National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Service
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Services des thèses canadiennes

CANADIAN THESES

THÈSES CANADIENNES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

Canada

National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Division
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Division des thèses canadiennes

0-315-23427-X

234

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

• Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur

KATHRYN IVANY

Date of Birth — Date de naissance	Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance
13/07/60	CANADA

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

#101 12207 JASPER AVENUE
EDMONTON ALBERTA
CANADA T5N 3K3

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

THE HISTORY OF THE BANK COLONISTS AS AN ETHNIC EXPERIENCE : [illegible]

University — Université

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

M.A.

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade	Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse
1985	JOHN L FOSTER

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

Date	Signature
September 17, 1985	Kathryn Ivany

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

The History of the Barr Colonists as an Ethnic Experience: 1903-1928

by

Kathryn Ivany

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

Department of History

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

© FALL 1985

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR Kathryn Ivany

TITLE OF THESIS The History of the Barr Colonists as an Ethnic Experience: 1903-1928

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED MASTER OF ARTS

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED FALL 1985

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(SIGNED) .....

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

#401, 12207 - Jasper Avenue

Edmonton, Alberta

T5N 3K2

DATED September 19, 1985

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled The History of the Barr Colonists as an Ethnic Experience: 1903-1928 submitted by Kathryn Ivany in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

.....
Supervisor

.....

.....

Date. September 9, 1985

Abstract

The history of the Barr Colony from 1903 to 1928 encompasses the experiences of a group of British settlers who came from varied backgrounds in Britain to homestead together in the Canadian West. During the process of their migration and settlement the Barr Colonists merged into a community which identified itself and was identified by others as a distinct body.

This thesis investigates the development of the Barr Colonists' sense of identity through a series of events and changes in external conditions in their environment. The reactions of the Barr Colonists to migration, the Anglo-Canadian society, the First World War, their non-British neighbours and post-war immigration form the context in which the formation of their ethnicity is examined. Using newspapers, personal collections and archival sources, the history of this group has been traced from 1903 to 1928. Throughout this period the colonists developed from a disparate collection of individuals into a cohesive and identifiable ethnic community.

Adaptation and ethnic studies approaches are accepted for the study of group settlements in the Canadian West. These approaches, however, have rarely included the British as an ethnic group in the same sense as other group settlements. A study of the ethnicity of the Barr Colonists, therefore, adds another element to the history of the Canadian West.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank all those people who helped during my graduate studies and thesis production. Mrs. Gussie Warner and Mrs. Harriet Winspear got the thesis started when they provided me with details and materials from the lives of their parents in the Barr Colony. Special individuals encouraged me during my research and writing and provided valuable and constructive criticism. Thank you especially to Dr. John Foster, Karen Philp and Doris Bergen. Finally, there were two who encouraged me to continue to the end, Joan and Randall Ivany. Others who also provided support all the way through include Hecate's Players and the EFCL History Book Project Team.

Table of Contents

Chapter Page

I. Introduction: Two aspects of Historical Study of the Canadian West

In the spring of 1902 a group of British emigrants boarded a ship at Liverpool to sail to Canada. These nineteen hundred and twelve individuals were following a man named Isaac M. Barr who had offered them the opportunity to settle in a new land, a land he claimed was rightfully theirs because they were British citizens and Canada was a British land. The Barr Colonists, as they came to be called[1], were part of the great wave of settlement which began filling the Canadian West before the turn of the century and which continued until the First World War. Some of the settlers were drawn by Barr's rallying call "Canada for the British",[2] while others came to find opportunity in a new land that the old one could not offer, or sought a way of life different from that of their forebearers. They came from all parts of Britain and they came from a variety of occupations and backgrounds. But something happened to them on their voyage to the reserve of land far beyond the railhead in the Northwest Territories of Canada. From the crucible of their common experience and whatever was common

---

[1]The term Britannia Colonist is also used interchangeably here, as this was another name they chose for themselves.
[2]I.M. Barr, circular pamphlet, "British Settlers in North Western Canada on Free Grant Lands, (London, n.d.), copy in the Public Archives, Department of the Interior file #737973G.

from their backgrounds, the Barr Colonists formed a collectivity which endured for a generation and which marked their community as a distinctive element in Western Canadian society.

The story of the Barr Colonists' adaptation to the new land and their successful integration into Canadian society is especially interesting because, while they were integrated, they also maintained their distinctiveness from Canadians and other groups of settlers around them. These British settlers as a community carried with them and passed on to their descendants very specific social values and personal ambitions which were drawn from their original homeland and which influenced many aspects of life in their new home.

There are two interrelated themes which are found in much of the recent literature on Western Canadian history. The first theme, in both its intellectual and mythological aspects is rooted in "frontierism". In order to survive in the "frontier" environment the newcomer must adapt previous practices, individually and as a community. With the adaptation experience as the scholarly focus, the type of society created in the Canadian West is explained in terms of the process involved and the nature of the social institutions that result. The second theme is associated with the mythologizing surrounding multi-culturalism, or, in

its Western Canadian expression, the 'socio-cultural mosaic'. This interpretation emphasizes 'ethnicity' as a useful perspective from which our history can be viewed. In this light a significant dimension of Western Canadian society is seen as consisting of groups who recognize origins outside of Western Canada and sustained, at least for a period of time, their ethnic distinctiveness. Recent scholarship has noted that changes within these groups have made them distinct from their 'parent' societies, thus indicating that the development of ethnic distinctions in Western Canada includes an adaptation experience. In this way, these two themes, the adaptation experience and the ethnic experience, are interrelated and, together, they promise a fuller understanding of Western Canadian history.

The study of aspects of these two themes in the history of the first generation of the Britannia Colonists constitutes the subject of this thesis. British ethnicity is not a usual subject of study in Canadian history because the British are often considered to be members of the dominant social group. The Barr Colonists of Lloydminster, however, gained a perception of themselves and manifested behaviours characteristic of an ethnic group. This came about both because of their settlement experiences and because their ethnic heritage made them identifiably distinct from their neighbours who were members of some of the many other ethnic groups which settled in the Canadian West. In addition it

must be noted that the claims of ethnic consciousness among the British colonists suggest another perspective to the study of their history. The study of the Barr Colonists could also provide some insight into the nature of the more general British historical experience in the Canadian West.

The Barr Colony of Lloydminster and area is a useful example for the discussion of British ethnic behaviour; it was a group settlement similar at least in form to other group settlements in Western Canada, yet it had a broader representation of the original society in its membership than many of the other group settlements. While the migration experience biases the selection of individuals who participate, in terms of narrowing the range of differences present in the parent community, the Barr Colonists' membership included people from varied occupational, religious, class and geographical niches within British society. Moreover, the subsequent migration to the area added to the all-British foundation as more immigrants from Britain and Maritime and Central Canada, who identified with the British aspect of the Colony, joined and filled the available land around Lloydminster. The fact that the Colony was a group settlement-- all the original participants migrated together in 1903 and the majority settled within a reserve granted by the Federal Government-- increases the value of the Colony in a study which makes comparative reference to other ethnic group settlements.

Another effect which the group migration worked on the Britannia Colonists was the base of common experiences it gave to all the participants. From the time of their gathering at Liverpool and boarding the S.S. Manitoba, the colonists were forced into each others' company and placed in the position of having constant companions in their lives. They were able to help each other out, experience embarassment, hardship and success together, and evaluate the qualities of the other colonists whom they had joined to form a new community in the Canadian West. This foundation of commonality laid during the process of migration gave a decided boost to the process of forming community spirit and group identity.

In the historical study of the Barr Colony a decided strength is the documentation. Many sources are available and were used in this study. For instance, the Lloydminster Times, a weekly newspaper which is employed here, spans the period of study with the exception of the first two years. It was the creation and the continuing interest of a number of the Colonists in the early years. It took as its mandate the promotion and maintenance of the interests of the British Colony and its members. Additional primary sources concerning the Colony are available in the Department of the Interior files at the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa, the homestead and municipal records and audiotape libraries in the Provincial Archives of Alberta and Saskatchewan as well as the Barr Colony Museum collection in Lloydminster

and private collections such as Guy Lyle's manuscripts in the Bruce Peel Special Collections Library at the University of Alberta. Some secondary sources dealing specifically with the Barr Colony which were consulted include anecdotal and 'fictional' works such as Mary Heimstra's Gulley Farm, Barbara Cormack's Westward Ho!, Helen McCormick's 5000 Miles with the Barr Colonists, and Harry Pick's Next Year: The Story of the Barr Colonists. Stories which were serialized in newspapers before they were published include The Trail of 1903, by George E. Lloyd and My Life and Experiences with the Barr Colony by Ivan Crossley. Second hand accounts and scholarly discussions of the Barr Colony story can be found in the collections of Homestead Memories, The Lloyd Minster, The Promised Land, and Helen Reid's All Silent, All Damned, the last of which is a biography and apologia for Isaac M. Barr, Finally, secondary sources dealing with the wider issues of general and British immigration to Canada and the sociological phenomenon of ethnicity have been consulted to provide background and context for this study.

The period 1903 to 1928 was chosen for this study because it includes the inception of the Colony and encompasses the experiences of the first generation of the colonists. The year 1928 was the last year in Western Canada before market conditions and other external forces affected the Colony and caused some members to move out of the area. The period includes two major events, the First World War and the British Harvester Movement, which were perceived as

crises for the British in Canada and initiated ethnic responses among the British inhabitants of Lloydminster.

Ethnicity, as a sociological phenomenon, is useful in evaluating the behaviour of individuals in a particular social situation. The relevance for history of this sociological instrument rests in its ability to help explain the historical development of a particular social group. In this way sociology is the obverse to history in the study of a community's past. While sociologists and historians may study the same data, the intent of the studies is different. Ethnicity, therefore, is used in this thesis as a tool to assist in the explanation of the history of the people of Lloydminster area. It is hoped that this study can shed new light as well on the experiences of other settlers in the Canadian West.

Like most historical problems and the methodologies for examining them, this study has certain limitations which should be recognized. During the discussion of an ethnic group and its historical experience, questions arise about the credibility of individual members' memories and the validity of extrapolating from individuals' attitudes to those of the whole group. This problem is exaggerated in the case of the British immigrants because of their basic ambivalence to their own ethnic identity. The Anglo-Canadians' and British immigrants' expectations of familiarity and similarity were one factor in the

suppression of differences and separate identity. Because Anglo-Canadians wanted to be "British" and the British immigrants saw Canada as part of Greater Britain, they were disinclined to broaden individual conflicts into ethnic generalizations. The exception for a time was the case of the English greenhorn or remittance man.

Further ethnic ambivalence is reflected in the British attitudes towards "progress" which infused both the immigrants' and the established Anglo-Canadians' value systems. The Anglo-Canadians and British both expected change to occur in their society during the natural and desirable advance of civilization. The intervention of technology and the more modern world facilitated the changes in traditions and customs among the British more so than among any other group in the Canadian West. They fought it less because of their expectations that change was good as well as inevitable.

One further point here might also help explain the difficulties of dealing with the British ethnic group status. The Britain from which the twentieth century British immigrant arrived in Canada, had a significantly lower population of "peasants", land based, community centered individuals, than other contributing countries. The British immigrants, then, were derived from a society already more separated from easily identifiable traditions and customs because of the influences of technology and urbanization.

The lack of outward ethnic group characteristics such as distinctive clothing, traditional dances or food, does not disqualify the British from an ethnic group membership, however. Even if the British immigrants to the Canadian West were weak in verbally asserting their ethnicity, they possessed attitudes and manifested behaviours which have been interpreted for members of other-than-British ethnic groups as ethnic behaviour. This assertion requires the interpretation of such amorphous details as attitudes and seemingly trivial behaviour like naming towns, homes and clubs, choosing the articles for the local paper, creating the group identity by the community's description of itself, and perpetrating (and redefining) its myths. In spite of the fact of the seeming subjectivity of some of the more anomalous data, the thesis should be a serious contribution to the study of ethnicity in a historical context, especially as it relates to the developing multicultural composition of the Canadian West.

The outline of the contents of the following chapters has a historical emphasis. The first chapter places the British immigrant in the context of the immigration system as it existed at the turn of the century. It also contains a discussion of the historiography of British immigration in the period under study. The second chapter is a discussion of ethnicity in a sociological context. The definitions used by sociologists and the definition employed in this study

are detailed as well as a method useful for historical study. The third and fourth chapters are a chronological discussion of the Barr Colonists' development and their ethnicity. The purpose of this discussion is to explain the behaviours and adaptive experiences of the Barr Colonists within the context of changing external conditions in the Canadian West.

Because the story of the Barr Colony has been told many times by many people, this thesis is not a repetition of those anecdotal glimpses of the interesting people of Lloydminster. It is rather an attempt to broaden the context in which this particular group of British immigrants are perceived in Canadian history. It is also an attempt to change the way all British immigrants are viewed in Canada and to start the process for a revised evaluation of this portion of the Canadian population.

II. A Context for Immigration to Western Canada

The immigration of the Barr Colonists to the Lloydminster area of the North West Territories was not an isolated event in Canadian history. For many years before 1903, parties of Europeans had been landing at Eastern Canadian ports and making their way westward. The study of this community of British settlers, then, must start with understanding the events which preceded Barr's call to those citizens of Britain to claim their place in Canada.

The year 1870 marked the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company's rights and privileges in the North West Territories to the Government of Canada. The Canadians eagerly took over the territory which would help their nation compete in size and resources with their neighbour to the south.[3] From that time, the problem of settling people in the prairie west became a matter vital to the interests of Canada. In order to facilitate the process of filling the West with people and making their settlement as efficient and orderly as possible, the township survey was undertaken. Negotiations with the Canadian Pacific Railroad were carried out to ensure that settlers would more easily gain access to the land and that transportation would be provided for

---

[3]Doug Owram, Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 101-118.

prairie produce to reach eastern markets and eastern manufactured goods could more easily reach western markets. Other contributions of the national government were a paramilitary police force and the initiation of structures of representative government which would evolve with time and population into Responsible Government.

Despite the legal efficacy of the Torrens Land Title System[4] and the generally rapid movement of the railhead through the West, the actual growth of population in the newly acquired territory fell woefully short of the politicians' and public's expectations. Therefore, both the Dominion Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway carried out concerted campaigns in Britain, the United States and Europe, to advertise the land set aside for homesteading. The promoters of these campaigns had great hopes of enticing settlers to the Canadian West.[5]

The settler recruitment campaigns did bring a large number of immigrants to the Canadian West during the years following the turn of the century to the beginning of the Depression. Canada received this massive immigration from a wider variety of linguistic and cultural sources than ever before. Because of the numbers involved, public and

---

[4]For an explanation of the Torrens Land Title System see Chester Martin, Dominion Lands Policy vol II, part II of Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, ed. W.A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg, 9 vols. (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1936), p.233.

[5]See P.W. Gates, "Official Encouragement to Immigration in the Province of Canada", Canadian Historical Review, vol. XV., no. 1.,(1934):24-33. See also Owram, The Promise of Eden, pp. 104-105.

bureaucratic attitudes to the concept of unlimited immigration were intensified. Generally, the rapid increase of immigration and the simultaneous decline in emigration to the United States had been perceived in Canada as positive developments because they implied an increasing population. This, in turn, implied the subsequent development of the West's potential and greater status for the Canadian nation in the world. At the beginning of the century, therefore, the Canadian immigration policy was to maintain an "open door" which allowed and even encouraged people of all backgrounds to come to Canada.[6] Eventually, however, the public began to sense some problems with this system, especially in Western Canada where the newcomers were proportionally more numerous. The established residents increasingly called upon their government representatives to restrict immigration.[7] Often their reasons were economic, since competition for jobs and land increased with the greater numbers of people. Frequently, however, their reasons were tied to or expressed in social Darwinian terms; terms that may appear today to be essentially racist.[8] This view was expressed because the myth and expectation of Canadian development were more and more frequently being compared to a contradictory reality.[9]

---

[6]Richard Clippingdale, Laurier: His Life and World (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979), p. 75.
[7]D. J. Hall, Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon: vol. 1, 1861-1900. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981), pp. 262-263.
[8]Ibid., pp. 118-119.
[9]Ibid., pp. 259-260.

The myth of Canadian development was essentially the perception of the Anglo-Canadian population resident in Eastern Canada. The term "Anglo-Canadian", as it is used here, refers to English-speaking inhabitants of Ontario and to a far lesser extent Quebec and the Maritimes who had British family backgrounds. These were second or third generation Canadian-born individuals of British ethnic origin. Generally these Anglo-Canadians had emotional and/or intellectual ties to Britain and the British Empire. Their identification with "British" institutions and values was a legacy of traditions and perceived cultural similarities which were gradually refined, and to some extent altered, by various Canadian nationalizing experiences, particularly that of the First World War.[10] These Anglo-Canadians were numerically dominant in Ontario and were, because of their social position, significant in the formation of public opinion as expressed in the contemporary newspapers. These Anglo-Canadians had specific ideas about the development of the Northwest Territories and sought to influence government policy in this matter to reflect their ideas of progress.

The Anglo-Canadian perception of the Canadian future rested on several fundamental assumptions about the nature of Canadian history and its "British" characteristics. The first of the fundamental assumptions made by the

---

[10]Patrick A. Dunae, Gentlemen Immigrants: From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981), p. 10 and p. 125. See also Susan Jackel, A Flannel Shirt and Liberty: British Immigrant Gentlewomen in the Canadian West, 1880-1914 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982), 'Introduction'.

Anglo-Canadians about Canada concerned its bicultural nature. Prior to the annexation of Rupert's Land, the dominant ethnic stocks were French and British. The aboriginal peoples were invariably excluded from consideration. The Anglo-Canadian view of the Western Canadian future in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century was one of British progress. The majority of Canadian migrants to the West came from Ontario and the Maritime provinces rather than from Quebec.[11] The English-speaking residents of Ontario and the West hoped to limit the influence of the French-speaking population to within the borders of Quebec, and generally this was accomplished. For example, legislation on the Prairies in 1889-1890 abolished French as a language of the goverment and the courts. This was repeated again in Alberta and Saskatchewan, decidedly handicapping French language development and relegating it to minority status in the West. The West, therefore, was expected to develop along the lines of the eastern Anglo-Canadian provinces.[12]

The second assumption made by the Anglo-Canadian opinion and policy makers was that the British institutions and values, on which they based their perception of the Canadian West, would be universally understood and accepted

---

[11]J.L. Finlay and D.N. Sprague, The Structure of Canadian History, 2nd edition, (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1984), p. 264.

[12]Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multi-Culturism in the Twentieth Century" Readings in Canadian History: Post Confederation ed. R.D. Francis and D.B. Smith, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1982), p. 125.

by all potential immigrants as the most natural and most desirable conditions under which to settle.'[13] With the influx of new immigrants in the 1890's the attitudes of the Anglo-Canadians changed. Although they had previously been demanding increased immigration to speed the development of the West and the growth of Canada's status in the British Empire and the World, many of the new arrivals did not fit their rather restricted expectations of what constituted a desirable settler. Considerable anti-European (Southern and Eastern) sentiment surfaced and concerns began to be expressed about the diminishing presence of British "stock" on the prairies. The threat of a Slavic "takeover" of the West suddenly became worse than an American annexation. It would, it was feared, create an even more "foreign" West.

The chagrin of the Anglo-Canadians was great indeed when they noticed the varied and specifically un-British nature of many recently arrived immigrants. These immigrants had little or no experience with British traditions and were thus handicapped, if indeed they were interested at all, in participating in the British institutions and reinforcing British ways of life in the new communities. The Anglo-Canadians perceived a threat in the immigrants' numbers and culturally distinct ways of behaving. They were

---

[13]Marilyn Barber, "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel: The Protestant Church Response to Foreign Immigrants in Western Canada, 1897-1914", in The Social Gospel in Canada, ed. Richard Allen, (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, paper #9, 1975), pp. 185-190. See also J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates: or Coming Canadians, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1909, reprinted 1972).

seen as capable of dragging down Canadian social values and lowering the standard of living by accepting lower wages and flooding the market with unskilled labour.

Two solutions were proffered to counter the negative effects of the "inferior" European or Slavic cultures in the West. The first was an extensive educational program focused on the second generation of immigrants, emphasizing linguistic and cultural components designed to supplant the traditional ethnic identity with Anglo-Canadian norms, language and culture.'[4] The second ploy used to counteract the non-British immigration threat was the propagation of slogans like "Canada for the British" and other nativist sentiments to bring pressure on the Canadian policy makers to impose a hierarchy of potential immigrants.'[5] It was thought that if enough of the "right" sort of immigrants could be obtained, they would balance any negative effects of the other sort. In order to obtain adequate Anglo-Saxon influences to overwhelm the other ethnic "idiosyncracies", immigration from Britain and the United States would be given top priority, slightly ahead of Northern European or Scandinavian (Saxon) immigration.

In this immigration scheme, then, the place of British immigrants to Canada was a favoured one. Anglo-Canadians generally approved of British settlement and had high expectations of British communities because the Canadians believed in the similarity and compatibility of the British

---

'[4]Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts", pp. 123-124.
'[5]Ibid., p. 125.

culture and institutions with those of Canada. The British were expected to fit right in and build up the Canadian West along the lines of Ontario. With greater British influences in the West the unbalancing effect of the non-British immigrants would be considerably weakened.

The way in which the British immigrants were perceived by Anglo-Canadians is well represented in the contemporary literature. Arthur E. Copping travelled about Western Canada in the early 1900's looking for positive instances of British settlement which he then described in a book subtitled "The True Story and Experiences of British Settlers in Canada."[1] This book relates British settlers' good experiences and their pride in their relative prosperity. Copping's work was intended to counteract some negative press that British immigrants had been getting, due to their inexperience in particular Canadian situations.

On the other hand, by the 1920's the development of the immigration system had created some vocal opponents. E.A. Belcher and James A. Williamson published a book called Migration Within the Empire in 1924 which encouraged the government to become more involved in state sponsored schemes, and at the same time to ensure that the types of immigrants obtained from Britain were actually suited to Canada. While this approach recognized that not all of the British migrants were welcome in Canada, it did claim that

---

[1] A.E. Copping, The Golden Land: The True Story and Experiences of British Settlers in Canada, (Toronto: The Mussen Book Co., 1911).

there were many who would be if only the government would weed them out and support their migration.

Similar sentiments were reflected in a series of articles published in the Queen's Quarterly between 1928 and 1929. In these articles Duncan McArthur, Robert England and Burton Hurd discussed the danger of the open door policy, as well as the appropriateness of quotas on non-British immigrants in light of Canada's declining requirements of new settlers and labour.'' Similarly, Lloyd G. Reynolds makes a case for a preference for British settlers in his study of British immigrants' adjustment to Canada's conditions.'' Finally, in the series of "contemporary" treatises on immigration, there is James S. Woodsworth's discussion of the various types of immigrants to Western Canada and their good and bad characteristics. Woodsworth was firmly of the opinion that Canada should develop as a British nation, but even he could not sanction the immigration of some types of British individuals.'' For example, British remittance men and unemployable labourers were as unwelcome as drunkards and laggards from any other country.

''Duncan McArthur, "What is the Immigration Problem," Queen's Quarterly, vol. 35, (Autumn 1928):604-612. Robert England, "British Immigration", Queen's Quarterly, vol. 36, (Winter 1929):131-145. Burton Hurd, "The Case for a Quota", Ibid., pp. 146-151.

''Lloyd G. Reynolds, The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1935).

''James S. Woodsworth, Strangers within our Gates: or Coming Canadians, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972, reprinted from 1909 version).

This kind of attitude was prevalent among the politicians of the period. In his study of Wilfred Laurier, Richard Clippingdale details a similar approach held by Laurier and his cabinet to British immigration.[20] Clippingdale notes that during Laurier's term in office, immigration from the British Isles far exceeded that from other nations. There was, however, a significant difference in the numbers of unskilled British labourers allowed to enter Canada, and Clippingdale reports that these individuals were universally judged improper immigrant material, as being too radical and taking jobs from native Canadians. David Hall's study of Clifford Sifton gives an even stronger statement of feeling against the radical British labourer.[21] Since Sifton's main concern was to fill the West with settlers, he chose the ones he thought were most reliable and who would stay on the land for generations. By these criteria, the British were not the most desirable.

Two works by two recent authors expand specifically on this theme of the problems encountered with British labourers. Donald Avery's discussion of "Dangerous Foreigners" includes the radical British immigrants, and his conclusion is similar to what Sifton had found.[22] The

---

[20]Richard Clippingdale, Laurier: His Life and World, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson, 1979), pp. 72-141.

[21]D. J. Hall, Clifford Sifton, vol.1: The Young Napoleon, 1861-1900, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981).

[22]Donald Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896 - 1932, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), pp. 19-25.

British were frequently less physically fit, more radical, and less tolerant of the primitive and exploitive working conditions found in many unskilled labouring jobsites.

W.J.C. Cherwinski's article, "'Misfits', 'Malingerers', and 'Malcontents'", deals specifically with the British Harvester Movement of 1928[23] and identifies many of the same problems.[24] Cherwinski points out that the British as a group began to be identified as bad immigrants after the harvester incidents. The negative reactions that the British harvesters received from their employers and the press caused the value of the British immigrant to be reassessed by many of the British immigrants' supporters. Similarly, Ross McCormack's articles on British labourers draw out the arguments about the status of the British which abounded in Canada around the turn of the century.[25] The argument of

---

[23]Harvester movements were migration programs sponsored by various groups, including the Canadian and British governments, which encouraged migration by reducing fares or paying fares from their homes to the grain fields of Western Canada for labourers who agreed to work as harvesters. The first major Harvester Movement occurred in 1923 and another in 1926 before the final government sponsored one in 1928. Problems which were encountered included surplus labourers being recruited and being unemployed after travelling to the Canadian West, or their not being willing or able to accept the work once they got there because of their health, inexperience or personal attitudes.

