

Networks among British Immigrants and Accommodation to Canadian Society: Winnipeg, 1900-1914

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Recently scholars have begun to explain migration in terms of the mechanisms which immigrants employ as groups to accommodate to new societies. Upon arrival in Canada, British immigrants established a new set of social relationships still strongly informed by their pre-emigration culture. The most important social institution facilitating accommodation was the nuclear family. Families were the basis for networks providing reliable information, emotional solace and material support. Other institutions flourishing in British immigrant communities — churches, benefit societies and boarding-houses — functioned as surrogate families. Networks gave the British a competitive advantage in Canada's heterogeneous society.

On a commencé à expliquer la migration en terme de mécanismes d'adaptation des groupes d'immigrants. À leur arrivée au Canada, les immigrants britanniques y ont établi un nouveau mode de relations sociales fondé en grande partie, en fait, sur leur culture d'origine. La famille nucléaire fut la plus importante des institutions sociales facilitant l'adaptation des immigrants. Elle leur fournit des informations provenant de sources fiables, un réconfort affectif et un support matériel. D'autres institutions fleurissant dans la communauté britannique — les églises, les sociétés de bienfaisance et les maisons d'accueil — fonctionnèrent comme des substituts aux familles. Ces réseaux mirent les britanniques dans une position plus compétitive à l'intérieur de la société hétérogène canadienne.

In recent years historians and sociologists who study migration have abandoned such concepts as "the marginal man" and "uprootedness". Instead they have explained the immigration experience in terms of the mechanisms which immigrants employed as groups to accommodate to new societies. I have argued elsewhere that English immigrants in Canada asserted a group identity based upon shared cultural forms because there were explicit social advantages to such ascription.¹ The same essay postulated the emergence of a pan-British identity in the face of competition from alien ethnic groups. My purpose here is to elaborate the content of that identity. The collective strategy whereby British immigrants accommodated to Canadian society was based upon what scholars have called networks. By the term network,

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1. A. Ross McCormack, "Cloth Caps and Jobs: The Ethnicity of English Immigrants in Canada, 1900-1914", in *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada*, eds. Jorgen DAHLE and Tina FERNANDO (Toronto: Methuen, 1981), pp. 38-57.

I mean a series of individuals and institutions which is connected by social relationships and which is unbounded so that it may incorporate other individuals and institutions.² By the term British, I mean a functional social category subsuming the four national groups which emigrated from England, Scotland, Ulster and Wales. This essay, which focuses on the British community in Winnipeg between 1900 and 1914, argues that immigrants from the UK used networks which were based in the nuclear family, sustained by chain migration and elaborated through ethnic institutions, to maximize group advantage in Canada's heterogeneous society.

Immediately upon arrival, migrants begin to reconstruct their social lives, using both resources that are part of their cultural baggage and part of their new environment.³ This process is common to migration. The newcomers need a place to live, advice on social and cultural norms, help in finding a job and assistance in a hundred other ways. To facilitate the process of economic and emotional adaptation, migrants must establish a new set of social relationships. This can have many dimensions ranging from secret fraternities to football clubs. Usually the reconstruction is based on such institutions as the church, benefit societies and neighbourhoods. The most effective and enduring social affiliation that a migrant can enjoy during the initial period of accommodation is with a kinship network.

British networks grew out of the nuclear family. By filling its traditional role of furnishing both emotional and material support, the family constituted a model for other networks. Because it is a principal mediator of social identity in modern society, immigrants have traditionally used the family as a mechanism to reduce their sense of dislocation and to facilitate their adaptation.⁴ Before 1914 the structure of British immigration facilitated this process; men and women entered Canada at a ratio of 3:2. The British established a traditional patriarchal system of family organization in which the husband assumed a dominant and public role and the wife a subordinate and private one.⁵ Oral history interviews indicate the woman was assigned all household tasks, even if she held a full-time job, and routine child-rearing responsibilities, except for disciplining which was considered a male prerogative; the man was the principal bread-winner and the family's representative in the community.⁶ This structure imposed heavy responsibilities on the wife and mother. An emigration promoter familiar with British communities in Canada told

2. Anthropologists have used the concept of networks more effectively than historians. For some excellent examples of its application, see James L. WARSON, ed., *Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

3. Raymond BRETON, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants", *American Journal of Sociology*, 69 (1964): 194.

4. Charles TILLY and C. Harold BROWN, "On Uprooting, Kinship and the Auspices of Migration", *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 8 (1967): 67-75.

5. Michael ANDERSON, *Family Structure in the Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Patricia BRANCA, *Silent Sisterhood: Middle Class Women in the Victorian Home* (London: Croom Helm, 1973); Leonore DAVODOFF, Jean L. ESPERANCE and Howard NEWBY, "Landscape with Figures: Home and Community in English Society", in *The Rights and Wrongs of Women*, eds. Juliet MITCHELL and Ann OAKLEY (London: Penguin, 1976); Peter N. STEARNS, "Working-Class Women in Britain, 1890-1914", in *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*, ed. Martha VICINUS (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972); and Paul THOMPSON, *The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society* (London: Paladin, 1977).

6. Since 1979 University of Winnipeg researchers have been conducting intensive life-history interviews with British immigrants who arrived in the city before 1914. The tapes are on deposit at the University.

the Dominions Royal Commission that "she is the foundation stone" of the family. And the home she made was central to her husband's and children's emotional adjustment to Canadian society. The home became the focus for the maintenance of British aesthetic cultural forms such as idiom, diet and values. "I love my home," a London woman told a friend, "and make it as homely and English as I can. I generally get English jams, pickles, sauces, etc. and thus keep up our English taste of food."⁷ In this way the home provided immigrants with a congenial and familiar environment insulated from an alien society.

