THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE PROCESS AND PATTERN OF UKRAINIAN RURAL SETTLEMENT IN WESTERN CANADA, 1891 - 1914

by

John Campbell Lehr

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ABSTRACT

Between 1891 and 1914 Ukrainian settlers established large blocks of settlement in Western Canada along the broad transition zone between the aspen parkland and the southern fringe of the boreal forest. The choice of environment made by the first groups to settle in the West reflected the resource perception and socio-economic needs of capital deficient peasant farmers who intended to practice subsistence agriculture.

The fragmentation of Ukrainian settlement into a series of large blocks arcing from Edmonton to Winnipeg resulted from the determination of the Canadian Government to combat the immigrants' tendency to settle together and to prevent the growth of a single massive settlement around Star, Alberta, where the first immigrants had located. The Government initially experienced great difficulty in persuading immigrants to settle away from their already established countrymen and to locate in new settlement nuclei. This resulted partly from immigrant intransigence and a suspicion of Government motives which had been heightened by misapprehensions generated by immigration propaganda, but was mainly due to a general reluctance to venture into an alien social environment away from compatriots and kin. To prevent the growth of large blocks of

ethnic settlement, which it feared would reduce the impact of assimilative forces, the Government occasionally resorted to force and deception in order to create new nodes of Ukrainian settlement and effect their dispersal throughout the West.

The contiguity and high density of Ukrainian settlement was furthered by the actions of Colonization Agents who were anxious to achieve the placement of their charges with the minimum of effort and fuss. By accomodating the desires of those settlers who wished to locate with their compatriots, Agents reduced their own workload and lessened Government responsibility. Needy immigrants obtained aid from friends and the Government did not become involved in controversial programs of assistance.

The internal geography of the Ukrainian block settlements showed the strength of social ties transferred from the "old country". Settlements were clearly stratified according to kinship, village, district, regional and national loyalties. In this respect their geography replicated that of the Western Ukraine in microcosm. The desire to secure a familiar social and linguistic environment led many settlers to disregard the unsatisfactory physical aspects of the areas they were homesteading. Thus social factors were of primary importance in explaining the Ukrainians occupance of much marginal agricultural land throughout the West.

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I owe thanks to Mr. Fred Nakoneczny of St. Catherines, Ontario, who kindly provided me with copies of rare materials from his personal archives; to Steve Prystupa of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, who

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My initial interest in Ukrainian settlement was stimulated by Mr. Isidore Goresky who introduced me to the richness of Ukrainian culture. Dr. Jaroslav Rozumnyj, of the Department of Slavic Studies, provided further insights into Ukrainian history and culture, and for two years I was fortunate to have him as my patient teacher as I wrestled with the mysteries of the Ukrainian language. To them both I extend my deep appreciation.

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INTRODUCTION

The first major wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada occurred between 1891 and 1914, at which time Ukrainian pioneers established the largest blocks of ethnic settlement in Western Canada. Ethnic block settlement was common in the Canadian West, and besides Ukrainians, included that of Mennonites, Mormons, Icelanders, Hungarians and Doukhobors. Some established themselves on territories that the Canadian Government reserved for their settlement, while others clustered together by natural inclination. The Canadian Government did not set aside specific territories for the Ukrainians, but they nevertheless settled together in tightly knit groups along the broad transition zone between the aspen parkland and the southern fringe of the boreal forest. This study examines the settlement processes that led to the establishment of Ukrainian block settlement in this region.

Because many of these Ukrainian immigrants settled on the rougher lands which are now seen as of poor

agricultural quality, it has long been accepted that the Ukrainians were deliberately directed on to marginal lands by Government officials. It has been alleged that the settlement of the West was arranged in Napoleonic style and Ukrainian immigrants were "hurled at the country by the trainload" where the Government "allotted" them the worst lands:

> ...not the clear prairies nor the rolling foothills, but rather the tough, heavily wooded, rock strewn, bog infested quarter sections on the northern half of Canada's western parklands.[1]

According to this view of Ukrainian settlement the geographical pattern of Ukrainian occupance was determined by discriminatory Government policy. It has enjoyed an undeservedly wide currency throughout the Ukrainian-Canadian community,[2] and has become one of the better known myths of Western settlement. Geographically it is a belief which has been popular among Ukrainians in Manitoba,[3] where they generally took the poorer lands but has been less so in

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[1]William Harasym, "Ukrainian Values in the Canadian Identity," Proceedings of Special Convention of United Ukrainian Canadians (Winnipeg: Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, 1966), p. 67.

[2]See, for example, "Ukrainian Pioneer Story Changing Area's Future," Winnipeg Free Press 17 July 1977.

[3]Interview with Boris Gengalo, Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg, 19 July 1977.

Alberta and Saskatchewan, where they generally settled on better land. It is a belief which has been most clearly voiced by the left-wing elements of both the community and the intelligentsia.[4]

The charge that the Government deliberately directed the Ukrainians on to sub-marginal lands was first made in 1898 when the Winnipeg Nor'Wester sought to generate political capital from an isolated incident where Ukrainian immigrants were treated unfairly and an attempt was made to force them to settle in an area where they did not wish to go.[5] Many were later confirmed in their belief that the Government was either incompetent or unfair in its treatment of Ukrainian immigrants by remarks made by Sir Clifford Sifton, (Minister of the Interior from 1896 until 1905) when defending his immigration policy. Sifton then extolled the virtues of the Ukrainian pioneers and stressed that it was they who were prepared to settle the rough lands often rejected by other settlers.[6]

Authors from both English and Ukrainian backgrounds

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[4]Interview with Dr. Robert Klymasz, Director, Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg, 19 July 1977.

[5]Nor'Wester, 23 May 1898.

[6]Clifford Sifton, "The Immigrants Canada Wants," MacLeans Magazine, 1 April 1922, pp. 16 33-35, also Winnipeg Free Press, 26 February 1923.

have helped to perpetuate the belief in Government discrimination in land allocation. In 1931 C. H. Young termed the settlement of Ukrainians in Western Canada a "fiasco", and blamed the Government for the Ukrainians' occupance of much marginal agricultural land.[7] This theme was reiterated by Vera Lysenko in 1947. She claimed that their settlement was administered in authoritarian fashion: "Those in charge of immigration and settlement - hurled the [Ukrainian] settlers at the land without plan or thought for the future."[8] Petro Krawchuk has also advanced this thesis that settlement on marginal lands was forced upon the Ukrainians by the Canadian immigration authorities who were "quite brutal in their dealings with European immigrants, and especially so with those [Ukrainians] from Galicia and Bukowina,"[9] This study questions this interpretation of the geography of Ukrainian agricultural settlement in Western Canada and

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[7]Charles H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931), p. 57. This statement of Young has been quoted without comment by Marunchak who seems to share the same viewpoint. See M. H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970) p. 87.

[8]Vera Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947), p. 33.

[9]Petro Krawchuk, The Ukrainians in Winnipeg's First Century, trans. Mary Skrypnyk (Toronto: Kobzar Publishing Company, 1974), p. 13. See also Idem, Na Novyj Zemli [In the New Land] (Toronto: Tovarystva Ob'yednanykh Ukrains'kykh Kanadtsiv, 1958), pp. 82-85.

examines the often conflicting needs, desires, expectations and perceptions not only of the Ukrainians, but of all the parties involved in the settlement process. Such an undertaking requires an understanding not only of the forces operative in Western Canada at the time of settlement, but also of the cultural backgrounds, circumstances, and objectives of these people who were propelled into the turbulent milieu of the Western Canadian settlement frontier.

Chapter I of this thesis considers the social, economic, political and religious situation in the Ukraine during the last decade of the nineteenth century - the time of the first immigration of Ukrainian peasant-farmers to Canada. The situation in Western Canada during the same period is described in Chapter II. Until 1896 the Canadian Government was relatively unsuccessful in attracting immigrants to settle the West. With the election of a Liberal administration, and the appointment of Clifford Sifton as Minister of the Interior, immigration policies were reappraised. Sifton's dynamism, combined with improved economic conditions, brought a flood of immigrants to Canadian shores. Chapter III evaluates Sifton's role in immigration and considers his attitudes towards settlement in general and towards various ethnic groups as settlers.

Chapter IV evaluates the Government's knowledge of conditions in the West and reviews the information upon

which much official decision-making was based. It also assesses the Government's knowledge of the Ukrainians in the late 1890s, and attempts to provide an explanation of official reaction to the first large groups of Ukrainian immigrants to enter Canada.

Settlement behaviour was influenced by many factors, not least of which were the expectations and preconceptions generated amongst immigrants by immigration literature. Such literature promoting Canada as a field for settlement circulated widely in the Western Ukraine, but varied greatly in content and accuracy. Chapter V discusses the types of information about Canada which were available to prospective immigrants and attempts to weigh the impact of this information upon the settlement behaviour of Ukrainian pioneers.

An evaluation of the factors which led the great majority of Ukrainian immigrants to gravitate to the northern half of the western parkland for settlement is undertaken in Chapter VI. Although it is difficult to isolate the influences acting upon the incoming settler, an attempt is made to enumerate and to evaluate those factors relevant to their perception of landscape and their evaluation of the resource base of the land. The role of the Dominion Government in Ukrainian settlement is the theme of the following three chapters. The interaction of

the Government, its policies and its agents with the peoples settling in the West was a major factor in determining the geography of settlement. Chapter VII examines the evolution of a settlement "policy" while the questions of coercion and the development of Government strategies and tactics in shaping settlement patterns are considered in Chapters VIII and IX. The influence of ties of kinship and of old country patterns of loyalty upon the locational decision-making process is the theme of Chapter X. In the final chapter the relative importance of all these different influences are assessed. This evaluation strongly supports the hypothesis that the Ukrainians' settlement of much marginal agricultural land was essentially a reflection of immigrant resource perception and socio-economic needs rather than of a Government settlement policy which discriminated against Ukrainian immigrants. On the other hand the fragmentation of Ukrainian settlement within the broad zone of the northern aspen parkland resulted from interaction between the desires of the immigrants and the special interests of the Canadian Government.

Although the Ukrainians constitute a major ethnic group in Western Canada their settlement has been neglected in geographical enquiry. The literature which focusses upon Ukrainian settlement history is surprisingly limited. Although Young, Lysenko, Krawchuk, Marunchak and

Woycenko[10] have provided major studies of the Ukrainians in Canada their orientation has been sociological and all have focussed upon problems of cultural assimilation and economic and political progress. Most touch upon settlement only incidently, but some, notably Marunchak and Young, offer useful, if poorly documented, overviews of Ukrainian settlement history.

Only two works consider the settlement of Ukrainians on a regional scale, Vladimir J. Kaye's, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900[11] and Julian Stechishin's Istoriya Poselen'nya Ukraintsiv u Kanadi [History of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada].[12] Kaye examined the role of Dr. Josef Oleskow in the establishment of Ukrainian settlements in the West. He drew heavily upon the correspondence and records of the Department of the Interior's Lands and Immigration branches from 1895 to 1900, the years during which Dr. Oleskow was actively involved in the promotion

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[10]Young, The Ukrainian Canadians; Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats; Krawchuk, Na Novij Zemli; Marunchak, Ukrainian Canadians; and Ol'ha Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1967).

[11]Vladimir J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964).

[12]Julian Stechishin, Istoriya Poselen'nya Ukraintsiv u Kanadi [History of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada] (Edmonton: Ukrainian Self Reliance League, 1975).

of Ukrainian emigration to Western Canada. Official correspondence and other data from a variety of sources are quoted at length by Kaye who largely let the documents speak for themselves and did not enter into interpretation or analysis, since his stated intention was "...to provide students of the period 1895-1900 with factual material."[13]

In contrast Stechishin made little use of Government correspondence in compiling what is essentially a social history of the Ukrainians in Western Canada. Little attention was given to the process and resultant pattern of settlement, and Stechishin's maps indicate only the major centres within areas of Ukrainian settlement and provide no indication of the areal extent of settlement.

Several works which deal with Ukrainian settlement in specific regions are worthy of note. The history of Ukrainian settlement in Alberta, for example, has been chronicled in a semi-fictional style by J. G. MacGregor whose Vilni-Zemli - Free Lands provides some valuable insights into the problems faced by the first Ukrainian settlers in Alberta.[14] Alexander Royick has also examined Ukrainian settlement in Alberta,[15] but from a chronological

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[13]Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements, p. xiii.

[14]J. G. MacGregor, Vilni-Zemli - Free Lands: The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1969).

[15]Alexander Royick, "Ukrainian Settlements in Alberta," Canadian Slavonic Papers 10 (1968): 278-297.

standpoint, and although his work is well documented, its value is diminished by a lack of interpretation or analysis. More recently Isidore Goresky has examined their settlement and has attempted to relate their distributions on the land to their European antecedents.[16]

There is little literature of note concerned with Ukrainian settlement in Saskatchewan, but Manitoba is more fortunate in this regard. Paul Yuzyk has provided a valuable social history of the Ukrainians in Manitoba which offers a useful overview of the settlement process.[17] At a more local level Michael Ewanchuk has focussed upon the Ukrainian settlement in the Interlake region and although primarily concerned with their social and educational development, he has not neglected the act of settlement.[18] Similarly Peter Humeniuk's memoirs, Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers, Memoirs from the Stuartburn Colony and Other Points,[19] offer some insights into the difficulties encountered by the pioneers of Manitoba's first Ukrainian settlement.

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[16]Isidore Goresky, "Early Ukrainian Settlement in Alberta," in Editorial Committee, Ukrainians in Alberta (Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneer's Association of Alberta, 1975).

[17]Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953).

[18]Michael Ewanchuk, Istoriya Ukrains'koho Poselen'nya v Okolytsi Gimli [A History of the Ukrainian Settlements in the Gimli Area] (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1975).

[19]Peter Humeniuk, Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers, Memoirs from Stuartburn Colony and Other Points (Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers, 1976).

Perhaps the most valuable published source for research into Ukrainian settlement in Manitoba is Vladimir J. Kaye's Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Pioneer Biography: Pioneer Settlement in Manitoba 1891-1900,[20] the first published of a proposed three volumes of biographical data upon immigrants who settled in Canada before 1900. Kaye assembled his data from a wide variety of sources: newspaper obituaries in the English and Ukrainian language press, Ukrainian association's yearbooks and almanacs, church records, field research and from official immigration records and records of homestead entry. Data are presented without any interpretation.

Although this latter work and, to a lesser extent, other works cited above served as sources of data, the greater part of the data employed in this thesis was obtained from archival sources or was generated by field research. Of the former the sources which yielded the most useful data were the records of the Department of the Interior from 1895 until 1914 and the records of homestead entry for the three prairie provinces from 1891-1914. The difference in the time periods covered by each document set was occasioned by the Government's apparent ignorance

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[20]Vladimir J. Kaye, Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Pioneer Biography: Pioneer Settlement in Manitoba 1891-1900 (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1975).

of Ukrainian immigration until 1895 when they first came to official notice.

The Department of the Interior was the Department of the Canadian Government responsible for the administration of immigration and the settlement of the West. The correspondence of its two branches - "Immigration" and "Lands" - is available in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, in Record Groups 76 and 15 respectively. Record Group 76 includes a number of files containing the extensive correspondence of the various deputy ministers and their departmental officials involved with central European immigration who were stationed in Europe and throughout Canada. This correspondence includes reports received from, and instructions sent to, Departmental officials at all levels, from Interpreters and Land Agents to the Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg. It was the information contained in these communications which formed the basis for the carefully edited, and far less useful, Annual Reports published annually in the Parliamentary Sessional Papers.

Since the Department's employees frequently sought to explain and justify their actions in handling Ukrainian immigrants, and those in the West tried to influence policy by submission of detailed reports, this correspondence constitutes a

primary source of major importance. Unfortunately this record is not complete. Certain files of correspondence and some individual documents are missing. So far as could be ascertained they were removed before the records were released by the Government. Files deemed to be of little historical interest were destroyed as were files dealing with the records of employment of Department personnel.[21] An example of one such lacuna in the record is the absence of the file containing the correspondence of Paul Wood, the Land Guide at Dauphin, Manitoba, who was responsible for settling hundreds of Ukrainian immigrants on homesteads in that district.

The correspondence of the Land's Branch of the Department of the Interior contained in Record Group 15 contains duplicate copies of much of the material of which the originals are held in Record Group 76 under the Immigration Branch. Land's Branch records also contain extensive materials dealing with the opening of specific regions to homestead settlement, the problems occasioned by squatters and the taking of liens against homesteads for the provision of aid.

The records of homestead entries contained in the Homestead Files were another important primary source.

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[21]Interview with Brian Corbett, Public Archives Records Branch Archivist, Ottawa, 27 July 1974.

From the beginning of homestead settlement in the West until the transfer of Crown Lands to the Provinces in 1930, the Federal Government kept records of all homestead entries. Every quarter section which was at one time entered for by a homesteader should have a record of the application for entry made by that settler. If the entry was successful and an application for full title was made subsequently a second application - for patent - should also be present. Should the homestead have been abandoned in favour of another homestead a declaration of abandonment was filed. This recorded the reason for abandonment, the date of abandonment and any improvements made by the settler.

For the purposes of this study the most important document was the "Application for Entry" which recorded the applicant's name, age, occupation, nationality, country and province of origin, last place of residence and the date of application. Unfortunately the recording officials seldom troubled to note all this information and often contented themselves with noting the bare essentials: name, age, nationality and date of application. Although the application did not always give complete information and some information may have been ambiguous since nationality did not indicate ethnicity , it was generally possible to determine the latter by the settlers' patronymic, or last place of residence. Records of homestead entry were thus

invaluable in defining the limits of Ukrainian settlement at given times and in determining whether areas had been settled by immigrants from Galicia, Bukowina or the provinces of the Greater Ukraine.

Archival and secondary sources were supplemented by data gathered in the field. Research was undertaken in the Ukrainian area of settlement in east-central Alberta and in the Stuartburn area of settlement in southeastern Manitoba. Interviews with pioneers and their immediate families furnished data, and perhaps more importantly, insights, available from no other source.

All Canadian Government records for the time period under study presented a problem of interpretation, in that the Ukrainians were recorded under a variety of names. Ethnic nomenclature was confused and until the 1931 Census of Canada, Ukrainians were described variously as Galicians or Bukowinians, after their province of origin, or as Ruthenians, Little Russians, Russaniks, Galatians, Poles and Austrians.[22]

This confusion stems from the fact that the people

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[22]For a thorough discussion of the problems of the Ukrainian name see Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements, pp. xxiii - xxvi, and E. D. Wangenheim, "Problems of Research on Ukrainians in Eastern Canada," in Slavs in Canada, Proceedings of the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs, Banff, 1965, ed. Yar Slavutych (Edmonton: Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, 1966), pp. 44-53.

speaking the Ukrainian language were for long a subject people, fragmented and controlled by a variety of alien administrations. Few Ukrainian peasants had a highly developed sense of national consciousness, and many were content to regard themselves as citizens of the country responsible for the administration of their province. During the period considered here, the Ukrainians were generally referred to in Canadian Government correspondence under the blanket term "Galicians" after the province from which the first, and the majority, of Ukrainian immigrants originated. This term occasionally had a specific connotation, however, and referred only to those actually from the province of Galicia and not to the Ukrainians as a group. Throughout this dissertation the term "Ukrainian" is used as a general appelation for the ethnic group; "Galician" and "Bukowinian" are reserved for those from Galicia and Bukowina. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in all quoted material, "Galician" may be taken to be synonymous with "Ukrainian", unless indicated otherwise.

CHAPTER I

THE WESTERN UKRAINE: SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FACTORS IN EMIGRATION

The Ukraine has endured a turbulent history.[1] Although the Ukrainian people experienced nationhood under the Kievan Rus princes, by the fourteenth century they lay fragmented, controlled and administered by a variety of alien states. Subsequent amalgamation created a huge Russian political unit stretching from the Baltic to the Dnieper within which the concept of the state at large was subjected to regional differences and landlord-serf relationships. The Ukraine, from the demise of the Kievan Rus empire, lay "crushed between the Russian (Muscovite) hammer and the Polish anvil."[2] The bulk of Ukrainian territory, Central and Eastern Ukraine, ultimately fell under the sway of the Russian Czars who usurped not only

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[1]The two best accounts of Ukrainian history in English are Michael Hrushevsky, A History of Ukraine (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1941; reprint ed., n.p.:Archon Books, 1970), and D. Doroshenko, History of the Ukraine ed. G. W. Simpson, trans. Hanna Keller (Edmonton: The Institute Press, 1939).

[2]G. W. Simpson, "The Names 'Rus', 'Russia', 'Ukraine', and Their Historical Background," Slavistica: Proceedings of the Institute of Slavistics of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences 10 (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1951), p. 15.

the territory but the name of the Rus people. In the West the Poles controlled the Ukrainian territories of Galicia (Halychyna) and Bukowina until 1772, when under the first partition of Poland they were annexed by Austria-Hungary. From then until 1917 the Ukraine lay divided, each part pursuing its own political, cultural and social development.

The Russian-controlled "Greater Ukraine" was subjected to a relentless policy of Russification, its language derided and its culture repressed. The Ukrainian people were oppressed both socially and politically.[3] Conditions were generally far worse there than in the Austrian Western Ukraine, for the peasantry of Russia was bonded in serfdom till 1861, kept in ignorance and, therefore, had no opportunity to better their lot. Emancipation removed not only feudal obligations but freed the peasant from his ties to the landlord's estate and to his village. For the first time in hundreds of years the Russian - and Ukrainian - peasant was potentially mobile. Nevertheless, emigration was still difficult, if not impossible, except to the Amur area of Siberia,[4] an area within Czarist domains. The

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[3]For a review of socio-economic conditions in Russian Ukraine see Doroshenko, History of the Ukraine, pp. 557-569; also H. R. Weinstein, "Land Hunger in the Ukraine,1905-1917," Journal of Economic History 2 (May 1942): 24-35. More general treatments of the condition of the peasantry in the Czarist empire have been given by Kravchinskii and Robinson. S. M. Kravchinskii [Stepniak] The Russian Peasantry (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1888); and Geroid Robinson, Rural Russia Under the Old Regime (New York: Macmillan, 1961).

[4]Donald W. Treadgold, The Great Siberian Migration (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 28-35.

diffusion of information about opportunities in North America and elsewhere, was retarded by widespread illiteracy, press censorship and interception of the mail. Despite this, and the difficulties attendant upon emigration, a handful of peasants from the Greater Ukraine did succeed in emigrating to Canada before 1914. In terms of the Ukrainian immigration to Canada they were insignificant, however, for they constituted but a fraction of a percent of the total.[5]

It was the Western Ukraine which, before 1914, provided the vast majority of Ukrainian immigrants into Canada. It was the social, economic and political conditions of the Austrian-controlled provinces of Galicia and Bukowina which had a direct bearing upon the history and the geography of Ukrainian rural settlement in Canada. The behavior of immigrants in the New World was often profoundly affected by the conditions existing in the homeland at the time of emigration, and perhaps nowhere was this more true than in the case of the Ukrainians. It is necessary, therefore, to review the conditions prevailing in the Western Ukraine at the time of the genesis of the Ukrainian emigration to Canada.

Economic Conditions in the Western Ukraine in the Final Decade of the Nineteenth Century

By 1848 serfdom had been abolished in all Austrian territories. Despite this the condition of much of the

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[5]Of a sample of over 200 homestead entries in the Star-Vegreville area of Alberta, only one was made by a Ukrainian from the Greater Ukraine.

peasantry in Galicia, Bukowina, and the adjoining Transcarpathian region, remained desperate. Poor, oppressed, and exploited, many still lived in what were essentially quasi-feudal conditions.[6] In many areas peasants were not only required to donate their labour to the landlord and to the church but were also expected to provide labour for the estates of the aristocracy at low rates of pay. Throughout the Western Ukraine the bulk of the land was controlled by absentee landlords, generally Polish or Austro-Hungarian aristocracy, who cared little for the welfare of their Ukrainian tenants. Land rents were high and because the aristocracy had virtual monopoly over the timber resources, they were able to dictate the price of wood. The peasantry, in many areas, were asked to pay inflated prices for this

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[6]For details of economic conditions in the Western Ukraine at the time of emigration to Canada see A. M. Shlepakow, Ukrains'ka Trudova Emigratsiya v S. Sh. A. i Kanadi [Ukrainian Workers Emigration to the U.S.A. and Canada] (Kiev: Akademiya Nauk Ukrains'kaya, R.S.R. 1960), pp. 13-45: Petro Krawchuk, Na Novij Zemli (Toronto: Tovarystva Ob'yednanykh Ukrains'kykh Kanadtsiv, 1958), pp. 28-43: and M. Nastasivs'kyi, Ukrains'ka Imigratsiya v Spoluchenykh Derzhavakh [Ukrainian Immigrants in the United States] (New York: Coyuzu Ukrains'kykh Robitnychykh Orhanizatsyi, 1934), pp. 11-15. Less comprehensive, but useful, summaries may be found in M. H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), pp. 17-22; C. H. Young The Ukrainian Canadians (Toronto: Thomas Nelson, 1931), pp. 54-56: Paul Yusyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), pp. 25-28; Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia vol. 2, s.v. "Agriculture in the Western Ukraine before 1914," by I. Vytanovych; and Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia vol. 2, s.v. "Ukrainian Lands under Austria Hungary," by I. Herasymovych and O. Terletsky.

essential resource.[7] The peasants had little choice in the matter, for few villages were so fortunately placed as to be near to railways and have access to timber shipped from outside, while in some areas even gathering of kindling on the aristocracy's estates was subject to severe penalty.[8]

Peasant farms in the Western Ukraine were mostly small, fragmented, inefficient and uneconomic. In Galicia almost half of all peasant holdings consisted of fewer than five acres (2 hectares) at a time when about twelve acres (4.8 hectares) was necessary to achieve self-sufficiency.[9] Indeed, self-sufficient peasant holdings, those ranging from twelve and one half acres to twenty five acres (five hectares to ten hectares), accounted for only 14.6 percent of all holdings (Table 1). The bulk of the land was tied up in large estates, over forty percent of the land area being

TABLE 1

Land Ownership in Galica ca. 1890

Farm Size	Number of Farms	Percentage Of Total	Total Land	Percentage Of Land
Less than 2 ha.	278,991	42.7	371,400	7.2
2 - 5 ha.	242,727	37.2	1,035,400	20.0
5 - 10 ha.	94,843	14.6	866,800	16.7
10 - 100 ha.	31,848	4.9	820,963	15.8
over 100 ha.	3,895	0.6	2,089,000	40.3

Source: Shlepakow, Ukrainska Emigratsiya, p. 15

[7] Young, Ukrainian Canadians, p. 55.

[8] G. Romaniuk, Taking Root in Canada (Winnipeg: Columbia Press, 1954), p. 37.

[9] Emily Greene Balch, "Slav Emigration at its Source," Charities and the Commons 16 (May 1906): 179.

controlled by less than one percent of the population.[10]

In Bukowina the situation was worse. Sixteen percent of the agricultural peasantry owned no land, forty-two percent had less than five acres (2 hectares) and twenty-five percent had less than seven and a half acres (3 hectares).[11] In Transcarpathia the situation was far worse. There one feudal landowner alone held twenty percent of the territory,[12] and kept the Ukrainian peasantry "in virtual serfdom, illiterate, ignorant and financially dependent...."[13]

The system of inheritance, whereby property was divided among all surviving family members, was increasing the subdivision and fragmentation of farms. On small fragmented farms efficient operation was difficult and agricultural innovation retarded. Agricultural technology was backward and farm operation remained labour intensive.[14] Despite the lowest agricultural productivity of Europe in the 1880s Galicia exported a quarter of its

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[10]Shlepakow, Ukrains'ka Emigratsiya, p. 15.

[11]Ibid., p. 23.

[12]Ibid., p. 29.

[13]Peter F. Sugar, "The Nature of the Non-Germanic Societies under Habsburg Rule," Slavic Review 22 (March 1963): 17.

[14]On traditional farm technology see V. P. Gorlenko, I. D. Boyko and O. S. Kynuts'kyj, Narodna Zemlerobs'ka Tekhnyka Ukraintsiw [The Folk Agricultural Implements of Ukrainians] (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1971).

food production.[15] It was obliged to do so since it lacked any other source of capital for it had no industrial base of any consequence.

The results of agricultural backwardness and economic stagnation were seen in the peasantry's diet - low in protein and high in carbohydrates.[16] Frequently their diet was further restricted by the need to sell produce to obtain cash for essential purchases and payment of taxes. Meat, eggs and milk were often sold rather than consumed.[17] Since it was forbidden by law to hunt even such small game as rabbits, the peasants were unable to obtain a dietary supplement from that source yet they had to bear their depredations upon their gardens and crops.[18] Inadequate diets led to low immunity to epidemics and chronic sickness. General poor health was undoubtedly contributary to the brevity of the life span in the Western

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[15]Henry J. T. Dutkiewicz, "Main Aspects of the Polish Peasant Immigration to North America from Austrian Poland Between the Years 1863 and 1910," (M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1958), p. 63.

[16]Ibid., p. 62.

[17]Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba, p. 28. Also interviews with Michael Krykalowich, Harry Koncohrada, Frank Krill and George Paulencu, Beaver Hill Pioneer Home, Lamont, Alberta, 5 June 1972, and with Lena Koshelanyk, Caliento, Manitoba, 3 July 1975.

[18]Theodore Nemirsky, "Journal," n.d. p. 56. A copy of this Alberta pioneer's handwritten memoirs is held by the Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta.

Ukraine.[19]

The economies of both provinces, almost entirely agrarian, inefficient and backward, showed little hope for improvement. The Austrian administration was seemingly content to maintain them as economic colonies - captive markets for Austrian manufactured goods. Economic betterment was beyond the reach of the average peasant. Farm consolidation or expansion was made difficult by the usurious interest rates charged on mortgages.

By the 1880s the pressing need for supplementary income could no longer be met by reliance upon traditional cottage craft industry, or by the employment opportunity on the estates of the nobility. In this restricted economy the market for labour soon became saturated and wages severely depressed. The peasant was forced to look for relief beyond the limits of his village, even beyond the borders of his country.

Social and Political Conditions

Less damaging, but more resented, was the social and political repression of the Ukrainians in the Western Ukraine.[20] Although the province of Galicia was nominally under Austrian government it was largely under a *de facto*

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[19] Dutkiewicz, "Polish Peasant Immigration," p. 63.

[20] The cause of social and political discontent is given thorough consideration by Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule," *Austrian History Yearbook* vol. 3 pt. 2 (1967): 394-429.

Polish administration.[21] The Ukrainians were not only denied access to even minor government positions but had to suffer the indignity of Polish incumbency. The Ukrainian language was relegated to vernacular status and Polish and German were the languages of administration. In Bukowina and Transcarpathia the situation was somewhat similar in that the administration was essentially the preserve of alien minorities, Romanian and Hungarian respectively.[22]

The Ukrainians were unfortunate in that they lacked a strong united intelligentsia which could provide effective political leadership. Their nobility had become either impoverished or Polonized and was incapable of providing a focus for national aspirations, a role which, paradoxically, was assumed by the Greek Catholic and the Russian Orthodox churches. The small urban middle class was divided in its

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[21]W. L. Scott, "Catholic Ukrainian Canadians," Dublin Review no. 202 (1938) p. 283; Hans Kohn, "The Viability of the Habsburg Monarchy," Slavic Review 22 (March 1963): 38-39; Nicholas Andrusiak examines this question of Polish-Ukrainian conflict in Galicia before 1914 in his consideration of the political history of Ukrainian nationalism in the Western Ukraine. See Nicholas Andrusiak, "The Ukrainian Movement in Galicia," The Slavonic and East European Review 14 (1935-36): 163-175, 372-379; for further explanation of the historical background see V. J. Kaye, "The Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, 1772," Canadian Slavonic Papers 14 (1972): 454-463.

[22]Although poor, social and political conditions in that part of the Ukraine administered by Austria were far better than those endured under Russian rule. See Ivan Rudnytsky, "The Intellectual Origins of Modern Ukraine," The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy 6 (1958): 1381-1405.

sympathies between the Pan-Slavs, Nationalists and Russophiles.

Levels of literacy were low. In the 1890s sixty-seven percent of the population was illiterate.[23] Although education was gradually becoming more readily available to the peasantry, teaching in the village schools was expressly limited to achieving minimum standards of reading and writing.

A major source of discontent was the conscription to which all males were liable at age eighteen. Conditions in the Austro-Hungarian army were harsh, especially for the Ukrainian conscript who could hope only to achieve non-commissioned rank. The two year military service was widely resented.[24]

Not all problems were generated by outside agents. Some, such as the high rate of alcoholism, were self-inflicted, even if the ultimate cause lay elsewhere. The peasants' need to maintain social standing among their peers, for example, led to improvident and lavish spending at weddings and christenings. This, together with a fondness for engaging in costly litigation over picayune matters led them into the clutches of the mainly Jewish moneylenders who

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[23]Dutkiewicz, "Polish Peasant Immigration," p. 51.

[24]Nemirsky, "Journal," pp. 67-69.

charged as much as 260 percent interest.[25] Not surprisingly, anti-semitism was rampant, and was given tacit encouragement by the administration as a convenient way for diverting social unrest.[26]

The peasantry saw itself as oppressed and exploited, and, moreover, could see little likelihood of change in the future. Although by the mid-1890s social conditions were easing slightly the major grievances remained. Dissatisfaction occasioned by lack of land and limited employment opportunities was heightened by political oppression, limited educational opportunity and conscription. The efforts of the Ukrainian philanthropic and educational organizations could ameliorate, but could not hope to cure, the social and economic málaise afflicting the region. Indeed, the economic picture, was, if anything, becoming darker.

Religion and Ethnicity in Galicia and Bukowina

In the absence of a vigorous nobility or intelligentsia in Galicia or Bukowina the church became the vehicle for ethnicity and national aspiration. To the mass of the

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[25]Dutkiewicz, "Polish Peasant Immigration," p. 58.

[26]In his memoirs Theodore Nemirsky claimed that in many areas of Galicia the Jews held the key to the local church, and it was necessary for the peasantry to pay a fee to the Jew for him to open the church on holy days. This indignity was greatly resented and did much to direct hatred away from the landlord class to his more obvious agent, the Jew. Nemirsky, "Journal," pp. 58-59.

peasantry the church was a fundamental component of their society. Its ritual and symbolism satisfied the peasant yearning for order and continuity, while it engendered an unusual degree of loyalty by its preservation of traditional customs and the Old Slavic rite.

Historically the Ukrainian people belonged to the Eastern Byzantine Church. Since the first schism of the Christian church in 1054, when the leadership of the Christian world became divided between Rome and Constantinople, the Ukrainians had practised the Greek Orthodox rite. Their neighbours, the Poles, fell within Rome's sphere of influence and Poland became the preserve of Roman Catholicism. When the Poles secured control of the province of Galicia, which they claimed by right of dynastic succession, they began a policy of Polonization of the Ukrainian population. As a first step they sought to wean them from Orthodoxy and bring them into the Catholic fold where Polish influence would be paramount. As a stepping stone, to reduce the intended leap from Orthodoxy, they established the Greek Catholic or Uniate Church, wherein the rite, liturgy and customs of Orthodoxy were grafted on to the philosophy and allegiance of Catholicism. Uniate clergy acknowledged the Pope as leader of the church and looked to Rome for guidance and inspiration. It was expected that they would lead their flocks towards true Catholicism, and thereby hasten the course of the Polonization of the

Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian historian Hrushevsky states:

> At the time of its introduction the Uniate Church had hampered Ukrainian nationalism. In deference to the nobles it had been thoughtlessly accepted by many, and those who objected to joining it were forced to do so. But to the new generation which had been born into the Uniate Church this faith was the national Ukrainian religion. Those who had introduced the Union with the intention of making Poles out of the Ukrainians now found out that their plans had miscarried. Because the Uniate clergy and the Church in general did not enjoy all the rights of the Catholic Church, it had become to be regarded as an inferior church, the church of the peasants, and became a mirror of contemporary national life; before long it was for western Ukraine as truly a national church as the Orthodox Church had been previously.[27]

The Uniate Church was never imposed in Bukowina and the population there remained solidly Orthodox. They were generally suspicious of, and antagonistic towards, the Uniate Church, resenting its lapse from Orthodoxy and fearing it as an agent of the Poles and of Rome. On the other hand the Uniates were equally fearful that Russophile tendencies permeated the Orthodox Church. Both churches regarded themselves as the one true church of the Ukrainian people and opposed the other not only on religious but political grounds.

Because the Uniate Church held sway among the Ukrainian

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[27]Hrushevsky, History of Ukraine, pp. 469-470.

population of Galicia, and the Greek (Russian) Orthodox among the Ukrainians of Bukowina, the Western Ukraine was divided on the basis of religious adherence, a division deepened by regional loyalties and contrasts in the folk cultures of the two provinces.[28]

From Migration to Emigration

The depressed economy and overpopulation of the Western Ukraine forced many Ukrainians to seek work on a seasonal basis outside the borders of their country. Seasonal work on estates in Prussia and Poland had long furnished relief from immediate economic pressures, but could not be seen as a long term solution.[29] Similarly, local or short-term relocations could benefit only a small

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[28]This was reflected not only in differences in folk arts and costume but in the images which the Bukowinians had of the Galicians as thrifty and miserly while the latter saw the Bukowinians as unsophisticated and bucolic - rural "hayseeds". On differences in folk architecture see V. P. Samojlovych, Ukrains'ke Narodne Zhytlo [Ukrainian Folk Dwelling] (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1972), p. 20; and John C. Lehr Ukrainian Vernacular Architecture in Alberta, Historic Sites Service Occasional Paper no. 1. (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historical Resources Division, 1976), pp. 25-30.

[29]By the first decade of the twentieth century the seasonal migration of Ukrainian peasant-workers to the estates of Prussia had become a large and well organized movement. According to Rudnytsky, between the years 1907 to 1912 over 75,000 migrants went from Galicia to Germany. Dutkiewicz gives a larger total of 1,394,539 migrants to Prussia between 1906-1911. The discrepancy in the figures most probably arises from the inclusion of Poles from Western Galicia in Dutkiewicz's figure. Rudnytsky, Ukrainians in Galicia, p. 418; Dutkiewicz, "Polish Peasant Immigration," p. 68.

proportion of the peasantry.[30] Nevertheless, these seasonal movements were important, for they brought the peasantry out of the cloistered world of the village. The result was a heightened national self-consciousness and roused expectations.[31] It is perhaps paradoxical that the improvements in social conditions, for example, in reduced illiteracy, should have given focus to the discontent of the peasantry, for now they were aware of the alternatives open to them.

Ukrainian peasants seeking work moved ever farther from their homeland. By the mid 1870s Ukrainians were working in the factories and mines of the United States' eastern seaboard. They went as temporary workers however, not as settlers, and, although many ultimately remained in the United States, the movement-at least initially-was that of migrants rather than immigrants.[32] Their experience and the capital they transferred to their homeland had a profound effect. Their example demonstrated a new-found mobility which was to expand the horizons of the peasant world in the Western Ukraine. By furnishing capital with

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[30]Relocation within Ukrainian territory had little to commend it. Theodore Nemirsky relates that his parents' eight year sojourn in Bessarabia ultimately had little impact upon family fortunes. Nemirsky, "Journal," pp. 45-48.

[31]Steve Prystupa, "Ukrainian Farmers and the Manitoba Mosaic," paper presented to the Canadian Association of Slavists, Winnipeg, 1970, p. 3.

[32]Writing in 1906 Emily Greene Balch observed that Ukrainians often claimed that it was "not easy to settle in the United States. They either go to Canada or return home." Balch, "Slav Emigration," p. 177.

which steamship tickets could be purchased, they enabled others previously immobilized through debt or poverty to follow a similar path.[33]

These migrations had another effect. The strong tie binding the peasant to the soil of his homeland was considerably weakened, if not cut. By the mid-1880s, attracted by free passages and fanciful stories of an easy life, Ukrainian peasants were emigrating to Argentina and Brazil. Unlike those emigrating to the United States, these emigrants sought land, not work, and they saw their move as permanent, not temporary. A tremendous psychological barrier had fallen, since homeland roots were severed more completely than by the seasonal or annual migrant worker.

Emigration to Brazil was, nevertheless, frequently disastrous. When they arrived in Brazil Ukrainian immigrants found their allotted lands to be impenetrable rainforest, or second growth jungle. Many of those who did not fall prey to disease, ended by working on the estates of the coffee planters, reverting, albeit unwillingly, to their former oppressed status.[34]

It gradually came to be recognized that emigration

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[33]See, for example, Editorial Committee, Ukrainians in Alberta (Edmonton: Ukrainian News Publishers Ltd., for the Ukrainian Pioneers Association of Alberta, 1975), p. 276.

[34]Josef Oleskow, Pro Vilni Zemli [About Free Lands] L'viv: Prosvita, 1895, 1895), pp. 10-12.

to South America did not offer all that was desired. The United States, however, offered work in mines and factories, not the land so dear to the Ukrainian peasant. Canada lay open, but little known, for before 1891 no Ukrainians had secured land there.[35] It remained for other non-Ukrainian groups from Ukrainian districts of Galicia to provide the example which was to be so eagerly followed by thousands of their compatriots.

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[35]There has been a somewhat irrelevant debate among certain Ukrainian-Canadian historians which has centred upon the question of exactly when the first Ukrainians came to Canada. Although it is quite probable, as Stechishin argues, that there were Ukrainians among the soldiers of the Des Meurons regiment who settled in Canada after 1812, it has little bearing upon the wider history of Ukrainian settlement. Julian Stechishin, Istoriya Poselenya Ukraintsiv u Kanadi [History of Ukrainian Settlements in Canada] (Edmonton: Ukrainian Self Reliance League, 1975), pp. 100-101.

CHAPTER II

AN EMPTY WEST

Three years after Confederation, the Government of Canada acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company its vast territory of Rupert's Land.[1] Prior to this date "the fur trade and the buffalo, purveyor to the fur trade, reigned supreme."[2] There was little farming in this new territory and that which was present was small scale, either subsistence or oriented toward the provisioning of the fur trade. Along the banks of the Red River the long lots of the Selkirk settlers and the Metis maintained a tenuous hold

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[1]For a succinct account of events leading up to the transfer of Rupert's Land see G. F. G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 3-43; also W. L. Morton, Manitoba, A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 3-120; and Chester Martin, "Dominion Lands" Policy, ed. Lewis H. Thomas, The Carleton Library no. 69, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), pp. 1-6. Originally published as Part 2 of Vol. 2 of the Canadian Frontiers of Settlement and edited by C. A. Mackintosh and W. L. G. Joerg, (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1938). The most detailed account is that of Arthur S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71 (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1939). A more popular synthesis is provided by Douglas Hill, The Opening of the Canadian West (Toronto: Longmans, 1973), pp. 1-94.

[2]W. A. Mackintosh and W. L. G. Joerg, gen. eds., Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, 9 vols. (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1934), vol. 1: Prairie Settlement, by W. A. Mackintosh, p. 3.

on the easternmost fringes of the prairie, and agriculture elsewhere survived only in the shadow of the church missions and the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. Therefore, by 1870 the Canadian West, although no longer terra incognita, remained unsettled and agriculturally unexploited. The most urgent policy of federal and provincial governments was the speedy settlement of this vast virgin territory.

At the beginning, settlement of the West was slow. In 1870 the West was unsurveyed and isolated. Although some settlers did enter the West before the first railway reached Winnipeg in 1873,[3] they were relatively few and settled mainly in the Red River Valley and along the Brandon-Winnipeg axis.

Since there had been a series of wet years in the early 1870s the majority of settlers avoided the low-lying areas and sought out the wooded upland regions of Manitoba. There were few incursions beyond the Manitoba border into the Northwest Territories - later to become the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta - and surprisingly few settlers ventured out on to the open prairie. The reason was, as W. L. Morton has noted, that by 1875 the new settlers still had not overcome the limitations of Red River farming. Like their predecessors the new settlers (with the exception

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[3]Mackintosh, Prairie Settlement, p. 46. The most notable groups to arrive in Western Canada in the pre-railway era were the Mennonites from the Russian-controlled Ukraine who arrived in 1874, and the Icelanders who came in 1875.

of the Mennonites) settled along rivers because they provided them with wood and water.[4]

The settlement of the Western prairies was retarded, not only by the absence of the necessary agricultural technology, but also by delays in railway construction and the consequent lack of outlets to Eastern Canadian markets. In 1875 plagues of grasshoppers wrought havoc upon the standing crops of western farmers. News of this setback further discouraged immigration.[5] The malaise of economic depression then affecting the industrial world compounded the problems of the early pioneers and created an unfavourable climate for agricultural settlement in the Canadian West.

The completion of the rail link between St. Paul, Minnesota, and Winnipeg in 1878, and the easing of the economic situation, stimulated immigration into the West. By 1881 most of highland Manitoba south of the Riding Mountains had been occupied and the Canadian base of the parkland crescent had been settled.[6] Nevertheless, the rate of settlement was disappointingly slow. Settlement was still confined to areas where wood, water, and hay were readily available;[7] to those districts easily accessible by rail, or

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[4]Morton, Manitoba, A History, p. 165.

[5]Ibid., p. 175.

[6]Ibid., p. 181.

[7]Mackintosh and Joerg, gen. eds., Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, vol. 5: Agricultural Progress on the Prairie Frontier, by R. W. Murchie, p. 8.

which had good prospects for the imminent development of rail communications.[8] By 1881, although 2,698,000 acres of land had been occupied, only 279,000 acres had been agriculturally improved.

The linking of Winnipeg with Eastern Canada by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1883, and the completion of the transcontinental route in 1885, did not result in the expected rush to settle the West. Many of the homestead entries made between 1883-1890 in Manitoba and adjoining parts of the Northwest Territory were made by speculators who made little contribution to the settlement or development of the country.[9] From 1874-1896 homestead entries averaged under 3,000 per year, and in some years there were as many cancellations as there were new entries, partly because of the provision for re-location if the initial homestead proved disappointing. However, in the same period the vacant lands in the Dakotas were being rapidly settled, in large part by emigrant Canadians.[10] An estimated 120,000 Canadians settled on the prairies of the United States

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[8] T. R. Weir, "Pioneer Settlement of Southwest Manitoba, 1879 to 1901," Canadian Geographer 8 (1964): 66-69. See also James M. Richtik, "Prairie, Woodland, and the Manitoba Escarpment: Settlement and Agricultural Development in Carlton Municipality to 1887," Red River Valley Historian (Summer 1976): 16-26.