[24]W.J.C. Cherwinski, '"Misfits", "Malingerers", and "Malcontents": The British Harvester Movement of 1928', in The Developing West: Essays on Canadian History in Honour of Lewis H. Thomas, editor J.E. Foster, (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1983)

[25]A. Ross McCormack, "British Working Class Immigrants and Canadian Radicalism: The Case of Arthur Puttee", in Canadian Ethnic Studies, vol. 10, no. 2, 1978. See also McCormack, "Cloth Caps and Jobs: The Ethnicity of English Immigrants in Canada, 1900 - 1914", in Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada, editors Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, vol. 8, Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, (Toronto: Methuen

"Cloth Caps and Jobs" is that the English, at least, among the beleaguered British immigrants began to think of themselves as different and to act differently from the Canadians around them because of the hostile attitude of the Canadians engendered by the negative reputation the British had acquired over the years. The attitudes of the Canadians caused a severance from the British labourers who already felt the relationship somewhat strained. McCormack's articles are useful for setting up the argument that the British should also be treated as an ethnic group because he describes some typical ethnic group behaviours that they manifest.

The two final books considered in this brief historiography are those works of Patrick A. Dunae and Susan Jackel which treat the middle and upperclass British immigrants to Canada as a study group. In a sense both authors are attempting to rehabilitate the British settlers from the negative image created by public perceptions of the radicals, remittance men and failures. Dunae's contribution deals with the British gentlemen[26] while Jackel's book includes the stories of British gentlewomen[27]. Both books are much more positive of the British immigrants' experiences and seek to credit the British with their valued

---

[25](cont'd) Publications, 1981):38-55.

[26]Patrick Dunae, Gentlemen Immigrants: from the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier, (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981).

[27]Susan Jackel, A Flannel Shirt and Liberty: British Immigrant Gentlewomen in the Canadian West, 1880 - 1914, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982).

contributions in the Canadian West. The fact remains, however, that these authors have also separated the British immigrant experience from that of other groups and recognized its separateness from the migration and settlement experiences of Eastern Canadians who came to the West.

From this study of the literature, the British immigrants emerge as having a distinct and separate identity in the minds of the Canadians who either supported or opposed their immigration to Canada. From the attitudes of contemporaries to the hindsight of the historians, the British immigrant in Canada emerges as a complex and problematic figure in Canadian social history.

III. Ethnicity: A Sociological Tool

The study of an ethnic group comprises a comprehensive investigation of a number of behaviours, and correlates those behaviours to the attitudes and values held by members of the group because of their sense of identity and of belonging to a particular group.

The Barr Colony offers a rare chance to examine the British immigrants to the Canadian West as a group similar in structure to other ethnic groups which came in the same period. This colony was structured much like a community transplanted directly from Britain and its members formed and maintained a sense of identity because of their experiences and their initial isolation. Ethnicity, therefore, as it is used in discussions of ethnic group development in the Canadian West can be used to provide a new perspective for the study of these British settlers. It offers a multifaceted approach to help explain some of their social and individual adaptation experiences and their response to external conditions which affect their community. The following pages contain a brief explanation of the ethnic studies' approach and the methods by which such an approach can be useful to the historian, even the student of British immigration to Western Canada.

Since the British are frequently described as one of the founding nations of Canada and not as a "mere" constituent ethnic group, the notion of treating the British so may seem unusual. However, such a description is apt, especially in Western Canada. The work of some recent scholars on this topic has changed the situation somewhat and a discussion of the British as an "ethnic group" is currently more acceptable than before. Several writers in ethnic studies have broached and defended the concept and paved the way for its acceptability. For example, Cornelius Jaenen has stated that "[t]he English, Scots, Irish, Welsh, Quebequois, and Acadians are as ethnic as the Serbs, Danes, Ukrainians, Portuguese or Chinese."[28]

The British people associated with the Barr Colony and those identified in this study as "British" include individuals from Ireland, Wales and Scotland as well as England. Within the Barr Colony the smaller national divisions were overridden by the common ties which the community had as a result of all being British and Barr Colonists. The ethnic group of the Barr Colony was a British group which had common values and symbols. Their ethnicity derived from the ideal of the British Empire and the

---

[28]Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Introduction: Ethnic Studies: An Integral Part of Canadian Studies", Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society, ed. W. Isajiw, vol. 5, Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, (Toronto: Peter Martin Association, 1977), p. xi. See also Linda Bell Deutschmann, "The Decline of the WASP: Dominant Group Identity in the Ethnic Plural Society", in Martin L. Kovacs, ed., Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education, (Canadian Plains Research Centre: University of Regina, 1978).

perceived role of British people in the Western World.

To understand the implications of that statement for the following study, some explanation of the meaning of the terms ethnic group and the related concept of ethnicity are necessary. Sociologists have identified a number of criteria as useful for characterizing members of ethnic groups. Fredrik Barth cited characteristics such as close-knit kin structures, endogamous marriage practices and group isolation as factors which reinforced a group's identification of its members as distinct from others and which kept others from being able to integrate into the group. He identified those characteristics as "boundaries" and claimed that the maintenance of the boundaries was essential for the maintenance of the ethnic group's existence. These boundaries gave the group its ethnicity; its sense of itself as a distinct group.[2]

Since Barth's study of ethnic groups and their relations, the existence of pluralistic countries such as Canada has caused the sociological concepts of ethnic group and ethnicity to undergo some revisions. Recent literature on the subject has seen the definitions in the field of ethnic studies expanded to encompass a great many behaviours and norms. "Ethnicity" is subject to a greater variety of interpretations than ever before. There is a classification

---

[2]Frederik Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), pp. i - ix.

of more general characteristics and a consideration of such things as shared backgrounds, experiences and expectations. There is a recognition of the need for greater flexibility when studying ethnic groups because social interrelationships, the phenomenon with which sociologists work, are not rigid.[30]

According to sociological theories of ethnicity, once land shortages had forced groups into closer proximity to each other and Canadian schools had removed barriers of language and social interchange, or other assimilation mechanisms had made isolation impossible, the ethnic groups should have all disappeared. The persistence of ethnicity and ethnic identity negates the inevitability of assimilation theories, except in a structural sense of eliminating isolation and standardizing dress and education. Therefore, the new formulas identify more psychological phenomena such as racial affinity: identifying with others of a similar background; "we-feeling": empathizing with members of the same group and feeling distinct from members of other groups; and maintaining cultural traditions. Certain functional behaviours, however, such as endogamy, language maintenance and social interrelations like kin ties, are still considered important indicators of ethnicity.

---

[30]See, for an example of this attitude N. Glazer and D.P. Moynihan, ed., "Introduction," Ethnicity: Theory and Experience (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1975)

The prominent Canadian ethnic sociologist, Wsevolod W. Isajiw, sums up briefly the new less rigid definition of ethnicity in an article on ethnic identity retention.

> Very broadly, ethnic identity may be defined as a commitment to a social grouping of common ancestry, existing within a larger society of different ancestral origins, and characterized by the sharing of some common values, behavioural patterns or symbols different from those of the larger society. Defining ethnic identity in this sense allows for distinguishing a variety of ways in which a person may be committed to an ethnic group.[31]

The implication of Isajiw's definition is that the common values, behavioural patterns and symbols of the ethnic group arise from the group members' common ancestry. This may well contribute to shared attitudes, but the experience of most Western Canadian immigrants added another factor to their ethnic identity. In the case of the Barr Colonists, an important determinant of their group identity came from the fact that those nineteen hundred and twelve people shared an ocean voyage, a five day train journey across Canada and a trek by wagon across the thawing prairie before they settled together and built a community in Western Canada. Their common experiences, the trials and traumas of immigration, as well as the day to day working out of their new existence, drew the Barr Colonists together as a community and forged in them a perception of themselves as a unique collection of settlers in the Canadian West.

---

[31] W.W. Isajiw, "The Process of Maintenance of Ethnic Identity: The Canadian Context," in Paul Migus, ed., Sounds Canadian: Languages and Cultures in Multi-Ethnic Society, (Toronto: Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, 1975), p. 129.

Their ethnicity was formed and reinforced not only from their behaviour and values as British people, but also because these behaviours and values were tested and proved in the new world. Those that did not help them were changed or rejected for new ones during the period of their settlement in the Lloydminster area. The group that emerged recognized the links between the individuals based on their settlement experience as well as their common ancestry and values.

The recognition of these British immigrants' ethnicity indicates that an ethnic studies approach to the history of the Barr Colonists' immigration to the West is appropriate. According to the developed models, such a study method would include an examination of social, political and economic behaviours and attitudes.[32] Under the rubric of social activities, the ethnic research models discuss the community's norms for marriage, education, family life and social organizations. Such things as which elements of the general society are considered appropriate marriage partners, how the family roles are structured and the contributions of family members to the family unit would be considered. Also the members' involvement in clubs or

---

[32]See, for example, Charles Young, The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation, ed., Helen Reid, (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931), and the case studies in Kovacs' Ethnic Canadians and C. Dawson, Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, in vol. VII of Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, eds., W.A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg, 9 vols., (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1936).

co-operative organizations contributes to the understanding of the group's attitudes and adaptation to the Canadian way of life.

Political organization and the involvement of group members in assuming public office give an indication of the level of participation in the Canadian system. Moreover the response of the group in matters like military contributions during periods of war and their ability to achieve economic self-sufficiency identify group behaviours of note. The aspect of change over time is a more significant factor for the historian once the existence of ethnically identifiable behaviour is verified. The adaptation of the group to respond to changing conditions while remaining within the group identity is the subject of a historical investigation of an ethnic group.

Before beginning such an investigation, the identification of some areas of bias is required. Historians have been accused of ignoring the ethnicity of British immigrants. Ross McCormack makes such an accusation in his 1981 study of British immigrants.

> Theoretical or methodological deficiencies in the general field [of ethnic studies] are compounded in the case of immigrants from the United Kingdom by a professional tendency to ignore British ethnicity. Sociologists have been prepared to recognize such immigrants as an identifiably discrete group for some time; but the preoccupation in the discipline with collectives that diverge most from the Canadian cultural norm has apparently produced a reluctance to study the British. . . . For their part historians appear to have assumed that ethnicity was a condition peculiar to low status minorities, and

not to the "easily-assimilable" British.[33]

Not only are the British frequently neglected as ethnic entities, when they are discussed as such, their similarity to the dominant Anglo-Canadian culture is the factor most stressed.

The comparison of the British immigrants to established Canadians using the definition proposed by Isajiw might cause a problem because of the emphasis on common ancestral background in ethnic group membership. While many Anglo-Canadians would attempt to argue that their ancestry was British, the ancestry of a second or third generation Anglo-Canadian had considerably more Canadian influences than that of a first generation British immigrant. The traditional assumption that the British immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were exactly like the established Canadians is now subject to debate. Far from being "mainstream Canadian", from the moment they arrived or took up homesteads, the British immigrants, like the Slavic or Oriental immigrants, encountered Canadian society as at least somewhat foreign and found the adaptation of some of their modes of behaviour necessary for survival and success. Further, ancestry is a static characteristic which, in the case of migration, is overwhelmed by more dynamic forces of shared experience, common values,

---

[33]Ross McCormack, "Cloth Caps and Jobs: The Ethnicity of English Immigrants in Canada, 1900-1914." in Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada, ed. Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando vol. 8, Canadian Ethnic Studies Association (Toronto: Metheuen Publications, 1981), p. 39.

and behaviours affected by the processes of migration and adaptation to a new land.

One of the first shared experiences in the migration process was making the discovery that the expected familiarity did not exist. British migrants were assured by the various sources of information available of the similarity of Canada and Great Britain, and were often convinced that little change would be required of them.[34] In some cases, the assurance of familiarity caused greater ethnic identification among the British once they reached Canada than was expected either at the time or by sociologists or historians today. Since the British were not expecting great changes upon their arrival, their first experiences frequently involved unexpected conflict. Don Kerr and Stan Hanson detail the Barr Colonists' reaction to Saskatoon and its merchants as essentially a negative experience.[35] Some "unscrupulous" activities among the Canadian merchants upset the colonists, and they also found themselves the butt of jokes or tricks of the Canadians. This did little to advance the relations between the British immigrants and the Canadians and increased the sense of community among the British.

This behaviour of drawing together into a community is not so very strange in Western Canadian immigrant

---

[34]Eugene B. Brody, ed., "Introduction," to Behaviour in New Environments: Adaptation of Migrant Populations (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1969) pp. 15-16.
[35]Don Kerr and Stan Hanson, Saskatoon: The First Half Century, (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1982), pp. 48-52.

experience. Unlike the Barr Colonists, most British people tended not to migrate or settle in organized colonies, so their immigration experiences were not always group affairs. Generally, however, they settled in areas where other British immigrants had located. They found people of British heritage with whom they could work and lodge in the cities and neighbourhoods where they sought work and homes. From the safety of a familiar community they could view their new environment with others of similar backgrounds and learn to adapt better together. Communities of like-minded individuals acted as support groups in instances where disturbing new phenomenon daily affected the immigrants.

> The British in Canada, like other immigrants, adopted various social mechanisms to reduce their dislocation and facilitate adaptation. ... A Scotsman living in Winnipeg's predominantly British central rooming-house district chose a Cornish landlady because "born Canadians are most unpleasant, voices harsh, manners aggressive, dollar-greedy beyond anything known even in England, despising and defrauding the British board."[36]

Another factor which often served to intensify ethnic identity in the migrants was the community which developed after the migration. If the community is isolated, survival frequently demands interaction and interdependency.[37] This, in turn, reinforces ethnic identity, especially in cases where the community is racially homogeneous.[38] The

---

[36]A. Ross McCormack, "British Working-Class Immigrants and Canadian Radicalism: The Case of Arthur Puttee," Canadian Ethnic Studies, vol. X, no. 2 (1978), p. 29.
[37]Cara E. Richards, Man in Perspective: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology (New York: Random House, 1972) p. 39.
[38]Donald E. Willmott, "Ethnic Solidarity in the Esterhazy Area, 1888-1940," Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education, ed. M.L. Kovacs (Canadian Plains Research Center: University

prevalence of bloc settlements on the prairies can be explained by the desire of some migration organizers to maintain linguistic and religious isolation, and represents the formal procedures they took to secure it. Other bloc settlements came about more informally because ethnicity often encouraged the natural migration of people to communities of people with similar backgrounds.[39] The phenomenon of chain-migration, in which subsequent immigration parties joined an already established settlement of similar ethnicity, or individuals in that community actively brought out family or friends to join them, is an example of this ethnic behaviour.[40] Many immigrant ethnic groups, including the British, manifested these behaviours. The Barr Colony sponsored a second migration in 1904-1905, and many of the original colonists were joined by family members over the years following their settlement.

One final point to discuss in the context of ethnicity, is the notion of assimilation or ethnic change. The current school of thought in ethnic studies holds that it is possible for ethnic structures and boundaries to change over time without causing the community to lose the essential core of its ethnicity.[41] In this sense, the particular

---

[38](cont'd) of Regina, 1978) pp. 173-174.

[39]Marlene Makie, "Ethnic Relations in the Prairies," A Canadian Social Psychology of Ethnic Relations edited by R.C. Gardner and R. Kalin, (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1981), pp. 199-200.

[40]Hansgeorg Schlictmann, "Ethnic Themes in Geographical Research on Western Canada," Canadian Ethnic Studies, vol. IX, no. 2 (1977), p. 11.

[41]E.K. Francis, "The Nature of the Ethnic Group," American Journal of Sociology, vol. 52, no. 5 (March, 1974), p. 396.

ethnic group members behave outwardly in a manner similar to others in the general society while still maintaining an inner conception of themselves as distinct from all other groups.[42] The immigrants adapt to their new society; they work in Canadian jobs, participate in Canadian politics, send their children to Canadian schools, but their family life, their attitudes to life and society and/or their expectations still manifest or are influenced by their identity and values as members of a particular ethnic group.[43] This experience of adapting structurally to Canadian conditions while maintaining a British identity and holding to British values and traditions was the experience of the Barr Colonists of Lloydminster and area.

---

[42]Ibid.

[43]A.L. Epstein, Ethos and Identity: Three Studies in Ethnicity (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1978) pp. xiii-xiv.

IV. The First Decade, 1903-1914: The Emergence of Ethnicity

Between 1903 and 1914 the Barr Colony was organized and its members moved from locations throughout Britain to establish new homes in the Canadian West. The colonists came from different regions and from varied religious, occupational and class backgrounds, a set of circumstances that emphasized differences among them. During the process of migration and settlement, however, the Barr Colonists merged into a community which identified itself, and was recognized by outsiders, as British.

The discussion in this chapter of the Barr Colony as an illustration of British ethnicity in the Canadian West will follow the perameters of ethnic group studies set out in the previous chapter. The story of the emergence of this sense of ethnicity falls into two broad areas in this period. First, there was the experience of the migration lasting about four months in which the basis for a sense of ethnic identity was laid. Then, there was the subsequent decade in which the community was given substance and structure as an ethnic entity. The discussion of the migration episode includes the shipboard partnerships and friendships made by the colonists, their arrival and provisioning at Saskatoon, the colonists' dissociation from Barr and the new start made at the meeting in Battleford. This narrative of the

incidents and social interactions will explain the inception of the colonists' ethnicity.

In the years from 1903 to 1914 the Barr Colonists laid the foundations of their community's structures. They formed social and athletic clubs for their leisure and recreational activities and political organizations to provide essential services and direct the Colony's affairs. As well the community involved itself in co-operative ventures which served to broaden its economic base and provide livelihoods for its inhabitants. The ethnic aspects of these activities and the role of the other activities of the colonists, such as sponsoring chain migrations of family and friends to the Lloydminster district, responding to government intervention and acting to achieve self-sufficiency will be chronicled in terms of the role of the settlement in the Colony's emerging ethnicity. Together the two sections detail the experiences of the colonists during the first decade of their settlement in Canada and suggest how their emerging ethnicity served to facilitate the Barr Colonists' survival in Western Canada.

The story of the Lloydminster area settlement began in 1902 with its conception in the minds of the Rev. Isaac M. Barr and the Rev. George Exton Lloyd in London, England. Lloyd wrote a letter to the editor of the London Times expressing concern about the number of unemployed in Britain and suggesting migration to Canada as a solution.[1] Barr

---

[1] Times, September 22, 1902, copy in the "Barr file", Department of the Interior, file 794348, (Ottawa: Public

promptly issued a reply expressing his intention to organize a colony of 500 to settle together in the Canadian West. This sparked a migration of major proportions which quickly grew out of the control of the organizer. Barr's hurried arrangements did provide the wherewithal to assemble more than 1900 persons, including many small children, from locations all over Britain, at Liverpool in March, 1903.

One of the common myths that was to be circulated about the Barr Colonists was that they were uniformly urban dwellers with little or no practical or business ability when it came to matters of agriculture or animal husbandry. Evidence found in the purser's list of the vessel taken by the majority of the Barr Colonists, the S.S. Manitoba, indicates otherwise. The people of the Colony came from a variety of backgrounds and locations, and twenty two percent of the adult men listed occupations related to agriculture. Among this group were farmers, including dairy and poultry breeders, as well as farm labourers, nurserymen, market gardeners, ranchers, livestock breeders and cattle dealers. There were others with relevant trade skills like butchers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and labourers like railway employees.[45] The women also had useful skills such as nursing and domestic work experience. The actual composition of the group of "Barr's Lambs" might help explain their unexpected prosperity in the years after their settlement at Lloydminster. After an Atlantic crossing which included only

---

[44](cont'd) Archives of Canada).

[45]See Appendix for statistical breakdown.

a few angry outbursts caused by the cramped quarters, the settlers were moved through St. John, New Brunswick, Winnipeg, Manitoba and Saskatoon, North West Territories. The colonists travelled in Canadian Pacific Railway immigration cars to Saskatoon and from there the majority went by horse or ox drawn wagon to the site of the Colony, 200 miles west of the railhead.[46] Some of the colonists turned back at Saskatoon or later along the trail and returned to Britain, while others decided to end their journey and settle near Saskatoon when they learned that the site chosen for the Colony was even more remote and isolated than Saskatoon. One of the colonists, Joyce Bexson, nee Hill, relates the story of one unfortunate family which was forced to turn back because of the misery of the mother.

> The J. Jeffery family was one whom [the Hill family] joined. Five children, the oldest twelve, the youngest one year. Second was the Marsh family with three children and a large wife, approximately 200 pounds, who did much weeping. Marsh tried constantly to console her with the remark, "Tha'll not clem (starve) Fanny love," or by singing in a clear monotone, "Lead Kindly Light." His pioneering experience was short lived. When he reached Lashburn, he turned back and was never seen again.[47]

The last colonists that continued to the Colony site reached the Fourth Meridian headquarters of the Colony in July, 1903.[48] In later years surviving Barr Colonists claimed that

---

[46]For a factual account of the trek see Eric Holmgren, "Isaac M. Barr and the Britannia Colony", (M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1964). pp. 83 - 92.

[47]Joyce Bexson, "The Story of the Hill Family", in Homestead Memories.

[48]The Fourth Meridian is one of several lines of longitude running through Canada which was used by the goverment surveyors to measure distances and to provide the grid and

the difficult and unique adventures of this migration bound their members together as a collectivity and distinguished them from others who had not faced the trials and privations of the adventure to Lloydminster.

The migration experience of the Barr Colonists encompassed a variety of types of families. Among the approximately 1900 emigrants who sailed from Liverpool as part of the colony, there were single men and single women, sibling groups, married couples, with or without children, and extended families.'' Many of the bachelors travelled with male or female siblings or friends with whom they planned to share the homesteading chores. Many expected to bring out other family members in a year or two. In this process of sponsoring such "chain migrations" the colonists hoped both to make their new home as much as possible like the old and to strengthen it with more settlers like themselves. Some settlers reported meeting like-minded individuals and arranging informal partnerships with them on board, in order that some could "work out" for a season while the others tended to the homesteading duties and interests of all of the partners. In the first few years, many of the bachelors shared homes and homestead duties with

---

''(cont'd) grid corrections for the township survey in Western Canada. The Fourth Meridian forms the border of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan and dissects the city of Lloydminster. When the Barr Colonists settled in in the area and established their town on the Meridian they were not aware that it would divide their settlement into two provincial jurisdictions to create the bureaucratic nightmare it did in 1905.

''Purser's List, Appendix.

their neighbours during the winter while these partners were off earning money at jobs in railroad construction or other labouring situations. The "out-workers" in turn contributed to the purchase of provisions, seed and equipment in the spring when they returned to the homestead.[50]

Families also socialized on board and drew together with the idea of helping each other.[51] Frequently, as described in the Homestead Memories, the friendships made on board led to co-operative efforts during the trek. For example, the Topotts joined with the Turners to buy a wagon and horses and they travelled in a group with the Alf Halls.[52] Together the families and their friends pooled resources and gave comfort when the discouragements of the trip or the financial requirements of provisioning might have been too much to bear alone.

Many of the Barr Colonists who formed alliances on board the S.S. Manitoba decided to settle together as well as to travel together. In his pamphlet, Barr had promised prospective settlers that he intended to allot homesteads according to the settlers' original shires so that all Yorkshire families could settle in the same area and all Devonshire folk could homestead together, if they so desired. This could have easily served to maintain "Old

---

[50]For an example see Ivan Crossley, "My Life and Experiences with the Barr Colony", Western Prairies Producer, November 28, 1968, p. C2.

[51]For example, see "The Tales of the Topotts" and the "Story of the Hill Family", Homestead Memories, pp. 32-35 and 64-66.

[52]Ibid.

Country" divisions had not the inclinations of the settlers and the insistence of the Canadian Government quashed Barr's shipboard allotment. The experience on the emigrant vessel in itself drew many settlers together and the communities of friendships and kinship that emerged initiated the process through which individuals and families in the Barr Colony began to see themselves as a community which, because of its strengths, had a particular role to play in the Canadian West.

Incidents which occurred along the trail also had the effect of drawing the British immigrants into a cohesive group. For example, the Barr Colonists' arrival at Saskatoon was one of the major disappointments experienced during the trip. Many had expected a bustling market town similar to a town in Britain. They had been told that there they could provision themselves for the overland trek. When the train arrived at Saskatoon and dumped its passengers in a field before a far from imposing wooden station house, the colonists, anxious after the long trip across the Shield and the Prairies, were disillusioned.[53] The Canadian Government, however, had erected large bell tents for their accommodation[54] and the merchants of this frontier town were prepared to sell them anything they needed. Some "profiteering" occurred, especially by itinerent merchants

---

[53]P.S Horden, "Barr Colonists arrived here 60 years ago on April 17th", Saskatoon Star Phoenix, April 13, 1963.
[54]"The Barr Colony", Section 18, volume 1, The Report of the Departmental Committee on Agricultural Settlements, (London: Wyman and Sons, 1906) in the "Lyle File" Bruce Peel Special Collections Library, University of Alberta.

who flocked to Saskatoon to take advantage of the market provided by the colonists. There were charges of outrageous prices for goods and food, but hindsight suggests market abuse was minimal.[55] While at the time the "profiteering" angered the colonists, the most provocative situations were those in which they found themselves made the butt of jokes and tricks and objects of amusement for the Canadians. Chief among the tricksters and the price raising culprits was the brother of Isaac Barr. Tales are told of his selling a pair of blind horses to a colonist with only the warning that they were shaggy from the winter in the pasture and that they "didn't look very good".[56]

The colonists found their "greenness" was the subject of much of the press coverage they received from the Canadian press[57], and predictions of their early and complete failure as settlers were made. There was cause for the origin of some of the tales of ineptitude of the Barr Colonists. Some settlers did not know how to attach a collar to an ox and they may have left it on the beast for some time until someone told them how to put it on and take it off and many of the settlers blundered into sloughs and spent many hours removing their baggage from overloaded wagons before hauling them out. However, their condition of "greenness" was not as universal as the story tellers would

---

[55] C. Wetton, The Promised Land: The Story of the Barr Colonists, second edition, (Lloydminster: Lloydminster Times, 1979). pp. 20-23.
[56] Ivan Crossley, Western Prairies Producer, November 7, 1968, p. C2.
[57] Wetton, The Promised Land, p. 36.

have us believe, nor were the British settlers the only immigrants to find themselves in those situations. All these shared hardships and the perceived discrimination tended to increase the group's cohesiveness and convinced them to strive to succeed as "British" settlers always had. As well it jaundiced their view of their Canadian neighbours who assumed the role of an outside, somewhat hostile element in contrast to the British "haven" forming among the Barr Colonists.