In addition to providing immigrants with emotional support, the nuclear family filled a significant economic role. Both Anderson and Parr have elaborated this interpretation of English family relationships.⁸ Among the British working-class it was customary for older children, living at home, to supplement family income through wage-labour. The practice was part of the cultural baggage immigrants took to Canada. Indeed this income supplement mechanism became institutionalized in the migration process. Emigration societies routinely assumed that it would be used to facilitate economic adjustment; the East End Emigration Fund defined the "ideal family" as one composed of "parents under 40, with four children, two of whom are working age." As a matter of policy, the Canadian immigration service discouraged the migration of families with more than two children under twelve.⁹

A majority of the nuclear families travelling as units in this essay's sample of British immigrants appear to have adopted an instrumental strategy to migration.¹⁰ Families with more than one potential wage-earner constituted the larger proportion of those travelling as units. Married couples without dependent children comprised 36 percent of the population. The eldest child of 15 percent of the nuclear families was between 12 and 17 and presumably able to contribute to family income. An additional 6 percent had at least one child over 18. Nonetheless the eldest child of 43 percent of the nuclear families was only 11.¹¹ A nuclear family's ability to migrate with dependent children may have been related to the extent of support it could expect in Canada. For instance while only 13 percent of families with children went out "on spec," 21 percent of couples without dependents did.¹²

British immigrant families with children of working age clearly exploited their wage-earning potential as need arose. "Everybody out," a Cumberland man told his three adolescent children when the family arrived in Winnipeg, "you have all got to work."¹³ Many families appear to have functioned as co-operative economic units with wives, sons and daughters working in the home, going into domestic

7. *Dominions Royal Commission on Natural Resources, Trade and Legislation of Certain Portions of H.M. Dominions*, Pt. 1, *Migration*, pp. 1912-13 (Cd. 6516), 109; *Friendly Leaves*, August 1908.

8. ANDERSON, *Family Structure*, pp. 66-67, and Joy PARR, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1980), pp. 20-21.

9. *East End Emigration Fund: Report 1905*, p. 4; and Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC), Immigration Branch Records, RG 76, 6775-2, Culver to Marquette, 20 February 1908.

10. The sample comprises 6,599 persons of record, and their dependents, who immigrated under Salvation Army auspices, mainly in 1913. Their files contain some 40 variables and are on deposit at the Salvation Army Archives in Toronto.

11. N = 544

12. Couples: N = 159; families with children: N = 304. There is a statistically significant association between couples and migration "on spec" ($\chi^2 = 3.91$; $df = 1$; $p = .05$).

13. Interview 1-Wi-79-7.

service or joining the labour force. In 1911 a Winnipeg social agency found that in a sample of thirty British families over one-third had, on the average, two children in full-time employment.¹⁴ The obligation to supplement family income apparently remained on children as long as they were part of the household.

Wives, sons and daughters went to work, Anderson argues, only as a "solution to family poverty."¹⁵ The practice appears to have had the same cause in Canada. Dislocation attendant upon migration produced short-run economic hardship equal to any crisis in the life cycle of a family. The need to repay passage loans, to compete for housing in a tight market and to re-establish a household placed heavy demands on resources. And when the principal wage-earner's employment was irregular, as it often was in Canada's seasonal economy, supplementary income became essential. Apparently wives and children were equally expected to support the family in these circumstances. A Durham woman who married a Scottish butcher recalls, "if he wasn't working or something, I've gone out to work and I've done a day's work. And I scrubbed floors for one dollar a day." A Belfast machinist who could never secure regular employment from the CPR frequently became dependent upon his children. His daughter remembers, "my brother and I ... got to work and with what we were earning, although it wasn't much — I had eight dollars a week and I think he had ten — but with that little bit coming in, it always kept things going until Dad would get another spell."¹⁶

To ensure the integrity of the family, British immigrants practised preferential endogamy. Emigration propaganda emphasized that Canada offered excellent matrimonial prospects for women; the East End Emigration Fund for instance announced that "Winnipeg has three times as many men as women."¹⁷ Once in Canada British immigrants manifested a pronounced tendency to maintain group cohesiveness through intermarriage. The phenomenon is demonstrable through an examination of some 460 marriages in three Anglican parishes in and around Winnipeg in the years between 1903 and 1913.¹⁸ Of the 231 English-born bridegrooms in the parishes, 65 percent married countrywomen; 74 percent of the 200 English brides entered endogamous unions. The operation of networks ensured that in some cases the origins of the bride and groom showed a remarkable propinquity. A West Bromwich woman who immigrated in 1912 met and married a man who had lived "only a busride away" in her home town. On the day the couple was married in Winnipeg their families held a wedding breakfast "at home" in Staffordshire.¹⁹

For the most part the British did not, of course, migrate to Canada in nuclear families. Twenty-six percent of the sample migrating in 1913 were going out to relatives.²⁰ These data point to the process of chain migration. The standard definition was provided some years ago by the MacDonalds who described chain migration

14. *Imperial Home Reunion Association: Annual Report, 1911*, p. 6.

15. ANDERSON, *Family Structure*, pp. 71-76, and STEARNS, "Working Class Women", pp. 113-14.

16. Interviews 1-Wi-81-3 and 4-Wi-79-3.

17. *East End Emigration Fund: Report 1905*, p. 5.

18. The parishes are All Saints, St. Andrew's and St. Paul's. The records of the first are housed in the vestry offices while those of the latter two are on deposit at the Public Archives of Manitoba.

19. Interview 1-Wi-79-3.

20. N = 4336.

as a "movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants."²¹ The family remained basic to this process whether it was a divided nuclear family, an extended family or even a surrogate family. Quantitative data and qualitative evidence indicate that extended families facilitated the migration of more individuals than the other two institutions. Litwack has argued that the extended family is "uniquely suited" to this role because its size expedites the accumulation of capital and its solidarity ensures the provision of reliable information.²² These were the commodities that prospective immigrants needed most.

Reliable information is essential to rational choice. The need was especially acute in Britain's highly competitive emigration market. In the Canadian trade alone, prospective migrants were faced with a welter of propaganda from railways, steamship companies, passenger agents and provincial governments. By 1913 federal immigration officials, for instance, were giving one thousand illustrated lectures annually in the United Kingdom.²³ In spite of — perhaps because of — the intensity of Canadian advertising, prospective immigrants relied on information from persons whom they knew and trusted. Letters from friends and relatives in Canada, an emigration society claimed, "do more to enlighten [recipients] and their neighbours as to the reality of the prospects offered than any amount of official information." Because the information sent home within networks was considered authoritative, it was shared. Like other members of emigrant-exporting societies, the British circulated letters from Canada within extended families. The practice cut across class lines; pauper apprentices and public school men alike exchanged information within networks.²⁴

Prospective migrants valued the information contained in personal letters from Canada because it was frank, specific and current. Immigrants offered advice on the various dimensions of migration and settlement — cultural, logistical, economic and so on. For instance, a Gateshead man, whose luggage had been badly damaged during passage to Winnipeg, sent his wife detailed instructions complete with diagrams on how to pack the family's goods.²⁵ But information on economic conditions — accurate and up-to-date advice on prices, the availability of housing and the state of the job market — was most important for those about to leave Britain. Personal knowledge of the prospective migrant allowed individuals in Canada to provide highly specific advice. A Londoner informed a friend that men in his trade "are in great demand. Bricklayers command 4 ½ dollars a day." But in Canada's unstable seasonal economy, shifts in the labour market were rapid. What made information conveyed in personal networks virtually unique was explicit warnings

21. John S. and B.D. MACDONALD, "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighbourhood Formation and Social Networks", *The Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 42 (1964): 82. The italics are in the original.