[9] See Morton, Manitoba, A History, pp. 202-204.

[10] Harold D. Briggs, Frontiers of the Northwest (New York: Peter Smith, 1950), pp. 379-429.

during the period of 1870-1900.[11] The inability of the Canadian West to attract and hold its own countrymen was a severe disappointment and a source of concern as evidenced by the complaint of the Winnipeg Times stating that "The trails from Manitoba to the States were worn bare and barren by the footprints of departing [Canadian] settlers."[12]

Regrettable though it may have been, the failure of the Canadian West to attract and hold large numbers of Anglo-Canadian settlers was understandable. To many of those contemplating settlement in the West the memory of the grasshopper plagues was still fresh and the uncertainty of cereal production was beginning to diminish only with the introduction of early maturing Red Fife in 1885. To many businessmen and politicians of the day the shortfall between plan and performance was puzzling. From hindsight, however, it is possible to explain the slow rate of settlement in terms of world economic conditions, high costs of manufactured goods and high transportation costs, as W. L. Morton has done,[13] or in terms of depressed wheat prices and the

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[11]Charles M. Studness, "Economic Opportunity and the Westward Migration of Canadians During the late Nineteenth Century," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 30 (1964): 571.

[12]Winnipeg Times quoted in John W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to his Times (Freeport, N. Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), pp. 103-104.

[13]Morton, Manitoba, A History, p. 273.

slow adoption of dry-farming techniques.[14] Although there is some argument as to the relative importance of certain factors, it is generally agreed that no single factor alone was responsible for the slow rate of Western settlement before 1896.

Since not all immigrants wished to obtain an undeveloped homestead, the cost of credit, and farm mortgages, high until the mid-1890s, may have been as effective a deterrent to Western settlement as were the high transatlantic steamship rates. Some of the failure to attract immigrants into the West may also be attributed to the lacklustre promotion of the West by the representatives of the Canadian Government. The Department of the Interior under the Conservative Government had done little to actively promote Western settlement. Clifford Sifton, indeed, had characterized it as:

> a department of delay, a department of circumlocution, a department in which people could not get business done, a department which tired men to death who undertook

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[14] K. H. Norrie, "The Rate of Settlement of the Canadian Prairies, 1870-1911," Journal of Economic History 35 (1975): 410-427; Jack C. Stabler, "Factors Affecting the Development of a New Region: The Canadian Great Plains, 1870-1897, Annals of Regional Science 7 (1973): 75-87. Both of these sophisticated analyses are rendered somewhat fallacious by being predicated on the questionable assumption that all, or most, immigrants intended to enter into grain farming, and settled in areas where dry farming was necessary for successful cereal cultivation. They ignore, too, the fact that many ethnic groups knew or cared little about fluctuations in Canadian wheat prices, since they were intent upon establishing a subsistence agriculture in the aspen parkland belt.

> to get any business transacted with it.[15]

The lassitude displayed by the Department of the Interior may be attributed not only to poor leadership, but to the frustrations of those attempting to promote immigration in an adverse economic climate and of those concentrating attention on the wrong class of people. Clifford Sifton acknowledged this in 1898 when he reflected upon the apathy of his department under Conservative direction:

> I found when I took charge of the department of immigration that the pall of death seemed to have fallen over the officials; that they seemed to be convinced that it was not worth while to do anything, because they could not succeed.[16]

The Canadian Pacific was also involved in the promotion of Crown lands in the West. Despite an apparently energetic and imaginative campaign, the C. P. R. experienced little success before 1896.[17] It would seem, therefore, that the poor showing of the Department of the Interior before 1896 was due more to economic conditions than to departmental inanition. On the other hand, the C. P. R., like the Conservative Government , was directing its energies not towards the potentially fruitful fields for immigrants in

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[15]Quoted in Joseph Schull, Laurier (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1967), p. 336.

[16]Manitoba Free Press, 17 November 1898.

[17]James B. Hedges, Building the Canadian West (New York: Macmillan Company, 1939), pp. 94-125.

Eastern and Central Europe, but toward the already well exploited areas along the northern and western margins of continental Europe. Furthermore, since the C. P. R. already had its line established across the southern prairies, it concentrated its efforts on the settlement of its lands in the south. It delayed the occupation of its northern lands "until the cultivation and development of government land in that area brought about a sharp appreciation in the value of railway sections."[18] The zeal which the company displayed in the work of settling the southern areas was largely absent in the north, where "ordinary business sense dictated a policy of waiting for the enjoyment of the unearned increment resulting from the labour and capital expended by others."[19] The C. P. R., moreover, in delaying its selection of those lands "fairly fit for settlement," granted as a subsidy for the building of the transcontinental line, effectively removed from settlement some of the better lands in the Northwest.[20]

The effects of the C. P. R. policy was unfortunate in that it promoted those lands which could be developed only by settlers with considerable capital and experience -

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[18] Idem, The Federal Railway Land Subsidy Policy of Canada (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934), p. 48.

[19] Ibid.

[20] The Canadian Pacific Railway delayed its selection of lands in order to delay the granting of patent, from which date the company became liable for the payment of taxes on land to which it held title.

the most elusive type of immigrant in the 1880s and 1890s.

The failure of the immigration policy was reflected both in the immigration returns and in the slow occupation of the unsettled lands in the West. Although by 1891 there were an estimated 8,138,000 acres occupied, of which 1,429,000 acres had been "improved," the percentage of settled land remained disappointingly low.[21] Most Westerners agreed with the sentiments of Edward Blake when he charged that the Conservative immigration policy "...has left us with a small population, a scanty immigration and a north-west empty still."[22]

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[21]Murchie, Agricultural Progress, p. 8.

[22]Edward Blake, letter to the electors of West Durham, 1891. Quoted by Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to his Times, p. 316.

CHAPTER III

CLIFFORD SIFTON: RECASTING THE NET

> "We want the peasants and agriculturalists; we do not want the wasters and criminals."
>
> Clifford Sifton

In the Federal election of 1896 the long-serving Conservative Government was replaced by a Liberal administration under Sir Wilfred Laurier. The new minister of the Interior responsible for immigration, was Clifford Sifton, member of parliament for Brandon, a vigorous organizer and a firm believer in the destiny of western Canada.[1] The twentieth century, according to Sir Wilfred Laurier, belonged to Canada, but to Sifton it belonged to the Canadian West. A strong settled and prosperous agricultural West was for Sifton the foundation upon which Canadian economic prosperity could be anchored. Soon after joining the new Government in November 1896, Sifton reappraised his department's objectives in immigration, and organized its administration on a footing

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[1]The political career of Clifford Sifton had been dealt with in detail by D. J. Hall, "The Political Career of Clifford Sifton 1896-1905" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1973). The best published account of Sifton's life remains that of John W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to his Times (Freeport, N. Y: Books for Libraries Press, 1971).

more capable of expediting the immediate settlement of the West.

Since his accession to office coincided with a brightening economic picture, reflected in declining freight rates, expanding markets for agricultural products, and steady wheat prices,[2] Sifton was favoured by circumstances. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether improved economic conditions alone would have been sufficient to generate the flow of agricultural settlers which a stagnating West so desperately required. Credit for the remarkable upsurge in the volume of immigration into Western Canada after 1896 must therefore be accorded largely to Sifton, for it was his energy, imagination, and organizational ability which transformed a moribund department into one capable of fully exploiting the advantages of the moment.

When Sifton took office, a largely "open door" immigration policy was in force. Entry was proscribed to only three classes of people: the diseased, the criminal or vicious, and those likely to become public charges. Even these found it not too difficult to circumvent sparse legal barriers to admission.[3] There was, furthermore, no great

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[2]W. L. Morton, Manitoba, A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 273.

[3]Mabel F. Timlin, "Canada's Immigration Policy, 1896-1910," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 26 (1960): 517; idem, "Recent Changes in Government Attitudes towards Immigration," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Ser. 3, 49 (1955): 95-96.

desire, either by the Liberal party or the country, to change this state of affairs. Sifton nevertheless succeeded in changing both the volume and the character of immigration without any recourse to the erection of complex legal controls. This he did, not by legal controls enforced at the dockside, but by a more fundamental method - by recasting the net for new immigrants. By the simple expedient of not encouraging those deemed unsuitable for the developing agricultural West, and by actively seeking out those he considered desirable, Sifton was able to manipulate immigration into Canada.[4] In this way he pursued a policy of selective immigration while ostensibly adhering to the "open door" concept favoured by Laurier.

In this posture Sifton pursued the agricultural immigrant with a single-minded determination. The efforts of his department were focussed, therefore, only upon those

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[4]This claim may be disputed by those who continue to interpret immigration rates as a function of wheat prices in Canada, thereby accepting the assumptions of general equilibrium theory. Since they disregard the critical influence of personal and political factors and fail to realize that economic conditions in the West meant little to the peasant immigrant from central Europe, the work of Norrie, Stabler and Studness offers only partial insights into immigration into Canada before 1914. See, K. H. Norrie, "The Rate of Settlement of the Canadian Prairies, 1870-1911." Journal of Economic History 35 (1975): 410-427; Jack C. Stabler, "Factors Affecting the Development of a New Region: The Canadian Great Plains, 1870-1897," Annals of Regional Science 7 (1973): 75-87; and Charles M. Studness, "Economic Opportunity and Westward Migration of Canadians During the Late Nineteenth Century," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 30 (November 1964): 570-584.

areas which promised to yield quantities of immigrants willing to pioneer in the West. To Sifton, immigrants could be measured by only one yardstick: their potential as agricultural settlers. In an age and milieu not given to tolerance of ethnic or religious minorities he stood apart as a pragmatist who attached little importance to ethnic background if agricultural competency was apparent. However, for those groups who showed little aptitude for pioneer agriculture, or who failed to withstand the rigours of frontier life and left the land in favour of the city, Sifton held no brief.

In view of Sifton's opinion that the only immigrants likely to be of benefit to Western Canada were those who intended pioneer settlement on the agricultural frontier it comes as no surprise that his ideal settler was the American or Canadian farmer. With capital, familiar with North American agricultural practices, independent and posing no problems of assimilation, they were, thought Sifton, "of the finest quality and the most desirable settlers."[5] Unfortunately, such settlers could not be acquired in sufficient numbers to settle the West, and Sifton, while making strenuous efforts to encourage immigration from the United States,

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[5]Clifford Sifton, "The Immigrants Canada Wants," Maclean's Magazine, 1 April 1922, p. 16. Further insights into Sifton's attitude towards immigration and immigrants are provided by Peter H. Bryce, The Value to Canada of the Continental Immigrant (n.p., 1928), pp. 8-10.

was forced further afield in his search for "immigrants of quality." In his conception of "quality" Sifton departed radically from the conventions of his era:

> When I speak of quality I have in mind, I think, something that is quite different from what is in the mind of the average writer or speaker upon the question of Immigration. I think a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and half a dozen children is good quality.[6]

The West did not need artisans from the cities and towns, who were, he claimed, "the most helpless people in the world when they are placed on the prairie and left to shift for themselves."[7] They would generate labour unrest and retard the progress of the West:

> We do not want mechanics from the Clyde - riotous, turbulent, and with an insatiable appetite for whisky. We do not want artisans from the southern towns of England who know absolutely nothing about farming.... It takes two generations to convert a town-bred population to an agricultural one... Canada has no time for that operation. We do not have two generations to spare.[8]

The non-agricultural immigrant was even equated with the "wasters and criminals" because of their ambivalence towards

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[6]Sifton, "Immigrants," p. 16.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., pp. 16, 33.

farm work. In this Sifton made no exceptions, declaring himself to be "indifferent as to whether or not [the non-agricultural immigrant] is British born. It matters not what his nationality is; such men are not wanted in Canada."[9]

This uncompromising attitude towards English, especially southern English, artisans, coupled with his almost contemptuous attitude towards English endeavours to farm the prairie,[10] prevented him from repeating the mistakes of his predecessors in reworking exhausted fields. In looking beyond the European littoral, for long the major source of immigrants to Canada, towards the land-hungry agriculturalists of the United States and the European heartlands, Sifton revolutionized the course of Canadian immigration. The fruits of his policies soon became evident, both in the rapid upswing in the rate of immigration, and in the change in character of the immigrants. Thus in 1896, along with immigrants from the United States and other regions already exploited, came peasant farmers from the Western Ukraine.

Dr. Josef Oleskow

This particular change, however, was not entirely owing to Sifton's efforts, for, in 1895, the Department of

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[9]Ibid., p. 16.

[10]Sifton thought that the English gave up too easily and that their sons and daughters were unlikely to remain on the farms. See, Hall, "Clifford Sifton," p. 189.

the Interior had received an enquiry from a Dr. Josef Oleskow of L'viv, Galicia, [11] about settlement in Western Canada. Oleskow, a professor of agriculture at the University of L'viv, was disturbed about the growing momentum of Ukrainian immigration to Brazil, a movement which he regarded as potentially disastrous. Realizing that social and economic pressures in the Western Ukraine did not favour halting emigration, Oleskow sought to use his influence as an agricultural expert and member of the Ukrainian intelligentsia to set the movement on a properly organized footing. His aims were threefold. Firstly, he wished to direct intending Ukrainian emigrants away from those areas which he believed held little promise for successful peasant agricultural settlement. Secondly, Oleskow wished to regulate the exodus so that a sudden surge in emigration would not radically lower land prices in the Western Ukraine, since then the amount of capital available to prospective emigrants would have been drastically reduced. Thirdly, he wished to organize the emigrants not only to prevent exploitation by unscrupulous officials and ticket agents, but also to ensure co-operation in the early days of settlement and thereby perpetuate, in some measure, elements of the

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[11] The role of Dr. Josef Oleskow [sometimes Oleskiw] in the settlement of Ukrainians in Western Canada has been examined by Vladimir J. Kaye, in Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964).

Ukrainian linguistic, social and religious environment in the new lands.[12]

Oleskow's initial approach to the Canadian Government in April, 1895, and was a simple request for information on settlement in Canada.[13] He requested maps of available lands, information on the climate, topography and population of Canada, and of the availability of "off-farm" employment for new settlers. Oleskow's enquiry caused "quite a stir in the Department of the Interior"[14] and the energetic measures initiated to cultivate this new contact attested to the importance the Canadian Government attached to it.

The Department of the Interior arranged for Oleskow to visit Canada and to make a personal inspection of lands open to settlement. After an extensive reconnaissance throughout Western Canada, including visits to Mennonite settlements in Manitoba, to Galician Volksdeutsche settlements in what is now Alberta and Saskatchewan, and to the recently established Ukrainian settlement at Star, Alberta,

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[12]Correspondence of Dr. Josef Oleskow with the Department of the Interior 1895-1900. Public Archives of Canada (hereafter P. A. C.), R. G. 76, Vol. 110, File 21103 pts. 1 and 2.

[13]Dr. Josef Oleskow, Lemberg, Austria, to the Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 16 March 1895. Translation from the German by Miss Mercer, Department of the Interior. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 109, File 21103 pt. 1. This letter was received by the Department of the Interior on 1 April 1895.

[14]Kaye, Ukrainian Settlements, p. 4.

Oleskow returned to Europe.[15] Shortly thereafter he published an account of his trip of inspection: O Emigratsii [About Emigration][16] a follow-up to his pamphlet Pro Vilni Zemli, [About Free Lands][17] which was published earlier but relied on second-hand information gleaned from immigration literature, encyclopaedias, and geographical texts. In these and in other writings Oleskow advocated Western Canada as a field for settlement for any prospective Ukrainian peasant-farmer emigrants.

With the interests of the peasantry at heart Oleskow made heavy demands for concessions for the immigrants, a step which led Canadian officials to view him with some reserve. Unsure that his motives were not pecuniary, they were also inclined to regard him as a visionary possessing little comprehension of political and organizational difficulties.[18] In consequence, the Department of the Interior,

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[15]Accounts of Oleskow's trip of inspection are given in Kaye, Ukrainian Settlements, pp. 19-44; and idem, "Dr. Josef Oleskow's Visit to Canada, August-October 1895," Revue de l' Universite d' Ottawa 32 (1962): 30-44. In his pamphlet O Emigratsii Oleskow gave an account of his journey. He included the impression of the peasant delegate, Ivan Dorundiak, along with his own opinions of Canada as a field for Ukrainian settlement. Josef Oleskow, O Emigratsii [On Emigration] (L'viv: Michael Kachkowskyi Society, 1895).

[16]Ibid.

[17]Idem, Pro Vilni Zemli [About Free Lands] (Lviv: Prosvita Society, 1895).

[18]S. W. Coryn, C. P. R. office, London, England, to Archer Baker, London, England, 10 February 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 109, File 21103 (27327).

both under Daly and, later, Sifton, was cautious in its dealings with Oleskow. Doubtful of Oleskow's claims to deliver a well-organized stream of immigrants each with a reasonable amount of capital, the Government was reluctant to entrust to him the full organization of emigration from the Western Ukraine.

It is evident that Oleskow wished to establish a Canadian immigration agency in L'viv, operating under his supervision, where prospective emigrants could be screened and organized into parties for the journey. Had Oleskow become the controlling agent of Ukrainian emigration to Canada, the stream of immigrants would have been greatly reduced, but immigrants would have been of far higher quality and more beneficial to the economic progress of the West. Pauper immigrants would have been screened out at the point of origin and immigrants would have made all decisions in regard to emigration on the basis of reliable information about conditions in Western Canada. This was not to be, however, for the Government was reluctant to place Ukrainian immigration in Oleskow's hands, and missed a great opportunity to exercise real control over both the volume and type of Ukrainian immigrants coming to Canada.

Although Oleskow worked closely with the Canadian Government, for four years propagandizing Canada as a field for emigration and organizing parties of emigrants for the journey, he did so on a part-time basis, greatly handicapped

and often frustrated by lack of time and inadequate funding. Many parties of immigrants were sent to Canada by Oleskow between 1896 and 1900. They were among the better immigrants to Canada. They were well organized, provided with at least the basic capital necessary for pioneer settlement and, perhaps most importantly, labouring under few illusions as to conditions in the West. "Oleskow settlers" were highly regarded by the Government for they proved to be among the least troublesome.

Although he sowed the seed by popularizing Canada as a field for immigration, Oleskow did not often reap the harvest he merited. Having been exposed to the opportunities of settlement in Canada, many emigrants simply booked their own passages with independent steamship agents. Unlike Oleskow, the latter had no concern for the emigrant's welfare. They expressed no restraint over the class and condition of emigrants and many paupers were therefore booked to Canada. Upon arrival in Canada, some of these destitute immigrants declared that they had heard of Canada through Oleskow. Indeed they had, but Oleskow was in no way responsible for their emigration. Nevertheless the Government concluded that Oleskow was partially responsible, and perhaps for this reason the Canadian Government did not avail itself of his services to a greater extent. It may also explain why Sifton, in 1899, initiated the exploration of other avenues for the gathering of Ukrainian immigrants.

The North Atlantic Trading Company

Peasant farmers from the Western Ukraine came in a small but steady stream into Canada from 1892 until 1896. However, Sifton's redirection of immigration endeavour, and his encouragement of peasant immigrants transformed this trickle into a flood (Fig. 1.). From the outset the Canadian Government had been obliged to pursue its immigration work in Eastern Europe on a second hand, ad hoc basis, using various agents as its surrogates.[19] In 1899, however, Sifton began to co-ordinate their efforts by concluding a secret agreement with a number of North German steamship agents. Under this agreement the North Atlantic Trading Company was formed, an organization of independent steamship agents who were to promote Canadian immigration in areas where for political reasons the Canadian Government could not openly conduct its own operations.[20] The Government agreed to pay bonuses upon all agricultural immigrants directed to Canada by the Company. The area covered by the agreement varied over time but at its widest, in 1902, it stretched "from northern Italy on the south to Finland in the north, and from Norway and Belgium on the west to

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[19]Canada, Parliament, Debates of the House of Commons, 4 June 1906, c. 4462. See also James D. Whelpley, "Control of Emigration in Europe," North American Review 180 (1905): 856-867.

[20]Canada, Debates, 4 June 1906, c. 4451-4471.

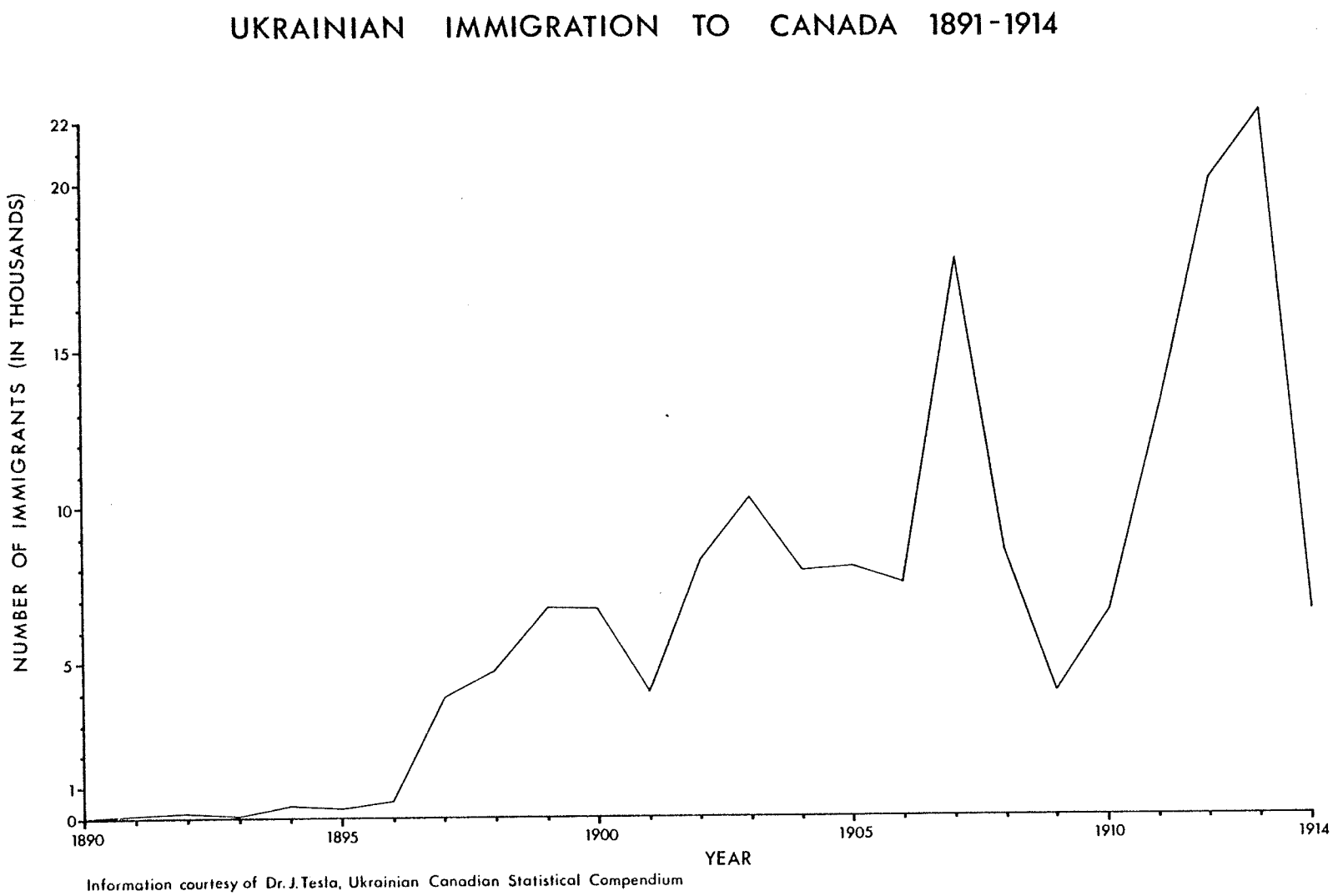
UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA 1891-1914
NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS (IN THOUSANDS)
22
20
15
10
5
1
0
1890
1895
1900
1905
1910
1914
YEAR
Information courtesy of Dr. J. Tesla, Ukrainian Canadian Statistical Compendium

Figure 1

Bulgaria, Serbia and Roumania on the east."[21]

The bonus system for immigrants was not really an innovation. It had first been adopted in 1882 by the Conservative administration, but because it was not well integrated with a coherent immigration policy, it had failed to achieve the expected results.[22] It was more successful when employed by Sifton, principally because then it became a key component in a finely orchestrated effort to secure peasant immigrants. Under the agreement with the North Atlantic Trading Company the Government paid $5.00 for each adult immigrant from continental Europe, much the same as had been paid previously under the ad hoc arrangement. No bonus was now paid on non-agricultural immigrants, however.[23] Indeed, the relative values placed on different types of immigrants was reflected in the bonus tariffs, which were lowest in areas yielding artisans and highest in areas yielding peasant farmers.[24]

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[21]Timlin, "Canada's Immigration Policy," p. 521.

[22]Memorandum to Minister, Ottawa, 1899. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 3 (84529).

[23]Memo, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 15 June 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 61, File 2414 pt. 2.

[24]In 1898 the bonus paid upon a Ukrainian adult was $5.00, that for a British agriculturalist was $1.75, and for an American male and female adult it was $3.00 and $2.00 respectively. Rates differed, too, within the British category. Higher bonuses were paid for those from the North of England. This reflected Sifton's evaluation of the southern Englishman as a poor farmer. See Sifton, "The Immigrants Canada Wants."

As a result, immigration from the peasant heartland of continental Europe was greatly stimulated. Thousands of Ukrainian peasants who would otherwise have emigrated to the United States or South America were diverted to Canada by the agents of the North Atlantic Trading Company. Indeed, such was the success of this policy that Lord Strathcona noted that "without these efforts we should never have secured the Galicians,"[25] and by 1903 Sifton could regard immigration and settlement "no longer as a challenge, but as an achievement."[26]

Although effective in generating immigration, Sifton's methods were less successful in exercising control over the movement once it was initiated. Attempts to control the flow of immigrants by simply revising the bonus tariff, or even withdrawing the bonus, were, with peasant immigration, doomed to failure. Once the first families were established in Canada they acted as a "powerful magnet" drawing their compatriots and kinsfolk to the Western frontier.[27] The movement thus became increasingly independent of the steamship agents. This inertia effectively nullified attempts to

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[25]Lord Strathcona, London, to Clifford Sifton; Ottawa, 15 November 1899, quoted in Canada, Debates, 4 June 1906, c. 4466.

[26]Hall, "Clifford Sifton," p. 620.

[27]Strathcona to Sifton, quoted in Canada, Debates, 4 June 1906, c. 4466.

control immigration at the point of departure.[28] It eventually meant that the dissolution of the North Atlantic Trading Company after Sifton's departure from office in 1906 did not have any great impact upon the then well established Ukrainian emigration movement to Canada.

Unlocking the Land: Policies in Canada

Sifton's campaigns to attract immigrants were matched in Canada by his manoeuvers to free as much land as possible for settlement. In 1896 millions of acres of potential homestead land lay locked in the iron grip of railway companies and land spectulators. The railways had earned 28.5 million acres of land under the terms of their land grant agreements, but had selected and patented only two million acres.[29] Meanwhile huge reserves of land "fairly fit for settlement" lay unsettled, and could not be occupied until the railways chose their lands.

Realizing that land locked up from settlement through

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[28]Efforts in this direction were also hampered by the lack of any common agreement upon which immigrants were covered by the term "Galician." Edward Schultz, Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Consulate, Montreal, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 9 June 1899, P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1.

[29]Hall, "Clifford Sifton," p. 173. On the land policies of the C. P. R., C. N. R., and Hudson's Bay Company see Chester Martin, "Our Kingdom for a Horse": The Railway Land Grant System in Western Canada." Reports, Canadian Historical Association (1935): 73-79; and John S. Galbraith, "Land Policies of the Hudson's Bay Company 1870-1913," Canadian Historical Review 32 (January 1951): 1-21.

whatever means was detrimental to the progress of settlement, Sifton vigorously attacked its legal foundation:

> Sixty seven million acres - the whole fertile belt and much that is not a land monopoly reserved for the benefit of the railway companies..., and these companies are not required to do any work or spend any money. They sit down; they toil not neither do they spin.
>
> The farmers do their work; they cultivate their lands and make their roads and bridges and pay their taxes and improve the land. And the land goes up in value for the benefit of the railway companies.[30]

Sifton was able to force the railways to complete their selection and patenting of lands, thereby opening up vast new areas for homesteading by 1900. He also cancelled time sales, thus freeing further areas for settlement and discouraging speculation in unsettled land.[31] There was little which could be done regarding underdeveloped patented lands, however, and this problem, the result of unchecked speculation in the 1880s, remained to prevent the early settlement of some of the better lands in Manitoba.[32]

In short, Dominion land policies during the Sifton era were designed to complement the immigration effort being

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[30]Canada, Debates, 16 February 1898, c. 668-669

[31]Hall, "Clifford Sifton," pp. 171-173.

[32]Alan F. J. Artibise, "Advertizing Winnipeg, The Campaign for Immigrants and Industry, 1874-1914," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Ser. 3, no. 27 (1970-71), pp. 79-86.

waged both overseas and in North America. They were marked not so much by originality but by an unflagging pursuit of agricultural settlers within the wider immigration efforts promoting the "last best West."[33]

Constraints on Immigration - Selection at the Dockside

Sifton's policies in Western settlement were formulated around the need for agricultural immigrants only. Artisans could enter Canada, albeit without Government welcome, but in 1897 constraints were placed upon those entering as contract labourers. The Alien Labour Act (1897) was used by Sifton to curb the entry of railway construction workers, mostly Italian, from the United States.[34] Italians were not wanted because they were regarded by Sifton as unlikely material for agricultural settlement and because of a widespread public antipathy to their immigration. Perhaps more importantly, Sifton was determined to preserve employment opportunities for such potential settlers as would require "off-farm" income for their successful establishment on the land.[35]

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[33]See, for example, Aubrey Fullerton, "The Lure of the Better West," The Canadian Magazine 26 (1905): 126-132.

[34]Timlin, "Canada's Immigration Policy," p. 519.

[35]Ibid. Also Donald Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the 'Foreign' Navvy 1896-1914," Historical Papers, Canadian Historical Association (1972): 141.

Public antipathy towards immigrants from Southern Europe was aroused by the Western Press, which attacked "...

Following Sifton's resignation in 1905, immigration was even more closely controlled by his successor Frank Oliver. Oliver did not share Sifton's enthusiasm for Ukrainian immigration. The North Atlantic Trading Company was liquidated and continental immigration was bounded by regulations placing financial constraints upon all intending immigrants. Neither the immigration Act of 1906 not the cessation of effort had a great impact upon the rate of Ukrainian immigration (Fig. 1), which by then had developed a momentum of its own. By the time Sifton left office, the attacks of the Conservative press upon his Slavic immigration policy had virtually ceased.[36] Sifton, together with his Manitoba Free Press, constantly defended the immigration of Central European peasants on the grounds of their

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their fondness for too frequent saints' days and resolutions [which] does not agree with our Anglo Saxon idea of living." Winnipeg Tribune, 6 February 1897. Fear of violence, and crime, by knife wielding Italians was another concern played upon by the press. See, for example, Winnipeg Tribune, 2 October 1906.

[36]From March 10 1897 until 25 February 1902, the Nor'Wester and the Winnipeg Telegram waged a strong campaign against Sifton's policy of encouraging Slavic peasant immigration. By 1904 the Telegram had reversed its stance, mainly for political reasons, since the Ukrainians by then were viewed as a possible base of Conservative support. There remained however, an enduring legacy of prejudice, manifested most often in fears of "mongrelization" of the nation and consequent loss of the English spirit of freedom. See, J. R. Conn, "Immigration," Queens Quaterly 8 (1900): 117-131. In arguing against such fears C. W. Peterson reviews and explains some of the lingering prejudices against peasant immigrants in 1925. C. W. Peterson, Canada's Population Problem (Calgary: The Farm and Ranch Review Ltd., 1925).

industry, thrift, honesty and intelligence.[37] Calls to terminate or restrict Ukrainian immigration were ignored by Sifton. His successors, Oliver and Rogers, although less convinced of the advisability of unrestricted peasant immigration, were increasingly subjected to demands of Eastern Canadian industry for cheap immigrant labour.[38] Thus, although the Canadian immigration effort ostensibly continued to be directed towards securing farmers to colonize the West, the character of peasant immigration gradually changed. Before 1905 families bent upon taking up land predominated, but subsequently single men, seeking work rather than land formed the majority. Thus the period 1905-14 saw the greatest number of Ukrainian immigrants coming to Canada, but this did not correspond with the major influx of Ukrainian agricultural settlers in Western Canada. The increasing scarcity of good, accessible homestead land did not, therefore, greatly affect the immigration of Ukrainians into Canada, for by 1913-14 the ambitions of many lay in other directions: in the opportunities for work in the lumbering camps, mines, and cities of Central as well as

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[37]See, for example, Manitoba Free Press, 16 March 1899; and 31 May 1901. From 1897, about the time when Sifton secured control of the Free Press, the Free Press editorials were strongly in favour of Ukrainian immigration. It defended them as immigrants in over one hundred editorials between 1897 and 1905.

[38]Avery, "Canadian Immigration," pp. 136-146

Western Canada. The outbreak of hostilities in Europe in August 1914 abruptly terminated Ukrainian immigration to Canada, and therewith the first of what was to prove to be three phases of Ukrainian immigration into Canada.

CHAPTER IV

THE LAND AND THE SETTLER: GOVERNMENT PERCEPTIONS

Perceptions of Land

In the 1890s, after the Canadian West had been open to agricultural settlement for over two decades, precise information on the physical geography and agricultural potential of the region was still sketchy, and not always accurate. In part this state of knowledge on the West reflected the progress of settlement, for it was about those areas eagerly awaiting occupation that least was known.

Until the early 1880s settlement in the West had been confined to the wooded environs of the river valleys and the grassland openings of the prairie-parkland fringe. Settlement on the open prairie clung to the lifeline of the newly built Canadian Pacific Railway transcontinental line. Indeed, the requisite technology permitting successful agricultural settlement of the open prairie became available only in the late 1870s and early 1880s.[1] Even then the dryland settler was saddled with a considerable financial burden

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[1]W. L. Morton, Manitoba, A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 181.

were he to avail himself of the new technology. The capital required for purchase and installation of windmotor pumps, fencing materials, and well digging equipment, together with reliance upon imported lumber and fuel, effectively placed grassland settlement beyond the reach of all but the more wealthy, experienced or adaptive settlers.

Examples of successful settlement on the open prairie away from timber resources or well developed lines of communication were scarce. The Mennonites, who first settled on the open prairie of the Manitoba Mennonite West Reserve in 1875, were unusual in that they were able to employ adaptive strategies perfected in the comparable environment of the Ukrainian steppe. They had an advantage, too, in that they possessed a measure of capital and had a social organization which facilitated group co-operation.[2] The Mormon settlers who colonized the Cardston area of southern Alberta in the late 1880s clung to the watercourses, only venturing on to the open prairie after a decade of settlement. They did so then in conjunction with irrigation developments undertaken in co-operation with the C. P. R. and the Alberta Coal and Railway Company.[3] Like the Mennonites, the Mormons owed much of their success in farming the

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[2]John Warkentin, "Mennonite Agricultural Settlements of Southern Manitoba," Geographical Review 49 (1959): 347.

[3]John C. Lehr, "The Sequence of Mormon Settlement in Alberta," Albertan Geographer 10 (1974): 20-29.

grasslands to their strong theocratic organization which afforded material and moral support.

The success of such ventures in prairie colonization and the frequent failure of independent efforts had convinced many of those concerned with Western settlement that occupance of grassland environments was best undertaken by settlers well furnished with capital and with experience of Western farming methods. The adoption of adaptive strategies was of no avail unless well backed with the requisite capital. For most intents, the prairie, even if no longer perceived as the dismal desert of former years, was certainly not regarded as a hospitable and easily colonized environment.

Despite some settlement on the prairie there was still an imperfect understanding of the Western environment in the 1890s. Certain environmental myths were still current even as late as 1905.[4] There was, for example, a widespread belief that the grassland climate could be significantly modified by the implementation of progressive farming practices. Many believed that cultivation of the land would modify the atmosphere, that rain would follow the plow,[5] that extensive tree planting would result in a more humid climate,[6] and

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[4] Winnipeg Telegram, 4 January 1905.

[5] Martin Louis Kovacs, Esterhazy and Early Hungarian Immigration to Canada, Canadian Plains Studies 2 (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1974), pp. 43-44.

[6] Winnipeg Tribune, 29 March 1901 and Manitoba Free Press, 29 March 1902.

deforestation of the woodland areas would lower humidity and create a more arid environment.[7] Two of the more exotic beliefs which were beginning to be greeted with some skepticism at the turn of the century, were that rain could be induced by firing explosive charges,[8] and that hail could be prevented by the use of firearms.[9]

There were few long-standing climatological records of any reliability or accuracy against which supposed climatic changes could be measured. Misconceptions were fostered, even outright falsehoods perpetuated, by local newspapers seeking to promote the advantages of their particular locality. The Winnipeg Telegram, afraid that English immigrants were dissuaded from settlement in the West by sensational reports of Manitoba winters, called for the severity of the Western winters to be downplayed in news reports.[10] In later years it attempted to capitalize on the undeniably severe winter climate by extolling its alleged racial benefits.[11] One disingenous promoter of Saskatchewan went so far as to claim that the salubriousness of the climate was proven by the fact that

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[7] Manitoba Free Press, 11 April 1901.

[8] Winnipeg Telegram, 20 July 1898.

[9] Winnipeg Tribune, 11 September 1899.

[10] Winnipeg Telegram, 13 October 1905.

[11] Ibid., 23 February 1912.

bananas had been grown in local lawyer's office![12] Such flagrant attempts at misrepresentation may be understood if not condoned. Similarly Clifford Sifton's attempts to surpress meteorological and climatological data under the justification that they deterred prospective settlers were generated only by a desire to further the progress of the West.[13]

There were similar tendencies to exaggerate the advantages - and depreciate the difficulties - of settlement in the West by those anxious to promote settlement. Reliable, detailed, and unbiased information on the physical environment was therefore difficult to obtain. The most reliable sources of information were the reports of the Dominion Lands supveyors. These gave detailed accounts of the soils and vegetation in the areas surveyed. The reports of homestead inspectors and Government land guides were also useful but were seldom as specific. Nevertheless, even these official sources were not always accurate, for they tended to be impressionistic and optimistic. They were, after all, written by the Government employees whose professional expertise lay in other directions, with most having no real training in

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[12]Bruce Peel, "The Lure of the West," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada 5 (1966): 28.

[13]Mabel F. Timlin, "Canada's Immigration Policy, 1896-1910," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 26 (1960): 521-2.

the objective assessment of land quality or its agricultural potential. Soil fertility, for example, was judged either on the basis of colour or the nature of the overlying vegetation cover - not always reliable indices of the agricultural potential of an area. The most accurate evaluations were gained from established settlers experienced in working the land, but reliance was also placed upon the reports of railroad employees familiar with districts adjoining existing or projected lines.[14] Land guides were often sent out into areas about which little was known, but the reports relayed back to the Department of the Interior were usually highly generalized, and couched in vague terms.[15] Land was described ambiguously as "fine", "good", "poor", "fair", "first class", "suitable for settlement", and "adapted for settlement." The information relayed to the officials in Ottawa was not always reliable, as is evident from a statement of J. Obed Smith in January 1902:

> I understand the land north of Teulon [Interlake district, Manitoba] between the great Lakes improves the further north the

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[14] C. W. Speers, Winnipeg, to Frank Pedley, Ottawa, 15 February 1901. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 238, File 141288 (184484).

[15] Sigurdur Christopherson, Dominion Land Guide, Grund, to J. Obed Smith, Ottawa, 31 December 1901, "Report on Land Inspection in Alberta and Assiniboia." P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 238, File 141288 (184484).

Land Guide has gone.[16]

Even the information and maps supplied by Dominion Land Surveyors were sometimes inaccurate. In the Prince Albert district, an area of over three thousand six hundred acres of prairie opening was wrongly mapped as a lake, and it was alleged that "all the particulars such as traverse notes had been supplied from memory or imagination when the returns were being prepared."[17]

Land could be accorded an accurate physical assessment, but this was no guarantee of accuracy in assessing agricultural potential, for those assessing land frequently either ignored, or were ignorant of, local climatic conditions. Furthermore, the officials involved in promotion of settlement in the West shared a sanguine view of the limitations of latitude, climate, and topography in their eagerness to extend the frontiers of settlement.

Detailed knowledge of many areas which were to be opened to settlement was absent. Large areas of open prairie were included in at least one timber reserve,[18] although

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[16] J. Obed Smith, Ottawa to Minister of Public Works, Manitoba, 7 January 1902. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 238, File 141288 (184670).

[17] Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers, Department of the Interior, 1896, p. 29. It is possible that a mistake of this nature occured during a winter traverse when surface detail was obscured by snow cover.

[18] J. W. Thompson, Crown Timber Agent, Minnedosa, to Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 6 September 1901. P. A. C., R. G. 15 B-1a, Vol. 224, File 410595 pt. 2 (652995).

whether through ignorance or design is debatable. The environment, furthermore, was never static. Fire, for example, could radically alter both the appearance and potential of wooded areas,[19] and the characteristics of poorly drained areas could be misjudged if traversed during a dry period.

It is clear that officials of the Department of the Interior often relied upon inadequate, dated, or inaccurate information. Decisions in settlement, therefore, could not always reflect local conditions or take cognizance of local variations in climate, relief, vegetation and soils.

Perhaps it was because of this that the Department of the Interior frequently employed sweeping characterizations of land on the basis of its supposed suitability for the settlement of various ethnic groups. Just how the Department's officers arrived at their conclusions as to what properties rendered an area "well adapted for Finnish settlement," is unclear. It is probable, however, that tastes in land type were rather arbitrarily assigned to the various ethnic groups on the basis of the type of land chosen by the initial settlers of each group.

A certain amount of ethnic stereotyping was employed,

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[19]Lamenting the loss of spruce forest by fire in 1897, R. A. Ruttan drew consolation from the thought that although second growth poplar was "less valuable in a merchantile sense," it was "of equal value in its climatic effect." Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers, Department of the Interior, 1897, p. 160.

and there were some concomitant attempts to match immigrants with landscapes which the Canadian officials thought to be representative of their homeland topography. In Alberta, for example, the coniferous wooded country along the prairie fringe in the Red Deer area was seen to be well suited to Finnish settlement,[20] and in the Battleford district of Saskatchewan the area north of Goose Lake to Red Berry Lake was thought to be "well adapted to German and other peoples."[21] In neither instance does official correspondence offer any clue as to the qualities which imparted suitability for settlement by colonists of the specified ethnicity, though a contemporary newspaper report indicates that decisions were based on subjective assessments of topography, vegetation and climate and were sometimes made by delegates of the ethnic groups concerned.[22]

Government Perceptions of Incoming Settlers

Before 1896 it was not normal practise for the immigration officials of the Department of the Interior to deal with incoming settlers *en masse*. The volume of immigration

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[20] James A. Smart, Ottawa, to W. H. Cottingham, Red Deer, 13 February 1901. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 238, File 141288 pt. 1 (141288).

[21] C. W. Speers, Brandon, to W. D. Scott, Ottawa, 3 May 1905. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 238, File 141288 pt. 1 (384572).

[22] *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 March 1900.

was such that under usual circumstances the officials were able to deal with immigrants seeking land in small groups, ideally on an individual basis.

While the flow of immigrants remained low, the operation of their "processing" and settlement on the land ran smoothly. Normally the staff of the Department in Winnipeg were informed, by telegraph, of the nature, destination and number of immigrants entraining at Montreal or Halifax. They were thus given at least two days' notice of immigrant arrivals.[23] Interpreters and agents accompanying each trainload of colonists attempted, while en route, to advise on suitable locations and to inform immigrants as to where their relatives or compatriots were already settled. Consequently, most colonists arrived in Winnipeg to some extent prepared to show initiative in choosing a destination, and were awaited both in Winnipeg and at points west by Department officials well prepared for their arrival.

Immigrants could thus generally be handled on an individual or family basis. Interpretation and communication

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[23]With the sudden increase in immigration in 1896 breakdowns in communication between C. P. R. agents and the officials of the Department of the Interior also increased in number. When C. P. R. agents neglected to notify the Crown of immigrant arrivals at ports of entry, immigrants unexpectedly arrived in the West unescorted by interpreters or Colonization agents. Confusion ensued. Frank Pedley, Winnipeg, to C. P. R. Agent, New York, n.d. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34212 pt. 3.

seldom created major problems and Crown agents in Winnipeg functioned mainly in an advisory capacity, advising arrivals as to land availability and employment opportunity, as well as arranging for temporary accommodation in immigration halls at various points throughout the West.

Despite previous experience in dealing with the limited number of Ukrainian immigrants who arrived before 1896 it seems that Department personnel were ill-prepared to handle the post-1896 increase in Ukrainian immigration. The change of government after the Liberal victory in the federal election of 1895 was undoubtedly at least partially responsible for this. Assumption of power in 1896 was accompanied by the customary rash of blatant political patronage. Replacements were made throughout the civil service as Liberal party supporters and workers were awarded posts, often without regard to ability or experience.[24] All newly appointed immigration personnel were connected with the Liberal party,[25] and although most proved to be competent, all were initially lacking both in experience of immigrants and immigration matters.

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[24]Before the First World War the Federal and the Manitoba civil service were very much political instruments of the party holding office.

[25]James A. Smart, Deputy Minister, Department of the Interior; W. F. McCreary, Immigration Commissioner at Winnipeg and W. T. Preston, Inspector of Immigration Agencies in Europe, were all Liberal Party workers during the Federal election of February 1895. Norwester, 27 February 1897.

It was doubly unfortunate that the Department of the Interior was thus staffed by inexperienced officers at a time when the service was to receive what was to be its most severe testing. Between 1896-1900 the Department was innundated by Ukrainian settlers, an ethnic group then unfamiliar to all but a few of the Department's employees, and one which was frequently misapprehended and often wrongly designated. This lamentable circumstance was compounded by unnecessary difficulties encountered in interpretation, difficulties which ultimately led to a situation in which the officials responsible for both the dispatch and settlement of Ukrainian immigrants were forced into making important decisions based on inadequate information and insufficient background knowledge.

