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THE COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT OF
EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA
AND ITS EFFECT ON
UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT TO 1930

BY

RADOMIR BORISLAW BILASH

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF

MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA
1983✓

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a Master's thesis entitled: The Colonial Development of East Central Alberta and Its Effect on Ukrainian Immigrant Settlement to 1930 submitted by Radomir Borislaw Bilash

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THE COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT OF
EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA
AND ITS EFFECT ON
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by

Radomir Borislav Bilash

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the development of Western Canada both by government and private efforts. Through oral interviews and through the examination of published and archival sources, it is apparent that two inter-relating yet opposing forces formed the basis for such a development. On one hand, the federal government and railway entrepreneurs were interested in establishing a capitalist market system in the region as quickly as possible. On the other hand, it was recognized that the most expedient results would be achieved through the settling of Western Canada by immigrants who were more familiar with peasant production. Many of the immigrants came in large groups from Eastern Europe. Among them were the Ukrainians.

As a sample for this study, the history of the development of east central Alberta was examined. At one time, this area comprised the largest bloc of Ukrainian settlement outside of Ukraine. Between the mid-1890s and 1930 two distinct patterns of development could be seen. The Ukrainian settlers developed clustered settlements along the same principles as their villages of origin and transplanted much of their material culture to their new Canadian environment. Simultaneously the railways continued to build through the region, establishing towns which acted as collection centers for agricultural production and were based on an alternate British Canadian settlement pattern and material culture. By 1930, railway towns and the Ukrainian rural communities in east central Alberta had affected each other in ways which were unique to the region.

PREFACE

This thesis is not intended to deal with all aspects of early Ukrainian settlement in east central Alberta, but will hopefully raise questions for future study and add to information which already exists. It has benefitted from the curiosity of others less familiar with the subject, for their questions have encouraged me to examine topics which were not always obvious at close glance. I am also indebted to those who provided input into the preparation of the thesis manuscript. In retrospect I find the number of people involved in the above two groups to be somewhat startling, for individual acknowledgement of their efforts would require a chapter of its own. However, special mention is due my family, whose silent faith and patience can be excelled by no one.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

At the end of the nineteenth century, North America was undergoing a period of accelerated expansion westward from the well established industrial centres of the Eastern states and provinces to the Pacific Ocean. In the United States, this expansion was referred to as "Manifest Destiny," a self-created justification for laying claim to millions of acres of undeveloped land before others could do so for the same potential benefit. In the Dominion of Canada, westward expansion also seemed to be channelled more by the fever of competition than by any deliberate long-range planning. Expansion and economic development was occurring in South America at this time as well, most particularly within those coastal countries bordering the Atlantic Ocean whose economies largely revolved around plantation farming.

To enable themselves to succeed in their respective ventures, governments in North and South America encouraged the arrival of large numbers of "pioneers" or "settlers." In doing this, they anticipated that the economies of their countries would also develop. To achieve this end, each embarked on campaigns which encouraged people from various parts of Europe to emigrate and take up residence in what were forecast to be rich and rewarding lands. Companies were hired by each government to encourage, by means of posters and pamphlets in numerous European languages, a preferred "stock" of people to settle in its country. These companies, very often associated with the steamship lines which would convey the immigrants across the Atlantic Ocean, would

receive a commission for each individual passage they arranged.

Land was the principal attraction for the immigrants - undeveloped land available at minimal cost. Once considered developed enough to support the fur-trade economy, these millions of untended, uncleared acres were now destined to provide an agricultural base for the country. In fact, it was the undeveloped nature of the land which determined whether the immigrant was to be classified as preferred or non-preferred. The most desired immigrant was a farmer who was accustomed to a lifestyle which would enable him to function within, and benefit from, an untamed deciduous forest/grassland environment. By the 1890s, the settlement campaigns had already reached various areas of the Austro-Hungarian empire in Eastern Europe, and among them the isolated villages of the provinces of eastern Galicia and Bukovyna. Today, these areas are included within the boundaries of Soviet Ukraine, and the descendants of those who immigrated to Canada at the turn of the century usually identify themselves as being of Ukrainian origin. In those areas of this country where there are larger clusters of people of Ukrainian origin, they are accredited with creating and maintaining a uniquely Ukrainian-Canadian identity. However, material culture studies or investigations into the settlement pattern and social organization of these people have been rare. Even rarer are discussions of a cross-cultural perspective which might compare the collective experiences of other immigrant groups in Western Canada at the turn of the century, or which might compare the development of Ukrainian settlements in Western Canada with the continued development of the indigenous culture in Ukraine. The result has been that Canadians of

Ukrainian descent are most frequently aware of their contribution as a "colorful ethnic group" which sings, dances, and eats admirably, but which has often been noted only in terms of its numbers in the popularized Canadian historical record. The Ukrainian involvement in the development of Western Canada, however, merits more attention. This thesis hopes to identify the origins of features that developed in Ukrainian settlement areas of Western Canada to 1930, and to determine which of these features can either be attributed to Galician-Bukovynian origins or to the development of a capitalist economy in the Prairies.

In the government's haste to develop the Canadian West, a good deal of control was placed in the hands of a very small entrepreneurial elite, which proceeded to channel the growth of Western Canada toward its own investment interests. By the beginning of the mass immigration of Galicians to Canada in 1894, the development of a land tenure system, incentive land granting, transportation and economic export systems, and the establishment of localized trade centers designed to accumulate farm produce for world markets were well under way. This skeletal infrastructure was intended to facilitate the conformation of immigrants to capitalist economic development, thereby ensuring the 'proper' or 'Canadian' development of the Prairies. However, one of the by-products of the land tenure system was the isolation of family units from each other and the segregation of immigrant group settlements. In such restricted surroundings, newcomers such as the Galicians and Bukovynians naturally recreated the familiar patterns of their indigenous rural environment.

For some time the government accommodated requests to allow group

settlement based on national affiliation (see Chapter 2). In fact, parcels of land were specifically reserved for the establishment of such settlements. Occasionally, concessions to East European practices were made in the system of land tenure and settlement pattern imposed by various acts of Parliament during the nineteenth century. This allowed some settlers to recreate village settlements, as well as the institutions of government and the production for use economy familiar to them. The "colonies", as government agencies, newspapers, and British-Canadian society referred to these settlements, received the standard acreage of land grants which were available to any individual wishing to settle in Western Canada on a per capita basis.

The demise of group settlements whose priorities did not include participation in a capitalist economy in Western Canada was almost pre-ordained. Concessions given to these settlements were patronizing efforts at best. They seemed to be granted only as a means of softening the change to British-Canadian practices, which were assumed to be of a superior quality. The fact that some group settlements displayed an ability to be self-sufficient was rarely acknowledged as a boon to Western Canada, and was considered by those who were trying to benefit financially from the development of the Prairies to be in conflict with capitalist development. Soon, self-sufficient group settlements with their production for use economies disintegrated in the wake of an export oriented economy that was largely controlled by railway, landholding, and grain trade interests.

This demise was also true for Ukrainian settlement. The earliest such rural settlement occurred in 1894, with the establishment of a

colony at Edna (later Star), Alberta. This initial settlement of families from Galicia led to the emigration of many more from that province, as well as from the neighbouring province of Bukovyna. The result was the creation of the largest bloc of Ukrainian settlement in east central Alberta. This portion of Western Canada had been only minimally provided with the infrastructure of the export interests when immigration began en masse from Galicia and Bukovyna. Thirty-five years later, however, east central Alberta was already served by three main railway lines. As a natural progression in the development of the Western Canadian capitalist economy, numerous townsites were established on each of these routes. Created initially by the railway companies, and later influenced by provincial planners, railway towns were a prime component of colonialization in east central Alberta and Western Canada (see Chapter 3).

Simultaneous with the creation and development of rural towns in east central Alberta was the development of rural communities (see Chapter 4). Although variations of these communities exist throughout the Prairies, the main focus of the thesis discussion here will be those communities which resulted from the migration of people from Galicia and Bukovyna to east central Alberta. For the most part, rural communities were clusters of non-economic services which were rarely involved in the prevailing export market system. Although the number and type varied from one cluster settlement to another, these services were nonetheless reminiscent of those contained in the villages of Galicia and Bukovyna. However, the option of recreating fully the more familiar spatial pattern of nucleated villages, an option which previously had been

conceded to such settlers as the Mennonites, Doukhobors, Icelanders, and Hungarians, was not available to Galician/Bukovynian settlers. In fact, it does not seem that the idea of duplicating the village settlement pattern with which they were acquainted even occurred to the latter group. What in fact took place among the Ukrainian settlers was a swift alteration or adaptation of the predominant settlement pattern from Eastern Europe to the new Canadian environment.

The problem to be discussed in this thesis, especially since early Ukrainian settlement in east central Alberta is used as a specific case study, is not one that is altogether familiar to the discipline of Anthropology. The Ukrainian rural community clusters in Manitoba were the initial object of my examinations, particularly during my undergraduate years. At that time, it was evident that early Ukrainian settlers in Manitoba did develop closely knit, recognizable rural communities. The inhabitants of these communities were often from the same or neighbouring villages in Bukovyna or Galicia. One informant even stated that such settlements were just like those known in Ukraine, except that they were spatially extended. That is to say, although the Canadian pattern required that individual farmyards and outbuildings be dispersed and located on their complementary landholdings or fields in a fashion that did not resemble anything that existed in Bukovyna or Galicia, the Ukrainian Canadian rural communities of Manitoba were nonetheless divided into units that functioned in the same manner as did the nucleated villages in Ukraine. Later, examination of Ukrainian rural communities in Saskatchewan found that the same principles of settlement held true. At the same time, it became increasingly apparent

that these faintly village-like rural communities coexisted with railway towns and complemented their role in Western Canadian capitalist economy.

My examination of Ukrainian rural communities was continued in east central Alberta, where they were found to be similar to those of Saskatchewan and Manitoba. The study was made more complete, however, through the examination of rural towns in the area, and through a comparative study of villages in Galicia and Bukovyna at the turn of the twentieth century. It was determined at this time that the year 1930 was a turning point in the development of this part of Alberta, and further study was centered on the era prior to that year.

When examining any of the Ukrainian rural communities in Western Canada, it was found that an ethnohistoric approach would provide the most information for my analysis. Most of the communities had ceased to function by 1960, and many had been waning for over a decade prior to that time. Consequently, examination of these communities in the present did little to indicate their origin or function, for little has remained for examination. This resulted in a concentration on library and archival research, which yielded a myriad of statistical data and published anecdotes about the region. Since much of the topographical environment of east central Alberta has changed since the turn of the century, numerous maps were consulted to ensure that my study was conducted with a historically correct environmental and spatial perspective. Other indications of change were obtained from photographic collections at the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village and the Provincial Archives of Alberta in Edmonton, the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg, the United Church Archives in

Toronto, and the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa.

Although previous analyses of aspects of Western Canadian capitalist development and its relationship with group settlement do exist, these efforts are minimal and fragmented. Discussions and examinations of the Ukrainians in Western Canada, mostly as objects of curiosity, occurred quite early. These are often conducted from the 'social' viewpoint, and often point out 'inadequacies' in the lifestyle of immigrants as compared with the values of British Canada. Such comparisons were very often found in the reports and publications of religious groups, and their critiques often provide good descriptions of the rituals, material culture, and attitudes of Bukovynian and Galician settlers in their transplanted environment.

Analysis of the development of other group settlements in Western Canada, with specific reference to settlement pattern, has increased since 1960. An examination of this body of work revealed the extent to which immigrants initially recreated aspects of their original communities upon settling in Canada. In many cases, the demise of these group settlements has been related to the intolerance shown them by the developing capitalist infrastructure in Western Canada at the turn of the twentieth century.

Information about the village unit in Galicia and Bukovyna at the turn of the twentieth century in those areas relevant to the problem being presented is not commonly available. Therefore, some benefit has been gained from the overview presentations of Himka (1977:1979), and the ethnographic research of Koenig (1935), Shukhevych (1902), and Vovk (1928). Specific reference to settlement patterns and material culture

was found primarily in the work of Cybriwsky (1972), Samoilovych (1961; 1973), Kosmina (1980), Kubijovic (1963), and Stelmakh (1964). Study tours of villages in Ukraine during 1982 and 1983 proved to be quite beneficial in clarifying some of the points raised in the literature.

The study of railway development in Western Canada has received much attention in the academic discipline of Canadian history, and remains an active subject of discussion. Less has been done to portray the influence that railway companies had in settlement development and in the reinforcement of a system of economic trade which was fundamental to their success. Similarly, the role of the provincial government in these matters, chiefly in regard to town planning, has not been examined to any great extent.

Some research, such as the work of Zimmerman and Moneo (1970), discusses settlements in Western Canada from an economic point of view. It is significant to my thesis discussion that the latter study does not include the rural community, Ukrainian or otherwise, in its discussion of previous and present economic networks of the Prairies. A slightly different perspective is taken by Luxemburg (1913), who examines economic development throughout the world and describes the growth of capitalism in various countries. The degree of specificity used in examining capitalist development in the United States and Canada has made her book invaluable to my study. Consequently, it has become the prime published theoretical resource for my thesis.

The extent of library research used in this study equalled and was probably surpassed by field research. Each community and townsite in the study area, or its former location, was visited and documented.

This was essential to establish patterns which could not be observed by former case study attempts. Keeping in mind that reports, official publications, and statistics are not always complete or accurate, interviews were also conducted with individuals who were witnesses to or participants in the events described in this study. These interviews were especially valuable in providing additional perspectives and explanations regarding the extent to which the inhabitants of east central Alberta were cognizant of the changes that the region had undergone.

After appraising all available sources for this study, several statements can be made regarding the development of east central Alberta to 1930. These statements will form the basis of discussion in the chapters which will follow:

1. There existed two forms of colonization in east central Alberta to 1930 which manifested themselves in the form of rural railway towns and village-like rural communities.
2. Ukrainian rural communities established in east central Alberta developed to serve the needs of the local population, and derived historically in many ways from the immigrants' village of origin in Ukraine. This was initially a peasant colonization.
3. The development of rural towns in east central Alberta was imposed arbitrarily by government and company operations to create the means by which an economy could develop swiftly and profitably in east central Alberta. This was a prime example of capitalist colonialism.

CHAPTER TWO

Western Canada

At the Turn of the Twentieth Century

By 1900 a capitalist market system had been established in Western Canada. It had evolved over several decades in answer to the growing world economy and an American expansionist policy (known as "Manifest Destiny"), which gave Canadian authorities reason to worry about the future of their own, largely unprotected country (i.e. resources). As Luxemburg notes: "The process of accumulation, elastic and spasmodic as it is, requires inevitably free access to ever new areas of raw materials in case of need, both when imports from old sources fail or when social demand suddenly increases" (1913:358). Not wanting to place the future of their raw materials in jeopardy, the Canadians quickly responded to the problem.

Shortly after Confederation the Canadian government embarked on a campaign to develop the western prairie region of Canada. Until that time, all of the land in Western Canada was owned by the Hudson Bay Company, and was known as "Rupert's Land." Consequently, it had been largely ignored by most of Canada or considered solely as a source of such raw materials as furs. Only when Eastern Canada began to strengthen its manufacturing industries at the expense of its agricultural economy did the West become considered for crop production. By this point, the potential value of Western Canada was better understood, and efforts were made to populate and develop this vast, untapped area. As one eminent geographer has noted:

prairie settlement in Canada coincided with the later phase of a great enlargement of the world market for wheat and a shift in sources of supply from the densely populated regions where land costs were high to the pioneer regions where land was cheap (Mackintosh 1935:13).

Until the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was approved in 1872, there was as yet no means by which the western 'lands of the Indians' could be readily accessed. There was no singular form of rapid transcontinental transportation in Canada. In outlining the Dominion lands policy of that period, Martin (1961:436) discusses the perceived need for the overall transcontinental development of Canada:

If the free homestead system was designed in the United States to 'save the Union' in 1862, it was also designed in Canada after 1864 to safeguard the 'national necessity' of westward expansion and to make good a transcontinental Dominion against the march of 'manifest destiny' south of the border.

"In districts where natural economy formerly prevailed, the introduction of means of transport--railways, navigation, canals--is vital for the spreading of commodity economy . . ." (Luxemburg 1913:386). As an incentive for the creation of such a railway, the Canadian Government adjusted its policy regarding the distribution of lands in Western Canada. Under the terms outlined in the legislation which created the Canadian Pacific Railway, not all lands were to be available to settlers. Belts of land twenty miles wide on each side of future railway lines were given directly to the railway companies. The companies were able to acquire capital for the construction of their lines through the sale of these lands.

The first incidence of railways receiving land grants occurred in 1872, only two years after the free homestead system had been introduced. The prices set by them for their lands were invariably lower than the

actual market value. Like the Canadian government, the railway companies viewed these sales as a worthwhile long-range investment. Their prime concern was to ensure their own future maintenance, and this could only be done by populating the Prairies and creating remunerative traffic for the railway (Martin 1961:438). This philosophy was often referred to as building a railway "by means of the land through which it had to pass." It seems clear, therefore, that the intention of all parties concerned with the development of Western Canada after 1870 was to create a capitalist market system based on one prime form of transportation--the railroad.

I. THE HOMESTEAD SURVEY

According to Luxemburg, railway construction can be considered only one of the first conditions required to inaugurate capital production (1913:353). As soon as "Rupert's Land" was transferred to the Dominion of Canada in 1870, however, labour power was necessary as well. Thus, the federal government introduced a free homestead system whereby an enterprising individual had the possibility of settling in Western Canada and owning one hundred and sixty acres of land. In exchange for this land, the homesteader was asked to develop his property from its original virgin prairie or forest state into productive farmland. This and similar requirements were outlined in an act appropriately named the Homestead Act.

In preparation for settlement, most of Western Canada was surveyed into 160 acre parcels of land. This system of survey was one

based on the earlier American system of homestead survey:

In 1785, on the suggestion of Thomas Jefferson, Congress passed a land ordinance which resulted in placing a huge checkerboard of survey lines over all the miles of country north and west of the Ohio river, a checkerboard that was regardless of contours and relentless as fate (Robinson 1917:257).

The ramifications of this survey were many. Most important was the extent to which the development of Western Canada was standardized by it. The fact that homestead parcels were one half-mile square, coupled with the requirement that each homesteader was required to dwell within the bounds of his property, hindered the development of strong community ties and settlement clusters. Seymour (1917:255) notes that the system used at the time of his writing in the province of Quebec differed, and consisted of long and narrow farm lots,

....with families grouped closely together along the main roads. Such an arrangement was essential for protection against the Indians, but its social advantages have ever been recognized in Quebec where, statistics show, the rural population do not 'leave the farm'.

The survey that was implemented in Western Canada did not offer the same advantages of social interaction.

The only exceptions to the "checkerboard" survey concerned road allowances and land claims which had been made prior to 1870. In the latter case, those individuals associated with early fur-trading outposts often took up farming on strips of land that they estimated were reasonable for their needs. As members of the indigenous population became sedentary, they also laid claim to parcels of land. Neither group's landholdings resembled the size nor the shape of the later homestead survey system. In later years, after lengthy examination of such land claim submissions, the Department of the

Interior decided to honour claims of those who could prove residence on their sites prior to July 15, 1870, when the Government of Canada assumed ownership of the Northwest Territories (Mitchener 1976).