22. Eugene LITWACK, "Geographic Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion", *American Sociological Review*, 25 (1960): 385-94.

23. Charles STOKES, "Canadianizing Britain", *The Westminster*, 22 (1913): 457.

24. *British Women's Emigration Association: Report 1902*, p. 13; PARR, *Labouring Children*, pp. 72-76; and Patrick A. DUNAE, *Gentlemen Emigrants: From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981), p. 69.

25. University of Winnipeg Archives, George Leach Papers, Geo. Leach to Lizzie Leach, 28 March 1911.

not to migrate. During the recession of 1907-08, an Oxfordshire man, whose brothers were going out sequentially to Manitoba, warned the head of the family that "trade all over Canada just now is bad ... and there is nothing being done to speak of."²⁶

In addition to information, letters to relatives in Britain contained remittances. Anthropologists, such as Philpott and Watson, have demonstrated that emigrant-exporting communities can become virtually dependent on a flow of funds from individuals working overseas.²⁷ Even though Britain was hardly a remittance economy, there were clearly families who were dependent, in one of several ways, upon the earnings of immigrants in Canada. In 1912 the Winnipeg Board of Trade estimated that a group of some 300 British men remitted on the average \$300 annually to support their wives and children in the United Kingdom.²⁸ These men, mainly clerks and artisans, may have been somewhat unrepresentative. Still there can be no doubt that substantial funds were flowing from Canada to Britain. Trends in Canadian postal money orders payable in Britain, one of the principal vehicles for remittances, provide a good index of this condition. In 1900 the value of such orders was \$929,000; by 1914, after hundreds of thousands of British immigrants had arrived in Canada, the value had risen to \$15,430,000. The capacity of immigrants to make remittances depended on the condition of the Canadian labour market. When the economy was booming in 1904, orders payable in Britain averaged \$13.21, but five years later, when a severe recession had resulted in widespread unemployment, the average value dropped by more than 20 percent.²⁹

Remittances were made, in part, to fulfil customary obligations within the family. Anderson posits a consensual "duty to assist less fortunate kin."³⁰ Apparently this sense of obligation was part of British cultural baggage. Even though separated by great distances, some immigrants appear to have accepted the responsibility to support aged parents and other dependent relatives at home. Members of Winnipeg's British community took pride in having met such obligations. "Even when my wife come out," a Macclesfield butcher recalls, "we sent a dollar, two home, home to the old people, and we were only making a bit of money." Those who had failed to make remittances offered rationales such as "I never made big money."³¹ Relatives in Britain expected immigrants to contribute to family welfare, especially if Canada was perceived positively. One family established "a home allowance" which kin in Manitoba were bound to pay.³² The strength of customary obligations is demonstrated by remittances to family members whom the immigrant would in all likelihood have never seen again. For instance a Herefordshire machinist settled

26. *East End Emigration Fund: Report 1912*, p. 26, and Oxford University, Bodleian Library, Sydney Marvin Papers, d. 258-179, Herbert Marvin to Sydney Marvin, 31 October 1907.

27. Stuart B. PHILPOTT, "Remittance Obligations, Social Networks and Choice Among Montserratian Migrants in Britain", *Man*, 3 (1968): 466; and James L. WATSON, "Restaurants and Remittances: Chinese Emigrant Workers in London", in *Anthropologists in Cities*, eds. Geo. M. FOSTER and Robert V. KEMPER (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974), p. 219.

28. *Imperial Home Reunion Association: Annual Report, 1912*, p. 4.

29. Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1903-15, no. 24, "Reports of the Postmaster General", Appendix C.

30. ANDERSON, *Family Structure*, p. 65.

31. Interviews 1-Wi-79-18 and 1-Wi-79-1.

32. Marvin Papers, d. 260-27, John Marvin to Sydney Marvin, 14 September 1908.

in Winnipeg made regular and substantial contributions to the maintenance of his invalid brother, whose condition precluded immigration to Canada.³³

Some remittances were made explicitly to facilitate migration. Apart from supporting a wife and children at home, the first obligation that an immigrant had was to repay loans used to finance his passage. This process replenished family capital and thus allowed other family migrants to travel within the network.³⁴ Chain migration was even more dependent upon the higher real wages earned in Canada. Immigrants working in the Dominion could accumulate capital more quickly than in Britain; it was then remitted home to finance passages. The benefits could accrue to members of either the immigrant's extended or nuclear family. When a Welshman working for the CPR in Winnipeg learned that his brother was unemployed as a result of a miners' strike, he sent home the best form of relief he could, a steamship ticket. Another Winnipeg CPR employee who immigrated in 1911 wrote his wife in April, "I want to make good money to send and get you out as soon as I can." After a month of frugal living he remitted her passage, even though it was "putting me on my last legs to get you out."³⁵

When the prospective migrant became an immigrant, reception by family and friends was highly advantageous. During the nineteenth century, the British working-class family became the principal institution facilitating the migration of rural masses to the new industrial towns. Given this experience, immigrants transferred the mechanism to Canada. Here as in the United Kingdom personal networks provided the aid specific to families. Accommodation, food, personal care, loans, advice and assistance in finding a job, all afforded the newcomer going out to a family connection a more favourable start than the individual alone in an alien society could make. Immigrants certainly appear to have perceived an advantage. In the sample, 48 percent of the women and 24 percent of the men were migrating in chains.³⁶ Because individuals tended to travel within available personal networks, the location of family and friends was clearly influential in the spatial distribution of the British.³⁷ Immigrants appear to have been more likely to settle in a place to which they had been attracted by a family connection than a place to which they had been directed by an emigration society or the state. When a London woman recalled the process by which her family had been established in Winnipeg, she provided a classic description of chain migration: "[friends] talked Harry into coming back with them so that's how he got started. Then, of course, gradually one from the other, like my sister and my other brother came out. Then my married sister with her two children and I came in 1910. That's the way that finally, you know, so many of us got out here." Given her passage by a brother, the respondent nursed her two sisters through confinements and financed the passage of an additional brother and sister to Winnipeg.³⁸

33. University of Winnipeg Archives, Nelson Smith Papers, account book.

34. Marvin Papers, d. 256-106, Thomas and John Marvin to Sydney Marvin, 25 June 1905.

35. PAC, RG 76, 34688-1, McCreary to Griffith, 1 June 1898, and Leach Papers, Geo Leach to Lizzie Leach, 10 April 1911 and 2 May 1911.