Incredible as it may now seem, the Department of the Interior did not, in 1896, have an interpreter capable of communicating with Ukrainians in their native tongue.[26] Interpreters assigned to meet and accompany incoming settlers were dependent upon the few Ukrainian immigrants who had some knowledge of German. In 1897, for example, Immigration

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[26]Late in 1896 the Minister of the Interior took Oleskow's suggestion that the Commissioner of Dominion Lands at Winnipeg should employ Cyril Genik, leader of a group of "Oleskow settlers" as an interpreter. Lyndwode Pereira, Ottawa, to Dr. Josef Oleskow, Lemberg, Austria, 17 November 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 109, File 21103 pt. 2.

Officer Alfred Akerlindh complained of difficulty in communicating with incoming Ukrainian settlers, "There was only one or two on board who spoke a little German..."[27] Lack of communication made it difficult, if not impossible, to organize the immigrants while en route to Winnipeg, or to make adequate advance arrangements for their reception in the West.

With immigrants who spoke a Western European language the standard procedure was to ascertain the amount of money in the possession of each family and

> ...their destination whether a station or otherwise was written with red ink on a card and pinned on the breast of their coats, as also a complete list of their names, ages etc. with destination marked in red thereon given to the interpreter...in charge to be handed to another at exchange stations on the route.[28]

To implement this procedure, effective interpretation was necessary. It was some years before it was always available. In 1898 Colonization Agent J. A. Kirk of Halifax wrote "... we must have a Galician interpreter. Our Interpreters cannot talk to these people and this makes it very difficult to

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[27]Alfred Akerlindh, to L. M. Fortier, Ottawa, 11 March 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (34942).

[28]P. Doyle, Quebec City, to the Secretary, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 30 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (60036).

and their requirements in settlement. This situation was exacerbated by the unforeseen dramatic increase in their numbers and the change in the direction of Ukrainians immigrants entering Canada in the years following 1896 (Fig. 1).

Apart from those selected by Dr. Oleskow, few of the Ukrainians arriving at this time were well prepared for settlement. Most were illiterate, lacked capital and had no knowledge either of English or of the regulations of the Canadian homestead system. Their ignorance of North American conditions was compounded by an amphibolous attitude toward the Government officials with whom they had contact. The majority of Ukrainian immigrants, being products of a closely structured traditional milieu within which independence and initiative were stifled and authority lay in the hands of an alien exploitative aristocracy, were accustomed, even reliant, upon a degree of autocratic paternalism. Yet they still possessed the peasant's inherent distrust of all officialdom and government. While tolerant of government institutions, they were not necessarily disposed toward co-operation with them. Peasant suspicion and conservativism, allied with their general credulity and lack of sophistication, made them highly susceptible to persuasion by those to whom they gave their trust. Paradoxically, they were both impetuous and conservative; stubborn and tractable; qualities which made them the most

handle them."[29] Bureaucratic bungling was largely responsible for this dearth of Ukrainian interpreters. Those engaged to deal with the Ukrainians were proficient in German, not Ukrainian. Someone, it appears, had assumed that all Austrian citizens were ipso facto German-speaking. Immigration officials in the field became painfully aware of the fallacy of this belief and sought to impress upon their Ottawa superiors that interpreters fully conversant in Ukrainian, not only in German, were required.[30] The result of this failure to secure competent interpreters was observed in scenes of confusion and chaos, when trainloads of bewildered immigrants arriving in Winnipeg were met by harassed and poorly prepared Department officials. Misunderstanding and resentment on the part of both parties arose. It was under such circumstances that some of the more cavalier attempts at indiscriminate dirrection of immigrants were to occur.

Initially lacking effective interpretation, unfamiliar with the Ukrainians, and knowing little of their background, the field officials of the Department of the Interior were often obliged to make decisions and act on the basis of inadequate and hastily formulated conceptions as to the Ukrainians

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[29] J. A. Kirk, Halifax, to F. Pedley, Ottawa, 31 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (60129).

[30] W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa 24 May 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1.

difficult of all immigrants for inexperienced officials to handle. Understaffed and overworked, the responsible official at Winnipeg, W. F. McCreary, felt a disproportionate amount of time and attention was devoted to dealing with Ukrainian arrivals at the expense of other classes of immigrant:

> Immigrants of other nationalities, especially the United States and British people, should have some of our attention, and if we are to be continually pestered with the fighting of these Galicians, the better class of immigration will be neglected.[31]

Immigration officials in Winnipeg responsible for the direction and placing of immigrants in the West gradually abandoned any attempt to deal with the Ukrainian immigrants in the same fashion as they did with English-speaking immigrants. Unable to effectively handle the Ukrainians on a small group basis, they resorted to dealing with them _en masse_, and, as is usual under such circumstances, they reacted not to the group immediately at hand but to a perceptual image of the Ukrainian which was not necessarily an accurate reflection of either the individual or the group.

Such concepts of ethnic character implied that all members of a particular ethnic group resembled one another in

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[31] W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 25 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (59942).

certain fundamental patterns of belief, conduct, and, insofar as settlement was concerned, agricultural skills and economic circumstances.[32] Such images were, like all perceptual and memory phenomena, a blend of fact and previously held frames of reference and value.[33] Feelings and images often overreached the evidence but the Immigration officials nevertheless acted in terms of the image when formulating their conceptions as to the needs and requirements of the incoming Ukrainian settler. Their perception of group requirements, furthermore, was based on a conception of the needs of a stereotype, formulated under circumstances hardly conducive to impartiality, and on the basis of but limited contact and knowledge. Unfortunately, errors which resulted from such assessments were often further compounded by inaccurate assessments of the agricultural potential of the land then being opened for settlement.

Despite the fact that Ukrainian immigrants had been settled in the Star area of Alberta since 1892, five years later, in 1897, there remained in Government circles a remarkable degree of ignorance as to the character and quality of these settlers. It was not until the initiation of correspondence between the proponent of Ukrainian immigration to

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[32]Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1958), p. 115.

[33]Ibid., p. 116.

Canada - Dr. Josef Oleskow - and the Department of the Interior, in 1895, that the Government showed any awarness of the true ethnicity of the Ukrainian settlers already established in Alberta. Their arrival and settlement had gone unheralded, and, in official correspondence, unrecorded.[34] The numbers involved were relatively few, and it is reasonable to assume that the Government had little interest in, or knowledge of, the Ukrainians as settlers.

Although Dr. Oleskow had made some comments regarding the needs of Ukrainian settlers, the bulk of his correspondence was with the higher echelons of government.[35] The Crown Agents who were to be in closest contact with incoming settlers, so far as may be ascertained, were not made aware of Oleskow's recommendations for the treatment of Ukrainian colonists. Although Oleskow's ideas were well-founded and far-sighted, they were then regarded as naively idealistic and politically unworkable.[36] Thus, Crown Agents, stationed

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[34]Ukrainian immigrants were first referred to in the correspondence of the Department of the Interior in April 1895, when Dr. Oleskow first contacted the Canadian Government.

[35]Oleskow corresponded mainly with James A. Smart, Deputy Minister of the Department of the Interior. For a comprehensive review of Oleskow's correspondence with Canadian authorities see Vladimir J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1896-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964), pp. 3-131.

[36]In the political climate of the day it would have been unwise for the Liberal Government to have laid itself

throughout the West, formulated their ideas as to the character and needs of Ukrainian colonists on the basis of first hand experience which was sometimes bitter. This is not to imply that their reactions were unreasonable for in fact they were generally founded upon an easy pragmatism. All immigrants were judged by the same criteria: by their capital, health, appearance, and co-operative spirit - the quantities which had the greatest bearing upon success in agricultural settlement - and, in the case of the non-English speaking foreigners, their rapid assimilation into Canadian life.

Unfortunately, appearances are often deceiving. In the absence of effective interpretation it was difficult to elicit more than the most basic information from the incoming Ukrainian settlers. Many immigrants, made wary of officialdom by their contact with corrupt Government officials and steamship agents during their journey in Europe,[37] refused to disclose the nature of their means when they arrived in

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open to charges of favouritism towards Ukrainian immigrants. The per capita cost of immigrants was always a contentious political issue. Since implementation of Oleskow's ideas would have increased this per capita cost they were never seriously entertained. Short-term political advantage was gained at the expense of the long-term progress of western development.

[37] E. Deville, Surveyor General, Ottawa, to [James A. Smart] Deputy Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, 9 February 1899. Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, File I 9 (C. F. Aylsworth).

Canada.[38] Those who admitted to possession of some capital usually refused to state the amount.[39] Others, notably the more canny Bukowinians, concealed their cash, claimed destitution and demanded assistance.[40]

Although precise data are scarce, it is clear that only a small proportion of Ukrainian immigrants were destitute upon arrival. Indeed, those dispatched by Oleskow were relatively well endowed with capital. Of 172 families of Ukrainian settlers who arrived at Strathcona, [Edmonton] N. W. T. during May 1899, twenty families had over $300.00; sixty-seven had between $50.00 and $100.00. Only thirty-eight families had less than $50.00. The minimum amount was $10.00.[41] Nevertheless, certain families arrived in such a

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[38]It was difficult to secure this information even from English speaking immigrants. J. M. McGovern to W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 23 March 1900. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 61, File 2614 pt. 3 (113329).

[39]The reluctance of immigrants to disclose their means was frequently commented upon by the interpreters and Immigration officials who accompanied westbound colonist trains. See, for example, William Anderson, Dominion Government Interpreter, to the Secretary, Department of the Interior, Ottawa 5 May 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1; Alfred Akerlindh, to Frank Pedley, Ottawa, 3 May 1898, P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (58416); and W. Bordman to Frank Pedley, Ottawa, 18 January 1900. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 61, File 2614 pt. 2.

[40]W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 2 June 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (38357).

[41]List of immigrants arrived at Strathcona, May 1899. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 24, File 531 pt. 1.

destitue condition that Government Interpreters used their own funds to purchase bread and milk for them.[42]

Although Crown Agents may have suspected that some groups may have possessed more than they claimed, they were still obliged to take the word of the immigrant and act accordingly. This had an effect on the course of settlement. Crown Agents tended to place more pressure upon destitute groups, pushing them towards locations which afforded opportunities for working out or for generating capital by the cutting and sale of cordwood. Locations for settlement of Ukrainian immigrants were often evaluated in terms of their potential to afford short term survival rather than to provide scope for agricultural progress in the long term.

A second criterion by which immigration officials judged immigrants was that of health. Official perception of the health and hygiene of immigrants may also have been reflected in their settlement decisions. Officials were more likely to favour the settlement of "unhealthy" or "unhygienic" groups in segregated locations well removed from other groups. The development and perpetuation of closely knit homogeneous ethnic blocks of settlement was thus encouraged.

Unfortunately the appearance of most peasant immigrants after an arduous trans-Atlantic journey as steerage passengers

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[42]Alfred Akerlindh to L. M. Fortier, Ottawa, 8 May 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (37224).

was poor. Many had picked up vermin during the voyage, and sea-sickness and lack of proper washing facilities also had an impact.[43] When added to some of the more unsavoury peasant habits catalogued by Dr. Oleskow, this contributed to a general lowering of the Ukrainian as an immigrant in the estimation of the officials responsible for their settlement.[44] Fully aware of the impact that manifestations of peasant etiquette and social habits was likely to have upon middle-class English-speaking immigrants accustomed to Victorian social mores, the officials of the Department of the Interior physically segregated Slavic immigrants from others during their residence in the immigration sheds prior to their taking up land.[45] In the light of such action it is not unreasonable to assume that such thinking could be projected into the settlement field, for the same officials formulated and implemented Government policy in both areas.

Officials in contact with Ukrainian immigrants soon distinguished between those from Galicia and those from

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[43]Alfred Akerlindh to L. M. Fortier, Ottawa, 11 March 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (34942).

[44]Dr. Josef Oleskow, O Emigratsii [On Emigration] (L'viv: Michael Kachowskyi Society, December, 1896), pp. 14-15.

[45]Thomas Bennet, Strathcona, to Frank Pedley, Ottawa, 5 December 1900. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 24, File 531 pt. 1, (133769): Frank Pedley to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 26 September 1901: and J. Obed Smith, Winnipeg, to Frank Pedley, Ottawa, 20 June, 1902. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 24, File 531 pt. 2.

Bukowina. W. F. McCreary the Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg claimed that the latter were:

> somewhat different from regular Galicians; their chief difference, however, being in their religious persuasion. They do not affiliate, and, in fact, are detested by the Galicians; they are a lower class, more destitute and more awkward to handle.[46]

The Bukowinians, from a more remote and backward area of the Western Ukraine, were generally thought to be poorer than the Galicians. They were certainly less sophisticated and more deeply imbued with a peasant philosophy than those from Galicia. They were also seen to be less adaptive,[47] less familiar with tools and implements,[48] less self-reliant in settlement,[49] and yet, perversely, more intractable and obstinate in their dealings with immigration officials.[50]

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[46] W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 15 May 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (37582).

[47] J. S. Woodsworth, "Ukrainian Rural Communities: Report of Investigation by Bureau of Social Research. Government of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta." (Typewritten) Winnipeg, 25 January 1917.

[48] "Placing Galician Immigrants," Department of the Interior, 19 May 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (37582).

[49] E. H. Taylor, Yorkton, to W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 24 August 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 110, File 21103 pt. 2 (65307).

[50] W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 20 May 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (37807).

Such perceived differences were sufficient for different approaches toward the handling of Bukowinian immigrants to be recommended and implemented - approaches which were designed mainly to minimize the opportunity for Bukowinian intransigence, but which also permitted a more paternalistic attitude to be adopted by the government officials involved.[51] It is doubtful whether these different perceptions of the Galicians and Bukowinians resulted in any major difference in patterns of land occupance, but the very fact of official awareness of cultural differences between the Galicians and the Bukowinians may have facilitated the growth of seperate settlements of the two groups. Certainly it was instrumental in-influencing the manner in which the immigration officers approached the Bukowinian immigrant. Indeed, it may be argued that the more dictatorial approach in the placement of Bukowinian immigrants may be largely responsible for the enduring myth of a discriminatory policy in settlement being applied to Ukrainian immigrants.

Official perception of incoming settlers was especially important in the early formative years of 1896-1900, when the groundwork of Ukrainian settlement was laid. Impressions gained in these early years were critical in determining the nature of the ethnic stereotype to which the responsible

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[51]Ibid.

officials on occasion resorted when inundated with masses of immigrants. It is evident, too, that the Crown officials in the West classified the Ukrainians into three general categories: 1. the preferred 'Oleskow' settlers and others who were co-operative and possessed means; 2. those from Galicia, and 3. those from Bukowina. Each group was approached and handled slightly differently. In the event of their not having a declared destination they were encouraged to locate in those areas which were thought to best serve their immediate interests and those of the Government.

Just as the settler was stereotyped by Crown Agents, so was land. Land types were classified, or stereotyped, according to the preceived qualities, desires and needs of the various ethnic groups. Sweeping generalizations were employed, but it is not clear upon what basis the Colonization Agents decided that specific environments were best suited to the needs of the various ethnic groups then settling the West.

What is more certain, however, is that stereotyping of land types and of immigrants by Government officials was common throughout the period of rapid settlement between 1896-1912. Just how the officers of the Department of the Interior arrived at their conclusions as to what properties rendered an area "well adapted for German settlement," or made it "suitable for Finnish settlement," is open to

debate. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that the type of land selected by the initial settlers of an ethnic group was an important factor in influencing official thought. There was general agreement, moreover, that it was desirable to locate immigrants in the type of environment with which they were familiar - to locate Finns, for example, in areas with abundant hay and large stands of coniferous timber.

Given the remarkable state of ignorance about the Ukrainian people and their homeland among Dominion officials at the turn of the century, it is unlikely that they attempted to match the Ukrainians with a topography reminiscent of their homeland. More likely they concluded that the rough bush country along the northern fringe of the aspen parkland provided a suitable environment for settlers without capital. Indeed, for the practical Colonization Agents to place such immigrants on the open prairie was inconceivable, for their stereotype Ukrainian immigrant lacked capital, was unaccustomed to functioning within a market economy, and had no knowledge of the farming methodologies appropriate to the sub-humid open prairie regions.

By 1897 the correspondence of the Department of the Interior abounded in references to land "well adapted to Galician settlements," or, more commonly, "land fit for Galicians." The pejorative implication of the latter phrase is somewhat deceiving, for in their characterization of land

Crown Agents were wholly pragmatic. Nevertheless, it was true that once the Ukrainians showed a desire, even a willingness, to settle the marginal areas of the aspen parkland, agents were not averse to assisting them in the realization of their desires.

In 1901 the Department of the Interior complied a map showing areas of the West which were considered to be suitable for settlement. Areas of settlement were demarcated and annotated as to the groups which were expected to settle in each region.[52] Significantly, there was no apparent discrimination, for although the areas marked as suitable for Ukrainians were on the northern fringes of the parkland, the same, and other similar, areas were also demarcated as being suitable for English and American settlers (Fig. 2).

It seems, therefore, that although ethnic stereotyping was prevalent it was not a vehicle for discrimination. Its effect, rather, was to consolidate the flow of immigrants into areas then being settled by others of the same ethnic origins.

Since the masses of incoming Ukrainian immigrants were frequently handled on the basis of a stereotype image, the likelihood of the few who departed from the group norm in their holdings of capital, or depth of experience, being

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[52]Map to accompany C. W. Speers, Winnipeg, to F. Pedley, Ottawa, 15 February 1901. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 238, File 141288, (197584). See also J. Obed Smith, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 5 March 1901. Ibid.

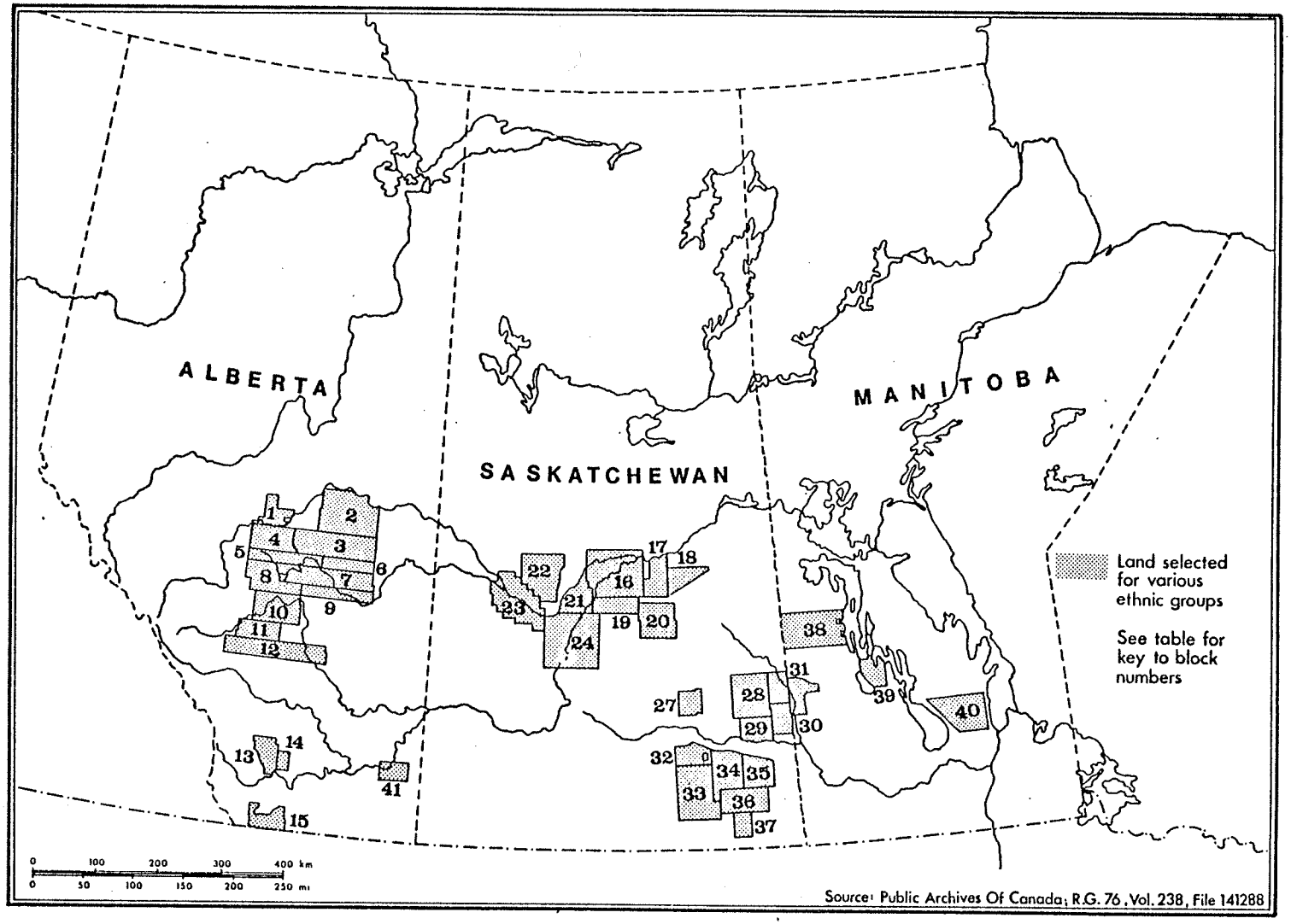

Figure 2a. Areas Set Aside for Settlement by Various Ethnic Groups

Figure 2 b.

Key to blocks on Figure 2 a.

Block Number	Nationality	Number of Vacant Homesteads
1	Germans and Galicians	489
2	Americans and Galicians	1500
3	English speaking	1500
4	Germans and Scandinavians	600
5	Germans and Scandinavians	400
6	English speaking and Americans	900
7	English speaking and some Hungarians	1000
8	English speaking, Germans and Icelanders	200
9	Americans	500
10	English and Icelanders	500
11	Scandinavians, Americans and Finns	100
12	Germans and Americans	800
13	Norwegians and Americans	200
14	English speaking	300
15	Mormons	1000
16	Germans, French, Hungarians, Galicians	540
17	Americans and Scandinavians	100
18	Americans	500
19	Germans and Galicians	360
20	Americans	1000
21	Mennonites	50
22	Molokans (Doukhobors)	1000
23	Americans and Canadians	500
24	Americans	3000
25	Americans and English	600
26	Americans and English	320
27	Roumanians and English	400
28	Germans and Galicians	500
29	Hungarians	250
30	Americans, Germans, Galicians & Icelanders	200
31	Americans and Canadians	1000
32	Germans, English and French	280
33	Americans	1186
34	Americans and English	900
35	Americans and English	277
36	Americans and English	400
37	Americans, Hebrews and Scandinavians	260
38	English	226
39	Americans, Canadians and Hebrews	160
40	French, Germans, Galicians, Americans, Icelanders and Canadians	1645
41	English speaking and German	400

encouraged to locate apart from their fellows in areas offering greater potential for agricultural progress was minimized. The ultimate effect of this would have been to confirm the social forces encouraging the development of closely knit, ethnically homogeneous blocks of settlement.

CHAPTER V

PROPAGANDA AND BELIEFS:

THE IMMIGRANTS' VIEW OF THE WEST

I shall go to Canada,
Who will assist me
Cunard says: Don't worry
We will take care of everything.

"The Song of Cunard"
Cunard Ukrainian Immigration
Pamphlet

It has been claimed that the behaviour of Ukrainian immigrants in the New World was as much a reaction to the conditions in their homeland as it was a response to the Western frontier environment.[1] Although true, it is only partly so, for the behaviour of most immigrants into Western Canada was affected by their preconceptions and expectations of conditions in the West. Individual and group strategies in both immigration and settlement were formulated in response to such beliefs. Whether true or false they deserve consideration. Even if some of the more erroneous beliefs were forgotten soon after arrival, they were nevertheless important in shaping the initial patterns of behaviour of

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[1]John C. Lehr, "The Rural Settlement Behaviour of Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada 1891-1914," in Western Canadian Research in Geography: The Letherbridge Papers, ed., Brenton M. Barr, B. C. Geographical Series, no. 21 (Vancouver: Tantalus Research, 1975), p. 51.

certain immigrants.[2]

Since few, if any, immigrants to Canada had a first hand knowledge of the country, they had to rely upon second and third hand information on Canadian conditions. Information about Canada, and frontier agricultural settlement in the West, filtered back to the Western Ukraine via word of mouth, letters, newspapers and through books and pamphlets advocating or denouncing emigration. The situation was complicated by the questionable motives of certain parties engaged in the dissemination of immigration propaganda, much of which was misleading, if not downright false. The prospective emigrant was often faced with a plethora of information advocating emigration to any of a dozen places. He had little idea as to the accuracy of the claims made, was unsure of the motives of those purveying advice, and was not able to assess the worth of advice proffered by any of a dozen sources.[3]

Information and Emigration in the Western Ukraine

The extensive movement to Brazil and the Eastern

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[2]This need to evaluate beliefs and their impact upon immigration and settlement behaviour is stressed by Edward P. Hutchinson, "A Forgotten Theory of Immigration," in In the Trek of the Immigrants, ed. O. Fritiof Anders (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana College Library, 1964), p. 49.

[3]William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, vol. 5 (Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Goreham Press, 1920): 22-28.

United States in the late 1880s suggests the effective dissemination of emigration propaganda within the Western Ukraine.[4] It is clear, however, that prior to 1891 Canada was not considered as a place to settle. Linguistic as well as geographic isolation restricted the flow of information about Canada to those with a reading knowledge of either German or English.[5]

Canada first came to the attention of Ukrainian peasants through their contact with German settlers in Canada who had emigrated from Kryvula near Bel'cha-Volytsya, Galicia.[6] This contact initiated the emigration of Ukrainian peasants to Western Canada. Until 1895, however, information about Canada filtered back to the Western Ukraine only through the letters of the first immigrants to Canada. These were mostly from the Kulash district in Galicia. Canada was

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[4]Dr. Josef Oleskow, Pro Vilni Zemli [About Free Lands] (L'viv: Prosvita, 1895), pp. 18-22. Oleskow claimed that the emigration movement to Brazil had by 1895 accounted for the loss of thousands of Ukrainians from Galicia. He claimed that information was circulated by paid agents of the Government of Brazil.

[5]Among the Ukrainian-speaking population this was the intelligentsia, the one section of society least likely to contemplate emigration to take up agricultural pursuits. Many of the latter, having nationalist sympathies, were reluctant to encourage the Ukrainian-speaking peasantry to emigrate, for fear of weakening the position of the Ukrainians vis-a-vis the Poles.

[6]Dr. Josef Oleskow, O Emigratsii [On Emigration] Michael Kachkowskyi Society, 1896), p. 35.

first widely publicized as a field for emigration in 1895, when Dr. Josef Oleskow attempted to re-direct the flow of emigrants away from Brazil towards Canada by publishing two pamphlets in Ukrainian: Pro Vilni Zemli [About Free Lands] and O Emigratsii [On Emigration].[7] The following year he published a further work in Polish: Rolnictwo Za Oceanem A Przesiedlna Emigracya [Agriculture across the Ocean and the Emigration Movement].[8] These publications achieved wide circulation within Galicia and Bukowina, and, through distribution to village reading halls and institutes, had a considerable impact even upon the illiterate peasantry.[9]

Although Oleskow was the first to publicize Canada he did not remain alone for long. As the volume of Ukrainian emigration to Canada accelerated, emigration literature on Canada was circulated by steamship agents of North Sea and Baltic Ports. By 1898, the Canadian Government was publishing immigration pamphlets in Polish, Russian and

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[7]Oleskow, Pro Vilni Zemli, 38p. Idem, O Emigratsii, 66p.

[8]Idem, Rolnictwo Za Oceanem A Przesiedlna Emigracya [Agriculture Across the Ocean and the Emigration Movement] Karlsbad: Basilian Fathers, 1896).

[9]Pro Vilni Zemli, for example, reached the 12,000 members of the Prosvita Society, and was available in village reading halls throughout Galicia and Bukowina. It was common practice for such literature to be read publicly by literate villagers. The illiterate peasantry therefore had exposure, if not completely free access, to the ideas of Oleskow.

Ukrainian.[10]

In 1899 the Canadian Government also published a thirty page immigration booklet in Ukrainian which was directed towards the Ukrainian population of the United States' eastern seaboard.[11] By 1908 Canada was being advertized as a field for emigration even in the Greater Ukraine. In that year the Prosvita Society in Kiev published a major independent study of Canada as a field for Ukrainian settlement.[12]

Canada was widely publicized too, through the correspondence of Ukrainian immigrants with their friends and kin in Europe. The effect of this grew as immigration increased. In later years, when some of the younger single immigrants paid return visits to the homeland, Canada was already so well known throughout the Western Ukraine that their impact was not so great as might have been supposed.[13]

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[10]These were direct translations of standard immigration pamphlets published in English which contained brief geographical data on Western Canada together with a synopsis of the current homesteading regulations.

[11][Government of Canada], Zakhidna Kanada: Manitoba, Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan (New York: The [Canadian] Government, 1899).

[12]Pro Kanadu: Yaka tse zemlya i yak u yi zhyvut' liude [About Canada: About this land and how its people live] (L'viv: Prosvita Society, 1908).

[13]Although not a common occurence, numbers of Ukrainians working in the West did return to the Ukraine for visits, some even on several occasions. This phenomenon was confined to the wage-earning single man and was most frequent after

Nevertheless, in the early years of Ukrainian immigration to Canada the great majority of prospective emigrants relied upon the information provided by Oleskow's publications, the handbills and pamphlets of steamship agents, and the oral communications of itinerant steamship sub-agents. The peasants' image of the Canadian West differed according to the source of "facts" in which he placed his trust.

Ukrainian Views of Western Canada

Those immigrants to Canada who were influenced by Dr. Oleskow's publications were fortunate. Oleskow's information was unusual in its objectivity, accuracy and depth. His writing was restrained and responsible, and surprisingly free of the hyperbole commonly found in partisan emigration literature. Nevertheless, his works were by no means impartial, for they strongly advocated Canada as the best place to settle. For his first pamphlet, Pro Vilni Zemli, Oleskow

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1905, when the majority of immigrants were single men who did not take up land immediately. Wasyl Zazulya of Shandro, Alberta, returned to his homeland village on three separate occasions, finally returning, and remaining in Canada shortly before the outbreak of war in 1914. Interview with Wasyl Zazulya, Shandro, Alberta, 10 June 1972.

According to an 1892 survey of German settlers along the Canadian Pacific Railway line the example of "return men" was a significant factor in stimulating immigration. Eighty three percent of those interviewed were induced to come out to Canada by correspondence from friends and relatives already in Canada, 14 percent by "return men", 0.17 percent by agents, and 0.13 percent by immigration pamphlets. L. A. Hamilton, C. P. R. Land Commissioner, Winnipeg. Memo, "Return Men," (1892). P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 22, File 390.

abstracted all his information from published sources: immigration literature obtained from the Canadian Government, statistical yearbooks, and other geographical and scientific works.[14] His description of the homestead regulations and the system of survey closely followed accounts in Canadian Government publications.[15] He made a lasting contribution to the welfare of his countrymen by constantly reiterating the necessity for capital. He stressed that everyone contemplating emigration to Canada should be fully aware of the full costs involved. Not only should the emigrant possess 150 florins[16] per person in his family to cover the costs of the journey but should also have upon arrival in the West:

> ...enough money to maintain himself until the first harvest; to purchase oxen and implements, or enough to pay a neighbour to plow some land for him.[17]

He estimated that this would require each family to have several hundred florins before emigration could be seriously contemplated.

Families with less should not emigrate, Oleskow cautioned, until Ukrainian settlement in Canada had become

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[14]Oleskow, Pro Vilni Zemli, p. 35.

[15]Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[16]Approximately sixty Canadian dollars. In 1895 an Austrian florin was worth forty cents in Canadian currency.

[17]Oleskow, Pro Vilni Zemli, p. 32.

firmly established. Poorer immigrants would then be able to obtain work from their compatriots, and could learn English and accumulate some capital before launching out to homestead by themselves.[18] He was scornful of the mercenary work of callous steamship agents who encouraged ill-prepared peasants to emigrate:

> ...to send people away for colonization, to settle upon the land, who upon arrival at their place of settlement do not have anything, for this, I say, you need a foolish and inconsiderate person. To know even a part of the situation would be to understand that a man without anything cannot begin farming empty handed.[19]

Pro Vilni Zemli gave only scant attention to the physical environments likely to be encountered by immigrants homesteading in the West. Although Oleskow cautioned that "...it is possible to succeed with only a little initial capital, it is also possible to ruin oneself by choosing an unsuitable district,"[20] he did not specify where suitable districts were to be found. This was not an oversight, for it is clear that Oleskow was anxious that no Ukrainian should emigrate to Canada until after he had conducted a personal reconnaissance through districts open to settlement in Western

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[18] Ibid., p. 33.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., p. 35

Canada.[21]

O Emigratsii, published in December 1895, was written with the benefit of personal experience of the Canadian West. In this lengthy booklet Oleskow advocated emigration to Western Canada with the reservation that emigrants should be well supplied with sufficient capital to ensure successful entry into agriculture.

Every aspect of emigration was thoroughly covered, including the need to adopt new patterns and habits in behaviour, standards of dress and hygiene,[22] procedures for securing documents and steamship tickets, and what to take for the journey and what equipment to purchase upon arrival in the West.[23] Oleskow also attempted to prepare immigrants for the sights and impressions which might cause uncertainty, confusion or despair. The shield area of Northwestern Ontario, for example, was described in some detail:

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[21]Ibid., pp. 37-38.

[22]Oleskow issued specific instructions in his booklet which were aimed at eradicating some of the more obvious hallmarks of an emigrant's peasant origins: the picturesque "folk" costume, the peasant demeanour, eating with the fingers, and some of the more unsavoury personal habits associated with the poorer peasants. Oleskow, O Emigratsii, pp. 14-15.

[23]The emigrant was advised to purchase clothing in Europe and to learn how to handle a team using a leather harness before emigration, but to leave the purchase of implements and tools until arrival in Winnipeg. The cost of transportation would exceed the value of the implements if brought from Europe, Oleskow claimed. Ibid., pp. 42-43.

> The train travels first through populated areas, then it crosses a rocky country. After a trip of two days through this country, one develops a heartache. "What a place I came to!" - thinks the colonist. Rocks and more rocks display their rounded tops. The surface of this rocky plain looks on the whole like a petrified stormy area. ...Our people are most of all shocked, however, by a phenomenon unknown in Europe. The express train goes for two days through a forest, but what a forest! Trees burnt dry or scorched by fire reflect in the dull water of lakes throughout these immense spaces and are a sad and painful sight.[24]

He also attempted to give some forewarning of the severe winter climate of the Canadian West. Frost was identified as an inherent problem of the West:

> Neither cucumbers, nor beans have time to ripen because of the frost, but tobacco...turns out very well... There are no fruit orchards in [Western] Canada and there will probably never be any fruit breeding because the local climate is too severe and because bees, inhibited by the excessively long winters, can scarsely yield as much profit as they do in our country.[25]

Nevertheless, Oleskow remained optimistic that the problem

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[24]Ibid., p. 24.

[25]Ibid., pp. 32-33. It is interesting to note that Ukrainian settlers in the Brokenhead - Beausejour areas of Manitoba soon became successful beekeepers and overcame the problem of wintering bees through the severe winter climate. Manitoba Archives, Sisler Collection, "Notebooks."

of frost could be overcome by judicious selection of varieties and crop types. He concluded that "we have our own problems, while Canadians have theirs."[26]

Ukrainian settlers were advised not to settle on the open prairie where rainfall was less reliable and water often difficult to obtain.[27] He saw the difference between the true open prairie and the prairie parkland as critical:

> The grass prairie has never been overgrown by forests and forests might not have taken to it, whereas the mixed areas have been in the past throughly covered with forest, which was eventually destroyed by fire...butter vetch grows most abundantly in [these openings due to fire] and it is not surprising that the crops sown in these places develop just as vigorously.[28]

Immigrants were therefore advised to locate in the aspen-parkland belt, and to exercise great caution in their evaluation of soil potential. Soil types would be radically different from those found in Galicia, and European experience would be of little assistance in deciding either the soil's worth or the best way to work it. The best course was therefore to "inquire from the older settlers...and to follow

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[26]Oleskow, O Emigratsii, p. 32.

[27]Ibid., pp. 30-31. Oleskow expressly cautioned against the danger of mistaking alkaline lakes for useful bodies of water. It was best, he claimed, to settle along the rivers and streams where there was abundant trees and useful hay meadows.

[28]Ibid., p. 26.

blindly their advice. The stubborn smart Alecks, who insist on acting on their own pay dearly for it."[29]

Two specific locations for settlement were suggested in O Emigratsii: the Dauphin area of Manitoba,[30] and the area east of Fort Saskatchewan, Alberta.[31] Both these choices reflected his thinking in regard to land selections:

> It is best to settle along the area where railways are supposed to be built in the near future. ...The first settlers would do well to settle near our older colonists or at least near Galician Germans, who are rather numerous in Canada.[32]

Although aware that there was much good land available for purchase in southern Manitoba he did not recommend that Ukrainian settlers should consider land purchase. In his opinion it was far better to homestead on government land. This would conserve the immigrant's limited capital and facilitate the creation of contiguous blocks of Ukrainian settlement.

Oleskow's advice, well meant, and based on the best information available to him, was in some respects unfortunate. In his third booklet, for example, he advised

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[29]Ibid., pp. 29-20.

[30]Ibid., p. 39.

[31]Ibid., pp. 60-61.

[32]Ibid., p. 39.

settlement in the Red River valley, basing his advice on a personal reconnaisance of the area undertaken during his visit to Canada in 1895. Oleskow had seen only a portion of this vast area and, so far as may be ascertained, he did not encounter the poorer areas on the eastern margins where the fertile Red River clays give way to gravelly beach ridges and areas of impeded drainage. When Oleskow wrote that in the settlement areas south of Winnipeg "the scythe, the sickle and the flail can be placed in the corner"[33] he was envisaging Ukrainian settlement on the prairie margins west of Dominion City. He could not have anticipated that misinterpretation of his advice would lead to the settlement of the "Manitoba badlands" in the Stuartburn area - an area where the farming of small clearings in the bush kept the scythe, the sickle and the flail in the hands of his countrymen for many years (Plates 1 and 2).

The materials issued by the Canadian Government in the Ukrainian language were less paternal in their style and were often simple translations of standard materials previously issued in a variety of other languages. The booklet Zakhidna Kanada, for example, seems to owe its origins to a publication originally prepared in English for issue to Americans, for nowhere in the text was there any reference to areas of Ukrainian settlement, nor was there any focus upon those

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[33]Idem, Rolnictwo Za Oceanem, p. 10.

PLATE 1 Reaping Grain, Gardenton, Manitoba, c. 1910.
(Sisler Collection, Manitoba Archives.)

PLATE 2 Ukrainian Women harvesting potatoes.
Manitoba, c. 1915.
(Sisler Collection, Manitoba Archives.)

areas most likely to appeal to Ukrainian settlers. The information was encyclopaedic and accurate although like most such government publications it radiated confidence in the future of the West.

The 1908 publication of the Kiev Prosvita Society, Pro Kanadu is of special interest as it was compiled by an independent source not involved in the promotion of emigration to Canada. The views expressed were those of an observer reliant upon secondary information; standard encyclopaedias, official immigration propaganda from the Canadian Government, the almanacs of American-Ukrainians, and the Ukrainian newspapers Rada, Slovo, and Dilo.[34]

The information is of surprising accuracy and detail. Errors are minor and were generally of little significance to the immigrants' image of Canada. Misunderstanding is evident, however, in the statement that:

> Canada is criss-crossed by railways and it is very easy to get to them by roads. In addition to railways are many canals.[35]

The assets of Eastern Canada have here been mistakenly attributed to the developing West. Some confusion about the geography of Western Canada is also evident from a map

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[34] Pro Kanadu, p. 47.

[35] Ibid., p. 30.

supplementing the text.[36]

It is in the description of the farmers' standard of living in the West that misrepresentation is most evident. A 'typical' farmer's house is described too elaborately and is accompanied by the remark that "[one] may think that people of wealth live in these homes, that is not so, - this is the way of life of the farmers." Similarly a detailed description of a typical daily diet suggests an extraordinarily high standard of living. Although the immigrant might not want, he could scarcely aspire to the 'typical' diet as described:

> The Canadian farmer eats thus: In the morning breakfast is from six to seven o'clock. They have coffee with hot buns and butter, they eat eggs, bacon, also fish, milk, porridge and fruit etc. Lunch is at 12 o'clock to one o'clock: they have fried meat, - beef or mutton, wild fowl, fish, fruit, and sweet pies etc. At four or five o'clock they have tea, and with it take bread and butter. From eight to nine is dinner. In every house you will find on the table fruits: apples, pears, in winter also oranges. Bread in Canada is always white - they eat no other kind.[37]

Emphasis was also placed on the absence of compulsory military service, the low price of food, opportunities for

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[36]Ibid., p. 14.

[37]Ibid., p. 34.

work (by implication easy to obtain) and the educational opportunities available in Canada. All these points hit at the very roots of peasant discontent. The tone throughout, in fact, was highly favourable to Canada and the point that the Canadian farmer was far more prosperous than the Ukrainian peasant was strongly emphasized.

More than the text, the illustrations were likely to create false images of Western Canadian settlement. A picture of a "Canadian village" was of an Ontario settlement set amidst deciduous woodland.[38] Although a photograph captioned "Ukrainian settlers in Western Canada machine-mowing grass" would seem to be set on the open prairie, this was an environment seldom settled by Ukrainians.[39] Indeed both the setting and the scene suggest that the illustration is more likely of well-established English-speaking settlers in Western Manitoba.

Neither the publication of the Canadian government, Zakhidna Kanada, nor that of the Prosvita Society, Pro Kanadu, offered direct advice on where to settle. Neither showed an awareness of human foibles or sufficient foresight to warn against pitfalls and errors in settlement. Both publications are of significance, however, for they clearly

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[38]Ibid., p. 32.

[39]Ibid., p. 44.

show that fairly accurate information on Canada was widely available to Ukrainians around the turn of the century. If misconceptions were derived from such materials it was through an excess of enthusiasm rather than from calculated deception.

As Ukrainian settlement in Canada progressed, the flow of information back to the Ukraine increased. Comment upon Canada was carried by newspapers of the Western Ukraine. Ukrainians residing in the United States became well acquainted with conditions in Canada through articles and letters carried by the immigrant press. Svoboda, for example, carried articles on settlement in Canada written by the Reverend Nestor Dymitriw who was at that time intimately involved in settlement in his capacity as an interpreter for the Department of the Interior.[40] Theodore Wachna, formerly of Mayfield, Pennsylvania, included descriptions of the Stuartburn area of Manitoba in his letters to the editor of Svoboda.[41] For those in the United States, therefore, comprehensive information was available from both official and independent sources. In the Ukraine, too, the availability of information increased. Not all of it was favourable to Canada. In 1913

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[40] Svoboda, 16 August 1897.

[41] Ibid., 3 January 1897 and 3 March 1897. Cited by John Panchuk, Bukowinian Settlements in Southeastern Manitoba (Battle Creek, Michigan: By the Author, 1971), pp. 5-6.

the Prosvita Almanac carried an article "Ne yidte do Kanady" [Don't go to Canada] which painted a dismal, but realistic, picture of the Western Canadian settlement frontier.[42] In the early days of settlement, before the turn of the century, however, the prospective emigrant, if not influenced by Oleskow's work, was left reliant upon rumour, handbills, and subagents for his "facts." All too often these were the only foundation on which the emigrant could base his decisions.

Steamship Agents in Europe: Handbills and Sub-Agents

Steamship agents promoting emigration made a significant impact upon the peasants' image of Canada. Since their only desire was to secure ticket commissions and Canadian Government bonuses, which were paid on a per capita basis, they were generally more concerned with the volume of traffic than with enlightenment of the peasantry. They operated in the Western Ukraine in two ways: through newspaper advertisements and circulation of printed handbills, and through itinerant sub-agents. The latter appeared to be the means most widely employed, were more successful from the point of view of traffic generation, but conveyed the least accurate picture of Canada to the Ukrainian peasants.

Since few steamship agents were exclusive agents for

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[42]"Ne Yid'te Do Kanady!" [Don't Go To Canada] Kalendar Prosvita 1914, n.p.

Canada the type of information dispatched to prospective emigrants varied to suit the immediate interests and advantage of the agent. In 1898, for example, Peter Missler, a steamship agent of Bremen ostensibly working for and remunerated by the Canadian Government, painted a depressing picture of Canada to a prospective immigrant in order to secure a higher commission by selling tickets to Argentina:

> It is true that in Canada one may get free land, but this is of no value, being located in cold regions where heavy frosts prevail for seven months a year, there is also a lack of roads and people are isolated one from another.[43]

He also claimed that "in Argentina they do not give free land for settlers because the land is good." Canadian land was implied to be so poor that it could not be sold.[44]

There is some doubt as to the extent and effectiveness of the circulation of literature and advertisement of Canada by commercial agents. Although agents claimed to be devoting considerable effort and funds to the promotion of Canada, Canadian Government officials were suspicious of the veracity of such claims.[45] Nevertheless, there is

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[43]Unsigned letter from P. Missler, Bremen to Wicko Zabinski, Paniowce, Kudrynice P. O., Galicia, 21 May 1898 (Translated from the Ukrainian by Rev. Nestor Dmytrow), P.A.C., R. G. 76, Vol. 110, File 21103 pt. 2 (63283).

[44]Ibid.

[45]Lord Strathcona, London, to Clifford Sifton, Ottawa, 23 March 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 61, File 2614 pt. 2,

evidence to suggest that the literature circulated by steamship agents reached a fairly wide audience throughout Galicia and Bukowina.[46]

Typical of such literature promoting emigration to Canada were the leaflets circulated in response to all enquiries received from prospective emigrants in the Western Ukraine by the Bremen agent Morowitz. These leaflets, [in Polish], were in the form of a reproduction of four letters ostensibly written by two Ukrainian immigrants from Sifton, Manitoba, to their families at Nowosyltse and Borschiw in Galicia. All the letters gave the impression of Canada as a land of plenty:

> I am letting you know that one lives well in Canada. We do not need to buy firewood, for each has enough of his own wood, his own pasture, and everything his own. As far as hay is concerned one may cut as much as he wishes whenever he wishes.
>
> Bread is very inexpensive; for one dollar one may buy a whole bag of patented flour. One may buy the finest pair of oxen for 80 dollars and a cow for 20 dollars....
>
> There isn't any bilking of people like there is in Galicia. Neither does one pay taxes nor is

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(56659) and W. T. R. Preston, London, to J. A. Smart, Ottawa, 23 June 1899. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 61, File 2613 pt. 2, (85904).