In most of the Prairie survey, sixty-six foot wide strips of land were reserved for the development of roadways. These were located every mile (or every second homestead) from east to west, and every second mile (or fourth homestead) from north to south. Prior to 1881, however, parts of Manitoba (which was surveyed first) were assigned road allowances of ninety-nine feet in width, occurring every mile in both the north-south and east-west directions (Seymour 1917:258).

Considering how rare it was for roads to be built any wider than forty feet along the majority of road allowances in Western Canada, this feature did nothing to decrease the isolation between farmsteads. Considering that the "north to south" roads were anticipated to be "feeder" market roads to the east-west railway lines, their predominance and greater frequency well reflect the prevailing preoccupation with westward expansion at that time.

II. THE DISPOSAL OF DOMINION LANDS; RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT

The priority given to railway development in Western Canada did not end once the CPR transcontinental route was completed, although the system of land grants to railway companies was altered. For example, the practice of granting "land-lock" belts of railway reserves ended. Instead, in 1879 the Canadian government reserved one hundred million acres of land for railway construction in Western Canada. This land was

distributed in an uniform manner. Generally, every second section (640 acres or one square mile) of land in the vicinity of the line being constructed was given to the railway company (Blue 1924:199).

At first, the disposal of Dominion lands to railways was conducted in favor of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In addition to subsidies and loans from the federal government, the CPR received free land in the form of land grants, while the other "colonization railways" were only given an option to purchase a maximum of 6,400 acres per mile constructed, at a cost of one cent per mile. The only consolation of this arrangement for the colonization railways was that they could still own every second section of property for ten miles on either side of the line. Somehow it seemed to be more adequate an arrangement, for this group continued to gain power to the point that it began to overtake the CPR. By 1884, colonization railway companies had managed to acquire the same land grants rights as the CP Railway, and were selecting lands from government reserves (Martin 1938:279).

John Blue (1924:196) lists thirteen ways which the federal government used to dispose of dominion lands in Western Canada. In addition to the methods already discussed, this list includes several additional means by which a private individual could purchase land. For example, some pieces of land were reserved for the Hudson Bay Company, while others were designated as "school land." Both were sold to the public, just as were railway lands, but with one difference:

Railway lands for sale had at least one presumption in their favour: they had been selected by the railway in the first place because they were 'fairly fit for settlement'; and the railway which sold the land was usually interested in its productiveness as well as in its price (Martin 1938:539).

Two approaches were taken by the Hudson's Bay Company in disposing of its landholdings. Smaller holdings were sold for profit. The larger properties, which had been specifically located around the Company's trading posts when the terms of the land transfer to Canada were formulated, were regarded as ideal locations for the development of settlements. In both cases, the land which the Company had retained was considered most valuable to sell as real estate, rather than to use it to contribute in some way to trading activities (Selwood and Baril 1981:62). Consequently, Hudson's Bay Company holdings were often surveyed into lots and sold as part of townsite schemes.

While the federal government controlled the spatial format of population distribution by means of the homestead survey, the railway companies dominated the spatial establishment of the market system in Western Canada. This was done by establishing evenly-spaced stopping points, called sidings, on the rail line where grain could be loaded onto trains and sent eastward. Although Morton (1938:155) points out that farmers were encouraged to diversify their farming activities, the development of grain farming still seems to have been a prime goal of the Western Canadian market system.

Railway companies owned land for up to twenty miles on each side of the railway line. Mackintosh (1934:55) discusses the formula that was used by railways to calculate the distance between stopping points on each line. He observes:

The maximum hauling distance [for the farmer] within the twenty-mile belt, if stations and sidings are seven to ten miles apart, is twelve to fifteen miles, depending on the direction and

location of the roads. Under the stress of competition, railways may, of course, build more branch lines than are economically desirable. Independent evidence, however suggests that it is not profitable for farmers to haul grain more than ten to fifteen miles.

The railways ensured that facilities were available at each railway siding to accept the grain for further marketing in Eastern Canada and beyond. In the same manner as the federal government had encouraged railway development, railway companies would sometimes provide incentives for the establishment of grain elevators on their lines:

When the country was being settled, at first only the Canadian Pacific Railway, stimulated the construction of country elevators by offering rent-free sites and by undertaking not to permit any one to load grain by hand direct into railway cars at any station at which there was a standard elevator. In this situation the farmer was compelled to accept the terms of the elevators as to price, weight, grade, and dockage (Mackintosh 1935:44).

This practice was standardized throughout the West and obviously afforded the railway companies and grain merchants financial benefits. Since many of the elevators that were located on one line were operated by one company, which offered the same services and charges at each siding, the farmer was not offered any competitive options in the sale of his produce.

At the turn of the century, as the number of grain elevators per siding increased and various grain acts were passed, many of the problems created by over-zealous grain companies and railway companies were alleviated. However, the railway company's overriding interest in the grain produced on the "land through which it had to pass" remained. Sidings can still be found today in Western Canada where the only structure other than incidental farm buildings is a grain elevator. No

other service which might benefit the local population can be found at these sites.

The imperious attitude of the railways is magnified when one examines sidings where a variety of services were offered and towns were developed. The type of settlement that will be referred to in this thesis as "towns" has been given a multitude of designations. Because of variations in size and function, such settlements have also been referred to as villages, hamlets, urban centres, urban towns, and rural towns. For the purposes of the present discussion, all settlement clusters developed at a railway siding will be considered "towns". Those clusters not built in conjunction with the railway but developed as nucleated settlements with side-by-side lots for business and residential use will be considered "villages." Localities composed mostly of farms but containing one or more institutions that provide a service (educational, spiritual, cultural, economic, etc.) to that locality, and which together identify themselves as a separate settlement cluster, will be considered "rural communities".

From the above definitions, it might seem that the information presented earlier about the disposal of Hudson's Bay Company lands is contradictory. It is true that the Hudson's Bay Company did survey and sell lots at townsites that were not directly associated with a rail line. The belief of Company planners was that their settlements' operations would not be affected even if by-passed by a railway. They considered it preferable to locate a townsite where it would be best supported by the surrounding countryside. In fact, the creators of HBC townsites felt that they could draw the railways to their towns. After

repeated real estate failures, however, this attitude was reversed, and some HBC townsite plans were cancelled. The land reverted to being farmland for sale (Selwood and Baril 1982), and thus there were no towns in Western Canada which were not located on a railway line. That is to say, there were no towns in Western Canada which were not established by the railway companies. Many village settlements that had the potential of developing into independent towns and did not rely on having the railway at their site were established, but none of these survived. The railways made strong efforts to ensure that theirs was the only form of town settlement which could operate within the monopolistic bounds of the Western Canadian market system.

III. NON-RAILWAY SETTLEMENTS

Non-railway villages were termed "speculative" by the railways. Very often, land speculators would establish these villages in advance of a rail line's construction, at a spot where it seemed probable that a siding would be constructed. In order to avoid purchasing land from speculators at an inflated price, the railway agents rarely agreed with their choice of location. Instead, the company (or its subsidiary land company) would acquire cheaper land nearby, survey it according to the spatial pattern which was common to railway towns, and sell the lots in the town according to its own prices and practices. In this way, any local or regional variations in settlement pattern or profiteering through speculation was denied in favor of something that was said to be more beneficial. However, the benefit to the population seems to have been overstated:

With the exception of a few of the older towns, the towns and villages are mere points on railways. Where the railway passed a village by the whole village, buildings as well as people, has frequently been moved across the prairie to the railway. The railway with its unfailing accompaniments, the loading platform, the two to five grain elevators, the post-office, general store, machinery shed, and branch bank, closes the circuit through which the power of the world's economic organization flows into the pioneer community (Mackintosh 1934:57).

Instances have been documented where it seems that railway interests were not always strong enough to relocate the population of a previous settlement to an adjacent railway townsite without providing incentives to key components of these earlier settlements. In attempting to acquire buyers for lots at the newly-surveyed townsite of Calgary, for example, the Canadian North-West Land Company had to overcome the reluctance of the neighbouring population of Elbow, Alberta:

....James Bannerman, acting apparently on his own volition, moved his post office location into close proximity to the new station in February, 1884. Rumor had it that the Canadian Pacific Railway threw in a bonus of \$100 to accompany the two lots granted to Bannerman for his post office.... The presence of the post office was instrumental to a greater degree than even the station in influencing a sizeable portion of the population to remove to the CPR townsite (Foran 1974:33).

In similar cases the Hudson Bay Company was not as successful, for it neither provided such concessions, nor did it reduce the selling price of lots when its competitors did so (Selwood and Baril 1981:69;87).

The railway's role as the spearhead of the colonializing effort of capitalist interests is echoed in such works as the Canadian Frontiers of Settlement series (Mackintosh). This work, however, does not deal fully with those groups whose choice of a particular settlement location was due to its proximity to a railway. Immigrant groups such

as the Mennonites, Icelanders or Doukhobors developed village settlements which had no aspirations of evolving into railway towns. Among the Mennonites, in fact, people who relocated from their colony's village to a railway town were excommunicated from their church (Dawson 1936:117).

The village settlement pattern developed among the Mennonite settlers in Manitoba originated in Russia. Individual properties in this pattern consisted of narrow strips of land, supplemented by a community pasture for the whole village (George 1965:97). The location of villages was determined by topography, for it was deemed important to have a good source of water located by each village. In fact, the Mennonites relied in many additional ways upon their environment. For example, their first shelters in Canada were simply holes dug into the ground and covered over with sod and hay (W. Friesen 1964). That everything about the settlements was contrary to prescribed patterns for Western Canada was only possible because of negotiations which had taken place between the Mennonite leaders and the Dominion government. These negotiations resulted in tracts of land being reserved for settlement according to Mennonite village pattern.

Because the wishes of the Mennonites involved living in isolation in a self-governing state, provisions to existing Canadian laws were made which allowed the Mennonites to settle in a manner contrary to the homestead system. However, these rights were only valid until an individual decided that he preferred to farm independently according to the prevailing Canadian practices (Francis 1946). Consequently, the Mennonite elders imposed the threat of excommunication upon anyone whose

actions might jeopardize the existence of their colony. Similar land reserves were set aside for the Mennonites in Saskatchewan in 1904. Eventually, however, "the traditional Mennonite settlement pattern transferred from Russia to Manitoba could not survive the strongly competitive and expansionistic commercial grain industry encountered on the Canadian Prairies" (R. Friesen 1977:89).

Initially many of the Mennonites who came to investigate lands in North America did not choose to stay in Manitoba, but settled in the United States (W. Friesen 1977:28). Those who did settle in Canada were attracted by the concessions offered to them by the Canadian government. Similar was true for the Icelanders, who were promised "a grant of sufficient suitable land on which to set up a colony; the same rights as other Canadians as soon as they had complied with residential requirements; and freedom to retain their language, customs, and way of life for as long as they wished" (Sommerville 1945:26). Another group that was enticed to settle in Western Canada was the Doukhobors. "The Canadian government, anxious to fill the still empty lands of the West with proven agriculturalists, negotiated conditions of entry with the Doukhobors in 1898. These conditions were broadly similar to those granted earlier to the Mennonites: reservation of land en bloc; exemption from military duty, and application of the Hamlet Clause allowing settlement in villages" (Gale and Koroscil 1977:58).

Whether among the Mennonites or one of the other groups mentioned above, village settlements declined in size, function, and importance once they fell within the economic sphere of some railway line. The eventual dispersal of these settlements seems to be related to the

prevailing attitudes of the time. It seems that some segments of the Western Canadian population were considered suitable only for farming, and that "farming" only included the type of agricultural production which contributed directly to the capitalist economy. The underlying assumption was that anyone who acquired a homestead in Western Canada did so with the intention of participating in a capitalist market system. The result was the attitude that all pre-railroad settlements which were established after 1870 were only temporary and speculative. Hudson (1982:46) found similar attitudes prevailing in the colonization of Western America:

When railroad officials referred to "colonization," they were most always speaking of their efforts to recruit farm settlers. Townsite promotions also involved recruiting people, but these operations generally were handled by a separate department of the railroad or by affiliates who did not draw a salary from the company at all. This division in railroad promotion efforts reflected a strong ethnic and class bias held by railroad management, and it was a division to be replicated in the settlements themselves....

The approach was altogether different when it came to recruiting merchants. The immigration agents from competing railroads who fought each other over the Russian-German Mennonite wheat farmers would not have thought of enticing such people, or any others they perceived as peasants, to open up a store on a railroad townsite. Towns were for the native-born and educated;...

Parallels to the American attitudes appear in the history of Western Canada at the turn of the twentieth century. Posters advertising the availability of homestead land in Western Canada were produced in many languages. Books which indicated the need for specific additional services at townsites across the Prairies, such as the one published by Davidson and McRae (1913) for the Canadian Northern Railway, could not be found in any other but the English language. In

fact, the general tolerance of British Canadians toward immigrant settlement was rather low, notwithstanding the specific tolerance that allowed these people to settle in isolated bloc settlements. The isolation of immigrants was actually preferred by some to ensure that they might not take up farming among settlers who could not be considered neighbours:

Much of the rest of the land, for one reason or another, is not taken up, and in some districts much that is taken up is in the hands of foreigners. Roman Catholic settlers are influenced by their priests to settle together, but the true Anglo-Saxon of other communions shows his independence by wandering where he will. Thus an English-speaking family may be surrounded by Scandinavians or Galicians or Indian half-breeds, and there may be no neighbors at all, or no woman neighbours (Mitchell 1942:449).

It is somewhat paradoxical to consider that while immigrant group settlements were allowed to develop in isolation in Western Canada, they were also expected to convert to the British-Canadian way of life. What occurred instead throughout Western Canada was a reconstitution of the traditional culture of these immigrants in the Canadian environment. Luxemburg finds this paradox to be typical in the struggle of capitalism against peasant economy: ". . . capital cannot accumulate without the aid of non-capitalist organizations, nor, on the other hand, can it tolerate their continued existence side by side with itself" (1913:416).

Although the immigrant groups in Western Canada were given various concessions which enabled them to retain a group status with a production for use economy, "The first aim of capitalism is to isolate the producer, to sever the community ties which protect him" (Luxemburg 1913:402). Until such a time would arrive, however, the means of production which these groups brought to Canada with their labour power

and social organization was recognized as a vital prerequisite to the successful development of capitalism. Therefore, since the indigenous peoples of Western Canada had not developed a peasant economy which could be replaced by capitalism, the peasant economy was imported. Similarly, in America,

. . . not only the cotton of the Southern states of the American Union was essential, but also the millions of African Negroes who were shipped to America to provide the labour power for the plantations, and who later, as a free proletariat, were incorporated in the class of wage laborers in a capitalist system. Obtaining the necessary labour power from non-capitalist societies, the so-called 'labour-problem', is even more important for capital in the colonies. All possible methods of 'gentle compulsion' are applied to solving this problem, to transfer labour from former social systems to the command of capital" (Luxemburg 1913:362-3).

In Canada, concessions such as the Hamlet Clause might be considered to have provided a period of grace for peasant immigrant groups until the railways could disrupt their social systems through the establishment of towns in their midst. By creating a singular external demand for grain while at the same time providing manufactured commodities, the Canadian market system was able to redirect the internally oriented peasant economy of these groups, and to develop a dependency in them for capitalism.

IV. RAILWAY TOWNS

In The Making of a Great Canadian Railway, F. A. Talbot (1912) provides a concise description of the establishment of railway towns by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company. Originally, the Grand Trunk Railway was meant to serve only eastern Canada. Thus, it would

complement the western-based Canadian Northern Railway to form a second transcontinental route. However, "politics and personalities led the Laurier government to favor the Grand Trunk Railway when plans were formulated in 1903 for the construction of a second Canadian transcontinental railway" (Regehr 1975:73). The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway therefore continued westward, constructing its line independently of yet parallel to that of the Canadian Northern Railway. In criticizing the over-development of the Prairies by the federal government and the railway, Morton (1938:123) specifically cites the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway as being an unprofitable and costly venture.

Talbot's book is a personal account based on his travels in Western Canada at the time when the Grand Trunk Pacific line was being constructed. The most interesting and relevant portion is found in chapter eleven (1912:149-160), entitled "Towns and Cities Built To Order." Therein, Talbot describes in detail the processes of speculation, town surveying and planning, and land disposal as he observed them around 1908. Although what he described might have varied slightly from one railway line to another, there is enough consistency between his description and that of others to allow for the identification of a pattern. Much of what was observed by Talbot is repeated in Hudson's (1982) article on railroad towns in the Western United States. As in the case of the homestead survey, railroad town development in Western Canada was a copy of a process that had begun in the United States before 1860. Even at this early date, the railways were already concerned with being in control of their own destiny and profiting from it:

What distinguishes a railroad town is that it was part of a railroad's strategy to populate and control the territory along its line. Successful or not, a railroad town was a component of corporate ambitions to manipulate people and resources, to command space and consolidate position, in order to maximize profits for the company (Hudson 1982:42).

Talbot provides specific examples of the domineering attitude of the railway companies toward settlement. He describes the case of the speculative settlement of Denwood, which the railway by-passed in order to establish the townsite of Wainwright, Alberta. He describes how settlers were cheated by profiteering "town-boomers." He also recounts the story of Irma, Alberta, which was well-established prior to the coming of the railway. In the latter case, the Grand Trunk Pacific created a stopping point at the settlement of Irma, adding only a station to the existing site. Although this was an apparent contradiction to what has been previously stated, not enough detail was really given by Talbot to allow one to determine the extent of change which the railway created at this site (Talbot 1912:152).

Regarding the frequency and location of towns, Talbot mentions that over one hundred and twenty-five towns were built over a distance of nine hundred and twenty miles in ten years time. He also mentions that townsites were located an average of eight miles apart. Although the location of each townsite was important, it was not as important as the locations of divisional points. Divisional points were stopping points of necessity--places where the train had to change engines. This, of course, required appropriate manpower, machinery, and specialized buildings. The towns at divisional points were therefore considered more important, and usually developed into larger centres

than regular townsites. Rees (1969:30) states that divisional points were located 110-130 miles apart.

Both the location and development of all townsites between divisional points were left to a subsidiary of the railway company (Talbot 1912:153). At the same time, Talbot makes vague reference to the fact that "The Government" was also involved in this "scientific" town planning, but he does not elaborate on this further. Hudson (1982:45) calls the railroad town and survey "a Yankee invention" based on a New England pattern of grid survey that became accepted by 1820. He credits further development of this engineering tradition along "scientific" lines to the American Civil War:

....the Civil War, with its difficult logistical problems, had been a training ground for young men who found themselves thereby possessed of engineering skills that were in great demand by the new railroads in the West. Northern money and Northern men thus came to dominate the railroads and their towns from Canada to the Gulf.