36. Women: N = 2672; men: N = 3312.

37. Yona GINSBERG, "Rural-Urban Migration and Social Networks: The Israel Case", *International Journal of Comparison Sociology*, 20 (1979): 243.

38. Interview 1-Wi-79-12.

Improved communications on the North Atlantic and relatively high wages in Canada made it feasible for a man migrating a year or two in advance of his family to begin accumulating the capital necessary to re-establish a household. Thirty-one percent of the men travelling alone in the sample were married.³⁹ The reception that these men had appears significant. While only 20 percent were going out to family and friends, 44 percent had to settle for state-arranged employment. An additional 27 percent planned to manage entirely on their own resources, even though only 11 percent of the population as a whole went out "on spec".⁴⁰ These data suggest that men migrating in advance of their nuclear families tended to lack access to personal networks. The second phase of the process was demonstrated by the behaviour of women travelling with their children; fully 87 percent were going out to their husbands.⁴¹ The decision for nuclear families to migrate sequentially appears to have been related to the wage-earning potential of children. While only 20 percent of the families going out for reunification had a teen-aged child able to work, 69 percent had no child older than 11 years of age.⁴² The case of an Ulster tailor was typical. In 1909 he immigrated to Winnipeg, leaving his family in the care of Belfast relatives. "Father came out," one of his daughters remembers, "to see how things were before he brought us over." After eighteen months' work he had accumulated sufficient capital to open a small shop and send for his wife and daughters who ranged in age from two to eight.⁴³

Chain migration also appears to have been important for young, unmarried men and women. Twenty-five percent of those in the sample were going out to family and friends.⁴⁴ Women appear to have been somewhat more likely to use this mechanism than men. Of the single men and women migrating within personal networks, 58 percent were within the ages of 18 and 29.⁴⁵ On the average, women appear to have been somewhat older than the men. The class composition of the cohort going to family and friends appears significant and coincides with Tilly's and Brown's assertion that low-status individuals are more likely to travel in personal networks. Nearly 60 percent of the women were domestic servants, while only 20 percent belonged to skilled trades.⁴⁶ The men enjoyed only slightly higher status. Forty-six percent of them worked in unskilled occupations and 34 percent in skilled, such as metal or building trades.⁴⁷ Their lower status precluded resources adequate to carry them through any sustained period of unemployment. Upon arrival they needed material assistance in the form of accommodation and food from their hosts. And they needed assistance in finding work. Custom in Britain had taught them, Anderson argues, that families were "typically responsible for getting a man a

39. N = 2,840.

40. N = 777.

41. N = 600.

42. N = 701.

43. Interview 4-Wi-81-2.

44. N = 3,333.

45. N = 800.

46. N = 267; TILLY and BROWN, "On Uprooting", pp. 143-44.

47. N = 276. For the sample as a whole, 40 percent of the men were unskilled and 40 percent skilled. Similarly the hypothesis appears also to be supported by the status distribution among immigrants travelling "on spec". While 10 percent of unskilled workers came out independently, 40 percent of the professionals migrated outside any network; only skilled building tradesmen, a group that sojourned in the North Atlantic economy, came close to the latter proportion with 33 percent.

job."⁴⁸ The experience of a Kentishman who immigrated in 1910 at the age of 24 was typical. "I just came out to my brother," he recalls; "he was here two years Anything for my future I'll get advice from him. I relied on him." The confidence was well placed; his brother provided temporary lodging and arranged a job with the CPR.⁴⁹

The reception of family and friends entailed emotional strain and monetary costs. The anxieties attendant upon beginning life in an alien society exacerbated the tension caused by crowding into another household; a good deal of wear and tear on emotions resulted. The process was undoubtedly intensified by a shared awareness that the longer the newcomer remained dependent, the more the increased costs depleted his host's capital. The disadvantages of chain migration for the settled immigrant were demonstrated by the case of a Glasgow woman. In 1912 she financed the passage of her sister, unemployed brother-in-law and two nieces on the understanding that the family would repay the loan through work in her Winnipeg boarding-house. But when relations between her and her brother-in-law became so strained that the family moved out, the Glaswegian lost both her investment and her assured labour supply.⁵⁰ Such experience clearly made some individuals reluctant to receive family and friends or at least imposed limits on support. Oral testimony indicates that the settled immigrants appear to have been more inclined to provide material aid to relatives than to friends and to place more constraints on the support given friends. When a Welshman sent for his wife and sons, he warned her to "tell the boys not to spread the news to bring a large crowd with you — there will be no accommodation for them." But even family relationships could be ruthlessly instrumental. In 1905 a Portsmouth woman living with her son and daughter-in-law in Winnipeg lost her sight and thus her ability to contribute to the family economy; she was turned out of the house and deported.⁵¹

Whatever the disadvantages, however, settled immigrants received family and friends for the same reasons that they made remittances. The propensity to favour family members demonstrated the strong influence of custom. British communities in Canada were sufficiently integrated to help maintain compliance with cultural norms. But scholars have also identified trans-oceanic mechanisms which effectively enforce behavioural standards among migrants.⁵² The consensual obligation of a son or daughter to care for an aged parent appears to have resulted in the immigration of a significant number of elderly, and unproductive, individuals. The sample contained 115 people over 60; 62 percent were travelling to join relatives or friends. A Londoner explained that he was bringing out his elderly mother because "she will be all right and end her days in peace with me."⁵³ Possibly there was another dimension to a settled immigrant's sense of obligation. Those who had already benefited from chain migration may have felt a need to repay the system. In an