The disappointments and disillusionment experienced by the colonists finally focussed on Isaac M. Barr's mismanagement of the migration. Barr's "crimes" consisted of a variety of inconveniences suffered by the colonists including an overbooked ship, some food shortages, uncomfortable trains and rigid schedules which barely allowed time for provisioning at stops, the loss of baggage and his brother's "profiteering". Further, by the time the colonists had trekked through the sloughs and over the rough trails across the melting prairies of the North West Territories to Battleford, they had had quite enough of the man who had brought them to that desolate place and who showed no sign of lessening their hardships in the near future. At a general meeting at Battleford early in June, 1903 the colonists discredited Barr and voted to dissociate themselves from him. In order to make the break complete and to solemnize their new beginning, the colonists took a new name, the "Britannia Colony". The new name emphasized their

British heritage, the one common element which underlay their efforts to homestead as a community. The name was an assertion of their identity as British immigrants.[58] The Reverend Lloyd and a committee of twelve were then elected to organize the Colony's business and a new chapter of the Colony's history began.

The settlement segment of the Britannia Colony's history began when the trek to the Fourth Meridian was completed in July, 1903. The colonists, with the help of land agents and other government officials, were able to file on homesteads and begin to move onto their land. Others chose to live in the town and follow a trade or open a business. Whatever their choice, the community began to focus on the townsite of Lloydminster, named of course, after George Exton Lloyd.

In a circular issued soon after that June meeting, Lloyd claimed that already six hundred individuals had filed for homesteads and, therefore, were "settlers" staying in the Colony.[59] Colonists who filed for homesteads were also granted town lots on the condition that they immediately took steps to construct houses or businesses.[60] The

---

[58]The name "Britannia Colony" is used interchangeably in the literature with "Barr Colony" since the press and some of the Colonists themselves reverted to the more easily identifiable name several years later.

[59]Guy Lyle, British Emigration into the Saskatchewan Valley: The Barr Colony, 1903: Its Bibliographic Foundation, revised 1975, vol. 98, the "Lyle File", 102 vols. Bruce Peel Special Collections Library, University of Alberta. p. 11.

[60]Testimony of C.W. Spears, Deputy Minister of the Interior, to the Committee on Agricultural Settlements, April, 1903, p.287.

colonists responded readily to the offer. Soon the community store was housed in a tent as was a temporary hospital staffed by one of the Canadian doctors with whom Barr had contracted in the name of the Colony. Around this core of tents the community began to take shape.

Once the process of settlement was underway, the British colonists extended and gave substance to the social connections initiated during the migration. Immediately after the arrival of the colonists the town of Lloydminster became the center for social and leisure clubs. By 1905 the community had the Britannia Rifle Association, the Britannia Cricket Club and the Lloydminster Football Club. From 1905 on, clubs and associations for all kinds of activities were formed almost every month. The women formed a Ladies' Auxiliary in August, 1905, while the men joined clubs such as the International Order of Foresters (Britannia Lodge, November, 1905), the Masons and Freemasons (November and December, 1905) and the Brotherhood of Saint Andrew (July, 1906) which was associated with the Anglican parish of St. John's Minster. Other clubs like the Sword Squad and the Boys Brigade (May, 1905 and August, 1907) were quasi-military organizations useful supposedly for honing the skills of scouts and soldiers. The hockey, baseball and tennis clubs, formed in December, 1905, May, 1906, and June, 1907, respectively emphasized athletic competition. Only the tennis club had mixed-gender membership.''

''Lloydminster Times, community reports, May, 1905 to August, 1907.

Within a few years minor centers had grown up around Lloydminster and soon they also had similar clubs and athletic associations. Next, Lloydminster and these centers formed leagues for competition. Their social organizations also arranged receptions and exchanges for each other. The Britannia Colonists participated so much in group activities that they attracted the notice, and even the disapproval, of government officals. Obed Smith of the Department of the Interior in this period is cited as having remarked on

> a strange tendency to depend upon the value of co-operation by members [of the Barr Colony], rather than individual work, resulting in the calling of many meetings to discuss points which might readily be decided by the individuals themselves, or at any rate, individual exertions would have rendered many meetings unnecessary and undesirable from several standpoints.'[2]

Part of the explanation for the official's reaction could be that while a certain amount of co-operative activity was expected, the extent to which the British immigrants carried this behaviour was extreme. This community attribute suggests that the Britannia Colonists were simply manifesting a well known British characteristic.

> Britons are sociable - Must have their Clubs - found wherever they penetrate....
> Of all the races of men in the world, Britons are the most gregarious. In Great Britain and Ireland there are 2,085 [clubs] while there are 1,095 in foreign countries and the British Colonies. . . .
> London's list of clubs shows no sign of decreasing. At present they number 282, of which thirty at least are exclusively ladies institutions.
> . . . Whenever two or more Britishers meet together in any part of the world, their first remark would

---

'[2]James Mavor citing Obed Smith in the "Report on Agricultural Communities ...", Lyle file, p. 288.

appear to be: "Let's form a club."[63]
The athletic and social clubs served to keep the members of the colony, no matter how far away their homesteads were from the town, in at least some contact with each other. Other clubs served economic interests such as the District Agricultural Society and the Creamery, while many served more sectarian purposes such as the Orange Hall, Freemasons and the St. John's Literary and Debating Society. The proceedings of the clubs were frequently considered important additions to the pages of the local paper, The Lloydminster Times .

What was expected of the British immigrants by the Department of Interior officials was behaviour similar to that of the Anglo-Canadians. However, for most British immigrants, the conditions of life in Canada were unfamiliar and required at least some adaptation from their traditional habits. Their behaviour on their homesteads was, therefore, often quite different from the Ontario or Manitoba migrant who moved west to take advantage of opportunities in homesteading lands or undertaking new commercial ventures. Instead of adapting to the Anglo-Canadian norm, the colonists drew from their background a co-operative business tradition to fit their new situation where no one member had enough resources to start a large undertaking completely on his own. Because government officials did not expect this kind of behaviour from the "independent" British people

---

[63]Lloydminster Times, May 19, 1908.

however, they often worked actively against Barr's and later the community's designs in order to facilitate the break up of the colony and to encourage individual efforts on the part of the homesteaders.''

The first instance of this behaviour by government officials was the disallowance of the homestead allotments that Barr had established while on board the S.S. Manitoba during the crossing. Instead the officials insisted that each homesteader file personally only after a visual inspection of the prospective homestead. Since Barr's allotment procedure involved simply placing a name on a map containing the homestead sections, the location of the land and the identity of one's neighbours was a higher consideration than the arable quality of the land. This change actually worked to the advantage of many whose homestead allotment on board ship had placed them on poor land.

The second and more important official intervention was the premature suspension of the colony's reserve. Barr had arranged a reserve of thirty townships for three years in order that the original settlers could encourage their families and friends to join the colony in the subsequent years. Barr's dissociation from the Colony and the defection of about two hundred original colonists, who returned to

---

''Excerpts from section 8 of the "Report of the Departmental Committee appointed to consider Mr. Rider Haggard's Report on Agricultural Settlements in British Colonies," vol. 1, (London: Wyman and Sons, 1906), 2 vols., The "Lyle File", University of Alberta Bruce Peel Special Collections Library.

Britain with tales of hardship and hopelessness before they had even seen the site of the Colony, caught the attention of the Canadian and British press. Many of these returning immigrants became disillusioned by the bleakness of the prairies or found that they missed their homes and families more than they had anticipated. Many simply found that they were unwilling to give up the conveniences of a civilized society for the hardships of the frontier. Lloyd charged them with exaggerating their tales of hardship when they returned to Britain in order to excuse their "weakness and cowardice".[15] The Canadian Government was encouraged to believe that, as a result of the published reports, no further immigration would occur from Britain to the Colony. Clifford Sifton had the reserve broken and opened the lands for homesteading to Canadian and American settlers in October of 1903.[16] The subsequent migrations which did occur under the auspices of the "Britannia Colony" in 1904 and 1905 had to seek their homesteads further away from Lloydminster.[17] The government justified its actions, claiming that having North American settlers interspersed with the British would produce beneficial results. However, government officials recognized that the nature of the Colony could not so easily be dismissed, and there was an acknowledgement that the homesteads should be opened to

---

[15] Lyle, British Emigration to the Saskatchewan Valley, citing G.E.Lloyd's circular letter, July 1903.
[16] Letter from Sifton to Smart, February, 25, 1903, Department of the Interior file, 794348, (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada).
[17] Lloydminster Times, June 6, 1905.

"English-speaking" settlers.[68] James Mavor, a Canadian professor at the University of Toronto in 1903, who was consulted as an expert witness for the British investigative Committee on Agricultural Settlements in Canada, and who was a noted critic of the Barr Colony scheme, had noted in a memorandum to the same committee that the all-British theme was seen as important, not only to the Britannia Colonists but to others, Anglo-Canadians and Americans, who joined the Colony later.[69]

Nevertheless the Barr Colonists did continue to encourage their families and friends to join them at the Colony and even extended the invitation to British people in general to bolster the British nature of the Colony. One of the chain migrations to Lloydminster, the Hutchinson Party of 1905, was another all-British Colony scheme organized by a Barr Colonist and an Anglo-Canadian neighbour. William Hutchinson and R. B. Thompson recruited farmers and labourers from their home shires in Britain and brought out about two hundred more British individuals to the Colony.[70]

In the meantime, other British immigrants already resident in other parts of Canada or the United States were attracted by the "all British" theme of the Britannia Colony

---

[68]Testimony of Smart before the Committee on Agricultural Settlements, April 1903.
[69]James Mavor, memorandum to the Committee on British Agricultural Settlements, citing Mr. Smart of the Department of the Interior. In the Report of the Committee . . .p. 284, "Lyle file.
[70]W. Hutchinson, "Second British Colony for Saskatchewan, Sheffield Weekly Telegraph, March 4, 1905, vol. 18, the "Lyle file".

and came to join it.[71] Many of the Anglo-Canadians and Americans were recent immigrants to other locations and came to Lloydminster because they wanted to feel part of a British community again. An example is the Bank of Commerce manager, Daly, who came in the first years of the Colony to open a branch office in Lloydminster, and who became so much a part of the community that he quit his job in order to stay in Lloydminster when the Bank transferred him to Edmonton after 1910. Others came out to join family who had migrated earlier.[72] The outcome of these subsequent migrations was to strengthen the "British" aspect of the community as the majority of the new settlers came to, and identified Lloydminster with, the Britannia Colony and its British origins. The sponsorship of such migrations suggests much emphasis on ethnic factors in the minds of the colonists. They were important factors determining the suitability of community behaviour and thus the nature of the Colony itself. Ethnicity was becoming a critical factor in the developing community's sense of itself.

Along with this penchant for surrounding themselves with British neighbours, bachelors in the district tended to seek marital partners from among members of the British community. Since the population statistics indicate a preponderence of males over females in the Colony, many young men were forced to seek wives outside of the Colony.

---

[71] See "The Taylor Family" and "The Hudson Story", Homestead Memories, (Saskatoon: Freeman Publishing, 1967). pp. 97-108.

[72] See for examples, "Pioneer Minnie Ives" and "The Noyes Clan, 1903-1966", Ibid., pp. 75-81.

In such circumstances a number of men returned to their home shire in Britain when their financial situation and personal inclination permitted nuptials. There were exceptions to this course, where Anglo-Canadian women or even American women became wives of the Barr Colonists, but the trend was for the bachelor to return to Britain for a wife, or to marry a British woman who came out to visit or join a family member already in the colony. There is no evidence of marriage with non-English speakers. This "endogamous" behaviour in terms of the community's origins serves to emphasize the ethnic dimensions of this community.[73]

Another aspect of the settlers' desire for familiarity and their identification as members of a British group was their use of names. The name "Britannia" was prolific as a name for the Colony itself and for other organizations within the Colony. More subtle references to the colonists origins were found in titles like "the King Edward Hotel", the "Imperial Boarding House" and the naming of school districts and villages after places 'at home'; Aberfeldy, Durness, Lashburn, Strathmore and Wirral.

The preceding aspects of the Barr Colonists' social and family activities in the early years of the Colony's history, then, indicate a relatively high degree of ethnicity. They had endogamous marriage practices for the most part and kept close kin ties, both in working together as family units and in bringing relatives out to Canada to

---

[73]Francis, "The Nature of the Ethnic Group", p. 396.

join their settlement.

Besides the social and informal arrangements made by the Britannia Colonists to bolster their community, there were the economic and political activities in which they engaged. In order to achieve the self sufficiency of the Lloydminster district, the Barr Colonists showed considerable interest and high levels of participation in their local government. George E. Lloyd's first act, when he had taken over the direction of the Colony from Isaac Barr, was to have a group of twelve advisors elected to help him with its administration. Many of these original twelve were members of St. John's vestry and later, when the Colony was granted village status, they continued in office as village councillors.

Although most of the Barr Colonists settled on homesteads away from the townsite while the town attracted many business individuals from outside the Colony (notably from Eastern Canada), the Barr Colonists usually managed to control at least half of the elected seats on the council. Their presence was also significant on the hospital board, the school board and in the agricultural societies. The two Barr Colonist members of the first village council executive were F. Bottomley and Nathanial Jones, listed on the S.S. Manitoba's purser's list as a labourer and a store manager, respectively. Other Barr Colonist representatives were a butcher and an auctioneer as well as a clergyman, the Rev.

Lloyd. A similar constituency made up the first District Agricultural Society directorate. Of the fifteen members, eleven were colonists and six listed their previous occupation as "farmer".[74] The other five had held various mercantile positions.[75] As the outlying areas formed into Local Improvement or Municipal Districts, the colonists resident in those areas took prominent roles in their administration. All four of the Local Improvement District commissioners prior to 1908 were Barr Colonists and two of the four Municipal District councillors belonged to the original settler group. As time passed and the community's membership broadened, the role of the Barr Colonists did not lessen.

The interest of the Barr Colonists in local matters is emphasized by their apparent lesser interest in provincial and federal politics during the initial years of the Colony's history. While both the Liberals and the Provincial Rights' Parties had established local chapters in the Lloydminster district by 1905, the candidates chosen by the area to attend party conventions were not actually Barr Colonists. While of distant British antecedents, they were Anglo-Canadian additions to the colony community and not original colonists. This is perhaps explained by a reluctance on the colonists' part to participate in a system with which they were not yet familiar and a preference to concentrate on affairs closer to home. Another aspect to

---

[74]Purser's list, Appendix.
[75]Ibid.

consider is that most of the Barr Colonists did not come from the right families or even the appropriate classes in Britain to become involved in politics. While there were a few "gentlemen" among the colonists, all of them listed military careers as their occupation rather than public service.

A major concern of the colonists was their success as settlers. To this end most had taken out homesteads and so the first few years of the Colony's history involved their efforts to build homes and produce crops. The Barr Colonists were able to employ all members of the family for the economic benefit of the unit. In the case of single individuals, there were partnerships which approximated the co-operative lifestyle of a family. Barr himself had advised the prospective colonists that the best family situation would consist of older parents with mature offspring; the males over eighteen could homestead an adjoining quarter, or hire out to apprentice, and females could work as domestics. He warned, of course, that only those with start up capital and older children should venture this way. Otherwise, he advised that the men should proceed first to establish themselves and bring the family out later. [7] Not all took his advice, and so the S.S. Manitoba and CPR trains witnessed the transportation of families with anywhere from one to ten children varying in ages from infancy to

---

[7] I.M. Barr, Circular Letter, "To the members of the first British Colony to form a settlement in North Western Canada", Christmas, 1902, reprinted in the Lloydminster Times, July 17, 1963.

maturity.[77] The oldest colonist was sixty-nine years old. The mean age of the passengers on the S.S. Manitoba was mid-twenties.

Many who did take Barr's advice, however, used the homesteading provisions to their advantage and gained control of considerable portions of land through their family operations. An illustrative example is Nathanial Jones, who, with his three sons, filed on a whole section and managed to run a successful business in town as well. Other families also managed to homestead and begin valuable businesses in Lloydminster and the surrounding area. The Gee's brick making plant is another example. In this case, two mature sons migrated with the Colony in 1903 and established a homestead. When the rest of the family (father, mother, and two more sons) came out the next year, the father was able to start a construction business as a contractor with the younger sons while the family was supported by the work of the two older boys on the farm.[78] These thrifty and hard-working families were "successful" in a relatively short time. A number seized the opportunity that circumstances presented to gain the best of both farming and entrepreneurial worlds. And their success was in turn important in providing both services and work for other members of the Colony. The benefit of their success as examples for others is also evident.

---

[77]Purser's List, Appendix.
[78]Diary, 1909, of Sidney Gee, owned by Mrs. G. Warner, nee Gee.

There is no doubt that an important part of the colonists' attempts to secure the success of their community was their co-operative activities. Many of the ventures undertaken as co-operative enterprises were for the benefit of the whole community and it was therefore suitable for the colonists to all support them. Further, as was noted in the Lloydminster Times review of the Barr Colonists' story in 1978: "These hardy people who settled in Lloydminster in 1903 were familiar with co-op systems. Many had come from North and Central England where such enterprises had been established and blossomed for sixty years."[79] Since the Barr Colonists, as a group, arrived with considerably more capital than was usual for most immigrant groups,[80] the Bank of Commerce was motivated to establish a branch in Lloydminster by 1905. Because the colonists had had an expectation, based on Isaac Barr's pamphlets, of participating in some co-operative ventures,[81] it was not unusual for them to have worked together in such a way. While the schemes such as the hospital and store co-operatives that Barr had outlined in his pamphlets fell through when his connections with the Colony were severed,

---

[79]Lloydminster Times, July 26, 1978, section 4, p. 13.
[80]In the excellent 'Saskatoon Story,' published in 1952, Eric Knowles and Bruce Peel noted 'during the colonists sojourn in the village, bank drafts for between $250,000 and $300,000 were said to have been presented to the Bank of Hamilton.' cited in C. Wetton, The Promised Land, (Lloydminster: Lloydminster Times, 1979).
[81]I.M. Barr, "British Settlements in North Western Canada on Free Land Grants; 'Canada for the British'. (London: nd.) in the Lyle file, University of Alberta Bruce Peel Special Collections Library.

the colonists showed no reluctance to engage in co-operative ventures in their early history. More often than not the solutions proposed for the Colony's initial problems included the formation of a joint stock company or a co-operative enterprise of some kind.

The colonists were avid supporters of associations that provided useful services to their members such as farmers' associations like the Lloydminster and District Agricultural Society,[82] the Alberta Farmers' Association[83], and the Greenwood Farmers' Association[84], grain marketing co-ops, such as the Farmers' Society of Equity[85], the community creamery[86], the beef-rings[87] and others such as the Lloydminster Skating Rink Company[88], and the Lloydminster Printing and Publishing Company[89]. The Times was also a co-operative institution, initially begun under the auspices of a joint stock company formed by individuals "devoted to the interests and well being of the Britannia Colony and surrounding district"[90] and dedicated to facilitating the exchange of information among the people of the community.

---

[82] Lloydminster Times, June 20, 1905.
[83] Lloydminster Times, January 30, 1906.
[84] Lloydminster Times, February 11, 1909.
[85] Lloydminster Times, April 14, 1908.
[86] Lloydminster Times, February 11, 1909.
[87] Beef-rings were an invention for a time when the storage and preservation of food was difficult. Neighbours would either contribute an animal or money for the purchase of an animal which was then butchered and the beef was shared among the contributers. This way all participants had fresh meat regularly and none of the animal was wasted because it could not be consumed immediately.
[88] Lloydminster Times, October 17, 1905.
[89] Lloydminster Times, December 19, 1905.
[90] Lloydminster Times, July 1, 1905.

In fact, the benefits of joint stock companies were extolled in a letter to the editor which blended a criticism of the Colony's women with praises for the men.

> Could anything better illustrate the way women do their work as compared with the way men do theirs, than to look over a town of say, a thousand families, on Monday? In a thousand little kitchens a thousand little women would be seen thrusting wood into a thousand little cookstoves, heating a thousand little wash boilers, and hanging their clothes on a thousand little clothes lines. If by some singular social revolution the men of such a town were to undertake to do the work, their first step would be to get up a stock company, invest capital in a building and machinery, so organize the work that about a half dozen men could do the work for the whole town, receive good salaries therefore, and the rest of the men would go about their own business on Monday just as on other days. Yet these very women form themselves into branches of "suffragettes" and ask for a vote.''

Besides those members involved in community ventures, Lloydminster had many entrepreneurs. Most businesses faced some competition from others in the same line --there were two butchers, two hotels, two restaurants''[2]-- with the exception of those enterprises formed under the auspices of joint stock companies or large instalments like the electric power plant.

The activities of the small businessmen and the joint-stock company owners provided the community of

---

''Lloydminster Times, January 20, 1910. The logic of this letter was shown up in a subsequent letter to the editor two weeks later: "What double-dyed nonsense! Of course men would form a stock company. Women, who receive no pay for their work would do so too if they had the wherewithall. I should like to read what you would say if your better half were to send the family wash to the laundry and you had to pay for it. But to pay your partner for the same work never occurs to you in your wildest dreams." Lloydminster Times, February 3, 1910.

''[2]Lloydminster Times, town directory, 1907.

Lloydminster with the services and amenities it needed to be self sufficient. Achieving autonomy was important for the members of the Colony because it would indicate both their security and independence, and their successful adaptation within the Canadian society. It meant that they were able to take care of their own community's welfare and control their own affairs.

In a similar light, the movement of Lloydminster's churches away from the support of Mission societies and established Eastern Canadian and British churches to self-supporting status was of major importance to their congregations. The Anglican churches did this rapidly, there being more families in their congregations, but they were soon followed by the other denominations. These small steps to self-sufficiency and social integration did much to foster the pride of Lloydminster's population in their community. With every service and institution for which they assumed full financial responsibility, the people of the Lloydminster district felt they had matured and moved away from their position of insecurity and vulnerability.

The people of Lloydminster and area were also concerned about providing for their community's welfare in other ways. There are numerous examples in the Lloydminster Times of collections being taken up in order to aid unfortunate individuals whose homes were lost in prairie fires, or to families who were suffering privations due to accidents, illness or deaths of family members and who could not

support themselves. This behaviour may have been motivated by the influence of the various "benevolent societies" which exist in Britain, and have for centuries, which were organized to benefit the poor and needy of all walks of life.'[3] Besides that influence, the fact that the community was closely structured and interdependent meant that the members tried to help each other out in times of distress.

The colonists in and around Lloydminster were also interested in the community's welfare to the extent of subscribing annual contributions to maintain and staff the Lloydminster hospital. The local hospital board did not always have an easy time directing the affairs of the hospital but its existence in the area to provide medical aid was considered important enough to the community to encourage universal support.

While these last examples may not seem to be identifiably "British" ethnic manifestations, rather more of the pioneer community spirit represented throughout the prairies, that community spirit originated in the shared experiences and perceived cultural similarities of the Colony and it is, therefore, an ethnic response. It grew from an acknowledged need to maintain the British community at Lloydminster. Like the colonists' attempts to encourage, and as far as they were able, to sponsor more immigration from Britain, this community support demonstrates a behaviour usually associated with ethnic groups. Their

---

[3] For examples, see advertisements in Church Times, December, 1984.

persistence in naming homesteads and hotels as well as villages after places which reminded them of Britain and the concentration of the Lloydminster Times on items of British interest indicates a continuing identification with their homeland and its people. The extent of their social organizations also reveals the closeness of their community structures. They formed and organized businesses co-operatively and together completed the structures of their community to make it a self-sufficient society.

The prime motivation of their activities was to ensure the survival of their Colony among the harsh and strange conditions in the Canadian West. While they struggled and endured together, they gained a perception of the unique aspect of their experiences. They identified with each other and were proud of their accomplishments so that gradually they came to credit their specialness and success in Canada to their British origins. Their ethnicity, or sense of identity, in the years preceding the First World War focussed on their community at Lloydminster and the strong and stalwart members of the Barr Colony.

V. The Barr Colony: Raising the British Flag in Western Canada

At the close of its first decade in Canada, the Barr Colony was a firmly established community. Lloydminster was a prospering Saskatchewan town, and an Alberta village since the provinces were established out of the North West Territories in 1905. The town served the requirements of many farmers and ranchers in the surrounding districts. These farmers and ranchers had achieved notable success from their efforts and the District Agricultural Society's annual fairs were filled with prize winning cattle and crops.''[4] The economic base on which Lloydminster rested appeared secure. Further, the people of Lloydminster continued to emphasize their heritage and appeared secure in a strong sense of the cohesiveness of the community. The Lloydminster Times frequently referred to the settlement as 'the old Barr Colony' and reminded the inhabitants of their British roots. The colonists' absorption in the affairs of the settlement began to alter, however, as conditions in Lloydminster stabilized. Agricultural products from Lloydminster were entered in international competitions at Toronto and Chicago and won.''[5] The productivity of the Lloydminster region was widely acclaimed. The establishment of Lloydminster brought

---

''[4]Lloydminster Times, August 29, 1912.
''[5]Wetton, The Promised Land, p. 63.

to its residents a sense of identity and of pride in their community and self sufficiency.

The Barr Colonists' ethnicity encouraged them to assume a leadership stance at the onset of the First World War. Conditions in Canada and the Lloydminster region were much altered by the war and those changes elicited new and extroverted behaviours among the Barr Colonists. The end of the war and the changing economic and political circumstances in Canada confronted the British settlers in Lloydminster with new challenges to which they had to respond. These challenges, however, appeared to reflect negatively upon British settlers and discouraged the Barr Colonists who had expected a rather more positive recognition of the British in Canada after the efforts of the War period. In both cases the Barr Colonists' response was rooted in values and behaviours drawn from their British heritage and in their sense of themselves as a community with a particular mission.

The Barr Colonists' war time activities may be seen in terms of distinct spheres. The first sphere was the formulation of arguments that explained and justified their "leadership" response in support of the War. The second involved the colonists taking leadership actions to fulfill the goals they had expressed in justifying their enthusiastic participation. The British settlers waged a campaign of rhetoric to emphasize British values and their relevance to the ties between Canada and Britain. In the

educational systems the colonists found the links that bound the Anglo-Saxon peoples together. The systems promoted loyalty to the Empire and endorsed the ideals of liberty, industry and good citizenship; the qualities that, in their eyes, raised British civilization to a position of grandeur. The progress of the War and the Canadians' contributions soon convinced the Barr Colonists, however, that more than words were required. Through practical demonstration that gave substance to their rhetoric, they felt that they would stimulate other Westerners to greater efforts. The Lloydminster residents' sacrifices in terms of voluntary military service and community patriotic contributions were undertaken with a sense of purpose which their British heritage had instilled in them, and which they hoped Canadians would come to accept also as their most fundamental responsibility.