The survey pattern common to American railroad towns underwent several changes even before it was implemented in Western Canada. The earliest type, known as "symmetric", had a single business street that was divided down the centre by the railway right of way. The right of way not only contained the tracks and station but also other businesses such as grain elevators, which needed direct access to the rail line. However, symmetric towns did not always develop as planned. Often, symmetric towns either developed with a dual personality where class distinction could be determined by physical location (hence the vernacular expression concerning ones' origins and being from the 'right' or 'wrong' side of the tracks), or they tended to develop on one

side of the tracks only. A second type of pattern where the main business street was surveyed perpendicular to the tracks was termed "orthogonal." Despite the more practical location of businesses on a single street which needed only one crossing over the rail line, towns still tended to exhibit a concentrated development on only one side of the tracks. This eventually became an accepted change, and the orthogonal plan was revised to the "T-town." This latter plan only had surveyed lots on one side of the railway right of way. Main street continued to be the thoroughfare where business establishments were concentrated, and was surveyed perpendicular to the rail line.

Talbot's discussion indicates how much of the American model made its way into Canadian town planning. Towns in Western Canada were carefully surveyed before any land was sold. Twenty-five per cent of the surveyed site automatically became the property of the federal government. All avenues and streets were equidistant and perpendicular to one another in such a way that twenty "blocks" equalled one mile. These blocks were divided into lots which were fifty feet wide and one hundred and fifty feet deep. All streets and avenues were surveyed to be sixty-six feet wide, like almost all of the homestead roadways in the Prairie provinces. The only exception to this was "Main Street", which was surveyed at eighty feet (Talbot 1912:153).

From Talbot's description, it is obvious that all development in the townsites was intended to highlight the railway line and its station. Towns were almost always of the T-town plan, and they were located on the north side of the tracks. Main Street ran perpendicular to the tracks, and began at the railway station. The finest lots in the

townsite were considered those in the vicinity of the station, and these lots were also the most expensive. This area, covering an average distance of four blocks from the station, had building restrictions imposed upon each lot which required development within one year of purchase. Buildings erected on these lots were to be worth at least fifteen hundred dollars. It was believed that this price would prevent speculators from acquiring property which would not be developed immediately (Talbot 1912:154-155).

The earliest buildings Talbot (1912:157) found at townsites were the hotel and livery barn, which initially accommodated the needs of survey crews. Once lots had been sold by auction, a lumber yard, several stores, and private dwellings followed. Institutional buildings such as a bank, school, and church were constructed next.

Talbot ended his chapter on town development by voicing a naivete common to his era with respect to these towns: "....they will be cities someday...." (1912:160). Actually, the geometric "reproduction" of towns in Western Canada proved to be no more than a successful method of developing the land in a very short period of time. With minimal direct investment by the federal government, the homestead method of survey created an evenly distributed population base, and also physically isolated the individual producer. In turn, the railway companies, with the aid of equally unbegrudged investment by the federal government, found it easy to contribute to the development of a capitalist market system in Western Canada from which they also benefitted.

CHAPTER THREE

A Survey of the Towns of East Central Alberta

The belt of land extending east to west from the town of Vermilion to the city of Edmonton is known as east central Alberta. The market system which came into being in east central Alberta centred on the city of Edmonton and relied heavily on the railways and their towns for transporting market goods and acquiring supplies. As in the rest of Western Canada, towns which developed on the railway lines in east central Alberta became the main purveying and consuming agents of the prevailing market system. In those areas surrounding Edmonton where settlement preceded railway development, grain was initially transported by wagon directly to markets in Edmonton.

Although evidence of many proposed railway lines for east central Alberta can be found in the Statutes of Canada at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, only three such lines were actually built to serve the region east of Edmonton. Each was constructed during a distinct stage in the development of east central Alberta. The first line, built in 1905-06, opened an east-west route through what was at that time considered the "northern" part of the province. The second, constructed over a longer period of time during and after World War I, provided a parallel route to the first. This line, however, was located north of one of the natural boundaries of the area, the North Saskatchewan River. The third railway line, constructed between the first two lines at the end of the 1920s, also provided an

east-west route. Time proved that this third line was built at the expense of the previous two, and that later, when the role and functions (and therefore, the size) of the railway towns began to decline, all three lines suffered due to this act of overbuilding.

One of the features common to towns on all three rail lines to 1930 was a predominance of services that were not of local origin. Just as schools, post offices, churches, and judiciary/police services were organized in these towns in a consistent manner because of the accepted practice of organizing such services along provincial or federal lines, so too did certain businesses become established in the railway towns. The earliest type of businesses to appear were often chain businesses. Such businesses were coordinated by head offices which were often located outside of the province, or by regional subsidiary offices that were located within the province but whose profits benefitted a nationally or internationally controlled company. Once a railway line was constructed in east central Alberta, a branch office of such a company could be found in almost every townsite of that line. Some companies were even successful in establishing branch offices on all three railway lines in east central Alberta as the region developed. The branch offices were operated by salaried employees whose security was often envied by those shopkeepers who operated independent businesses. Sales were coordinated regionally so that the cost of services was often the same from one town to the next. In fact, the monopolistic character of chain businesses was such that it was usually almost impossible to compete with them once they established a branch in a townsite. This was even true in many cases where the business that

was attempting to compete was a branch of another company. This tendency was assisted by the railway companies, who were known to reserve building lots of consistent and prime location in each townsite for the establishment of these services. Most prevalent of chain businesses in the townsites which developed throughout east central Alberta were grain elevators, lumber yards, creameries and banks. The transportation of any goods associated with these businesses was, of course, handled by the railway lines freight service.

The second type of service that was located in virtually each townsite but was not of local origin was the type of business that was operated by an agent. Dealership businesses of this type were often established voluntarily by local residents who desired to supplement their existing incomes by selling goods that were distributed throughout Western Canada by large companies. The potential for competition was higher among agencies because individual agents had some control over the profit margin that was added to the companies' basic price as their commission. Their operations were not restricted to townsites and could be found in the outlying rural districts as well. Businesses operated by agents included oil, gas, farm implement, car, and insurance dealerships. Although some individuals relied on other means, many of their goods were transported on the railway.

A third type of service that was not of local origin and was able to extend beyond the townsites was the catalogue or mail order business. Large companies from all parts of Canada and the United States sent catalogues of their goods through the mail. This did not employ local employees directly, but it did provide business for the

post office system. It was a highly competitive service which was able to undercharge its customers because its distant location did not make it liable to local taxation. The railways again benefitted from this arrangement as the virtually exclusive transporter of manufactured goods in Western Canada. By the mid-1920s, businessmen had become sufficiently aware of the power of mail order businesses that they petitioned the provincial government to intervene and create legislation to control catalogue agencies (Retail Merchants Association of Canada; Alberta Provincial Board 1927).

Businesses established on the initiative of individual members of the population not only sold goods imported from manufacturers by means of the railroad, but they also dealt with goods obtained in barter with the local population. Although instances have been found where local artisan products were sold, for the most part the local goods consisted of raw farm produce such as chickens, eggs, or garden vegetables.

Another feature of townsites in east central Alberta that was as consistent as the style of business operation was the architecture. Despite the fact that the region was well-forested, most of the buildings were constructed with materials sold at the lumberyards that were found in each townsite. Log structures were at a minimum. Instead, the style of buildings was one which prevailed throughout Western Canada. Residences were mostly cottage-like or shacks, and were located at the part of their lots which bordered the street. Any outbuildings, which usually consisted of no more than small stables for a horse, cow, and some chickens, were at the rear of the lot. The space between the two types of structures was often taken up by a garden.

Buildings which housed businesses were also simple and of frame construction. They almost always sat directly adjoining the boundary which separated their lot from the street. The main feature which differentiated business structures from all other buildings in townsites were the facades, which employed a "false front" technique to give the business area of towns a more impressing atmosphere than the residential area. In addition, structures such as flour mills, grain elevators, livery barns, and banks had specific features in their architecture which made their function easily recognizable from afar.

On the whole, the early architecture of towns in east central Alberta was wholly British-Canadian and differed in no way from the architecture in other parts of Western Canada. By the mid-1920s, however, this had changed. Some of those who had been allowed into Canada only because they were farmers eventually aspired to become businessmen, and they moved into the townsites to establish stores. With them eventually came the distinct architecture of Ukrainian churches, halls, and homes. In almost every case, however, these structures were built with lumberyard materials that were foreign to the architecture. Consequently, the Ukrainian architectural tradition that was re-developed in townsites was only able to retain traditional characteristics of shape, size, and function at most. Nonetheless, it did provide a contrast with the way townsites had appeared when the railway lines were first established in the region.

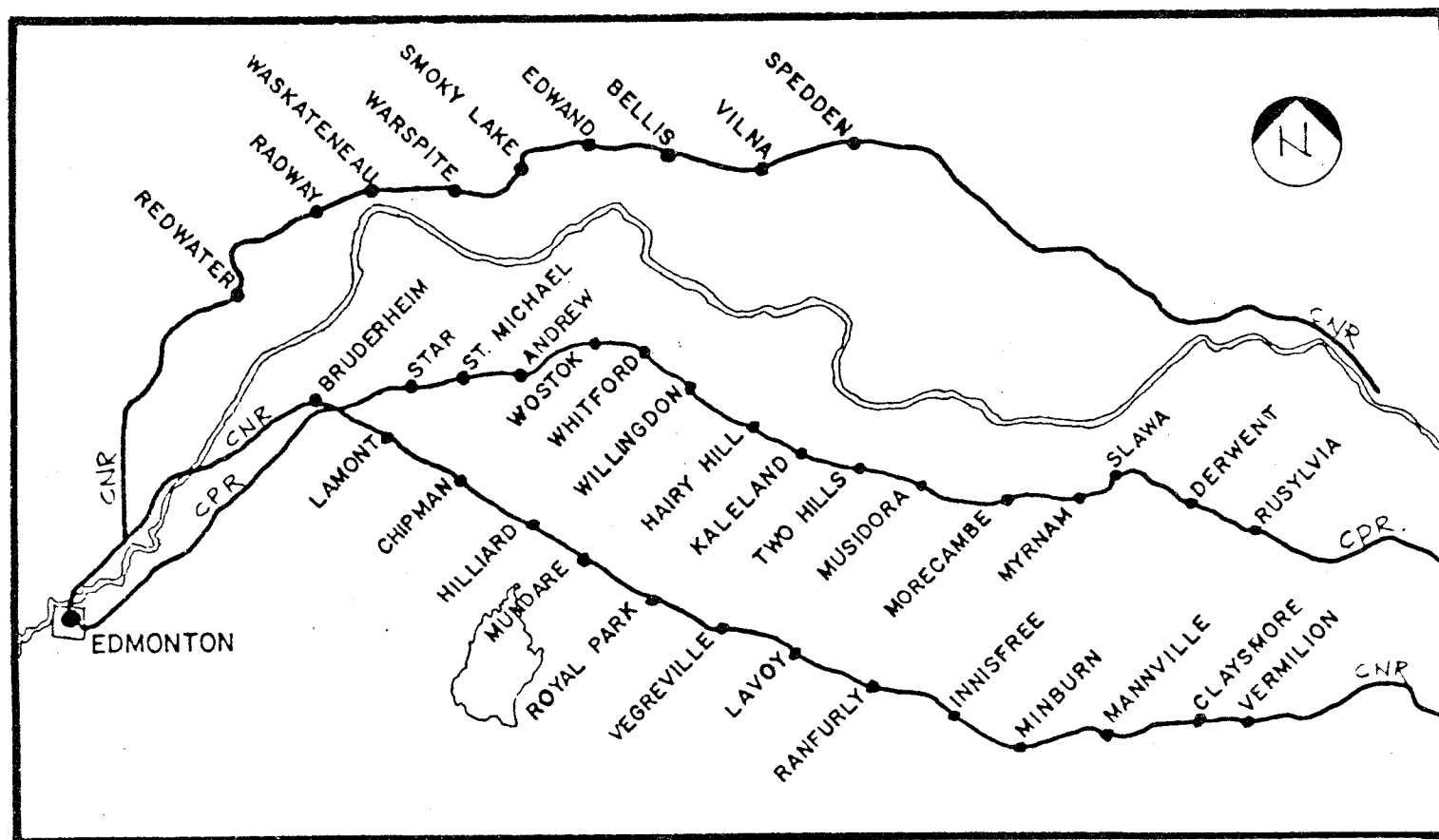


Fig. 1. The railway lines and railway towns of east central Alberta.

I. THE CANADIAN NORTHERN RAILWAY LINE - 1905

The Canadian Northern Railway Company (CNoR) was the first to enter east central Alberta. Tracks were laid from east to west, covering a total of 112.7 miles between the present towns of Vermilion and Fort Saskatchewan (Bohi 1977:103). Today, this portion of the line is called the Vegreville subdivision. The distance was served by fifteen sidings, with the average distance between sidings being eight miles. The shortest distance between sidings was six miles, whereas the greatest distance was 13.5 miles. If the latter distance (unique to all others in this group in that the next closest distance is nine miles) were to be excluded, the average distance between sidings would be reduced to 7.58 miles.

Not all towns on the CNoR line were surveyed to the same size. Vermilion, at the eastern-most part of the area under study, was the divisional point for this part of the line. As a result, it had a greater potential for becoming the largest centre on the line, and the initial survey for the site was larger than usual. A consequence of this pre-planned imbalance was that Vermilion's size, complexity of services, and general sphere of influence over the surrounding area were detrimental to the growth of neighboring siding towns.

1. Pre-railway Settlements

The CNoR line had a considerable number of pre-railway settlements. Although many were speculative in nature and depended on the arrival of the railway to legitimize their existence, some

settlements had a different purpose. Vegreville, for example, was an established French-speaking Roman Catholic mission. As news of the railway spread, however, the character of this settlement was changed by the influx of speculators who caused a rapid development of its commercial services. When the railway bypassed the site, all buildings were moved to the closest siding, which became known as Vegreville (Hardin 1968). All that remains of "Old Vegreville", as people later referred to it, is a small stone cairn in a farmer's field. A similar exodus occurred at the Edna-Star settlement site when the town of Lamont was developed several miles to the south (Carlsson & Stainton 1978:12). Star regained its earlier importance when it became a siding town on the Canadian Pacific Railway line during the late 1920s.

2. Town Surveys

Townsites on the 1905 CNoR line were surveyed according to the "T-town" layout which had become well-established in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and southern Alberta by that time. Although variations in this plan occurred, these differences were subtle. The most significant was the location of laneways, for they determined whether the town spread along the railway line or away from it. Some town plans, for example, employed a system of "T-lanes" which were perpendicular to the "T" formed by Railway Avenue and Main Street. These allowed the townsite to extend with moderate depth away from the railway tracks, as well as having it develop along the railway tracks. The second type of plan was based on a system of "I-lanes" which ran parallel to Main Street and any other streets in the plan. This tended to create towns

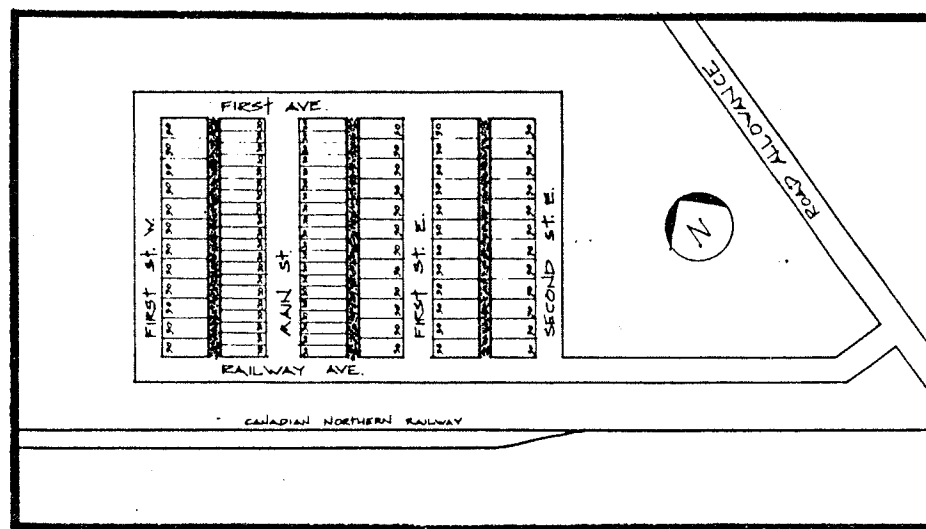
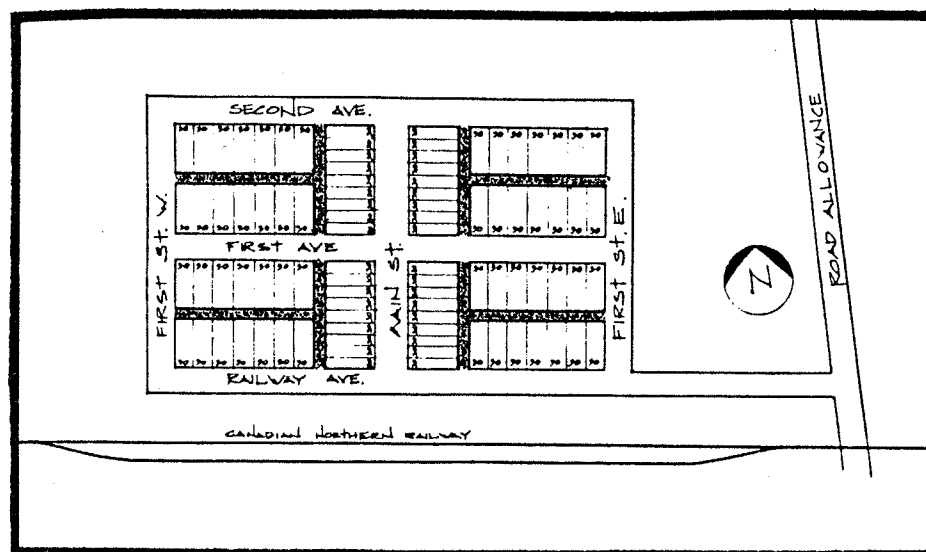


Fig. 2. Examples of townsite where either the "T" or "I" type of laneways formed the basis of the survey. Both are also good examples of townsite layouts which existed in east central Alberta prior to 1928 (Mackenzie Mann and Company Limited 1905; 1906d).

that developed to a greater distance away from the tracks than those towns which utilized T-lanes. A third variety of plan existed which combined both types of lanes. In these towns, the I-lanes ran parallel to Main Street, while T-lanes were used in the blocks that were located on either side of Main Street.

Towns were located on one side of the tracks and grain elevators on the opposite side. Seven townsites were located to the north of the tracks, while six others were located south of the line. The townsite of Innisfree was an exception, having been surveyed on both sides of the tracks (Mackenzie Mann & Co. Ltd. 1907a). The original blueprint for Lamont indicates that intentions were to establish a larger, orthogonal townsite at that siding as well, where business lots, residential lots, and streets would have been located on both sides of the tracks contiguous to one another. This never materialized, for only the part of the drawing which was north of the tracks was registered as a subdivision (Mackenzie Mann & Co. Ltd. 1907a).

"Main" streets on the CNOR line clearly exhibit the tendency to emphasize the location of the commercial area of townsites. Every Main Street on the east central Alberta portion of the line was surveyed to a width of eighty feet. All other streets and avenues were sixty-six feet wide. (The only exception occurred in the townsite survey of Innisfree, where the thoroughfare designated as "First Street" was widest, and "Main Street" had the usual sixty-six foot width.) Most Main Streets also ran perpendicular to the railway tracks on this line except at the divisional point of Vermilion, where this street ran parallel to the tracks (Mackenzie Mann & Co. Ltd. 1906b).