48. ANDERSON, *Family Structure*, pp. 119-20.

49. Interview I-Wi-79-1.

50. Interview 2-Wi-79-1.

51. PAC, 76, 29501-3, Heath to Heath, 14 November 1897, and 15197, MOFFATT, "Report on Deportation", 15 February 1905.

52. PHILPOTT, "Remittance Obligations", p. 472, and WATSON, "Restaurants and Remittances", p. 219.

53. *Church Emigration Society: Annual Report 1908*, p. 26.

invitation to a friend, a Londoner who had travelled in a network explained that "I must do to others what others have done for me."⁵⁴

Settled immigrants also received family and friends because the process was, at least potentially, functional for the hosts. The unstable nature of a migrant's life necessitated observance of obligations, especially to family members, because an individual could never be certain when he might need the support of the kinship network. In other words a migrant to Canada could not risk breaking the chain. And networks operated in such a way that real sanctions could be brought against miscreants. Not all migrants remained in Canada permanently; for instance in the decade 1901-1911 emigration was almost as high as immigration. This condition was partly a function of sojourning which was well established in the North Atlantic economy, especially in seasonal occupations. Building tradesmen, miners and even unskilled labourers migrated to Canada to work so long as wages were higher than in Britain. When the Canadian economy slumped, as it periodically did, they went home. Thus an Ulsterwoman, who had married a carpenter from Norfolk, returned with her husband to his family when the recession of 1913 put thousands of building-tradesmen out of work.⁵⁵ But even if an immigrant was, more or less, permanently settled in Canada, personal networks continued to provide support in times of need. This condition is demonstrated in the remittances sent from Britain to Canada. Fluctuations in their value indicated how these funds facilitated immigrant adjustment. After increasing at a modest annual rate, the average value of postal money orders sent to this country shot up by 20 percent during the recession of 1908 which caused severe hardship for the British in Canada. When the head of an Oxfordshire family provided special financial aid in 1908, he insisted that the recipients give greater help to their brother.⁵⁶

Personal networks extended beyond the family into neighbourhoods, which provided the base for group institutions. While final conclusions must wait on the availability of quantitative data, qualitative evidence strongly suggests that the British formed spatially discrete communities. Reynolds found substantial levels of residential concentration among Montreal's British population.⁵⁷ Similar patterns developed in Winnipeg. In some cases segregation was national-group-specific and in a few even town-specific. But oral testimony indicates that, for the most part, urban settlement integrated English, Scottish, Ulster and Welsh immigrants. The city's west end, adjacent to the CPR shops, was a British neighbourhood. A London woman whose husband worked for the railway told a friend "we like this place very much; ... it is all English, Scotch and Irish. It's like being at home."⁵⁸ Elmwood, across the Red River from factories where many British artisans worked, also had a distinctive character. The area developed during the massive influx of British immigrants to the West after 1910; apparently as a result, settlement patterns

54. *East End Emigration Fund: Report 1905*, p. 13.

55. Canadian Immigration and Population Study, *Immigration and Population Statistics* (Ottawa: Manpower and Immigration — Information Canada, 1974), p. 8; A.K. CAIRNCROSS, *Home and Foreign Investment 1870-1911: Studies in Capital Accumulation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 210, and interview 4-Wi-79-1.

56. "Reports of the Postmaster General", 1903-15, and Marvin Papers, d. 260-27, John Marvin to Sydney Marvin, 14 September 1908.

57. Lloyd REYNOLDS, *The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 118-22.

58. *Imperial Colonist*, April 1908.

here were somewhat more refined. One street was populated by families from Leicester. A resident recalled that "there was a bunch from the same city as we were They all came from Leicester. They came one after another." Nearby an Ulsterwoman, whose husband had emigrated from Sheffield, was the "only foreigner" on another English street.⁵⁹

Like the family, the neighbourhood provided immigrants with both material and emotional support. In fact a Scottish woman who lived in Winnipeg's west end before 1914 remembers that her neighbours "were all so friendly; we were all like one family."⁶⁰ Even allowing for romantic nostalgia, the perception is informative. British residents of the west end practised various forms of mutuality, such as lending money, donating food and clothing or providing shelter during family crises. An Ulsterwoman whose father's employment with the CPR was irregular explained that "over the years we had financial [problems] I suppose the fact those people were around, I suppose that was the only help that, you know, that you got."⁶¹ But networks based on residential segregation apparently had greater cultural importance. The custom of "neighbouring", frequent and informal house visits, characteristic of the British working-class, was common, and this practice tended to insulate immigrants from the larger community and increase group cohesiveness. Women appear to have found the familiar atmosphere of the west end especially congenial. A Lincolnshire immigrant who lived with her Ulster husband in the area recalls "if you went out or went for a walk or went to the shops you always met somebody from the Old Country."⁶² In addition the density of British population was adequate to the formation and maintenance of institutions which preserved the immigrant's cultural identity. The west end contained ethnic parishes, benefit societies and British boarding-houses.

Like the neighbourhoods in which they developed, British boarding-houses usually integrated individuals from the four national groups, although there were a few town-specific houses. Their exclusive British character was not accidental. Boarding-house keepers recognized that the admission of low-status ethnic groups was bad for business. An English landlord who always respected his lodgers' distaste for "foreigners" admitted that "you kinda select them a little bit you know."⁶³

An extension of personal networks, boarding-houses functioned as family surrogates for migrants who did not enjoy real kinship support. Although these establishments were unquestionably commercial enterprises, several scholars have argued that the relationships which characterized boarding went much beyond the cash nexus. Lodging provided "a substitute for absent kin."⁶⁴ This function appears

59. Interview 1-Wi-79-10 and Interview 4-Wi-79-2.

60. Interview 2-Wi-79-6.

61. Interview 4-Wi-79-3.

62. THOMPSON, *The Edwardians*, pp. 123-24, and interview 1-Wi-79-26.

63. Interview 1-Wi-79-1.

64. Robert F. HARNEY, "Boarding and Belonging", *Urban History Review*, 7 (1978): 31; Michael KATZ, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 230-32; John MODELL and Tamara K. HAREVEN, "Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families", *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 35 (1973): 470. For a qualification of this interpretation, see Sheva MEDJYCK, "The Importance of Boarding for the Structure of the Household in the Nineteenth Century: Moncton, New Brunswick and Hamilton, Canada West", *Histoire sociale — Social History*, 13 (May 1980): 207-13.

