Interestingly, however, most of the Canadians listed in newspaper reports, who had sustained property damage, lived on that property, or had built apartments or stores on it. Clearly, they had intended to do more than just speculate in land. They had come to live and work in Miami. Canadian investment firms, on the other hand, either stayed away from the wildly escalating boom altogether (in the conservative Canadian business tradition) or they went in for first mortgage bonds in substantial buildings, very few of which were seriously damaged.³¹

According to an American reporter dispatched to Miami after the hurricane by a Canadian newspaper, most Canadians who lost money in real estate during the booms collapse took it "like good sports." He predicted that the city would quickly recover "because the North American people cannot afford to have Miami become a rummage sale and a reproach." It was, he argued, typical of the "spirit of both the Anglo-American peoples" to prevent this prospect from happening.³²

A by-product of the storm was a change in the nature of advertising by Florida cities for Canadian consumption. A sharper competitive edge emerged in the battle for Canadian tourists and potential immigrants. During the early 1920s, as noted, travel ads for Florida cities had regularly appeared in Canadian newspapers, with Miami usually taking up the most copy. After the hurricane there was a noticeable change in this type of advertising. First, an increasing number of other Florida cities, such as Orlando, Venice, St. Petersburg and Lakeland, began to promote themselves more frequently. Their ads implied, sometimes none too subtly, that now they were the preferred destinations in Florida, having been "untouched" by the storm.³³ Secondly, Miami countered by introducing ads that faced the issue directly, if over-optimistically, claiming itself to be the "city that never stops." This tactic admitted the obvious fact that Miami had been hit by a hurricane, but it emphasized just how quickly it was recovering. "All hotels and apartment houses will be completely repaired and put in first class condition within sixty days. The 'comeback' to normal had been even faster than predicted."³⁴

There was another reaction to the hurricane in Canada that touched the issues of nationalism and continentalism. The Province of British Columbia began a public relations campaign to convince Canadians to come there for their holidays, rather than south to Florida. The province accentuated its relatively mild climate, its excellent golf courses--and its lack of hurricanes. The idea was "to bring to the attention of tourists seeking a delightful holiday or people looking for a permanent location where climatic conditions are unusually attractive." The province announced that "Canada's Pacific Northwest does not propose to take second place to ... Florida... especially after a study of climatic conditions all over North America" is completed. The expectation

was that Vancouver and Victoria would return "to their former positions as the 'mecca' during the winter months for the holiday makers of eastern Canada."³⁵ It was predicted that the pre-war pattern of Canadian tourism to British Columbia would reassert itself because

In the first place the disasters in Florida have caused the average Canadian tourist to seek fresh fields for his winter flitting, while in the second place the slogan of seeing one's own country first is having effect."³⁶

Suggested in this type of advertising was a policy of remaining in the country and avoiding Florida as a patriotic duty. It was an idea that had been heard since the early 1920s, even in the Canadian House of Commons, and it proved to have a long life.³⁷

In contrast to this attitude, Canadians living in the Miami area had become active in promoting the city and the state to those back in Canada even before the hurricane. In January and February 1926, members of the Canadian Society of Miami began to defend South



French Canadian tourists on Miami Beach, c1920s
HMSE Collection Matlack 320-8

Florida at a time when the "boom" was dissipating. Northern press stories concerning land frauds, failures and even an outbreak of smallpox had created a wave of negative publicity that also reached into Canada. In response, resolutions were passed at meetings of the Society to combat this anti-Miami propaganda. It was decided that let-

ters should be sent to press outlets in Canada that had been advising against any Canadian involvement in the region. Society members pledged to make "a concerted effort to do constructive publicity on behalf of the city of their adoption." They would issue their own positive views and "disseminate the truth about Florida opposition to unfounded and unreliable statements recently published."³⁸

The Society wanted to circulate the facts about Miami in particular so that there would be "no room for slanderous statements." Thus, a

long letter was drafted and ratified representing, it was claimed, "200,000 Canadians in Florida as permanent or temporary residents who believe that Canadians in Canada would like to know something of what members have observed in Florida." The letter was sent to Canadian press rooms and was written in the form of a travelogue that moved down the east coast of Florida from Jacksonville to Miami and Miami Beach. Of course, all along the route only positive things were noted, but once South Florida was reached it became especially glowing:

Driving on we come to the great magic city of Miami. What was to be a winter resort town ... had now developed into one of the great commercial cities of the world. It is then we realize Miami city proper is no longer only an attractive place for a winter resort.⁴⁰

If the printed word was not enough, the Canadian Society also planned to take to the airwaves:

A radio program will be arranged for the near future in order that they may tell home folks about the charm and resources of the state. There is no limit to the value of such publicity, going, as it does, at a time of the year when contrasts in climatic conditions are most striking and reaching a widely scattered audience, regardless of intervening waste basket which might be the port of written statements.⁴¹