The size of lots was fairly consistent from one townsite to another. Each townsite on this line had two different lot sizes, the majority of which were fifty feet wide. With the exception of those whose dimensions were altered to make all blocks of surveyed plots equal in size, all other lots were thirty feet wide. The only exceptions occurred in the surveyed townsites of Royal Park and Claysmore (Mackenzie Mann & Co. Ltd. 1907b; 1906c), where the latter lots were staked at thirty-three and one-third feet in width. The length of lots in all towns varied from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty-two feet.

No documentation has yet been found which would describe the method by which lots were disposed of in the CNoR townsites. Similarly, none of the sources consulted indicate how or if some lots in each town were designated for some special use. The fact that the narrower lots were located only on the business-oriented Main Street suggests that such lots were intended for commercial use. Nonetheless, it has been found that the lots furthest away from the railway tracks on Main Street were also used for residences, and the wider lots on Railway Avenue facing the tracks were occasionally used for commercial purposes. Thus, although towns were developed so that they would highlight the railway and its complementary market system, this did not seem to occur exactly as planned. On the whole, however, it can still be said that a commercial emphasis existed in consistent and specific areas of all townsites of this line.

a. Railway Stations

Every townsite which showed some promise of development on the CNoR line had a railway station. Bohi (1971:15) found that the earliest station depot at new townsites in Western Canada was often temporary, and was replaced by a permanent structure "....when real or potential traffic outgrew the capacity of the portable depots....." On this 1905 line, the majority of the permanent railway stations had been completed by 1907 (Bohi 1971:103). Since these were located on the only route of railway transportation in a largely unsettled region, it is difficult to gauge which consideration, the real or the potential, resulted in the almost simultaneous construction of these permanent railway stations. No company policy of the time could be found which stated definitively whether the improved freight facilities of permanent railway stations created a growth in the number and quality of commercial establishments at the CNoR townsites, or whether the need for freight facilities afforded by permanent stations was created by a growth in commercial activity.

The same plan of railway station was used at almost every townsite throughout the region, and it seems that most townsites were considered to have the same potential for development. This station plan, known as a "Third Class Plan 3" depot (Bohi 1971:126), provided a large freight shed, a waiting room and ticket office, and living facilities for a full-time agent. Within the province of Alberta this plan was only used on the east central Alberta portion of the CNoR line and at Morinville townsite, west of Edmonton (Bohi:103 and 126).

Other types of stations were built at certain townsites, these reflect the different type of traffic anticipated at these sidings. For example, the divisional point of Vermilion had a structure termed a "Second Class" depot, which was more elaborate in appearance and function than Third Class stations. A "Special" station with a larger freight storage capacity than most Third Class structures was built at Fort Saskatchewan in 1905, and much later (1930) at Vegreville as a supplement to an existing Third Class station. A "Fourth Class" depot, designed to "....serve smaller communities....," (Bohi 1971:38) was constructed at Minburn. In the latter case, the method of designating this townsite to be smaller seems rather arbitrary, for its subdivision survey plan and initial commercial development seem no different than those of other communities where standard Third Class depots were built. The same is true of Ranfurly, where a version of the Third Class depot was not built until 1922 to accommodate businesses which had existed there for over a decade. Hilliard, which was slow to develop, never acquired more than a temporary depot structure. Claysmore and Royal Park, which never achieved enough of a complement of businesses and residential population to develop into towns, had no stations of any sort.

b. Business Development

Those townsites on the Vegreville subdivision which did develop as active components of the Western Canadian market system each functioned through a core group of business establishments. These were similar to those found by Talbot (1912:158) on the Grand Trunk Pacific

line. Davidson and McRae's (1912) Opportunities and Business Openings in Towns in Western Canada Located Along the Canadian Northern Railway provides excellent documentation of towns and businesses on the Vegreville subdivision in 1912, some five or six years after the line was established. This information generally agrees with what Talbot observed, and corroborates information collected by the Dun and Bradstreet Company about businesses in towns on both lines.

There are several instances where the sequence of business development suggested by Talbot for the Grand Trunk Pacific line is not consistent with the growth of business establishments in towns in the CNoR Vegreville subdivision. For example, although hotels were regular features of Western Canadian towns and might be considered part of a core group establishment, hotels were not always the first to be established at townsites. This might relate to the fact that they played no part in the marketing role of townsites in east central Alberta. Their apparent importance was even belied by the simplicity of their architecture and of their operation; they usually provided accommodation for no more than half a dozen lodgers. It was true that larger hotels existed in towns in the Vegreville subdivision in later years, but this was commonly the result of additions being built on to the original structures. Many of the original hotels, supplemented with several stages of additions, still stand today.

Talbot's appraisal of the livery barn as being the second establishment at railway townsites is also inapplicable to the 1905 CNoR line. As in the case of hotels, livery barns at CNoR townsites in east central Alberta were components of established and fully functional



Fig. 3. Lamont, Alberta, 1911. Taken from a grain elevator, the photograph shows the hotel and lumber yard in their typical locations at the intersection of Railway Avenue and the main street. However, the adjacent landowner to the townsite sold building lots on his land for less money than was being charged by the railway company. The resulting "suburb" can be seen in the background (Provincial Archives of Alberta).

towns. They were neither considered important complements to a hotel's operation, nor important initial establishments at a townsite. Instead, after the railway station, the general store seemed to be the first and foremost component of the townsites. Next were the establishments which directly affected the marketing operation of the railway (stock yards, loading docks, grain elevators....).

Davidson and McRae's documentation of the CNoR Vegreville subdivision after several years of development indicates that general stores occurred most frequently in townsites on that line, followed by livery barns, implement dealerships, lumber yards, public schools, churches, and hotels respectively. In turn, the latter group was closely followed by blacksmith shops, butcher shops, and real estate offices. This refutes the version of town development presented by Talbot, and indicates more clearly the role that railway townsites played as purveyor/consuming agents in the marketing system of Western Canada.

Although sidings which offered only consumptive services for the collection of raw materials did exist on the CNoR line, these sidings were usually only frequented by farmers living in the immediate area. Other farmers preferred to "do business" at those sites where both purveying and consumer services were available. In this way, a farmer would have to make only one major trip to market his goods and obtain supplies.

c. Provincial Participation

The influence or participation of the provincial government in

the development of the 1905 CNoR line in east central Alberta would presumably be minimal, considering the times. Alberta had just become a province, and there is no legislation on file concerning town planning until 1913. Therefore, it would seem that the development of towns on this line was governed by the national marketing network as perceived by railway companies of the time, in conjunction with the settlement and survey system devised by the federal government.

II. THE CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAY LINE - FROM 1917

Just as the first CNoR railway line was a product of the general atmosphere and stage of development of Western Canada, the second line to pass through east central Alberta, also a CNoR line initially, was also representative of its times. While the first line was completed in two years, the development of the second line was slower, progressing in short stages over a number of years. Development was more cautious, regulated by the priority demands of the First World War and hampered by the strained financial conditions which followed it.

In fact, construction of the 1917 Canadian National line was initiated by the Canadian Northern Railway Company. By the middle of World War I, however, that company and several others had fallen on hard times due to overly-rapid expansion. Deemed important to the war cause in Canada, these foundering companies were nationalized in 1917 and added to the already-existing Canadian Government Railways. By 1923, this group of government-owned railways was operated as the Canadian

National Railways Company, and was administered by the former directors of the Canadian Northern Railway Company (Dorin 1974:9).

Contrary to the norm of railway expansion in Western Canada, the Canadian Northern/National line in east central Alberta, was constructed from west to east. Construction of the railway grade, on which tracks were laid, was begun in 1914 (Hrynychuk & Klufas 1972:12). The rate of progress seems to have been greatly reduced by the war, however, for Canadian National officials now indicate that the construction of even the short initial segment (Edmonton to Radway:43.1 miles) was not completed until 1917. Their records also indicate that the remaining portion of the line that is here under study (Radway to Ashmont:121.6 miles) took almost as much time to build as the first segment, and was completed in 1919.

In completing this line, the CNoR/CNR brought about a great change in the development of east central Alberta and its market system. The businesses in towns on the first line had benefited over the years, since they had exclusive control of the region and its consumer populations. In some cases, farmers would travel up to sixty miles in one direction to sell their grain and buy supplies for their homesteads. As a result, the towns grew at a rapid rate. When the line north of the river was completed, a second hinterland developed in the region. This line, the poor post-war economy, and the fact that mass immigration to the area had ceased, managed to hold the growth of the 1905 towns in check. In bringing its services north of the river, the company had actually reduced the capital input into the older towns south of the river, thereby increasing its costs of operation on the

older line. The North Saskatchewan River became somewhat of a natural boundary for two hinterlands, and towns on both lines continued to function and develop in two parallel spheres until a third line was built between them by the CPR at the end of the 1920s.

The average distance between the twelve sidings considered for this study was 7.6 miles. As in the earlier line of 1905, there was great variance in the distances between sidings. For example, as stated previously, the distance between Smoky Lake and Edwand siding is 10.1 miles, whereas the distance between Edwand and Bellis, or Redwater and Kerensky is only 5.3 miles. Two of the sidings, Coronado and Kerensky, were never surveyed for townsites. Where townsites did develop, they were usually located on the north side of the tracks. The only exceptions were the townsites of Warspite and Spedden.

Due to the railway's bent of acquiring land for resale at the best possible terms, not all townsites were built where originally planned. The town of Redwater, for example, was located a mile east of its intended site because of an unsuccessful land transaction (Hrynchuk & Klufas 1972:19). In the case of the town of Bellis, a deal that could not be refused (i.e., free land for the station and tracks) was presented to the company by some of the local farmers, and as a result the townsite was developed two miles away from the site that was originally designated by the railway (Bodnar 1967:4). A similar situation occurred at Radway. The reason is not fully documented, but the reminiscences of D. Boettcher (1975:75) about the townsite of Radway provide a possible answer:

By a certain period of time, that is, after 3 years, anybody who did not have the title to their homestead, the government and the railroad had the right to survey a right of way through your farm, and you could collect nothing. Mr. Kennedy, however, made sure that he had the title to his farm and when the CNR surveyors came along, he offered them free land for the right of way, if they would put the town site on his farm. In this way, he sold them four blocks very cheaply. He did reserve about fifty acres for himself for his own speculation however.

The CNR surveyors had already chosen a townsite west of the creek, which was on much higher ground. Somehow though, they had been unable to come to terms with that farmer, who also had the title to his land. So naturally, with pull and with the almost free gift of four blocks for the right of way, the CN took it.

When there were wet years and plenty of sloughs full of water and ducks were plenty, this particular spot was called the 'Kennedy Duck Pond'.

1. Pre-Railway Settlement

The only pre-railway settlement of any significant size and level of commercial complexity in the area was at Pakan, on the north shore of the North Saskatchewan River. This settlement was associated with the Hudson Bay post, Fort Victoria, and had developed much earlier and far in advance of any other pre-railway settlement in the region. By 1905, a plan to develop the settlement further according to the popularized spatial format of blocks was already in existence (Hurt 1979:145-149). Indeed, Pakan might have continued to prosper further, considering its head start. Once the railway passed through to the north and the townsite of Smoky Lake was developed, however, the advantage of rail communication over the waning steamboat service on the North Saskatchewan (Hurt 1979:62) led to the decline of the older settlement. Although it had begun to prosper as a village under the earlier market system that had been developed by company trading posts, Pakan was

unable to adjust quickly enough to the market system of the railways and was replaced as an important trade centre by Smoky Lake.

2. Town Surveys

Townsite layouts still had not changed to any great degree when this line was built by the Canadian Northern/National Company. In fact, townsites on this second line seemed to have been planned to an even greater degree of consistency than on the earlier CNoR line. One of the chief recognizable variations in spatial format could be seen in the location of laneways. The predominant plan, evident in all but three of the twelve townsites, utilized a T-shaped laneway with the head of the "T" running parallel to Main Street. As in towns on other lines, Main Street was the widest, and was consistently eighty feet wide at every townsite. With no exceptions, all the streets and avenues surveyed in these townsites were sixty-six feet wide.

In the case of Edwaud and Spedden townsites, only half of a "typical" townsite plan was surveyed. Original blueprints indicated that full plans had been drawn for these sites, but that half the drawing was erased before the proposal was registered (Canadian Northern Realities Ltd. 1919a; 1922). This alternation precluded the development of any Main Street, since the widest street now formed the boundary of these townsite plans. Some time later, however, the erased portion of Spedden townsite was registered as an addition to the original subdivision (1929).

The narrowest lots in each townsite were all located on Main Street. With the exception of the townsites of Redwater (Canadian

Northern Realities Ltd. 1920), Waskatenau (Canadian Land & Investment Co. Ltd. et al. 1919), and Bellis (Canadian Northern Realities Ltd. 1919b), these lots were thirty feet wide. The remainder of the lots in each townsite were fifty feet wide. The length of the narrow lots was one hundred and thirty feet, while the wider lots were one hundred and twenty-five feet long. These dimensions only varied in those townsites where the pattern of laneways was different from the norm.

An examination of the above townsites and their predecessors on other lines reveals that certain sectors of each townsite had been somehow designated for specialized use. The commercial area initially developed along Main Street, away from the intersection of Railway Avenue and Main Street. Where Main Street was surveyed to a distance of several blocks from the railway station and tracks, the lots furthest away from the station were used for residential purposes. The Bellis townsite may be an example of such anticipated growth--its Main Street lots were expanded from thirty to thirty-five feet in the second block away from Railway Avenue. The development of commercial establishments also overflowed onto the lots of Railway Avenue in some towns, but when this happened it was a tendency that was confined to lots in the vicinity of the Railway and Main intersection. When the growth of businesses was so great that lots Railway Avenue and the first couple of blocks of Main Street were occupied, such as occurred in Smoky Lake (Canadian Land & Investment Co. Ltd. et al 1917), the wider "First" Avenue lots parallel to Railway Avenue and close to Main Street were used. Unfortunately, no documentation has been found to clarify the extent to which lot use restrictions might have affected these

tendencies. Local inhabitants from those times have recollected that some form of restriction did exist, but they have been unable to provide any further details in the matter. What the available information does illustrate is the degree to which the operation of the railway and its complementary market system influenced the spatial organization of townsites on this line.

a. Railway Stations

The policy of preceding permanent railway stations with temporary "box-car" type structures was practiced on the CNoR/CNR line also. These temporary depots usually functioned for about two years before being replaced by permanent stations. Because the line had been planned according to CNoR plans and specifications, the stations were based on the standard third class CNoR blueprints even though the line had become part of the CN system by the time permanent stations were to be built. Only the later stations at Waskatenau, Ashmont, and Warspite, built in 1928, 1929, and 1930 respectively, were based on CN specifications (Bohi 1979:102). No "permanent" structures were added at Edwand, Spedden, or Redwater. CN officials also indicate that no structure of any sort was ever erected at Kerensky.

b. Business Development

As elsewhere, a core group of business establishments existed in these townsites, and this allowed for a minimum of purveyance on the part of the hosting railway company. Although a cumulative source such as that of Davidson and McRae (1912) does not exist for this later line initiated by the CNoR, the yearbooks of the Dun and Bradstreet



Fig. 4. A typical boxcar type of temporary depot, 1921 (Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center).

Mercantile Agency were consulted in order to find a year that would illustrate a comparable stage of development on this second line.

When Dun and Bradstreets data was paralleled with various locally-written histories of these townsites, and Bohi's (1971) statistics indicating when railway stations were constructed at each site, it was found that both the sequence and rate of development of business establishments at each townsite were affected by the spasmodic yet slow development of the line. Consequently, the development of a market system there was equally spasmodic. Because portions of the rail bed for this line were built over a year in advance of all other construction, speculative settlements were able to develop in a more prolific and confident manner than they did along other lines. The types of businesses which were developed in these anticipative settlements and later integrated into the railway townsites were not consistent from one site to another. In addition, because such businesses had to rely initially on the extent to which their services were absolutely necessary to the population, rather than the degree of importance of their business to the regional market system, the businesses which appeared first on this line do not easily compare with those of the 1905 line. A good example of this can be seen in the development of general stores.

Along the 1905 line, general stores were found to be the earliest and foremost core businesses at each site, after which all other businesses continued to develop. Similarly, the establishment of the general store as the first business at each townsite was one of the most consistent factors in the development of townsites on the second CNOR

line. These stores were able to exist even prior to the arrival of the railway, and often provided postal service to the local population as well. Therefore, prior to the railway's arrival, general stores sought to establish an exclusive purveying relationship with local inhabitants, and not to profit incidentally as components of a larger consuming market system.

Non-economic institutions such as schools, churches, and community halls had existed for many years prior to the construction of the second line. When townsites were established, existing institutions were integrated into the new town settlements. In some cases, institutions were identified with local townsites even if they were located nearby and not within the boundaries of the townsite survey.

There was no single year which could be selected to illustrate a relative "stage" of business development in these townsites, as could be identified for their earlier counterparts in Davidson and McRae's descriptions of 1912. Therefore, it was only possible to observe changes and similarities between townsites on the two lines once the establishment of businesses in each town on the second line was examined according to the sequence, and not the year, of development. Consequently, the irregularities brought about by the prolonged development of this line were minimized. In this way, it was not only possible to see which businesses occurred most often from one townsite to another, but also the differences which existed because this line was constructed in a later era. For example, the billiard (or pool) room and cigar store, an outlet for exclusively male leisure, appeared more frequently and sooner on this line. The idea of paying for meals was

gaining acceptance; hence, restaurants were also popular additions which reflected the times. The growing use of motorized vehicles made the garage an early component of these townsites. In turn, the establishment of livery stables declined in importance; they were not established as quickly nor as often in these townsites. Businesses such as lumber yards, implement dealerships, butcher shops, and blacksmith shops, however, retained their importance in the operation of towns, and were established as frequently and immediately as they had been in the past. Similarly, sidings such as Kerensky existed where no townsite was developed and where the only services available were consumptive in nature. Again, such sidings were only used by farmers living in the immediate area.

3. Town Planning Act 1913

In theory, the provincial government of Alberta was able to influence the development of this Canadian Northern/National line to a greater degree than previous lines. In 1913 the Town Planning Act was passed (Statutes of Alberta 1913). By this Act, all subdivision plans were to be registered with the province. Although quite short and lacking great detail, the Act did give an indication that the development of towns in Alberta was not only a concern to the federal government and the railways, but also to the government of the province.

The 1913 Act indicates that the coordination of town planning in Alberta was undertaken by the Department of Municipal Affairs. The Act further indicates that the intent of the provincial government was to regulate the physical development of townsites in Alberta through the

review of town planning "schemes" or proposals. The schemes were to be presented by the administrative bodies of existing and incorporated towns or cities, or by municipal councils. Provisions or regulations controlling the implementation of town planning schemes were to be issued by the Lieutenant Governor In Council.