to have been prevalent in Winnipeg's houses; immigrants who boarded usually used the metaphor of the family to describe their experience. For instance, the term "mother" was frequently applied to landladies. "An Old Country woman" with whom an Englishman lodged acted out her matriarchal role when his family was reunified; he recalls that "she was the one that took my wife — when she came here and she didn't know a soul — took her around to get these bits of things like the fifteen cents store to start a couple of rooms."⁶⁵

In fact boarding-houses provided immigrants with support which was in many ways similar to that of the family, though economic assistance was much less important. The latter usually took the form of advice on the labour market, circulated among lodgers or brokered by the landlord. Such assistance was not unimportant, however, since it was essential to successful economic adjustment. A Lancashire man, who arrived in Winnipeg when "times were bad", remembers securing work under the auspices of fellow boarders at an English establishment in the west end.⁶⁶ But boarding-houses appear to have played a more important role in facilitating cultural adjustment. The emotional support that lodging could afford immigrants who lacked actual kin networks was recognized by family and friends in the UK. A young Ulsterwoman, who "had no people" in Winnipeg, was advised that "the best thing for you to do is to get into a private home with a nice family until you get acquainted with the town." She lived in an Irish-Protestant household until she was married. With their familiar diets, accents and values, boarding-houses provided a tangible link with the native culture. Such security helped overcome the immigrant's sense of dislocation. The British clearly sought out the emotional support afforded by insulation from Canadian society. A Scotsman told a friend that he had taken lodgings with a Cornish landlady in the west end, because "born Canadians are most unpleasant, voices harsh, manners aggressive, dollar greedy beyond anything known in England, despising and defrauding the British-born."⁶⁷

Immigrants' hostels were essentially institutionalized boarding-houses. They were certainly no less ethnocentric. Winnipeg had several for both men and women, but for a broad range of social reasons, hostels appear to have been more important in facilitating the adjustment of women.⁶⁸ The city's most important hostel was the Girls Home of Welcome. Winnipeg's Anglophilic élite established the Home in 1896 to serve the needs of women travelling alone but assumed from the beginning that those helped would be British. A Scotswoman who stayed at the hostel for several days in 1906 remembers it as an "Old Country place." Indeed it was; in the year she arrived in Winnipeg, 97 percent of the women who passed through the Home were British.⁶⁹ This condition was typical of all the Winnipeg hostels.

Much more than boarding-houses, hostels consciously attempted to assume the role of surrogate families. Barber believes that a woman's hostel in Toronto,

65. Interview 1-Wi-79-18.

66. Interview 1-Wi-79-13.

67. Interview 4-Wi-79-2, and *The Clarion*, 9 August 1907.

68. Marilyn BARBER, "The Women Ontario Welcomed: Immigrant Domestic Workers for Ontario Homes, 1870-1930", *Ontario History*, 72 (1980): 149-72, and Barbara ROBERTS, "'A Work of Empire': Canadian Reformers and British Female Immigration", in *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s*, ed. Linda KEALEY (Toronto: Women's Press, 1979), pp. 185-201.

69. PAC, RG 76, 33136-1, Gordon to Sifton, 7 January 1897; Interview 2-Wi-79-9, and *Girls' Home of Welcome: Annual Report, 1906*, p. 3; N = 608.

modelled on Winnipeg's, "served as a home away from home."⁷⁰ Starting with their names — Welcome Home, Friendly Lodge — hostels adopted a mannered familial relationship with their "girls". The metaphor, and its actualization, was explicit and sustained. Matrons never merely served clients but always "mothered" them. The superintendent of the Friendly Lodge took pride in the fact that she monitored the behaviour of women who had passed through the hostel to jobs in rural Manitoba. The Welcome Home's matron, who received many young women coming out to fiancés, assumed a traditional family responsibility, protection of a daughter's honour. She believed that "parents will be glad to hear" that she did not allow the bride to leave the hostel until after the marriage ceremony.⁷¹

In fact hostels probably came closer than any other institution to replicating the support families provided to female immigrants. The material benefits were relatively substantial. Because the Welcome Home functioned as an employment bureau for domestics, it could provide British women with passage loans to be repaid in service. Like families the institutions provided free lodging for a short time while immigrants sought work. But the hostels' most important support took the form of finding British women jobs. This function resulted from the patronage of the local élite. The Welcome Home specialized in domestic service "generally with old country people." A Staffordshire woman who was placed by the Home in 1912 remembers offers of employment from several would-be mistresses. Her impression conforms to available data; by the year she passed through the hostel, it had found work for 61 percent of the 17,500 clients it had served since opening.⁷²

The emotional support that hostels provided British women apparently approximated that provided by kin networks better than boarding-houses. Like family members, matrons met immigrants at railway stations and thus welcomed them at the earliest possible moment. The ambiance of the hostels themselves was probably much the same as that of respectable British boarding-houses. But in addition to familiar aesthetic cultural forms, the hostels provided a religious atmosphere which was undoubtedly comforting to many young women. Immigrants who frequented the Winnipeg institutions appear to have drawn emotional support from them. Writing about the Welcome Home a domestic servant reported that she and her friends "all feel as if it is our own home; and it is so nice to go there and meet all the other girls, and hear their troubles and cheer them up, and get cheered."⁷³

Churches played an equally important role in the adaptation of many British immigrants to Canadian society. The Anglican and Presbyterian communions were the principal immigrant-receiving churches. The former grew by recruiting Church people from England and members of the Church of Ireland. Canadian Presbyterians accepted their co-religionists from Scotland and Ulster. The process is well illustrated by census data. Between 1901 and 1911 national membership in the Anglican church grew by 53 percent, outstripping that of all other denominations. Only the Presbyterians came close with a growth rate of 32 percent. The two churches flourished most in

70. BARBER, "Women Welcomed", p. 158.

71. *Friendly Leaves*, London, 1905; *British Women's Emigration Association: Report 1903*, p. 16; and *Imperial Colonist*, April 1908.

72. *Girls' Home of Welcome: Annual Report, 1902*, p. 6, and *Annual Report, 1912*, p. 10; *Imperial Colonist*, July 1905; and Interview 1-Wi-79-3.