In the end it would be the enthusiasts for Florida who would win out, as Canadians continued to be drawn to the state in growing numbers. Despite the fact that California also began to attract Canadian tourists and residents during the 1920s and later, Florida remained the most desired destination. If for no other reason, it was simply closer to the main population centers of eastern Canada.⁴²

Thus, the conclusion of the boom and hurricane of 1926 did not weaken the attraction of South Florida. The Federal census of 1930 showed 8,156 Canadians living in Florida, nearly double the 1920 figure. The Canadian tourist trade also resumed after September 1926, and Canadian business people and organizations were still

photographed and noted in the Miami press. The Canadian Society re-formed once again in January 1927. Canadian "Back Home News" continued to be printed and Canadian children remained enrolled in Coral Gables schools.⁴³

The number of Canadians living in Florida continued to climb through the Great Depression, World War II and the Cold War. The post WWII era saw the greatest escalation of both Canadian tourists and immigration to Florida, so that by the 1980s, an estimated 250,000 Canadians were living in the state, one of the largest concentrations in the United States. Additionally, hundreds of thousands of Canadian tourists swarmed to the Sunshine State each winter, staying anywhere from a week to six months⁴⁴

The pattern of this long and short term population movement changed in the decades following the 1920s. There were far more French Canadians from Province of Quebec moving into the state's east coast, and the number of retirees among the winter visitors increased markedly.⁴⁵ Still, the beginnings of the phenomenon that linked the state of Florida and the nation of Canada had its roots not after World War II, but following the first world war. It was the boom of the 1920s, centered particularly in South Florida, that nurtured the growth of this connection and solidly established the close and unique ties that persist into the twenty-first century.

Endnotes

- ¹ Florida State Census of 1925. The total number of Foreign-born in Florida equalled 47,265. Cuba contributed-6,700; Canada-6,585; England-5,451; Italy-4,780. *Maclean's* 25 January 1993; *London Free Press* 1 January 2000; *Toronto Star* 20 August 1992. Joseph A. McDonald, a native of Prince Edward Island off of the east coast of Canada, and Henry M. Flagler's most powerful lieutenant in Miami, guided the settlement through its incorporation election in 1896.
- ² For descriptions of Florida the 1920s land boom, see: William W. Rogers, "Fortune and Misfortune: The Paradoxical Twenties" in Michael Gannon (ed.) *The New History of Florida* (Gainesville: The University Press of Florida, 1996); Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables: University of Miami, 1971); George Brown Tindall, *The Ethnic Southerner* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976); R. Bruce Stephenson, *Visions of Eden: Environmentalism, Urban Planning and City Building in St. Petersburg, Florida. and City in Florida, 1900-1995* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997); Paul S. George, "Brokers, Binders, And Builders: Greater Miami's Boom Of The Mid-1920s," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LXV July 1986; For a contemporary Canadian view: see *Toronto Star* 26 September 1926.
- ³ U.S. Census of 1920; Florida State Census of 1925"
- ⁴ *Toronto Star* 26 September 1926.
- ⁵ *Maclean's* 1 December 1925, 6.
- ⁶ *Toronto Globe* 12 October 1926.
- ⁷ *Toronto Globe* 9 and 23 November 1926.
- ⁸ *Toronto Globe* 7, 9 and 10 January 1925; 15 February 1925, 38.
- ⁹ *Miami Herald* 9, 13, 15 January 1925, 28 February 5 and 6 March, 1925, 10 February 1926, 8 November 1926, 4 January 1927.
- ¹⁰ For examples, see: *Back Home Herald* 5, 10 and 27 February, 1926.
- ¹¹ *Miami Herald* (20 and 21 January 1925, 2 February 1925, 1 March 1925, 8 January 1926, 6, 10, 20, 23 and 27 February 1926, 11 and 15 September 1926, 6 and 17 February 1927, 6 March 1927, 2 February 1928; *Daily News* 5, 11, 25, 29 January 1926. *Toronto Star* (20 September 1926)
- ¹² *Miami Daily News* 21 January 1926.
- ¹³ For background on the hurricane, see: Rogers, 294-296; Tindall,