According to the annual report of 1915 for the Department of Municipal Affairs (Perrie 1916:10), regulations were issued under the Town Planning Act for the development and implementation of town planning schemes. It was further noted that there had not yet been occasion to use the act; this was attributed to a need for "adjustment of affairs to the new conditions now existing". This vague reasoning is repeated in the report of the Department of Municipal Affairs for the following year. At this time it was stated that the regulations for the Act had been approved and were available for distribution (Perrie 1917:13).

Considering the extent of standardization that had taken place in town development to that time, the exercise of issuing regulations for further standardization may be viewed as redundant or futile. It may also be interpreted as being an effort of the newly-formed provincial government of Alberta to assert itself and assume responsibility for town development from the railways. Included in this effort might have been a cognizance of the subtle effects that could be made on the operation of the Canadian market system in Alberta. Unfortunately, all of this must remain a matter of conjecture, for the regulations issued under the 1915 Town Planning Act of Alberta cannot be found. Although reference is made to them on several occasions, there is no record

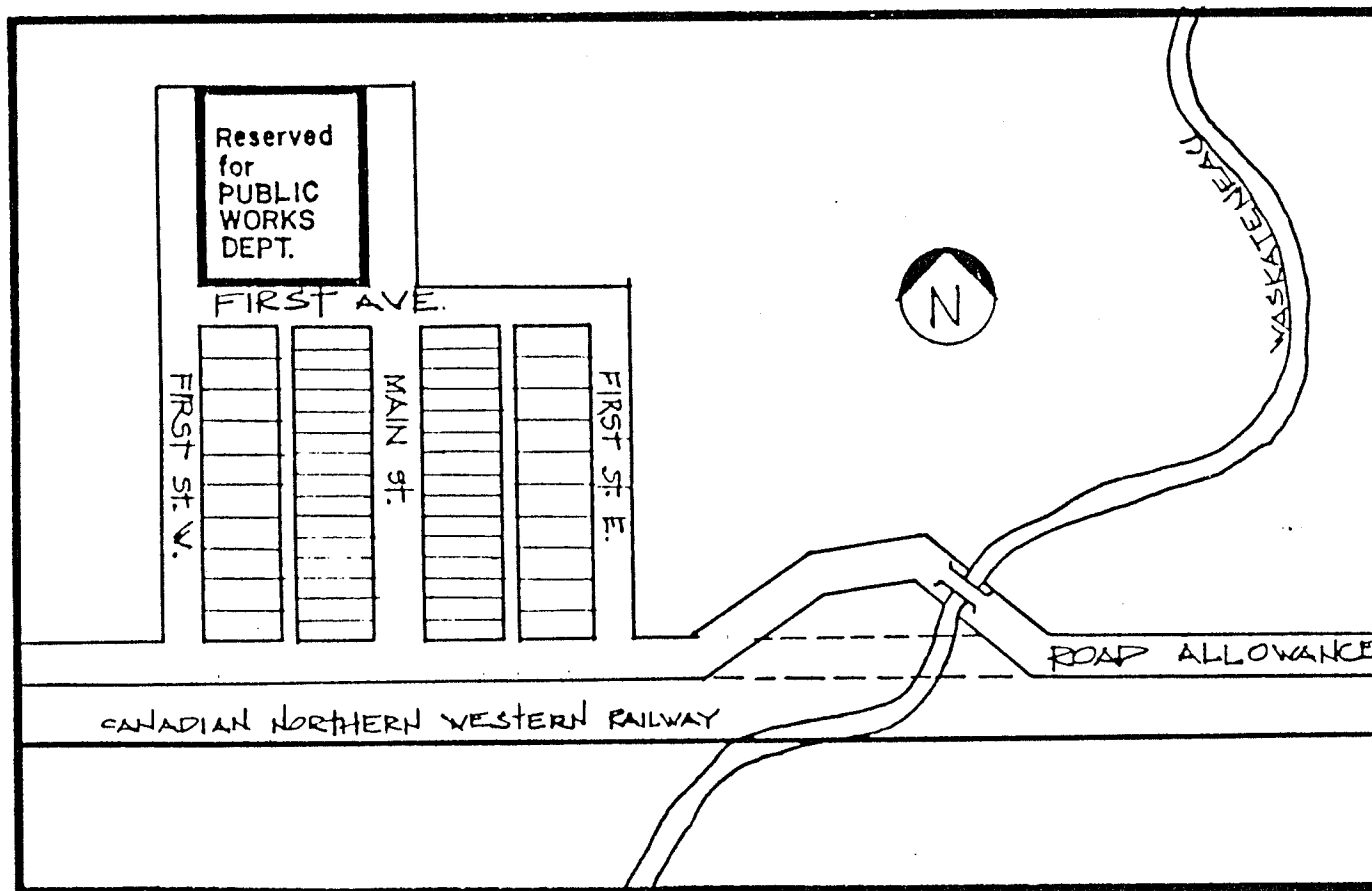


Fig. 5. The town survey for Waskateneau. In following provincial regulations, the block of land that was to be provided for the Department of Public Works was appended to existing variations of town plans, usually in an area furthest away from the rail line (Canadian Land and Investment Company Limited et al 1917).

indicating that the regulations were issued by the Executive Council of Alberta.

The way in which the operation of the railway companies was affected by the Act is unclear, for the railways are not mentioned once. This is especially important when examining the question of who had the authorization to propose a planning scheme. As mentioned previously, only established local councils were considered "authorities" by definition of the Act. Nevertheless, townsite plans submitted by the CNoR/CNR for their line were approved by the Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs. In addition, a noticeable difference between these plans and those presented earlier is that each later plan provides a reserved block of land for use by the Department of Public Works. Therefore, it would seem that either there was a separate agreement between the province of Alberta and railway companies during the period following 1913, or that these companies were considered a "local authority" as defined by the Act and were obliged to acknowledge its regulations in their townsite surveys.

III. THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY LINE - 1927

The third railway line to be built in east central Alberta was markedly different from the previous two. In fact, the development of this line was reflective of continuing changes in Canadian railway organization, the market system, provincial policies, and technology. One of the most important differences, however, was that this line contributed very little to the settling of the land through which it passed.

The final area of major railway development in east central Alberta was bounded to the south by the 1905 Canadian Northern line, and to the north by the North Saskatchewan River. In some cases, the distance from the Canadian Northern line to the river was almost three times the ten mile average that was considered to be a normal hinterland for railway lines at the turn of the twentieth century. Therefore, this area was considered to have good potential for the development of an additional railway line.

There were several attempts made to establish a line in this part of the region. Most of these, presented in various statutes from as early as 1889 (e.g., Statutes of Canada 1899), were never implemented. In 1909, the Alberta Midland Railway Company received a charter "to build from Vermilion to Whitford Lake and Bruderheim" (Statutes of Alberta 1909). Immediately after, the amalgamation of this company with the Canadian Northern Railway Company was approved (Privy Council of Canada 1909). In effect, the development of east central Alberta by railway was now exclusively in the hands of the CNoR.

Construction of the Bruderheim and Vermilion line, as it was known, began soon after, but the Canadian Northern Company never completed it. Correspondence on the matter, now filed as part of the Devlin Papers in the Public Archives of Canada, indicates that the line was at least partially surveyed in 1910 (Zailo 1922). In 1912, about four miles of railway bed was constructed (Riouse 1918) near the town of Bruderheim, after which further work was suspended (Boutillier 1914). As late as 1914, no route map for the Bruderheim and Vermilion line had been submitted to the federal Department of Railways and Canals for

approval (Deputy Minister, Department of Railways and Canals 1914). Instead, the Canadian Northern Railway Company was occupied with the construction of its line north of the river. However, as mentioned previously, conditions began to worsen for the CNoR during World War I, and this was probably a major reason why construction of the line south of the river was reconsidered.

The bulk of the information relating to the Bruderheim and Vermilion line and contained in the Devlin papers includes petitions and letters of enquiry to the Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals. The petitions, beginning around 1918, expressed the inhabitants' displeasure with the neglect and lack of progress in providing them with railway service. They expressed impatience with the previously offered arguments which proposed the need for restraint during the war years, pointing out that these arguments were no longer valid now that the war had ended. They noted that the absence of railway service impeded the arrival of medical aid during the 1918 flu epidemic (Dickinson 1922), and also complained that the distance that farmers had to haul their grain to the nearest railway line hampered marketing efficiency (Mihalcheon 1918).

Hopes for the line were re-kindled in 1919 when a charter was issued to the Canadian Pacific Railway (Statutes of Canada 1919). The charter provided for the construction of a line from Cutknife, Saskatchewan, passing through the town of Lloydminster to a point at or near Whitford Lake, Alberta. This partially followed the route proposed in the 1909 charter granted to the Canadian Northern Railway. However, a proviso was added to the charter which indicated an awareness of the

previous CNoR charter. To avoid any duplication of construction, approval of the proposed route was subject to joint construction and operation of the line with the Canadian Northern Railway. By that time, or course, the Canadian Northern was actually a part of the government's Canadian National system.

The 1919 charter indicated that construction of the Cutknife-Whitford line was to commence within two years and be completed within five years. At first it appeared that the region would finally benefit from the market system provided by a rail line in its proximity. However, when the deadline for commencement of construction lapsed in 1921, and there was once again an indication that the railway company was attempting to delay the provision of railway service, the local population began to lose patience. The Devlin papers contain more petitions, including one from the Soda Lake and Hairy Hill branch of the United Farmers of Alberta (Dickinson 1922), urging the Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals to deny any further request by the Canadian Pacific Railway for extension to their time deadlines. Extensions were evidently granted, for construction of the line in east central Alberta did not commence until 1926 (Semeniuk 1980:12).

A total of twenty CPR sidings were examined for this study. The portion of track served by these sidings spanned a distance of 109.4 miles, and the average distance between sidings was 5.76 miles. In most cases, sidings were located much closer together on this line than on the two CNoR lines previously described. In retrospect, it might be argued that the CPR planners over-reacted to the complaints of local inhabitants concerning the late development of the line, and created

more sidings on the line than was practical. In addition, all but four of the sidings studied were surveyed for townsites. Three of these (Bruderheim, Elk Island, and Josephburg) were probably not considered for townsite development because the line ran too close to the 1905 CNOR line in that area.

1. Pre-railway Development

Pre-railway settlements, both speculative and spontaneous, had a definite effect on the development of the CPR railway line. In one instance, a speculative settlement had been developed at Whitford on farmland owned by R. Houghston (Charuk 1978:13). In addition to the general stores, blacksmith shop, and post office that were common to such speculative settlements, the Whitford settlement also housed a bank and three lumber yards (Semeniuk 1980:246). As the railway approached, it was once again evident that the railway preferred to determine its own destiny. At the close of 1927, a siding was designed several miles away from the Whitford site. Subdivision maps indicated that this siding, called Willingdon after the Canadian Governor-General of the time, was surveyed for a townsite in the spring of 1928 (Canadian Pacific Railway Company Department of Natural Resources 1928a). The surrounding countryside must have been aware of the company's intentions, however, for at least seven businesses were relocated to the Willingdon siding site during the winter of 1927-28. These were joined by businesses from settlements that had been by-passed by the rail line (Charuk 1978:13-14). However, the next siding on the line was only 4.7 miles away, closer to the original speculative settlement of Whitford.

Subdivision maps indicate that a townsite was surveyed at this siding in the summer of 1928, and that this siding was even called Whitford (Canadian Pacific Railway Department of Natural Resources 1928b). Nonetheless, although Whitford townsite was located near the pre-railway settlement which bore the same name, it was strictly a CPR venture which had no affiliation with the earlier settlement.

Andrew was another pre-railway settlement which began at the turn of the century. By the time the CPR line was being constructed, it was an independent hamlet, providing telegraph, mechanical, blacksmith, milling, and judicial services and entertainment to the local population, and providing outlets for the acquisition and sale of local farm produce (Semeniuk 1980:12). When the railway arrived, a second "Andrew" settlement was developed on the adjacent quarter-section of land, thereby sharing the trail that had been the marketing road into the earlier hamlet. Despite the fact that the rail line was within walking distance of the older settlement, the railway companies continued to develop their own townsite. They seemed determined to maintain a policy of uncompromising independence in town development.

It is possible that the CPR was aware of a need to adjust its direction from being a "settlement" or "colonization" railway company to being a competitor in a developed market system. Railway lines which were built in earlier times were pioneering endeavours which assisted or hastened the settlement of the lands through which they passed. Any earlier attempts at capitalism which preceded them and which did not rely on railway service were rarely considered to be a serious threat, and were invariably swept away by the railroads. However most of the

lands through which the CPR had to pass were already settled, and unoccupied lands were being acquired by farmers who were expanding their holdings. Of course, some immigrant settlement did still occur in this part of Alberta during the 1920s, but not to the degree where the addition of a railway line would have contributed to this immigration and the development of the region.

Although materials in the Devlin Papers do attest to the hardships that farmers had to undergo without a railroad in their immediate vicinity, they do not belie the fact that the farmers still participated in the prevailing market system of Western Canada. By the time the CPR was ready to advance into east central Alberta, settlers had created solutions to their marketing problems and survived for as many as twenty years without a local railway. The use of motorized vehicles was becoming more popular, and this sometimes diminished the burden of travelling the greater distances to the two CNoR lines. This and the need to accommodate a growing postal system brought about some improvement to the main roads which led to the CNoR rail towns. In fact, the market routes and services which had developed a larger than usual hinterland for the CNoR lines were focused northward and southward, away from the lands through which the CPR was proposing to build its line.

The approach taken by the CPR in developing its line in east central Alberta was necessarily different from that taken by the two earlier rail lines. As a competitor with the other two lines, the CPR's primary task was to draw the flow of market goods to its own line. In fact, this may have been the governing reason for creating more sidings

on this line than on its predecessors. Reducing the distance between sidings would require less cross-country travel for farmers, and would allow for the lateral extension of the "boundaries" identifying maximum distances for convenient travel. In this way, the CPR line was able to increase the potential number of consumers for its line by providing the most grain and stock loading facilities, and thus the quickest service.

While establishing itself as a market competitor in east central Alberta, the CPR was unsuccessful at reversing the direction of flow of market goods to its line. However, the company benefited from the established economic network and settlements by establishing the new rail line, sidings and townsites in their midst. It therefore became just as important to retain exclusive ownership of the townsite lands in order to maximize the potential for profit from land sales, as it was to align townsite locations with established settlements such as Andrew and Whitford. Whether speculation was initiated because of the route to be taken by the railroad or not, these pre-railway settlements were located along trails which were popular even before the establishment of any business enterprise in the area. Although the trails were enhanced by the existence of pre-railway settlements, it was the trails, not the potential route of the rail line, which influenced the location of early settlements. The first settlement of Andrew, for example, was established in the locality where two main trails met (Semeniuk 1980:7-8).

Settlements relied on trails for business generated by travellers. Trails also provided the shopkeepers of those settlements with access routes to larger centres where merchant suppliers were

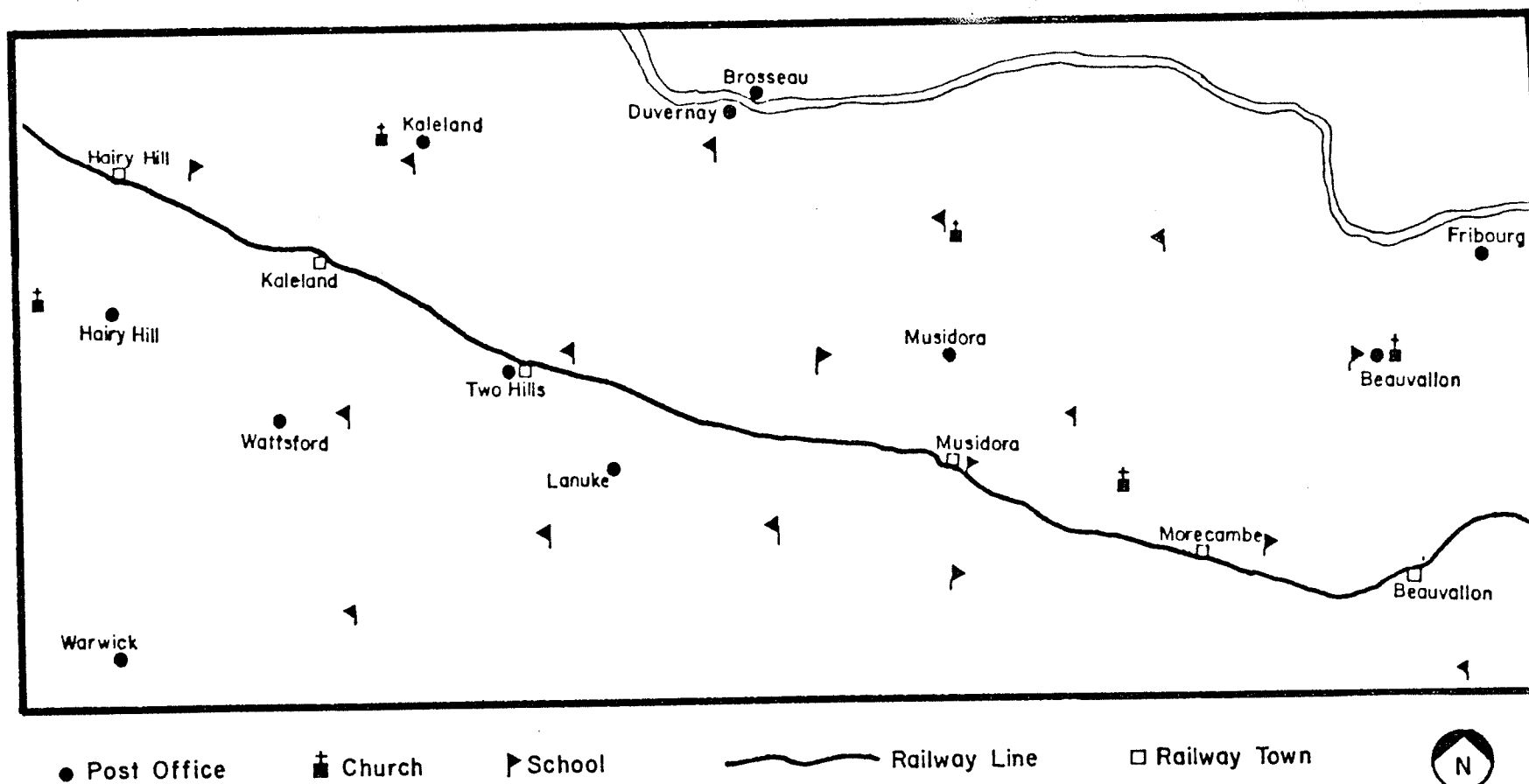


Fig. 6. East central Alberta in 1928. This illustrates the displacement of existing rural communities by the new CPR line. The rural community of Two Hills was the only site in this section of east central Alberta where the railway established a townsite (adapted from Department of the Interior; Topographical Survey of Canada 1928a).

located. By freighting merchandise over the trails in bulk quantities, capitalism was still able to flourish in this region without as major a transportation system as the railroad, albeit on a less complex level. The arrival of the railway, however, provided an alternative which increased the pace of capital transfer. At most railway sidings, not only would farmers be able to sell their grain faster and more easily than before, but they also had a better selection of goods and services to purchase for themselves than before. Better still, a farmer no longer had to personally absorb costs incurred by independent shopkeepers for transporting these items long distances by means which were costlier than the railway. Once again, faced with this competition, the disadvantaged capitalist enterprises of the pre-railway settlements had little choice but to physically relocate to the railway townsites almost as soon as the latter were designated and surveyed.