In the period after World War I, the Barr Colonists' activities focussed on the promotion of British immigrants as settlers. Events such as the "Harvester Movements", in which British workers were brought to Western Canada to supply needed labour for the grain harvests, and the resulting negative image amongst the Anglo-Canadians as to the worth of British settlers, led the Barr Colonists to act in ways that would overcome this perceived threat to their status as a "charter" group among Western Canadians. Such actions heightened their own sense of their ethnicity.

A. Barr Colonists to the Front: The Response to the Threat to the British Empire - 1913-1920

The introspective focus of the community in the initial years of the Barr Colony was transformed and expanded to the larger world in the period of international strife associated with the First World War. The survival of the Lloydminster settlement became less engrossing as the Colony gained material security. The issue of the menace to Britain and the Empire replaced development of the community as the leading issue of concern for the colonists. The desire to protect the British Empire from the threat on the Continent was added to the colonists' previous impulse to expand the Empire by their settlement in Canada's West. The backgrounds of many original colonists and their emotional attachment to the British homeland clearly indicated to them that the appropriate action of Canada should be to support Britain at all costs. The Canadians' "softness" and willingness to compromise on issues like conscription was perceived as a threat to the colonists' British values and evoked an emotional response among the residents of the Lloydminster district. The activities of the Barr Colonists from 1913 to 1920 were carried out with the intention of manifesting their British roots. They were undertaken with the purpose of giving Canada an example of "proper" behaviour and

prodding Canadians into similar patriotic activities.

The Barr Colonists' presumption that their mission was to give guidance to other Westerners was derived from the pride they felt in their Colony's success. The credit for this success was ascribed to their British heritage and characteristics. On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the arrival of the first settlers at Lloydminster, the Lloydminster Times published the following editorial.

> . . . Possibly a mistake was made in the establishment of a colony of people who brought with them the manners and customs and prejudices of the Old Land, and sought to perpetuate them in many instances in the new. Be that as it may, the black discouragements of the past are slowly but surely giving place to the promise of the brighter days to be. When the history of the settlement of the prolific prairies comes to be written, or when the great epic of the plains shall be inspired, it may possibly happen that amongst all the strange incidents of our eventful story nothing shall appeal with stronger force to the imagination of the historian than the uncomplaining heroism of the men and women, many of them from homes of refinement in the Motherland, who steadfastly set their faces towards the Fourth Meridian, in those rigorous days of March, but one brief decade ago, and plodding on amidst manifold discomforts that would have tried the hearts of even the Pilgrim Fathers, eventually reached their destination, only to find that their trials and tribulations had just commenced.
>
> Mistakes have been made, failures have not been a few, success when achieved has been hardly won, and yet with it all has been the resolute British Bulldog determination that will not be denied however severe the test, which out of apparent failure has often wrung success, and has had much to do with the weaving into the warp and woof of the British character those enduring principles which have made their possessors not only the greatest colonizers in the world, but will assure for them whilst such principles are kept alive, the foremost place amongst the races of the earth.''

The tone of the second half of the paragraph demonstra

''Lloydminster Times, editorial, May 8, 1913.

clearly that the author did not believe his first sentence, about the mistake being made when the British settled at Lloydminster. Rather, it conveys a sense of pride in the qualities of the British settlers and the sentiment that their role in the Canadian West was to set the goals and the pace for its development.

Evidence of the Barr Colonists' inclination to attribute to themselves a leadership role among the settlers in the Canadian West appeared as early as 1913. The Lloydminster Times emphasized the colonists' heritage and transformed this recognition of the Colony's British inception into the sentiment that the colonists' Britishness engendered a duty for them to excel in all things and effect behaviour which would serve as an example to the rest of Canada. For example, on February 20, 1913, the Times read as follows:

> It has been suggested to the Times that a district so essentially British as this old Barr Colony should not allow the death of Captain Scott and his devoted companions amidst the frozen barriers of the South Polar regions to pass without some slight share in the universal tribute which will be paid to their memories throughout the far flung British Empire.''

Even two years earlier the organizers of the events planned to celebrate the coronation of George V in 1911 had been charged by the editor of the Lloydminster Times to make the commemoration suitably large and dignified as befitted a "British Colony."'' The threat of war was to bring similar

---

''Lloydminster Times, February 20, 1913.
''Lloydminster Times, April 4, 1911.

"patriotic" urgings from the Lloydminster Times.

In some ways the self-appointed task of the colonists was made easier because the majority of Anglo-Canadians supported the "same" cause as the people of Lloydminster. Early in its history the Barr Colony had readily accepted the Canadian education system because of the compatibility of its goals with their own. Anglo-Canadians relied on their school system to inculcate the children of immigrants with Anglo-Canadian values in order to produce worthy citizens in the future adult population.'' The late nineteenth century epistemology relied heavily on the proper education of youth as a key element in securing the future of "progressive" communities. The British public school ethos was the epitome of the educational experience, but the less well-endowed versions in the state-sponsored school systems in Western Canada were thought to be generally capable of instilling the appropriate attitudes as well. Howard Palmer details the Anglo-Canadian intention to educate the second generation of immigrants to inculcate a basic set of common values, in his discussion of the policy of Anglo-conformity.'°° This educational process sought to supplant other than British ethnic traditions and values with those of the British cum Anglo-Canadian.

''Marilyn Barber, ed., "Introduction" to James S. Woodsworth, Strangers within our Gates: or Coming Canadians, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972, originally published 1909) p. xii.

'°°Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts", pp. 123-124.

While Anglo-Canadian public opinion may have supported this comprehensive education programme for the children of immigrants, the resources of the federal and territorial governments were often so strained that little could be done to instigate the "proper" procedings. C.A. Dawson, in his treatment of group settlements on the prairies, revealed that communities openly hostile or even slightly discouraging to educational standardization were generally left in peace while the authorities tried to cope with the demands of communities which desired the implementation of the Canadian educational system.[101] In some cases, the Anglo-Canadian educational ideal was not put into practice until provincial legislation was enacted to enforce it.[102] In the meantime, it was possible for church organizations and isolated communities to control their own curriculum and the manner and language of instruction. The Doukhobours and most sectarian Mennonites were thus able to avoid strong assimilation pressures for several years.

On the other hand, the communities where state sponsored education was demanded as a right of citizenship present an interesting contrast. In the case of the Barr Colonists, the question of educational facilities was paramount. Barr had expressed in his recruiting pamphlets the willingness of the Canadian authorities to provide schools once the community was organized and the requisite

---

[101]Dawson, Group Settlements, p. 68. See also Frank Gilbert Roe, Getting the Know-How, ed. J.P. Regan, (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1982) pp. 118-119.

[102]This did not occur until 1916 in Saskatchewan.

numbers of children were present.[103] Since many of the colonists arrived as family units, the number of children was sufficient to warrant the establishment of a school district. The organization of the Lloydminster school district and the election of school trustees occurred the very first winter, so strongly did the British immigrants feel the need for an educational system for their children.[104]

This attitude was partly the outcome of their own educational tradition where universal elementary education was deemed an essential part of society. It represented also, in this new land, the Barr Colonists' desire to take advantage of the opportunities offered in Canada to improve their lot in life.[105] Participation in the public school system was the most easily accessible method of advancing the position of one's children socially and economically.

The formation of the Lloydminster school district in 1904 was rapidly followed by the creation of other school boards in the smaller centers surrounding the town.[106] Ratepayers closely watched their investments and attempted

---

[103]Barr, circular letter, "To the Members of the First British Colony Organized to Form a Settlement in North Western Canada", section 15, reprinted in Lloydminster Times, July 17, 1963, section 1, p. 6.
[104]Wetton, The Promised Land, Section 29, "Schools", p.65.
[105]For an expression of this sentiment, see the speech given by The Hon. Mr Gorham, Minister of the Department of Education for Alberta, on the occasion of the opening of the new public school building in Lloydminster in 1930, reprinted in Lloydminster Times, July 17, 1963, section 1, p. 8.
[106]Wirral, July, 1905, Gulley, April, 1907, Durness, May, 1907.

to ensure value for their dollars. School exam results were reported frequently in the Lloydminster Times, which also carried lively debates about the existence and quality of the teachers and the problems with the school trustees.[107] Within a short period of time, Lloydminster and district pupils were qualifying as teachers themselves and occasionally some returned to schools in their home communities to educate the next generation.[108]

The rapid acceptance of Anglo-Canadian educational institutions by the British immigrants in the Britannia Colony indicated both their acceptance of Anglo-Canadian attitudes concerning the value of education and their expectation that the educational process in the schools would meet their educational goals. There were few conflicts between the community and the Anglo-Canadian authorities as, in this area at least, the two communities had similar goals. The process of Anglo-conformity was successful with the British immigrants largely because the immigrants recognized familiar British institutional underpinnings. The Canadian education system inculcated values of loyalty to the Empire and the Monarch, relied on instruction in the English language and reinforced the structures of Canadian society and political institutions rooted in British antecedents.[109] Both the British and the Canadians drew upon

---

[107]Lloydminster Times, January 30, 1906, May 21, 1907, for examples.

[108]For example, E.H. Bottomley, Mabel Proctor and Ethel George, whose stories are told in West of the Fourth, by Eric Rendell and Kate E. Garden, pp. 29 and 70.

[109]Marilyn Barber, "Canadianization Through the Schools of

the same symbols in their education of their children so that even if the symbols had somewhat different meanings to each of the communities they suggested a strong degree of compatibility.

During the First World War the values of patriotism and self-sacrifice became necessary nationalist virtues. There were members of the British community at Lloydminster who felt they possessed these virtues more than others. The introduction of the Military Service Act in August, 1917, and the election campaign of Borden's coalitionists against Laurier's Liberals were examples of instances where the British saw a clear plan of action. The Anglo-Canadians' public and at times painful consideration of the options and the consequences of those actions laid the basis for conflict between the Barr Colonists and other Canadians. During the election campaign of 1917, Quebec, enemy aliens, and even the Anglo-Canadians' lack of conviction in condemnation of them received criticism from the editor of the Lloydminster Times.

> The case is simplicity itself. Are we prepared to allow Quebec to boss the rest of the country? Are we willing to permit disloyal and traitorous hands to guide the ship of state at this critical juncture? Are we going to refuse to send reinforcements to the boys who so badly need them? If so - vote for the Laurier Bourassa bunch!''[10]

---

[10]"(cont'd) the Prairie Provinces before WWI: The Attitudes and Aims of the English-Speaking Majority" in Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education, ed. Marin L. Kovacs, (Canadian Plains Research Center: University of Regina, 1978) p.283.

[11]Lloydminster Times, editorial, December 13, 1917.

The political strength of the French-Canadian presence in Canada and the fact that the "foreign" voters' inclinations could affect an issue on which the British felt so strongly, made them defensive. In turn they focussed their criticisms on individuals and groups that challenged their single-mindedness. The potential of greater alien immigration during and after the war was a related matter where the colonists perceived the declining influence of British goals and ideals on Canadian life.

The year 1918 saw several "alien" scares occur in the West. There were proposals put forward to force aliens to work at fixed wages'[1] It was rumoured, and later proven false, that enemy aliens had tampered with seed grain in an attempt to sabotage production.'[2] A German immigrant to the Kitscoty area near Lloydminster was charged with sedition when it was discovered that he had written letters to a friend in Holland criticising the Canadian Government and detailing the general population's hatred of Germans. The trial received a great deal of attention in the Lloydminster Times.'[3]

The Colonists' preoccupation with "citizenship" was to continue even after the end of the War. An editorial in May, 1919, entitled "Canadian Citizenship", accused provincial and federal authorities of creating the problems of "enemy aliens" by their lax screening of potential immigrants in

---

[1]Lloydminster Times, January 24, 1918.
[2]Lloydminster Times, April 24, 1918.
[3]Lloydminster Times, July, 25, 1918.

their haste to get settlers into the West. "This led to the granting of exceptional privileges to various sects and groups of people and conferring on them exemptions for the discharge of duty which all British and Canadian born subjects are called upon to fulfill."[114] It is ironic that it was group settlements which received the Barr Colonists' criticism. Readers of the Lloydminster Times received assurances that all aliens' homesteads would be scrutinized to ensure that they had properly proved up.[115] Anyone not having carried out their homestead duties would find their homestead forfeit to the Soldier Settlement Board, which promised homesteading lands to individuals who had proved their citizenship.

While many men were fulfilling their citizenship obligations overseas, the people at home in Lloydminster were trying to do "their bit" as well. The prices on both goods and produce were high during the war, and although shortages existed because of the war effort, the people of Lloydminster were kept aware of their relative ease by comparisons with conditions both for the civilians in Britain and the men in the trenches. They were urged by the Lloydminster Times to attempt greater efforts at production and sacrifice in their personal lives, in order that they might contribute more to the war effort. Such practices as hoarding flour or sugar were strongly condemned in letters to the editor and in editorial comments in the paper.

---

[114] Lloydminster Times, editorial, May 1, 1919.
[115] Lloydminster Times, May 22, 1919.

In September, 1914, a group of town stalwarts formed an organization to administer a Patriotic Fund to foster the war effort.[116] Names of contributors were published in the Lloydminster Times and in subsequent years events such as concerts and dances were held to boost contributions. By the middle of the war the Patriotic Fund had raised over three hundred thousand pounds sterling.[117]

Despite their efforts to set an appropriate example during the First World War, the exemptions for enemy aliens and the perceived equivocations of the Canadians on issues like conscription led the Barr Colonists to begin to fear that even the educational system and their maintenance of values respecting the Empire and liberty could not withstand the challenges of the shifting balance in Canadian society. Issues which had been important to the colonists for years before the war, such as having their own local militia, were not of concern to most Canadians. The British settlers had wondered at the Canadians' ill-preparedness for war. The Barr Colonists, however, were not going to be caught unawares.

> We have men in our community who are willing to give time, and in the case of the officers, spend their own money very freely, take risks and endure plenty of discomfort, purely voluntarily in order to qualify themselves to bear an effective part when the day comes, as come it most assuredly will, when diplomatic finesse has made its last move and the smouldering resentment of the past ten years breaks into a red flame

---

[116] Lloydminster Times, September 24, 1914.
[117] Lloydminster Times, January 4, 1917.

> that will sweep as soft as death to the furthest confines of the Empire.'[118]

The inhabitants of the Barr Colony were as proud of their military traditions as they were of their British descent. Many of the original Colonists were Boer War veterans'[119] and were the instigators of the Britannia Rifle Association in 1904 as well as other militia related organizations such as the sword drill team and the boys' brigade. Recognition of Lloydminster's martial spirit was accorded when the Canadian Mounted Rifles placed their headquarters for "F" Squad at Lloydminster. Their recruiting was successful among the members of the community.'[120] The Saskatchewan Light Horse also stationed "B" Squadron in Lloydminster when they formed in 1909 and their recruiting drives among the residents also did quite well. So well in fact that a second, "C" Squadron was proposed in 1910. By 1911, the Lloydminster Times was advertising the navy's intent to recruit cadets, aged fourteen to sixteen.'[121]

The effect of the inculcation and training received by the boys and young men of the Lloydminster district was felt during the First World War. The author of a retrospective piece in 1963 on the boys' brigade explained the outcome in the final paragraph of the item.

> True to the British tradition, their hopes in this promised land and loyalty to the homeland, the

---

[118] Lloydminster Times, letter to the editor, August 29, 1912.
[119] "Barr Colonists Ventured Unbroken Territory in 1903", Lloydminster Times, July 26, 1978, section 4, p.11.
[120] Lloydminster Times, January 28, 1908.
[121] Lloydminster Times, August 3, 1911.

> majority of these cadets answered their country's call. Today some are lying in Flander's Field where poppys grow, while others have carried with them the scars of battle to the evening of their lives.[122]

The First World War was a crucial test of Lloydminster's spirit. Like all other parts of the Empire Canada was subject to considerable pro-British propaganda. Generally, Canada considered itself to be a British nation and thus sped to assist Britain in the battle against tyranny and aggression. The Barr Colony readily participated in rendering that assistance. On August 13, 1914, the Times editor used the paper to express his pride in the formation of Lloydminster's volunteer contingent.

> It is with full consciousness of [the threat to democracy] that Britain's overseas provinces have rallied to the support of the Motherland, and will undoubtedly spend their last dollar, and shed their last drop of blood, for the maintenance of those principles of liberty, fraternity and equality, which have found their fullest expression amongst the Anglo-Saxon people.[123]

The Barr Colonists' perception of the Canadian contribution to the war, however, differed slightly from that of the Anglo-Canadians. The British settlers were happy just to make the sacrifice required of them for the British Empire. Canadians, on the other hand, gradually came to want recognition for their role as a partner and began to aspire to the status of an ally.[124] In contrast, the sentiment of

---

[122] Lloydminster Times, July 17, 1963.
[123] Lloydminster Times, August 13, 1914.
[124] R. Matthew Bray, "'Fighting as an Ally': The English Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War", Readings in Canadian History: Post Confederation, R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, editors, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982), p. 324.

simple and unquestioning devotion to the homeland among the Barr Colonists was evident in the works of many poets in the Lloydminster area who aired their creations in the Lloydminster Times. Other poems were written for the Literary Society, such as the excerpt here, from a poem by Sidney Gee, dated Jan. 7, 1916:

> The Call
> The call of Britain! Britons need no call
> When Motherland is threatened by the foe
> A subtle, silent message, soft and small
> Creeps o'er the Empire. Britons one and all
> That mystic summons know.[125]

The call to arms and sacrifice for the war effort found a most ready response in Lloydminster and the surrounding district. By December of 1914, Lloydminster had sent off two volunteer contingents and on December 31, 1914, the first war fatality from the community was reported in the Lloydminster Times.[126] The community's belief in its particularly British composition in the rather ethnically diverse Canadian West, imposed on it a sense of responsibility not only to make the sacrifice, but to do it as an example for the rest of Canada.

> The hearts of every loyal citizen in this district will follow our soldier boys as they go forth to fight their battle in the cause of freedom. Our first and second contingents have gone, others may have to follow, and those who know anything about the quality of our men in this district do not doubt that if the third or fourth or fortieth call should come, whilst there is a man or boy left among us, the call will not be heard in vain.[127]

---

[125] Sidney Gee, "Father's Poems", unpublished manuscript, owned by Mrs. Gussie Warner, nee Gee.
[126] Lloydminster Times, August 20, Novemebr 2, December 31, 1914.
[127] Lloydminster Times, editorial, December 3, 1914.

The community was proud of its contributions to the war, both in men and material goods. They considered that they had done their duty and won honour and respect for the district.[128] There was rarely an original family which was not somehow affected in the wartime voluntary enlistment. Between August, 1914 and April, 1917, approximately four hundred men from Lloydminster and environs were enlisted in at least fourteen battalions, two mounted regiments and the Canadian Engineering Corps.[129] This contribution was seen by many in the community to be the most appropriate gesture they could make both to express their loyalty to Britain and to act as an example to all of Canada. Other British settlers in Canada manifested similar sentiments. By far the majority of the initial volunteers came from the body of British immigrants resident in Canada, showing the widespread "ethnic" response to the situation of crisis in the Empire. "Most of the early enlistments were unmarried immigrants from the British Isles. Less than a third of the first volunteers were Canadian born."[130] Besides the personal and political contributions of the men, there were considerable sacrifices and efforts made by the women and children in the community. The formation of Red Cross locals, which held fundraisers and organized the food and

---

[128]The various war honours and other paraphenalia from the war comprise a significant portion of the Barr Colony Museum collection in Lloydminster.

[129]Lloydminster Times, "Honour Roll", April 19, 1917.

[130]J.L. Findlay and D.N. Sprague, The Structure of Canadian History, second edition, (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall, 1984), p. 304.

clothing hampers sent to the men overseas, were inspired by the same sense of loyalty and exemplary behaviour.

The conclusion of the First World War found the British settlers of the Barr Colony believing that they occupied a secure position. With the victory of the British Empire and its allies and, thus, the security of the colonists' values of liberty, democracy and citizenship, the British colonists at Lloydminster turned once again to their farms and businesses and their community activities. Their pride in their heritage and their successes in their new home had sparked an impulse to lead their neighbours to the defense of the "old land" and their ideals. The ethnic group identification of the British in Canada in the war period, on balance, drew them closer to Anglo-Canadians because of what they perceived as the similarity of the goals of the two. During this period the colonists enjoyed a relatively secure position in the region and were able to direct criticism at others who were less acceptable and therefore, more vulnerable during a time of national crisis. The situation was to change as the twenties advanced. The British settlers in Canada would also feel discrimination and prejudice and in turn they would alter their sense of themselves and direct their group activities to counter this challenge.

B. The Response to the Threat to the Status of The British Immigrant - 1920-1928

Several conditions created by the end of World War I altered Canadian attitudes to a great many issues. The demobilization of soldiers and of war industries created high unemployment. Moreover, labour union activities erupted into some well publicised confrontations. Thus, the largely undefined threat of radicalism disrupted the lives of many Canadians.[131] Under such economic and political pressures immigration was curtailed and carefully scrutinized to ensure that no further threats to the quality of life in Canada could arise in this area. In the early twenties restrictions were placed on immigration from southern, central and eastern Europe. From the Orient it nearly ceased. By the mid twenties, however, declining immigration from the preferred countries, Britain and the United States of America, caused the government to concede to the railways' demands for changes in the policy that would allow them to bring in more immigrants from other sources.[132] Reaction to these demands encouraged the government to again emphasize "British" settlement. At the same time, however,

---

[131]David J. Bercuson, "The Winnipeg General Strike, Collective Bargaining, and the One Big Union Issue", Studies in Canadian Social History, Michiel Horn and Ronald Sabourin, editors, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp. 435-446.

[132]Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts", p. 130.

British settlers were gaining an unwelcome reputation in the eyes of some employers and the public press. The "new" British immigrants had some unfortunate experiences with Canadians. This negative image reached a climax during the Harvester Movement of the late twenties which imported British labour to help with the harvest in the Canadian West. The "bad press" and negative attitudes engendered by these movements sharpened a sense of ethnic identification among the Barr Colonists. Faced with circumstances questioning their achievements, the Barr Colonists found that it was increasingly difficult to persuade other British settlers to come to Canada. In response, the Barr Colonists sought to overwhelm the critics of British immigration with success stories like their own.

The Barr Colonists were familiar with prejudice against British immigrants for they had suffered it on the occasion of their arrival in Canada. They had thought, however, to have combatted it successfully as a result of the prosperity and stability of their settlement. Neither were their wartime contributions to be ignored. Early in the Colony's history the Lloydminster Times had carried a couple of articles from other papers to promote a discussion of British immigrants' and Canadian settlers' reactions to each other. These articles frequently had a favourable British viewpoint.

> There is the decent English workman of solid training who comes out to Canada prepared for honest toil and who wants nothing more than a fair field. Such a one exclaimed in bewilderness, after he had

been here a fortnight: "I don't understand why Canadians, who profess to be so British, should ridicule the speech and manners of settlers from the old country."

There is no doubt concerning the defiant attitude assumed by the Canadian when the Englishman makes a remark about how things are done at "home". There is nothing more natural than such a comparison, and it is not made as a matter of offense but rather as a matter of fact. But the Canadian is over ready to assume that the newcomer is grumbling, and the former straightway procedes to make himself somewhat ridiculous by denying the superiority of St. Paul's of Westminster, to the nearest red brick tabernacle around the corner. On the other hand the Englishman takes no pains to make his comparisons gracefully.[133]

The Lloydminster Times was inclined to use humour rather than anger about the issue and published the following item in 1908.

The rhymster of the London Evening News is moved to sarcasm by the continuous rise in Canada's expectations in the way of emigrants. He declares that the descriptions of the kind of man wanted to emigrate to Canada just now suggests the Admirable Crichton, who would make his way in any community, and he proceeds in this fashion.

"The perfect emigrant should be
A stalwart chap of six foot three,
Filled with determination grim,
And wholly sound in wind and limb.
He should not ever be afraid
To turn his hand to any trade,
And he should further own a skill
in each commensurate his will.
Moreover, he should simply learn
Not to instruct but just to learn.
He should not put on British airs,
Or 'side' about his home affairs.
He should be confident, and yet
As modest as a violet.
Given these traits, he, more or less,
May hope to meet with some success".[134]

---

[133] Lloydminster Times, May 27, 1907, excerpted from the Edmonton Journal. See also Lloydminster Times, October 8, 1907, excerpted from the London Spectator.

[134] Lloydminster Times, March 3, 1908.

The definitive article on this subject appeared in the December 17 issue of the Lloydminster Times in 1909. The item was excerpted from the Toronto News Service and it defends the position of the British in Canada rather strongly:

> "Don't Discount the Englishman"
> A Canadian who would rudely refuse an Englishman employment merely because of his nationality would be neither a gentleman nor a man of sense. In doing so he would violate the primary duty of courtesy and consideration towards a stranger. He would betray his ignorance of the historical fact that Canada owes everything to the old countryman. He it is who by hard work and steady moral qualities laid the foundation of the Canada of today. The English have always been the sturdiest of pioneers, the pre-eminantly successful pioneers, the foremost of nation builders. Witness the dominions of the King which flank the seven seas and the onward march of liberty and civilization under the aegis of the British flag in all parts of the world.'[35]

That had been the last word on the subject and the tensions between the colonists and the Canadians had dispersed after that. It was evident, however, that the British were confident in their worth and were not shy about expressing it. What did amaze them was the Canadians' slowness to recognize it. The renewed attack in the decade of the twenties was therefore, disturbing for the colonists: While the colonists had always been aware of individuals who had failed because they were unfit for homesteading, either the physically weak or those whose attitudes did not suit them to the tasks involved, like lazy remittance men or alcoholics, the colonists considered these to be the weaknesses of individuals and not the failings of the

---

[35] Lloydminster Times, December 17, 1909.

British group. In the twenties, however, the Barr Colonists found all British immigrants lumped together, frequently described as radicals, or worse, as physically unfit and too "green" to accomplish even the most simple tasks of farm labourers. This seriously affected the efforts of the Barr Colonists to encourage chain migrations of British settlers to the Canadian West.