[46] Dr. Josef Oleskow, Karlsbad, Boehmen, Austria, to The Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 17 August 1896. P.A.C., R. G. 76, Vol. 110, File 21103 pt. 2 (32288).

> One expected to do statute labour.... Here they do not draft men into the army. There are no estates here as in Galicia. Here no one doffs his hat before a gentleman, nor is this done in any office. Not even in the law-court is it necessary to take off one's hat, because here everyone is his own master and has everything his own.[47]

The writers enjoined their countrymen to come to Canada "where life is blessed" and "you will live like a squire."[48]

The impression was also given that abundance was the rule and that government regulation and interference was almost non-existent:

> ...I got myself a farm which has 110 acres of cleared land and 50 acres of woods [bush]. In my bush there is very nice aspen, poplar, pine, spruce and hazelbush. There is plenty of everything here. One may cut grass for hay whenever he wants to. If he has the help and the time he may cut for himself as much as 20 haystacks.
>
> Hunting is free for everybody. One is permitted to shoot rabbits, wild chickens, deer, foxes and everything.
>
> The soil is black and sandy and fertile for all crops.[49]

Little was specified as to the obligations of the settler, or the duties to be performed before the patent to a home-

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[47]Morowitz Emigration leaflet. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 61, File 2614 pt. 2 (85964). Translated from the Polish by Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid.

stead was granted. The effort of clearing and breaking land was also minimized. There were errors, moreover, mainly of omission, which may have created misunderstanding. With regard to taxation, for example, it was not strictly true to say that "one does not pay taxes," for all settlers were liable for school taxes immediately after filing on their homestead,[50] and municipal taxes may also have been levied in some areas. Similarly, the statement on hunting rights lacks qualification and gives the impression of there being no closed season.

Perhaps of greater significance from the point of view of immigrant attitudes was the great stress laid on the freedom to be found in Canada. The constant reiteration that "everyone is his own master and takes off his hat to nobody" may have been a contributary factor in some of the more unfortunate confrontations between newly arrived immigrants and Government officials. Most unfortunate, too, was the failure of such propaganda to convey the need for adequate capital in settlement. It is evident from the content of these pamphlets that the authors of the reproduced letters

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[50]In areas where school districts were not organized there was no school taxation. It is likely therefore that settlers would not be faced with school taxes until some years after their initial entry. Nevertheless many found to their dismay that they were liable to taxation when they received patent to their land. See, for example, B. Cichoski, Pleasant Home, Manitoba, to the Imperial and Royal Vice-Consul, Austro-Hungarian Consulate, Montreal, 27 March 1899. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 162, File 43588 pt. 1 (80914).

were themselves fairly well provided with capital but this did nothing to prevent pauper emigrants from envisaging a similar success for themselves.[51]

Whatever the degree of misunderstanding generated by the focus of such emigration propaganda it pales into insignificance in comparison to the plethora of falsehoods and half-truths purveyed by the sub-agents of the major steamship agents. Many of these sub-agents were itinerant Jewish pedlars with no interest in emigration save for the commission which they received for each emigrant passage.[52] In order to increase the rate of emigration to Canada such agents showed no compunction in preying upon the more backward, poor, and credulous peasants in Galicia and Bukowina.[53]

In order to dupe the peasantry into selling their holdings and embarking for Brazil, agents circulated the

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[51]In one of the letters the author indicates that he had at least 400 dollars in his possession before emigration. Another gave instructions for disposal of a considerable sum which he still had in Galicia.

[52]Lord Strathcona, London, to Clifford Sifton, Ottawa, 23 March 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 61, File 2614 pt. 2 (56659).

[53]Oleskow commented on the credulity of some sections of the peasantry, claiming that some believed rumours not only that emigration to Brazil was sponsored by the Austrian nobility but that "one can not only get land for nothing, but a monkey in addition to it, which would work the land, while the peasant will enjoy a well deserved rest on the stove." Oleskow, O Emigratsii, p. 3.

rumour that Brazil was an Austrian colony, but that the Poles were seeking to conceal this fact from the exploited Ukrainian peasants.[54] In 1895 one sub-agent traversed:

> ...practically the whole of Eastern Galicia on foot discuised as a peasant farmer, pretending to be Archduke Rudolf. He appealed to the villagers to follow him to Brazil. In his deception of the naive villagers he was assisted by the village inn-keepers who bought land from the duped peasant farmers and shared tremendous gains with the swindler. The proof of the great confidence this swindler could arouse are the numerous letters written by the villagers to the Archduchess Stefanie from many parts of Galicia, in which they assured her that the Archduke, her husband, was not dead but alive, and was sending her greetings, and wishes them to follow him to Brazil.[55]

It is evident that many of those who emigrated to Canada in the early years were induced to do so by similar means. In 1897, for example, one group of Ukrainian settlers complained to Canadian Government officials in Winnipeg that

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[54]Leopold Caro, Emigracia i Polityka Emigracyjna, cited in H. J. T. Dutkiewicz. "Main Aspects of the Polish Peasant Immigration to North America from Austrian Poland Between the Years 1863 and 1910," (M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1958), p. 80.

[55]Sister Severyna, O. S. M. B., "Emigration in Ukrainian Literature," Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian National Association (Jersey City, N. J.: Svoboda Press, 1934), p. 409. Cited in Vladimir J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1891-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964), p. 13.

misrepresentations had been made to induce them to emigrate to Canada. They had been told, apparently by a steamship sub-agent, that the Crown Princess of Austria was in Montreal and that she would see that they were given free land with houses, cattle and so forth.[56] In the event that their requests were not granted by the Canadian Government they were told to telegraph the Princess in Montreal, and they were assured that her personal intervention on their behalf would soon correct matters.

Some groups were convinced by agents that in north America there were "milk trees" and that by cutting a notch milk would flow from them. They were told that in Brazil apes were available to help work the land at no cost.[57] In 1901 the newspaper Bukovyna reported that immigration agents were representing Canada as a paradise: "a land flowing with milk and honey, where one does not have to work and where the "varenyky" grow on trees and fall in to pools of cream."[58]

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[56] W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 15 May 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (37582).

[57] Karol Wachtl, Polania w Ameryce (Philadelphia: Naklad autora, 1944), cited by Dutciewicz, "Polish Peasant Immigration," pp. 79-80.

[58] Bukovyna, 7 January 1901, quoted by A. M. Shlepakow, Ukraina'ka Trudova Emigratsiya v S.Sh.A. i Kanadi [Ukrainian Workers' Emigration to the U.S.A. and Canada] This statement should not be taken literally; it is analagous to the English "he thinks that money grows on trees."

The frequency with which such fantastic ideas were accepted by credulous peasants was sufficient to cause the Austrian Royal Consul in Montreal to request his government to take action to prevent their circulation in Austria. His act is indicative of the disruptive impact which such beliefs were having upon the course of immigration and settlement.[59]

The more realistic, but false, belief that all immigrants in Canada were provided with a farm, a house, and even cattle, was certainly widespread in Galicia and Bukowina in the late 1890s. Oleskow attributed it solely to the work of Jewish sub-agents,[60] and there can be little doubt that they were at least partly responsible. Nevertheless, it is not unlikely that some of the misunderstanding as to what would be received from the Canadian Government originated from the misinterpretation of terminology employed in emigration literature.

In Ukrainian there is no exact equivalent of the English term "homestead." In Oleskow's Ukrainian language pamphlets the word was transliterated into Cyrillic and

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[59]Edward Schultze, Austrian Imperial and Royal Consul, Montreal, to the Imperial and Royal House of Foreign Affairs, Vienna, 24 May 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (37860).

[60]Lord Strathcona, London, to Clifford Sifton, Ottawa, 23 March 1898. P. A. C., R. G., Vol. 61, File 2614 pt. 2 (56676).

its meaning explained. Readers of Oleskow's literature should, therefore, have been in no doubt that a homestead implied simply an undeveloped area of land - a piece of wilderness. It was unfortunate that in other immigration literature the word "homestead" was freely translated into Ukrainian as the neologism farma, literally "farm". To those with no idea as to conditions in Western Canada this Anglicized term may have implied an already developed operation. To read, for example, that "ja dostalem 2 farmy ktore maja 226 morgow austryackich..."[61] [I have got two farms which have 226 Austrian morgens of land] might have conjured images of a developed farmstead, perhaps possessing some cleared and cultivated lands, with the basic buildings,

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[61] Morowitz Emigration Leaflet. The word "farma" was essentially a Canadian-Ukrainian neologism. Although widely adopted as a "Ukrainian" word by the settlers in Canada it would have initially meant little to the peasantry in the Western Ukraine. Its connotation would, however, be gathered from the context by those who knew nothing of the Anglicized terminology of Ukrainian pioneers. Oleskow in O Emigratsii, p. 34, explained that a quarter section represented a "farm". (A odna chetvertaya chast sektsi, t.e. 160 akros,...stanovyt odno hospodarstvo "farmu"). In so doing he appeared to equate "homestead" with "farm" and "farm" with "hospodarstvo" (Ukrainian for farm). If Oleskow could run risk of ambiguity it is not unlikely that others, less concerned with accuracy, could have done the same. Indeed, it is suggested that the less scrupulous agents would capitalize on such ambiguities if they were to their own advantage. For a general survey of Anglicization of the Ukrainian language in Canada see, A. Royick and Z. A. Pohorecky, "Anglicization of Ukrainians in Canada Between 1896-1970: A Case Study in Crystallization," Canadian Ethnic Studies 1 (1970): 141-217.

a stable, a barn, and a house, already in place. Similarly the use of the word pole to describe non-wooded areas may have also caused some confusion. In Ukrainian pole indicates open land or field and it is possible that some may have taken the word to imply a cultivated rather than a cultivatable area.

In much the same way steamship companies, when illustrating their pamphlets with scenes of Western settlements, focussed upon the prosperous landscapes and farmsteads of the longest-settled areas. The Cunard Steamship Line pamphlet shown in Figures 3a and 3b well illustrates this point.[62] The two photographs are captioned "Home and buildings of a farmer in Canada," and "A four horse team drawing a binder." In both cases the implication was that these represented the norm and that the immigrant could reasonably aspire to possess the same. The tone of the accompaning text was optimistic and confident, designed to allay any fears which may have inhibited emigration and hence the revenues of Cunard.

There were certainly radical differences between the image and the reality of frontier agricultural settlement in the West. This is made clear by the reaction of many Ukrainian women brought out to Canada by their husbands who had

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[62] Lyniya Kunard - Obsluha Kanady [Cunard Line - Service to Canada] (Winnipeg: Cunard Line Ukrainian Department, n.d.).

Куди їдуть Люди?

Люди їдуть до Канади на ріллю. Тут много простору й урожайної землі, много нагоди до зарібку. Коли лише хто працює пильно і жиє ощадно, може доробитись майна і стати заможним фармером.

Українські, канадійські фармері можуть дати місце до роботи і підписати аплікації на приїзд до Канади. Українці, які вже живуть в Канаді можуть спровадити свої жінки, діти, родичів, своїх сестер і братів. Іміграційні приписи зміняються дуже часто, длятого треба писати до бюр Лінії Кунард і питати, які папери потрібні на приїзд до Канади. Всякі пояснення дає Лінія Кунард даром. Визначені законом папери на приїзд до Канади, аплікації, афідевіти, перміти полагоджує кожде бюро Лінії Кунард без осібної заплати.

Корабельну карту (шифкарту), для кревних і знакомих, що мають приїхати до Канади, можна заплатити тут в Канаді, або там в Европі.

Хто бажає помочи своїм кревним і знакомим, цей зробить найліпше, коли закупить для них корабельну карту тут в Канаді. Се вигіднійше й дешевше, як слати гроші на шифкарту до Старого Краю.

Іван Шевчук з Галичини фармарує в Бон-Аккорді, Алберта.

Уложив пісню про Кунарда. Співати її можна як коломийку.

ДІМ І БУДИНКИ ФАРМЕРА В КАНАДІ.

Як їхати Через Море?

Це знають вже всі, що відбували подорож через широкий океан: Подорож кораблями Лінії Кунард безпечна, вигідна, швидка й дешева.

На кораблях взірцевий порядок, знаменитий харч, для кожного осібне ліжко, чиста постіль. Подорожні сплять в кімнатах на дві, чотири, або шість осіб. Обслуга вічлива, приязна й щира.

Кревні й знакомі будуть Вам вдячні, коли купите їм корабельні карти на Лінію Кунард. Подорожні пишуть листи з подякою й з признанням, пишуть пісні про подорож кораблями Лінії Кунард. Одна з пісень випечатана тут замісць численних листів з похвалами.

Коли їдете до Рідного Краю, щоби відвідати свою родину і глянути на рідне село, бюра Лінії Кунард виробляють Вам паспорт до подорожі. Пояснення про паспорт даром.

Купуйте корабельну карту до Старого Краю на Лінію Кунард. Ся Лінія здобула всі рекорди швидкої їзди на Атлянтійськім Океані, бо вона перевозить людий і почту найскорше в світі.

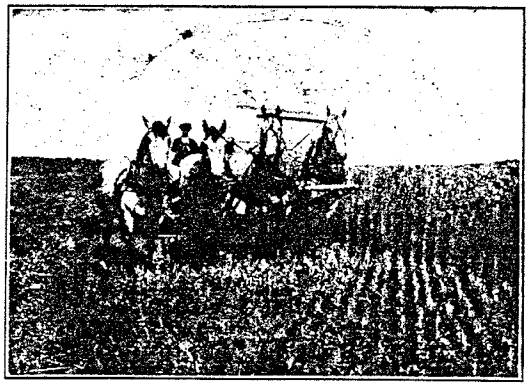
БЮРА ЛІНІЇ КУНАРД В КАНАДІ.

Winnipeg, Man., 270 Main Street
Saskatoon, Sask., 100 Pinder Block.
Edmonton, Alta., 10053 Jasper Avenue.
Calgary, Alta., 401 Lancaster Block.
Vancouver, B. C., 622 Hastings Street, West.

Montreal, Que., 227 St. Sacrament Street.
Toronto, Ont., Cor. Bay and Wellington Streets.
Quebec, Que., 67 St. Peter Street.
Halifax, N. S., Cor. George and Granville Streets.
Saint John, N. B., 162 Prince William Street.

CUNARD LINE

Ukrainian Department
270 MAIN STREET WINNIPEG, MAN., CANADA.



ЧОТИРИ КОНІ ТЯГНЕ ЖНИВАРКУ (БАЙНДЕР).

Figure 3a. Cunard Immigration Pamphlet

Where are People Going?

People are going to Canada to settle on the land. There one finds plenty of space and fertile lands and opportunity to earn money. When one works diligently and saves he may accumulate considerable property and become a wealthy farmer.

The Ukrainian farmers in Canada may be able to provide employment and sign an application permitting you to come to Canada. Ukrainians who live in Canada are able to bring their wives, children, parents, and their sisters and brothers. Immigration regulations often change and it is therefore a good idea to write to the Cunard Line and enquire about the papers needed to be able to come to Canada. All information is provided without charge by the Cunard Line. The Cunard Line provides information about the papers required by law, applications, affidavits and permits and looks after them without any additional charge.

The steamship ticket (shipcard) for your friends and relatives who are coming to Canada may be purchased here in Canada or over in Europe.

Anyone wishing to help their friends and relatives is well advised to buy their ticket here in Canada. It is more convenient and less expensive than sending money for the ticket to the Old Country.

Ivan Shewchuk who comes from Halychuna farms in Bon-Accord, Alberta.

He wrote a song about the Cunard Line. It is sung to the kolomyjka tune.

House and buildings of a farmer in Canada.

How to Travel Across the Ocean?

This is known by all who have already crossed the wide ocean: Travel on a boat of the Cunard Line, it is safe, comfortable, quick and inexpensive.

On the boat there is exemplary order, exceptionally good food and a separate bed with clean linen for each traveller. Passengers sleep in cabins for two, four or six persons. Service is courteous, pleasant and sincere.

Your friends and relatives will be very grateful if you buy their ticket from the Cunard Line. Passengers write letters of thanks and appreciation, and compose songs about the trip on a Cunard Liner. One song is printed here instead of numerous letters of praise.

If you plan to travel to the Old Country to visit your family and to see your village once again, the Cunard Line office will prepare your passport for the trip. Information will be provided free of charge.

Buy your steamship ticket to the Old Country from the Cunard Line. This line has broken all records for a fast crossing of the Atlantic because it transports people and mail most rapidly in the world.

Cunard Line Offices in Canada

Winnipeg, Man. etc.

Four horses pulling a binder.

Figure 3b. Translation of Cunard Pamphlet

preceded them. Arriving at the homestead, many had their expectations rudely shattered when they found that the "house" was a primitive hut and the "farm" consisted of a few acres of cleared land hacked out of the bush.[63]

Many immigrant misconceptions stemmed from differences between North American and Ukrainian economic and cultural practices and attitudes. Events and situations described by settlers in their letters to their friends and families in the Ukraine were liable to be misconstrued and misinterpreted. Two examples will suffice to illustrate the way in which such letters could unintentionally mislead those remaining in Europe.

In the Western Ukraine, being able to employ others to either assist with, or to carry out, certain farming tasks such as harvesting, ploughing, seeding, etc., was a mark of wealth, - of social standing within the village. In Canada, however, it was generally the under-capitalized farmer, who, not having the requisite machinery, was obliged to contract out certain operations, most usually those where the use of expensive machinery was almost essential. If a Ukrainian settler, unable to afford a mower and binder, contracted out those tasks and mentioned the fact to his relatives in Europe they would assume on the basis of their own

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[63]J. G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli, Free Lands (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), pp. 109-111.

experience that, being able to hire others, he was a man of some wealth and social standing. In so doing a false impression of the rate of progress was easily gained and the myth of easy fortune further perpetuated.

Because working for others had certain pejorative connotations to the Ukrainian peasantry, many of the better-placed Ukrainian settlers in Canada, for fear of misinterpretation, were loathe to admit to "working out" to their relatives. Consequently the impression was often gained that the economic advances of the settler were derived solely from the returns from the agricultural development of the homestead.[64] The myth of rapid progress, of easy fortune, was again fostered.

In view of the ease with which cultural differences could create misunderstanding, it is hardly surprising that many immigrants had a totally erroneous view of agricultural settlement in the West. Most immigrants, furthermore, were not averse to painting the most favourable picture possible of their situation when writing to their friends in the old country.

Another source of misapprehension stemmed from a device frequently employed in emigration literature: the publication of letters from established settlers testifying to the opportunities available in Western Canada. Such

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[64]See, for example, Oleskow, O Emigratsii.

letters recorded enviable progress and often listed the settler's assets at the time of settlement and after several years of farming. Although genuine, such testaments were deceiving. Most failed to realize that similar opportunity would be denied them by the fact of their late arrival. The rapid progress of many early arrivals from specific ethnic groups was essentially caused by their favourable position vis-a-vis incoming settlers.[65] Their compatriots arriving later acted as a captive market for otherwise unmarketable produce and stock. Furthermore, the established settler could frequently secure income by assuming minor government posts or keeping the local post office. The progress so proudly flaunted was based, therefore, not upon the generation of new capital, but its redistribution amongst the members of a group. Few would realize this and it is not unlikely that as an unwitting result of a simple propaganda technique many immigrants based their actions on expectations which could never be fully realized.

It is clear, therefore, that the majority of early immigrants, especially those not acquainted with Oleskow's emigration booklets, can not have had an accurate conception of the conditions of agricultural settlement in Canada. Some, indeed, had totally unrealistic expectations which, in some

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[65]The advertizing technique was widely employed by the Canadian Government in its emigration literature. See, for example, Zakhidna Kanada, pp. 20-28.

instances, bordered upon the realm of fantasy. Much of this was due to unintentional distortion of information, but some erroneous information was quite deliberately planted in the minds of emigrants. The effect of such information-distortion is difficult to assess, but it was nevertheless certainly a contributing factor in the degeneration of harmonious relationships between Ukrainian immigrants and Canadian Crown Agents in the early years of Ukrainian immigration.

Moreover, many of the seemingly irrational behaviour patterns of immigrants may be better understood if considered in the light of their preconceptions and expectations and not only in the light of their homeland experience. The emigration of many impoverished peasants and labourers from the Western Ukraine was not only testimony to the desperation of their homeland situation, but was also tribute to the extent to which myth, rumour, and falsehood were accepted as reality by large elements of the Galician and Bukowinian peasantry.

CHAPTER VI

PERCEPTS AND IMAGES: FACTORS IN LAND SELECTION

> One of the strangest of the land seeking phenomena was the way in which experienced farmers, after tracking over innumerable townships, and seeing vast areas of soil in which there was nothing to offend the plough, would chose some stony lot, which, compared with what they might have had, was too poor to raise a disturbance on it.[1]

With but few exceptions the Ukrainians gravitated towards the parkland and forested regions for settlement. Especially in the latter case their selection of land for settlement was questionable, for they homesteaded in some of the poorest areas open to settlement. They often bypassed more fertile prairie lands which were also open for homesteading and seemed to pay little attention to the agricultural potential of the areas they were entering. This gave rise to later charges that the Dominion Government had pursued a policy of active discrimination in its placement of Ukrainian immigrants. It was alleged

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[1]Beecham Trotter, A Horeseman and the West (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1952), p. 40.

that the Government had manipulated lands opened for homesteading and had effectively forced the Ukrainians to settle on submarginal territories previously refused by other settlers.

This hypothesis that prejudicial government policy was a prime determinant of both the initial pattern and subsequent diffusion of the Ukrainian settlement does not stand up under close examination. Although it is true that some of the more regrettable aspects of Ukrainian settlement history may be attributed to Governmental indifference, prejudice was seldom, if ever, a factor in their placement on the land.

It is undeniable, however, that Clifford Sifton always regarded the East European peasantry as the settlers best able to bring submarginal territory into production. But Sifton's 1923 statement upon this matter must not be misinterpreted:

> In northern Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan we have enormous quantities of land perfectly fit for settlement. These are not lands on which the ordinary Englishman or American will go, but they are fit for peasant settlement. Twenty years ago, I scattered a number of European peasants on these lands, and those are the only parts where the people are not in debt. They never left the land, and bankers agree that these European peasants have made the most successful

> settlers. If you have to settle rough lands, you have to settle them with these people, because the average Canadian or American farmers will not do it. There are tens of thousands of these peasant settlers in Hungary, Bohemia and Galicia who can be obtained and if settled they will stay there. They don't know any other business in the world but that of extracting their living out of the soil. These people have not as high standards of living as we have... Well, you have to put these men who will be satisfied with the standard of living associated with that class of country there or leave the land untilled. It will have to be the standard of living of the pioneer.[2]

Sifton was then commenting upon a trend - upon a willingness to settle the poorer agricultural areas - and his statement should not be taken as anything but an observation of the predilection of the Ukrainians for a specific type of environment. The reasons for the Ukrainians' predilection for woodland and even for sub-marginal areas must be sought elsewhere than in the simplistic assumption of Governmental duplicity.

Among their cultural baggage, immigrants of all nationalities brought with them a set of values and attitudes, a Weltanschauung, which coloured, if not controlled, their expectations and perceptions during their early years in Canada.

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[2] Winnipeg Free Press, 26 February 1923.

It is here, in a consideration of the impact of culture upon cognition, that many of the explanations of Ukrainian settlement behaviour, at the scale of both the individual and the group, can be sought.

Cognition and Behaviour

In retrospect, and by present conventional agricultural standards, many of the decisions and choices of the Ukrainian settler may appear to have been unduly naive. They even appeared so to the Government officials of the time, many of whom found it difficult to comprehend the rationale underlying the Ukrainian settlers' choice of homestead land. This perceptual gap occured largely because their respective evaluations of both environment and location were rooted in widely different cultural and economic milieus. Thus, what would appear irrational or foolish to one party would be perfectly rational and well considered to the other. Priorities in settlement were ranked according to value systems which reflected, not only the pressures of the North American frontier situation, but also the social expectations and assumptions of the European homeland. No two groups perceived the same potential in an environment, for few conducted their evaluation of it upon the same basis.

There was, therefore, a basic disparity in behavioural norms which was largely due to different perceptions of the

same environment. Immigrant perceptions were filtered through cultural screens, and their image of any environment was coloured by their past experiences. As Lowenthal has noted, "Part of the image is the history of that image."[3] The cognitive behaviour of Ukrainian settlers differed from that of the Anglo-Canadian or Western European settlers, whose environmental psychology had been formulated under other conditions. The values which each group placed upon specific features of the physical environment during the process of land evaluation were clearly reflected in their choice of land for settlement.

It is difficult to separate the act of land evaluation from the context in which it was undertaken. The settler made many decisions when selecting his homestead. He chose not only the type of physical environment but he also selected a location with respect to social and economic factors. Seldom was the homestead chosen on the basis of the physical characteristics of the site alone. Proximity to co-nationals and kinfolk, access to cultural and religious institutions, and even of the ease of egress, were all important when judging the desirability of any potential site

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[3]David Lowenthal, "Geography, Experience, and Imagination: Towards a Geographical Epistemology," Annals, Association of American Geographers 51 (September 1961): 259.

for settlement.[4] Nevertheless, the Ukrainian immigrants' perception of the physical environment for settlement was an important factor in determining the basic geographical pattern of Ukrainian settlement in the West.

Environmental Appraisal

The predilection of the Ukrainian settler for the aspen parkland "bush" country furnishes a clear example of the way in which perception of environment influences assessments of land quality and resource values. Early Ukrainian immigrants into Canada were anxious to secure homestead land with water and with ample reserves of timber and wood.

Access to water was vital. Most, if not all, wanted to have open water on their homestead. Even in areas where the water-table was high and wells could be dug fairly easily, the presence of a stream or slough was sure guarantee of constant water and would certainly simplify the task of watering stock.

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[4]Settlement locations were often chosen for reasons relevant only to the group initially making the choice. Mormon settlements in Alberta, for example, were placed as close to the United States border as was possible, so as to facilitate the contact of polygamous elders with their other wives in Utah and Mexico. According to Tracie locations of Mennonite settlements in Saskatchewan and Manitoba were selected so as to isolate the group from worldly influences. See John C. Lehr, "The Sequence of Mormon Settlement in Southern Alberta," Albertan Geographer 10 (1974): 21; and C. J. Tracie, "Ethnicity and the Prairie Environment: Patterns of Old Colony Mennonite and Doukhobor Settlement," in Man and Nature on the Prairies, ed. Richard Allen (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1967), pp. 52-57

They were also anxious to avoid the situation they had fled, where wood was a strictly controlled and hence expensive resource. In the peasant economy, as in the frontier situation, woodland was essential for fuel, building, and fencing. To rely on purchased fuels and materials was unthinkable for the capital-deficient peasant-immigrant. Consequently the prospect of abundant building material and fuel was more than enough to outweigh any disadvantages inherent in the arduous task of woodland clearance; a task more difficult than breaking the prairie sod.

The presence of woodland, even of low quality scrub-like bush, on a prospective homestead site was a major determinant of its quality as perceived by the Ukrainian pioneer. The desire for timber, in itself, was not unusual, for many of the early Anglo-Canadian pioneers of the West expressed the same need. Beecham Trotter, a pioneer of Manitoba from the Ontario woodland country, observed that "The one thing within easy reach, which the prairie pioneer longed for was wood."[5] Indeed, the relatively early date of occupation of much of the Manitoba prairie by English speaking settlers was permitted only by the presence of timber in the river valleys and the proximity of the well timbered high ground

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[5]Beecham Trotter, A Horseman and the West , p. 14.

of the Brandon Hills and the Turtle Mountain area.[6]

The Ukrainians were unusual in their insistence that their homestead contain woodland. Security of supply was very important to them, and they were reluctant to rely upon supplies of wood found at some distance from their homestead. A member of the first group of Ukrainians to settle at Stuartburn, Manitoba, in 1896, wrote: "Our fathers went to select homesteads with the surveyors.... All wanted to have as much wood on their land as possible. And that was because in the old country everybody was fed up with having to pay - or to work hard for the landlord in lieu of pay - for the privilege of obtaining some wood."[7] Homesteads found to be deficient in this regard were soon abandoned:

> ...but further examination of the land caused them to abandon it. It had no timber and as Mrs. Nimchuk expressed it, "we had enough misery without bush at home."[8]

Indeed, the desire for woodland was sufficiently strong for settlers to overlook some of the more obvious

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[6]See John Langton Tyman, By Section Township and Range (Brandon: Assiniboine Historical Society, 1972), p. 37.

[7]Quoted in Vladimir J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian-Canadian Research Foundation, 1964), p. 139

[8]J. G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: Free Lands (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), p. 110.

defects of their prospective homesteads. Wasyl Zahara, the first Bukowinian settler in Canada was, perhaps, a typical example:

> Wasyl had his mind set on land containing plenty of woods, a river and some prairie...The fact that the land is also swampy and stony and its agricultural potential so unpromising that it had been passed up for settlement did not discourage him. To become a proprietor of a large tract of woodland and a meadow adjacent to a river...was a chance he grasped at quickly and avidly.[9]

The insistence upon wood, even at the expense of soil quality, was strange to many Anglo-Canadians. In 1897 the Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg, W. F. McCreary, wrote to Deputy Minister James A. Smart:

> The Galicians are a peculiar people; they will not accept as a gift 160 acres of what we should consider the best land in Manitoba, that is first class wheat growing prairie land; what they want is wood, and they care but little whether the land is heavy soil or light gravel; but each man must have some wood on his place...[10]

The preference noted by McCreary was not confined to the initial arrivals. Those who settled the Krydor area in

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[9] Ol'ha Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1967), p. 38.

[10] William F. McCreary, Winnipeg to James A. Smart, Ottawa, May 14 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1.

Saskatchewan between 1900-1910 were similarly motivated: "They were interested in wooded land rather than the prairies. They knew the value of wood in the old country so they were glad to have woody farms."[11]

Since the presence of timber was a prime determinant of perceived homestead quality, the great majority of Ukrainian settlers chose locations in the bush country of the aspen parkland and the southern fringes of the boreal forest (Figs. 4 and 5). Occasionally groups settled on high quality land, but this was usually more through luck than judgement. Many located in poor quality scrub, in stony, infertile, grey wooded and podzolic soils, mostly ill-drained and poorly suited to arable farming. MacGregor has observed that in Alberta, although the majority of Ukrainians "... blundered upon good soil, many of them took inferior land adjacent to it."[12] Elsewhere, especially in the Interlake and Stuartburn regions of Manitoba, the majority of settlers were not so fortunate!

Unfamiliarity with woodland soils may also have been of considerable importance in influencing choice of land for settlement. In his booklet O Emigratsii Dr. Oleskow

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[11] E. Shlanka, "Krydor Community No. 13, Interviews of Pioneers," April 1944 (Typewritten) p. 11. Archives of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, G. W. Simpson Papers.

[12] MacGregor, Vilni Zemli, p. 117.

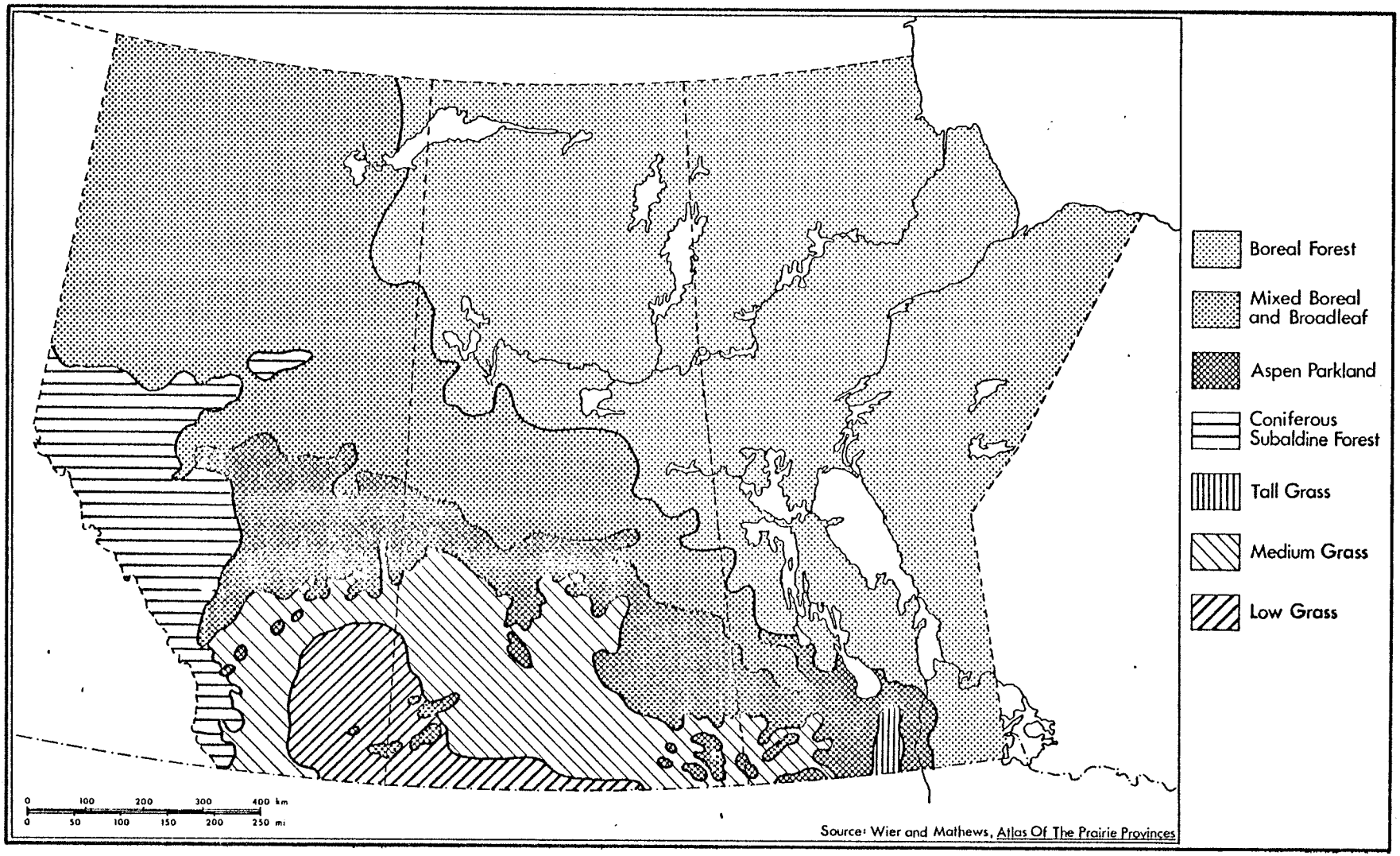

Figure 4. Prairie Provinces: Major Vegetation Zones

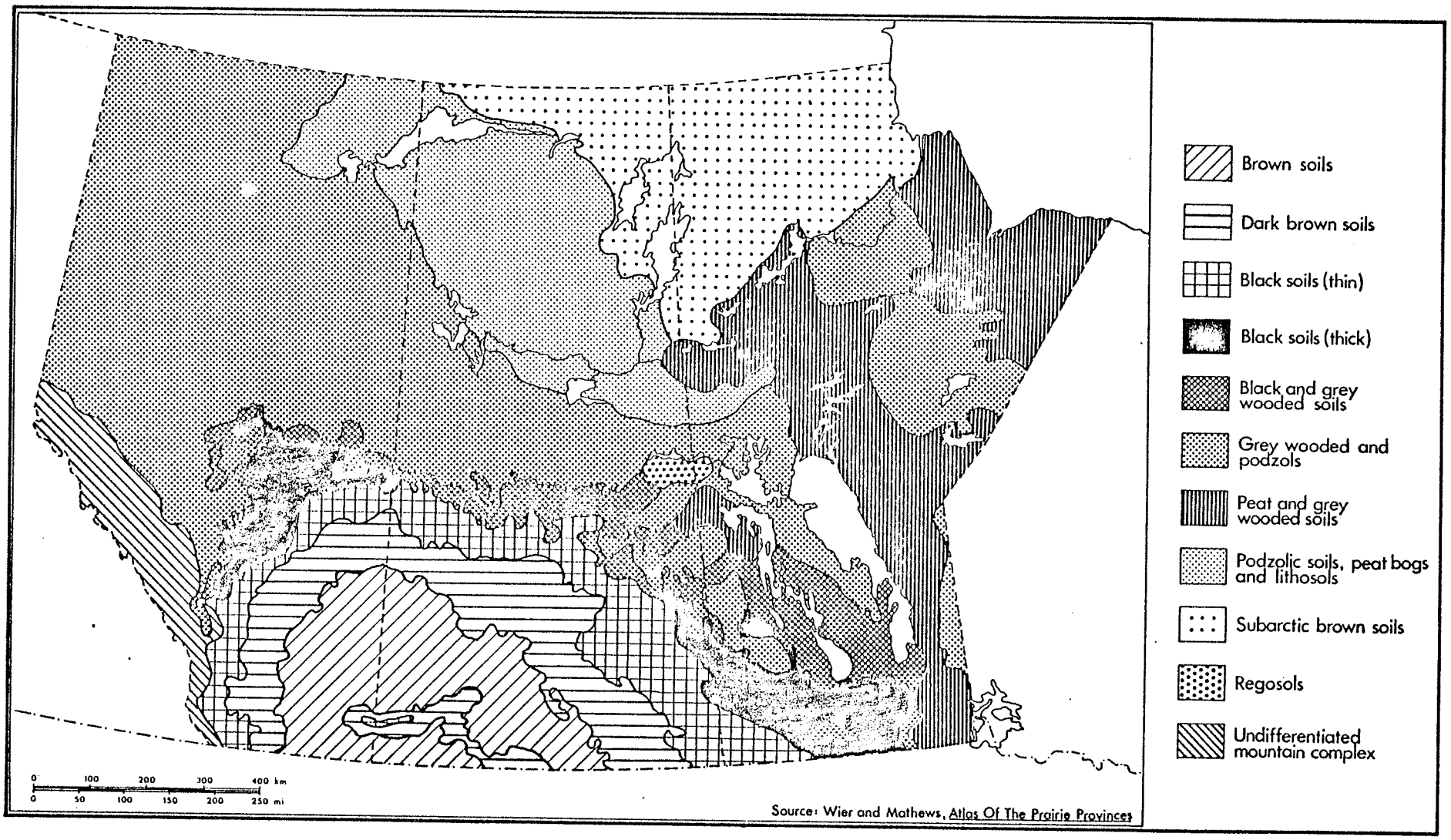

Figure 5. Prairie Provinces: Major Soil Zones

implied that the more fertile soils would be found in the aspen-parkland belt and he also cautioned against settlement on the prairie.[13] For some, especially those initial groups which he helped to organize, his advice may well have been decisive. There was, too, a tendency on the part of both Ukrainian immigrants and Canadian officials to assess soil fertility on the basis of the forest cover.[14] Thick vegetation, or well-developed woodland, had long been supposed to be a fair indicator of soil quality, and, according to John Macoun, the Ontario farmer in the 1880s believed "that land covered with forest is NEW, and therefore richer than the prairie, and [he] rejects the latter and takes to brush and forest."[15]

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[13]Josef Oleskow, O Emigratsii [On Emigration] (L'viv: Michael Kachkowskyi Society, 1896), pp. 26-31.

[14]B. G. Vanderhill, "Settlement in the Forest Lands of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta: A Geographic Analysis," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1956), pp. 78-79.

[15]Quoted in Barry Kaye and D. W. Moodie, "Geographical Perspectives on the Canadian Plains," in a Region of the Mind, ed. Richard Allen (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Saskatchewan, 1973), p. 18. See also P. B. Mooney, "Landscape and Culture in North Easthope Township, Southern Ontario, 1829-1856," (M.A. thesis: York University, 1970), pp. 40-43.

This method of soil evaluation had long antecedents in Canada, and according to Moodie the ability of the soil to generate tree growth was generally accepted as a measure of its productivity as early as the 1750s. See, D. W. Moodie, "Early British Images of Rupert's Land," in Man and Nature on the Prairies, ed. Richard Allen (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1976), p. 7.

Young quoted a Ukrainian settler in this context:

> When I came out here I saw a creek - there's water! A bush - there's fire! We didn't have that in the old country. And the bush wouldn't be there without the soil.[16]

Bitter experience taught them otherwise.

In the Stuartburn area of Manitoba the soil was deceptive in appearance. When the first settlers occupied their homesteads many were impressed by the amount of leaf-litter found in among the aspen and scrub-oak forest cover. Its promising appearance belied its true nature, for it was found that when cultivated it compacted down and yielded only a minimal amount of top-soil, which covered a boulder strewn overburden. This leaf-litter was also highly susceptible to fire, and in some areas was consumed during a forest fire which swept through the region.[17] The homesteaders lost not only much of their better woodland but a good part of their soil!

Mobility and Choice

In view of the circumstances of immigration and the overriding eagerness of the majority of immigrants to become settled upon their own homestead, it is probable that many

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[16] C. H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931), p. 55.

[17] Tape recorded interview of Mrs. I. Figus, by Michael Ewanchuk, Vita, Manitoba, Summer 1976.

Ukrainian immigrants accepted the first wooded land shown to them by the Land Guide or Colonization Agent. If they appeared to lack discrimination it was because most newly arrived immigrants lacked the time, knowledge, and experience necessary to search for and select a better area. Nevertheless, Young's view that Ukrainians were "handicapped at times to the point of destitution and starvation and limited in their choice of land to the accessible districts abandoned or avoided by the earlier immigrant,"[18] gives a false impression of reality by overstressing the immobility of the Ukrainian settlers. He implies that the Ukrainian homesteader had little freedom in his selection of land. This is a dubious claim at best and one which would seem to be based more on intuition than evidence.

It is certainly arguable that freedom of choice in land selection became increasingly curtailed during the first decade of the twentieth century. However, in the early years of Ukrainian settlement, before 1898, there were few constraints on land selection, certainly none which did not apply equally to settlers of other nationalities. Not all Ukrainians lacked the wherewithal with which to seek good homestead land, and others had sufficient capital to purchase developed farms. It is interesting to note further

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[18]Young, Ukrainian Canadians, p. 57.

that the Stuartburn area of Manitoba, an area now regarded as perhaps the poorest disctict to be pioneered by the Ukrainians, was initially settled by a group of Oleskow's emigrants. This was a well-led group and one that was not deficient in capital. Like the first group of Ukrainians to settle another area of marginal soils in Manitoba's Interlake region, the pioneers of the Stuartburn district were initially well satisfied with their choice of land.[19]

In the search for homesteads mobility was not always limited by economic constraints. Indeed, when the occasion warranted, the Ukrainian could become highly mobile and was willing to migrate over considerable distances in order to secure certain highly regarded conditions for settlement:

> There are instances of Ukrainians put off the train for settlement at Saskatoon who worked their way through the Vegreville district, Alberta, rather than stay on open prairie country, and of others settled in the rather good district around Wroxton, Saskatchewan, who pulled up stakes after a short time and trekked back to one of the worst districts in the West, to Kreuzberg, near Gimli, about seventy miles north of Winnipeg.[20]

Agricultural Practice, Peasant Economics and Perception of Environment

To the Ukrainian peasant, newly arrived from Europe,

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[19] John W. Wendelbo, Winnipeg to H. H. Smith, Winnipeg, 8 August 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 15, B-1a (224), File 410595 p. 1.

[20] Young, Ukrainian Canadians, p. 55.

the 160 acre homestead appeared as a vast area - ten or more times as large as the farm he had left in the "old country" - and one which promised to accommodate more than one peasant family farm operation.

It is clear, furthermore, that the newly-arrived immigrant often had an erroneous conception of the area necessary to support a viable farming operation in the economic milieu of Western Canada. Since many initially anticipated continuing their subsistence or semi-subsistence peasant agriculture, they tended to view the quarter-section homestead as being in excess of their requirements. In one respect they were correct, for a viable agricultural operation in the peasant tradition could be maintained on relatively small areas of less than 30 acres - witness the acreage of self-sufficient farms in Galicia at the time of emigration. However, they failed to compensate for a changed economic milieu and the new opportunities which would argue for integration with the prevailing market economy rather than for isolation from it, as would occur if subsistence agriculure were pursued. Even if some measure of economic integration with local markets were contemplated, many Ukrainian settlers were still, initially at least, moderately content with a quarter-section of poor quality land. They assumed that within the bounds of their homestead would lie more than sufficient productive land to maintain a viable family farm

which would not only provide self-sufficiency but yield a sufficient surplus for a modest entry into the local market economy. There were instances of such settlers, initially overwhelmed by the area of their homestead, being dissuaded from subdivision of their quarter-sections only with difficulty.[21] Others fell prey to land agents who convinced them to purchase inadequate and uneconomic holdings of less than forty acres rather than to exercise their right to homestead.[22]

This attitude toward farm size and the carrying capacity of the land was founded upon a set of economic

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[21]N. Wagenhoffer, "Some Socio-Economic Dynamics in Southeastern Manitoba with Particular Reference to the Farming Communities Within the Local Government Districts of Stuartburn and Piney," (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972), p. 55; Woycenko, Ukrainians in Canada, p. 39; and Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements, p. 139.

[22]William McCreary, the Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg 1897-1900, made several references to the disruptive activities of Poles and Jews. He was convinced that they were bent on swindling the Ukrainians in land deals, and saddling them with uneconomic small holdings. According to J. R. Burpe, the Commissioner for Dominion Lands at Winnipeg in 1896, it was the Roman Catholic Polish Nuns of St. Boniface who, claiming the Ukrainians as co-religionists, induced 21 families to buy small lots in St. Norbert (and Springfield,) Manitoba, from the Reverend Father Cloutier. Burpe was doubtful as to whether the areas purchased were sufficient to provide a decent living. See, for example, William F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, n.d. [1896]. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (39425). Burpe's allegations are contained in "Report of J. R. Burpe, Commissioner of Dominion Lands, Winnipeg, to the Secretary, Department of the Interior," 27 August 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 110, File 21103 pt. 2 (30995).

values seldom encountered in fully developed market economies. As Kossinsky has noted, peasant and capitalist economies differ on the basis of their perceptions of the values created in the process of production. The peasant simultaneously provides land and labour, and unlike the capitalist, "he does not differentiate the value created in the process of production between costs of production and surplus value."[23] All the value created by his efforts and inputs returns to him as a whole and is the equivalent of wages and the "surplus value" of the capitalist. Since net income is considered as the product of his own labour the idea of surplus value and of interest on capital is foreign to him.