2. Town Surveys

Townsites were not surveyed at four sidings: Slawa, Bruderheim, Elk Island, and Josephburg. In the case of the latter three sites, the sidings were within a few miles of townsites established by the Canadian Northern Railway in 1905. Therefore, it was probably considered unfeasible to establish townsites in such close proximity to townsites that were already firmly established in the area. Similarly, Slawa was only 4.6 miles from Myrnam siding, which was located on the same rail line. Subdivision plans for Josephburg and Elk Island were registered in 1945 and 1967 respectively, but they were not located on railway sidings and were primarily residential in nature.

The pattern of townsite survey on the CPR line was beginning to change by the end of the 1920s, although these changes were subtle enough that the local inhabitants did not differentiate between them and the survey patterns of earlier decades. There still was a "main" street, for example, although in almost every case this thoroughfare was designated as either "First Street" or "Centre Street". However, where earlier main thoroughfares had been surveyed to a width of eighty feet, the CPR townsites in east central Alberta were surveyed with main streets of one hundred foot widths. Exceptions to this were the townsite surveys of Star, Beauvallon, and Myrnam (Canadian Pacific Railway Department of Natural Resources 1928c; 1929a; 1927a). The townsite of Rusylvia (1927b) was a rather unique exception with all streets having the same width.

As in towns constructed on earlier lines, the CPR line main streets ran perpendicular to the tracks, while the street which ran parallel to the tracks was still designated Railway Avenue. Similarly, Railway Avenue and all other streets and avenues were still sixty-six feet wide. The only physical change in street surveys was the width of the main street, but the location and distribution of lots according to size was different. Whereas the smaller lots in earlier towns had always been found only on Main Street, some CPR townsites also distributed their smaller lots on Railway Avenue. Only Derwent, Beauvallon, Morecambe, Hairy Hill and Wostok distributed their smaller lots exclusively on their main streets (Canadian Pacific Railway Department of Natural Resources 1927c; 1929a; 1928d; 1928e; 1928f). Furthermore, Star, St. Michael, Kaleland and Rusylvia each had only one

size of lot in their surveys (1928c; 1929b; 1928g; 1927b). With the exception of Star townsite, where lots were only twenty-five feet wide, these lots were all thirty feet wide. In Musidora and Myrnam, the narrowest lots were surveyed on Railway Avenue (1928h; 1927a). Therefore, the location and distribution of narrow lots in the CPR townsite survey were not only inconsistent with the pattern of distribution in earlier lines, but the line was also lacking in consistency from one townsite to another.

Although its visual effect was not strong enough to indicate a trend away from the norm, a change in the distribution of smaller lots would nonetheless have an effect on a town's operation when considering such things as traffic flow, location of concentrated population, and location of business district. Indications are that the narrower lots were most often used for business purposes, whether due to imposed restrictions or through a more natural process of selection. In those townsites where narrow lots were also surveyed on Railway Avenue, the business district would be centralized closer to the rail line and station grounds than in those townsites where narrow lots were only found on the main street. This would be considered a boon to those businesses whose stock had to be regularly unloaded from railway cars.

In townsites where business lots were not found on Railway Avenue, those lots located closest to the intersection of Railway Avenue and the main street were most-prized. What the new format of narrow lot distribution provided, therefore, was a more equal opportunity for commercial enterprises to benefit from the railway. When a townsite did not grow beyond a certain level of complexity, development was confined

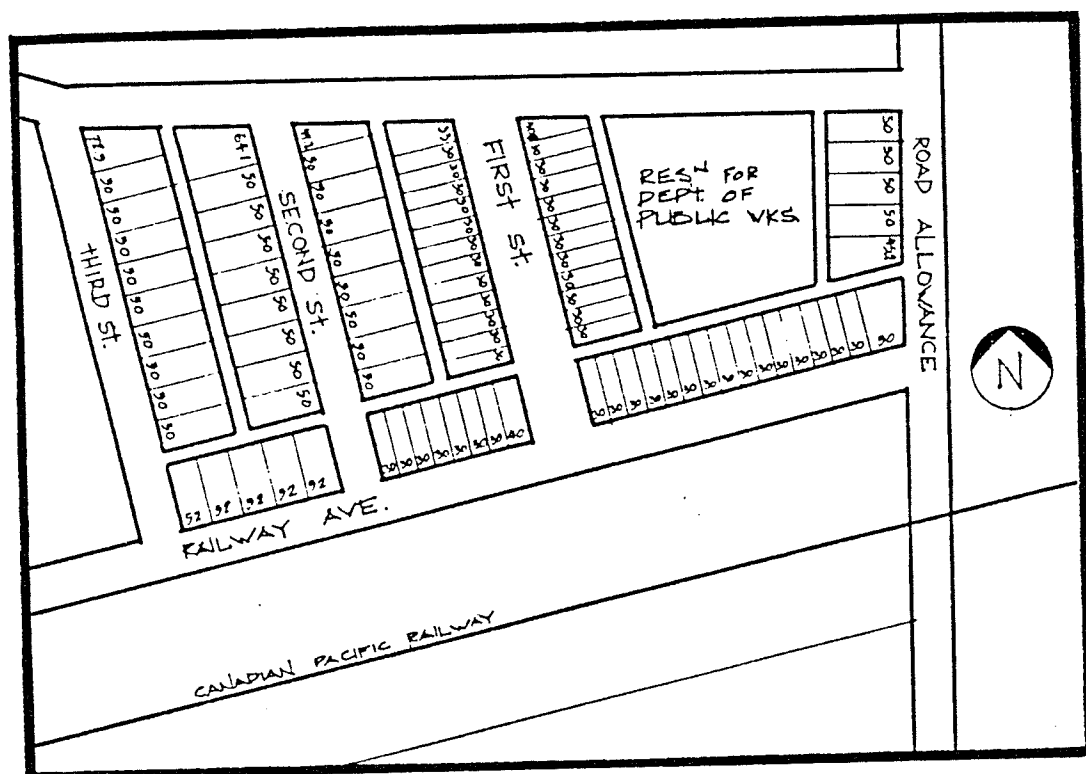


Fig. 7. The townsite survey for Andrew, Alberta. As a typical townsite plan of the era, it not only included narrow business lots on the main street (First Street), but also on Railway Avenue. Also, note the greater distance between the rail line and the townsite to allow for the placement of grain elevators on the same side of the tracks as the town (Canadian Pacific Railway Company Department of Natural Resources 1929c).

to the station area rather than away from the tracks.

As with the previous two lines, little documentation to indicate the means by which lots were sold or restricted for use has been found for the CPR line. There is only the case of Willingdon, where the sale of lots was announced a couple of weeks in advance by the Superintendent of Townsites for the Canadian Pacific Railway's Department of Natural Resources. In that instance, those individuals who had installed "substantial and bonafide buildings and residences" in surveyed lots in the new townsite prior to the sale would have the opportunity to purchase those lots. The price of each lot was indicated in the announcement. Purchasers were given between six months to a year to pay for their property. Indications are that restrictions did exist against the establishment of livery stables, lumber yards, garages, and blacksmith shops, but more specific information is unavailable. The announcement ends with the notation, "Prices subject to change without notice" (Charuk 1978:11). Further light is shed on the significance of this statement in the minute records of the Department of Natural Resources and the Department of Colonization and Development for the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was apparently not uncommon at that time to withdraw lots from sale in townsites where sales had been poor, and then re-issue them at a lower price. Furthermore, these minutes also show that prices for equivalent lots varied from one townsite to another, as did the terms of sale.

a. Railway Stations

There was little change in common policies related to the

establishment of railway stations at townsites on this line. Although no source compares to Bohi's (1971) book on stations in the CNR system, enough data has been located in the files of the Edmonton Operations division of Canadian Pacific Railway to allow a comparison. Although specific plan numbers are not actually given, these files, field examinations of remaining structures, and photographs indicate that the CPR, like the earlier two CNR lines, also re-used station plans from one townsite to another, but it used slightly more variations than the earlier lines. Eight sites utilized the "portable" or temporary box-car variation of station which provided a minimum of shelter for passengers and storage of freight. The temporary usually measured thirty-two feet by ten feet. In three cases, freight shed structures which provided no passenger accommodation were erected. A third type of station gave more attention to architectural detail and was more elaborate in its functional design. This latter type of two-storey structure was erected at eight other sites on the line. It usually measured 62 feet by 21.9 feet.

With the exception of the freight shed installed at Elk Island siding, all station buildings on the CPR line were built in 1928 or 1929. This would seem to indicate that the stations were built almost at the same time as the track was laid. Apparently, the earlier CNOR policy of installing interim stations and replacing them with permanent structures when needed was not one that was followed in the construction of the CPR line. Of course, because the line was serving a population that was well-established before the appearance of the CPR in its midst, it may actually have been considered possible for the company to predict

the type of traffic which would develop out of a particular townsite. Nonetheless, when one examines how townsite surveys and land prices varied from one townsite to another on this line, it would seem that the potential for the development of some townsites would be reduced in favor of others. As a result, the railway company may have hindered its own attempts to develop a high-yielding market system through over-planning.

b. Business Development

As mentioned earlier, businesses were established in the vicinity of the railway line before its arrival. Some of these were speculative ventures, anticipating the construction of the line. As in the case of the second CNoR line, these enterprises included general stores which were often the first type of business to appear in each townsite.

The Dun and Bradstreet files for September 1929 were found to be useful in identifying the group of businesses which were common or essential to towns on the CPR line. Again, because settlement had preceded the railway by quite a length of time, some of the townsites on this line were established and functioning almost immediately after they were surveyed. Henderson's Directories' Province of Alberta Directory (1928:223) well illustrates the pace of development with the following notation about the town of Derwent:

a thriving little town 7 miles South West of Angle Lake P.O. Boasts 3 elevators, creamery, bank, 3 story modern hotel, 3 general stores, restaurant, pool hall, 2 butcher shops, lumber yard, 2 implement firms, 2 blacksmith shops, hardware, garage, Imperial Oil Ltd., 2 room school under construction, and has yet to celebrate her first birthday, on October 21, 1928.

By the early 1930s, some towns also began to develop unique services (tailors, doctors, lawyers, egg grading stations) that were intended to satisfy a local demand and were not typical for all townsites on the line. Late 1929 was therefore identified as the stage of development which would best compare with the earlier two CNoR rail lines.

As in earlier lines, the most predominant businesses or services in towns on the CPR line were those which directly answered the needs of the farmer. However, these needs changed somewhat over the years, and the components of the core group of businesses changed with them. Although horses still played an important role in the agriculture of east central Alberta, motorized transportation was becoming more and more popular in the region. Consequently, fuel oil and gasoline dealerships, garages, and car salesrooms became as predominant in the CPR towns as livery barns and harness shops had once been in the CNoR towns.

Other results of technological advancement of a more exotic and perhaps extravagant nature were early additions to the towns. Privately-owned generators for electrical lighting were established at Two Hills, Kaleland, and Willingdon. Due to improvements in storage capabilities and scheduling, the railway was able to make perishable foodstuffs which were not necessarily native to the region more readily available to town merchants. Such products were freely accepted by local consumers, enhancing the function of the grocery store to the point where it superseded its former status to become one of the primary components of the CPR townsite.

Once considered to be secondary or tertiary components, banks,

hotels and restaurants appeared rather early in the CPR line. Nonetheless, they did not alter the progression of development which had prevailed in earlier townsites. Thus, the status of implement dealerships, lumber yards, blacksmiths, and butchers remained unchanged. As in previous years, these services were considered to be essential to the continued development and maintenance of the agricultural lifestyle of east central Alberta. Therefore, such businesses appeared early and frequently in the CPR townsites. Among this group of businesses, the demand for services was often quite high and immediate, thereby creating an environment suited to competition. It was therefore not uncommon for several lumber agents, blacksmiths, or implement dealers to be located in one townsite.

Another trend that resulted from the rather late construction of the CPR line concerned services that were not associated with the market system but were still considered essential by the local population. This trend was one that was already developing when the CNoR line was established north of the North Saskatchewan River. Because the construction of both lines was preceded by settlement, institutions such as schools, churches, community halls, and post offices developed where they were required after the farmsteads in their districts had been established. As the line went through a district, existing post offices were often absorbed into the new townsites on the line. New schools were sometimes built in the towns as well, but this was not an established rule. Where the town was not evolving at a significant enough rate to warrant the construction of a school, and/or where there was already an established school in close proximity to the townsite,

the long-established facility became associated with the new townsite. The same occurred with churches and community halls.

Because they were not part of the economic system, social institutions only developed immediately in townsites whose surrounding districts had not been served by schools, churches, or halls previously, or where the inhabitants of the new townsite were of a different ethnic group than that which was served by previously established institutions. Thus, when they did exist prior to the development of the CPR line, social institutions only developed in the towns after the economic infrastructure was in place and once a large enough population and demand had developed in the immediate vicinity of the site.

c. The Town Planning and Preservation of Natural Beauty Act

By the late 1920s, the provincial government held a strong interest in town planning. In documents contained in the Premier's Papers of the Provincial Archives of Alberta, we find that town planning had become a particular interest of Premier Brownlee, and that by 1928 he had directed the issuance of legislation about town planning (The Town Planning Board of Alberta 1928a). The first product of this campaign was the Town Planning and Preservation of Natural Beauty Act (Statutes of Alberta 1928). This Act did little more than establish the developmental structure of provincial planning. It authorized the appointment of a Town and Rural Planning Advisory Board which would assist the Minister of Public Works in matters pertaining to town planning and its effect on "natural beauty". One of the members of this appointed board would be paid a salary for his work. From the wording

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of the Act, it seems that the board was mostly empowered to control matters of natural beauty preservation. In instances of land subdivision or planning, however, the board was to perform in an advisory capacity.

The Town Planning and Preservation of Natural Beauty Act received assent in March, 1928 just prior to the time when most of the townsites on the CPR line were surveyed. It is not known whether the newly-introduced provincial legislation influenced the survey since there had been no opportunity to issue specific regulations under the Act. However, two factors existed which may have influenced the development of the CPR townsites and which reflected the desires of non-railway interests. First, the minutes of the Advisory Committee of the Department of Natural Resources and the Department of Colonization and Development for the Canadian Pacific Railway (1920) indicate that the company had occasion to re-assess its role and interest in townsite development:

The question of the Company's policy with regard to the acquisition of townsites was discussed, and the two alternatives considered, namely, whether the Company should acquire land, lay out a small townsite thereon and dispose of the balance, or whether they should simply acquire the right of way and station grounds and leave the development of the townsite to outside interests.

After full discussion, it was RESOLVED that the present policy should be continued of acquiring land for the townsite and laying out a small block, and thereafter the balance of the land acquired should be disposed of so soon as is practicable after the line was constructed and the station established.

Other notations in these minutes suggest that the role of townsite lands was no longer as lucrative a venture as it had been in the past, and was

beginning to cost the Company more money than it yielded in return.

The second factor concerned the general attitudes of Western Canadian administrative bodies toward town planning. The matter seems to have become a concern for each of the western provinces during the 1920's, for all of the provinces had designated a council or individual to be responsible for town planning. Therefore, the Company may have been more willing to allow town planning for its lines to become someone else's concern.

At the first meeting of the Town and Rural Planning Advisory Board on October 6, 1928 (The Town Planning Board of Alberta 1928a), Premier Brownlee indicated that both Saskatchewan and Manitoba had preceded the efforts of Alberta, and had installed Directors of Town Planning to coordinate further developments in their respective provinces. Saskatchewan, in fact, had issued a Town Planning Act only several weeks before Alberta's Town Planning and Preservation of Natural Beauty Act had received assent. Saskatchewan's Act (Statutes of Saskatchewan 1928), however, was much more specific and detailed, indicating the dimensions of streets and empowering municipal councils to issue restrictions or by-laws related to town development. Copies of the Saskatchewan Act and its regulations are even found in the Premier's Papers, and was apparently used as a reference for Alberta's Town Planning Act, 1929.

It is still unclear whether the changes detailed in Saskatchewan's legislation gave rise to changes in railway townsite surveys, or whether the changes were mutually developed by the province with the railways' planners. Whatever the case may be, these changes

are certainly evident later in the CPR townsite surveys in east central Alberta. This was despite the fact that Alberta's Town Planning Act and Regulations, although quite similar in content and detail to the Saskatchewan legislation, was not issued until most of these townsites had been surveyed.

One of the first duties of the Town and Rural Planning Advisory Board was to appoint Horace L. Seymour as Director of Town Planning, commencing January 1, 1929. Minutes of the board for October 29, 1928 reflect the opinion of Premier Brownlee regarding town planning and the railways:

It was agreed that it was easier to control new subdivisions than to change existing conditions. The Premier stated that with the railway development in prospect, no time should be lost in exercising proper control, and that there was no objection to pass an Act which might be amended or rewritten within a few years (The Town Planning Board of Alberta 1928b:2).

d. The Town Planning Act 1929

Several months after Seymour officially began his employment as Town Planning Director, the Town Planning Act, 1929 (Statutes of Alberta 1929) was passed. It was a detailed document, subdivided into five sections. The first contained the theme of the earlier Town Planning and Preservation of Natural Beauty Act. This section empowered the planning board to encourage and initiate the preservation of natural amenities in the province, and allowed it to issue regulations in this matter. The second part allowed for the creation of more local Town Planning Commissions, which until then had seemed to be no more than extensions of the Provincial Advisory Board. The third section outlined

methods by which the Act might be enforced, and how those who were affected by it could be reimbursed. Section four outlined the procedures of land subdivision, while the final section provided for the appointment of the Town Planning Director and the Advisory Board. The Act closed by repealing all previous legislation concerning town planning, including the act passed during the previous year. This was particularly important in that it had not been done before and, in effect, the somewhat revised original 1913 Town Planning Act (which contradicted later legislation) was still valid!

The 1929 Act that was produced by Seymour differed considerably from the legislation earlier conceived by Premier Brownlee. It presented concerns which went beyond the earlier preoccupations with parks and natural beauty. Seymour saw problems in the operation of railway towns which he attributed to inadequate planning by the railway companies. In "The Problems of Small Communities" (1931:2), he listed nine main problems or features which he associated with earlier townsites. These included overly narrow main streets, poorly located grain elevators, rectangular and uninteresting layouts, no parks or recreational areas, and poor water supplies and topography. Thus, the province's concern was more with the appearance and function of townsites, and less with their role in the Western Canadian market system. This was reflected in both the Town Planning Act 1929, and in the detailed regulations (Alberta; Department of Public Works 1929) which accompanied it.

Within a month after the Act was passed, both the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific (Brownlee 1929a) companies had been

contacted by Premier Brownlee, as was the Canadian Board of Railway Commissioners (Brownlee 1929b). Their attention was drawn to the newly-passed legislation, and an effort was made to initiate a close cooperation between the railways and the province of Alberta. In his letter to the Board of Railway Commissioners, the premier also requested that the Director of Town Planning be advised of any further applications to locate railway stations anywhere within the province. Throughout, it was stated that although the province was concerned with the quality of what was termed "urban" development in the past, it was intended that any embarrassment or conflict be precluded through direct and reciprocal consultation.