At the conclusion of the First World War the subject of immigration had become important to Canadians once again. The Lloydminster Times also became enthusiastic about immigration and settlement. Canada's Soldier Settlement Board extended homesteading on partially improved farmsteads to veterans, both as an opportunity for a new start for them and as a final push to fill the West. Further immigration from Europe received encouragement. The people of Lloydminster, however, were mostly interested in immigration from Britain. Numerous articles and photographs showed the strengths and desirability of British settlers and gave glowing accounts of their experiences in the West. For example, pictures of students from Wye Agricultural College and Oxford appeared in September 1926. The caption read: "The young men came from all parts of the Mother Country, and are members of prominent families there. The arrival of such a group is only another indication of the type of men who are scattered throughout the West on harvesting outfits."[134] Most of these harvesters returned in [illegible]

---

[134] Lloydminster Times, September 30, 1926, pictures of students from Oxford and Wye Agricultural College come to

leaving satisfied employers. Two stayed behind, however, to the delight of the Barr Colonists, and took up farming themselves.'[137] The immigration of women also received much interest and encouragement. In October, 1926, another picture was published in the Lloydminster Times, this one showing approximately twenty members of a "happy party of Scotch girls . . . just landed in Canada. . . and proceeding to farms in Western Canada, chiefly Saskatchewan! This is indicative of the steady movement of British youth and womanhood to Canada."'[138]

The Canadian authorities did much to help such immigration. Transportation fares were radically lowered between British exit ports and Canadian ports of entry to encourage British immigration and labour exchanges. The most popular type of labour importation was the movement of harvesters from British schools and towns to Canadian farms. Various organizations, including the British and Canadian Governments, sponsored harvester migrations, either by reducing the fares or by subsidizing their migration. It was hoped that the harvest labourers, once acclimatized to Canadian work and potential, would stay or return as settlers after their harvester term was completed. Between 1920 and 1928 British immigration was an on-going subject in the articles and editorials of the Lloydminster Times. These articles and editorials were those which advanced the idea

---

[136](cont'd) Canada as harvesters.
[137]Lloydminster Times, November 18, 1926.
[138]Lloydminster Times, October 26, 1926.

of the suitability of British immigrants as settlers.

Problems with British labourers began in the mid-twenties when the importation of British harvesters began in earnest. Prices for grain fell considerably after the war. To counter their losses the farmers planted more acres. Since they did not usually convert their operations to more labour saving machines until they had sufficient capital, the demands for labour, especially at harvest, were increased. Labourers, however, were apparently not interested in leaving the cities, or when they did, organized unions and demanded higher wages. Farmers felt this was unfair, of course, and sometimes refused to harvest, claiming that it was less of a loss to leave the crop in the fields than to pay for it to be stooked and threshed.''' Part of the solution offered by the government and agencies sponsoring British harvesters' migrations was to bring farmers the "cheaper" labour of the inexperienced hand. Farmers generally agreed to accept them but stories like the following soon were being spread, much to the discredit of the British harvesters.

> I might point out that an inexperienced hand on a farm or a ranch often costs in losses from incompetence and ignorance far more than his wages can pay for. As an instance I might mention one Englishman who was a perfect dub about tools and implements. I don't believe he knew a screw driver from a wrench, and every implement on the farm was "a plough" to him. Nevertheless he acquired a passion for hammers, and he would hammer and bang everything into the shape he thought it should be, with the result that an astounding number of implements were most perniciously bent and

---

'''Winnifred Reeve, "Alberta, 1923", pp. 30 and 32.

injured.[140]

By 1928 the situation had deteriorated. The problems of the massive 1923 movement and smaller ones in between were compounded by several years of stories about British harvesters. The prospect of a bumper crop and a shortage of harvest labour in 1928, generated concern because there had been a shortage the previous year. Sponsors of the British Harvester Movement put considerable pressure on Canadian Immigration officials.[141] The officals and the Canadian railway companies moved cautiously to select appropriate labourers and to limit their numbers in the hopes of solving potential problems before they arose. The labourers who were accepted after the rigourous physical and medical screenings were generally recently unemployed miners.[142] The migration occurred and the Canadian officals attempted to smooth the process of distributing their services as much as possible. Labourers were to be sent to areas where they were most required. Unfortunately, many did not report to their assigned farms, having gone to the United States or to Canadian cities in search of more exciting or less physically demanding work. The farmers, then, were left without labourers or were forced to pay higher wages because of the shortages. There were several denunciations made in

---

[140]Ibid, p. 33.
[141]W.J.C. Cherwinski, "'Misfits', 'Malingerers' and 'Malcontents': The British Harvester Movement of 1928", The Developing West: Essays on Canadian History in Honor of Lewis H. Thomas, J. E. Foster, editor, (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1983), p. 277.
[142]Ibid., pp. 281-282.

the papers about the harvesters which increased in vehemence when several harvesters demanded that the government pay their fares home. The recriminations against British harvesters sometimes spilled over into recriminations against all British immigrants and stories of their "greenness" and their inappropriateness for farming were revived.[143]

The reaction of the Barr Colonists underlined the strength of their ethnic identity. Very quickly they closed ranks and drew into themselves to isolate themselves from criticism. The controversy that arose in many parts of Canada over the 1928 harvester immigration was met in as positive a manner as was possible by the Lloydminster Times. The reaction of the Times reflected the negative reports carried in other newspapers accessible to the Lloydminster community.[144] No further credibility was given to the reports by repeating them. Rather, the Lloydminster Times published photographs and "letters home" of harvesters who did well.[145] The paper also interviewed farmers who were satisfied with the harvesters they had hired and found the harvester immigration program successful. These stories appeared every two weeks and were supplemented by other photographs and reports in the odd weeks concerning other immigration success stories, such as the arrival of single Scottish women or British farming families going out to join

---

[143]Ibid., pp.295-296.
[144]Lloydminster Times, October 11, 1928.
[145]Lloydminster Times, October 1 - November 8, 1928.

groups already established. Only one disturbing element mars the positive image presented by the paper. The majority of the pictures of the successful harvesters and the letters written home all derived from the same source. The same harvester was depicted three times in a five week period. Hopefully, this was the result of limited research resources rather than an inability to find more than one happy harvester.

The efforts of the Lloydminster Times indicates that the Barr Colonists sought to portray a positive image of British immigrants and workers in Canada. Members of the Colony wrote letters to other newspapers which carried anti-British items. For example, George Morlidge responded to a article quoting a Canadian Pacific Railway Official who made negative comments about some British immigrants.[146] The continuation of the preferred status for British immigrants was deemed necessary to the Barr Colonists. They felt that the British values of Canadians could only be maintained with adequate British reinforcements. George Exton Lloyd was a strong proponent of limiting general immigration in favour of British migrants. In a speech to the Orange Lodge in Edmonton in 1928, Lloyd concluded with the following words: "It is better to get Old Country Britishers and teach them agriculture, rather than fill the country with this Continental stuff and try to civilize them."[147] The survival

---

[146]Lloydminster Times, October 11, 1928.
[147]G.E. Lloyd, "The Building of the Nation: Natural Increase and Immigration." A paper read before the Grand Orange Lodge of British America, Edmonton, Alberta, 1928. vol. 58, the

of British ethnic settlements and thus, British values in general, was an issue which provoked the Barr Colonists to join together to counter negative images and hostile reactions to their settlement. The Colonists were not really alone in this case, for there was support for British immigration from Anglophiles in Canada. Anglo-Canadians such as members of Orange Lodges or authors like Burton Hurd[148], wrote to newspapers or scholarly journals to argue the need to maintain the flow of British immigrants to Canada. The British immigrants did not lose their "preferred" status with immigration officials even if some Canadians objected personally to hiring them as workers or having them as neighbours.

By the beginning of the 1930's, the importance of immigration was waning in Canada and even the Barr Colonists turned their concentration and energies to the community's welfare again as the Depression proceeded. The decade of the twenties, however, had presented at least two instances where the British settlers of Lloydminster had drawn together to meet a challenge to their values. They found that although there appeared to be similarities between themselves and Anglo-Canadians, often periods of stress revealed fundamental differences underneath the superficial affinities. The discovery of the differences reinforced the British sense of identity among the Barr Colonists and prompted expressions of ethnic identity.

---

[147](cont'd) "Lyle file".
[148]Hurd,"The Case for a Quota", Queens' Quarterly, 1926.

VI. Conclusion: The Barr Colony: A Historical Study of Ethnicity

Two approaches, that of individual and collective adaptation to altered circumstances and that of the development of a sense of community identity that can be expressed as ethnicity, are fundamentally important for an understanding of Western Canada's past. In a regional context Western Canadians see themselves as ethnically diverse. Yet when comparisons are made between today and past generations, assimilation would appear to be a significant aspect of the histories of individual families as well as group settlements. Despite outward changes, however, a sense of ethnicity, the inner sense of identification felt by members of ethnic groups, has survived. The concept of multi-culturalism seeks to give legitimacy to this socio-cultural phenomenon. Although few descendants of the early pioneers still practice traditional farming methods, or carry out their ancestors' craft or trade using traditional techniques, there is a widespread recognition and appreciation of cultural traditions and practices other than British or French. No doubt, this acceptance of ethnicity in Western Canada springs from the widespread view that ethnicity was "legitimized" through the pioneering experience.

An understanding of ethnicity and adaptation is also important for the study of British immigrants in Western Canada, even though these immigrants are usually not identified as an ethnic group. The concentration of sociologists and historians on immigrant blocs which differed most from the Anglo-Canadians has meant that the experiences of British immigrants as bloc settlers have been ignored. While it is certainly acceptable to note that British immigrants formed groups closely related to Anglo-Canadians, it is not useful to deny that they constitute an ethnic group. Behaviours which the British immigrants in group settlements manifested parallel behaviours which are accepted as evidence of ethnicity for other immigrant groups. The characteristic behaviours used by the sociologists such as endogamy, close kin ties and maintaining the symbols and common values of the group were all exhibited by the Barr Colonists over the years. The fact that the Barr Colony was an all-British venture was important to many who sailed on the S.S. Manitoba. Further, as they settled in Canada and faced many unfamiliar and discouraging conditions, the Britannia Colony, like other British settlers, drew together to form a close-knit community. The Barr Colonists attributed their ultimate success, when it was achieved, to their British characteristics and heritage.

The tendency to credit their success to British ancestry and "moral" principles is perhaps the most obvious

example of an ethnic group characteristic. Choosing to identify with others of similar background and behaviours, who had been "tested" and "proven" in the shared experiences of pioneering, is a hallmark of ethnicity in Western Canada. Ethnicity served to consolidate the community in the first instance and to shield it from disturbing external factors while its members and institutions began the process of becoming established in the West.

As the Britannia Colony grew more materially secure, however, and as development altered conditions around the settlement, the focus of the settlers' ethnic response also changed. The Barr Colonists recognized in the Canadian school system a compatibile institution to achieve the goals of educating their children because of the similarity of the two communities' symbolism and rhetoric. The similarity became somewhat strained by 1914, however, when the "British" youths outshone their Canadian peers in loyalty to the Empire. The First World War, therefore, caught the colonists up in an attempt to place the essense of their heritage in the vanguard of fundamental Canadian institutions. The Barr Colonists felt confident that their success as settlers, individually and collectively, qualified them to assume a leadership role in the Empire-wide crusade. They projected their perceptions of Canada's role within the Empire on to Anglo-Canadians and were critical of individuals or groups who countered that perception. The actions of Anglo-Canadians generally

corresponded to those desired by the Britannia settlers as Canadians identified their sense of community with the Imperial interest at that time. Changes both in Canadians' sense of themselves after the War, and in the nature of British labourers who came as immigrants in the period before the Depression were to lessen this feeling of compatibility between the Anglo-Canadians and the British immigrants.

The next incident which caused an ethnic response among the British immigrants at Lloydminster found them with seemingly fewer Canadian allies. The perceived challenge to the preferred status of British immigrants because of a negative image given them by a small group of British labourers provoked enthusiastic promotions in the Lloydminster press. Lloydminster also witnessed an outburst of public speeches and letters supporting British immigration. The activity around the promotion of British harvesters and British immigrants in general died down at the end of the twenties as more pressing matters of survival were presented. In all cases the ethnicity of the British settlers was a significant contributing factor to the actions they took and the responses they made to the situations confronting them.

Ethnicity is a phenomenon most readily identified in pluralistic societies like Canada and the United States. Both are countries of immigrant populations and while it

would be inappropriate to say that migration and pioneering "creates" ethnicity where it did not exist previously, it would be correct to indicate that migration and pioneering serve to realign previous senses of community held by the individual members of the group into a shared sense of community in the context of Western Canada. Rooted in a European culture, the sense of ethnicity owed its final definition to specific historical and social events shared by the members of the community.

The experiences heightening the sense of ethnicity associated with the settlers involved with the Britannia Colony are unexpected and unexplained in the literature as the assimilation and adaptation of the colonists was assumed to have been easily accomplished. Their British ancestry and, therefore, their assumed similarity to the Anglo-Canadians has led to the assumption that historically there was no conflict of an ethnic nature between the members of the two communities. Actual experiences, however, proved that assumption to be incorrect. The Britannia settlers manifested ethnic behaviour first, to provide structure and substance to their life as a community, next, to extend their views and practices beyond the boundaries of their community, and finally, to shield their community in the face of criticism which seemed to question their achievement and aspirations as societal leaders. In each case the ethnicity developed as a response to a perceived

threat to the group's survival; initially, the physical threat of the wilderness, later, the threat of conquest by an enemy army, and finally, the socio-political concern associated with the community's loss of position of consequence. As external circumstances changed, the ethnic response changed although it was still grounded in the identification of its members with their British heritage and the community created by the migration and settlement experience in the Canadian West.

The preceeding study has attempted to set the analysis of British immigration to Western Canada in a new light. The ethnic studies approach to the study of a group not usually identified as distinct from the Anglo-Canadians is a fresh perspective. It is possible that British immigrants, who did not participate in group settlements like the Barr Colony, might also benefit from a similar analysis. The incorporation of the British ethnic group into the history of Western Canada could make an interesting comparison to the experiences of the other bloc settlements. The rapidity of adaptation and the notion of conflict intensifying ethnic response even among apparently well assimilated groups would be an important aspect of such a study. Some further investigations into the nature of British immigration experiences might also be undertaken. The first generation of the Barr Colonists has been the focus of this and

previous studies. The second generation and their adaptation and assimilation experiences along with their sense of identity have been neglected and could prove an interesting subject. Also, there is a question of whether British ethnicity in a group setting like the Barr Colony facilitated the adaptation of British immigrants more than the experiences of those who settled as individual families in areas of mixed ethnic backgrounds. The story of the Britannia settlers' experiences needs to be added to the other stories of the West, not as the "norm", nor as the exception, but simply as another essential constituent part.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Published Materials-Local Histories

Hewitt, Dorcas A. ed. The Fort Pitt Trail: Mostly Tales of Pioneer Days. (1968)

South of the Gulley History Committee, ed. South of the Gulley. Lloydminster: Meridian Printing, 1981.

West of the Fourth Historians: Book Committee, ed. West of the Fourth Lloydminster, 1980.

Unpublished Materials

Bruce Peel Special Collections Library, University of Alberta. "The Lyle File": 102 vols. collected materials concerning the Barr Colony. Collected by Guy R. Lyle.

Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta. Homestead Records (microfilm), Department of Municipal Affairs correspondence files, taped interviews with Barr Colonists.

Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. File 194804, Department of the Interior: "The Barr File".

Warner, Mrs. Gussie. Private papers and photographs of Sidney Gee (her father).

Secondary Sources

Newspapers

Homecoming '75, 27 July, 1978. Special edition of the Lloydminster Times.

Lloydminster Times, Feb. 1905 - Dec. 1928, 17 July, 1963, 30 July, 1969, 26 July, 1978.

Meridian Booster (Lloydminster), 18 July, 1963.

Western Producer (Saskatoon), 31 Oct.-19 Dec., 1968. For the serialization of Ivan Crossley's My Life and Experiences with the Barr Colony..

Books

Allen, Richard, ed. The Social Gospel in Canada. Paper #9. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975.

Avery, Donald. 'Dangerous Foreigners'. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979.

Barth, Fredrik. Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969.

Belcher, E.A.; James A. Williamson. Migration within the Empire. London: W. Collins, Sons and Company, 1924.

Berton, Pierre. The Promised Land: Settling the West 1896-1914. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1984.

Brody, Eugene B., ed. Behaviour in New Environments: Adaptation of Migrant Populations. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1969.

Clippingdale, Richard. Laurier: His Life and World. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979.

Copping, Arthur E. The Golden Land: The True Story and Experiences of British Settlers in Canada. Toronto: The Musson Book Company, 1911.

Cormack, Barbara Villy. Westward Ho! 1903. Burns and MacEachern, 1967.

Cross, Michael S., ed. The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas. Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1970.

Dawson, Carl A. Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada. vol. VII of Canadian Frontiers of Settlement edited by W.A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg. 9 vols. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1936.

Dormon, James H. 'The People Called Cajuns': An Introduction to Ethnohistory. Lafayette, La.: The Center For Louisiana Studies, The University of South Western Louisiana, 1983.

Dunae, Patrick A. Gentlemen Emigrants: from the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981.

Epstein, A.L. Ethos and Identity: Three Studies in Ethnicity. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1978.

Furer, H.B., ed. The British in America, 1578 - 1970: A Chronology and Fact Book. New York: Oceana Publications, 1972.

Gardner, Robert C. and Rudolf Kalin. A Canadian Social Psychology of Ethnic Relations. Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1981.

Glazer, Nathan and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds. Ethnicity: Theory and Experience. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Hall, David J. Clifford Sifton: vol. I: The Young Napoleon, 1861-1900. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981.

Heimstra, Mary. Gulley Farm.. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1955.

Isajiw, Wsevolod, W., ed. Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society. vol. V. Canadian Ethnic Studies Association. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1977.

- - -Ethnic Identity Retention. Research Paper #125, (Ethnic Pluralism Paper #5) Center for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, July 1981.

Jackel, Susan. A Flannel Shirt and Liberty: British Emigrant Gentlewomen in the Canadian West, 1880-1914. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982.

Jubilee Volume of Wycliffe College. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

Kenyon, Ron, ed. The Lloyd Minster. Lloyd Historical Society

of Lloydminster. North Battleford, Saskatchewan: McIntosh Publishing Company, 1980.

Kovacs, Martin, L., ed. Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education.. Canadian Plains Research Centre: University of Regina, 1978.

Kerr, Don and Stan Hanson. Saskatoon: The First Half Century. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1982. Culture and Education. Canadian Plains Research Center: University of Regina, 1978.

Lemon, Anthony and Norman Pollock. Studies in Overseas Settlement and Population. London: Longman Group, 1980.

Lloydminster Quota Club. Homestead Memories. Saskatoon: Freeman Publishing Company, 1967.

Macfarlane, A.; Harrison, Sarah and Charles Jardine. Reconstructing Historical Communities. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Macfarlane, Alan. The Origins of English Individualism: the family, property and social transition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Martin, Chester. Dominion Lands Policy. vol. II, part II of Canadian Frontiers of Settlement edited by W.A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg. 9 vols. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1936.

McCormick, J. Hanna, Lloydminster: or Five Thousand Miles with the Barr Colony. London, 1924.

McCourt, Edward. Saskatchewan Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968.

McGregor, J.G. Blankets and Beads. Edmonton: Institute of Applied Art, 1949.

Migus, Paul, ed. Sounds Canadian: Language and Cultures in Multi-Ethnic Society. Toronto: Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, 1975.

Morton, A.S. History of Prairie Settlement. vol. II, part I of Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, edited by W.A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg. 9 vols. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1936.

Owram, Doug. Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Pick, Harry. Next Year: The Story of the Barr Colonists.

Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1928.

Reid, Helen Evans. All Silent, All Damned: The Search for Isaac Barr. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1969.

Reynolds, Lloyd G. The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1935.

Richards, Cara E. Man in Perspective: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology. New York: Random House, 1972.

Roe, Frank Gilbert. Getting the Know-How: Homesteading and Railroading in Early Alberta. ed. J. P. Regan. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1982.

Smith, W.G. Building the Nation. Toronto: The Canadian Council of the Missionary Education Movement/Ryerson Press, 1922.

Wetton, C. The Promised Land: The Story of the Barr Colonists. Lloydminster: The Lloydminster Times, second printing, 1979.

Woodsworth, James S. Strangers within our Gates: or Coming Canadians edited by Marilyn Barber. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972, originally published, 1909.

Young, Charles H. The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation edited by Helen R.Y. Reid. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931.

Articles

Acland, Fred A. "Alberta, 1906," Alberta History vol. 28, no. 1 (Winter, 1980):6-20.

Bercuson, David J. "The Winnipeg General Strike, Collective Bargaining, and the One Big Union Issue." Studies in Canadian Social History. ed. Michiel Horn and Ronald Sabourin. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978: 435-446.

Bray, R. Matthew. "'Fighting as an Ally': The English Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War". Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation. ed. R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982: 322-344.

Carruthers, C. "The Barr Colony," Alberta Historical Review no. 1 (July, 1953):16.

Cherwinski, W.J.C. "'Misfits', 'Malingerers', and 'Malcontents': The British Harvester Movement of 1928". The Developing West: Essays on Canadian History in Honor of Lewis H. Thomas. ed. John E. Foster. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1983: 271-296.

England, Robert. "British Immigration," Queen's Quarterly vol. 36 (Winter, 1929):131-144.

Foster, K. "The Barr Colonists: Their Arrival and Impact on the Canadian North West," Saskatchewan History vol. 35, no. 3 (Autumn, 1982).

Francis, E.K. "The Nature of the Ethnic Group," American Journal of Sociology vol. 52, no. 5 (March, 1947):393-400.

Francis, R. Douglas. "The Establishment of the Parry Sound Colony," Alberta History vol. 29, no. 1 (Winter, 1981):23-29.

Gates, Paul W. "Official Encouragement to Immigration by the Province of Canada," Canadian Historical Review vol. XV, no. I (March, 1934):24-38.

Humphrys, Ruth. "Edward Michell Pierce: The Founder of Cannington Manor," Beaver 313(2) (Autumn, 1982):12-21.

Hurd, W. Burton. "The Case for a Quota," Queen's Quarterly vol. 36 (Winter, 1929):145-159.

Lyle, Guy R. "Eye Witness to Courage," Saskatchewan History no. 20 (Autumn, 1967):81-107.

McArthur, Duncan. "What is the Immigration Problem?" Queens' Quarterly vol. 35 (Autumn, 1928):603-614.

McCormack, A. Ross. "British Working-Class Immigrants and Canadian Radicalism: The Case of Arthur Puttee," Canadian Ethnic Studies vol. X, no. 2 (1978):22-37.

- - - "Cloth Caps and Jobs: The Ethnicity of English Immigrants in Canada, 1900-1914". Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada. vol. VIII. Ethnic Studies Association. ed. Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1981.

Oliver, E.H. "The Coming of the Barr Colonists," Canadian Historical Association/Annual Report (May, 1926):65-86

Reeve, Winnifred. "Alberta, 1923". Alberta History, vol. 28, no. 1 (Winter, 1980):29-35.

Rendell, A. "Letters From a Barr Colonist," Alberta Historical Review no. 11 (Winter, 1963):12-27.

Sawatzky, H. "Viability of Ethnic Group Settlement: with reference to Mennonites in Manitoba," Canadian Ethnic Studies vol. II, no. 2 (Dec., 1970):147-160.

Schlichtmann, Hansgeorg. "Ethnic Themes in Geographical Research on Western Canada," Canadian Ethnic Studies vol. IX, no. 2 (1977):9-41.

Tallant, C. "The North West Mounted Police and the Barr Colony," Saskatchewan History no. 6 (Spring, 1954):41-46.

- - - "The Break with Barr: An Episode in the History of the Barr Colony," Saskatchewan History no. 6 (Spring, 1953):41-46.

Titon, Jeff Todd. "The Life Story," Journal of American Folklore 93.

Tyrwhitt, Janice. "What Canada does to the English (and Vice Versa)," Macleans vol. 78, no. 1 (Jan. 2, 1965):14-16.

Vallee, Frank G.; Schwartz, Mildred; and Darknell, Frank. "Ethnic Assimilation and Differentiation in Canada," Journal of Economics and Political Science vol. 23 (1957):540-549.

Unpublished Theses

Holmgren, Eric J. "Isaac M. Barr and the Britannia Colony." Master's Thesis, Department of History, University of Alberta, 1964.

Voisey, Paul L. "Forging the Western Tradition: Pioneer Approaches to Settlement and Agriculture in Southern Alberta Communities." PhD. Thesis, Department of History, University of Toronto, 1982.

Appendix

Part A - The Composition of the Barr Colony

One of the most common myths about the Barr Colony deals with the composition of its membership. It is commonly held that the colonists were uniformly urban dwellers with little or no practical or business ability when it came to matters of agriculture or animal husbandry. Among the extant documents concerning the Colony, however, are the purser and cabin lists of the S.S. Manitoba, the vessel in which the major immigration to the Colony was transported. Others had preceded this vessel in the S.S. Simcoe and subsequent ships in the next two years provided more British Colonists intent on settling in Lloydminster and the "Britannia Colony". The initial composition of the Colony can be sketched from the information provided by the purser lists, however, in such a way as to statistically evaluate such claims as are made about the Colonists. The actual data derived from these sources casts some shadows on the widely held perception of the Colonists as complete "greenhorns", and may help explain the rather rapid and unexpected flourishing of the community established two hundred miles beyond the railhead at Saskatoon.

Statistical analysis of the Colonists indicates that nineteen hundred and twelve (1912) individuals were carried by the S.S. Manitoba.[4*] These individuals ranged in age from infancy to sixty-nine (69) although the mean age would have been mid twenties. One hundred and eighty-eight entries of the passenger list are incomplete so the percentages are based on the material available. Eighty-one point two percent (81.2%) of the passengers were adults (eighteen years and over) and eighteen point eight percent (18.8%) were children. Married couples comprised twenty-four point two percent (24.2%) of the adult population and of those couples, eighty-two point four percent (82.4%) had at least one child with them. Of the families with children, twenty-eight point four percent (28.4%) had only one child, twenty-one point nine percent (21.9%) had two children, twenty point six percent (20.6%) had three or four children, and sixteen point one percent (16.1%) had five or more. The maximum number of children in a family was ten, but only two families (or 1.3%) had this many. Among the families were a few single parents, both fathers and mothers, with anywhere from one to six children. The single mothers with children

---

[4*]I have used the purser lists as the main source, although the material is sometimes supplemented by data gleaned from the local histories. Where the age, gender, occupation or family status of the individual was unclear they were not included in the specific statistic. The information here is meant to give an indication of comparative percentages rather than exact numbers of people falling into each category.