73. *Imperial Colonist*, May 1909, and *Friendly Leaves*, London, August 1908.

immigrant-receiving provinces. In 1911 Presbyterians were the largest denomination in Manitoba, and their numbers had grown 59 percent since the previous census. The Anglicans had become the second largest communion in the province by 1911 because of a 93 percent increase in the preceding decade. Both churches enjoyed extraordinary growth in the city of Winnipeg. The Church of England led with an increase approaching 200 percent, while the number of Presbyterians grew by 180 percent.⁷⁴

Because of its composition, the Anglican church assumed a greater responsibility for British immigrants than did other Protestant denominations. The Church gave some material support. Anglican immigration chaplains met members of the Churches of England and Ireland at all Canadian Atlantic ports. Their responsibility was to provide immigrants with lodging, advice on their destination's job market and letters of introduction to their new bishop.⁷⁵ Cities with large Anglican populations had their own immigration chaplains appointed by missionary societies. Winnipeg's chaplain monitored the labour market for emigration societies in England as well as securing various forms of charity and jobs for immigrants.⁷⁶ In this latter function he co-operated with parish priests who had access to the patronage of affluent Anglicans. "The ladies at the Church," a Londoner who belonged to a west end parish told a friend, "have been very good in engaging me for sewing, which is done here principally at the home of one's customers."⁷⁷

But Anglican parishes were more useful to immigrants because they mitigated their sense of dislocation. The Church considered itself the natural "centre of Christian reunion" for the English in Canada and took up a mission to bring them into the communion. Reynold's findings in Montreal and Syngé's in Hamilton indicate that many responded.⁷⁸ This occurred largely because of the emotional support that the Church's mission provided. A Middlesex woman who did not live in a British neighbourhood recalls with gratitude that when an Anglican priest "found I was English and had only been out here for a while, he visited me frequently."⁷⁹ The Church became a social centre for many recent immigrants and promoted group cohesiveness by sponsoring collective activities, such as women's auxiliaries, musical societies, athletic clubs and youth organizations. The process insulated them from Canadian society. "We went to the Anglican Church right away ... [because] a lot of our friends were old country people," a Cumberland woman who belonged to a west end parish explains; "you know people sort of get together with their own kind."⁸⁰ There was another dimension to Anglican solace. Among protestant denominations, the Church of England was unique in that its liturgy and doctrine were identical to those observed in the United Kingdom; it linked sending and receiving societies in a powerfully emotive way. Because immigrants

74. Canada, *Census*, 1901, vol. I, Table IX; 1911, vol. II, Tables II and V.

75. *Canadian Churchman*, 3 February 1910, and *Church Emigration Society: Annual Report 1909*, p. 15.

76. *Church Emigration Society: Annual Report 1908*, p. 15.

77. *Imperial Colonist*, June 1910.

78. *Canadian Churchman*, 19 March 1903 and 16 October 1913; REYNOLDS, *British Immigrant*, p. 137, and Jane SYNGE, "Immigrant Communities — British and Continental European — in Early Twentieth Century Hamilton, Canada", *Oral History*, 5 (1976): 46.

79. Interview 1-Wi-81-9.

80. Interview 1-Wi-79-7.

could practise their religion in the manner they always had, their identification with England was regularly renewed. "When we are at church it seems so much like home," a labourer from the southern countries wrote, "and one feels the new life enter in him, after the toils of the week."⁸¹

The various societies, clubs and lodges which British immigrants established had, in part, a similar function. Their ethnocentricity demonstrates how group-specific some networks were. Among others, Winnipeg had a Glasgow Association and a Devonian Society. According to its constitution, one of the principal purposes of the Aberdeen, Banff and Kincardine Association was to "renew old acquaintances, form new ones, and promote friendly intercourse amongst those who hold a common interest in the three shires." Winnipeg's British societies achieved their shared goal primarily through the sponsorship of recreational activities which maintained aesthetic cultural forms, what the Kentish Association described as its "Reconstruction Policy."⁸² The most important vehicle in this process was the regular social evenings which the societies held. "At homes" allowed, indeed demanded, the most explicit exhibition of overt cultural signs; the evening succeeded only if all present indulged in wanton nostalgia. They thrilled to the skirl of the pipes; they wept at evocations of England's green and pleasant land; they savoured warm, dark ale; and they reverted to regional dialects. One of the founders of the Cumberland Association explained the societies' appeal: "I suppose everybody was homesick and wanted to associate with people that they could talk about the old country to."⁸³

The clubs and lodges also provided British immigrants with important material support. Another element of cultural baggage, the organizations were modelled on friendly societies, the mutual aid associations which provided British workers with insurance and other benefits.⁸⁴ Because immigrants received real aid from clubs and lodges, emigration societies recommended membership to facilitate economic adjustment. The memberships of British societies in Winnipeg cut across class boundaries. Clubs and lodges provided much of their support to immigrants through the patronage of affluent members who had been incorporated into the local élite.

The best example of such ethnocentric philanthropy among Scots was provided by the St. Andrew's Society. It had as its principal object "the affording of pecuniary, medical and other relief to such natives of Scotland and their descendants as may from sickness or other causes have fallen into distress". But because the Society was dominated by professionals and businessmen, the relief that it provided to working-class Scots was essentially charity. The Sons of Scotland and several shire associations which were better representative of the city's Scottish community as a whole, functioned more on the model of classic immigrants benefit societies.⁸⁵

The Sons of England was the principal mutual benefit society for Englishmen. By 1929 the organization in Manitoba had 2,500 members, most of whom belonged

81. *Church Immigration Society: Annual Report, 1910*, p. 21.

82. Aberdeen, Banff and Kincardine Association, *Constitution* (Winnipeg, n.d.); and *The Englishman's Annual Register* (Winnipeg, 1919), p. 41.

83. Interview 1-Wi-79-7.

84. P.H.J.H. GOSDEN, *Self-Help: Voluntary Associations in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Batsford, 1973).