Using this concept, the Russian economist Chayanov has provided a theory of peasant behaviour at the level of the individual peasant farm,[24] one which also explains some of the apparent inconsistencies of peasant economic behaviour in the frontier environment. Chayanov contends that the peasant is not motivated by the desire to turn a profit, but by the need to provide for the needs of his family. "Balance between subsistance needs and a subjective distaste for manual

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[23]Quoted in Basile Kerblay, "Chayanov and the Theory of Peasantry as a Specific Type of Economy," in Peasants and Peasant Societies, ed. Teodor Shanin (Harmondsworth: Penguin Education, 1971), p. 150

[24]Ibid.

labour (dis-utility)...determines the intensity of cultivation and the size of the net products."[25] In peasant economies the decreasing returns of the value of marginal labour do not hinder the peasant's activity so long as the needs of his family remain unfulfilled. Profit maximization, in short, is not an objective of the peasant agriculturalist who aims at achieving equilibrium between family needs and his inputs of labour.

The economic behaviour of the Ukrainian settler may be more readily understood in the light of Chayanov's interpretation of peasant economics. If, for example, the peasant was seeking equilibrium between family needs and the drudgery of labour, rather than with securing a profit margin, then one might expect him to be more conservative in his estimation of the maximum areal expansion of his family farm operation. By Chayanov's reasoning, the limits of expansion for peasant agriculturalists would be determined not so much by the availability of surplus capital as by the size of the peasant's family and the ratio between the family's contributory labour and consumption of goods produced.

Most peasant societies view the world - their needs and their resources - as finite. In contrast, capitalist systems tend towards a concept of an infinite world.

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[25] Ibid.

Contrasts in perception of land and other resource bases stem from these different world views. Such fundamentally opposed world views, coupled with radically different economic premises, were undoubtedly responsible for the differences in attitudes towards acquisition of land held by peasant and commercial farmers. The peasant saw his needs as finite and therefore saw little point in acquiring land beyond that needed to satisfy his wants. The commercially oriented farmer, in contrast, had infinite wants and would aspire to acquire land well beyond that necessary to satisfy his immediate needs.

These basic differences in attitude toward land and farm size were reinforced by the fact that the majority of Ukrainians arrived in Canada with only meager reserves of capital. Most were, therefore, obliged to regard the attainment of self-sufficiency as their primary goal in settlement, and it is reasonable to assume that relatively few contemplated an immediate entry into an agricultural market economy. Their perception of the agricultural resource base was consequently a biased one, so much so that aspects of the physical environment regarded by those from other, non-peasant, backgrounds as of limited utility or even as potential hazards, were seen as desirable assets. The Anglo-Canadian settler, for example, would not usually see any great utility in the presence of marsh or swamp upon

a homestead and generally by-passed such sections. In contrast, the Ukrainian saw such features as valuable resources. Marshland provided slough grass, which was used for thatching and sometimes for fodder,[26] water for cattle, and a habitat for game-birds which provided a useful dietary supplement. Woodland, too, in addition to small and occasionally large game provided fruits and berries and the chance to gather mushrooms. This gave not only dietary variety but easily preserved and highly regarded culinary items. In the Interlake area of Manitoba, for example, early settlers gathered three types of mushroom, wild raspberries, strawberries, saskatoons, chokecherries, wild plums and hazel nuts. Folk medicines were prepared from wild woods, herbs and berries.[27]

Other facets of the physical environment which little

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[26]Slough grass did not provide good feed, although it was occasionally used for fodder. Several Ukrainian farmers near Vita, Manitoba, lost horses to swamp-fever after pasturing them on swamp grass. Tape recorded interview of Alex Bodnarchuk by Michael Ewanchuk, St. Claude, Manitoba, Fall, 1976.

It should be noted, however, that when the smaller and more transient sloughs dried during the summer they provided a good habitat for "red-top" (agrositis palustris). This has a high forage value. Interview with Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 17 March 1977.

[27]S. Dymianiw, ed. Land of Dreams Come True, (Gorlitz: Ukrainian School Division No. 972, Saskatchewan, 1955), pp. 11-12. Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Microfilm 3-6; and Interview of S. Gretchen by Robert Gretchen, Gimli, Manitoba, 18 January 1976. In B. P. Kubrakovich, Student Interviews (Gimli, Manitoba: n.p., 1976), p. 31.

concerned the Anglo-Canadian greatly interested the Ukrainian. Heavy yellow clay deposits, for example, were vital for construction of buildings in the vernacular style, and while not absolutely necessary the presence of stone, sand, willow and juniper were of sufficient utility in building to enhance the desirability of any homestead site that proffered them.

Not only the Ukrainians valued features dismissed by Anglo-Canadian conventional wisdom. In his study of Finnish settlement in Western Canada, Van Cleef commented that Finns, who, like the Ukrainians, were mainly of peasant background, preferred settlement in the parkland to settlement on the prairie. In confining themselves to the parkland, they settled on podzolic soils, some of which were poorly drained, but, as Van Cleef remarked, "a little muskeg now and then is not unwelcome to a Finn."[28] Similarly, to the Ukrainian a little muskeg, or a little stone, was not unwelcome. However, it is misleading to state that some Ukrainians actually desired stony land because parts of their homeland had lacked sufficient stone for their building needs.[29] While the presence of some stone upon the homestead was not unwelcome, Ukrainian pioneers certainly did not seek out stony land to

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[28]Eugene Van Cleef, "Finnish Settlement in Canada," Geographical Review 42 (Spring 1952): 253.

[29]Tracie, "Ethnicity and Prairie Environment," p. 65, fn. 14.

satisfy the demands of their architectural operations![30]

It is suggested, therefore, that the woodland environment was preferred by the peasant pioneer on economic grounds. It furnished an environment where richness lay not in soil fertility but in variety, its wide resource base and the range of alternative strategies it offered to the settler without capital.

In choosing to settle on to what would be regarded as marginal or sub-marginal land in terms of the contemporary competitive market-oriented agricultural economy, the Ukrainians acted within the limits of their knowledge to achieve maximum value in terms of their preference hierarchy. In so doing they displayed what Nash has termed substantive rationality, a feature of the peasant decision-making process.[31] So long as the peasant remained within the realm of the peasant economy the wisdom of his choice was reinforced and his reasoning remained valid. It was ultimately disastrous in the long term context of the cash

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[30]Stone was not an important material of building in the Ukrainian vernacular tradition. Stone was employed only for foundation, and even this was not strictly necessary. See V. P. Samojlovych, Ukrains'ke Narodne Zhytlo [The Ukrainian Folk Dwelling] (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1972), pp. 13-17; also John C. Lehr, "Ukrainian Houses in Alberta," Alberta Historical Review 21 (Autumn 1973): 10-11.

[31]Manning Nash, Primitive and Peasant Economic Systems (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing, 1966), pp. 5-6.

flow market economy of Western Canadian agriculture.[32] This was seldom immediately apparent in the remote environment of the settlement frontier. When the tastes and inclinations of the settlers veered toward integration with, and operation within, the market economy, they were often either financially unable to relocate or too attached to the modest results of their pioneering labour to leave for better lands.[33]

Alienation and Nostalgia

Having examined some of the attractions of the woodland environment, it would be pertinent to explore the nature

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[32]During the depression years of the 1930s cash flow dependence hit the commercial-farming population much harder than it did the "marginal" farmer who could more easily retrench into a subsistence way of life. In Manitoba, for example, there were fewer farm foreclosures in the "marginal" Stuartburn area, than in the commercial farming districts around Emerson and Altona. In the Stuartburn area incomes were supplemented by digging and selling seneca roots and by shipping local frogs to the United States. The latter activity generated substantial income for some years. See Peter Humeniuk, Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers, Memoirs from Stuartburn Colony and Other Points (Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers, 1976), p. 222.

[33]It was the second generation, seeking better land with higher agricultural potential, who showed less hesitation in leaving the area their fathers had pioneered. Many families from the Stuartburn area, aware of the limitations of the remaining homestead land in Manitoba, moved to Rycroft, Alberta, an area in the Peace River district then being pioneered. See Anne B. Woywitka "Homesteaders Woman," Alberta History 24 (Spring 1976): 21-22, and Editorial Committee, Ukrainians in Alberta (Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers Association of Alberta, 1975), pp. 534-536.

of the Ukrainians' apparent reluctance to settle on the prairie. When they did settle on the open prairie, it was a comparatively rare occurence, and was generally in a location adjacent of either a Mennonite or Volksdeutsche settlement. This facet of their settlement behaviour has been rationalized as the manifestation of an overwhelming fear of settlement in an area without timber resources. This is a plausible explanation in the light of their behaviour, yet is still overly simplistic. Seldom can behaviour be interpreted as a simple relationship between stimulus and response, between action and reaction and, as has been argued here, even a single factor influencing behaviour - the perception of environment - is in itself a highly complex process. Furthermore, attitudes towards environment, as Yi-Fu Tuan has emphasized, are seldom unambiguous, and must be interpreted with due caution.[34]

Nevertheless, as a group the Ukrainians were apparently determined against settlement of the prairie. This reluctance to leave the woodland environment may be partly attributable to factors other than economic ones. There existed, it seems, an innate fear of the open prairie and a deep rooted prejudice against adoption of some of the

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[34]Yi-Fu Tuan, "Ambiguity in Attitudes toward Environment," Annals, Association of American Geographers 63 (December 1973): 412.

adaptive strategies which enabled other peasant peoples to successfully overcome the difficulties of prairie settlement. Though explanation may be sought at different levels, it should be noted that the explanation which provides the most obvious motive for behaviour is not necessarily that which most adequately accounts for actions taken.[35] Human decisions are seldom based on any clear identifiable motivation. Intuitions, fears and desires buried in the subconscious are perhaps more potent agents in the formulation of "rational" actions than most of their originators would care to admit. Marshall McLuhan, in considering the role of the subconscious and the subliminal upon the decision-making process, has written that:

> Environments by reason of their total character are mostly subliminal to ordinary experience. Indeed, the amount of any situation, private or social, verbal or geographic, that can be raised and held to the conscious level of attention is almost insignificant.[36]

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[35] In a recent survey of the role of environmental perception in geography, Pocock has emphasized that perception of environment is not a simple stimulus response situation between the real world and the individual, but is a complex interactive process. D. C. D. Pocock, "Environmental Perception," Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie 64 (1973): 251-257.

[36] Marshall McLuhan, Introduction to Subliminal Seduction, by Wilson Bryan Key (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1973), p.v.

Many decisions are taken at the level of the subconscious, and their validity rationalized at the conscious level using criteria and value judgements that conform to the conventional wisdom of the time.

Nowhere is this more true than in the case of land selection by a peasant people, for they were rooted to their home ground by ties of memory and custom seldom realized and even less understood by more sophisticated, mobile and more widely literate societies. The peasant farmer's topophilia, - sense and love of place - is compounded by "physical intimacy, of material dependence and the fact that the land is a repository of memory and sustains hope."[37] Though esthetic appreciation of landscape was present, it was seldom given express articulation. The deeper feelings engendered by specific environmental settings became evident through the emotive imagery of immigrant literature, folksongs and folktales.

Recently Lowenthal has called attention to the impact of nostalgia upon all peoples.[38] In noting that "the past is a foreign country" he has emphasized the importance of

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[37]Yi-Fu Tuan, Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1974), p. 97.

[38]David Lowenthal, Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory," Geographical Review 65 (January 1975): 1-36.

environmental continuity even to sedentary peoples. Keepsakes and momentoes substitute for the vanishing landscapes of the past. At another level

> The past is not only recalled; it is incarnate in all the things we build and the landscapes we create. We make our landscapes comfortable by incorporating or fabricating memorabilia, and we feel at home with new products when their camouflage makes them old.[39]

One may consider the impact of migration upon the Ukrainian peasant. Not only was he uprooted from his native landscapes in the Old World but was placed, bewildered and unsure, in the raw alien landscape of the Canadian West. In effect he was catapulted through time from feudalism into capitalism, from the social stability of village society into the turmoil of the North American frontier. That the impact was considerable was reflected sociologically in the later alienation and anomie commonly found among immigrants. It would be surprising, therefore, had the Ukrainian pioneer not sought to secure some degree of landscape familiarity by seeking a compatible environment. Even worldly British immigrants, well furnished with capital and working within what was essentially a familiar linguistic and social milieu, took refuge in mental images of environments patterned after their homeland ideal:

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[39]Ibid., p. 6.

> ...it was rather comforting to visualize a cozy farmhouse snuggling with its out-buildings in a windbreak of trees and flanked by productive gardens and fields of grain and fodder. Imagination managed to stock the many acres with herds of sheep and cattle.[40]

It is suggested here that the roots of the Ukrainians' reluctance to settle on the prairie lay buried in their collective subconscious. Even for a peasant group, settlement of the prairie was possible - the sod house could be built, manure and flax straw used for fuel, the prairie sod broken, and all with considerable less effort than the arduous task of clearing woodland - hand felling timber, moving stones and labouriously grubbing roots, - all too often for agriculturally inferior land. The problem invites phenomenological investigation.[41] Was there, perhaps, an underlying fear of the open space of the prairie, an uncomfortable sense of exposure and alienation? The question might appear to be rhetorical, for the answer is elusive and cannot be found articulated in documented sources. It

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[40] Margorie Wilkins Campbell, The Soil is not Enough (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1938), p. 22.

[41] Phenomenology is a radical method of enquiry which proceeds from pure consciousness without presupposing an existent world. In essence the phenomenologist holds that mind cannot be reduced to matter, and his inquiry is based, therefore, on intuitive insight and description, is free from a priori postulates. Description, however, is not undertaken in the simple sense of observation but rather as reflective description of the essential structure and connections of

is to the writers, artists, and poets as the interpreters of man's relationship with the prairie to which one might turn for insight.[42]

Few have captured the spirit of the prairies, - the vast skies and the limitless horizons which seem to emphasize the insignificance of man - better than Sinclair Ross. Set against the prairie, man is dwarfed to insignificance. He stands apart from nature, overawed by the sheer immensity of the endless plain:

> The wilderness here makes us uneasy...We shrink from our insignificance. The stillness and

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experience. The significance of this method of inquiry to geography has recently received increased attention. See, Anne Buttimer, "Grasping the Dynamism of Lifeworld," Annals, Association of American Geographers 66 (June 1976): 227-292; D. J. Walsley, "Positivism and Phenomenology in Human Geography," The Canadian Geographer 18 (Summer 1974): 95-107; E. C. Relph, "An Enquiry into the Relations between Phenomenology and Geography," The Canadian Geographer 14 (Fall 1970): 193-201; and Yi-Fu Tuan, "'Environment' and 'World'" The Professional Geographer 17 (September 1965): 6-8; Idem, "Geography, Phenomenology and the Study of Human Nature," The Canadian Geographer 15 (Fall 1971): 181-192.

[42]For interpretations of the writer's relationship with the landscape of Western Canada see Edward A. McCourt, The Canadian West in Fiction (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 2nd ed., rev. and enl., 1970); Laurence Ricou, Vertical Man/ Horizontal World (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1973); and Donald G. Stephans, ed., Writers of the Prairies (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1973). The artist's interpretation of the prairie landscapes of Western Canada has been explored by Ronald Rees, "Images of the Prairie: Landscape Painting and Perception in the Western Interior of Canada," The Canadian Geographer 20 (Fall 1976): 259-278.

> solitude - we think a force or presence into it - even a hostile presence, deliberate, aligned against us - for we dare not admit an indifferent wilderness, where we may have no meaning at all.[43]

Even the settled environment evolked feelings of isolation and vulnerability:

> In the clear bitter light the long white miles of prairie landscape seemed a region strangely alien to life. Even the distant farmsteads...served only to intensify a sense of isolation. Scattered across the face of so vast and bleak a wilderness it was difficult to conceive them as testimony of human hardihood and endurance. Rather they seemed futile, lost to cower before the implacability of snow-swept earth and pale sun-chilled sky.[44]

Rudy Wiebe also well describes the sense of exposure experienced by one raised in the more confined woodland environment:

> ...in every direction the earth so flat another two steps would place me at the horizon, looking into the abyss of the universe. There is too much here

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[43] Sinclair Ross, As For Me and My House New Canadian Library (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970), pp. 99-100.

[44] Idem, The Lamp at Noon New Canadian Library (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), p. 100.

> the line of sky and grass rolls
> in upon you and silences you
> thin, too impossibly thin to
> remain in any part recognizably
> yourself.[45]

It was not only the physical nature of the prairie which impressed, but also its cultural aridity. It was the absence of any cultural impress, the lack of tradition encountered on the virgin prairie, which had a depressing effect upon sensitive individuals from lands where traditions were deeply rooted in both the psyche and the landscape.[46] This sense of cultural emptiness, was, of course, experienced not only on the prairie, but the prairie, by its seeming physical uniformity, tended to exacerbate such emotions, whereas the more familiar woodland, in modulating the physical harshness, tempered also the pervading sense of isolation and cultural loss. The English poet, Rupert Brooke, captured this feeling when he wrote:

> The maple and the beech conceal
> no Dryads, and Pan has never
> been heard among these reed beds.
> Look as long as you like upon a
> cataract of the New World, you
> shall not see a white arm in the
> foam. A godless place. And the
> dead do not return...The land is
> virginal, the wind cleaner than

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[45]Rudy Wiebe, "Passage by Land," in Writers of the Prairies, ed. Donald G. Stephens (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1973), p. 130.

[46]McCourt, The Canadian West in Fiction, p. 119.

> elsewhere, and every lake new-born
> and every day the first day...There
> walk, as yet, no ghosts of lovers
> in Canadian lanes. This is the
> essence of the grey freshness and
> brisk melancholy of this land.
> And for all the charm of those
> qualities, it is also the secret
> of the European's discontent.
> For it is possible, at a pinch,
> to do without gods. But one misses
> the dead.[47]

Isolation if not merely a function of distance. It can be compounded by exposure, and ameliorated by some environmental settings. We think of a cottage "nestling" in the woods, serene and protected, whereas the house sits on the prairie, windswept and defiant. The imagery is perhaps extreme but it nevertheless draws attention to the mental images with which our environmental preconceptions are cloaked. The woodland environment provided the Ukrainian settler with a relatively stable emotional milieu which provided the illusion of protection, the environmental antithesis of the exposure and alienation experienced on the open prairie. At the very least it placed the milieu of the Ukrainian peasant within a comprehensible framework. The sense of protection may have been illusory, but it was nevertheless effective, for as Bachelard has stated "...the imagination functions in this direction whenever the human

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[47]Quoted by McCourt, The Canadian West in Fiction, p. 120.

being has found the slightest shelter: We shall see the imagination build walls of impalpable shadows, comfort itself with the illusion of protection."[48] Illusory or not, the sense of protection was welcome. In this regard it is interesting to consider the reaction of one placed on the open prairie: "I felt very tiny under that immense black dome, and I was glad even of the barbed wire fence which shut me in from those immeasurable distances."[49]

It is suggested that the woodland environment was a setting which enabled the Ukrainian to experience a degree of "at homeness" which could not be attained on the prairie. In the bush the Ukrainian could feel at one with the environment, whereas on the prairie he remained apart from it.

The Ukrainian culture, furthermore, is largely peasant and traditional, and is concerned with social and aesthetic values. Its literary tradition, both oral and written, shows, according to Mirchuk and Cizevsky, "a deep, almost mystical bond with the spirits of the soil."[50] This

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[48] Gaston Bachelard, The Poetics of Space (New York: Orion Press, 1964), p. 5.

[49] Quoted by Ricou, Vertical Man/Horizontal World, p. 66.

[50] Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia, s.v. "National Charactertistics of the Ukrainian People," by A. Kultchytsky.

mystical man-land relationship increased the potency of the Ukrainian peasant's preconceived and idealized images of a landscape for settlement, a landscape patterned after that of the Western Ukraine. Folk culture, especially art and literature, also reinforced desires for specific environmental settings by providing a concept of an idealized pastoral landscape in which meadow, water and woodland were the central images.[51] It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that to a people who were heavily reliant upon tradition, nostalgia and sentimentality played a significant part in settlement decisions.[52]

The ultimate impact of such images upon the course of settlement must remain essentially speculative. Nevertheless, the statement of one pioneer of the Dauphin region, Manitoba, that "we chose to settle in that part of the district because the mountains, woods, streams and meadows very much resembled our native Carpathian scenery,"[53] gives

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[51]Elements of the idealized landscape are seen in a peasant's description of his native (Polish) village as quoted in William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, Life Record of an Immigrant, vol. 3 in Idem, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (Boston: Gorham Press, 1919): 89-91

[52]See T. G. Jordan, "Between the Forest and the Prairie," Agricultural History 38 (1964): 206; Eugene Van Cleef, "Finnish Settlement in Canada," Geographical Review 42 (1952): 253: and Elfrieda Lang, "Characteristics of German Immigrants in Dubois Country," Indiana Magazine of History 42 (1964): 37.

[53]Quoted in Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements, p. 203.

little reason to suppose that their impact was negligible. This is further supported by the settlement of Hutzul pioneers in the rolling wooded country near Hafford, Saskatchewan, who acknowledged that they were attracted to that area by its similarity to that of their former homeland.[54]

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[54]Interview with Roman Onufrijchuk, Winnipeg, 17 January 1974.

CHAPTER VII

UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT: THE GOVERNMENT'S PERSPECTIVE

Those responsible for the settlement of Ukrainians throughout the West were confronted with a formidable array of problems, most of which had to be overcome in the field without the benefit of any strong direction from Ottawa. The correspondence of the Department of the Interior indicates that the higher echelons of the Department were most interested in the procuration of agricultural immigrants. They adopted a somewhat *laissez faire* approach to their settlement in the West. The Department of the Interior seldom interfered in the actions of its officials in the West, although they always held them accountable for their actions. Their primary concern was that immigrants should be placed so as to prevent their becoming public charges or abandoning their land and moving to urban centres.

Decisions emanating from Ottawa were mostly at the level of strategy. The tactics of settlement were left to the Crown Agents in the field. Agents were given little

guidance but were expected to settle immigrants quickly and with a minimum of fuss. Apart from exceptional instances, the involvement of the higher levels of the Government bureaucracy was generally confined to routine approval and confirmation of the actions of its agents in the field.

Ottawa expected that Immigration Officers would successfully settle thousands of immigrants working without any real authority to direct them into specific locations. All settlers with capital, regardless of nationality, were free to go where they pleased. It was only those with little money - those who were likely to become dependent upon Government aid - who were expected to settle where the Government suggested.[1] Crown Agents had no legal authority to engage in compulsory direction of settlement in any circumstances, and even though the Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg requested that his agents be granted powers of compulsion in the direction of settlement,[2] his petition was unsuccessful. Government Agents were left to rely on their powers of persuasion, and, on occasion, unorthodox

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[1]J. A. Kirk, Halifax, to the Secretary, Department of the Interior, 7 July 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (62498).

[2]W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 26 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (59942).

tactics of questionable legality.

The primary task of the Crown Agents working in the field was to place the Ukrainian immigrant in a location which satisfied the demands of both the settler and the Government. The Government sought locations which would facilitate agricultural progress and ensure permanent settlement. To that extent their interests coincided with those of the settlers. Interests conflicted, however, in the matter of block settlement. Most immigrants, regardless of nationality, preferred to settle among others of their own kind, and the "colony" system of group settlement had become common throughout the Canadian West.[3] Certain block settlements owed their origins to legislative action - the setting aside of land as reserves for specific groups, as with the Mennonite settlements in Manitoba and those of the Doukhobors in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Most usually, however, the "colony" arose as an informal clustering of settlers of an ethnic or religious group. Such settlements often grew to a considerable size by their power of attraction, pulling in other individuals and families seeking a

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[3]In official correspondence the word "colony" was used somewhat loosely and was used to describe all group settlements, few of which were colonies in the strict sense of the word.

familiar social and linguistic environment.[4]

Block Settlement: The Government Dilemma.

The Conservative Government before 1896 and the Liberal Government after that date both maintained a somewhat ambivalent attitude toward the growth of such ethnic block settlements. It was the Liberal administration which was most affected by this phenomenon, however, for it was the success of Clifford Sifton's aggressive immigration policy which was largely responsible for the dramatic increase in the peasant immigration from Eastern Europe. These settlers, mainly the Ukrainian peasants from Galicia and Bukowina, were amongst the most controversial immigrants to enter Canada. Defended by Sifton and his supporters as sturdy peasants, good material for settlement, they were vilified by the Conservative Press as the scum of Europe, - physical and moral degenerates not fit to be classed as white men.[5] From 1897 until 1902 the Conservative Press maintained a vicious, racist, and slanderous campaign

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[4]That some Scandinavian immigrants were beginning to settle among English speaking settlers was sufficiently unusual to draw comment from the Western press and the Department of the Interior. Winnipeg Telegram, 18 February 1901; Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers "Department of the Interior," 1897, pp. 127-128, and Ibid, 1898, p. 183.

[5]See, for example, Winnipeg Telegram, 7 July, 1899, and 2 November, 1899. The attacks of the Telegram appear moderate when compared to those of less responsible journals such as The Anglo-Saxon. For an example see Clive Phillips Wolley, "Mr. Sifton's Anglo-Saxondom," The Anglo-Saxon, 12 (June 1899): 1-4.

against the Ukrainian immigrants and thereby kept the issue of their settlement in the forefront of national debate.[6]

In the short term, the settlement of such controversial immigrants in a contiguous ethnic block was advantageous from a political standpoint. It confined them to a discrete area and reduced their zone of contact with sensitive, prejudiced and highly vocal English speaking settlers. From the long term viewpoint, the growth of large block settlements was undesirable for it was obvious that some control was essential if the alien immigrants were to be assimilated and acculturated. This dilemma was present, of course, in the case of all block settlements, but was exacerbated in the case of the Ukrainians by the rapid increase in, and magnitude of, Ukrainian immigration in the decade following 1896. It became not merely a Western but a national issue.

From the Government's point of view ethnic block settlement offered financial and administrative advantages. It facilitated the provision of education and medical care and lowered the administrative costs of settlement by

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[6]For a discussion of attitudes towards the immigrants who were settling in Western Canada at this time see Marilyn Jean Barber, "The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1896-1918: Canadian Perception and Canadian Policies" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1975).

reducing the workloads of agents responsible for settlement.[7] Destitute immigrants, furthermore, were less likely to become a burden upon the State as they were generally provided for by their better placed kinfolk and compatriots. Except in the editorial columns of the staunchly pro-Sifton Manitoba Free Press, however, there was little sympathy for the block settlement of alien immigrants, and its disadvantages were catalogued at length by both the Conservative and the disaffected Liberal Press.[8]

At the time many subscribed to the view that "Canada is British and Canada is English."[9] Many, too, agreed with Frank Oliver, the Liberal Member of Parliament for Edmonton, when he claimed that the establishment of large blocks of Ukrainian settlers in the West would lower standards of intelligence and civilization and cause native born Canadians to leave in favour of the United States.[10]

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[7]Winnipeg Telegram, 11 June 1898; 1 August 1899; and 14 July 1900; and Kingston News, 23 June 1899.

[8]The independent Liberal Winnipeg Tribune was opposed to the block settlement of any ethnic or religious group, as was the Conservative Winnipeg Telegram. See, Winnipeg Tribune, 17 February 1903, and 28 August 1906; Winnipeg Telegram, 3 February 1899.

[9]Winnipeg Tribune, 21 July 1909.

[10]Daily Sun, St. John, N.B. 31 July 1899.

The only correct policy, editorialized the Winnipeg Telegram, was the complete assimilation of all foreign elements:

> The Government is making a great mistake in establishing these exclusively foreign colonies. The proper policy is to mix the foreigners up with the rest of the population as much as possible. It is only in that way that they will be assimilated. The colony system tends to perpetuate their own language and peculiar customs. It prevents their observation of improved methods of cultivation, and keeps them out of touch with British institutions and ideas. The massing of foreigners in colonies in this fashion constitutes, also, a serious political danger. Their votes are far more easily manipulated by government officials under such circumstances than they would otherwise be....[11]

On the one hand came Tory complaints that the block settlements removed the Ukrainian settlers from beneficial Anglicizing influences,[12] while on the other came their complaints that "desirable settlers should be well isolated from contact with undesirables such as the

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[11] Winnipeg Telegram, 3 February 1899.

[12] Winnipeg Telegram, 17 November 1900.

Galicians [Ukrainians],"[13] whose settlement, it was claimed, inevitably lowered farm values in that locality.[14]

Although much of the argument against the block settlement of Ukrainians was little more than racist invective, there were several sound arguments advanced against its implementation. The Winnipeg Telegram expressed the fears of many established English speaking settlers in its stand against block settlement:

> It must be thoroughly disheartening to any respectable English speaking settler to find himself surrounded by a colony of Russian serfs [Ukrainians], and to know that, if he remains on his homestead, he is likely to have no other neighbors for himself and his family all his natural life. He has braved all the difficulties of a pioneer in the hope of building up a comfortable home for himself and his children. He has selected for his home the Canadian Northwest because the British flag flies over it, and because, as a Canadian, an Englishman, an Irishman or a Scotchman, he wants to remain a Britisher among British people.... The unfortunate settler finds himself hemmed in by a horde of people little better than savages - alien in race, language and religion, whose customs are repellant and whose morals he abhors. Social intercourse is impossible, all hopes of further British settlement in the

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[13] Winnipeg Telegram, 14 November 1898.

[14] Winnipeg Telegram, 29 August 1900.

> neighborhood vanishes; he becomes an alien in his own country. There is nothing left for him but a galling life-long exile on British soil equivalent to deportation to a Siberian settlement....15

At the Ministerial level, the Government was under considerable pressure to check the growth of large ethnic block settlements. It was nevertheless very much aware of the realities of the situation. To attempt complete dispersal, as some advocated, was obviously impractical. It ran counter to the wishes to the immigrants themselves and the Government lacked both the authority and personnel to enforce it. There was little enthusiasm for the adoption of a policy which would place the Government in direct confrontation with incoming Ukrainians.

Government Colonization Agents in the West were generally well disposed toward the concept of block settlement because planning and organization were greatly facilitated when immigrants were settled in discrete groups. Such settlements, moreover, were generally more successful. Social and spiritual needs were more easily provided for and co-operation between settlers was usually better than in ethnically mixed areas. There were

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[15] Winnipeg Telegram, 10 August 1899.

fewer crises in settlement, fewer cases of destitution requiring Government assistance, and a concomitant decrease in the workload of the Government officials concerned.

Indeed, the Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg, W. F. McCreary, had early suggested that:

> These people at least for the first few years should be settled in colonies; each colony will need an Interpreter who will also act as a Farm Instructor, Purchasing agent and so forth. They should have in each colony a Priest or spititual adviser who would also act as Teacher... in each colony there should be reserved by the Crown a piece of land suitable for a Church, Cemetary, School house, Store building, and so forth. This piece of land to be devoted to the general interests of the entire colony, and to be held by Trustees.[16]

Expediency and circumstance, unfortunately, prevented the full and uniform application of McCreary's suggestion. Nevertheless, if interpreters and priests were not always forthcoming, land reserved for community use generally was. Agents found, too, that once a number of Ukrainian settlers had been established in an area opened

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[16]W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 13 May 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (37563).

for settlement, they experienced little difficulty in locating further immigrants in that area. Established settlers attracted their kinsmen and compatriots and assisted them in settlement. They gave them the benefit of their pioneering experience and enabled newcomers to "drop into their places with not a tithe of the trouble hitherto experienced."[17]

It was hardly surprising that the field agents favoured the block settlement of Ukrainians and attempted to place Ukrainian immigrants adjacent to their countrymen whenever possible. In this they experienced little difficulty for here their aims accorded with immigrant desires.

In 1892 the first Ukrainian immigrants to enter Canada settled at Star in Alberta - about forty miles northeast of Edmonton. They chose that locale because it offered the type of environment they wanted - the well wooded parkland country - and because they would be near to their former neighbours - a Volksdeutsche group from Galicia. Until 1896 this settlement at Star remained the only Ukrainian settlement in Canada. It grew slowly until then (Figure 6) and was fed by immigrants who came

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[17]Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers, 1899, "Department of the Interior," p. 113.

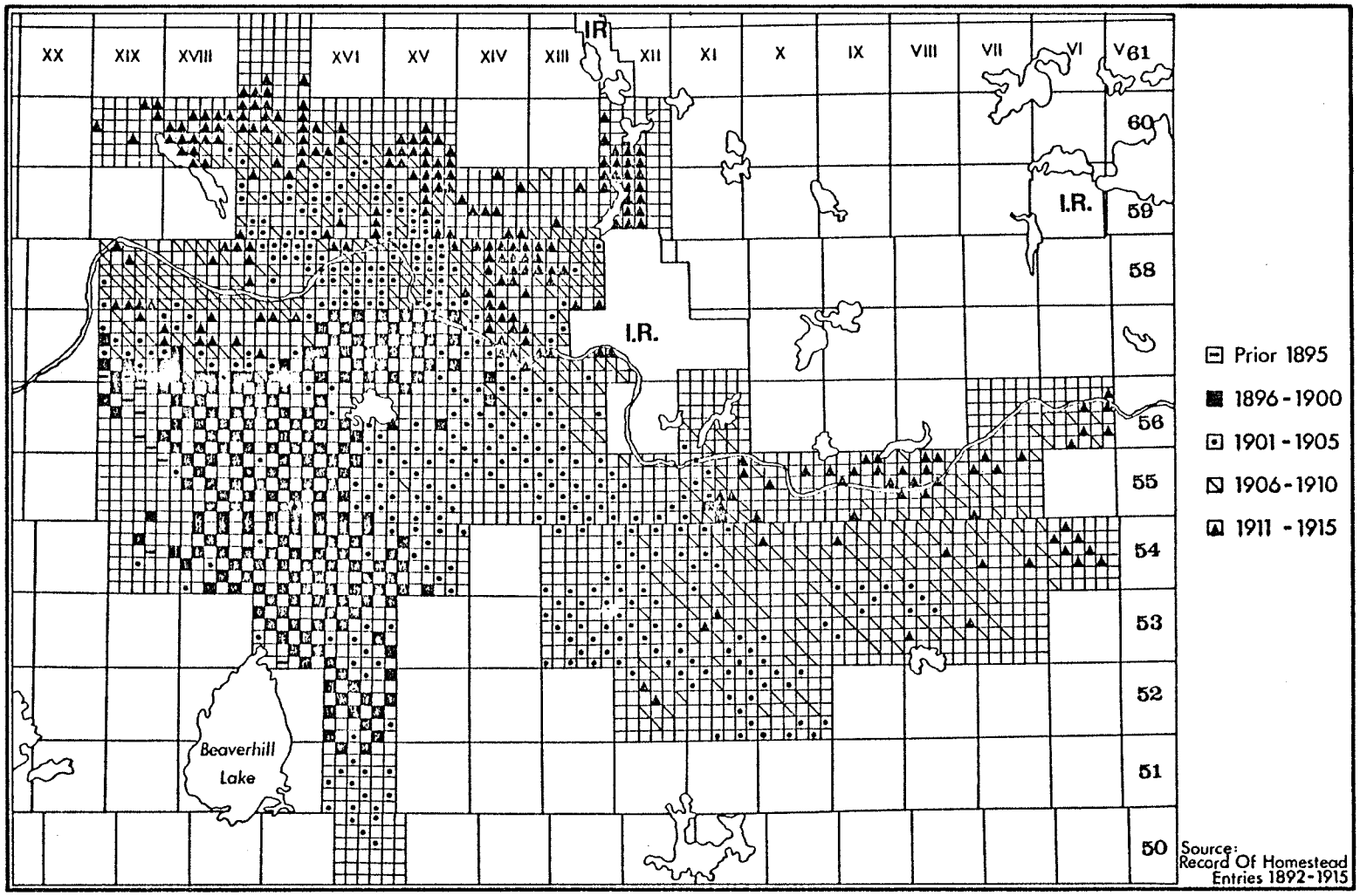

Figure 6. Growth of the Star Settlement, Alberta

mostly from the Kalush District of Galicia.

In 1896, when Ukrainian immigration began to increase, most immigrants began to gravitate to the Star settlement. The Government was faced with the spectre of the uncontrolled growth of this settlement into a single massive block stretching eastwards as far as the Saskatchewan border. It became clear that if this were to be prevented the Government would have to encourage incoming Ukranians to settle elsewhere in the West. Early in 1896 some small settlements were established, mainly in Manitoba, but the rapidity with which they became filled, and their lack of potential for expansion, made it difficult to prevent overcrowding. Settlers who knew little of the Dominion Land Regulations and who wished to settle near friends, paid little heed to the legal status of the land upon which they had entered. Squatting and illegal occupancy became a problem in such instances. It was soon realized that it was impractical to attempt to deal with the settlement of masses of Ukrainians in a small scale piecemeal fashion. It became clear that, if the Government were to retain any element of control of the basic geographical pattern of Ukrainian settlement, efforts would have to be made to establish a limited number of settlement nodes to which incoming immigrants would be either directed or attracted.

Ukrainian Block Settlement: Government Policy.

The Liberal Government, in 1896, could neither enforce complete dispersal of Ukrainians, nor could it tolerate the growth of a large single large settlement in Alberta. If the Ukrainian block was to be kept within tolerable bounds, then it would be necessary to establish a number of settlement nodes within the West, around which smaller block settlements could be established. By maintaining the concept of ethnic block settlement, yet fragmenting it throughout the West, the Government hoped to secure its advantages but still retain the potential for rapid assimilation.

This policy was never explicitly articulated, at least no mention of it survives in the correspondence of the Department of the Interior. The strenuous efforts made from 1896 onwards to establish new nuclei of Ukrainian settlement nevertheless strongly suggest that such attempts were organized in accord with high level policy and were motivated by more than simple expediency or pragmatism.

The problem confronting the Government Agents in the West lay in selecting a number of localities in which Ukrainian settlements could be established. Even by 1900 the Canadian West was still largely unsettled and, in

theory at least, the Government was unrestricted in its choice of lands where Ukrainian settlements could be established. In practice, however, the constraints were numerous. The Ukrainians proved to be unwilling to contemplate settlement on the open prairie and showed a distinct predilection for settlement in the aspen parkland vegetation belt. Choice was further restricted to those lands already surveyed and subdivided, and to those areas wherein the eligible railways had completed their land selection.[18] It was desirable, furthermore, that prospective sites for Ukrainian settlement should offer potential for either capital generation or capital acquisition for settlers who, as a group, were unusually deficient in capital. Finally, potential for expansion, so as to accommodate thousands of new settlers, was absolutely necessary if the site was to have any real utility.

The basic geographical pattern of Ukrainian settlement in Western Canada was established between 1896 and 1905. The general area of settlement was determined by the environmental preferences of the Ukrainian

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[18]In townships where railway companies had selected land awarded under land grant agreements alternate (odd-numbered) sections were reserved from settlement. Areas within which railways were eligible to select their lands could not be opened for homestead settlement until the railway's intentions were definitely known.

immigrants themselves but the specific locations for block settlements were chosen largely by the officials of the Department of the Interior.[19] There is no evidence to suggest that settlement locations were selected in accord with any grand strategy; rather the opposite is suggested. It would appear that general locations were usually chosen on an ad hoc basis to cope with the exigencies of the moment.

Considerable difficulty was often experienced in establishing new nodes of Ukrainian settlement in areas away from established Ukrainian blocks. To some extent the difficulties progressively increased in severity for, as settlement progressed, an increasing number of immigrants had friends or relatives already settled in Canada and had a decided interest in locating as close to them as was possible. Colonization Agents were reluctant to prevent those with clearly stated destinations from following through with their plans for settlement. They assumed, with some insight and understanding, that those who were joining kinfolk would be cared for by them through any initial difficulties. The great difficulty of persuading

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[19]General locations for settlement were usually suggested by the Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg and the sites were selected by the Colonization Agents working in the field.

those with friends already settled in the West to settle a new area was also common knowledge to those involved with Ukrainian settlement. It was only those without contacts in the West, and who consequently had no specific reason for locating in a specific area, that Government Agents were prepared to direct into new areas. As the Agents had no legal means to enforce their will, they resorted to a variety of underhanded, if not illegal, devices to effect the settlement of Ukrainians into new areas.[20]

Criteria for Site Selection.

Sites for the establishment of Ukrainian settlements were always selected in areas of the type known to be preferred by the majority of Ukrainian immigrants: the well timbered environments of the northern fringes of the aspen parkland vegetation belt. In their evaluation of potential sites for the establishment of new nodes of Ukrainian settlement, Government officials always bore in mind the fact that as a group the Ukrainians were unusually deficient in capital. It was important, there-

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[20]W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 18 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (59672).

fore, that opportunity for either the generation or acquisition of capital be present.

Paradoxically, opportunity for capital generation was increased on land not generally regarded as first class agricultural land. Timbered and wet areas offered opportunity for gaining some capital by exploitation of the non-agricultural resources of the land. The cutting and marketing of cordwood, for example, was one way in which settlers with little or no capital could raise sufficient cash to establish themselves in farming (Plate 3). In most districts which had access to a market for cordwood, settlers could obtain from between $1.25 to $1.75 per cord, split and delivered. An average settler, in a reasonably favoured location, could cut and split a cord in a day and could, perhaps, haul two cords to market the next, thereby averaging an income of around 70¢ per day. At the turn of the century this was a fairly good return on labour, for heavy work on the C.P.R. section gangs brought only $1.25 per day and farm labourers in the Brandon area were receiving a maximum of $15.00 a month in addition to their board.[21]

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[21] D. McIntosh, Roadmaster, C.P.R. Prince Albert, to W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 25 July 1898; P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 178, File 60868 pt. 1 (60868); and James Mavor, Report to the Board of Trade on the North-West of Canada with Special Reference to Wheat Production for Export (London: H. M. S. O., 1904), p. 57.

PLATE 3 Ukrainian Settler and Wife Clearing Land. Hadashville, Manitoba, 1917. (Sisler Collection, Manitoba Archives.)

The opportunity to obtain income by digging Seneca (Snake) Root (Polygana Senega) also added to the attractiveness of certain woodland areas in the eyes of the Government officials.[22] This latter activity could bring fairly good returns and a family could expect to earn better than a dollar per day for their labours.[23]

Other natural features of the land were seen by Government Agents as aids to survival, even if they had no market value. Lakes well endowed with fish, for example, were seen as extremely important assets for capital deficient settlers,[24] and other food sources; wild fruits, berries, game-birds and wildlife, were not overlooked.[25]

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[22]W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 27 June 1900. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 4 (118763); and, J. S. Crerar, Yorkton, to W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 7 July 1900. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 178, File 60868 pt. 1 (119647).

[23]Interview with Todor Kutzak, Sirko, Manitoba, 15 September 1975.

[24]W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 27 June 1900. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt.4 (118763).

[25]C. W. Speers, Winnipeg, to Frank Pedley, Ottawa, 22 May 1899, "Report of Thomas McNutt, Strathclair-Shoal Lake Colonization Scheme." P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 3 (82717).

The concern to provide opportunity for acquisition of capital was reflected in the way in which Crown Agents constantly viewed areas adjacent to established German settlements as excellent sites for the establishment of new Ukrainian settlements. Most German settlers possessed capital upon arrival, had an enviable reputation as successful settlers, and, above all, many of them were from the Ukraine and were thus familiar in some measure with both the language and the people.[26] Having been in Canada for some years before the major influx of Ukrainians many were well established and in a position to employ farm help, some even on a year round basis.

Apart from work on farms or in cordwood camps there was limited employment opportunity for Ukrainian immigrants. It was not until 1899 that the first Ukrainians secured work on railroad section gangs. In the early years, therefore, opportunities for work for the unskilled peasants from the Ukraine soon became exhausted even in those settlements where some employment was available with

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[26]Many ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche), not only Mennonites, had emigrated from various parts of the Ukraine. They included groups of various religious persuasions, from Baptists to Catholics. Although the majority of such groups were from the Russian - controlled Central and Eastern Ukraine, some were from the Austrian-controlled provinces of Galicia and Bukowina.

nearby German farmers. In 1896, for example, the many applications for work entered with the Edmonton Colonization Agent was an important factor in the decision to curtail the growth of the Star settlement by establishing other nodes elsewhere in the West.[27] It was felt that to allow further expansion of the Ukrainian settlement at Star without any chance of employment for the new arrivals would be to court disaster.

Such economic considerations were important factors in the Government's determination to create new settlement nuclei which were to act as the foundations for the growth of new blocks of Ukrainian settlement. The selection of the Strathclair - Shoal Lake area as suitable for settlement by Ukrainians, for example, was partly because of the employment potential of the Riding Mountain Timber Reserve lumbering camps and the opportunity of employing settlers on fire protection work if it was found to be necessary to generate extra employment.[28] Similarly,

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[27] E. H. Taylor, for the Secretary, Dominion Lands Office, Winnipeg, to the Secretary, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 2 May 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 109, File 21103 pt. 1 (290064).

[28] C. W. Speers, Winnipeg, to Frank Pedley, Ottawa, 10 June 1899. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 3 (83911).

opportunity for working out with local farmers was a factor in the selection of the Yorkton and Saltcoats districts for settlement by Ukrainians.

As Ukrainians were employed in increasing numbers by the railways, the locational pull of farm employment gradually decreased. Government officials secured group contracts for large numbers of Ukrainian immigrants to work on railway labouring gangs, so releasing much of the pressure to find locations where farm work was available. The Government preferred farm employment for the Ukrainian immigrants. Railway work was not thought to be in the best interests of either the country or the immigrant. It tended to slow the rate of assimilation and removed settlers from their farms and families for lengthy periods. Farm work, on the other hand, speeded assimilation by exposing the immigrant to the English language and to Western Canadian farming techniques. By 1900 the rate of immigration necessitated the provision of work on such a scale as could not be met by local farm employment in most localities and the majority of those who wished to 'work out' did so labouring on railway section gangs throughout the West.

As the economy of the West improved, the demand for labour increased. By 1905 demand for labour often

exceeded the supply. One Ukrainian settlement near Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, was established partially in response to initiatives taken by the Prince Albert Board of Trade to secure the settlement of Ukrainians in the vicinity of the town. It was argued that the area was well suited for Ukrainian settlement on the basis of its environmental qualities and proximity to the Prince Albert market.[29] There was, however, also an obvious desire to secure Ukrainian settlement in the vicinity as a source of cheap labour for the Prince Albert timber mills.[30]

Contrasts in Site Evaluation: Whitemouth and Stuartburn.