(3.9% of the families with children) generally indicated that they were widows, and as such were entitled to file for a homestead on behalf of their children. The single fathers (7.8% of the families with children) might have been widowed, however it is more likely that they represent a split family migration; the father and some of the children preceding the mother and younger children to establish a home in the West.

Other types of family migration situations are older parents who accompanied married offspring and their families or siblings travelling together. However, the first group is too small to be statistically significant while the second is too difficult to determine from the purser's list.

According to the gender ratio of the adult passengers, the men significantly outnumbered the women. Only fifteen point two percent (15.2%) of the adult passengers were women and eighty-four point eight percent (84.8%) subsequently were men.[150] The majority of the women (79.7%) were married, where only fourteen point three percent (14.3%) of the men were. Single women formed only three point one percent (3.1%) of the adult population.

Of the single women travelling over to Canada, most reported some occupation in which they had been engaged in Britain. One nurse, one saleswoman, some dressmakers and several domestic servants numbered among the independent women on the Colonists' ship. Their ages ranged from eighteen to mid-fifties. Most came with some family members but at least twenty were unaccompanied. Seemingly all had hopes of employment, either in the Colony or along the railway line, as women (except widows with children) were prohibited from homesteading in the Canadian West, unless they were the "helpmates" to their husbands, brothers or fathers.

The nature of the previous employment of the Colonists is an issue in the myths surounding the Colony's progress. It is generally touted that Barr's "lambs" were all helpless greenhorns, unaccustomed to hard work of any variety and especially of the agricultural type. The available data, however, reveals a different situation. The people of the Colony came from many backgrounds and many locations. It is true that most came from cities or towns in Britain, but twenty-two point one percent (22.1%) of the adult men listed occupations related to agriculture. Among this group were farmers, including dairy and poultry farmers and farm labourers, nurserymen and market gardeners, ranchers, livestock breeders and cattle dealers. This indicates at least some useful knowledge of livestock and/or agriculture which could be put to use in the Western Canadian Colony. Of

---

[150] I classified as female only those whose name or occupation clearly indicated their gender or who were so identified by further research; probably some of the 188 entries with incomplete data were also female, however, I felt it best to presume that most of those would be male.

these farmers nineteen point five percent (19.5%) were married and fifteen point seven percent (15.7%) had children, revealing more individuals with relevant agricultural experience. Further, thirty-two point three percent (32.3%) of the adult male population are listed as labourers and twenty-two point three percent (22.3%) as tradespeople who possessed skills valuable both to themselves and the community they were coming to create. Among the labourers were railway employees, blacksmiths, construction workers, skilled industrial labourers and household and estate servants. The tradespeople included butchers, bakers, carpenters, clothiers, millers, various goods manufacturers and merchants. Certainly the class of people generally were accustomed to hard work and entrepreneurial lifestyles. Of the remaining eleven point three percent (11.3%), more sedentary, urban types, including clerks (7.3%), professionals (school teachers, clergy, accountants, bankers, architects, dentist nurse, civil and mining engineers, lawyer, artists: 1.9%), insurance and estate agents (1.3%) and gentry or reservists (0.8%), were represented. The final twelve percent (12.0%) were listed as unemployed or no information was given. While the clerks represented the type of immigrant least desired by immigration officials and Anglo-Canadian public opinion, the experience of the Britannia Colony certainly indicates that it was quite possible for such individuals to adapt successfully to the rural lifestyle.

The migration experience is one which necessarily biases the selection of individuals who migrate, due to the requirement of some capital. The Barr Colony, however, contained representatives of many classes and occupational groups.

Part B - Purser's List, S.S. Manitoba, March 1903

SURNAME	NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	CABIN?
Adams	George	31	clerk	
Adams	Mrs	28	wife	
Adams	W	43	eng driv	
Adams	Francis	40	wife	
Adams	Alice	21	n	
Adams	Wm	19	n	
Adams	Harry	18	n	
Adams	Stephen	13	n	
Adams	Lillie	6	n	
Adams	Daisy	2	n	
Adams	A.C.	-	n	
Addison	Robert			cabin
Addison	Thomas	26	warehouseman	cabin
Akehurst	E.J.	49	tutor	
Alcock	J.I.	27	clerk	cabin
Allan	A.C.	22	engineer	
Allard	John	23	labourer	
Allcock	E.			cabin
Allen	E.E.	24	butcher	
Allen	John F.	24	grocer	
Allen	H.W.	20	farmer	
Allen	W.G.	24	carpenter	
Almond	Geo	17	gardener	
Altree	Alfred	23	butcher	
Andrews	Bertram	27	farmer	
Andrews	Mrs	27	wife	
Anderson	A.A.			cabin
Anderson	G.F.	23	labourer	cabin
Anderson	Jas.	20	labourer	cabin
Andrews	H.A.	30	farmer	
Ard	Wm	25	bankclerk	
Ard	A.J.S.	27	rev.	
Arnfield	William	30	farmlabour	
Arnold	G.H.	25	butcher	
Arrowsmith	Alfred	27	labourer	
Arrowsmith	Robert	33	farmer	
Arrowsmith	Mrs	33	wife	
Arrowsmith	Arthur	7	n	
Ash	Edwin	22	cutler	
Ashley	A.	25	clerk	
Ashley	Arthur	25	clerk same?	
Ashton	E.J.	23	bankclerk	cabin
Ashton	Frank	22	bankclerk	cabin
Ashworth	Jas	27	butcher	
Atkins	W.M.	30	salesman	

Atkinson	G.F.	35	gatehead	
Ault	Ewart	20	sailor	cabin
Bach	J.S.	19	n	cabin
Bach	L.J.	18	n	cabin
Bacon	E.McGuire	17	clerk	
Bailey	W.	53	agent	
Bailey	M.	17	n	
Bailey	C.	16	n	
Baker	Chas	24	farmer	
Baker	Chas.W.	21	jeweller	
Baker	H.C.	21	n	cabin
Ball	Albert	22	farmer	
Ball	J.	43	labourer	
Ball	W.	35	labourer	
Ball	Wm.	40	farmer	
Ball	Wm.jr.	19	farmer	
Bambridge	F.	29	n	
Bambridge	Mrs	31	wife	
Bambridge	F.W.	4	n	
Banbury	C.H.	28	carpenter	
Banbury	Wm.	24	blacksmith	
Banks	W.	25	farmer	
Barber	V.H.	19	farmer	
Barber	W.G.	20	carpenter	
Bardwell	W.	19	tailor	
Barker	W.E.			cabin
Barker	W.G.	21	farmer	cabin
Barley	J.S.	43	est/agent	
Barlow	B.R.	20	footman	
Barnes	E.	19	traveller	
Barnes	H.	20	fitter	
Barnes	J.C.	29	merchant	
Barnes	Wm.	21	accountant	
Barnes	M.E.	19	traveller	
Barr	I.M.	50	rev	cabin
Barratt	A.B.	30	miner	
Barber	Osborne H.			cabin
Barnett	E.			cabin
Barrett	C.H.	32	farmer	
Barrett	J.	35	bookbinder	
Bartle	James			cabin
Barton	J.O.(D.)	24	clerk	cabin
Bastion	S.J.	22	carpenter	
Bateman	J.M.	21	farmer	
Bates	F.F.	30	dairyfarm	
Bates	Geo.A.	21	carpenter	
Bates	Alfred.H.	20	carpenter	
Bates	J.B.	22	carpenter	
Bates	Wm. jr.	23	clerk	
Bater	Wm.	29	tobacnist	
Bater	master	14	n	
Bater	master	11	n	
Bartholomew	R.	18	farmer	
Batt	H.	22	farmer	

Battensby	R.	47	gardener	
Battensby	J.	21	labourer	
Bayley	A.T.	38	grocer	
Bayley	Mrs	31	wife	
Bayley	master	9	n	
Beach	Jas	27	warehouseman	
Beagley	E.J.	21	warehouseman	
Beard	F.H.	34	farmer	
Beaumont	W.J.	18	clerk	
Beck	J.	33	butcher	
Beck	Geo.F.	19	farmer	
Beesin	John J.	23	dispenser	
Bell	Alfred Wm.	21	photoengr.	
Bell	A.C.	27	trainlabr	
Bell	Sarah	23	wife	cabin
Bell	Hannah	2	n	cabin
Bell	Ivy	-	n	cabin
Bellsham	P.R.	30	carpenter	
Bentham	T.	30	overlooker	
Bentley	W.H.	38	dispenser	
Bentley	Mrs	32	wife	
Berridge	F.G.	21	sailor	
Berridge	T.W.	24	farmer	
Berriman	F.W.A.	28	clerk	
Berry	W	19	farmer	
Bessant	Geo	35	gardener	
Bessant	Mrs	32	wife	
Bessant	Wm	10	n	
Bessant	Leonard	2	n	
Bettridge	Hy	25	farmer	
Bevis	M.C.	25	traveller	
Bimis	M.	32	printer	
Bingham	J.E.	20	labourer	
Birks	R.	31	labourer	
Birtles	Harry	20	teamster	
Birtles	Wm	23	carpenter	
Blackburn	E.	23	r.r.empl.	
Blackburn	David	31	fitter	
Blackburn	R.N.	36	engineer	cabin
Blackburn	T.D.	35	est/agent	cabin
Blackler	G.	25	ironmnger	
Blackwell	A.J.	30	farmer	cabin
Blackwell	T.A.	30	wife	cabin
Blackwell	A.J.	3	n	cabin
Blakey	Arthur	26	shoe/smith	
Blakey	Mrs	26	wife	
Blanchard	G.	11	n	
Blythe	J.J.	25	furnaceman	
Boerma	G.	34	caterer	
Boerma	Mrs	32	wife	
Boerma	Leonard	7	n	
Boerma	Gladys	4	n	
Bolan	J.R.	36	farmer	
Bolton	F.G.	25	gardener	

Bolton	John	32	farmer	
Bond	(Proud)G.W.	23	publican	
Bonsey	H.J.	29	joiner	
Boore	Geo.C.	30	n	
Booth	Geo	28	cttnspinr	
Bottomlee	F.	49	labourer	
Boura	Henry	57	farmer	
Boura	Florence	27	n	
Boura	Harry R.	5	n	
Boura	George B.	4	n	
Boura	Ethel C.	3	n	
Boura	Edgar F.	2	n	
Bowen	C.A.J.	41	farmer	cabin
Bowen	L.A.	47	wife	cabin
Bowen	R.C.	19	farmer	cabin
Bowen	M.B.	18	farmer	cabin
Bowen	Laura	17	n	cabin
Bowen	Avis	10	n	cabin
Bowen	M.D.	18	farmer	
Bradford	P.M.	23	est/agt	
Bradshaw	F.	25	news/agt	
Bradshaw	G.	21	umb/maker	
Bramhall	Geo H.	37	filegrndr	
Branstone	C.Lowe	22	woodman	
Bridge	O.J.	35	tailor	
Bridge	Mrs	32	wife	
Bridge	Marcus	-	n	
Bridgeland	Mr	29	reservist	
Bridger	J.F.	37	farmer	
Brigland	W.	29	reservist	
Brinklow	Arthur	34	dairyman	
Beck	H.R.			cabin
Beck	A.J.			cabin
Becker	H.W.			cabin
Bristow	H.	33	gardener	
Bristow	A.	32	wife	
Britton	R.	18	page	
Brodie	Adam	23	asst	
Brodie	Herbert	37	baker	
Brook	H.D.	20	carpenter	
Brookbanks	R.F.	19	carpenter	
Brooks	Geo	22	farmlabr	
Brooks	H.W.	33	clerk	
Brown	F.	34	reservist	
Brown	Geo.E.	45	cashier	
Brown	E.	43	wife	
Brown	Edith	21	n	
Brown	Homer	18	n	
Brown	Edward	14	n	
Brown	Geo	6	n	
Brown	Rosalie	-	n	
Brown	Ruhann	-	n	
Brown	Geo.S.	22	fireman	
Brown	J.E.	23	gardener	

Brown	Percy R.	24	tracer?	
Brown	Thos	33	milkman	
Brown	Thom.Geo.	20	joiner	
Brownbridge	F.W.	21	farmer	
Bucher	M.B.	22	shop/asst	
Buckley	Herbert	36	overlooker	
Buckley	Mrs	33	wife	
Buckley	B.	11	n	
Budden	Mrs	54	widow	
Budden	Ernest	20	press/art	
Budden	Alfred	18	farmer	
Budden	Thomas	20	farmer	
Budden	Leonard	16	labourer	
Budden	Percival	14	n	
Budded	Lucy	10	n	
Bullock	W.	33	farmer	
Bulman	H.C.	21	postman	
Bulman	Mrs	21	wife	
Bulmer	C.J.	28	mblemason	
Bulmer	Ada Brown	28	wife	
Bulmer	C.L.	3	n	
Bulmer	J.G.	47	striker	
Bulmer	Mrs	43	wife	
Bulmer	C.H.	24	ironfnder	
Bulmer	Mrs	23	wife	
Bulmer	E.J.	21	n	
Bulmer	J.	15	n	
Bulmer	M.E.	11	n	
Bulmer	Walter	9	n	
Bulmer	Dora	7	n	
Bulmer	Ethel	2	n	
Bunn	Robert	42	gardener	
Bunion	S.G.A.	33	r.r.foreman	
Bunion	Alice	27	wife	
Bunion	Reginald	5	n	
Bunion	John	2	n	
Bunion	Doris May	-	n	
Burch	P.J.	22	btr/frmer	
Burgess	Ann	51	n	
Burgess	John	50	farmer	
Burgess	E.	46	wife	
Burgess	Ethel	20	n	
Burgess	Lizzie	15	n	
Burgess	Henry	10	n	
Burnham	A.	22	carpenter	
Burrell	W.H.	22	n	
Burrough	G.E.	22	farmer	
Burrow	J.R.	22	farmer	
Burton	A.E.	22	farmer	
Bushell	J.J.	20	hawker	
Butcher	Alfred	31	bootmkr	
Butler	Alfred	38	fireman	cabin
Butler	Emily	39	wife	cabin
Butler	Jas	3	n	cabin

Butler	F.T.	20	draper	
Butler	R.W.	14	clerk	
Butler	G.B.	11	n	
Butler	W.R.W.	32	farmer	
Byworth	Mr	18	wirewkr	
Britten	C.V.			cabin
Brown	B.C.			cabin
Buck	H.			cabin
Burchell	W.H.			cabin
Burne	C.			cabin
Burrell	Tyndale			cabin
Campbell	C.			cabin
Capley	R.T.			cabin
Chown	Wm.O.			cabin
Caley	R.W.	28	fitter	
Cameron	James	33	farmer	
Cameron	Mrs	33	wife	
Cameron	James	9	n	
Cameron	Alice	7	n	
Cameron	W.H.	50	clerk	
Cameron	M.E.	39	wife	
Cameron	Victor	9	n	
Cameron	Reginald	8	n	
Cameron	Harry	5	n	
Cameron	Constance	4	n	
Cameron	Violet	11	n	
Campbell	Mr	26	carpenter	
Campbell	P	27	n	
Canty	J.R.	43	farmer	
Canty	Harry	18	butcher	
Carlisle-Bell	A.	35	n	
Carlisle-Bell	M.	31	wife	
Carrick	Edgar	14	n	
Carson	F.A.	41	banker	
Carson	Wm	36	stnctter	
Carson	Henry	16	n	
Carter	Charles	21	cellarman	
Carter	R.	27	miner	
Case	H.	27	grocer	
Caswell	George	16	farmlabr	
Caswell	Sidney	15	farmlabr	
Catlin	William	22	labourer	
Catt	Geo	25	farmhand	
Casley	A.	28	mechanic	
Chadwick	C.	25	clerk	
Chaloner	Thomas	25	bricklayer	
Chamberlayne	F.	22	ironmnger	
Chambers	S.W.	28	farmer	
Chandler	H.	18	farmlabr	
Chapman	G.	23	clerk	
Chapman	G.	25	warehouseman	
Charlton	Geo F.	27	painter	
Chase	Walter	18	farmer	
Chatterton	Jno	30	gas/stkr	

Cheeseman	S.	37	farmer	
Cheeseman	Mrs	40	wife	
Cheeseman	Cyril	11	n	
Cheeseman	Eva	10	n	
Childs	Alfred	33	farmlabr	
Childs	Martha	36	wife	
Childs	Walter	12	n	
Childs	Alfred	8	n	
Childs	William	6	n	
Childs	Averey	-	n	
Chilton	Thomas	23	shunter	
Church	Albion	16	warehouseasst	
Christie	W.N.	30	factor	cabin
Clarke	J.	45	farmer	
Clarke	Mrs	44	wife	
Clarke	James H.	24	n	
Clarke	R.	27	labourer	
Clarkson	H.	50	farm/but	
Clay	Sidney	22	engineer	
Clayton	J.	34	grocer	
Clayton	Mrs	31	wife	
Claxton	Richard R.	29	engineer	
Claxton	Mrs	30	wife	
Claxton	Edmund	-	n	
Cleator	T.P.	50	engineer	
Cleator	Mrs	42	wife	
Cleator	Elsie	15	telegrap	
Cleator	Lucy	13	n	
Cleator	Edith	10	n	
Cleator	William	8	n	
Cleator	Thomas	7	n	
Cleator	Martha	6	n	
Cleator	Wilfred	2	n	
Cleaver	W.H.	18	postman	
Clements	G.	36	shoemkr	
Close	B.H.	30	student	cabin
Clowling	Eliz	20	none	
Clutterbuck	James	29	stonecvr	
Coates	W.V.	16	n	cabin
Cobb	Geo	25	farmer	
Coggin	G.W.	48	gardener	
Coleman	A.E.	31	baker	
Coleman	J.	31	n	
Colgate	S.	22	gardener	cabin
Collin(g)	S.E.	31	blacksmith	
Collin(g)	A.E.	57	blacksmith	
Collings	E.A.	24	joiner	
Collings	W.H.	24	hairdrssr	
Collins	Isaac	45	carpenter	
Collins	H.	17	fitter	
Collinson	H.	44	manager	
Collingwood	H.	38	hairdrssr	
Collingwood	Mrs	32	wife	
Collingwood	Walter	7	n	

	laura	5	n	
Collingwood	Leonard	-	n	
Collins	Harold	18	engineer	
Collins	Herbert	21	labourer	
Connell	Thomas	33	butcher	
Conner	C.H.C.	44	sectry	
Conyers	J.R.	29	spinner	
Cook	E.H.	30	joiner	
Cook	Mrs	27	wife	
Cook	H.E.B.	3	n	
Cook	S.M.	-	n	
Cook	Geo.S.	27	baker	
Cook	A.	23	wife	
Cook	George	-	n	
Cook	T.A.	21	n	
Cook	Wm	19	clerk	
Coomber	G.R.	32	farrier	
Coop	A.C.	20	propsectr	cabin
Coope	S.	28	clerk	
Cooper	Douglas	42	farmer	
Cooper	Samuel	31	designer	
Cooper	Mrs	21	wife	
Cooper	John	52	bootmkr	
Cooer	Albert	29	bootmkr	
Cooper	E.	20	farmer	
Cope	E.			cabin
Cope	R.			cabin
Copley	R.T.	22	clerk	
Cork	Henry	22	clerk	
Cornish	H.T.			cabin
Costello	John	25	brakesman	
Cotton	John	23	skill/lab	
Cotton	Mrs	23	wife/drmkr	
Courtenay	C.A.	20	n	cabin
Cousins	P.	25	labourer	
Coward	J.H.	20	warehouseman	
Cowdy	Hno.G.O.	23	carpenter	
Cowell	R.J.	20	engineer	
Cowen	W.E.	30	manager	
Cowen	M.S	29	wife	
Cowen	Wm	3	n	
Cowes	A.G.	24	printer	
Cox	A.John	30	postman	
Cox	Mrs	30	wife	
Crankshaw	W.H.	28	agent	
Crawford	George	44	butcher	
Crawford	Albert	15	butcher	
Crawford	Horace	13	n	
Crawford	Elsie	8	n	
Cresswell	M.F.G.	31	stoker	
Cross	Thos	43	cashier	
Crossley	I.F.	19	farmer	
Crossley	P.I.	19	farmer	
Crossley	H.L.			cabin

Crossley	G.R.			cabin
Crowther	B.	27	dairyman	
Croxford	George	26	labourer	
Cruse	John	26	farmer	
Cruse	S.J.	22	carpenter	
Cugger	A.H.	29	machinist	
Cullen	J.	18	milkman	
Cumpstay	Thomas	22	dyer	
Curtis	Albert	36	schteach	cabin
Curtis	E.S.	37	wife	cabin
Curtis	Dorothy	9	n	cabin
Curtis	Albert	6	n	cabin
Daglish	R.	24	farmlabourer	
Daless	L.			cabin
Daless	Mrs		wife	cabin
Daless	A.			cabin
Daless	V.			cabin
Dalby	F.	18	blksmth	
Dale	J.E.	22	farmer	
Dalgetty	Jos	37	salesman	
Dallas	L.	20	mechanic	
Daniels	A.	19	clerk	
Darby	Mr	26	hus/dectr	
Darby	Mrs	22	wife	
Darbyshire	W.	36	blksmth	
Davidson	F.R.	40	farmer	
Davies	A.C.	19	dairyman	
Davies	A.D.	19	farmer	
Davies	Arthur V.			cabin
Davies	Henry	21	labourer	
Davies	W.J.	24	draper	
Dawson	A.H.	23	farmer	cabin
Dawson	H.	30	architect	
Dawson	F.P.	40	farmer	cabin
Dean	Wm.	30	traveler	
de Ant	Frank E.	26	farmer	
de Haveland		30	teacher	
Dennis	Jas	38	grngrocer	
Dennis	Jessie	35	wife	
Dennis	Alfred	12	n	
Dennis	Jessie	11	n	
Dennis	E.D.	23	farmer	cabin
Dennis	J.C.	22	labourer	
Detheridge	H.	29	carpenter	
Dey	Wm	37	grocer	
Dibble	Reginald	19	carpenter	
Dibbling	L.H.	21	plumber	
Dicconson	H.H.	23	warehouseman	
Dickens	T.	21	ironmldr	
Dicker	E.	25	clerk	
Dickson	L.	18	clerk	cabin
Dickson	L.	23	n	
Dickinson	Wm	31	labourer	
Dickinson	J.	13	joiner	

Dixon	G.W.	19	farmer	
Dobree	B.E.	27	farmer	
Dollermore	F.A.	19	farmer	
Donnolly	F.J.	21	labourer	
Douglas	G.C.	24	~~hor~~seman	
Downey	John	26	tailor	
Downing	J.	21	fitter	
Drabble	J.	30	farmer	
Drabble	Mrs	28	wife	
Drabble	Philip	4	n	
Drabble	Charles	1	n	
Drabble	Edwin	-	n	
Druee	W.	49	cooper	
Druee	R.H.	18	cooper	
Dreyfus	A.			cabin
Ducker(ing)	H.	28	farmer	
Dudley	R.S.		lieut	cabin
Duff	Robert F.	44	farmhand	
Dummett	W.L.	22	servant	
Duncan	John G.	37	n	
Dunlop	John	25	farmer	
Dunn	Horace	19	farmer	
Dunnett	W.	22	servant	
Dure	F.	23	carpenter	
Dye	Jno	38	bootmkr	
Dyer	W.	39	farmer	
Dyer	Mrs	38	wife	
Dyer	May	12	n	
Dyer	Fred	9	n	
Dyer	Will	4	n	
Early	E.W.	40	farmer	cabin
Early	E.M.	29	wife	cabin
Early	S.J.	8	none	cabin
Earwaker	Charles	30	engineer	
Earwaker	Ada	29	wife	
Earwaker	Ada Lily	7	none	
Earwaker	Wm. E.	-	infant	
Eastwood	Alfred	25	poultfarm	
Eastwood	Ernest	20	bookbndr	
Edward	J.R.	37	farmer	
Edwards	A.	30	carman	
Edwards	Geo.	19	labourer	
Edwards	W.G.	36	grocer	
Edwards	Mrs.	32	wife	
Edwards	Thomas	53	farmer	
Edwards	Alice	47	wife	
Edwards	Madeline	7	none	
Elleiyton	F.W.	30	clerk	
Elleray	T.R.	30	miller(and engineer)	
Elleray	Mary	24	wife	
Elleray	Zelma	4	none	
Ellis	A.	44	baker	
Ellis	Charles	53	farmer	
Ellis	Edward	26	assit	

Ellis	Cyril	10	none	
Ellis	F.G.	20	draper	
Ellis	L.A.	19	engineer	cabin
Ellis	W.O.	34	farmer	
Ellis	Mr.	19	student	
English	W.H.	38	farmer	cabin
English	H.A.	33	wife	
English	G.W.	7	none	
English	H.M.	5	none	
English	N.B.	3	none	
English	W.	-	none	
Entwhistle	W.	40	printer	
Erhorn	L.W.	39	cbntmaker	
Erhorn	Mrs.	31	wife	
Erhorn	Mary	12	n	
Erhorn	Alice	11	n	
Erhorn	Ada	9	n	
Erhorn	Bertha	8	n	
Erhorn	William	7	n	
Erhorn	Sydney	5	n	
Erhorn	John	4	n	
Erhorn	Fred	2	n	
Erhorn	Ernest	-	n	
Erskine	W.	18	clerk	cabin
Estridge	John I.	55	lndowner	
Estridge	Louisa	47	wife	
Estridge	Geo.C.	18	n	
Estridge	Arthur W.	16	n	
Estridge	Augustus	14	n	
Estridge	Charles H.	12	n	
Estridge	Harold E.	10	n	
Estridge	Hugh	9	n	
Estridge	K.O.	8	n	
Estridge	Hubert	6	n	
Estridge	M.D.	4	n	
Estridge	Reginald	3	n	
Evans	F.G.	21	dentist	cabin
Evans	H.P.	34	farmer	
Evans	J.	23	btmaker	
Evans	John H.	26	btmaker	
Evans	W.H.	32	builder	cabin
Evans	E.	31	wife	cabin
Everett	F.H.	22	clerk	
Exell	Wm.	50	foreman	
Fanshaw	Harold	21	clerk	
Farmer	Frank			cabin
Farmer	Miss			cabin
Farnworth	Fred	29	farmer	
Fash	A.	23	tailor	
Faulder	S.	26	farmer	cabin
Fawcett	A.C.	29	postman	
Fawcett	Mrs.	27	wife	
Fawcett	Doris	5	n	
Fawcett	Elsie	-	n	