- 206-207. For examples of Canadian newspaper coverage: *Toronto Star* 20 September 1926; *l Gazette* 21 September 1926; *London Free Press* 20 September 1926; *Manitoba Free Press* 20 September 1926; *Halifax Herald* 21 September 1926; *Toronto Globe* 20 September 1926.
- ¹⁴ *Miami Herald* 23, 25, 26 and 28 September 1926, 2 October 1926); *Montreal Gazette* September 1926; *Manitoba Free Press* 26 September 1926. Similar notices and ads were placed in the *Herald* by the states of Alabama and Georgia, by two Boston newspapers, by the Danish government, by the British consul and by the city of Cleveland. No Canadians appear to have died in the storm.
- ¹⁵ Douglas Fetherling, *The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper* Toronto; Oxford 1990, 107-117. For examples from the *Toronto Stars* issues from 20 to 28 September 1926. See also *Miami Herald* 26 September 1926.
- ¹⁶ The newspapers examined were: *Toronto Star*, *Toronto Globe*, *London Free Press*, *Ottawa Journal*, *Montreal Gazette*, *Halifax Herald*, *St. John's Free Press* and *Vancouver Sun*.
- ¹⁷ U.S. Censuses of 1920 and 1930. Robert Chados and Eric Hamovitch, *Quebec and the Dream* Toronto: Between the Lines, 1991, 214-219.
- ¹⁸ Every attempt was made to weed out Canadian visitors/tourists from Canadian residents, although in a few cases it was difficult to determine definitively.
- ¹⁹ The actual numbers involved in each occupational grouping: real estate (20), retail (13), construction (11), doctor/lawyer (8), hotel/food services (8), Newspapers (6), banking insurance (4), law enforcement (3) public utilities (3) plus misc (4).
- ²⁰ The number of women and information about them was taken from the newspaper sample used above.
- ²¹ *Miami Herald* 7 November 1926.
- ²² *Manitoba Free Press* 20 September 1926; *Montreal Gazette* 21 September 1926; *Toronto Star* 25 September 1926; *Miami Herald* 31 January 1926, 5 March 1927.
- ²³ *Manitoba Free Press* 20 and 25 September 1926; *Toronto Star* (25 September 1926; *Miami Herald* 7 and 31 January 1926, 21 September 1926, 21 November 1926, 19 January 1927; Randy William Widdis, *With Scarcely a Ripple: into the United States and Western Canada*. 1880-1920 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's. 1998), 348-351. Graham had been mayor of Winnipeg during the 1919 General Strike.

- ²⁴ *Montreal Gazette* 22 and 24 September 1926; *London Free Press* 28 September 1926.
- ²⁵ *Montreal Gazette* 24 September 1926); *London Free Press* 24 September 1926.
- ²⁶ *Toronto Star* 20 September 1926.
- ²⁷ *Halifax Herald* 21 and 23 September 1926.
- ²⁸ *Halifax Herald* 21 September 1926.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ *Halifax Herald* 22 September 1926; *Montreal Gazette* 22 September 1926; *Toronto Star* 22 September 1926; *Toronto Globe* 24 and 25 September 1926; *London Free Press* 21 September 1926.
- ³¹ *Financial Post* 24 September 1926, 26 November 1926; *Toronto Star* 22, 23, 24, 25 and 28 September 1926; *Montreal Gazette* 21 September 1926; *London Free Press* 21 September 1926; *Manitoba Free Press* 21 September 1926. \$50 million represented the inflated land values of the boom era.
- ³² *Toronto Star* 24 September 1926.
- ³³ *Maclean's* 15 October 1926, 56-57, 15 November 1926, 48-53, 1 December 1926, 49, 15 December 1926, 49; *Toronto Globe* 27 November 1926.
- ³⁴ *Toronto Globe* (23 October and 29 November 1926).
- ³⁵ *Financial Post* (5 November 1926).
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ For the general concept expressed in recent times, see: Robert F. Palmetto and the Maple Leaf: Patterns of Canadian Migration to Florida," in Randall M. Miller and George Pozzetta (eds), *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity, Race and the Urban South* (Greenwood Press, 1988), 32-34. For an example of the topic being raised in the Canadian House of Commons, *Debates: House of Commons*, 15-16 Geo V, vol. 11, 1925, 1589.
- ³⁸ *Miami Daily News*, 11 and 19 January 1926. For an overview of the problems, survey the press of Miami during this time. For the small-pox outbreak, "Eric Jarvis, Has No Excuse': The 1926 Smallpox Epidemic in Florida," paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Association for the History of Medicine and New Orleans, February 2002.
- ³⁹ *Miami Daily News*, 24 January 1926.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.

- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² U.S. Census of 1920; Bruno Ramirez, *Crossing the 49th parallel: Migration from Canada to the United States, 1900-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell, 2001), chapters 3 and 4; Widdis, 66-67, 78-79.
- ⁴³ U.S. Census of 1930; *Miami Herald* 29 October 1926, 8 and 21 November 1926 4 and 7 January 17 February 1927, 5 and 6 March 1927.
- ⁴⁴ U.S. Censuses of 1940 and 1960; Hamey, 22; Eric Jarvis, "Florida's Forgotten Ethnic Culture: Patterns of Canadian Immigration, Tourism and Investment since 1920" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 81 (Fall, 2002), 187-188; Jeffrey Star-*Spangled Canadians: Canadians Living the American Dream* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2000), 46.
- ⁴⁵ Jarvis, 193-197; Harney; 34-35; Chados and Hamovitch, 214-215; *Maclean's* 25 January 1993; *London Free Press* 1 January 2000; *Toronto Star* 20 August 1992.