In responding to Premier Brownlee's request, Sir Henry Thornton (1929), president of Canadian National Railways, indicated the factors that were taken into account by his company when planning construction of a line:

In locating our stations and sidings, we have to take into consideration the various problems of railway construction, the wishes of the municipality and the exigencies of railway business. These features, together with the conditions of settlement and suitability of land for town site purposes are all taken into consideration in settling locations.

However, Sir Henry did not indicate what criteria were used to define the "suitability of land for town site purposes."

Unfortunately, the response from the Canadian Pacific Railway was not retained in the Premier's Papers. However, in his report to the meeting of the Town and Rural Planning Advisory Board, on October 19, 1929, Horace Seymour (1929:5) does make a special effort to note "the



Fig. 8. A town in east central Alberta in 1929. Although the site is in the initial stages of development, the location of the grain elevators on the same side of the tracks as the townsite is illustrative of the effects of the 1929 Town Planning Act. Also, note the schoolhouse to the left of the photograph. This institution, a vestige of an earlier settlement pattern, is also a good illustration of the habit taken by railway companies in replacing rural communities with their townsites (United Church Archives).

excellent spirit of cooperation" that he received from the CPR Lands Department. However, compliance with the Town Planning Act 1929 in east central Alberta was mostly reflected in the survey of Beauvallon townsite (Canadian Pacific Railway Department of Natural Resources 1929a). This survey, laid out in June, 1929 (the same month in which the Act's regulations were issued), was the only one which provided land for park purposes as specified in the new legislation. No other feature of the Beauvallon survey was markedly different from other townsites on the same line. For example, all business lots were thirty feet wide, and were located on the main thoroughfare in the first block from its intersection with Railway Avenue, and on Railway Avenue as well. Residential lots were all fifty feet wide, and occupied the remainder of the townsite. The railway station was still the focal point of the town, and grain elevators were located on the same side of the tracks as the townsite. Therefore, it would seem that although the provincial legislation was intended to alter the physical layout and development of townsites, many of its changes were implemented on the CPR line in east central Alberta even before the Act and Regulations had been passed.

By 1930, much of the development of east central Alberta had stabilized. There was no longer any area of the region that was not within easy reach of a railway line or town. In areas where the majority of homesteads were occupied, the neighbouring towns had become bustling market centers for the transfer of produce outside the region. This even included the new Canadian Pacific line, although the variety of services offered in its townsites were not as great as in older townsites. Nonetheless, where the CPR line had disrupted existing rural

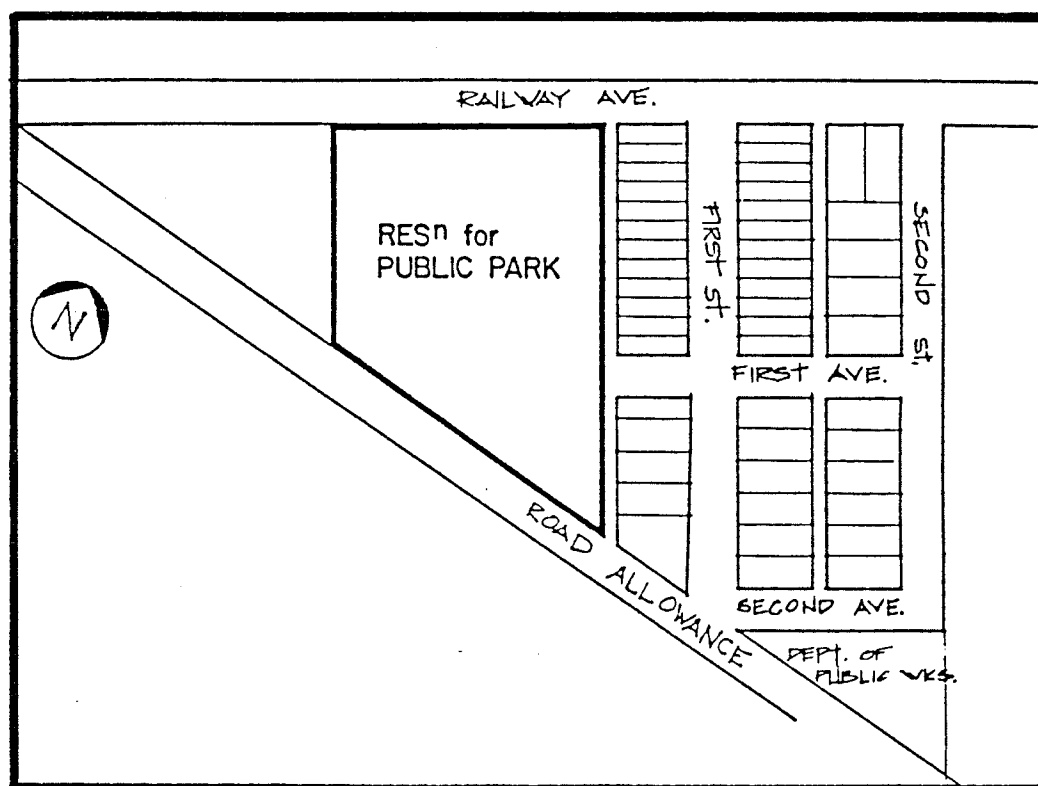


Fig. 9. Beauvallon townsite. Note the parcel of land reserved for park purposes, as eventually required by Provincial law in Alberta.

communities, the new towns were being filled rapidly with the services which had formerly supported those communities. In fact, there was very little indication that the settlers had ever been acquainted with any other type of economy or settlement pattern. The capitalist infrastructure was in place in east central Alberta, and would continue to develop along the lines it had followed for the previous several decades.

CHAPTER FOUR

Ukrainian Rural Communities in East Central Alberta: Their Source and Development

By 1930, a large portion of east central Alberta was populated by Ukrainian-speaking people. This was the result of a series of mass migrations to the territory during the 1890s and until the beginning of World War I. The immigrational surge of Ukrainians to Canada was curtailed when war was declared, as people from what is now Soviet Ukraine were declared undesirable for settlement by the Canadian government. After having been encouraged to immigrate to Canada for almost a quarter of a century, the Ukrainians were suddenly barred from entering the country. In the paranoia which ensued from the outbreak of war, many of those who had been in Canada for only a few years were declared enemy aliens and were interred in prisoner of war camps (Melnycky 1983).

The reason for the sudden change in attitude toward Ukrainian-speaking immigrants related more to their citizenship than to their nationality. Ukraine was not an independent political entity at the turn of the twentieth century, but was subdivided among other countries in eastern Europe. The Ukrainian-speaking immigrants who came to Canada at that time originated from the western portion of Ukrainian ethnographic territories. Politically or administratively, these western territories comprised the crown lands of Bukovyna and Galicia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Himka 1982:11). Consequently, the

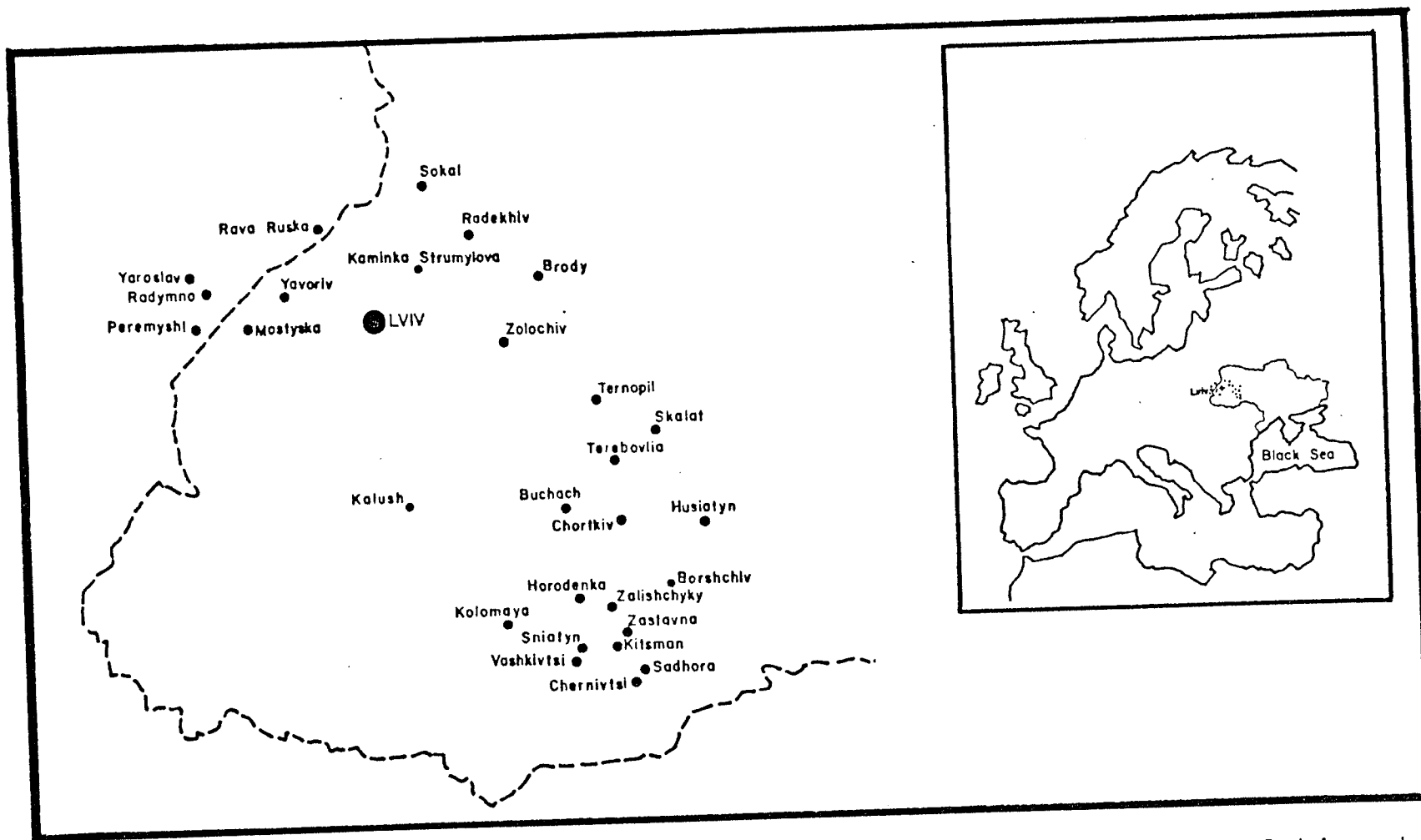


Fig. 10. District centers for the region of origin of those Ukrainian settlers who settled in east central Alberta to 1900 (data from Kaye 1976).

Ukrainian immigrants were considered Austrian citizens. In 1914, the Ukrainians and other nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian empire were declared liable to arrest and detention as potential enemy aliens (Melnycky 1982:2).

The mass immigration of Ukrainians to Canada resumed after 1924. The people who came in this second "wave" were different from their predecessors. They had lived through the war, and had experienced many social, economic, political, and ideological changes. However, people with agricultural backgrounds were still the preferred type of immigrant from Ukraine (Kaye and Swyripa 1982), and therefore, the peasant farmers from Ukraine who immigrated to Canada after World War I mixed well with those who had arrived before the war.

Upon arriving, the post-WWI immigrants often settled on the fringes of areas that were fully developed and functioning in a capitalist mode of agricultural production. One of the areas of settlement was east central Alberta, where the pioneer Ukrainian settlers had first settled over two decades earlier and were beginning to blend into the Canadian socio-economic infrastructure. The post-war newcomers compared what they saw in Canada to the war-stricken poverty they had left in Ukraine and found the material benefits of Canada to be incomparable. Soon aspiring to the living standards of their new environment, they integrated into the Western Canadian market system in less than a decade. Because their integration was very rapid and their numbers smaller, the second wave of Ukrainian immigrants who settled in east central Alberta after World War I did not affect the region any differently than their predecessors did before the war.

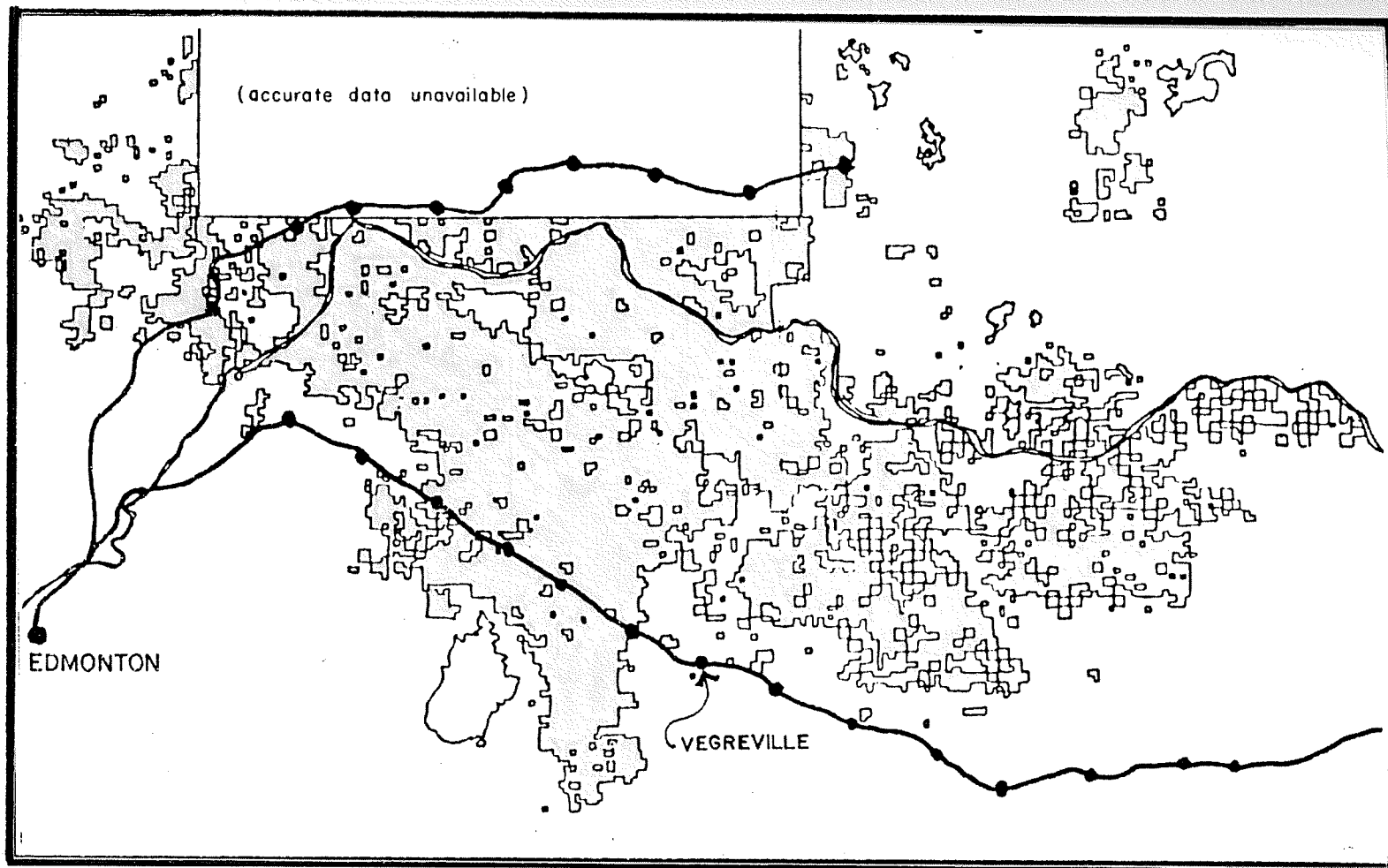


Fig. 11. Extent of land ownership of people of Galician/Bukovynian origin in east central Alberta, 1923 (based on Cummins Map Co. 1923, and random sampling of homestead applications).

The history of the first wave was not as incidental in its effect on the region. Because of their large numbers, the first Ukrainians who settled in east central Alberta soon outnumbered the Parry Sounders, Americans, French, Metis, and settlers of other origins who had preceded the immigration from eastern Europe. Consequently, the Ukrainians recreated the familiar traditional culture of Galicia and Bukovyna which they had left behind at the turn of the century.

In its native environment, the peasant society of Bukovyna and Galicia concentrated on a technology that relied almost exclusively on the immediate physical landscape. The trees, soil, items that could be grown in the soil, and animal life were harnessed over generations to develop a material culture that was largely comprised of wood, cloth, and leather. The use of metal, a bartered or purchased material, was kept to a minimum. In Canada, many of these components were virtually free for the asking, and little additional investment was required of the settlers other than the time and labor needed to rework the raw materials into usable pieces of material culture.

"Time and labor" were valuable components of the peasant society in Bukovyna and Galicia, but as Himka (1982) points out, the peasant way of life was one which also included exploitation. Until 1848, peasant society in Bukovyna and Galicia had existed to benefit village landlords while simultaneously providing peasant farmers subsistence by means of an internally oriented economy. The emancipation of the peasants in 1848 proved to be no more than a change in orientation toward a capitalist economy controlled by the same stratum of society. "As a result, if the peasant wished to graze his cow, build a cottage, heat

his home, or even gather mushrooms, he had to pay the lord in cash or labour" (Himka 1982:12). Such exploitation continued for the next half century, during which time peasant landholdings continued to decrease in size with the steady development of capitalism:

The typical Galician peasant farmed in a primitive manner, even in the late nineteenth century. He used a light plough, either completely or mostly of wood. Only wealthy peasants employed factory-made steel ploughs. They might also own a chaff-cutter powered by a treadmill, but only the manor could afford a threshing machine. Most peasants threshed with flails and winnowed with sieves. They used little artificial fertilizer, and crop rotation replaced the three field system only at the turn of the century. It is therefore not surprising that . . . the Ukrainian peasant in eastern Galicia produced much less on a single hectare of land than did farmers elsewhere (Himka 1982:14-15).

One of the more damaging events to occur in Ukraine during the mid-nineteenth century during is believed to be the further development of the railroad, which increased the exploitation export of resources from Western Ukraine to other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Western Europe (Botushansky 1975:15). On the Canadian prairies, land and trees were plentiful and available to anyone, and could provide the Ukrainian settlers with most of what they considered the luxuries of subsistence. Thus Western Canada was an attractive destination for people wishing to emigrate from Galicia and Bukovyna.