Ferguson	George	41	manufctr	cabin
Field	E.H.	17	merchant	
Finch	J.			cabin
Finch	Mrs.		wife	cabin
Finch	-	infant		cabin
Finley	R.	22	salesman	
Finn	Paul	18	labourer	
Finnis	H.W.	22	clerk	
Fisher	Elijah	47	rrguard	
Fisher	Mrs	45	wife	
Fisher	Henry	21	labourer	
Fisher	Wm	20	miner	
Fisher	Albert	16	n	
Fisher	Frederick	13	n	
Fisher	Harry	20	n	
Fisher	H.	20	n	
Fisher	Jas.L.	30	poulfarm	
Fisher	Mrs	30	wife	
Fisher	Ada Doris	-	n	
Fisher	Jos.S.	30	poulfarm	
Fisher	Mrs.A.S.	30	wife	
Fisher	Ada D.	-		
Fisher	Mr.	30	brakeman	
Fisher	Mrs.	28	domestic, wife	
Fisher	Evie	-	n	
Fishwick	James	28	farmer	
Flamank	Geo	38	sectary	
Flello	Abner	45	labourer	
Fleming	J.	40	farmer	
Fletcher	Annie	27	nurse	
Fooks	Alfred			cabin
Foote	W.G.	27	carpenter	
Forbes	R.	23	eng/fitter	
Ford	M.J.	19	n	
Forster	F.	26	pipemaker	
Foster	John	46	tailor	
Foster	A.	19	engineer	
Foster	Ralph S.	18	butcher	
Foster	Frederick	22	painter	
Foster	Thomas	18	painter	
Fowler	W.	30	furnacemaker	
Fox	A.W.	31	collector	
Fox	Charles	44	solicitor	
Fox	Mary	40	wife	
Fox	Violet	14	n	
Fox	Charles	13	n	
Fox	May	8	n	
Fox	Gerald	4	n	
Francis	S.A.	26	clerk	
Franks	J.C.	30	clerk	
Fraser	Henry	19	compositor	
Fraser	Wm	21	compositor	
Freeman	A.C.	31	clerk	
Friend	H.A.F.	23	carpenter	

Friend	W.M.	25	labourer	
Fuller	C.	20	decorator	
Furniss	John	43	farmer	cabin
Gyfield	G.	20	servant	
Gaffrey	S.	15	clerk	
Gallon	W.J.	24	labourer	
Garland	H.	20	farmer	
Garner	B.	20	clerk	
Gardner	E.	33	carpentr	cabin
Gardiner	W.C.	28	gardener	
Garnett	John C.	28	warper	
Garrish	A.G.	24	farmer	
Garrish	J.	19	clerk	
Gartside	Thos.	38	draper	
Gayford	Wm.	20	farmer	cabin
Gee	S.L.	18	builder	
Gee	C.A.	19	builder	
Genge	Charles	20	shop/assit	
Genge	J.	18	warehouseman	
George	A.	45	farmer	
George	F.(P)	26	farmer	cabin
George	J.B.	19	carpenter	
Gibbons	Charles	27	baker	
Gibbons	Frank	17	baker/assit	
Gibbs	G.F.	37	schoolmstr	
Gibbs	F.	30	wife	
Gibbs	R.	14	n	
Gibbs	G.	12	n	
Gibson	H.	26	motorman	
Gibson	Mrs.	21	wife	
Gibson	Ronald	1	n	
Gill	Char E.	22	draper	
Gillett	A.J.	28	eng/driver	
Gillett	Henry	35	saddler	
Girling	H.J.	27	labourer	
Glass	Geo.	25	carpenter	
Glynn	Frank	39	engineer	
Glynn	Mrs	35	wife	
Glynn	Wm.F.	13	n	
Glynn	Edward	10	n	
Gordon	Alex	27	farmer	
Gordon	Mary	27	wife	
Gordon	Mary	5	n	
Gordon	John	18	farm lab	
Gordon	Alexandra	-	n	
Gorman	G.	35	clerk	
Gorman	Mrs.	33	wife	
Gorman	Dorothy	2	n	
Gosling	W.	46	plasterer	
Gosling	Mrs	44	wife	
Goule	N.H.T.	19	farmer	
Grant	H.E.	20	joiner	
Gray	F.	11	n	
Gray	F.J.J.	22	carpenter	

Gray	G.McC.	23	farmer	
Gray	James	30	farmer	
Gray	J.	26	lift/attndt	
Gray	Mr(E.M.)	28	warehouseman	
Gray	Mrs.	30	wife	
Gray	Robert C.	6	n	
Gray	Albert	2	n	
Green	Athol C.	24	farmer	
Green	Harry	35	bkbnder	
Green	Mrs	34	wife	
Green	Percy	4	n	
Greenhalgh	A.	19	telegrphst	
Greenwood	Alfred E.	24	pianomker	
Greenwood	Frank J.	25	pianomker	
Greenwood	Harry			cabin
Gregson	Jas.			cabin
Gregson	C.			cabin
Griffin	F.H.	20	traveller	
Griffin	Percy K.	24	carpenter	
Griffin	M.S.	42	transport	cabin
Griffiths	Edward	25	farmer	
Griggs	J.	23	grocer	cabin
Grimes	P.L.	29	farmer	cabin
Grimshaw	W.H.	25	butcher	
Gristwood	Thom.J.	23	shop/assit	
Gronow	Joseph	46	engineer	
Guppy	F.E.	30	saddler	
Gwynn	Geo.	26	engineer	
Hadland	W.	21	farmer	
Haggis	J.H.	23	racing stable	atnt
Haggis	Percy	27	rac/st/at	
Haigh	J.B.	49	millhand	
Hall	A.L.	22	phtgrphr	
Hall	Alice	21	wife	
Hall	C.S.	25	clerk	
Hall	Bertram	23	clerk	
Hall	J.J.	19	brklyer	
Hanson	Philip	30	farmer	
Hanson	Agnes	24	wife	
Hanson	Wm	20	farmer	
Hantford	Albert E.	21	clerk	
Harding	A.	22	farmer	
Harding	Bernard	25	farmer	cabin
Harding	Ernest	26	farmer	
Hardwick	J.	19	milkman	
Hardwick	John	21	n	
Hardy	John	27	carpenter	
Hardy	Mrs.	29	wife	
Hardy	Lillian	2	n	
Hardy	Leonard	4	n	
Hardy	W.	25	lithogphr	
Harley	G.	27	grocer	
Harper	Charles			cabin
Harper	Mrs			cabin

Harper	Margaret			cabin
Harper	Annie			cabin
Harper	Albert			cabin
Harper	Frank			cabin
Harper	Lorna			cabin
Harper	Oswald C.			cabin
Harper	Montigue E.			cabin
Harper	C.H.	18	grocer	
Harper	H.H.	17	farmer	
Harper	R.H.	39	tailor/mgr	
Harper	H.A.	17	warehouseman	
Harper	Sam	29	tailor	
Harris	A.	22	bkbnder	
Harris	Frederick	18	fireman	
Harris	Geo.	41	gardener	
Harris	J.W.	24	joiner	
Harris	Geo.	20	brklayer	
Harris	Walter	35	handyman	
Harris	Mrs	29	wife	
Harris	Walter F.	4	n	
Harris	Allan P.	2	n	
Harrison	H.	34	farmer	
Harrison	Wm.	25	mason	
Hartley	H.H.	21	clerk	
Harvey	N.	39	shoemaker	
Harwood	C.J.	28	warehouseman	
Hassall	Charles H.	47	mechanic	
Hassall	Charles	21	mechanic	
Hassall	Thomas	19	mechanic	
Hassall	E(Ellen)	48	none wife/?cabin	
Hathaway	Miss M.	20	gen/serv	
Hathaway	A.E.	48	cooper	
Hathaway	Mrs	43	wife	
Hathaway	Donald	23	cooper	
Hathaway	Edward	16	cooper	
Hathaway	Harold	11	n	
Hathaway	Herbert	8	n	
Hathaway	M.S.	6	n	
de Havilland	G.M.			cabin
Hawkins	R.	28	warehouseman	
Hawksby	H.	22	butcher	cabin
Hayes	Fred	23	woolcmbr combmaker	
Hayward	W.	34	clerk	
Headley	H.	43	engineer	
Headley	G.	37	wife	
Headley	Marjorie	8	n	
Heald	Arthur	24	eng/fttr	
Heald	Alfred	22	eng/fttr	
Heaps	F.	30	n	cabin
Hearn	W.E.	25	n	cabin
Heath	Edward J.	28	draper	
Heatherby	J.	20	labourer	
Helbrun	Miss C.			cabin
Hennessy	G.W.	19	labourer	

Henry	Ernest P.			cabin
Henshaw	A.T.	28	reservist	
Henson	Wm.	29	farmer	
Henson	Mrs	27	wife	
Henson	Miss	1	n	
Hester	E.H.	22	engineer	
Hetterington	James	35	miner	
Hetherington	J.	28	farmer	
Heywood	Alfred	33	gen/dealer	
Heywood	Wm	10	n	
Hicks	Geo.	42	farmer	
Hicks	Mary	30	wife	
Hicks	Louisa	15	n	
Hicks	Maggie	10	n	
Hicks	Philip	5	n	
Hicks	Arthur	2	n	
Hickson	John J.	30	carpenter	
Hickson	Bertha	26	wife	
Hickson	Hilda	4	n	
Hickson	Leslie	2	n	
Hickson	-	-	n	
Hilder	F.H.	18	farmer	cabin
Hill	H.Ingram	23	carpenter	
Hill	Jos.	49	cattle dealer	
Hill	Mrs	49	wife	
Hill	George	20	smith	
Hill	Joe	18	sawyer	
Hill	Fred	15	instrument maker	
Hill	Emma	11	n	
Hill	Tom	5	n	
Hill	T.	35	joiner	
Hillary	George	27	blksmith	cabin
Hillary	K.	26	wife	cabin
Hillary	M.	-	n	cabin
Hiller	C.	21	n	
Hilton	W.A.	30	farmer	cabin
Hintson	Geo.H.	25	farmer	
Hirst	C.H.	28	clerk	
Hoff	H.	18	farmer	
Hodgson	F.	25	n	
Hodgson	G(E)A.	21	farmer	
Holder	F.W.	29	carpenter	
Holding	W.J.	30	insur/agt	
Holding	Mrs.	28	wife	
Holland	A.E.H.	22	stationer	
Holland	H.H.	24	bankclerk	
Holland	W.H.	31	cgrimptr	cabin
Holland	Isabel E.	22	wife	
Holland	Doris	2	n	
Hollingworth	H.	30	butcher	
Hollingworth	Mrs	30	wife	
Hollingworth	Frank	3	n	
Hollingworth	Sybil	1	n	
Hollingworth	John	-	n	

Hollingworth	W.	24	draper	
Holliday	Geo.E.	22	cyclemkr	
Holmes	J.	48	carpenter	
Holmes	A.	21	carpenter	
Holtby	Robert J.	45	com/trvllr	
Holtby	C.	46	wife	
Holtby	Oliver	20	painter	
Holtby	Robert	18	clerk	
Holtby	Arthur	17	plumber ?same family	
Holtby	Norman	16	labourer ?same family	
Holtby	Bessie	15	n	
Holtby	Wm.H.	12	n	
Holtby	Stanley	11	n ?same family	
Holtby	Dorothy	8	n	
Holtby	W.H.	47	insur/agt.	cabin
Holtby	A.G.	40	wife	cabin
Holtby	R.G.	-	n	cabin
Hood	H.	20	farmer	cabin
Hook	W.A.	18	asst/carp	
Hooper	E.	36	fitter	
Hope	John Wm.	27	gal. irnmkr	
Hopkins	J.N.			cabin
Hopper	Jos.	35	engineer	
Hordern	Wm	49	draper	
Hordern	Paul	11	n	
Horn	A.	22	cbntmkr	
Horrocks	E.A.	23	bkclerk	cabin
Horton	M.A.	68	n	
Houghton	J.A.	46	labourer	
Houghton	Wm	51	carpenter	
Hounsell	-	-	-	cabin
Howard	S	26	fireman	
Howes	F.C.	17	nursryman	
Huddleston	P.J.	34	com/trvllr	
Hugh Jones	T.A.	19	carpenter	
Hugh Jones	G.N.	21	farmer	
Hull	F.G.	20	shop/asst	
Hull	A.E.	15	carpenter	
Hulme	James	34	labourer	
Hunt	A.	21	grocr/asst	
Hunt	Francis	29	printer	
Hunt	Walter	36	gmkeeper	
Hunt	Florence	34	wife	
Hunt	W.H.	20	prospector	
Hunter	Thomas	29	labourer	
Huntley	Arthur E.	26	grocer	
Huntley	Jno.	35	postman	
Hurle	Hy.	28	farmer	
Hurst	C.H.			cabin
Hurt	F.	22	lithogphr	
Hutchinson	H,	19	farmer	
Hutchinson	Wm.	27	farmer	
Huxley	Harold	21	shop/asst	
Huxley	Leonard	19	postman	

Ibbetson	P.J.	19	farmer	
Ibey	Rose	25	n	
Ibey	T.	28	wire rope maker	
Ibey	Wm.	21	steward	
Ing	F.	22	farmer	
Ing	A.W.	26	mechanic	
Inge	Stanley H.	18	miller	
Ingram	H.G.			cabin
Ikin	Henry	39	farmer	
Ikin	Elizabeth	29	wife	
Ikin	Henry	4	n	
Ikin	Elizabeth	3	n	
Ikin	Sarah	2	n	
Ireland	H.J.	24	irnmldr	
Isles	A.	22	pianomker	
Ives	Harry	45	blksmth	
Ives	George	22	groom	
Ives	W.(Fred?)	18	grocer	
Jackson	A.	24	clerk	
Jackson	Thomas A.	22	wdengrvr	
Jacoby	D.J.	25	clerk	
James	A.			cabin
James	E.	32	miner	
Jarvis	Andrew	22	brklayer	
Jefferies	W.			cabin
Jefferies	B.N.			cabin
Jeffrey	John	30	labourer	
Jeffrey	Mrs.	34	wife	
Jeffrey	Albert	12	labourer	
Jeffrey	Annie	8	n	
Jeffrey	Herbert	6	n	
Jeffrey	John	3	n	
Jeffrey	Benjamin	-	n	
Jellis	Wm	-		cabin
Jenkins	W.J.	21	grocer	
Jepson	H.R.	22	ex-soldier	
Jewsbury	Arthur E.	35	n	cabin
Johnson	E.M.	47	n	
Johnson	R.S.	26	n	cabin
Johnson	H.J.	20	cvlsrvnt	cabin
Johnson	Mr			cabin
Johnson	Mrs			cabin
Johnson	M.Richard L.			cabin
Johnstone	Martha	20	n	
Jones	A.	22	farmer	cabin
Jones	Alfred	37	labourer	
Jones	A.J.	24	clerk	cabin
Jones	David	25	farmer	
Jones	Mrs	30	wife	
Jones	Evan	30	clerk	
Jones	F.	20	cabin	
Jones	H.Homfray	36	farmer	
Jones	K.M.F.	29	wife	
Jones	J.	23	crpnter	

Jones	P.A.	25	engineer	
Jones	R.A.	24	assistant	
Jones	Nath.	49	storemgr	cabin
Jones	Elizabeth	48	wife	
Jones	Herbert	23	labourer	
Jones	Arthur	22	clerk	
Jones	Frank	21	clerk	
Jordan	Charles	36	n	
Jowett	Edith		widow	cabin
Jowett	Ar.Wm.		son	
Jowett	Dain		son	
Kavanaugh	T.P.	36	minigeng	
Kavanaugh	Mrs.	29	wife	
Kellett	J.J.	24	porter	
Kellow	C.C.	21	n	
Kemp	W.John	33	farmlabourer	
Kemp	A.E.			cabin
Kempton	C.F.	21	clerk	
Kent	A.J.	28	jobmaster	
Kent	C.F.	21	clerk	
Kenyon	Wm.	22	machinist	
Kenyon	Charles			cabin
Kenyon	Mrs		wife	cabin
Kieser	W.E.	29	cbntmkr	cabin
Kieser	E.	25	wife	cabin
Kieser	D.	2	n	cabin
Kieser	F.	-	n	cabin
Kilburn	N.A.	27	n	cabin
King	F.L.	29	farmer	
King	Mrs.E.	30	wife	
King	Walter A.	22	farmer	
King	F.J.			cabin
King	Mrs		wife	cabin
Kirby	W.	23	labourer	
Kirk	Mr.	35	printer	
Kirk	Mrs	31	wife	
Kirk	Ivy	7	n	
Kitching	George	35	gamekeeper	
Kitching	Mrs.E.	35	wife	
Kitching	Wm	5	n	
Kitching	Fred	2	n	
Kitching	Olive	-	n	
Kindephtom	Mr			
Klombies	A.B.	22	farmer	
Klombus	C.P.			cabin
Knipe	E.F.	29	horsekeeper	
Knight	A.G.	23	timeclerk	
Knight	B.	23	postman	
Knight	H.	23	postalservant	
Knowles	Percy E.	24	clerk	
Knowles	Wm.	24	driver	
Knox	Andrew J.	39	farmer	
Knox	Mrs.	31	wife	
Lambert	H.	20	clerk	

Lamming	John L.R.	21	clerk	cabin
Lane	F.J.	25	clerk	
Langslow	E.T.	47	farmer	
Langslow	G.F.	36	fitter	
Laver	H.R.	34	merchant	
Laver	Mrs.	39	wife	
Laver	child	4	n	
Laver	child	-	n	
Lawrence	A.E.	18	farmer	cabin
Lawrence	J.	39	farmer	
Lawrence	Annie	39	wife	
Lawrence	Rose	17	n	
Lawrence	Albert	15	n	
Laycock	H.	25	gardner	
Leaney	P.G.	20	farmer	
Leathley	Charles H.	30	printer	
Leathley	Mrs.	29	wife	
Leathley	W.	4	n	
Lee	Alfred	21	bookbinder	
Lee	B.	24	farmer	
Lee	Betsy	20	wife	
Leslie	Robert	28	engineman	
Leslie	E.V.	23	farmer	cabin
Lester	R.G.	36	labourer	
Little	G.	50	labourer	
Littlewood	B.H.			cabin
Lindsay	John	36	mechanic	
Lister	W.J.	26	joiner	
Litschfield	E.	21	rrconductor	
Litschfield	W.T.L.	29	mailporter	
Litschfield	Mrs	28	domestic	
Litton	Olive	23	servant	
Lockie	Ed.	27	steward	
Long	W.D.	21	farmer	
Longland	H.D.	32	tanner	
Lonsdale	John	48	porter	
Lonsdale	Elizabeth	50	wife	
Lonsdale	Maud	20	n	
Looker	Mr.	22	farmer	
Lord	L.J.	25	dairyman	
Lord	M.D.	23	joiner	
Lord	S.A.T.			cabin
Lost	J.	21	milkman	
Loundes	J.W.	26	farmer	
Love	H.T.	27	labourer	
Lowe	C.	26	typeprinter	
Lowe	G.(J.)H.	32	miner	cabin
Lowe	M.	21	wife	cabin
Lowes	H.	21	joiner	
Lucas	A.			cabin
Lucas	C.	36	engineer	
Lucas	Howard	18	carpenter	
Lucas	John	21	butcher	
Lucas	T.H.	21	clerk	

Luck	B.	24	farmer	
Luckett	Henry	24	labourer	
Luther	B.	25	servant	
Lyddiatt	W.J.	31	clerk	cabin
Lyddiatt	M.J.	35	wife	cabin
Lynch	D.W. (N)	38	farmer	cabin
Lynch	M.	30	wife	cabin
Lynch	M(arie)	5	n	cabin
Lynch	C.	4	n	cabin
Lynch	P.	4	n	cabin
Lyle	J.P.	23	breeder	cabin
Lloyd	Geo.E.		clergyman	cabin
Lloyd	Mrs.		wife	cabin
Lloyd	Gladys			cabin
Lloyd	Exton			cabin
Lloyd	Percy			cabin
Lloyd	Arthur			cabin
McGregor	Wm.S.			cabin
McGregor	Rbt.C.			cabin
McDonnell	Norman			cabin
McPherson	Mrs.			cabin
McPherson	Alice			
Mabbs	Jno.A.	22	printer	
Mackie	F.H.	41	decorator	
Mackie	Mrs	40	wife	
Mackie	Grace	18	n	
Mackie	Frank	16	n	
Mackie	Allan	11	n	
Mackie	Dorothy	7	n	
Mackie	Ralph	4	n	
Mackie	R.E.	22	traveller	
Main	S(idney)	26	n	cabin
Magson	G.H.	23	warehouseman	
Malaher	B.H.	25	farmer	
Malaher	J.H.	21	farmer	
Manning	Jno.	21	gardener	
Mare	E.	21	n	
Marfleet	[illegible]	19	fishmonger	
Marfleet	[illegible]rold	26	bricklayer	
Margill	Fred	38	smith	
Margill	F.	1	n	
Margill	Annie	1	n	
Markham	H(arold)	26	bricklayer	cabin
Markham	M(ary) l.	30	wife	cabin
Markham	D(orothy) l.	5	n	cabin
Markham	E(ilene)	-	n	cabin
Marlow	Charles	42	farmer	
Marlow	Bessie	39	wife	
Marlow	Mary	11	n	
Marlow	Winnifred	9	n	
Marlow	Miss M.	31	n	
Marriott	A.	30	gardener	
Marriott	Mrs. A.	30	wife	
Marriott	E.	7	n	

Marriott	L.	3	n	
Marrow	W.	30	clerk	cabin
Marsh	H.	20	n	
Marsh	W.H.H.	33	butcher's cutter	
Marsh	Mrs.	36	wife	
Marsh	E.	10	n	
Marsh	G.	8	n	
Marsh	J.H.	5	n	
Marsland	J.	25	cutter	
Martin	Jno.	36	agent	
Martin	Kate T.	39	wife	
Martin	Irene	14	n	
Martin	Cedric	11	n	
Martin	Ena	8	n	
Martin	Muriel	4	n	
Martin	Phyllis	2	n	
Martin	T.A.	40	gentleman	
Martin	Wm.	23	baker	
Mason	Geo.	22	labourer	
Masterman	J.W.	26	dairyman	cabin
Masterman	R(ose)	25	wife	cabin
Masterman	J.D.	-	n	cabin
Matthews	P.J.	20	farmer	
Maule	C.E.	30	porter	
Maxwell	H.			cabin
McCool	R.T.	33	salesman	
McCool	Mrs.	28	wife	
McCool	Hubert	4	n	
McCormick	Jas	27	rates valuer	
McCullock	A.	23	farm labourer	
McGuffie	R.	46	grocer	
McGuffie	Mrs.	45	wife	
McGuffie	Wm.	21	grocer	
McGuffie	Robert	19	cabinetmaker	
McGuffie	Jessie	17	dressmaker	
McGuffie	James	12	n	
McGuffie	Mary	11	n	
McGuffie	Agnes	3	n	
McGuire	Jas	20	gardener	
McKeone	T.H.	19	trooper	
McMillan	Reg	18	labourer	
McQueen	F.H.	19	grainer	
Meadows	H.	24	assistant	
Meadows	Mr.	17	farmer	
Meara	Tom	22	labourer	
Merry	Jos J.	18	n	
Mercer	A.A.	20	farmer	
Mercer	W.T.	27	reservist	
Messant	J.H.	37	carpenter	
Messant	Agnes	33	wife	
Messant	Leonard	10	n	
Messant	Vernon	8	n	
Messant	Cecil	6	n	
Messum	H.C.	20	warehouseman	

Metherell	F.E.	27	lampmaker	
Metherall	Ellen	22	wife	
Mettam	H.	20	butcher	
Miall	Frank	59	carpenter	
Michelmore	Philip			cabin
Mileson	Chas	21	joiner	
Millman	R.S.	46	grocer	
Millman	Mrs.	41	wife	
Millman	R.	18	n	
Mills	A.G.	21	clerk	
Mills	Alfred H.	24	clerk	
Mills	F.	26	bldg/clerk	
Mills	Mrs.	24	wife	
Millward	W.H.	24	carpenter	
Milner	J.W.	23	farmer	
Mitchell	A.T.	24	n	
Mitchiner	O.	25	carpenter	
Moisley	-	33	motorman	
Moisley	Mrs.	32	wife	
Monson	Hecter M.			cabin
Montgomery	J.	27	farmer	
Moon	Jas A.	41	n	
Moore	Alfred	31	gardener	
Moore	W.M.	23	market gardener	
Morgan	V.P. (O.T)	18	n	cabin
Morris	F.N.	24	clerk	
Morrison	R.J.	22	warehouseman	
Morrison	W.C.	20	r.r. guard	
Mos(e)ley	H.E.	20	farmer	
Moss	T.	35	farmer	cabin
Moss	M.	26	wife	cabin
Moss	N.E.	2	n	cabin
Motley	Francis	47	pilotmaster	
Motley	Gladys	20	n	
Motley	Margaret	18	n	
Motley	Francis	20	n	
Motley	Irene	12	n	
Motley	John	8	n	
Motley	Louis	3	n	
Moulton	L.C.	21	dairyman	
Munroe	Mr.			cabin
Munroe	Miss			cabin
Murdock	Arthur	23	gardener	
Murray	Frank	38	n	cabin
Nattrass	J.B.	28	farmer	
Nealy	Geo.	25	cutter	
Nealey	H.H.	22	salesman	
Negus	(C.)N.	22	n	
Nevard	A.W.	25	bricklayer	
Nevard	E.S.	27	bricklayer	
Newman	Horace H.			cabin
Neyer	W.	28	warehouseman	
Neyer	Mrs.	28	wife	
Neyer	Dorothy	-	n	