It was suggested earlier that the Crown Agents generally evaluated land for the settlement of Ukrainians using many criteria employed by the immigrants themselves. Self sufficiency in settlement, it is clear, was desired by both parties. Nevertheless the evaluations of prospective sites for settlement by the Government and the immigrant did not always correspond. In 1896 a party of

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[29] J. A. Lamont, M. P., Ottawa, to W. D. Scott, Ottawa, 20 February 1905 (365293); also C. W. Speers, Brandon, "Report of Inspection of Townships 50-51 Ranges 26-27, W. 2.," to W. D. Scott, Ottawa, 3 July 1905. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 238, File 141288 pt. 1 (399788).

[30] C. W. Speers, Brandon, to J. Obed Smith, Winnipeg, 13 February 1906. P. A. C., R. G. 76, File 141288 pt. 1 (504612).

Oleskow's settlers rejected land in the Whitemouth River area of Manitoba selected for them by Crown Agents and instead elected to settle in the Stuartburn district. This incident merits closer examination for it provides a clear illustration of the subtle differences in land evaluation by the Government and the immigrant.

In 1896 Dr. Oleskow had requested that his first party of Ukrainian settlers be located in the Dauphin area.[31] This proved to be inconvenient at the time. Flooding had restricted access to the area and insufficient surveyed land was available in accessible areas. The Department of the Interior suggested the Whitemouth River area of Manitoba as an alternative area for their settlement.[32] They promoted this alternate site with an energy which revealed their determination to direct settlement from the Ukrainian settlement at Star, Alberta.

The Whitemouth district is generally agriculturally inferior to the land then available in the Star settlement in Alberta. From hindsight the action of the Government

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[31]Dr. Josef Oleskow, Lemberg, Austria, to T. Mayne Daly, Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, 18 April 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 109, File 21103 pt. 1 (29051).

[32]W. M. Goodeve, Ottawa, to A. M. Burgess, Deputy Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, 11 April 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 109, File 21103 pt. 1 (28151).

in promoting the Whitemouth area may appear to be somewhat irrational, even discriminatory. However, it is suggested that in their eagerness to establish a new node of Ukrainian settlement Crown Agents took an unusually sanguine view of the settlement potential of the Whitemouth district. They regarded the area as a good location, well suited to the needs of peasant settlers. A major factor in its favour, in their eyes, was that the new settlers could obtain steady winter employment with nearby lumbering operations.[33] The land was also believed to be of good agricultural quality, for the local land agent had assured the Commissioner of Dominion Lands in Winnipeg that the area was:

> .... admirably suited for settlement. The soil for the most part is reported rich loam of a depth of from two to three feet with clay subsoil, and extremely fertile. Less than a dozen years ago, this land was covered with forest trees of primeval growth, but now owing to cutting and fires, but little timber of value

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[33]H. H. Smith, Winnipeg, to A. M. Burgess, Ottawa, 22 April 1896, (28758); and E. H. Taylor, Winnipeg, to the Secretary, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 28 April 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 109, File 21103 pt. 1 (29023).

> remains, and the land can be cleared for cultivation with little labour.[34]

It was somewhat ironic that Dr. Oleskow who, paradoxically, was more familiar with official immigration literature than were Canadian officials, should point out that part of the area recommended for settlement was described in the Department of the Interior's own literature as "nearly all swamp" with soil of "second and third quality." Unable to suppress his fears as to the advisability of settlement in the district, Oleskow again requested that his settlers be settled in the Edmonton district or in the Lake Dauphin district.[35]

The Government's preference for the Whitemouth area is partially explainable by their confused perception of land quality and by the accessibility of the Whitemouth district. To reach the Dauphin area required "a journey of some 60 miles..." over "almost impassible" roads, whereas a colonization road had already been built to within ten miles of Whitemouth.[36]

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[34] E. F. Stephanson, Winnipeg, to H. H. Smith, Winnipeg, 28 April 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 109, File 21103 pt. 1 (29064).

[35] Dr. Josef Oleskow, Lemberg, Austria, to the Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 19 May 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 109, File 21103 pt. 1 (29757). Oleskow quoted from the Description of the Province of Manitoba which was published under the authority of the Hon. T. M. Daly, Minister of the Interior.

[36] E. H. Taylor, Winnipeg, to the Secretary, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 25 April 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 109, File 21103 pt. 1 (28891).

According to maps of the area submitted by the Winnipeg Lands Commissioner to the Department of the Interior, all the sections adjacent to the Whitemouth River, upon which the Ukrainians could settle, were classified as "good" and there were only small patches of muskeg lying well back from the riverfront. The more southerly sections had already been entered by Anglo-Canadian settlers. This enhanced the desirability of the area in the eyes of the Government.

The Whitemouth area was thus believed to be suited to Ukrainian settlement: the land was thought to be of good quality and the area was assured of good communication with Winnipeg. As most of the timber had been removed, it was no longer valuable as a timber reserve. Nevertheless the Department of the Interior assured Dr. Oleskow that his settlers would not be required to settle at Whitemouth unless they liked the country.[37]

The first party of settlers sent by Dr. Oleskow, and led by his brother Wladimir, rejected the Whitemouth area after a tour of inspection. They considered the land

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[37] J. G. Colmer, London, England, to Dr. Josef Oleskow, Lemberg, Austria, 27 May 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 76 File 21103 pt. 1 (29757).

to be "too full of brush and stumps to be successfully cultivated."[38] Most of the party continued westward, to the Edmonton district, hoping to obtain land in the area of Ukrainian settlement there.

This first unsuccessful attempt to settle incoming Ukrainians on lands in the Whitemouth area well illustrates the pattern of behaviour which later became customary as Ukrainian settlement progressed. The Government attempted to influence the location of settlers by persuasion, basing its recommendations on information on land quality furnished by their local agents. In retrospect it is clear that a fairly wide interpretation accompanied soil descriptions. It is also clear that the criteria under which the Government agents evaluated the settlement potential of an area did not always coincide with that of the settlers themselves. In the Whitemouth case the Government wanted to follow exploitation of the area's timber resources with agricultural settlement. However,

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[38] E. H. Taylor, Winnipeg, to the Secretary, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 7 May 1896. P. A. C., R.G. 76, Vol. 109, File 21103 pt. 1 (29253). The lands offered to the Ukrainians were subsequently settled successfully by German settlers. See, Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers "Department of the Interior", 1901, Report of E. F. Stephanson, Winnipeg Land Agent, p. 19.

the colonists invariably wished to combine exploitation of the forest resource with the act of agricultural colonization. Consequently, settlement of forested areas from which all commercially valuable timber had been taken was not an attractive proposition to most settlers, despite the fact that wide areas had been partially or fully cleared. The value of the timber was lost to the settler, yet he was left with the most arduous and unrewarding task of clearance, that of extracting the stumps, a process which unlike the felling of timber bore no cash return. Lumbering operations did not remove undergrowth and useless bush had to be cleared by the settler, who had to reconcile himself to building with inferior materials - small diameter birch and aspen - rather than mature spruce and jackpine.

Government Agents tended to either overlook or ignore such considerations and placed greater emphasis upon the opportunity for obtaining work with local cordwood operations. They apparently regarded the stripping of commercial timber as of significant assistance in the process of land clearance. Naturally occurring openings in woodland areas were thought to be of considerable advantage to prospective settlers and were recommended

for settlement even over areas of open prairie.[39] To ascribe similar virtues to openings created by lumbering operations implies either a remoteness from the realities of settlement in woodland areas, or a callous determination to settle such areas regardless of the cost borne by the settler. To accept either of the above views, however, would be to misinterpret the actions of the officials involved. The senior officers based in Ottawa were most concerned to establish a new colony and to initiate the dispersal of Ukrainian settlement by directing immigrants away from the Star settlement in Alberta. The Local Agents wanted only to accomplish the successful settlement of the Ukrainians with the utmost dispatch and minimum of effort. When evaluating potential sites for Ukrainian settlement they tended to assign great weight to the opportunity for securing employment, since settlers who became short, or devoid, of capital ultimately caused the most trouble for Crown Agents. Consequently, opportunity to acquire capital was highly regarded. Other aspects of the settlement site were considered less significant. Like the settlers, Crown Agents evaluated locations for settlement from their own vantage point. It was not

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[39]Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers "Surveyor General", 1896, Report of T. Fawcett, Dominion Land Surveyor, p. 29.

surprising that the two did not always coincide.

The establishment of the Ukrainian settlement in the Stuartburn district of Manitoba in the summer of 1896 demonstrates a similar philosophy on the part of the Government Agent responsible for placing the settlers. In this instance, however, both the settlers and the agent arrived at a common decision as to its suitability for settlement.

In July 1896 a party of Oleskow settlers joined the few Ukrainian families from the earlier group which had rejected the Whitemouth River area and still remained in the Winnipeg Immigration Hall.[40] They all selected delegates to accompany the German speaking Scandinavian interpreter, John W. Wendelbo, and search for suitable locations for settlement in southern Manitoba. Wendelbo, presumably acting on the advice of, or with the approval of, Immigration Commissioner Smith, escorted the delegates southward through the Mennonite East Reserve and attempted to find land adjacent to the Mennonites. He desired,

> ... to locate them as near as possible to the Mennonites where Stock, Food and other necessities,

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[40] Vladimir J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895 - 1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964), p. 137.

> required for a new settler could be had on very reasonable conditions, and where employment is plenty nearly any time of the year.[41]

The Mennonite Reserves were highly regarded by the officials of the Immigration Service, both as showplaces to illustrate the progress which could be made by continental immigrants, and as places of employment for incoming settlers. They were, commented Agent Hugo Carstens, "a great boon to the ... immigrants seeking employment, as they always offer work to either single men or families."[42] Settlement of the Ukrainians near to a Mennonite Reserve was thus desirable from the official standpoint, for it obviated the need to secure employment for the poorer immigrants. It also lessened the chance that Agents would be asked to provide financial assistance in the initial years of settlement.

Unfortunately, there was not sufficient vacant land for a large contiguous settlement adjacent to the Mennonite East Reserve. The party continued southward along the

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[41]John W. Wendelbo, Winnipeg, to H. H. Smith, Winnipeg, 8 August 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 15, B-1a (224) File 410595 (1).

[42]Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers "Department of the Interior," 1896, p. 118.

Roseau River to Township 2 Range 6 East, where they "found the land very satisfactory, mixed with Poplar groves, scrubby Prairie, and Meadow lands, and anough [sic] vacant Homesteads for about 35 or 40 families."[43] The delegates were sufficiently impressed with the country to induce their compatriots to settle in the area. On August 11, 1896 the whole contingent of twenty seven families and several single men, escorted by Wendelbo, travelled by train to Dominion City and then by wagon to the area chosen for settlement.

Although the area was certainly not good from the agricultural viewpoint, - "... not such as to attract much attention from the Canadian settler, being to a good extent very rough and hard to clear and improve."[44] - it was thought to be "well adapted for mixed farming...."[45] The land was described by one enthusiastic proponent of the area as "chiefly rolling prairie interspersed with

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[43]John W. Wendelbo, Winnipeg, to H. H. Smith, Winnipeg, 8 August 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 15, B-1a (224) File 410595 (1).

[44]Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers "Department of the Interior," Report of E. F. Stephanson, Winnipeg Land Agent, pp. 12-13.

[45]Hugo Carstens, Winnipeg, to H. H. Smith, Winnipeg, 25 November 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 110, File 21103 pt. 2 (32524).

fine groves of poplar timber, the soil .... rich dark loam."[46] A more realistic note was struck, perhaps only by coincidence, and after its settlement, by the Winnipeg Land Agent:

> for the most part [the area is] of inferior character, and as such would be rejected by ordinary farmers .... The district is well adapted for stock raising ....[47]

Nevertheless, all the government agents who were involved in the placing of the first settlers in what was to be the "Stuartburn colony" were enthusiastic about the site, not on the basis of its agricultural quality, but on account of its location. Although the Stuartburn district lay over 20 miles from the Mennonite East Reserve it was still considered to be well positioned for "working-out". Settlers could find "remunerative employment" with the Mennonites of either the East or West Reserves, and during haying and harvest time could secure work at good wages on the Mennonite West Reserve and in the flourishing farming districts of Emerson and Morris about 30 miles west of Stuartburn.[48] The settlement was also thought to

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers "Department of the Interior," 1900, Report of E. F. Stephanson, p. 5.

[48] Ibid.

be well located with regard to markets. This was a factor of some importance, since the land was suited to stock rearing and dairying. The almost total absence of roads or trails leading into the area was apparently not considered to be a significant barrier to progress because the settlers did not expect to become involved in commercial operations until after some years of settlement. It was assumed that by then the communications would have developed sufficiently to facilitate the shipping of dairy products.

While it is doubtful whether peasant settlers consciously reviewed all factors it appears that they were satisfied with their location on the basis of the land quality alone.[49] Although rough, the land offered some good grazing, the wetter areas offered good hay for a large number of cattle and the bush provided shelter. The initial settlers discussed their plans for agriculture with the agent responsible for their settlement in the

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[49]It is noteworthy that their assessment of the area was made in July - August, at the driest time of the year, for the Stuartburn area before drainage in the 1930s was notoriously wet, many areas being virtual swamps in springtime. The agents of the Department of the Interior at Winnipeg were aware of this for they issued warnings to the settlers to build on the highest ground available. This many neglected to do and this caused some consternation in the Winnipeg Office of the Department, and fears were expressed as to the consequences to be expected at the time of the spring thaw. Burpe, Secretary to the Commissioner of Dominion Lands, Winnipeg, to the Secretary, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 30 November 1896. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 110, File 21103 pt. 2 (32524).

Stuartburn area. His report indicates that they had formulated realistic approaches to settling the type of environment which they had selected. They expressed no intention of engaging in commercial grain farming. Rather, they intended to procure sufficient stock to warrant the organization of a co-operative creamery or cheese factory.[50] This was a sensible approach in the bush country of southern Manitoba, since it reduced the need to clear large areas of bush. However, it was an approach open only to settlers with some capital who could afford to wait for deferred returns. Pauper immigrants had not the luxury of such options in settlement strategy, as the local agents were well aware when they cautioned against allowing any pauper immigration.

The selection of the Stuartburn district, and the rejection of the Whitemouth district, by the first group of Oleskow settlers illustrates the criteria used by both the Government and the immigrant in evaluating prospective settlement locations. Government Agents were more aware of the need for generation of capital by securing "off-farm" employment in the initial years of settlement. The

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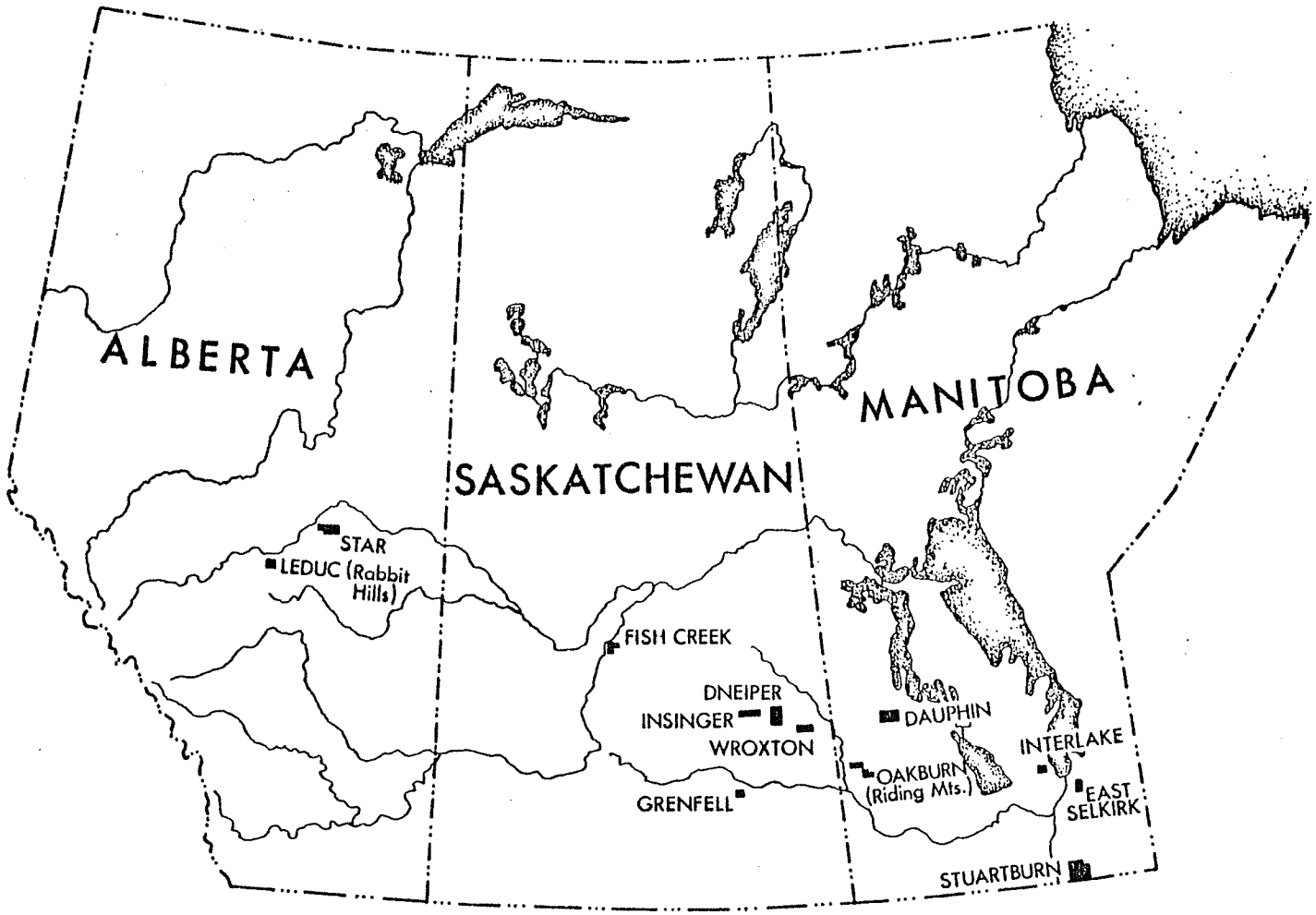
[50]Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers "Department of the Interior," 1897, Report of John W. Wendelbo, p. 127.

immigrants, at least in this instance, did not seem to be so aware of the need for additional income during their pioneer years. Indeed throughout the history of Ukrainian settlement in the West it was the Government Agents who placed the greatest emphasis upon opportunity for the generation of capital by off-farm employment. Peasant immigrants, predictably, placed their faith in subsistance agriculture and the "security" of group settlement. Those more fortunate immigrants who possessed capital were able to choose locations without regard to employment opportunity. The great majority of Ukrainian settlers, however, suffered physical and economic hardships if they disregarded the advice of Government Agents who attempted to place them in locations where off-farm employment was available.

The Growth of Ukrainian Settlements in the West.

In 1895 there was only one small settlement of Ukrainians in Western Canada - that at Star in Alberta. By 1901 the efforts of the Government had succeeded in creating a number of small nodes of settlements which arced along the northern fringe of the aspen parkland from Leduc in Alberta to Stuartburn in Manitoba (Fig. 7). The basic geographical pattern of Ukrainian settlement

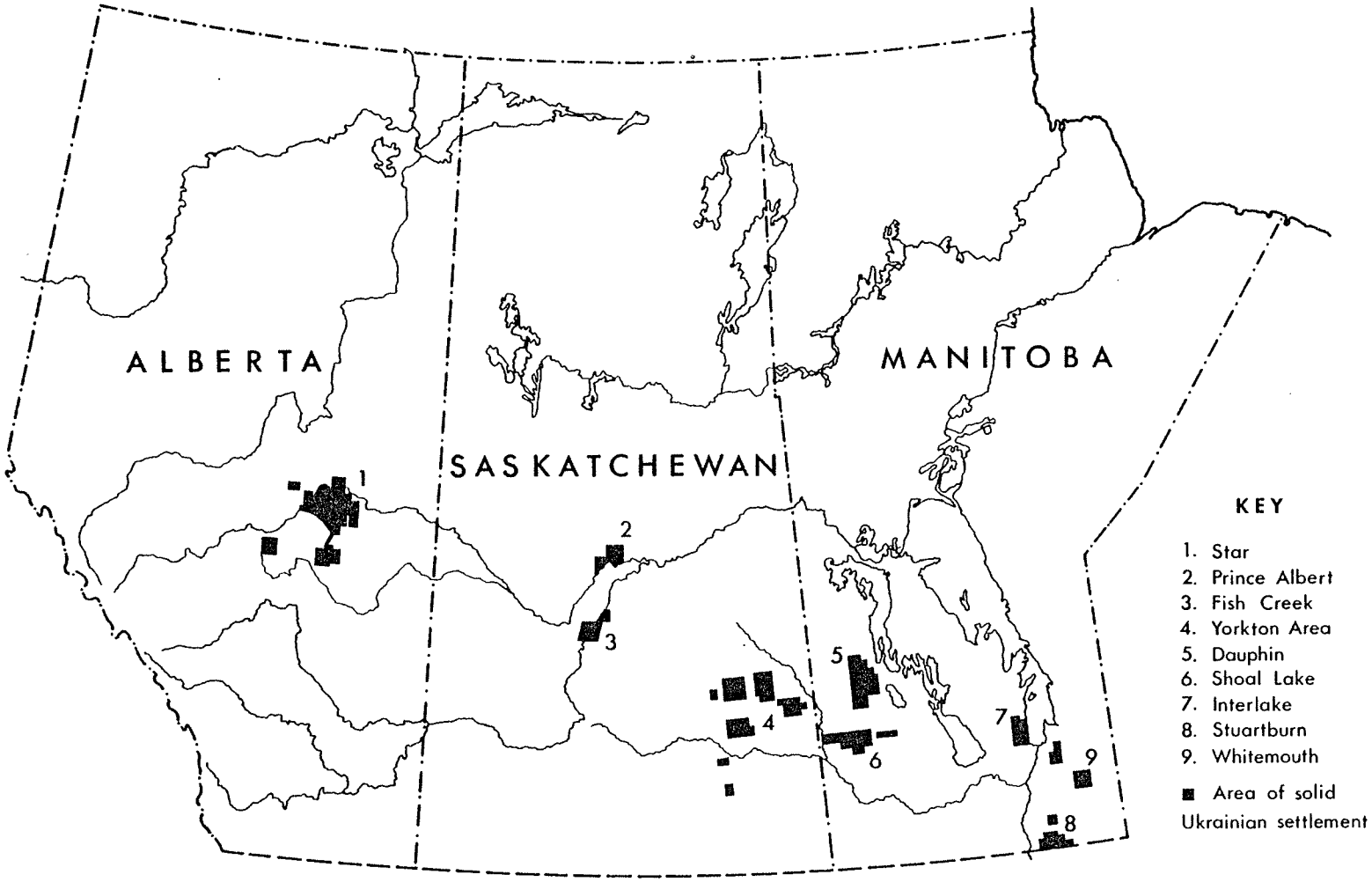
UKRAINIAN BLOCK SETTLEMENTS IN 1900



Source: Public Archives Of Canada, Record Group 76

Figure 7

UKRAINIAN BLOCK SETTLEMENTS IN 1905



Source: Public Archives of Canada, Record Group 76.

Figure 8

had been established.

Although areas of settlement expanded and some new areas of settlement were created by 1905 the pattern of Ukrainian occupance had not greatly changed (Fig. 8). The decade following was essentially one of consolidation, the infilling and expansion of existing blocks of settlement. The pattern of Ukrainian settlement in 1914 (Fig. 9) was essentially that established in the first few years of massive immigration between 1896 and 1900.

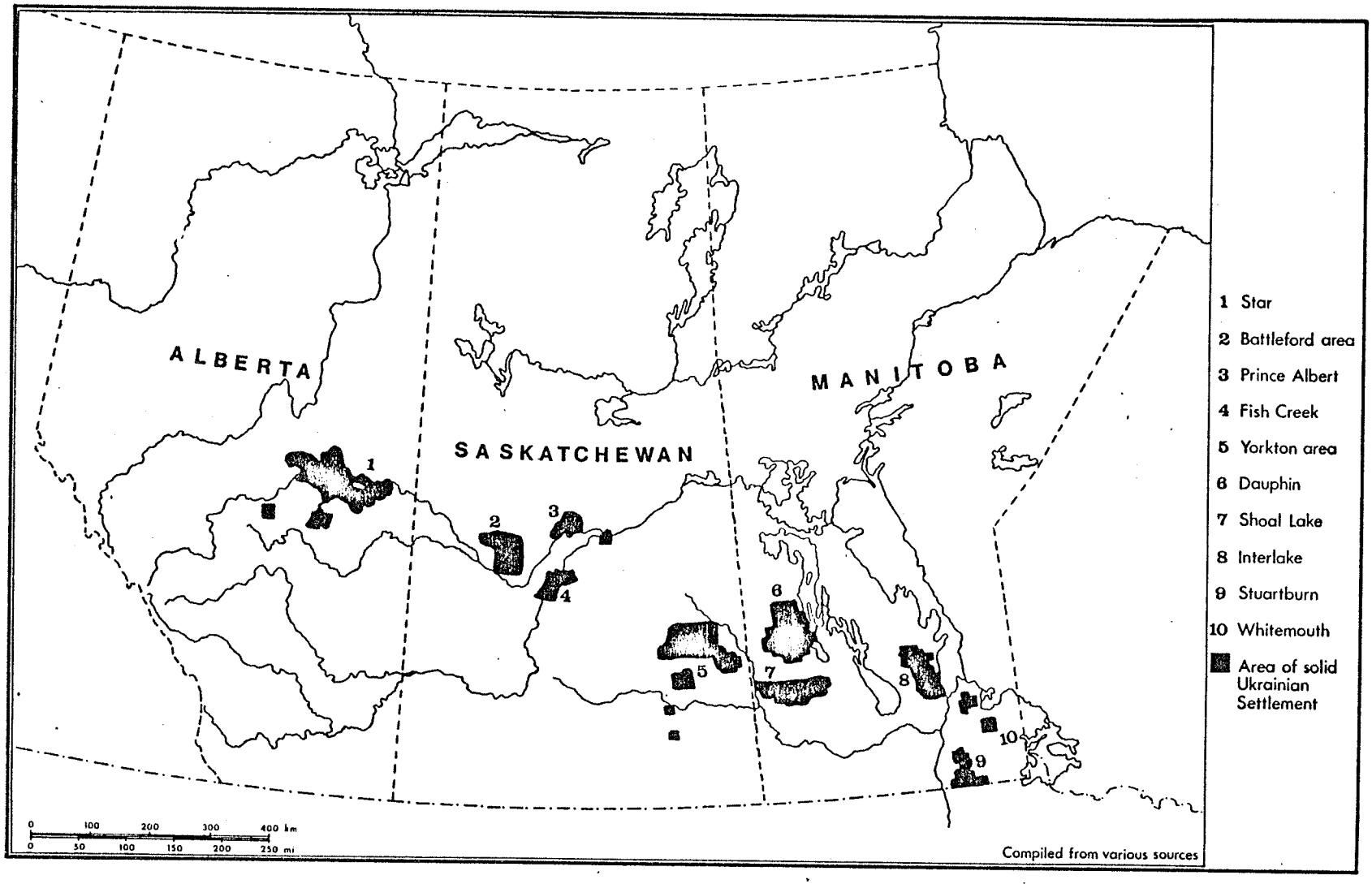


Figure 9. Ukrainian Block Settlements 1914

CHAPTER VIII

STRATEGIES IN SETTLEMENT: THE GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE

Government interest in the settlement of immigrants in the West extended beyond their placement on land. All levels of the Department of the Interior had a vested interest in the success of their settlement. In the case of pauper immigrants they were anxious that they be located so that they could support themselves by their own efforts. Indeed, the Department of the Interior was concerned that furnishing relief to needy settlers would erode the pioneer spirit of self-reliance, and would place an undue strain upon the Department's financial resources. More importantly, perhaps, they were afraid that their involvement in programs of assistance would reflect unfavourably upon the immigration policy of the Liberal Party. From 1897 until 1902 the latter was highly sensitive to public criticism of Ukrainian immigrants. The Liberals were especially sensitive to charges that Ukrainian immigrants would prove to be a long term financial burden upon the country.

Since aid rendered to settlers after the fact of settlement was generally obvious to the Government's opponents, the Department was always reluctant to provide material assistance after the initial phase of settlement was over. On the other hand they showed little hesitancy in implementing programs of assistance during the first period of settlement. In consequence, Government aid usually came in the guise of employment for settlers. Whether the procurement of contracts for cutting cordwood, section work with the railroads, or in Government sponsored "make-work" projects, the income from such activities was extremely valuable to needy settlers. Often involving little but the time of Government officials, this service cost little or nothing to provide. It was not controversial and was easily justifiable, since it was benficial to all parties.

Less well known, but perhaps no less widespread, were Government projects designed to facilitate the successful settlement of Ukrainian immigrants. These projects, principally confined to the earlier years of the Laurier administration involved donation of supplies to needy settlers,[1] provision of the basic implements for clearing and breaking,

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[1]A comprehensive review of aid given to destitute Ukrainian settlers in Western Canada is given by Vladimir J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964).

preparation of land for incoming settlers, provision of seed grains, and even the planting of small acreages of subsistence crops in anticipation of the settlers' arrival.[2] Equally important, but less direct, assistance was rendered by the Crown Agents' loose interpretation of homestead regulations and procedures of homestead entry, the occasional relaxing of land regulations in favour of Ukrainian settlers, and their attempts to modify Department regulations and systems of survey to accommodate the preferences and desires of the Ukrainian immigrants. At the same time, however, the Department of the Interior, was conscious of the cost of settling the West and afforded financial aid only where strictly necessary. It was never freely proffered.

Department personnel were more willing to engage in quasi-legal actions in their "interpretations" of homesteading and other pertinent regulations, usually with the tacit agreement of Ottawa, rather than risk the political consequences of providing direct assistance. That the

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[2]Equipment provided to needy settlers ranged from spades, hoes, and axes to fishing tackle. W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, n.d. [1897] (39087); W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 30 June 1900, (118763); W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa 29 May 1897, (38150). P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pts. 1 and 4. See also, James A. Smart, Ottawa, to W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 12 May 1899. P. A. C., R. G. 15, B-1a (224) File 410595 (2) (519576).

Laurier administration was prepared to condone this approach strongly supports contemporary charges of its penny-pinching approach to settlement, for the activities of Crown Agents generated many politically embarrassing charges of Government favouritism toward Ukrainian settlers, and, by implication, discrimination against the "preferred" English speaking immigrants.

Although the Government publically displayed little concern about such charges, it was sensitive to allegations that it had incurred a financial liability, especially when levelled at it by anglophile Tory newspapers such as the Winnipeg Telegram. Their sensitivity was heightened by the knowledge that there was widespread disapproval of the payment of bonuses to Continental Steamship Agents who booked immigrants to Canadian destinations. Later, there was similar disapproval and suspicion over Government involvement in the activities of the North Atlantic Trading Association. It was charged - correctly - that higher bonuses were paid to steamship agents for Ukrainian immigrants than were paid for British immigrants.[3] The resulting furor put the Laurier Government on the defensive from 1897

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[3]Details of the formation of the North Atlantic Trading Company and the associated per capita bonus system may be found in the correspondence of the Department of the Interior. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 61, File 2614 pts. 2 and 3.

until long after the resignation of Clifford Sifton in 1905, and the eventual passing of the North Atlantic Trading Company controversy in 1910.[4] At the time when emotions were running high over the merits of Slav immigrants who (according to some elements of the Tory Press,) were riff-raff, not fit to be classed as white men,[5] it was politically unwise to lay oneself open to further allegations that additional financial payments had been made to immigrants for whom the Government had already paid five dollars a head.[6]

Establishing settlers so as to enable them to achieve independence from Government aid was viewed somewhat differently. The cost of this was probably equal to the cost of food supplies given to destitute settlers. However, the former was seen as being in the nature of a long term investment, whereas provision of food supplies was short term humanitarian aid only. Similarly, the breaking of land for incoming Ukrainians entering the more open lands in the Yorkton area was designed to secure their economic

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[4]See, for example, Manitoba Free Press, 30 April 1906, 7 May 1906, 8 May 1906 and 4 June 1906; Winnipeg Tribune, 17 January 1907 and 9 February 1910.

[5]Nor'Wester, 23 May 1898; Winnipeg Telegram, 2 November 1899.

[6]"Memo," Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 15 June 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 61, File 2614 pt. 2.

independence in their first year of settlement. Furthermore, the Government, ever businesslike, sought to recoup its expenditures by charging those who benefitted from broken land at the rate of $2.50 per acre, and taking liens against the homesteads of those unable to pay.[7]

Attempts to plant crops of potatoes and turnips in small acreages broken by the Government's contractors, so as to provide a guaranteed crop for settlers taking up homesteads late in the season, proved to be less successful. Crown Agents encountered an unexpected difficulty in persuading immigrants to tend these crops. Despite repeated urgings, the settlers neglected them reasoning with peasant logic that there was little economic return to be gained from labouring on a project when the benefits might be reaped by unrelated latecomers who had contributed nothing in the way of labour. Although established settlers often rendered assistance to incoming immigrants this was generally provided on a reciprocal basis. Consequently they accorded priority to the tending of their own crops.

Perhaps the most significant contribution made by the Government to the success of Ukrainian settlement came about as a result of their Agents' accurate assessment of

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[7]C. W. Speers, Winnipeg, to W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 30 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (60179).

the disposition of Ukrainian immigrants for a close social environment, which led them to recommend that in certain areas, as, for example, in the Stuartburn area of Manitoba, Ukrainian settlers be allowed to homestead the odd-numbered as well as the even-numbered sections.[8] There were even suggestions that the Ukrainian should be placed on 80-acre homesteads, so as to create the dense settlement closer to "their views and expectations."[9] It was argued that the homestead entry fee would be halved to five dollars from the usual ten and any taxes would also be reduced proportionally. This course of action, thought Commissioner McCreary, would "conduce materially to the prosperity of this colony [Stuartburn], as well as of our other Galician settlements,"[10] It would not adversely affect the future prosperity of the settlers concerned as they had "...ample land for their requirements for many years to come, if they properly cultivate the 80 acres homestead, especially as at Stuartburn they have abundance of hay and wood within easy

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[8]See Kaye, Ukrainian Settlements, pp. 144-160.

[9]"Placing Galician Immigrants," Department of the Interior, 19 May 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (37582).

[10]W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 14 July 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 15, B-1a (224) File 410595 (1) (433590).

reach.[11] In the event, Ukrainians in that area objected to taking less than full 160-acre homesteads, and the proposal was never implemented to any great extent.

Following this line of thought, McCreary proposed that it would be in the interests of the country if the Government were to loan fifty dollars to all Ukrainian immigrants who had less than that amount when they arrived in the West. The adequacy of this sum was based upon the adoption of the 80-acres homestead and was to be disposed of in the following manner:

Payment of homestead entry fee on 80 acres	-	$ 5.00
One cow	-	$25.00
Board from time of landing to location	-	$ 5.00
One pig	-	$ 5.00
Twelve hens	-	$ 5.00
Spade, shovel, axe, nails etc.	-	$ 5.00
TOTAL	-	$50.00[12]

As far as may be ascertained McCreary's proposal was never acted upon. Throughout the history of Government assistance to Ukrainian settlers there are few instances of direct cash grants or loans being made. If help was rendered it

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[11] Ibid.

[12] W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 14 July 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (37563).

was generally in the form of supplies or implements. Other well-intentioned proposals for the settlement of Ukrainian immigrants also failed to reach fruition, not through Government intransigence but through the pressure of events. It was recommended, for example, that settlers arriving in a colony should be placed with reference to the number of children in each family and the intended location of the school house. The families with the most children were to be settled around the school site, single men to be placed on the periphery.[13] There is no evidence to suggest that this sensible proposal was ever implemented. Indeed, given the confusion which often attended the settlement of large groups, it is hardly surprising that such idealistic proposals were quietly ignored by the Crown Agents in the field.

Several attempts were made to change the system of survey so as to cater to the preferences and needs of Ukrainian settlers. The sectional survey system was not well adapted to the creation of a dense settlement pattern, and for groups such as the Ukrainians, which displayed an eagerness for the development of a strong sense of community, it was most unsatisfactory. Although the Government had

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[13]"Placing Galician Immigrants," Department of the Interior, 19 May 1897. P. A. D., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (37582).

few opportunities to remedy this under normal circumstances, they did make some efforts to extend some river lot surveys with a view to placing Ukrainian settlers upon them. By using a River Lot Survey along the Saskatchewan River at Fish Creek, (Township 41 Range 1 East of the Third Meridian) it was intended to create lots of 75 to 100 acres, provide for houses to be built closely together, and to effect a more rapid settlement.[14] Subsequently, Ukrainian families were placed on river lots in this vicinity but the experiment was limited in its application to a comparatively small area. Other River Lot Surveys were made at the instigation of the Department of the Interior along the Whitemouth River, where some Ukrainian settlers eventually located,[15] and along the Duck and Pine Rivers and Point Creek near Lake Winnipegosis.[16] Nevertheless, such innovations could hardly be labelled as significant in terms of the overall picture of settlement.

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[14] C. W. Speers, Brandon, to Frank Pedley, Ottawa, 29 June 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 110, File 21103 pt. 2 (78733).

[15] J. Obed Smith, Winnipeg, to W. D. Scott, Ottawa, 25 August 1905. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 110, File 21103 pt. 2 (78733).

[16] C. W. Speers, Portage la Prairie, to Frank Pedley, Ottawa, 27 March 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 110, File 21103 pt. 2 (78733).

Far more significant, in both the geographical and political senses, were the efforts of Government Agents to promote contiguity in Ukrainian settlement. Procedures which were not strictly orthodox, or for that matter, legal, were used to ensure solid Ukrainian occupance of certain townships by excluding the bogus entries of land speculators, and the entries of those anxious to exclude Ukrainian settlers from their locality. In the case of those lands in the Stuartburn district which the Government desired to be settled by Ukrainians (Townships 1 and 2, Ranges 6 and 7 East of the First Meridian) Commissioner McCreary recommended that:

> ...it might be just as well that these lands should not be made open for entry at the land office here [Winnipeg], because if this is done there is no doubt speculators down in that district [Stuartburn] will at once apply in order, if possible, to shut out the Galicians. I think the better plan is for our man in this office, when a party arrives, to take them down, have them select their various quarter-sections and if they are in a position to make entry write your department and have you give special instructions that these particular entries should be allowed. You must bear in mind that there is a strong aversion on the part of English speaking people to allowing these Galicians to come into their districts, and I have got to have

> the means to circumvent their actions.[17]

Such strategies did much to promote the contiguous nature of Ukrainian colonization throughout the West, and were certainly a significant factor in establishing the ethnic homogenity of the Ukrainian settlements.[18] They illustrate, too, the pragmatic basis of the decision-making process by Crown Agents actively involved in Western settlement. This revealed a determination to achieve long-term successful agricultural settlement even if political advantage had to be sacrificed, and the opposition be allowed to make political capital out of charges that the Ukrainians were receiving preferential treatment from Government officials.

There was, indeed, a rare ring of truth in the complaints made by the Winnipeg Telegram that in certain respects the English settler was at a disadvantage in that he was expected to abide by existing regulations and

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[17] W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 14 May 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (37564).

[18] These settlements were homogeneous only in the sense that they were composed almost entirely of Slav settlers. They were heterogeneous in that the Ukrainian population was divided on the basis of region of origin and also by religious persuasion between Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics and Russian Orthodox. Other Slav groups often settled among the Ukrainian majority: Poles, Russians, Romanians, and a few Jews from Eastern Europe.

to be relatively self-sufficient in settlement:

> Though [the English speaking settler] had to locate at his own expense these people [the Ukrainians] are located at public cost, which he [the established English speaking settler] is taxed to contribute to. He was restricted to the even numbered sections, and was required to pay his fee in advance; these people are allowed to take odd or even sections, railway, Hudson's Bay, or school lands, contrary to law, just as they please, and also contrary to law, are permitted to settle their homesteads without paying their homestead fees in advance. They are also furnished with provisions, stock and implements at the public (that is, his own) expense; the only security for the advance being a lien on land which they do not own and for which, not having paid the entry fee, they have not even a conditional right. They monopolize the hay and timber of the district, and deplete the game and fish of the locality by violating the game laws and fishery regulations under the Government's protection.[19]

Not all these allegations were true, but some were. It was not common practice to allow Ukrainian, or any other

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[19] Winnipeg Telegram, 10 August 1899. See also 9 June 1899 and 21 January 1898, for similar charges of Government favouritism toward Ukrainian immigrants. Although the Telegram, and other newspapers which opposed the immigration policy of Clifford Sifton, constantly levelled such charges they were seldom so explicit or well articulated as in the above examples. It was the Government's connivance at squatting by allowing the Ukrainians

settlers, to homestead on Railway or Hudson's Bay Company land. However, in certain instances where Ukrainian settlers had squatted on such lands in ignorance of their true nature, the Government attempted to negotiate a compensatory land transfer rather than turn off an established settler. Not all settlers had located in ignorance. Many were placed upon C. P. R., and other lands not open for homesteading, by Land Guides desperate to locate settlers, as yet unable to do so because insufficient surveyed lands were available. This occurred in the Fork River district of Manitoba, for example, where the local Land Guide and Government Agent, Paul Wood, induced Ukrainian immigrants to squat on unsurveyed territory on the understanding that official entry could be made as soon as the land was surveyed.[20]

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to make entry without payment of the ten dollar entry fee which most arroused the indignation of the Tory press. Although one does not, perhaps, expect much logic in emotional political argument, the objections of the Conservative Party, and of some elements of the Liberal Party, were founded on little but pique. Had the Agents concerned held strictly to the letter of the law, agricultural settlement would have been retarded and the number of immigrants dependent upon public support would have been increased, all to the material benefit of none save a few speculators in land, who may, of course, have been influential members of either political party.

[20]Petition to Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, from Basili Barawatski, et al., Fork River, 2 January 1905; and Fred B. Lacey, Fork River, to Clifford Sifton, Ottawa, 2 January 1905. P. A. C., R. G. 15, B-1a (224) 410595 pt. 3 (996115).

This territory was subsequently found to be Provincial Swamp Land and, after attempts to get the settlers entered on homesteads in other parts of the district met with only partial success, a land transfer between the Province and the Dominion was arranged, and the settlers were permitted to remain.[21] A similar situation arose in the Pakan area of Alberta when, from 1898 until 1903, Ukrainians were encouraged to locate on unsurveyed territory by the local Land Agent who assured them that, if upon later survey their lands were found to be on odd sections, they would not be requested to relocate. The Government promised to exchange land with the railroads in all such cases.[22] This was ultimately effected.

If, indeed, there were any unusual concessions made in favour of the Ukrainians in such instances it was only because the Government was attempting to honour the pledges made by its agents acting upon their own initiative, and

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[21]The squatters were reluctant to move from the area mainly because they did not wish to be relocated among "English speaking people with whom they could not feel satisfied..." Fred B. Lacey, Fork River, to F. A. Burrows M.P., Ottawa, 5 June 1905; and W. W. Cory, Ottawa, to the Hon. R. P. Roblin, Premier, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 2 August 1905. P. A. C., R. G. 15, B-1a (224) 410595 pt. 3.

[22]J. A. Mitchell, Pakan, Alberta, to Frank Oliver M.P., Ottawa, 4 March 1903. P. A. C., R. G. 15, B-1a (224) 410595 pt. 3 (774107).

also, perhaps, because of the character of Ukrainian settlement where close family and kinship ties made it difficult to move settlers from alternate sections only. At Assessippi, Manitoba, the fact that both squatters and homesteaders were all related and "bound to stay together" was a strong argument against attempts to move the squatters.[23] There was also an underlying reluctance on the part of those Government agents familiar with the circumstances behind the phenomenon of squatting to advocate the full application of Dominion Land Regulations and to eject squatters from their land. Many felt, as did the Minnedosa Homestead Inspector, that "...to dispossess these people and turn [their] land over to the Canadian Northern or any other corporation, does not appear to fill the bill for our much vaunted British justice and fair play."[24]

Nevertheless, in the eyes of the Dominion Government the practice of squatting on lands set aside as timber reserves was a serious matter, not only because of the contravention of Dominion Land Regulations but because of the

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[23]D. T. Wilson J.P., Assessippi, Manitoba, to the Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, 24 December 1904. P. A. C., R. G. 15, B-1a (224) 410595 pt. 3 (969285).

[24]John W. Thompson, Minnedosa, to M. E. Darby, Ottawa, 10 September 1902. P. A. C., R. G. 15, B-1a (224) 410595 pt. 2 (724811).

environmental impact of extensive clearing. Fears were expressed as to the possible effects upon the hydrologic regimes of streams and rivers which included the Riding Mountain Timber Reserve in their catchment area.[25] This was partly due to the highly effective but unorthodox and illegal methods of clearing timber which were employed by some Ukrainians who squatted in densely timbered environments.

Many squatters settling such areas cleared timber rapidly and indiscriminately, hoping to so deplete the timber resource that the area would be considered ineligible for inclusion in a timber reserve and would be declared open for homesteading. Timber was cleared by conventional methods, but whenever there was a chance of starting a fire it was taken and vast stretches of timber were destroyed by fires set, it was suspected, by Ukrainian squatters. In 1902, wrote one complainant, over the Riding Mountains "a pillar of [smoke] cloud by day and fire by night is sometimes seen for weeks."[26]

Squatting was a problem which came to be of increasing

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[25]E. Stuart, Superintendent of Forestry, Ottawa, Memorandum to Mr. Burpee, 12 September 1901. P. A. C., R. G. 15, B-1a (224) File 410595 pt. 2.

[26]John Kerr, Franklin, Manitoba, to E. F. Stephens, Ottawa, 16 April 1902. P. A. C., R. G. 15, B-1a (224) 410595 pt. 2 (696764).

concern until, by the early 1900s, it had reached epidemic proportions.[27] It was a phenomenon which was closely linked to the numbers of Ukrainian immigrants arriving in the West, the shortage of surveyed lands, and the desire of many Ukrainians to locate in wooded environments near to their relatives.[28] In many instances it was connived at by the Government and its agents. As the problems which attended widespread squatting began to become obvious the Government became less inclined to turn a blind eye to the practice and the Local Land Agents were similarly less disposed to place immigrants on land not open to settlement. From the Land Agents' point of view encouragement of squatting bore unfortunate consequences in that the practice seemed to diminish the immigrants' respect for the regulations of the Dominion Lands Act. Not having made a formal homestead entry, squatters frequently became highly mobile in their search for land to their liking. They roamed, it was claimed, from one quarter to another,[29] sometimes

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[27]The areas where squatting was most prevalent were the Riding Mountain Timber Reserve, Manitoba, Stuartburn Municipality, Manitoba, and the Pakan-Smoky Lake area of Alberta.