85. Public Archives of Manitoba, St. Andrew's Society Collection, MG 10, C43, Box 4, *Constitution* (Winnipeg, 1886).

to Winnipeg lodges.⁸⁶ Immigrants joined the society partly because of the various forms of insurance — against unemployment, sickness and death — which it provided. A Birmingham man who belonged to a west end lodge remembers that medical benefits “helped a little” in the days before the national health programs.⁸⁷ Even more important, however, was the informal assistance that the Sons of England provided immigrants. The society’s constitution enjoined lodges to help “members rendered to economic hardship.” The obligation was honoured. A Macclesfield butcher who arrived in Winnipeg during the recession of 1913 remembers that “going through the hard times we’d hear from clubs ... that so and so didn’t have any fuel; we’d vote to send him a ton of coal.”⁸⁸ Help in finding work was provided on a similarly informal basis. Using a network of members who controlled patronage in private and public corporations, the Sons of England routinely arranged jobs for recent immigrants considered worthy of assistance. “They didn’t encourage lazy people,” a Londoner who joined the society soon after his arrival in Winnipeg in 1906 recalls; “they found them work. They found them jobs.”⁸⁹

Assuming that the acquisition of jobs is essential to the successful economic adjustment of immigrants, the British networks in Winnipeg appear to have been effective. This proposition will be elaborated through a discussion of the hiring practices of two large firms, the CPR and the T. Eaton Co. It would be possible to cite a number of public and private corporations, for instance the CNR, the street railway, or the police department, in fact virtually any Winnipeg employer that offered high-status jobs would do. But the CPR, which provided work primarily for men, and Eaton’s, which hired women for the most part, were two of Winnipeg’s largest employers.

The T. Eaton Company, the founder of which had emigrated from Ulster, became an important employer of British women. A Cumberland woman who worked in the Winnipeg store believes that “Eaton’s was very partial to old-country people.... I don’t think they ever turned anybody down.”⁹⁰ Like other Canadian corporations, Eaton’s recruited skilled workers in England. When the company began full-scale garment production in 1911, it despatched specifications to the British Women’s Emigration Association which supplied several hundred seamstresses and shirt-makers. Brought out with company funds, the women, mainly Londoners, dominated Eaton’s factories across the country. In the spring of 1912 one of the Association’s field workers reported that “a good many of our girls” were employed by the Company in Winnipeg.⁹¹ But generally personal networks were more important than overseas recruitment in placing women in work. A Glasgow woman recalls that she secured her job “through some friends of my aunts ... I got into the bindery in Eaton’s; ... by the time I was sixteen I was working in an office.”⁹² The Company’s British face was most manifest in the relatively high-status jobs in the

86. Sons of England, *Provincial Directory* (Winnipeg: Stovel Advocate, 1929).

87. Sons of England Benefit Society, *Constitution* (n.p., 1897), and interview 1-Wi-81-2.

88. Interview 1-Wi-79-18.

89. Interview 1-Wi-79-23.

90. William STEPHENSON, *The Store That Timothy Built* (Toronto, 1969), p. 63, and interview 1-Wi-79-7.

91. *Friendly Leaves*, London, December 1911; *Imperial Colonist*, February 1912 and April 1912; and *British Women’s Emigration Association: Report 1913*, p. 48.

92. Interview 2-Wi-79-1.

sales departments. Eaton's appears to have believed, as a matter of policy, that its reputation for honesty and reliability in trade would be best preserved by the "respectability" of young women from the United Kingdom. Respondents, several of whom worked for the Company, invariably describe sales clerks as British. A Suffolk woman and old Eatonian remembers "most of them were girls, you know, like myself."⁹³

Because of the composition of its work force, the Company developed services designed to serve the needs of immigrant women. An elaborate welfare system provided employees not only with medical care but with emotional support during "trouble of any kind." There was even a Women's Club complete with parlour "where under suitable chaperonage, such members as live in boarding-houses may receive their young men friends."⁹⁴

Because the expanding Canadian Pacific Railway required large supplies of skilled workers, especially in the metal trades, the company became an important employer for British artisans. CPR agents in the United Kingdom regularly recruited workers for the Company's great repair shops. But the railway also introduced the innovative policy of using the union which organized metal trade workers in Britain, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE), as a labour supplier. In 1904 the ASE, one of the few British unions established in Canada, estimated that 30 percent of the artisans in some CPR divisions were union members. But more than brokerage was involved in this condition; the union ordered members who had risen to supervisory positions to discriminate in favour of ASE, which meant British, artisans when hiring.⁹⁵ The experience of a machinist, who chose Winnipeg as his destination because of the presence of the CPR shops, demonstrates how the network operated. Upon arrival in Montreal he secured a letter of introduction from that city's ASE secretary which he presented to a shops foreman in Winnipeg who knew him from a previous sojourn. "So I got a start with my old boss, ... [who] seemed pleased to see me again," the machinist told his brother: "I have been there a week now and am all right so far."⁹⁶

Reynolds explained the British domination of Montreal's CPR shops in terms of "the strategic position of the foremen."⁹⁷ In Winnipeg, shops foremen were almost exclusively British artisans who belonged to the ASE. A Glasgow machinist, who worked thirty-eight years for the railway, recalls that "all the foremen that I had came from the Old Country; they got promoted."⁹⁸ These men routinely discriminated in favour of British workers when hiring. The Company apparently accepted the custom as an effective means of securing skilled workers. The manner in which a Londoner was hired during the 1908 recession was typical. He recalls "when I was in the freight sheds, I was on the look-out for some chance to get

93. Interview 1-Wi-79-12.

94. "The Scribe", *Golden Jubilee 1868-1919: A Book to Commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the T. Eaton Co. Ltd.* (Toronto, 1919), pp. 224-26.

95. *Amalgamated Engineers Journal*, January 1900, November 1903 and February 1804.

96. Leach Papers, George Leach to Lizzie Leach, n.d., and 28 March 1911; George Leach to Will Leach, n.d.

97. REYNOLDS, *British Immigrant*, pp. 104 and 167-68.

98. Interview 1-Wi-79-7.

into the engineering department of the CPR and this friend of mine ... got a friend of his to look out for me and I got into the engineering division.”⁹⁹

There is no reason to consider Winnipeg’s British community atypical or its institutions unique. Like other immigrants, the British were distributed in Canada by general structural trends. And the social conditions they faced in cities varied little from place to place. Winnipeg’s west end could as easily have been Toronto’s Cabbagetown; the discriminating employer the latter city’s street railway company. Forty years ago Reynolds demonstrated that the British of Hochelaga employed networks to facilitate their economic and cultural adjustment to life in Montreal. Across the country the British very likely used the same mechanisms as their compatriots in Winnipeg to promote their collective self-interest. The group employed networks because they afforded competitive advantage in a heterogeneous society. A Londoner explained the assistance that his “club” gave immigrants in the most elemental terms: “we’ve got to stick together.”¹⁰⁰

99. Interview 1-Wi-79-28.

100. Interview 1-Wi-79-23.