Nichols	C.T.	23	farmer	cabin
Nicholson	R.	36	farmer	
Nicholson	Mrs.	32	wife	
Nicholson	T.H.	21	clerk	cabin
Nicol	Alex	28	farmer	
Nicoll	L.D.	19	n	cabin
Norman	E.	24	plumber	
Nowell	J.	26	brazier	
Noyes	Sam	18	farmer	cabin
Noyes	T.E.	19	clerk	cabin
Nursall	J.T.	34	carpenter	
Ockenden	P.R.	20	n	
Often	T.W.	21	printer	
Ogden	Herbert	21	grocer's assistant	
Old	H. Ashman	29	chemist	cabin
Oliver	Wm.	38	labourer	
O'Conner	Chas H.			cabin
O'Neil	(P.)T.J.	28	clerk	cabin
Oram	Robert	24	carpenter	
Ormerod	Walter	26	butcher	
Ormston	E.	39	farmer	
Osborne	E.P.	25	farmer	
Osborn	Richard E.			cabin
Osborn	Harry H.			cabin
Osborne	S.H.	31	hardware dealer	
Oswald	J.A.	22	clerk	
Oughton	J. jr.	23	labourer	
Owen	W.L.	23	houseporter	
Owen	W.T.	23	farmer	
Ozanne	Richard	29	n	cabin
Ozanne	Cyril E.	26	n	cabin
Page	Hy.C.	31	carpenter	
Page	M.	32	wife	
Page	Nellie	7	n	
Page	W.T.	36	market gardener	
Page	Elizabeth	35	wife	
Page	Walter	5	n	
Page	Margaret	-	n	
Paling	T.	20	butcher	
Paling	Wm.	22	butcher	
Palmer	Hy.	30	switchmaker	
Palmer	J.J.	22	clerk	
Palmer	Kenneth J.	22	clerk	
Paris	W.	22	carpenter	
Parker	A.E.	21	n	
Parker	J.	27	farmer	
Parkinson	Edgar	25	farmer	
Parr	Thos	37	postman	
Parr	Alice	35	wife	
Parr	Margerie	11	n	
Parr	Leslie	8	n	
Parr	Sydney	6	n	
Parry	H.W.	24	traveller	
Parsons	A.A.	19	electroplater	

Parsons	Henry	25	carpenter	
Parsons	B.O.	23	shop assistant	
Partington	Thos	20	upholsterer	
Partridge	O.	21	labourer	
Partridge	S.H.	34	clerk	
Patching	W.S.			cabin
Pattenden	J.	38	bricklayer	
Pawlett	Jos.	34	herbalist	
Paxton	J.E.	29	brickmaker	
Peach	J.E.	27	farmer	cabin
Pearman	J.B.	46	farmer	cabin
Pearson	Geo	43	r.r.clerk	
Peart	Samuel	27	farmer	
Peart	Jennie	26	wife	
Peart	Wm.R.	2	n	
Peart	Robert H.	-	n	
Peek	G.	25	bricklayer	
Peckett	S.J.	22	engineer	cabin
Peckett	Mrs.		wife	cabin
Pett	H.J.	22	butcher	
Pevee	A.M.			cabin
Phillips	C.T.	24	farmer	
Phillips	Walter	11	n	
Phillips	G.H.	25	mech.fitter	
Phillips	H.W.	49	carpenter	
Philpotts	C.	28	gardener	
Philpotts	Mrs	25	wife	
Philpotts	Harold	19	mechanic	
Philpotts	Joseph S.	32	grocer	cabin
Philpotts	A.	31	wife	cabin
Pick	G.	45	agent	
Pick	Mrs	44	wife	
Pick	Geo.H.	21	timekeeper	
Pickles	Thos	27	joiner	
Pike	Ernest	36	teacher	cabin
Pinder	Walter	30	farmer	
Pinder	Mrs.	29	wife	
Pinder	Mary Jane	4	n	
Pinder	Lily Eliz	3	n	
Pinder	John	-	n	
Pinnington	T.	48	clerk	
Pinnington	Ellen	46	wife	
Pinnington	Dorothy	17	n	
Pinnington	Ursula	15	n	
Pinnington	Keith	13	n	
Pinnington	Frank	11	n	
Pinnington	Eric	8	n	
Pipe	G.	23	n	
Pitts	W.	15	n	
Place	T.	23	fitter	
Platton	W.	40	agent	
Platton	Mrs	39	wife	
Pleasance	F.J.	19	clerk	
Poile	A.L.	31	farmer	

Poile	Mrs	26	wife	
Poile	Alfred R.	3	n	
Poile	Eveline	-	n	
Polland	H.	21	weaver	
Pollard	A.S.			cabin
Pomeroy	B.T.	40	ironmonger	
Pomeroy	Mrs.	38	wife	
Pomeroy	V.M.	8	n	
Poole	A.G.	25	grocer	
Pope	Geo	22	n	cabin
Poppey	H.A.	26	driller	
Porter	Wm. jr.	18	farmer	
Posthuma	G.	44	n	
Posthuma	J.G.W.	23	clerk	
Postle	Henry	37	gardener	
Postle	Mrs	27	wife	
Postle	Leslie	3	n	
Poulter	Chas	20	farmer	
Powell	Jack	18	labourer	
Powell	Tom	24	jeweller	
Powers	W.H.	24	warehouseman	
Preece	G.		n	cabin
Price	Mrs.		wife	cabin
Price	J.C.W.	33	farmer	
Price	Louis	25	farmer	
Price	Jno	28	shoemaker	
Price	Jos H.	20	farmer	
Price	J.V.	19	miner	
Pritchard	R.H.	28	carpenter	
Procter	J.B.	24	moulder	
Proctor	J.E.	32	bootmaker	
Rackham	S.	25	farmer	cabin
Ralph	David	18	carpenter	
Ralph	Wm	50	masterbuilder	
Randall	A.E.	19	ironmonger	
Ranger	Geo	19	labourer	
Rattenbury	H.W.	35	cooper	
Rawlings	Chas	28	coachplater	
Rawlings	Henry	22	filer	
Reading	Ed. J.	18	n	
Reading	F.T.	17	n	
Ready	Nathan	37	shoemaker	
Ready	P.	37	wife	
Ready	Ralph	16	n	
Ready	Sarah	14	n	
Ready	Florence	10	n	
Ready	Elsie	8	n	
Ready	Ewart	17	n	
Rebitt	Thos Hy	47	wood engraver	
Rebitt	Mildred	40	wife	
Rebitt	Courtney	20	processworker	
Rebitt	Gwendoline	18	dressmaker	
Rebitt	Henry R.	15	processworker	
Rebitt	Dora	11	n	

Rebitt	Beatrice	10	n	
Rebitt	Elsie Ann	9	n	
Rebitt	Frank G	7	n	
Reeby	Geo	21	rrclerk	
Reed	M.M.	24	clerk	
Rees	J.M.	36	labourer	
Reeve	A.R.	22	farmer	
Reynolds	F.J.	22	n	
Ribchester	F.	34	joiner	
Rice	Geo	43	n	
Rice	Geo jr.	20	miller	
Richards	G.E.	31	carpenter	
Richards	A.E.	20	carpenter	
Richards	G.E.	38	miner	
Richards	J.	42	miner	
Richards	W.	28	miner	
Richardson	J.	27	clerk	
Richardson	Thos	18	carpenter	
Riley	Geo	26	butcher	
Risdale	Robert	32	shoemaker	
Roden	T.C.	21	n	
Roberts	J.	44	n	
Roberts	R.	40	glazier	
Roberts	J.L.	27	n	
Roberts	Thomas	26	labourer	
Robinson	Ann Marie	38	n	
Robinson	V.	17	n	
Robinson	E.E.	11	n	
Robinson	B.	37	blacksmith	
Robinson	G.L.	19	n	
Robinson	J.E.	38	engineer	
Robinson	F.	33	engineer	
Robinson	I.	29	draper	
Robinson	R.	29	weaver	
Robinson	Wm A.	21	clerk	cabin
Rogers	H.C.	25	saddler	
Rogers	Walter J.	21	cornmerchant	
Romily	W.L.	24	printer	
Roots	Thos.R.	20	cranedriver	
Rose	A.G.	35	gardener	
Rose	C.	26	blacksmith	
Rotherham	T.A.H.	23	tailor's cutter	
Rough	Arthur	27	dairyman	cabin
Roulston	T.	23	grocerassit	
Rowles	B.H.	23	builder	
Rowles	Mrs	23	wife	
Rowley	Jno.M.	21	schoolmstr	
Roy	L.M.	25	compositor	
Ruddler	Jas	21	wheelwright	
Rutherford	Robert J.	19	pupil teacher	
Ryder	H.J.	20	electrician	
Sagon	Herbert J.	27	miller	
Salman	F.	26	grocer	
Salman	Mrs	26	wife	

Salmon	Chas E.R.	38	traveller	
Salmon	Mrs.	28	wife	
Salmon	Robert S.	20	farmer	
Salmon	Harold	35	cyclemechanic	
Salt	Henry	20	grocer	
Sanderson	J.H.	21	farmer	
Sanderson	Michael	54	farmer	
Sanderson	Thos	35	farmer	
Sanderson	Annie	39	wife	
Sanderson	Dorothy	10	n	
Sanderson	Ethel	7	n	
Sanderson	Mabel	3	n	
Sanderson	T.S.	-	n	
Sapsford	A.	26	farmer	
Sapsford	E.	27	farmer	
Saunders	A.	35	turner	
Saunders	C.G.	18	clerk	
Saunders	Laura	25	n	
Saunders	Wm. J.	21	farmer	
Scales	Thos	23	baker	
Schofield	Arthur	40	silverchaser	cabin
Scholey	W.	27	carpenter	cabin
Schoeder	L.	19	tailor	
Scoffam	A.W.	30	n	
Scott	P.H.	33	farmer	
Scriveners	H.F.J.	49	upholsterer	cabin
Seaborne	Ernest	21	clerk	
Sewill	R.	26	miner	
Seymour	Leonard	25	labourer	
Sharpe	W.H.	31	n	
Shaw	B.	28	labourer	
Shaw	Chas. H.	34	engineer	
Shaw	John	21	rrfireman	
Shaw	P.B.	24	farmer	
Shaw	Sydney	22	farmlabourer	
Sheatby	Henry	26	butcher	
Shepherd	Jos	20	butcher	
Shilletoe	Allan B.	19	farmer	cabin
Shilletoe	Claude	22	farmer	cabin
Simpkins	Tom	25	carpenter	
Simple	J.W.	30	farmer	
Simple	S.	22	farmer	
Sinclair	Jas	30	stonemason	
Sinclair	Mrs.	30	wife	
Sinclair	Edith	14	n	
Sinclair	Douglas	9	n	
Sinclair	Louise	-	n	
Sisley	Laura	50	saleswoman	
Siner	S.	24	clothier	
Skingle	David	20	clerk	
Skinner	E.S.	29	carpenter	cabin
Skinner	J.W.	22	clerk	
Slack	Theodore			cabin
Slade	Lancelot	27	telegraphist	

Slater	J.F.	32	n	
Slater	Jas J.	27	gardener	cabin
Sleight	Benjamin	20	labourer	
Small	Ed	18	farmer	
Smeddler	Banjamin	25	ironmonger	cabin
Smith	A.	29	coachman	
Smith	Arthur G.	23	butcher	
Smith	Arthur H.	22	clerk	
Smith	Arthur M.	29	farmer	
Smith	Bernard	19	farmer	cabin
Smith	B.K.	20	n	cabin
Smith	C.W.	29	clerk	
Smith	F.H.	23	n	cabin
Smith	G.H.	35	dyesinker	
Smith	Mary	59	widow	
Smith	F.B.	25	clerk	
Smith	W.H.	19	dyesinker	
Smith	Henry	35	engineer	
Smith	H.H.	40	traveller	
Smith	H.J.	25	butcher	
Smith	J.	24	farmer	
Smith	Jno	24	driller	
Smith	J.	39	foreman	cabin
Smith	M.	35	wife	cabin
Smith	Elsie	12	n	cabin
Smith	Gertrude	10	n	cabin
Smith	Jno H.	8	n	cabin
Smith	Jas F.	6	n	cabin
Smith	Edith	4	n	cabin
Smith	Alfred	1	n	cabin
Smith	J.L.	24	joiner	
Smith	Mrs Patty			cabin
Smith	D.H.		n	cabin
Smith	Julian		n	cabin
Smith	R.	50	n	cabin
Smith	R.J.	46	messenger	
Smtih	Mrs E.	46	wife	
Smith	Miss Rose	23	dressmaker	
Smith	Sam 18		labourer	
Smith	Samuel	20	manager	
Smith	Wm	44	carpenter	
Smith	Mrs	38	wife	
Smith	F.W.T.	16	n	
Smith	Bessie L.	12	n	
Smith	Nellie T.	8	n	
Smith	Wm.	35	polisher	
Smith	Mrs.	33	wife	
Smithies	J.H.	28	labourer	
Sorrell	John J.	19	compositor	
Spear	G.		merchant	
Spear	J.J.	55	merchant	
Spence	Herbert	26	joiner	
Spence	P.	35	n	cabin
Spence	R.	25	gardner	

Spick	F.	32	rrguard	
Spindler	E.F.	20	warehouseman	
Spareling	R.C.	33	clerk	
Spratley	A.H.	36	signwriter	
Stanford	H.	19	n	
Stansfield	Karl	18	civilservant	
Stanward	J.	36	bootmaker	
Staples	Miss	21	n	
Stapley	A.	37	gardener	
Stapley	Mrs. A.	45	wife	
Stapley	May	5	n	
Steadman	G.	30	clerk	
Steadman	W.	30	clerk	
Street	Wm J.			cabin
Steer	G.	27	bootmaker	
Stephenson	G.J.	26	architect	
Stephenson	Jas.	24	glassmaker	cabin
Stevenson	J.H.	26	farmer	
Steward	Chas C.	23	farmer	
Still	Arthur	48	farmer	cabin
Still	L.F.	47	wife	cabin
Still	Jas	18	farmer	cabin
Still	M.			cabin
Still	F.M.	16	farmer	cabin
Still	G.Y.	14	n	cabin
Stocker	J.C.	28	n	
Stone	C.	22	carpenter	
Stone	Geo.W.	35	florist	
Stone	J.	31	clerk	cabin
Stone	Wm	24	labourer	
Stone	Wm	32	farmer	
Stoppard	Albert	29	porkbutcher	
Stoppard	Wm	26	labourer	
Storey	Matt	37	insurance agt	
Stracey	Walter	22	warehouseman	
Stringer	L.	41	traveller	cabin
Stringer	M.L.	40	wife	cabin
Stringer	Wm	16	n	cabin
Stringer	John	11	n	cabin
Strong	Mary	20	servant	
Stubbins	Arthur	35	filegrinder	
Stuckey	A.A.	27	quarryman	
Summer	P.W.	21	farmer	
Sunderland	Frank	45	butcher	
Sunderland	Ida	20	n	
Sunderland	Stanley	19	butcher	
Sutch	H.	18	chemist	
Sutch	A.H.			cabin
Sutcliffe	A.E.	21	carpenter	
Sutton	C.E.	32	drysalter	
Sutton	H.	23	dealer	
Sutton	Mrs.	23	wife	
Sutton	H.W.	24	farmer	cabin
Sutton	W.E.	18	teacher	

Sutton	-	44	cornmerchant	
Sutton	Mrs	40	wife	
Sutton	Edward	20	electrician	
Sutton	Emily	17	n	
Sutton	Mabel	16	n	
Sutton	Richard	13	n	
Sutton	Joseph	11	n	
Sutton	John	8	n	
Sutton	Fred	5	n	
Sutton	Patricia	3	n	
Sutton	Charles	2	n	
Sutton	Raymond	-	n	
Swan	C.	56	cutter	cabin
Swarbrick	A.	58	wife	cabin
Swarbrick	David	25	cutter	cabin
Swarbrick	Jeanne	23	n	cabin
Swarbrick	H.D.	24	clerk	
Symmonds	R.J.	25	traveller	cabin
Symons	Charles H.			cabin
Symons	R.	20	farmer	
Talbot	Arthur M.	23	insurance agt	
Tattersall	J.	28	farmer	
Tattersall	J.	24	farmer	
Taylor	G.E.	26	gardener	
Taylor	W.E.	20	gardener	
Taylor	Hubert F.	19	farmer	cabin
Taylor	H.J.	19	joiner	
Taylor	H.P.	19	clerk	cabin
Taylor	Norman	23	stamper	
Taylor	Wm	28	farmer	
Taylor	W.S.	36	compositor	
Taylor	Mrs	35	wife	
Taylor	W.J.	9	n	
Tearoe	James	17	clerk	
Teasdale	J.W.	20	farmer	
Tebbs	J.W.	34	carpenter	
Tebbs	F.E.	30	wife	
Tebbs	Elsie	5	n	
Tebbs	Walter	11	n	
Tepoe	Y.	24	fireman	
Thesher	A.S.	23	printer	
Thomas	A.C.	28	dairyman	
Thomas	A.B.	26	grocer	
Thomas	C.E.	37	engineer	
Thomas	M.E.	34	wife	
Thomas	E.W.	15	n	
Thomas	F.M.	13	n	
Thomas	D.	29	farmlabourer	
Thomas	H.B.	26	farmer	
Thomas	Joseph C.			cabin
Thomas	T.R.	32	farmer	
Thompson	Harry			cabin
Thompson	R.	32	farmer	
Tholander	J.A.	19	traveller	cabin

Thorne	Richard	32	labourer	
Thornber	H.	21	weaver	
Thornton	Jos	24	upholsterer	
Thornton	W.A.	26	farmer	
Thornton	Wm	41	labourer	
Thorpe	Frederick	44	farmer	
Thorpe	Eliza	48	wife	
Thorpe	Frederick	18	farmer	
Thorpe	Arthur	13	n	
Thorpe	Thomas	11	n	
Thorpe	Bessie	10	n	
Thorpe	Walter	8	n	
Thorpe	G.	56	miner	
Thorpe	G. jr	23	miner	
Thorpe	Mrs G.	24	wife	
Thorpe	Miss	25	n	
Thorpe	G.H.	26	n	
Threlfall	James	25	painter	
Threlfall	Annie	25	wife	
Thurkell	Jos	23	blacksmith	
Thwaite	Adam	33	labourer	
Tibbs	E.J.	23	carpenter	
Titcomb	A.	27	butler	
Titcomb	A.	24	wife	
Toby	Charles J.			cabin
Todd	Arthur M.	24	grocer	
Todd	E.	21	fitter	
Tones	H.		n	cabin
Tones	Mrs		wife	cabin
Tones	P.		n	cabin
Tooth	W.	22	shopassist	
Topott	W.S.	28	butcher	
Topott	Mrs	25	wife	
Tossell	Charles F.	32	n	cabin
Towle	J.A.	21	civilservant	cabin
Trace	D.W.	22	farmer	cabin
Treen	G.			cabin
Trickett	-	24	organist	
Trim	E.	40	smith	
Trim	Thomas A.	40	smith&fitter	
Trim	Sarah	41	wife	
Trim	Annie	17	n	
Trim	Madaline	15	n	
Trim	Frederick	11	n	
Trim	William	10	n	
Trim	George	8	n	
Trim	Eveline	6	n	
Truscott	C.F.	25	compositor	
Truscott	G.L.	53	lodgingskeeper	
Truscott	H.	52	wife	
Truscott	Kate	21	n	
Truscott	Edith	19	n	
Truscott	Willie	18	n	
Truscott	Jessie	16	n	

Truscott	Lewis	15	n	
Truscott	Perry	10	n	
Tullett	W.J.	24	shopassist	
Turk	E.J.	30	compositor	
Turnbull	Wm	35	farmworker	
Turnbull	Mrs	33	wife	
Turnbull	Walter	5	n	
Turnbull	Alex	3	n	
Turner	C.M.	21	builder	
Turner	J.W.	34	vagrant master	
Turner	T.E.	21	farmlabourer	
Tweedale	C.	22	farmer	cabin
Tweedale	J.H.	48	n	cabin
Tweedale	M.	34	wife	cabin
Tweedy	Fred	22	artist	cabin
Twemlow	W.	27	rancher	cabin
Tyler	S.J.			cabin
Underwood	A.W.	20	n	
Univin	Robert	22	checker	
Uphill	Wm	32	farmer	
Uphill	Mrs	23	wife	
Uphill	Jacob	[illegible]	farmer	
Uphill	Wm	[illegible]	n	
Urquhart	T.	[illegible]	platelayer	
van der Veen	R.A.	[illegible]	teacher	
Varney	Allen	[illegible]	assistant	
Vine	F.S.	[illegible]	ironmonger	
Waddell	M.S.	24	farmer	
Wagstaff	E.W.	36	grocer	
Wakefield	V.S.	28	cavalryman	
Walfare	W.A.	26	glassartist	
Walker	J.	35	farmer	
Walker	J.J.	30	traveller	
Walls	Enoch	21	labourer	
Walch	W.	27		cabin
Walch	E.A.	29	wife	cabin
Walch	W.L.	3	n	cabin
Walch	May	2	n	cabin
Walch	E.	1	n	cabin
Waller	F.R.	31	engineer	
Wandley	E.	23	farmlabourer	
Warwick	H.S.R.	34	n	cabin
Warwick	M.R.C.	23	wife	cabin
Ward	R.J.	48	grocer assist	
Warde	Harry	34	supt engineer	
Warren	Henry	39	tinsmith	
Warren	Hannah	29	wife	
Warren	John R.	5	n	
Warren	Horace	4	n	
Warren	Olive	2	n	
Waterhouse	Wm E.	28	rrclerk	
Waterhouse	Gertrude	26	wife	
Waterhouse	Trevor	-	n	
Water	S.	22	striker	

Watson	G.H.	21	clerk	
Watson	H.	30	gardener	
Watson	Jas.E.	19	butcher	
Watson	Owen H.	30	clerk	cabin
Watson	Wm	23	warehousman	
Watt	C.D.	30	civil engineer	
Watts	Geo	23	farmer	cabin
Wayman	Chas	22	carpenter	
Webb	F.T.	24	clerk	
Webb	M.T.	26	draper	
Webster	J.J.			cabin
Webster	R.A.	19	farmer	
Weddell	H.W.			cabin
Weiss	W.E.	20	clerk	
Wells	F.E.	28	publican	
Westhall	W.	20	compositor	
Whaley	Herbert	19	farmer	
Wheeler	H.W.	21	footman	
Whetten	J.	39	farmer	
Whetten	Mrs	36	wife	
Whetten	James R.	5	n	
Whetten	Allen R.	4	n	
Whitbread	J.	34	farmer	
Whitcutt	F.C.	22	labourer	
White	F.C.	22	farmer	
White	John E.	39	mechanic	
White	Elizabeth	39	wife	
White	S.	18	smith	
White	W.	30	warehouseman	
Whiteley	J.C.	19	chemist	
Whiteley	B.J.	22	rremployee	
Whiting	Francis	21	labourer	
Whippell	H.J.	28	farmer	
Whitaker	J.A.			cabin
Whittaker	E.	29	hatter	
Whittaker	L.	25	hatter	
Whittaker	F.	32	cottonspinner	
Whittaker	G.D.	22	clerk	
Whittles	Jas.A.	27	farmer	
Whittles	W.W.	21	baker	
Wickes	F.E.	30	seaman	
Wilcox	Arthur	25	gardener	
Wilkins	J.E.	24	farmer	
Wilkinson	Herbert	30	cooper	
Wilkinson	John	21	farmer	
Wilkinson	Mary	31	wife	
Wilkinson	Sydney	7	n	
Wilkinson	Maurice	4	n	
Wilkinson	W.H.	23	bricklayer	
Will	Charles	20	groom	
Willard	E.J.	31	compositor	
Willard	F.G.	20	clerk	
Willard	L.A.	19	clerk	
Willett	W.	21	porter	

Williams	Alfred E.	21	farmer	
Williams	Charles	23	grocer	
Williams	D.L.	29	grocer	
Williams	S.G.	22	grocer	
Williams	M.	22	labourer	
Williams	N.E.	25	labourer	
Williams	Thos	25	draper	
Williamson	E.C.	29	salesman	
Willis	James	45	joiner	
Willoughby	P.H.	25	printer	
Willson	W.W.	35	gardener	
Willson	Mrs	37	wife	
Willson	W.	11	n	
Willson	H.	8	n	
Wilson	Arthur	27	painter	
Wilson	Herbert	23	painter	
Wilson	A.W.	25	brickworker	
Wilson	J.	23	labourer	
Wilson	Mrs	21	wife	
Wilson	Wm	41	farmer	
Wilson	Susan	41	wife	
Wilson	Bertha	19	n	
Wilson	Ethel	14	n	
Wilson	John	9	n	
Wilson	Edward	6	n	
Wilson	Dorothy	3	n	
Wilson	William	-	n	
Winthip	A.	20	labourer	
Witts	Alfred T.	22	postman	
Wood	C.V.	19	clerk	
Wood	F.H.A.	38	n	cabin
Wood	M.M.M.M.	34	wife	cabin
Wood	J.F.O.	3	n	cabin
Wood	Jas A.	42	florist	
Wood	Isabel	38	wife	
Wood	Gertrude	19	n	
Wood	Adelaide	20	n	
Wood	John	23	platelayer	
Wood	J.A.	35	farmer	
Woodforde	T.B.			cabin
Woodgrade	P.B.	25	n	
Woodhouse	C.H.	22	fitter	
Woods	C.H.	23	labourer	
Wormaid	J.W.	21	clerk	cabin
Worthington	James	46	farmer	
Worthington	Mrs	41	wife	
Worthington	Frank	20	labourer	
Worthington	P.	18	labourer	
Worthington	James	15	labourer	
Worthington	A.	11	n	
Wrigglesworth	A.H.	32	cabinetmaker	
Wrigglesworth	Mrs.	32	wife	
Wrigglesworth	-	-	n	
Wright	T.H.	20	farmer	

Wright	F.	27	cottonspinner	
Wright	H.	24	gardener	
Wright	John E.	39	blacksmith	
Wright	W.C.	34	farmer	
Wright	Wm. E.	16	blacksmith	
Wright	Elizabeth	42	wife	
Wright	Eliz jr.	12	n	
Wright	St. John E.	4	n	
Wright	Bella	25	n	
Wright	Wm	3	n	
Wright	J. Craigie	-	n	
Wright	I.J.	23	assistmanager	
Wright	R.J.	25	farmer	cabin
Wright	R.C.	43	farmer	
Wright	Mrs	38	wife	
Wright	Winifred	20	n	
Wright	Raymond	18	engineer	
Wright	Muriel	18	n	
Wright	W.G.	18	stable attendent	
Yates	Geo T.			cabin