[28]Incorrect classification of land was another cause. Immigrants could not understand how prairie openings could be included within the limits of Timber Reserves. Some felt that in settling in such an opening they were sure to be outside any Timber Reserve.

[29]J. Obed Smith, Winnipeg, to Frank Pedley, Ottawa,

locating two families on the same quarter and generally creating the type of confusion which the Crown Agents were anxious to avoid.[30]

It should be noted that squatting was not a phenomenon unique to Ukrainian settlement, although the character and context of Ukrainian settlement in the West made it more widespread among Ukrainians than most other settlers. It must be understood, too, that squatting in the context discussed here was markedly different from the squatting generally associated with the settlement of the American West. In the American case squatting was closely associated with the movement of the frontier of settlement, where individual independently-minded pioneers jumped ahead of the frontier to claim land and to preserve a distinctive pioneer milieu only tenuously linked to established agricultural society. The case of the Ukrainian squatters in terms of both the motivations and pattern was diametrically opposite - squatting was a device employed to preserve contact with society, to remain within, not beyond, the frontier.

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13 February 1901. P. A. C., R. G. 15, B-1a (224) File 410595 pt. 2 (615853).

[30] C. W. Speers, Winnipeg, to Frank Pedley, Ottawa, 25 March 1901. P. A. C., R. G. 15, B-1a (224) File 410595 pt. 2 (37668).

Significantly, most squatting by Ukrainians was undertaken in areas immediately adjacent to, or even within, areas legally homesteaded by their compatriots. Their squatting was not an action of independent pioneers anxious to keep ahead of the frontier, but the response of socially dependent peasant agriculturalists who were desperately trying to preserve their social milieu through the preservation of close physical contacts within their society.

It is suggested that an accurate perception of the underlying motives for most of the squatting by Ukrainians was a major factor in the lenient response of the Government towards this practice. Well aware that a socially satisfied settler was less likely to abandon his land, that his chances of becoming a burden on the state were reduced if he was in contact with his own social group, and that Crown Agents were often responsible for its occurrence, the Government was prepared to legitimize many acts of squatting, even at the price of incurring charges of favouritism towards Ukrainian settlers.

In summary, the Government's strategy in assisting the settlement of Ukrainian immigrants was essentially to limit its financial outlay to the very minimum, to render aid which involved the public purse in any additional financial outlay only when absolutely necessary to prevent

starvation or failure in settlement. It was more liberal in its attitude towards the provision of non-material aids: advice, the "bending" of Homestead regulations, deferral on entry fees, connivance at squatting, and the negotiation of land transfers to permit squatters to continue in situ without abandoning their improvements. In retrospect this "policy" appears somewhat shortsighted, for there can be little doubt that had direct financial assistance been rendered the need to work out would have been reduced and agricultural progress accelerated. Ultimately it would have been the Government which would have benefitted through an increase in the tax base and a general stimulation of the economy.

Nevertheless, for the Government to have carried out a program which involved substantial financial outlay would have been unwise from the political standpoint. In an age when individualism, independence and free enterprise were the keystones of society, for the Government to have rendered financial assistance to any ethnic group would have been most unwise since it would have generated widespread disapproval. To have extended any aid beyond that necessary on strict humanitarian grounds to a controversial group like the Ukrainians would undoubtedly have involved the Laurier Government in a political controversy of some

magnitude. It was politically hazardous to engage in such actions in the earlier years of Ukrainian settlement (1896-1900), when such aid was most urgently required. In later years the size and structure of the Ukrainian colonies made the provision of aid a matter of decreasing concern.

Such political considerations were to have a significant impact upon the geography of Ukrainian settlement in the West. The tolerance shown toward squatting and the Governments "bending" of certain conditions of Homestead entry certainly encouraged the development of a dense pattern of settlement by Ukrainian immigrants. The contiguity of their settlement was also furthered. These two characteristics of Ukrainian settlement cannot, of course, be attributed solely to Government policy, but there can be little doubt that political considerations were ultimately a major force in determining the spatial characteristics of Ukrainian settlement throughout the Canadian West.

CHAPTER IX

THE QUESTION OF COMPULSION: COERCION AS A FACTOR IN THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS

> Frank Oliver [the Minister of the Interior 1905-1911] has placed these unfortunate Galicians on these lands and left them to bear as best they could the trials and sufferings incident to the attempted settlement of districts that could only be reached by walking through five or six miles of water. Women have shared with men these sufferings, deliberately imposed on them by the Minister of the Interior.[1]

Government control over the direction and progress of Ukrainian settlement was generally limited to assistance and advice in placement. In most circumstances this was an effective method of controlling the settlement of Ukrainian immigrants, for most wished to locate near to their already established relatives and friends. Others, with no clearly expressed preference for district of settlement, were content to allow Crown Agents steer them towards locations where their compatriots had settled.

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[1] Winnipeg Telegram, 1 April 1911.

There were, however, a number of incidents where Ukrainian immigrants were forceably placed in specific locations. Such events warrant closer examination, for many contemporary, and subsequent, allegations of discrimination in allocation of lands for settlement have been founded upon these incidents.

There has been a widespread belief that Ukrainians were singled out for settlement on the lands of poorest agricultural potential and were placed in the least satisfactory locations. Certain Western newspapers, such as the Winnipeg Telegram and the Shoal Lake Star, were opposed to the Liberal Party and its policy of Slavic immigration, and condemned the settlement of Ukrainians. At the same time they constantly critisized the Government for alleged maladministration of Ukrainian settlement. They self-righteously protested that the Government had forced the Ukrainians to settle on to the worst lands in the West. Typical of these charges was that levelled in an editorial of the Winnipeg Telegram in 1897, which held that Ukrainian settlers were "placed" in the West by being forceably ejected at random at each station along the railway line between Winnipeg and Yorkton. This report was strongly denied and labelled as "malicious misrepresentation, falsehood and slander," by the Liberal, and

generally more responsible, press.[2] Since this charge was not supported by any evidence it appears to be founded on rumour and hearsay, and rebroadcast to achieve political advantage for the Conservative Party.

Although most of these sensational allegations had little foundation in fact, there is no doubt that coercion was occasionally employed by Crown Agents. What is in question, however, is the frequency of its employment and the degree to which coercion was a factor in determining the geographical distribution of Ukrainian settlement.

Since it was the aim of those servants of the Crown involved in settlement work to effect the successful agricultural settlement of their charges it would seem illogical for them to coerce immigrants into locations in poor areas where their chance of success was reduced. Indeed, there is much evidence to suggest the opposite. Agents generally showed a commendable interest in the welfare of those helped to settle. At times this was both paternalistic and personal. They showed concern, furthermore, over the fate of those who ignored their advice and who opted for locations which offered little potential for

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[2]The Argus, Stonewall, 16 September 1897.

success in the long term. In such cases Crown Agents were eager to persuade them to relocate on better land.

Illustrative of this paternal concern was the seriousness with which Crown Agents regarded the activities of local land speculators among incoming settlers. In the late 1890s certain speculators were urging newly arrived Ukrainians to purchase 40 acre lots near to the city of Winnipeg. The officials of the Department of the Interior regarded this small acreage as impractical for farming and attempted to prevent the Ukrainians from buying such lots. They ran colonist cars carrying Ukrainians straight through Winnipeg with windows and doors locked - a fairly effective strategy but one which caused some resentment amongst those who were inclined to question the motives of Government Agents.[3]

Similarly, the Crown Agents attempted to remove immigrants from unpromising locations. A small group of Ukrainians had settled at Hun's Valley, Manitoba, on land which was unsuited for agricultural settlement. Attempts to persuade them to relocate were unsuccessful and they

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[3]Correspondence between W. F. McCreary and James A. Smart, May - July 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1.

were left to their fate. No force was used.[4]

Nevertheless, there were instances of immigrants being forced to settle in specific locations. These usually occurred when officials were attempting to create new nodes of settlement, and had to overcome the immigrants' reluctance to settle away from their already established friends and kin.

In 1897 the rapid inflow of poorer immigrants resulted in the first incident where immigrants were forced to settle in a specific location. The Immigration Sheds at Winnipeg had become packed with immigrants and their families, most of them destitute Bukowinians,[5] who showed little inclination to either work or select land. The problem showed little sign of abating and William McCreary the Commissioner of Immigration reported that he anticipated trouble when an expected 539 others would arrive.[6] The imminent arrival of hundreds of new immigrants precipitated a crisis, for those already in the Immigration Hall, having overstayed their time, were required to move out so as to make room for the accommodation of the newcomers.

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[4]P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2.

[5]W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa 15 May 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (37582).

[6]Ibid.

McCreary offered them two alternatives: either to proceed on their own to wherever they wished to settle, or to be settled in the Yorkton district in an area of good farmland. Both alternatives were refused and McCreary reported:

> A more ignorant, obstinate, unmanagable class, one could not imagine, I have placed all sorts of plans before them, but they give but one answer - "We want to get land in Cook's Creek or go [back] to Austria, or we won't leave Winnipeg." ... There is no doubt about it, a certain amount of force has got to be used with this class, as they will not listen to reason, and the more you do for them the more they expect.[7]

Ultimately these immigrants were removed from the Immigration Hall by force, and placed on a train for Yorkton where they formed the nucleus of a new colony in that district. The immigrants, having failed to act on their own initiative, were subsequently deprived of any freedom of choice, for events pressured the Government into taking firm and arbitrary action.

From the reports submitted by William McCreary to the Deputy Minister, James A. Smart, it is evident that incoming immigrants without any declared destination were

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[7]W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 20 May 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (37807).

assigned to areas on the basis of availability of surveyed lands in the various territories then being settled by Ukrainians, the numbers in each area still in the process of selecting land, and the availability of space in the Immigration Sheds throughout the West at the time of colonist train arrivals. Arrangements for settlement were made as far East as was possible, with the Government Agents and Interpreters attempting to sort out immigrants into groups on the basis of their declared destination. Those undecided as to destination were allocated to the various areas in response to the above criteria and according to their province of origin in the Western Ukraine. McCreary stated that "... if they were Galicians from Bukowina I would send them either to Stuartburn or Yorkton; were they Galicians from Galicia proper, I would probably send them to Edmonton..."[8]

Little trouble was experienced in settling immigrants in this somewhat arbitrary fashion, for in most instances they were placed in locations which suited their preferences as regards land type. As McCreary made clear, immigrants were generally placed with their compatriots of similar cultural and religious background. Nevertheless,

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[8]W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to the Secretary, Department of the Interior, 18 June 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (39127).

most Ukrainians were understandably reluctant to be directed to settle new areas where none of their compatriots were already established. It was during clumsy attempts by officials of the Department of the Interior to establish new settlements by directing immigrants into new areas that confrontation between Government and immigrants took place.

New arrivals coming in growing numbers in 1898 placed increasing strain on the system of distribution and settlement administered by Commissioner McCreary in Winnipeg. Attempts to convince settlers to voluntarily settle new areas were fruitless, as all wished to go where their fellow countrymen were settled, a Ukrainian trait well remarked by Department officials.[9] Confrontation was not, however, inevitable. Department officials preferred to attempt to effect their policy in settlement in as non-abrasive a fashion as was possible. This was not always possible, however.

In April 1898 rail communications between Winnipeg and the Edmonton district were temporarily interupted by the railway bridge at Saskatoon being down. This compounded a complicated and difficult situation which had arisen over the settlement of a group of Ukrainians who wished to go to Edmonton to join friends, but who had no money to pay

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[9]Lyndwode Pereira, Ottawa, to J. A. Kirk, Halifax, 26 May 1898, P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2.

their fare and were unable to do so. The C. P. R. Agent was reluctant to offer free transportation as these immigrants had been brought in by the Northern Pacific line. An offer to settle them at Pleasant Home, Manitoba, was refused even when they were threatened with ejection from the Immigration Hall.[10] Eventually the C. P. R. agreed, somewhat reluctantly, to transport these settlers to Edmonton free of charge, but was then unable to do so as it had no engine on the north side of the Saskatchewan River at Saskatoon. In an attempt to break this impasse, Ottawa telegraphed McCreary ordering their settlement "in Townships forty, forty one, and forty two, Ranges twenty seven and twenty eight West [of] Second."[11] that is, on the accessible south side of the Saskatchewan in the undeveloped Fish Creek district of Saskatchewan. They were ordered to be settled as close to water as was possible.[12] McCreary, in acknowledgement, declared his intention of locating as many as possible at Fish Creek and Batoche.[13]

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[10]Alex Mottet, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 25 April 1898. P. A. C., Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (58012).

[11]Frank Pedley, Ottawa, Telegram to W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 27 April 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (58085).

[12]Ibid.

[13]W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, Telegram to Frank Pedley, Ottawa, 27 April 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (58120).

This could probably have been done, albeit with some difficulty, had not the same instructions been applied to another trainload of Ukrainian immigrants from the boat "Bulgaria" which arrived in Winnipeg at the same time.

Unfortunately for the Government Officers the Immigration Officers accompanying the "Bulgaria" passengers had done their work en route too well, and most of the immigrants were decided on locating in the Edmonton district. Akerlindh, the senior government officer accompanying the colonist train, complained that had their instructions been recieved earlier, before striking out for more westerly parts:

> ...we could easily have induced them to go there, [Fish Creek or Batoche] but we only received this communication after they had made up their minds to go to certain parts, and it would have been very difficult to get them to change their decision, in fact impossible, and would in my humble opinion look a little odd, after we had given them the best possible advice and information before as to the most suitable parts, and as I have said above a large number have friends and relatives in the Edmonton district and were bound for there and would go nowhere else.[14]

The first attempt at settling the Fish Creek area was never really pressed as it was obvious that to do so would invite confrontation. Of this group of immigrants, about seven

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[14]Alfred Akherlindh, Winnipeg, to Frank Pedley, Ottawa, 3 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (58416).

hundred were directed to Edmonton, 125 to Dauphin and others to Pleasant Home, Yorkton and Stuartburn.[15] Nevertheless, measures to develop the Fish Creek area were implemented and it was resolved that future parties would be located in the area.

Colonization Agent Speers was entrusted with the delicate task of endeavouring to locate "several families at least of the next large party at that point."[16] Shortly afterwards a large consignment of Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Winnipeg, much to the dismay of Commissioner McCreary, who was ill and unable to get about. Overworked and at the limit of his patience, McCreary disposed of his problem by dispatching all fifty-three families (about 300-350 people) to Saskatoon under the control of Speers, who was instructed to settle them all at Fish Creek. The immigrants were unaware of this, however, and were led to believe that they were bound for settlement at either Edmonton or Dauphin.[17]

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[15] W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to Frank Pedley, Ottawa, 4 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (58850).

[16] Ibid.

[17] W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 18 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (59570).

The reason for the deception, explained McCreary, was that:

> It is simply an impossibility, by persuasion, to get a number of these people to go to a new colony, no matter how favoured, and some ruse has to be played, or lock them in the cars as I did last year with those going to Yorkton.[18]

As was bound to happen, the immigrants protested bitterly and broke into open revolt when they learned of their intended destination. They demanded to be taken to Edmonton or Dauphin, where many claimed to have relatives and friends.[19] Seventy-five of the Ukrainians refused to submit to Government direction. They refused to consider location at Fish Creek and began to walk back to Regina. Speers grew desperate and requested the North-West Mounted Police to turn them back, by force of arms if necessary, but his request was refused.[20] The intensity of the Ukrainians' reaction took Speers by surprise, for although he may have anticipated some argument it is evident that he had little idea that a major confrontation would be

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[18] Ibid.

[19] C. W. Speers, Saskatoon, Telegram to W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 20 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (59672).

[20] L. M. Herchmer, N. W. M. P., Regina, to W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 20 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (59672).

precipitated:

> Almost distracted with these people, rebellious, act fiendish, will not leave cars, about seventy-five struck off walking [to] Regina, perfectly uncontrollable. Nothing but pandemonium since leaving Regina. Have exhausted all legitimate tactics with no avail. Policeman here assisting situation - eclipses anything hitherto known. Edmonton, Dauphin or die. Will not even go [to] inspect country, have offered liberal inducements, threatened to kill interpreter. Under existing circumstances strongly recommend their return Edmonton and few Dauphin and get another consignment people special train leaving this afternoon. Could take them Regina. Answer immediatley am simply baffled and defeated - quietest and only method will be their return. Waiting reply. Mostly have money and will pay fare. They are wicked.21

In a further attempt to placate them and effect their settlement, the Ukrainians were told that recent information from Edmonton and Dauphin indicated that all homesteads in those areas were taken up.[22] To sweeten the pill somewhat the Government Agents also offered to transport the immigrants to their selected homesteads on an individual basis at no charge, with provision of three sacks of flour

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[21] C. W. Speers, Saskatoon, Telegram to W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 19 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (59672).

[22] W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, Telegram to C. W. Speers, Saskatoon, 19 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2.

and five bushels of potatoes for each family.[23]

The Government was determined not to give in to the immigrants; they felt that a new colony must be established and to back down would perhaps jeopardize the future creation of any new "colonies."[24] They felt, moreover, that the Ukrainians were fabricating claims to relatives in Edmonton and Dauphin merely as a pretext to join their compatriots in those areas,[25] the very thing which the Government was trying to prevent. The immigrants involved were equally determined to exercise their will, and all but a few began walking to Regina, determined and, it was claimed, armed![26] At this juncture the Government Agents, being unwilling to risk an armed confrontation, simply washed their hands of responsibility for their welfare, holding that those walking south "...must suffer for their indiscretions,"[27] although ultimately they

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[23]Ibid.

[24]W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, Telegram to C. W. Speers, Saskatoon, 20 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2.

[25]Ibid.

[26]C. W. Speers, Saskatoon, Telegram to W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 19 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2.

[27]W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, Telegram to C. W. Speers, Saskatoon, 20 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2.

relented and the dissidents were escorted to either Edmonton or Dauphin.

Not all was in vain, however, for Crown Agents did succeed in establishing a nucleus for the new settlement with twelve families who were satisfied with the Fish Creek location.[28] This accomplishment alone gave considerable satisfaction to those involved in settlement of the Ukrainian immigrants, for, having established a nucleus, they anticipated little trouble in locating further immigrants at that point.[29]

The difficulties encountered by the Government in initiating new settlements can scarcely be overemphasized. Contrary to common supposition, the Ukrainian immigrant was not disposed to go anywhere unless it suited his convenience, as Commissioner McCreary well knew:

> They are apparently an obstreperous, obstinate, rebellious lot. I am just about sick of these people. They are worse than cattle to handle. You cannot get them, by persuasion or argument, to go to a new colony except by force. They all want to go where the others have gone... unless you could see them, you could not understand the disposition of this class. 30

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[28] W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 25 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (59942).

[29] C. W. Speers, Winnipeg, to W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 30 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (60179).

[30] W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 20 May 1898. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 2 (59672).

It is significant, moreover, that these characteristics enumerated by McCreary were manifested only when the Government sought to direct Ukrainian settlers into new areas. Difficulties were experienced in such instances regardless of the agricultural quality of the area involved, which suggests that social factors were paramount in the immigrants' evaluation of any area for settlement. It is ironic, too, that the Government experienced little trouble in settling some of the worst sub-marginal agricultural areas as, for example, the Kreuzberg area of the Manitoba Interlake, while they encountered considerable and often determined resistence to the settlement of far more promising areas, even of areas which approximated the type of environment being eagerly settled in other already established areas of Ukrainian settlement. A convincing argument in support of this contention is that the number of instances of conflict, of even mild difficulty in settling incoming Ukrainians, practically ceased after 1899. Once a number of settlement nuclei had been established the task of the Government was eased. Occasion for confrontation diminished as incoming settlers gravitated to these areas in which they had established contacts, and the interaction between Government and immigrant declined though it did not cease.

The lessening of friction between immigrant and Government may be partially explained by the development of a more efficient administrative organization, whereby immigrants were sorted as to their destination at Halifax or Montreal, or while en route, and were taken direct to their destination without stop-over in Winnipeg. This overcame indecision, prevented the more credulous from being influenced by land speculators, and got the settler on to the land as soon as was practical. All this notwithstanding, it is clear that no matter how efficient the organization of the Department of the Interior, some difficulty was inevitable when attempts were made to direct certain Ukrainians into new areas for settlement, given the attitude of most Ukrainians towards settlement away from friends and kin.

The Department of the Interior was obliged to use force to create a relatively small number of new nuclei of Ukrainian settlement. Once these were established other Ukrainian immigrants followed without opposition - eager to locate alongside their compatriots and kin. Although force was used to settle some immigrants on the land, as in the Fish Creek example, it was confined to the first few families placed in the new area. That other immigrants subsequently located in that locality of their

own free will strongly suggests that the reluctance of the first settlers to accept land in the area was founded on their fear of settlement without the benefits of established group security. The quality of land was not a factor.

Although the Government employed force to effect the fragmentation of Ukrainian settlement throughout the West it was used on very few occasions. It was only to this extent that coercion was a factor in shaping the geography of Ukrainian settlement in the West.

There is no evidence in the correspondence of the Department of the Interior pertaining to the settlement of Ukrainians which suggests that the Government contemplated the use of force in order to effect any clearly thought out strategy for their placement. On the occasions when force was employed it was not at the behest of Ottawa but was apparently initiated by a regional or local official. Similarly, the documents presently available do not suggest any collusion between the Government and the various railway companies in the West to direct Ukrainian settlement into certain areas so as to enhance the value of railway land sales or generate railway traffic. This is not to deny that the presence of railways was a factor affecting the selection of areas for establishment of new nuclei of Ukrainian settlement, but the

record offers no indication that co-operation between railway companies and the Government led to the placement of Ukrainians in agriculturally marginal areas.

It should be emphasized, perhaps, that the Ukrainians occupance of much sub-marginal territory was not a result of being forced into areas to which they objected on environmental grounds. Their sufferings were certainly not "deliberately imposed on them by the Minister of the Interior." The reason must be sought elsewhere - in the strong links which bound Ukrainian peasant farmers together and caused them to rank social factors above their physical environment.

CHAPTER X

SVIJ DO SVOHO:

KINSHIP AND SOCIETY IN SETTLEMENT

> Close affection...grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron.
>
> Edmund Burke

The tendency of settlers of various nationalities to stay together was by no means unusual in the Canadian West. Indeed, it was a natural inclination, and one which had been given formal acknowledgement by the Dominion Government when it had set aside special areas for the settlement of certain ethnic groups such as the Doukhobors and the Mennonites. By choosing a location where contact with co-nationals could be maintained the immigrant could secure familiar social, religious and linguistic environments. The impact of such drives for familiar milieus should not be underestimated, for as Taft and Robbins have written:

> The known tends to be preferred to the unknown; the experienced to the not-experienced. Indeed,

> so nearly universal is in-group preference that it competes with physiological drives for food or sex for recognition as a basic "human" trait.[1]

For English speaking settlers the need to stay together with others of their own particular background was reduced - but not eliminated. They were mostly fortunate enough to be entering a nation which, at the very least, maintained common elements of law and administration, and, for many, perpetuated the basic elements of their social milieu. The Protestant creed was that of the ruling majority and the English tongue was de jure, if not de facto, the language of all in newly settled Western Canada. Nevertheless, perceived differences in the social environment were still sufficient to cause many to cluster together in settlement.

Among the English speaking settlers this tendency was most marked in the case of those coming directly from England. Settlers from eastern Canada and the United States, more familiar with the conditions of frontier agriculture and at ease with North American social practices, were more "at home" in the West. They felt little need to bolster their sense of security by making determined efforts to seek

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[1]Donald R. Taft and Richard Robbins, International Migrations: The Immigrant in the Modern World (New York: Ronald Press, 1955), p. 111.

out others from their own background.

For the 'foreigners' it was far different. British laws, Anglo-Saxon customs, the Protestant creed, the English language, often the Latin script, were all strange to them. Only settlement among their fellows offered some amelioration of the alien British ambience. It was only by settling amongst their countrymen and by maintaining group solidarity that they could expect to replicate those aspects of their homeland society which they desired to retain. When the usual roles were reversed, and independently-minded Americans became surrounded by 'foreign' settlers, they lost little time in fleeing the foreign 'colony' and seeking new homesteads within an area of English speaking settlement.[2] It is significant too, that those Ukrainians who emigrated from the Russian controlled Greater Ukraine to Siberia at approximately the same time did not display this 'hiving' instinct to any great degree. Although the physical, economic and administrative conditions ofsettlement approximated those of the Western Canadian frontier, the common Slavic milieu was efficacious in allaying fears of estrangement and reducing the tendency to group together. The Siberian settlers-Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians - soon became homogenized, developed

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[2]Winnipeg Telegram, 26 June 1899.

a common dialect, a sectional outlook and a common appelation - "Siberniks".[3]

In contrast, the hiving instinct has been cited as a factor in the growth and development of the basic geographical pattern of Ukrainian settlement in Western Canada. It was the irritant of those Government Agents responsible for the placement of Ukrainian immigrants in the West. The incident at Fish Creek, when Ukrainian immigrants vigorously opposed Government efforts to get them to form a new settlement away from their compatriots, well illustrates the strength of their desires.[4] At the time Canadian officials were annoyed over the "stubborness" of the Ukrainians in wanting to settle together. It was, they thought, one of the most common and difficult problems that they encountered with Ukrainian immigrants. The frequency of comment upon this phenomenon in the correspondence of officials of the Department of the Interior is testimony to the intensity of feeling which accompanied the question of settlement with countrymen and kin. In 1899 Colonization

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[3]Donald W. Treadgold, The Great Siberian Migration (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 241.

[4]See Vladimir J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian-Canadian Research Foundation, 1964), pp. 300-308.

Officer C. W. Speers wrote to his superiors that:

> ...the greatest difficulty, we have encountered, has been the fact that those coming have relatives formally settled in different places and it is their wish to join their parents and relatives. They have been very persistent, regardless of their own welfare.[5]

The difficulty encountered by the Government Agents in attempting to break this "chain effect" suggests that while the tendency to "hive" together was common to most, or all, groups, it was especially marked in the case of the Ukrainians, who as Speers then noted, "all want to go where the others have gone."[6]

Group Settlement

Although many other ethnic and religious groups sought the social security of group settlement not all extended their quest for familiarity in the social milieu to the same extent as did the Ukrainians. Many groups were seemingly content to achieve a general sense of "at homeness", and were comforted by a few transposed common elements of the national culture. There was little

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[5]C. W. Speers, Brandon, to Frank Pedley, Ottawa, 4 April 1899, P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 3 (78874).

[6]C. W. Speers, Saskatoon, to W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 19 May 1898, P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt.2

perpetuation of "old country" groupings in settlement and the ethnic group settlement displayed little, if any, heterogeneity. This was the situation, for example, with the three areas of Irish settlement in Eastern Canada examined by Mannion.[7] It was no less true of the Mormon settlement in Southern Alberta. In both instances the circumstances of emigration caused unifying factors to predominate and intra-group divisive forces were submerged by common religious and cultural elements.[8]

Nevertheless, group settlement is by no means universal in international migration, and, as Price has noted, most group settlements "have a decided 'locality flavour' about them" in that "the majority of the group derive from one particular area of Europe."[9] Price defined four levels of group settlement: village, district, regional, and national. He cautioned, however, that what

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[7]John J. Mannion, Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Transfer and Adaptation University of Toronto, Department of Geography Research Publications (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 13.

[8]It is noteworthy that both groups possessed a common religion - and something of a common culture. To the Mormons religion was a unifying force overshadowing all other elements of culture which may have had a divisive impact.

[9]C. A. Price, "Immigration and Group Settlement," in The Cultural Integration of Immigrants ed. W. D. Borrie (Paris: UNESCO, 1959), p. 273.

"at first sight appear to be concentrations of this or that nationality very often turn out to be simply numbers of migrants from one particular village or disctict."[10] The impact of kinship upon the process and pattern of settlement, particularly within the context of group settlement until recently has been neglected by geographers. However, Bohland and Brunger have emphasized the impact of familial relationships and kinship ties not only upon the spatial form and growth of rural settlements but also as important site variables affecting both the perceptions and evaluation of settlement sites.[11]

An examination of the spatial form and internal structure of the Ukrainian block settlements in Western Canada promises to clarify the nature and role of societal linkages in pioneer settlement. It may also provide insight into the significance of kinship and ethnicity in the evaluation of settlement sites and locations.

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[10] Ibid., pp. 273-274.

[11] James Bohland, "The Influence of Kinship Ties on the Settlement Pattern of Northeast Georgia," Professional Geographer 22 (September, 1970): 267-269; and Allan Brunger, "A Spatial Analysis of Individual Settlement in Southern London District, Upper Canada, 1800-1836," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1973), pp. 104-107.

The Internal Morphology of the Block Settlement

There are many incidental references to the internal morphology of Ukrainian block settlements in Western Canada. Yuzyk, Kaye, Byrne, MacGregor, Young, Stechishin, Ewanchuk and Zvarych have all commented upon the tendency of Ukrainian pioneers to settle in Canada upon an old-country village basis.[12] More substantial comment has been provided by Goresky, Lazarenko, and Royick,[13] all of whom have identified specific village groupings in the Star-

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[12]Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), p. 42; Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements, p. 142; Idem, "Canadians of Recent European Origin: A Survey (Ottawa: Citizenship Division of the Department of National War Services, 1945), p. 46; T. C. Byrne, "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1937), p. 31; J. G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: Free Lands (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), p. 157; C. H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931), p. 75; Julian Stechishin Istoriya Poselen'nya Ukraintsiv u Kanadi [History of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada] (Edmonton: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1975), pp. 242-247; Michael Ewanchuk, Istoriya Ukrains'koho Poselen'nya v Okolytsi Gimli [A History of the Ukrainian Settlements in the Gimli area] (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1975), pp. 24-28; and Petro Zvarych [Svarych] "Do Pytan'nya Rozvytku y Postupu v Materiyal'niy Kul'turi Ukrains'kykh Poselentsiv u Kanadi" [On the Problem of Development and Progress in the Material Culture of Ukrainian Settlers in Canada] Zbirnyk na Poshanu Zenona Kuzeli (Paris: Shevshenko Scientific Society, 1962), p. 151.

[13]Isidore Goresky, "Early Ukrainian Settlement in Alberta," in Editorial Committee, Ukrainians in Alberta (Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta,

Vegreville block settlement of Alberta. Pohorecky and Royick have identified linguistic differences among the Ukrainians of Alberta which they hold to reflect the perpetuation of old country dialects in the New World.[14] Since dialect survival is dependent upon the grouping of dialect speakers in settlement, the implication is that such Old World groupings were perpetuated in Ukrainian settlements in Alberta, a contention which is supported by evidence of both Goresky and Byrne.[15]

Old country village groupings were commemorated in the landscape of the prairie provinces in Ukrainian toponyms.

1975), pp. 17-38; Joseph M. Lazarenko, "Rusiw Pioneers in Alberta," in Ukrainians in Alberta, pp. 38-41 and Alexander Royick, "Ukrainian Settlements in Alberta" Canadian Slavonic Papers 10 (1968: 278-297).

[14]Zenon S. Pohorecky and Alexander Royick, "Anglicization of Ukrainian in Canada Between 1895 and 1970 - A Case Study in Crystallization," Canadian Ethnic Studies 1 (1970): 150. Their findings are difficult to interpret, however, for they often appear to conflict with the information cited by Goresky and with other data gained from field research in the Star, Smoky Lake and Vegreville areas. According to Pohorecky and Royick's map of dialects, the Dnister, a Galician dialect, predominates over the Smoky Lake, Pakan, Shandro and Shepenge areas, whereas all these areas were settled by immigrants from Bukowina who spoke the Pokutian-Bukowinian dialect.

[15]Goresky, "Early Ukrainian Settlement;" idem, "Minutes of the Founding of one of the first Ukrainian Greek Catholic Churches in Alberta, March 1900," Canadian Ethnic Studies 6 (1974): 67-69; and Byrne, "The Ukrainian Community," p. 31.

Areas which were settled by immigrants predominantly from one specific area or village in the Ukraine bear toponyms recalling the origins of the early settlers. The villages of Ispas, Stry, Luzan and Shepenge [or Szpenitz but properly Shypyntsi] in Alberta; Jaroslav, Senkiw, Melnice, Zbarazh and Komarno in Manitoba,[16] are but a few examples of transferred toponyms. Since the Ukrainians were seldom in a position to name places - that role was the preserve of the railway companies and the English speaking surveyors and administrators - the strongest record of Ukrainian occupance and of old-country village ties survives in the names of their rural schools and school districts, where examples abound.

What is significant, however, is not that the Ukrainians perpetuated their old-country village groups in Western Canada, but its frequency of occurrence. This trait, furthermore, was sufficient to impart to the Ukrainian block settlement an internal structure which

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[16]See Ernest G. Mardon, Community Names of Alberta, ([Lethbridge?]: n.p., 1973); J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, comp., Manitoba Mosaic of Place Names (Winnipeg: Canadian Institute of Onomastic Sciences, 1970); and Idem, Canadian Place Names of Ukrainian Origin (Winnipeg: n.p., 1951). Rudnyc'kyj disputes Komarno as a transferred toponym. He claims that it is derived from the Ukrainian "komar," meaning mosquito and means "full of mosquitoes," Rudnyc'kyj, Manitoba Place Names, p. 111.

varied little. Since it is impractical to examine the structure of all Ukrainian block settlements in Western Canada, data from three areas will be drawn upon in a discussion of the various hierarchial linkages found within such settlements. Those selected are the Star-Vegreville block of Central Alberta, the first established, and ultimately the largest Ukrainian settlement, the Manitoba Interlake [Pleasant Home] block, and the Stuartburn block in Southeastern Manitoba.

Kinship and Village ties in Settlement

In most peasant societies families are generally large and non-nuclear. Indeed, it is not unusual for a peasant to be related to the majority of his fellow villagers by ties of blood or marriage. In the peasant world it is not unusual to find that the concepts of village and kin are virtually synonymous. Ties to kinfolk are strong. They are kept so by economic and social inter-dependence and heightened by the restricted horizons of village life. In peasant terms loyalties were to family, village, locality, district and region rather than to the more abstract concepts of nation, state or even ethnicity. Just as villagers grouped together in settlement, so groups of villagers from the same region tended to group together,

thereby perpetuating old country district groupings, and so forth. Although village groups are here considered in isolation, it must be remembered that in both social and spatial terms the village was a holon[17] - it functioned as a unit in its own right but it was also part of a higher group within a hierarchy. To conceive of the village as a discrete social or spatial unit is misleading. It was only one unit in a closely integrated hierarchy and cannot be separated from its place within the district or region, although analysis necessitates that it first be considered in such a fashion.

Contemporary observers of Ukrainian settlement made frequent comment on its cohesive nature as evidenced by the immigrants seeking out their fellows and kin.[18] Records of homestead cancellation also reveal the strong attraction of settlement near to friends and relatives. In those areas of Alberta settled by Ukrainians, cancellation of homestead entries, even after improvements had been made, was common when settlers sought to relocate near to more recently arrived relatives.[19] Cancellation for social reasons was

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[17]Arthur Koestler, The Ghost in the Machine (London: Pan Books, 1970), p. 65.

[18]For example, see The Russell Banner, 22 October 1903.

[19]See, for example, the pioneer biographies in Ukrainians in Alberta, pp. 263-556.

cited on the declaration of abandonment almost as frequently as it was for environmental reasons. The terse scrawl on the declaration of abandonment - "My brother has moved and I wish to homestead beside him,"[20] or "I wish to locate near friends,"[21] barely conveys the strength of the magnetism which family and friends exerted upon the socially isolated settler.

There are few pioneers who do not admit that the presence of relatives or friends was a major factor in their settlement decision making.[22] Interviews with surviving settlers and their families in the Star-Vegreville and Stuartburn areas confirmed that the vast majority of immigrants chose their locations because they "...wanted to be with friends, - to help out in hard times and stick

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[20]Declaration of Abandonment, N.W. 20 Twp. 55 Rge. 16 W. 4. Homestead Files, Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta [P. M. A. A.].

[21]Declaration of Abandonment, N.W. 20 Twp. 55 Rge. 15 W. 4. Homestead Files, P. M. A. A.

[22]For example, interviews with George Alexiuk, Sundown, Manitoba, 15 July 1975; Mrs. M. Sportak, Vita, Manitoba, 3 July 1975; Mrs. Wasylyna Koshelanyk, Caliento, Manitoba, 3 July 1975; N. Chornopysky, Vita, Manitoba, 8 October 1975; George Penteliuk, Arbakka, Manitoba, 10 October 1975; Andrew Lamash, St. Michael, Alberta, 15 June 1972; Andrew Basisty, Andrew, Alberta, 6 June 1972; and Mrs. W. Melnyk, Delph, Alberta, 30 May 1972.

Immigrants from the same village gravitated together even in the emerging ethnic enclaves in Western Canadian cities. See, Mary Vinohradova, "Recollections of a Pioneer Woman," The Ukrainian-Canadian, March 1972, pp. 22-24.

together..."[23] Todor Kutzak, a pioneer of Sirko, Manitoba, was more blunt: "When I arrived in Canada in 1905 I headed for Gardenton where I had an uncle who would feed us when we [Kutzak and friend] arrived."[24] The great majority of over 250 Ukrainian settlers interviewed by the researchers for Project S.U.C.H. in 1971 who gave reasons for settlement in a specific area mentioned the presence of friends, relatives, or fellow villagers as a major factor in their decision-making.[25] Several also commented that they subsequently changed their location so as to secure an even tighter family settlement.[26]

The close agglomeration of settlers on the basis of family groups in the Stuartburn area of Manitoba, illustrates

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[23]Interview with John Gregorchuk, Arbakka, Manitoba, 8 October 1975.

[24]Interview with Todor Kutzak, Sirko, Manitoba, 10 October 1975.

[25]Project S.U.C.H. (Save Ukrainian Canadians' Heritage) was an Opportunities for Youth Program undertaken during the summer of 1971. The project aimed at interviewing Ukrainian settlers, or their immediate family, in order to compile a collection of oral history and folklore. The data collected, 251 "General Informant Questionaires," 58 "Detailed Informant Sheets" and some 200 hours of tape recorded interviews, are now held in the Ukrainian Arts and Crafts Museum, 1240 Temperence St., Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

[26]For example, the report on an interview with Mrs. K. Benko, Yorkton. Project S.U.C.H. files, Ukrainian Arts and Crafts Museum, Saskatoon.

the spatial impact of the social ties described above. The area was first settled in 1896 and by 1905 had spread to occupy over ten townships. By 1900 the Ukrainian settlement had extended over five townships and a number of distinct old-country village and district agglomerations were apparent (Fig. 10). In Township 1, Range 6E, twelve families from the Bukowinian village of Bridok had settled in a well defined cluster, although there was a certain amount of inter-mixing with the thirteen families originating from the village of Onuth, also of Zastavna district, Bukowina (Fig. 11).[27] Villagers from Lukivci, Chernivci District, Bukowina, had settled alongside them, but as is shown as Figure 10 they remained almost totally separate from those from Onuth and Bridok. Even after five years of settlement, in 1901, intermixing was minimal. In the northern area of the Stuartburn block the forty five families from Senkiw [Synkiv], Zalishchyky District, Galicia, were less tightly grouped. The Senkiw immigrants formed two closely linked clusters centred on Township 2, Range 6

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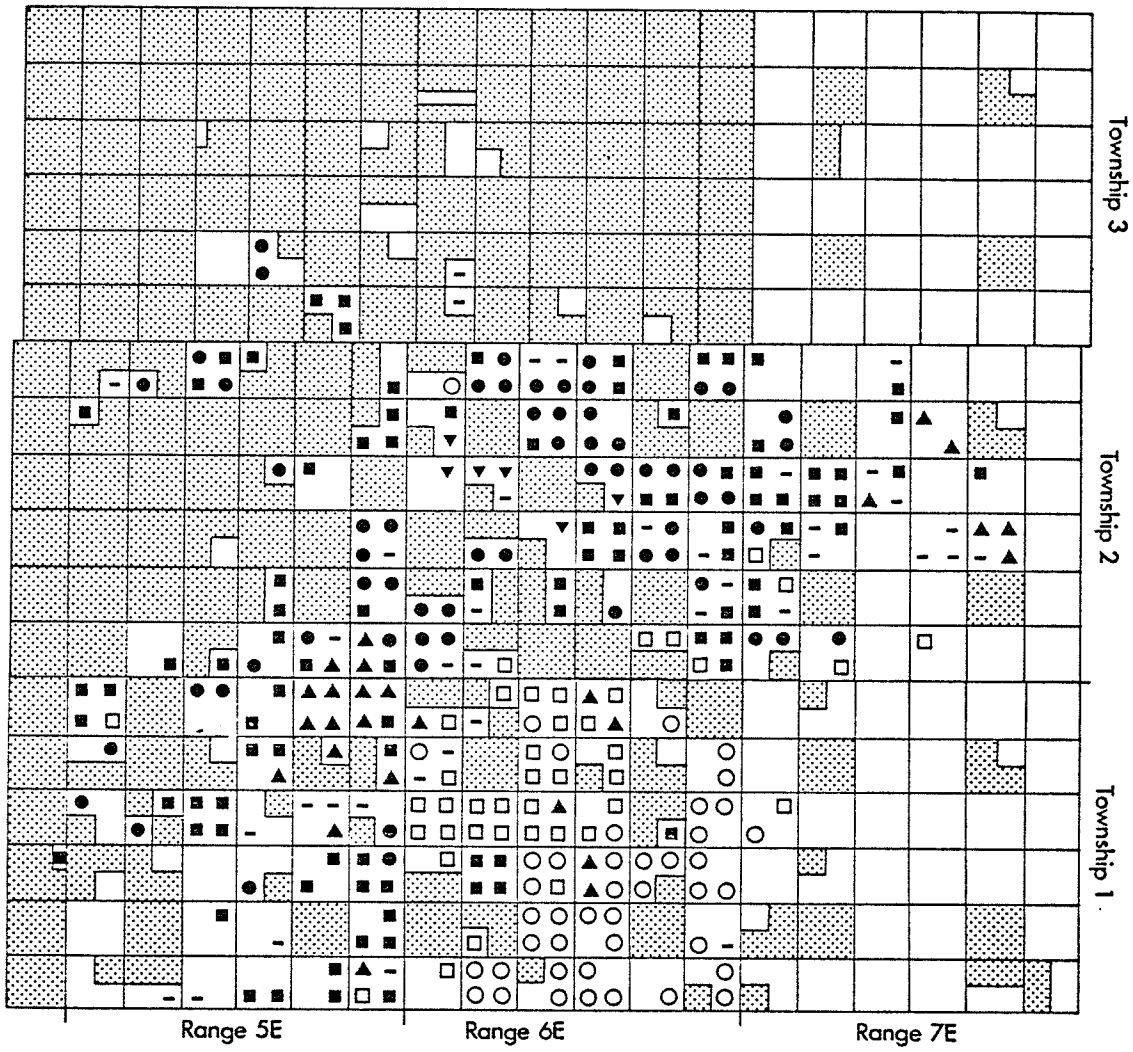
[27]The data on which this figure is based and which forms the basis for the following discussion was compiled from information of Vladimir J. Kaye, Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Pioneer Biography: Pioneer Settlement in Manitoba 1891-1900 (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1975), pp. 120-198; and the Homestead General Registers, Department of Lands, Government of Manitoba. This data was checked and supplemented by field research in Southeastern Manitoba.

STUARTBURN AREA
UKRAINIAN SETTLERS TO 1901 BY DISTRICT OF ORIGIN



BUKOWINA

- ○ Chernivci District
- □ Zastavna District
- △ Kitsman District

GALICIA

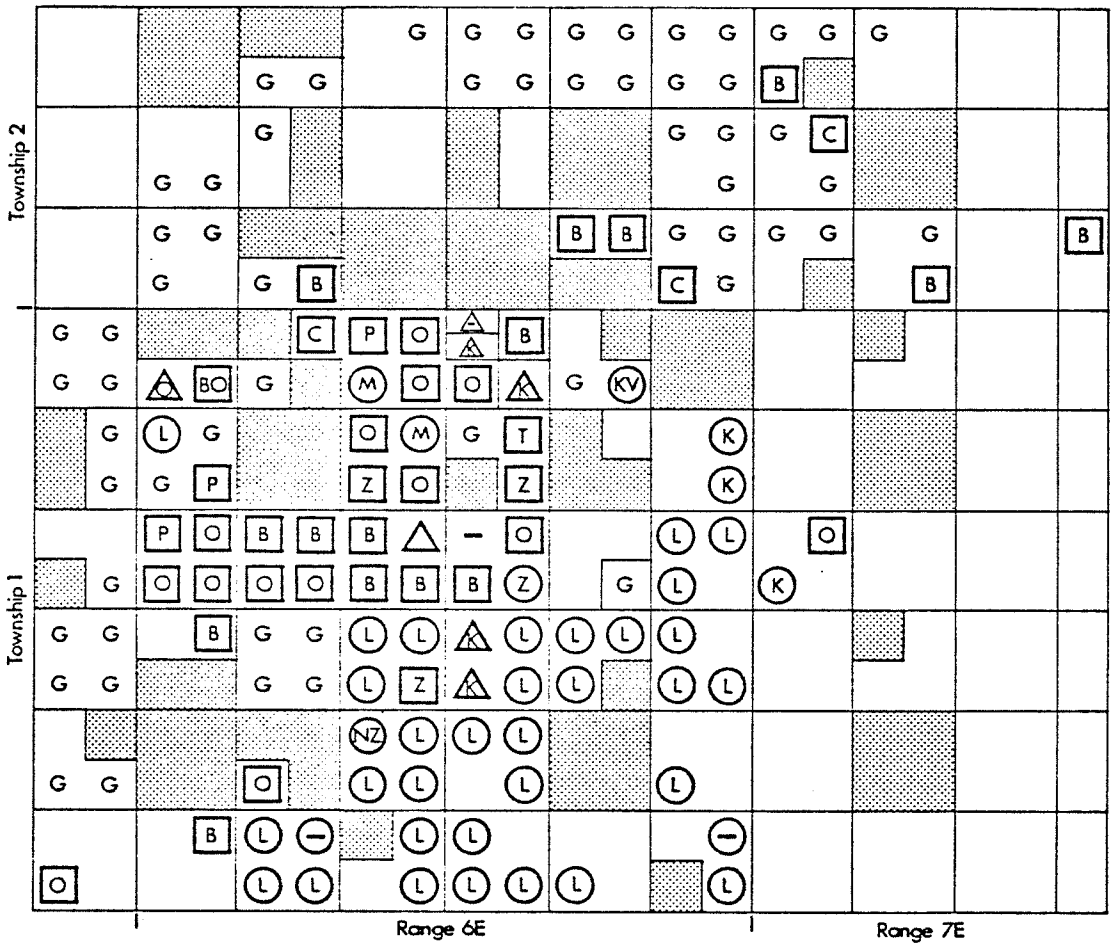
- ● Borshchiv District
- ■ Husiatyn District
- ▲ Zalishchyky District
- ▼ Kolomya District

- – Ukrainian: origin not determined
- Not open for homestead settlement 1895-1901
- Section divided in quarters

SOURCE: RECORDS OF HOMESTEAD ENTRY,
V.J KAYE, PIONEER DICTIONARY, FIELD WORK

Figure 10

BUKOWINIAN SETTLERS BY DISTRICT AND VILLAGE OF ORIGIN
STUARTBURN, MANITOBA, 1901



CHERNIVCI DISTRICT

VILLAGES:
- L Lukivci
- Z Zuchka
- M Molodia
- KV Kuchuriv Velykyi
- K Kotul Biansky
- NZ Nova Zuchna

ZASTAVNA DISTRICT

VILLAGES:
- O. Onuth
- B Bridok
- Z Zastavna
- T Tovtry
- P Pohorylivka
- BO Borivci
- C Chornyi Potik

KITSMAN DISTRICT

VILLAGES:
- K Khlivyshche
- O Ozhekhlib
- G Galician Settler

Not open to settlement

— Origin not determined

Source: Records Of Homestead Entry, Dictionary Of Pioneer Biography; Field Interviews

Figure 11

East which together contained thirty-three of the forty-five Senkiw families. A similar pattern was evident with the settlement of those from the village of Postolivka of Husiatyn District, Galicia. The first Postolivka settlers took land in 1897, on Section 36, Township 1, Range 5 East, and subsequent arrivals settled on adjoining sections. However, in 1898, a second nucleus of Postolivka settlers was established some twelve miles east in the centre of Township 2, Range 7 East. The reason for this is difficult to determine, for at the time of the establishment of the second group there was no shortage of land surrounding the initial settlers from Postolivka upon which later arrivals could have homesteaded. Since the second group also clustered in their settlement it would seem likely that kinship was a factor, for all but one of the second group shared a common surname, - Podolsky. No members of this family settled outside this group of settlers.

Kinship was undoubtedly a major factor in the perpetutation of old-country village ties. Eleven of the thirty-two families comprising the Lukivci group (Fig. 10) had the surname Kossowan, three had Zyha, and three Shypot. While this in itself is not conclusive evidence of kinship ties it certainly points in that direction. It is also difficult, usually impossible, to define kin linkages created through

marriage, yet such ties may have been as effective as were blood relationships in maintaining closely clustered patterns of settlement. At all events, what appear to be three large family groups account for over half of the Lukivci immigrants who settled in the Stuartburn block.

The general patterns of old-country village agglomeration in settlement are replicated in the area of Ukrainian settlement in the Manitoba Interlake region. Settlers from the village of Bereziv Vyzhnyi, Kolomya District, Galicia, settled together in Township 17, Range 2 East.[28] Another small group from the village of Luka, Buchach District, Galicia, were apparently all related and formed a close settlement which occupied seven quarters on two adjoining sections. Villagers from Melnycia, Borshchiv District, Galicia, also formed a small loosely clustered settlement in Township 17, Range 3 East.

The evidence indicates that agglomeration of settlers on a basis of old-country village origins was common within Ukrainian block settlements in the West. It is evident,

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[28]The data for the following discussion and for this figure was compiled from information in Kaye, Pioneer Biography pp. 199-217; O. D. Drohomyrets'ky, "Oselya Pleasant Home, Manitoba," [Settlement of Pleasant Home Manitoba] Jubilee Calendar - Almanac of the Ukrainian Voice (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1966), pp. 93-98; Homestead General Registers, and interviews with Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, Manitoba 14 May 1975 and 17 March 1976.

furthermore, that kinship was a factor of considerable significance in perpetuating what were, in effect, European social organisms on the Canadian settlement frontier.

Settlement by District and by Region

Agglomeration in settlement by district and region of origin was another marked feature of the Ukrainian block settlements. While immigrants usually settled on the basis of old-country village origins the agglomeration of such village groups and the tendency of individual settlers to congregate on the basis of their district and region of origin was, perhaps, even more marked. At another hierarchial level there was an almost total separation of settlers from Galicia and of those from Bukowina.

The contiguity of settlement by district of origin in the Stuartburn block is shown in Figure 10. The settlement contains immigrants from seven districts in the Western Ukraine: Borshchiv, Husiatyn, Zalishchyky, and Kolomya in Galicia and Chernivci, Kitsman and Zastavna in Bukowina.

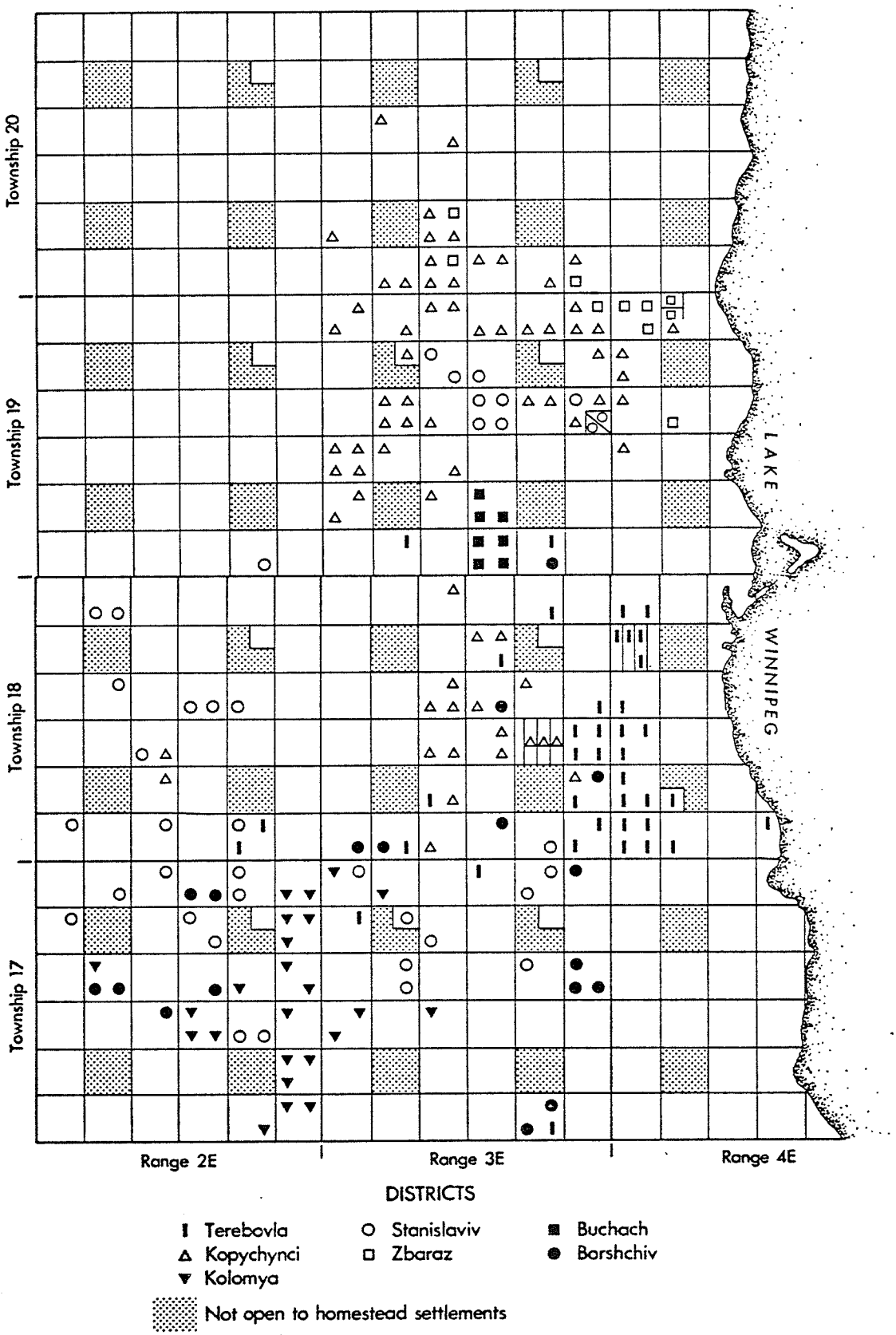
Although immigrants from Senkiw constituted the majority of settlers from Zalishchyky District, others from villages within Zalishchyky District settled beside them. It is interesting to note that those from Kolodribka village, although settling in adjacent quarter-sections also chose

locations within an area of Zalishchyky settlement. Similarly, immigrants from four villages in Husiatyn District, Postolivka, Zelena, Khorostkiv and Tovstenko, all settled together. Those from Postolivka, who formed the majority, also constituted the geographical hub of the Husiatyn settlement.

Settlers from Bukowina came from three districts: Chernivci, Kitsman and Zastavna. Although the few settlers from Kitsman District did not display strong agglomeration tendencies, those from Chernivci and Zastavna settled as two distinct groups within the same area (Figs. 10 and 11). Admittedly those from Chernivci were principally from the one village of Lukivci [82 percent] so that in that case district settlement was virtually synonymous with village settlement. Among those from Zastavna district, however, were villagers from Bridok [13 families], Chornyi Potic [3 families], Tovtry [1 family], Pohorylivka [3 families] and Zastavna town [2 families]. All settled together (Fig. 11).

Similar patterns were manifested in the Interlake area of Manitoba. Figure 12 shows a number of groups clustered according to district of origin. Settlers from Terebovla, Kopychynci, Stanislaviv and Kolomya districts each settled within their own areas. Considering the unorganized and loosely administered process of land selection

UKRAINIAN SETTLERS IN THE MANITOBA INTERLAKE REGION BY DISTRICT OF ORIGIN



Source: Records Of Homestead Entry, V. J. Kaye
Dictionary Of Pioneer Biography, O.D. Drohomyretskyi
'Oselya Plezent Hom, Manitoba', M. Ewanchuk, Winnipeg

Figure 12

and settlement, the social cohesion shown by these settlers at the level of district of origin is remarkable.

Social cohesion persisted at the family, village and district levels and was also clearly manifested in the separation of settlers on the basis of province of origin. Since some block settlements contained immigrants from only one province in the Western Ukraine this feature was not always present. The Interlake block, for example, was settled initially by immigrants from Galicia, and those from Bukowina entered only in small numbers and towards the end of the settlement period. In contrast, both the Stuartburn block and the Albertan Star-Vegreville block settlements were settled almost from the very beginning by immigrants from both Galicia and Bukowina. In both cases there developed a clear separation between the two groups a replication of old-country social and spatial groupings the Western settlement frontier.

From the beginning of Bukowinian settlement in Alberta in 1896 the settlers from the two Ukrainian provinces stayed apart.[29] Bukowinian settlement expanded north and east from the initial point of Ukrainian settlement near

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[29]Settlers from the Kalush district of Galicia first established the Ukrainian settlement at Star, Alberta. The first Bukowinian settlers did not arrive in Canada until 1896.

Star, while the Galicians confined themselves to the areas arcing along the west and south of the Bukowinian territory (Figs. 6 and 13). Intermixing was unusual and was generally confined to those areas which were last to be settled, for example, in the submarginal areas of boreal forest north of Smoky Lake and in the easternmost area of the Ukrainian settlement beyond Myrnam. These areas were mainly settled around Wostok, Andrew and St. Michael. They were usually the sons of pioneers seeking land of their own. Apart from areas settled by such migrants there was little intermixing between the Galician and Bukowinian settlers. Even the contact zone remained shallow and easily defined (Fig. 13).[30]

Associated with Ukrainian settlement in Alberta were the settlements of minority groups from the Western Ukraine. As has been pointed out earlier, the Volksdeutche from Galicia had initially functioned as an attractive force to the first Ukrainian settlers locating in Alberta.

Throughout the West there was a symbiotic relationship between the established German settler and the incoming Slav. Other nationalities were also closely associated

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[30]Figure 13 is based on data abstracted from the Homestead General Registers and Records of Homestead Entry, Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta. Supplementary data was derived from Editorial Committee, Ukrainians in Alberta, pp. 263-556, and from field research in East-central Alberta.

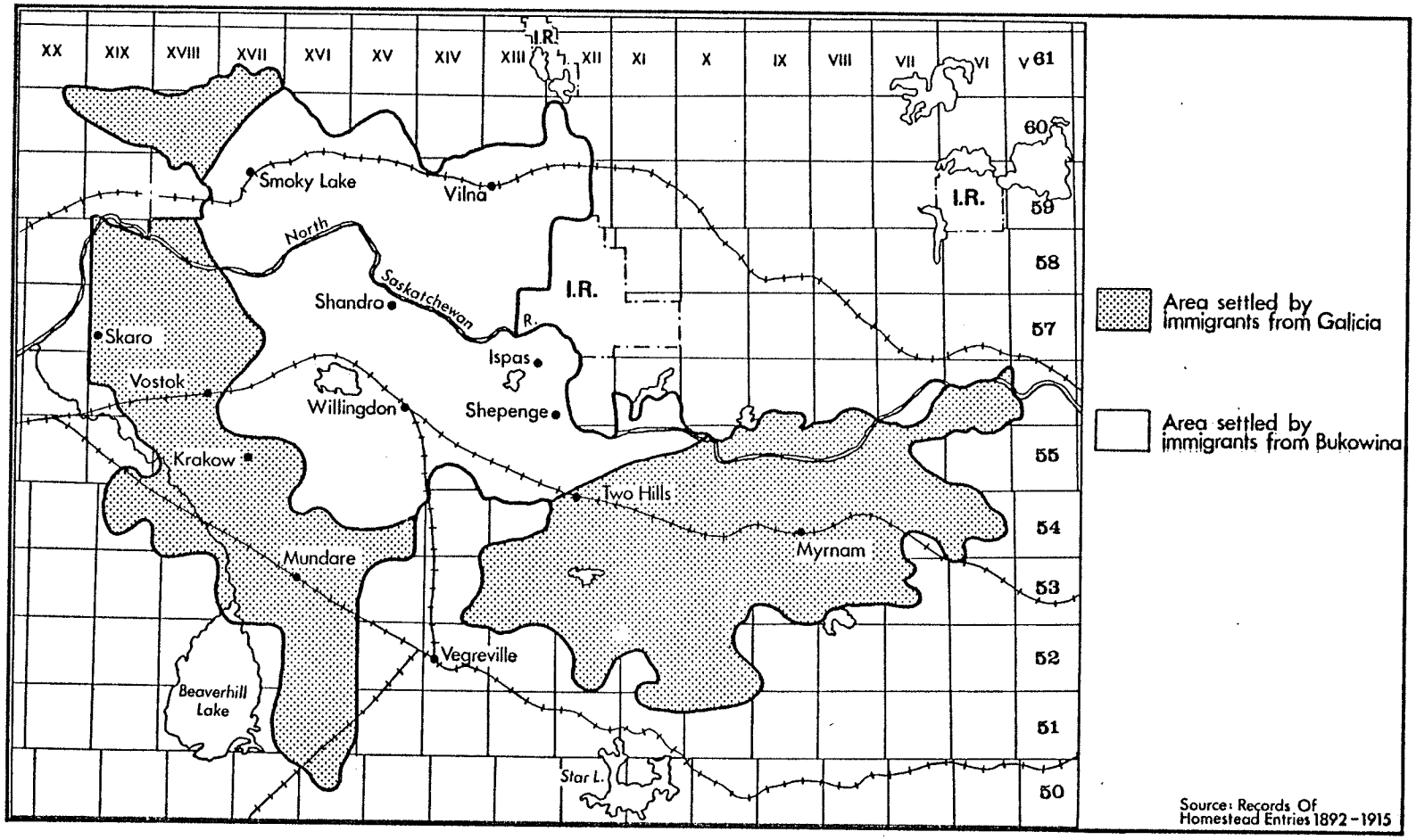

Figure 13. Galician and Bukowinian Settlement in the Star Settlement, Alberta

with Ukrainian settlement especially Poles from Western Galicia, and Romanians from Southern Bukowina. Generally the Poles settled among Ukrainians from Galicia and the Romanians settled among those from Bukowina. Similarities of language and religion explain this alliance.[31] Ukrainians from Galicia were more likely to be familiar with Polish and more likely to be of Greek Catholic, if not Roman Catholic, persuasion. The Romanians found among the Bukowinians a common adherence to Orthodoxy, some comprehension of Romanian by those from the southern area of Bukowina, and certain common folkways and attitudes.[32]

In the Stuartburn block a similar pattern of separation was found. Bukowinians settled apart from Galicians (Fig. 10) and formed a contiguous block of solid Bukowinian occupance in the townships along the United States' border. As in the case of the Star-Vegreville settlement of Alberta, this separation on the basis of

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[31]Interview with Mrs. S. Stodola, Skaro, Alberta, 1 June 1972. See also Interlake Flyer (July, 1974), pp. 55-56.

[32]The Romanian settlers of Marea Boian and Boian in the Sandy Lake district of Alberta were mostly from the village of Boian in southeastern Bukowina. The majority of the original Romanian settlers were bilingual Romanian-Ukrainian and many had names suggesting Ukrainian, rather than Romanian, ethnic origin. Interview with Michael Gorda, Willingdon, Alberta, 6 June 1975.

province of origin began to break down only in the areas last to be settled. Similar circumstances attended the final phase of settlement in both areas: a scramble for a rapidly diminishing area of homestead land in the general area of Ukrainian settlement and a great deal of remigration by the offsprings of earlier Ukrainian pioneers.

The separation of the two groups was voluntary and was not due to any deliberate action by Government Agents. Nevertheless the latter connived at their separation in settlement:

> I found I had to put the Bukowinians and Galicians in two separate groups as they were not friendly with each other...there was some religious difference between them which appeared to cause friction. Probably there was some obsure racial trouble as well, tracing back to the past history of these people.[33]

The division of the Ukrainian block settlement on the basis of old-country provincial origin is explainable in terms of Catholic-Orthodox rivalries and conflicts which were heightened by the provincialism of the Ukrainian peasant. It is difficult to appreciate the intensity of feeling which was associated with the religious differences between the Orthodox Bukowinians and the Uniate (Greek

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[33]Thomas McNutt, "Galicians and Bukowinians," in The Story of Saskatchewan and its People, ed. John Hawkes (Chicago-Regina: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1924), pp. 731-732.

Orthodox) Galicians. To many of the Ukrainian peasants religion was the cornerstone of life.[34] Religious affiliation meant more than adherence to a style of worship. It carried strong national and political overtones. The Galicians feared Russophile sympathies by the Orthodox Bukowinians who were equally suspicious of Roman Catholic and Polish dominance of the Uniate Church. This rift was exacerbated by differences in folk culture found between Galicia and Bukowina, and by the mental images which each group had of the other. To some Bukowinians the Galicians were miserly and without compassion, whereas to the Galicians the Bukowinians were unsophisticated bucolic "hayseeds". Indeed, the intensity of their mutual antipathy was early remarked upon by many officials of the Department of the Interior who worked with the two groups. In 1897 W. F. McCreary noted that the Bukowinians "do not affiliate [with the Galicians], and, in fact are detested by the Galicians..."[35] Considerable trouble was experienced when officials disregarded

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[34] A good indication of the intensity of feeling which accompanied religious affiliation in the pioneer environment is given by J. G. MacGregor in his discussion of the religious conflicts which took place between the Orthodox and Uniate pioneers in Alberta. J. G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: Free Lands, pp. 164-182.

[35] W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 15 May 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (37582).

such animosities and treated the Ukrainians as a homogeneous group. Colonization Agent C. W. Speers reported one such instance:

> ...after a little trouble which arose, the Galicians, not wishing to go with the Bukowinians - verily the Jews not wishing to deal with the Samaritans - I assured them they were all Canadians now under free institutions and they were well satisfied as we agreed to colonize them in different parts of the Township.[36]

The immigration department rapidly learned to accommodate itself to these prejudices. Indeed, it soon became the practice to segregate the Bukowinians from the Galicians even while in transit and during their stay in the Winnipeg immigration sheds.[37]

It is more difficult to account for the perpetuation of such a clear pattern of settlement by district of origin. It is certainly unlikely that the emotional pull towards one's own district could equal that generated by religious zeal at the one extreme, or family ties at the other. Yet the evidence points towards the existence of strong regional and district loyalties.

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[36] C. W. Speers, Winnipeg to W. F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 9 July 1897. P. A. C., R. G. 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt. 1 (40035).

[37] Anton Keyz, "Diary," (handwritten, n.p.).

There are two explanations which may be advanced: regional consciousness and chain migration. There is little doubt that the limited horizons of the peasant world heightened local loyalties. In some cases the peasant's horizons scarcely extended beyond his own village. In the densely settled environments of the Western Ukraine, social contacts and kinship linkages often extended over a number of villages all of which fell within a relatively restricted geographic area. This seems to have been the case in the example of the Stanislaviv District settlement of the Manitoba Interlake, cited earlier, where many came from the village of Mariampol and its immediate environs. Unfortunately, paucity of data makes it impossible to determine the extent to which district settlement was actually "locality settlement." It is also unwise to ascribe too little physical mobility to the Ukrainian peasant at the turn of the century. Marital ties, for example, spanned the Prut River between Galicia and Bukowina and were directly responsible for the initially close settlement of Galicians and Bukowinian immigrants in the Stuartburn area. The relationship between the Storeschuk and Zahara families, from Galicia and Bukowina respectively, was a major factor in securing the presence of both groups in Stuartburn,[38] although subsequent

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[38]Interview with Stephan Storeschuk, Gardenton, Manitoba, 21 July 1975.

settlement saw the development of segregation between the two groups.

Chain migration, whereby the course of emigration spread through its advocacy by settlers already in Canada, is another possible contributory cause for the establishment of old-country district groupings. According to Price,[39] this mechanism, whereby knowledge of immigration opportunity is diffused through personal contacts between the old and new lands, accounts for the presence of most old country groupings in New World settlement. Price suggests that chain migration was largely responsible for the growth of the Ukrainian population in Canada,[40] and there can be little doubt that it was a factor of primary importance. The impact of immigration propaganda should not be overlooked, however. Oleskow's advice was to settle with one's fellows, and the concensus of others who wrote upon the subject was that in emigration and settlement the peasant would best heed the advice of the Ukrainian aphorism: "Svyi do Svoho" - let each keep to his own.

Culture and Mobility in Homestead Selection

The internal morphology of the Ukrainian block settlement was simply the spatial manifestation of the strong

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[39] Price, "Immigration and Group Settlement," p. 270.

[40] Ibid.

cohesive social forces found within a traditional peasant society. These were sufficiently strong to have a considerable impact upon the decision-making process in homestead selection. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that the Ukrainian immigrant was prepared to rank social factors above environmental factors in his decision making in settlement, and traded off economic prosperity against the opportunity for social and cultural satisfaction.

Ukrainian settlers entering submarginal lands in the Stuartburn and Interlake regions of Manitoba were probably not aware that such lands were "left overs" and were "totally unfit for grain growing or other types of farming."[41] Their selection of poor sub-marginal sandy and stony areas Marunchak attributes to poor judgement of new conditions compounded by lack of time for experimentation.[42] This was certainly so in some cases, but it does not explain why Ukrainians continued to homestead in these poor agricultural areas even after they were warned against doing so.

It has been argued that in most cases the Ukrainians were not totally ignorant of the quality of the land which they were settling. They evaluated land according to

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[41] M. H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), p. 86.

[42] Ibid., p. 43.

criteria quite different from those employed by other, market-oriented non-Slavic pioneers, and their choice of land was influenced by other, less easily definable factors, which at times operated below the level of the conscious. Nevertheless, those Ukrainians who took homesteads in some of the more notoriously poor areas did not do so in total ignorance of their true nature. Full comprehension may not have been present, but to assume that most peasant farmers were totally naive in such matters strains the bounds of credulity.[43]

Ukrainian land seekers were apparently prepared to overlook deficiencies in aspects of land quality if, by so doing, they could remain within, or in contact with, a chosen cultural and social environment. Those seeking land often took as homesteads land regarded as unfit for settlement and abandoned even by earlier Ukrainian settlers. In

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[43]It should be emphasized that most Ukrainian immigrants were from an agricultural background. Few of the emerging Ukrainian industrial proletariat were involved in agricultural settlement in Canada. Although some of the better educated, non-farm, elements of Ukrainian society immigrated into Canada before 1914, few did so before 1905, and they seldom went on to the land. In 1901 it was estimated that only two percent of Ukrainian settlers in the Dauphin region were literate. This may be an unduly low estimate but an examination of signatures on applications for homestead entry in Alberta between 1892-1914 suggested that less than twenty percent of all Ukrainian applicants were literate. On literacy rates see: Winnipeg Telegram, 2 January 1901, and Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers, 1897, "Department of the Interior," p. 120.

the Sniatyn area of Alberta Ukrainian immigrants took land previously abandoned by their compatriots. The reasons given for abandonment, such as "mostly covered by water," "all sand and bush and not fit for farming," "too much water and too many stones," or "land flooded for past two years."[44] reflected conditions usually evident to the most casual observer! It is difficult to conceive of settlers obliged to wade waist-deep to their homesteads, as were some in the Manitoba Interlake,[45] not having some doubts of the quality of the land in the area. It was into such areas, moreover, that Ukrainian immigrants persisted in going despite the efforts of Crown Agents to persuade them otherwise. By 1905 the Government Interpreter Cyril Genik was advising Ukrainian immigrants to go to Alberta,[46] where good land was still available, and to avoid the Stuartburn and Interlake areas of Manitoba. His advice went unheeded by those with connections in these areas, and submarginal

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[44]Declarations of Abandonment, Records of Homestead Entry, S.E. 18 Twp. 57 Rge, 18 W. 4; N.E. 10, Twp. 59 Rge. 17 W. 4; S.E. 22 Twp. 59 Rge. 17 W. 4 and N.W. 30 Twp 57 Rge 16 W. 4. P. M. A. A.

[45]Interview with Stefan Yendik, Frazerwood, Manitoba, 12 November 1974.

[46]Anne B. Woywitka, "Homesteader's Woman," Alberta History 24 (1976): 20.

territory continued to be homesteaded.

The initial decision of the first Ukrainian pioneers to locate within a specific area was influenced by such factors as a desire for timber, a wide resource base, a fear of the prairie, poor evaluation of land quality, lack of mobility and ignorance of alternative areas open to homesteading. The perpetuation and expansion of settlement, in contrast, was largely dependent upon the willingness of subsequent Ukrainian settlers to rank social-cultural factors above economic or environmental factors. Such decisions were essentially individual, but uniformity of choice created a pattern of group behaviour in which the tide of settlement thrust many into submarginal areas. This argument does not imply that the Ukrainians were immobile either as individuals or as a group. Nor is it meant to suggest that this behavioural pattern in settlement was confined to the Ukrainians. The incident at Fish Creek was a dramatic refutation of the former, and Richtik has argued that settlers from Ontario displayed a similar pattern of behaviour in their settlement of southwestern Manitoba.[47] Faced with the choice of locating on a less desirable site or settling away from their friends, Ontario

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[47] James M. Richtik, "Manitoba Settlement: 1870-1886" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1971), pp. 558-562.

settlers, like the Ukrainians, often chose the former. Less desirable sites were chosen because of their more desirable locations.

The extent to which each group would go in this direction reveals a crucial difference between Ontario and Ukrainian settlers. The Ontario settlers soon reached the point at which they were not prepared to accept further decline in land quality in order to obtain social advantages. In moving away from their fellows to secure better land they demonstrated that their kinship ties were neither as strong nor as meaningful as those of the Ukrainians.

Some Ukrainian settlers did move away from the block settlements in attempts to secure better land. They were few, however, and serve only to prove the rule. Those that did break away had usually been in the country for some time - often they were the children of early immigrants. When migrating to new areas they did so in groups. One such group moved from the Manitoba Interlake to Prelate, Saskatchewan.[48] Another group from Stuartburn, moved up to Rycroft in the Peace River district.[49]

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[48]Editorial Committee, Ukrainians in Alberta, p. 357.

[49]Woywitka, "Homesteader's Woman," pp. 21-22; and Editorial Committee, Ukrainians in Alberta, pp. 286-287.

There is some evidence to suggest that although the initial decisions in settlement were those of the man, much of the subsequent inertia was due to the reluctance of the woman to break her social ties. Confined to the farm and less exposed to assimilative pressures, it was the woman who most needed the social ties transferred from the homeland. In the absence of the daily intercourse of village life the pioneer woman became more reliant upon the presence of neighbours and friends. To move away, even for economic benefit, was intolerable.[50]

Social ties, it is clear, explain many of the paradoxes of Ukrainian settlement.[51] The initial occupation of much of the poorer submarginal lands by Ukrainian settlers, for example, is explainable only in such terms. The reason for their continued occupance, furthermore, is easily understood in the light of those ties which "though light as air, are as strong as links of iron."

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[50]E. Shlanka, "Krydor Community No 13, Interviews of Pioneers," April 1944 (Typewritten) p. 5; James S. Woodsworth, "Ukrainian Rural Communities: Report of Investigation by the Bureau of Social Research, Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta," Winnipeg, 25 January 1917, (Typewritten.) p. 130.

[51]Merrill explains the density of Ukrainian settlement in the Riding Mountain area of Manitoba as a reflection of the immigrants' desire to maintain close family ties. L. Merrill, "Population Distribution in the Riding Mountains and Adjacent Plains of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, 1870-1946," (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1953), pp. 64-91. Ses also MacGregor, Vilni Zemli, Free Lands, pp. 184-185.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

By 1914 Ukrainian settlement had come to occupy a vast area of the Canadian West which arced from Winnipeg to Edmonton along the broad transition zone between the aspen parkland and the southern skirt of the boreal forest. It was in the early years of massive Ukrainian immigration, between 1896 and 1899, that the forces shaping the geography of Ukrainian settlement achieved some measure of equilibrium and established the spatial framework which effectively governed all subsequent settlement.

The policy of the Dominion government toward the placement of this first wave of Ukrainian settlers, essentially pragmatic, crystalized during the years 1896-99. Although hasty, it ultimately proved to be a relatively happy compromise amongst a variety of interested parties: the immigrant, the Canadian government, the boosters of Western development, the advocates of Canadian nationalism, and the jingoists of British Imperialism.

The Immigrant and Environment

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the Ukrainian immigrants' settlement behaviour was their marked reluctance

to settle on the open prairie and their demonstrated predilection for settlement in wooded areas. This behaviour may be attributed in part to a fear of timber scarcity - a fear not uncommon among settlers of other nationalities - but compounded in this instance by a suspicion that settlement without timber would duplicate their previous exploitation. Unfamiliarity with Canadian agricultural conditions and practices, erroneous assessments of soil fertility, and, more often, a misconception of the acreage required for viable agriculture within the context of a market-oriented agricultural system, led to misjudgements of the agricultural prerequisites of successful commercial farming. Much of their planning in this regard was predicated upon old country experience, where economic behaviour corresponded more closely to peasant rather than to capitalist economic models. Consequently their evaluation of the resource base was seen as unusual, if not irrational, through Anglo-Canadian eyes.

After meeting the expenses of emigration few Ukranian immigrants remained well provided with capital. Indeed, many arrived in the West as paupers. Such settlers based their appraisal of a prospective homestead site upon the potential it offered for immediate survival, rather than upon its ultimate potential for long term economic growth. Elements of environment which would conventionally be regarded as impediments to rapid economic progress were hence

often seen as highly desireable attributes by such settlers. It was unfortunate, however, that the type of environment which initially offered the most to the disadvantaged settler often offered the least from the standpoint of long term agricultural development.

It is clear, therefore, that the Ukrainian immigrants' reactions to the physical environment of the Western Canadian settlement frontier were conditioned, if not largely controlled, by the previous experience of their homeland. The effect of certain emigration literature, especially that of Dr. Josef Oleskow, was to reinforce this tendency. Knowing that the average peasant emigrant from the Western Ukraine was likely to be inadequately provided with sufficient capital to contemplate settlement on the open prairie, Oleskow advocated settlement on the prairie fringe - in the openings of the aspen parkland. His advice, designed to reinforce his countrymen's preference for lands with some timber, instead steered them in the direction of more northerly submarginal lands. In heeding his advice to avoid the prairie the Ukrainian often moved into the poorer areas of boreal forest and heavy aspen bush.

The role of sentiment and nostalgia in the selection of specific types of environment for settlement is difficult to define accurately. Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that it was of considerable significance in determining settlement behaviour and that it reinforced the desire to seek out wooded environments.

There is no doubt, therefore, that it was the wish of the great majority of Ukrainian pioneers to settle in the wooded environment of the aspen parkland vegetation belt. In this respect the general zone of Ukrainian settlement was a direct reflection of the resource perception and environmental desires of the great majority of Ukrainian immigrants. The myth that they were forced to accept the poorer woodlands because all the open grasslands had been taken by earlier settlers has long enjoyed an undeservedly wide currency. Yet it was the grassland environment of the open prairie which was the last to be fully settled, and it is clearly evident that they did not select the wooded country simply because no other land was available.

The Role of the Government

Although the first Ukrainian settlers had arrived in Western Canada in 1891, the Dominion Government took no hand in their settlement until 1896. For the first five years their numbers were small and centred upon a single settlement at Star, Alberta. In 1896 Oleskow's emigration efforts bore fruit, and the inrush of Ukrainians thus begun was further stimulated the following year by the aggresive immigration policies of Clifford Sifton. The numbers of Ukrainian immigrants rose dramatically, completely overtaxing the few officials of the Department of the Interior who were responsible for the successful placement of immigrants in the West. Controversy attended this massive and unmanaged

wave of Slavic immigration and settlement. Those opposed to non-English speaking immigration vociferously opposed their admission and set up conflicting demands for both the rapid assimilation of the Ukrainians and their segregation in settlement. Fears of the "Balkanization" of the West were voiced. The possibility that the settlement at Star, Alberta would develop into a single solid block of Ukrainian settlement covering hundreds of square miles was viewed by the Federal Government with apprehension if not alarm.

It is apparent that the geography of Ukrainian settlement in Western Canada would have been radically different had not the Canadian Government, from 1896 onwards, taken a direct hand in their settlement. Without energetic and determined efforts to fragment and disperse Ukrainian settlement throughout the Prairie Provinces there would have been nothing to check the expansion of the existing settlement at Star. Chain migration would have ensured that it retained its position as the primary destination of most, if not all, the incoming Ukrainian settlers, for newly arrived immigrants had little motivation to locate elsewhere than among their already established countrymen. Thus the sometimes abrasive actions of the Government were necessary to challenge the seemingly inevitable growth of the Star settlement and to prevent its development into a massive contiguous block which threatened to encompass the greater

part of East-central Alberta and extend even into areas of Western Saskatchewan.

The prospect of such a development did not sit well with the conservative Anglo-Canadian establishment of central Canada which was apprehensive over the threat of alien domination in parts of the West and the threat to the British imperial spirit. Complete dispersal of the Ukrainians, so as to speed assimilation and to negate the development of any nationalist aspirations among alien groups, was then impractical. It conflicted with the wishes of the immigrants themselves, while the Department of the Interior lacked the legal authority and personnel to accomplish it. Had it been effected, moreover, it would have undoubtedly provoked a storm of protest from English speaking settlers outraged by the prospect of having Ukrainian settlers in their midst. Nevertheless, it was soon evident that the Government could not ignore the situation and let events take their course. Although the Government never publicly articulated a clear-cut policy, it is apparent that the Department of the Interior made efforts to prevent the growth of the Star settlement by establishing a series of other nodes of Ukrainian settlement throughout the West. Ever pragmatic, however, the officials responsible for its implementation made every attempt to ease their difficult task by concurring with immigrant wishes so far as

was possible, and so diminished the efficacy of the policy they were charged with carrying out.

It is not known whether the Government pursued any grand strategy in the location of new nodes of settlement. It appears unlikely that they did so, however, for new nodes were frequently established in immediate response to administrative pressures upon government personnel in existing areas of settlement. Whenever Crown Agents in existing areas of Ukrainian settlement became unable to handle further arrivals, or when land could not be surveyed and subdivided at a sufficiently rapid rate, pressure would mount for the opening of a new area to prevent administrative chaos. To that extent arrangements were ad hoc, but the result was in accord with the desire of the Government to exercise at least a loose control over the growth rate of each settlement nucleus.

The immigrants established in any new area of settlement were, in the main, those with no friends or relatives in existing settlements, or those without a clearly stated destination. Those officials who had direct experience of placing Ukrainian immigrants were well aware of the difficulties encountered in attempting to force immigrants to settle where they had no wish to go. The few attempts of the Department of the Interior to force settlement in designated locations were not conspicuously

successful in achieving their objective. Although the Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg did ask for the authority to forcibly direct immigrants, Crown Agents soon found that it was easier to lead than to drive. Coercion was not entirely absent but it was rare.

The volume of immigration also caused the agents of the Crown to resort to ethnic stereotyping. Since many Ukrainian immigrants arrived in the West with little or no capital, Government officials often proceeded on the assumption that all Ukrainians were similarly endowed and that their requirements in settlement were all identical. Furthermore, having evolved a Ukrainian stereotype they also assigned environmental preferences on that basis. Thus, the rougher well wooded rolling country was seen as the type of country best suited to Ukrainian tastes. It was also the type of environment which offered the best start to settlers without capital. Rich in the raw materials necessary for establishing them on the land, the wooded lands also offered the opportunity for generating capital through sale of cordwood and other resources. This became a major criterion in the Government's selection of land for new nodes of Ukrainian settlement, and often obscured the dubious quality of the land in terms of permanent agricultural settlement. Another factor considered by Colonization Agents was the proximity of established settlers from whom

the newcomers could secure temporary work and, it was hoped, acquire a working knowledge of Western farm technology and the English language. Agents often exploited the relationship between the Volksdeutsche from the Ukraine, and used the German speaking settlers to 'anchor' new nodes of Ukrainian settlement. This relationship was by no means one-sided, for the better established settlers were anxious to secure additional field hands during the busy summer months. There is also evidence to suggest that at least one of the Ukrainian settlements owed its location to industrial demands for cheap unskilled labour.

There is little evidence to suggest that the Canadian authorities consciously discriminated against Ukrainian immigrants in settlement. Their energies were directed toward securing orderly settlement and maintaining some measure of control over the expansion of each nucleus. Aid to destitute settlers was given reluctantly, it is true, but this reluctance was in strict accord with the Siftonian brand of liberalism. When expenditure was not at issue, the Government was prepared to make minor, but nonetheless important, concessions to expedite the progress of Ukrainian settlers. Of these, the 'bending' of rules to legalise squatting had the greatest geographical impact. Contiguity of settlement was furthered and the Ukrainians were permitted to achieve high densities of settlement in areas where

railway land reservations would normally have prevented it.

Relationships between the Government officials and the immigrant were poorest in the early years of involvement in 1897-98. When certain groups of immigrants found that the promises of unofficial emigration propaganda could not be realized, they became truculent and suspicious of the motives of all those involved in settlement. Anxious to expedite settlement, Crown Agents found their advice unheeded and their efforts unappreciated. The impending arrival of other immigrants compounded the sense of urgency of overworked officials to place settlers quickly. Under these circumstances, understanding of the immigrants' feelings was lacking and their uncooperative behaviour soon eroded official sympathy. Attempts at coercion on the part of the Crown Agents may thus be understood if not condoned. As the Canadian officials became able to cope with large numbers of immigrants and as more reliable information became available to emigrants, misunderstanding diminished and relationships improved.

Some far-sighted schemes to render assistance and to spatially organize Ukrainian settlement, such as those advanced by Dr. Oleskow and William McCreary, were victims of the pressure of events and of political expediency. That servants of the Crown advocated such schemes designed

to further the interests of the Ukrainian settlers is significant in itself. It suggests that even if immigrants were "hurled at the country by the trainload" as some have charged, it was incidental to and not because of, the efforts of those working in the field.

Kinship and Society

Ukrainian settlers were motivated by a deep desire to secure a social environment which afforded cultural viability. A desire for security was manifest in the location and subsequent rapid growth of their initial settlement at Star, adjacent to the Volksdeutsche settlement of Josephburg. Crown Agents also found that Ukrainians were more easily settled in new areas if they could be placed near to a German settlement.

Settlers from most ethnic backgrounds sought the company of their fellows to some degree. The Ukrainians were no exception. They were unusual, rather, in the strength of their desire to hive together. Members of extended families settled as groups. Families from the same village settled together and recreated elements of their old country village life in the New World. More surprising was the degree to which this spatial stratification was transported and perpetuated, for as in the old country, the Ukrainian block settlement was spatially segregated at several hierarchical levels: by family, by village, district,

region, and province of origin.

Self-imposed segregation between those from Bukowina and those from Galicia was understandable, given the differences in the prevailing religion of each province. It is argued further that societal and folk-cultural differences also contributed to the development of segregation within block settlements.

It is clear that the Ukrainian settler chose his location within the block settlement in a descending order of preference: (1) contact with the family and kin groups; (2) within a village-acquaintance group; (3) among others from the same district; and (4) within a regional cultural/religious environment. The result was to spatially recreate the Western Ukraine in microcosm within each block settlement. This agglomeration of settlers on the basis of district of origin is best explained by the peasant's allegiance to his village, its locality and its folk-cultural manifestations.

There is no question that location within a familiar socio-cultural and religious milieu did much to soften the cultural shock experienced by the recently arrived immigrant, although the ultimate effect was not always beneficial. In the majority of instances, the primary decision makers - the first Ukrainians to enter an area - selected land which, by Anglo-Canadian standards, was of moderate or good quality.

Each subsequent group of immigrant arrivals was prepared to accept land of increasingly poorer quality if by so doing they could remain within, or in contact with, the cultural milieu of their choice. It was thus that the Ukrainians came to occupy increasingly larger areas of submarginal land. They did so, not because of their incompetence at environmental evaluation, but because they placed a high priority upon seeking the company of their fellows.

Under such circumstances, environmental appraisal cannot always have been strictly rational or even a prominent factor in locational decision-making for it was strongly influenced by, if not subservient to, society and culture. The cultural background of the Ukrainian immigrant was highly effective in screening his perception of the environment, for having more important priorities in settlement, he subconsciously elected to perceive certain aspects of environment and to disregard others. Settlement of land with poor potential for agriculture could thus be justified and even rationalized. At the same time the heavily wooded bush country with poor soil presented a better prospect for the immediate survival of the capital-deficient peasant than did the more fertile open prairie lands. If doubts were entertained, they were nullified when the economic costs were balanced against the expected social benefits. Only when the tastes and inclinations of the

Ukrainian settlers veered toward cash flow and entry into the market economy was the marginal-land homestead progressively seen as less than satisfactory.

As conventional Anglo-Canadian agricultural goals were gradually assimilated by the Ukrainian pioneer there was a parallel decline in old country values and a concomitant weakening of social ties. Resource perception thus came to more closely reflect the qualities of the land rather than those of the cultural milieu. The passing of old country values and regional loyalties marked the beginning of a new phase of Ukrainian life in Canada, one dominated by the Canadian-born whose actions and attitudes revealed an attachment to values of the New World and a loosening of ties with the Old.

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INTERVIEWS

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Nicholas Cebuliak, Andrew, Alberta, 24 May 1972.

Nicholas Charnopysky, Vita, Manitoba, 8 October 1975.

Harry Chubey, Arbakka, Manitoba, 12 October 1975.

Brian Corbett, Ottawa, Ontario, 27 July 1974.

Ivan Deneschuk, Gardenton, Manitoba, 25 June 1975.

Ivan Dolynchuk, Caliento, Manitoba, 4 July 1974.

Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, 14 May 1975 - 17 March 1976.

Mrs. V. Falk, Arbakka, Manitoba, 10 October 1975.

John Figus, Vita, Manitoba, 4 September 1975.

Boris Gengalo, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 19 July 1977.

Michael Gorda, Willingdon, Alberta, 6 June 1975.

Dorothy Gordeychuk, Sandy Lake, Alberta, 25 June 1972.

Isadore Goresky, Edmonton, Alberta, 14 June 1972.

John Gregorchuk, Sirko, Manitoba, 8 October 1975.

Rudolf Herschfield, Sundown, Manitoba, 3 July 1975.

John Huckulak, Andrew, Alberta, 30 May 1972.

Dr. Robert Klymasz, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 19 July 1977.

August Knysh, Andrew, Alberta, 3 June 1972.

Harry Koncohrada, Lamont, Alberta, 5 June 1972.

Wasylena Koshelanyk, Caliento, Manitoba, 3 July 1975.

Frank Krill, Lamont, Alberta, 5 June 1972.

Michael Krykalowich, Lamont, Alberta, 5 June 1972.

Todor Kutzak, Sirko, Manitoba, 10 October 1975.

Andrew Lamash, St. Michael, Alberta, 15 June 1972.

Stan Markowsky, Arbakka, Manitoba, 21 July 1975.

Mrs. W. Melnyk, Delph, Alberta, 30 May 1972.

Samuel Mickalchuk, Peno, Alberta, 30 May 1972.

Stephan Mulka, Two Hills, Alberta, 31 May 1972.

Nikol Olinyk, Two Hills, Alberta, 13 June 1972.

Roman Onufrijchuk, Winnipeg, 17 January 1974.

John Paciorka, Vita, Manitoba, 6 September 1975.

Mrs. J. Palichuk, St. Michael, Alberta, 1 June 1972.

John Pamachuk, Arbakka, Manitoba, 15 July 1975.

Anna Patraniuk, Desjarlais, Alberta, 6 June 1975.

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John Shandro, Willingdon, Alberta, 6 June 1972.

Lorenz Skrumeda, Arbakka, Manitoba, 15 July 1975.

Mrs. N. Sportak, Caliento, Manitoba, 3 July 1975.

Mrs. S. Stodola, Skaro, Alberta, 1 June 1972.

Stephan Storeschuk, Vita, Manitoba, 21 July 1975

Mrs. A. Tofan, Tolstoi, Manitoba, 29 September 1975.

Peter Tymchuk, Two Hills, Alberta, 31 May 1972.

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Mrs. M. Woroniuk, Tolstoi, Manitoba, 29 September 1975.

Stefan Yendik, Frazerwood, Manitoba, 12 November 1974.

Wasyl and Anne Zazula, Shandro, Alberta, 22 June 1972.