In Canada, with the construction of the railways and an ever-increasing contact with British-Canadian capitalist society, the Ukrainians adapted features of their transplanted culture to their new environment. As well, they still continued to maintain ties with their traditional culture. This continued affiliation was re-inforced by the continued immigration of people from Bukovyna and Galicia to Canada. It was this factor that made many consider the Ukrainian presence in

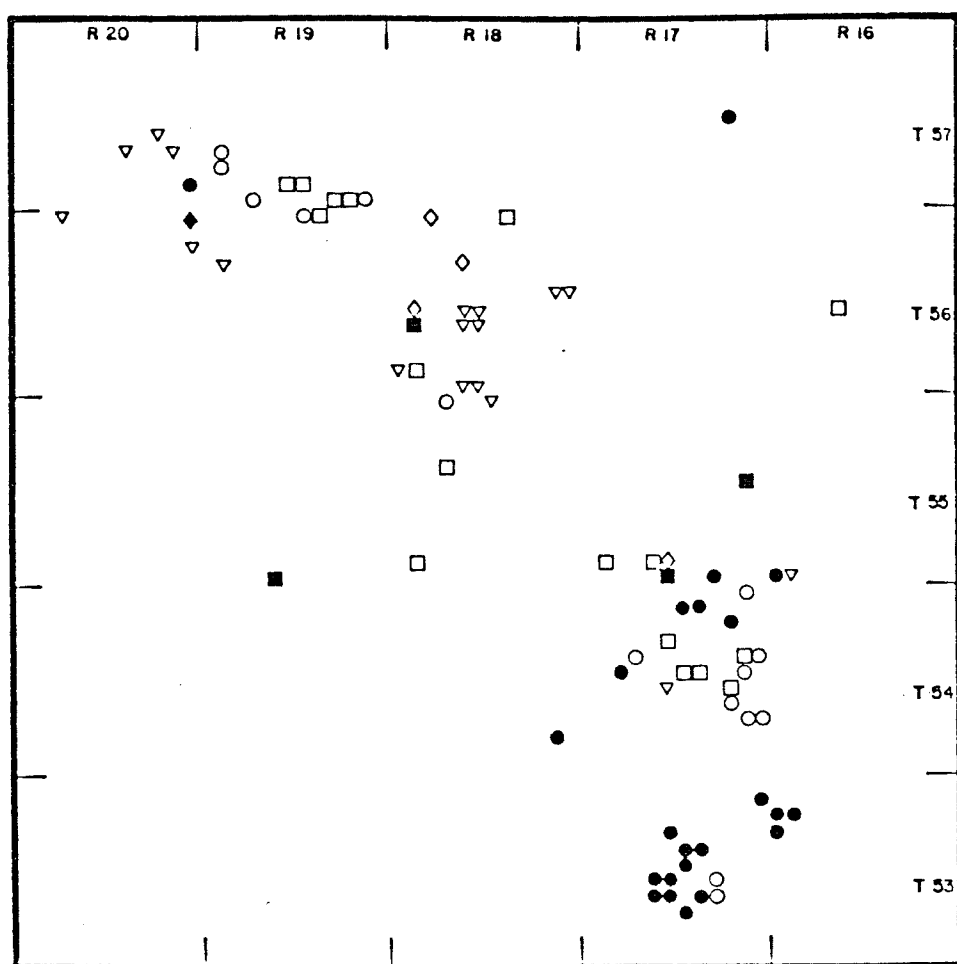
Western Canada to be of a temporary immigrant nature that would totally assimilate within time.

Within a decade of the beginning of World War I, the Ukrainian immigrant settlements in east central Alberta had developed a sub-culture which continued to acquire features of British-Canadian capitalism. However, when war broke and ties with their country of origin were cut off, the Ukrainian settlers continued to maintain their transplanted culture, albeit in an arrested state. Because the overall culture of the Ukrainian settlers in east central Alberta continued to be affected by interaction with Canadian society, a new pattern of life was created that resembled neither the culture which continued to evolve in Ukraine nor the predominant one in Canada. Two areas in which this could be found were settlement pattern and material culture.

I. SETTLEMENT

Borrie (1959) identifies three processes (chain settlement, gravitation settlement, and organized settlement) by means of which immigrant group settlements are formed. All three processes can be found to have affected the early history of east central Alberta.

Ivan Pylypow, credited as being one of the first Ukrainian immigrants to Canada to benefit from Canada's homesteading scheme, settled in the Scotford upon the recommendation of an old acquaintance, Jan Krebs. Krebs had emigrated from Galicia in the early 1890s with other settlers of German descent, and had settled with them in a group



0 1 3 6 miles

VILLAGE OF ORIGIN	
BILA	OTHER
● 1899	○
■ 1898	□
▽ 1897	◇
◆ 1896	



Fig. 12. Borrie's processes of group settlement formation in east central Alberta. The above map pinpoints early settlement to Alberta from the Chortkiv district between 1896 to 1899. Most prevalent among these settlers were people from the village of Bila (data from Kaye 1976).

settlement east of Edmonton (Kaye and Swyripa 1982:36). Thus, the chain settlement process of immigrants from Galicia was actually extended by Krebs to include Galicians of Ukrainian descent. In returning to Ukraine and making known his findings on Canada so that others would return with him, Pylypow was to re-define a new chain settlement process which was specifically meant for Ukrainian settlement. Soon, the gravitation process was in effect as well, with people from Galicia and Bukovyna specifically immigrating to the Edmonton area because of their awareness that other Ukrainians had settled there. A third, "organized" process of settlement can be attributed to the efforts of Doctor Josef Oleskow, who assembled groups of settlers in Ukraine with the understanding and support of the Canadian government and sent them to find homesteads in Western Canada (Kaye 1964).

With the three processes of group settlement acting in unison, a broad and relatively homogeneous belt of Ukrainian settlement, originating in southeastern Manitoba and extending as far as the city of Edmonton, developed in a little over a decade. This belt was intermingled with smaller pockets of Poles, Romanians, Germans, and Jews, also from Galicia or Bukovyna. Similar pockets existed in east central Alberta. In fact, were it not for the outcry against any additional "foreign" settlement in the area east of Edmonton, a colony of Doukhobors from Russia would have increased the east European content of the population even further (Maude 1905:51).

Unlike other large group settlements, the Ukrainians made no effort to establish themselves in cluster villages similar to those that they had known in Ukraine. It is true that such privileges were only



Fig. 13. Ukrainian immigrants on the streets of Edmonton by the immigration sheds, 1908 (Provincial Archives of Alberta).

granted when negotiated between an organized colony and the Canadian government prior to immigration, but even Oleskow did not seem to consider this alternative for his settlers. It may well be that he was unaware of the number of village settlements in Western Canada, for he wrote that only the German Mennonites in southern Manitoba lived in villages (Oleskow 1895:16). When writing on the question of immigration to Canada, Oleskow chose to familiarize the Ukrainians with the land and its systems. The question of cultural or nationalistic retention, or retention of any other sort, was not discussed in his works.

Villages in Galicia and Bukovyna were as standardized in composition as were railway towns in Western Canada. They were irregularly-shaped clustered villages, with fields located on the outskirts. These types of villages are termed hurtovi, and they were the most prevalent type in all of Ukraine (Cybriwsky 1972:134). They were most often found along bodies of water such as rivers or streams. Their size and population varied greatly from one village to another, as did the number and type of services that could be found in a village. Typical components of a village in Ukraine, included a church, manse, cemetery, school/hall, tavern/store, a midwife, woodskeeper, firewarden, policeman and miller. The location of these services was identifiable to the villagers by signpost codewords (for example, "the field", "Ivan's cross", "the hill", [where] "the Godichuk's" [live], "Melnyk's road") rather than posted signage, and this method of signposting was supplemented by names assigned to each village quarter, or kut. Village affairs were administered by a council, elected by means of a voting system which was weighted in the favor of the wealthiest villagers (Vovk

1916; Swystun 1917a; Koenig 1935; Himka 1977; Martyniuk 1976; K. K. Statistischen Zentralkommission 1907).

The Ukrainian settlers in east central Alberta developed village localities that were regulated by the expanded plane of the Canadian homestead system. Consequently, their villages in could only partially retain the same spatial organization and functions as villages in Bukovyna or Galicia. This partial reconstitution was aided by the three processes of organized, chain, and gravitational settlement. For example, it was common for immigrants who arrived in the province by any of these processes to travel in groups. Upon arrival, these groups would often also settle together. Membership within the groups was not altogether incidentally determined, but was based on kinship, a common village, a common district of origin in Ukraine, or on relationships that were formed during the journey to Canada. By settling in groups, the early Bukovynian and Galician settlers often preserved regional variations of their traditional culture in the new environment of east central Alberta. This was occasionally evident in the re-establishment of settlement units based on village patterns of Bukovyna and Galicia.

The experiences of immigration and settlement did not vary much from year to year. Groups of immigrants looking for land would arrive from Galicia and Bukovyna in the spring and early summer. Disembarking at the nearest railway station point, Strathcona, such groups usually headed to the north-east, where others had already settled. Bypassing the settled homesteads, members of the group would establish their farms on land adjacent to those immigrants who preceded them, thereby expanding the boundaries of the Ukrainian settlement area further to the

north-east with each year. This sometimes resulted in pockets of Bukovynian immigrants settling adjacent to Galicians that had arrived earlier, and vice-versa. Such a tendency was only occasionally offset by the gravitational process, whereby groups of Galicians or Bukovynians searched for available lands next to others of their particular background. By the early 1930s, it was possible to chart several larger belts of Bukovynian and Galician settlement groupings. Each belt was oriented to a northwest-southeast axis, well illustrating the early northeasterly expansion of settlement in the area at the turn of the century (Byrne 1937: facing 26).

1. Farmsteads

Although the homestead scheme dispersed settlers and prevented the complete recreation of villages amongst the Ukrainian settlers of east central Alberta, the effect was not as severe on the layout of individual farmyards. In Galicia and Bukovyna, the dwelling and other outbuildings were all located in the same yard. Yards were divided into two sections: the buildings, and the garden (Kosmina 1980:73). The dwelling was located close to the property line that bordered the street, and was located no more than ten metres away from this boundary (Kosmina 1980:78, Samoilovych 1961:18). The dwelling and adjacent street were the focal points for orientation of the other buildings in the yard. The house was the stronger of the two deciding factors, since its facade normally faced a southerly direction to afford full benefit of the sun's rays for light and warmth. Then, depending upon which side of the house the street passed (Samoilovych 1980:18), outbuildings were

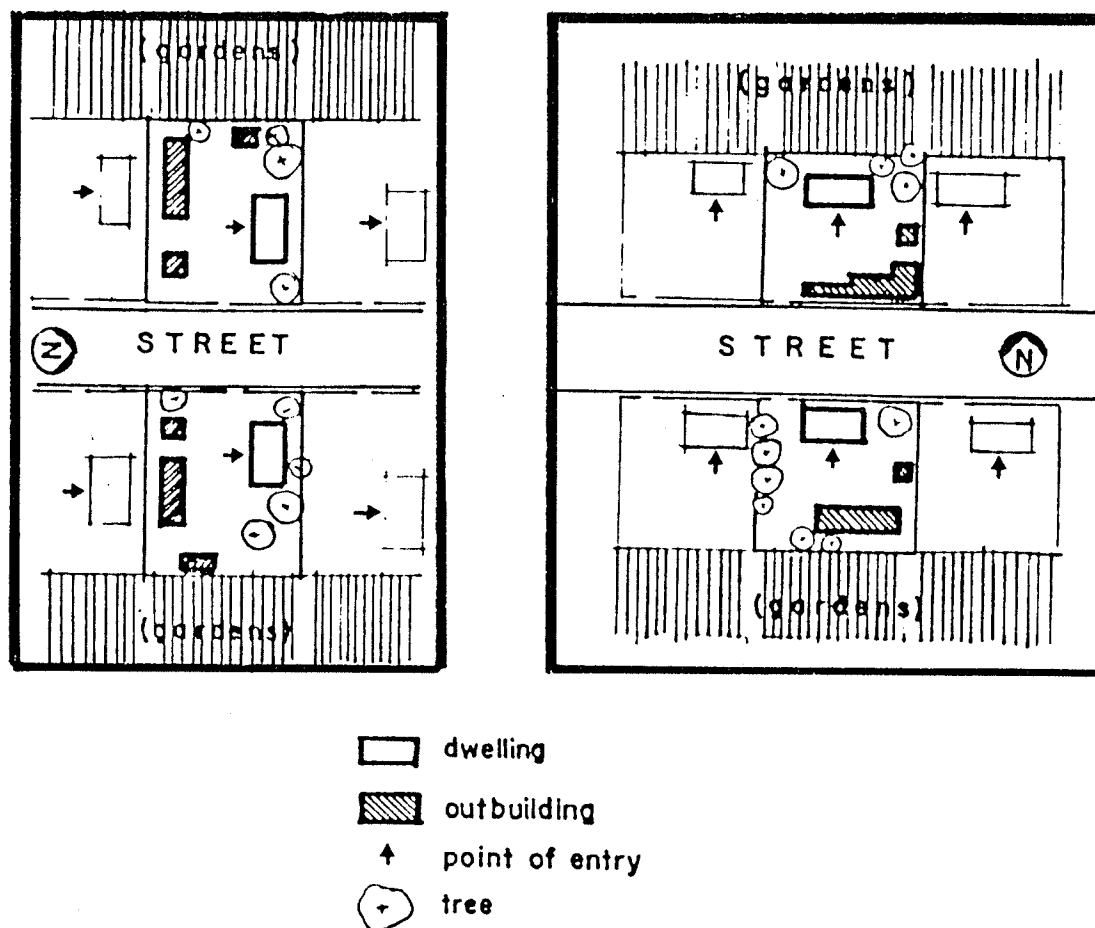


Fig. 14. Yard layouts in the villages in Ukraine was dependent on the direction taken by the adjacent street (adapted from Kosmina 1980 and Samoilovich 1961).

arranged around the perimeter of the yard to create an open central area.

Because they did not differ markedly with the layout of any farmsteads in Western Canada or interfere with land settlement regulations, the main features of village farmyards in Galicia and Bukovyna re-appeared among the homesteads of east central Alberta. As discussed further below, the first yards of the Ukrainian immigrants were tightly clustered, although historic photographs indicate that they were no longer as tightly clustered as they had been in Ukraine. Outbuildings were located on the perimeter of the yard and were oriented around the dwelling. Gardens were located on the periphery of the farmyard. Many of these features are visible on farms in east central Alberta today, and provide adequate confirmation of the extent to which the traditional farmstead layout was replicated in Canada.

Examination of farmsteads in the field has yielded information about the ways in which they initially and/or eventually differed from the traditional pattern. Houses and other outbuildings were not always located close to the road. Even when dwellings were built close to the property line, seldom were they established as close as they were in Galicia or Bukovyna. Several explanations can be given for this change. Firstly, farms were inhabited even before roads were built. Since only the corners of homesteads were marked by surveyors, it was possible to be in error when determining the exact location of one's half-mile long boundaries (Lawford 1905:204). Therefore, a "better safe than sorry" attitude was adopted, and farmyards were established away from the roadway. In the Smoky Lake area, for example, yards were often located in the centre of the property with long access roads leading

from the public roadway. It was also common in that area for settlers to precede the surveys, and this was another reason that buildings were centrally located there.

Other reasons for locating yards centrally concerned the regulations of the homestead system and the location of water. Most homesteads in east central Alberta were forested virgin land. Regulations of the Homestead Act required that homesteads be transformed into agricultural land within several years of habitation, and that outbuildings and a residence be built to prove habitation (Alberta; Department of Agriculture 1907:57). Therefore, it was sometimes faster and easier for a homesteader to establish his yard on ready-cleared land away from the road. In addition, homestead surveys did not take into account the availability of water, and this was a feature that had to be sought out by the homesteader somewhere within the bounds of his property. It was found that this requirement sometimes proved to be a stronger determinant for the location of a farmstead than the future location of a market road to the railway town. It should also be remembered that roads never occupied the full sixty-six foot width of road allowances, and this factor accented the isolation of the yard from the road even more.

When the Ukrainian homesteaders in east central Alberta began to participate in the capitalist market system that prevailed in Western Canada, their farmyards began to change. Second homes were built closer to the road, but new outbuildings were often erected adjacent to previous ones. Thus, a new pattern developed where the house became increasingly isolated from the outbuildings. Because of the new need to

provide access for vehicular transportation and machinery storage, buildings in the farmyards also became less clustered. By the end of the 1920s, the original farmyards of settlers from Galicia and Bukovyna had doubled in size and bore little resemblance to the small village yards after which they had been designed.

2. Roads

Although the survey system implemented in Western Canada utilized a repetitive grid network of roads, certain of these roads eventually became highlighted because of their importance to the capitalist marketing process. However, it was far from the norm for roads to have already been built on surveyed road allowances when east central Alberta was first being settled by Bukovynian and Galician immigrants. Although the federal government was seriously interested in developing Western Canada through railway construction and homestead surveys, it left the responsibility for the construction of roads that were provided by the survey to the provinces.

At the turn of the century, east central Alberta was part of the Northwest Territories. With an extremely small budget offset by an all-encompassing responsibility for vast landholdings, the Territorial government was unable to take on the task of road-building with any hope of success (Morton 1938:131). Even when the Territories were reorganized and the province of Alberta was formed in 1905, local road construction did not occur immediately. During the formative years of the province, the government was able to assume responsibility only for "main roads" (Alberta; Department of Agriculture 1907:7).

The oldest thoroughfares in Alberta were trails made by the Indians. They were bumpy and narrow, barely the width of a wagon. These routes were not based on any geometric pattern or survey, but rather, on a pre-determined destination. They followed the natural topography and chose the driest, most level, and often shortest route between two points. Settlers were not always able to follow these thoroughfares, and often underwent many hardships in rainy seasons (Svarich 1981). Homesteaders of the region added their own roads of equally poor quality to this system of trails to pay off the taxes for their farms. Although attempts were made to follow the government road allowances in the latter cases, a grid pattern of roads was not fully realized for several decades. In the interim, roads were built when and where they were required, and where the topography allowed. Where there were tracts of unoccupied homesteads, the roads skirted them and linked up with other trails in the area (Knight 1925).

Thus, the main function of the road network that was developed during the formative years of settlement in east central Alberta was to interconnect individual farmsteads, farmstead clusters, or localities. Roads were developed to fill community needs which were not necessarily economic in nature; the federal government's system of road allowances did not take into account any socio-economic interaction beyond that which was supposed to develop in the railway towns. In effect, the system of roadways first developed among the Bukovynian and Galician immigrant settlers was reminiscent of road links within and between villages in their indigenous culture.

As the region continued to grow, certain roads began to be more

closely aligned with those points on the railway lines where grain elevators and market towns were located. Since railway towns were surveyed so that they usually had only one road entering each town, and since this entrance road was connected to only one north-south road allowance, the latter road allowances became the main market roads for the region. In the areas furthest away from the railway lines, several east-west roads interconnected the north-south market roads. This provided some lateral movement for farmers who preferred the services provided in one town over those in other towns. In addition to providing the farming population with access to railway towns, market roads eventually facilitated the provision of commodities from those same towns into the surrounding countryside. With the consolidation of the market road system, rural community establishments such as stores or post offices began to lose their identity as exclusive, semi-independent outposts, and became subsidiary relay points for services and goods that originated from a nearby railway town.

By the late 1920s, when the CPR rail line was built through east central Alberta, the market road network was complete (Knight 1925). Even the less important secondary roads were being improved by this time, only occasionally straying from road allowances to by-pass obstructions of natural topography that were too large to alter easily. The only significant change to roads resulting from the construction of the later 1928 CPR line in east central Alberta was that several routes that had been considered secondary until that time were upgraded to become market roads to the new townsites on the line.

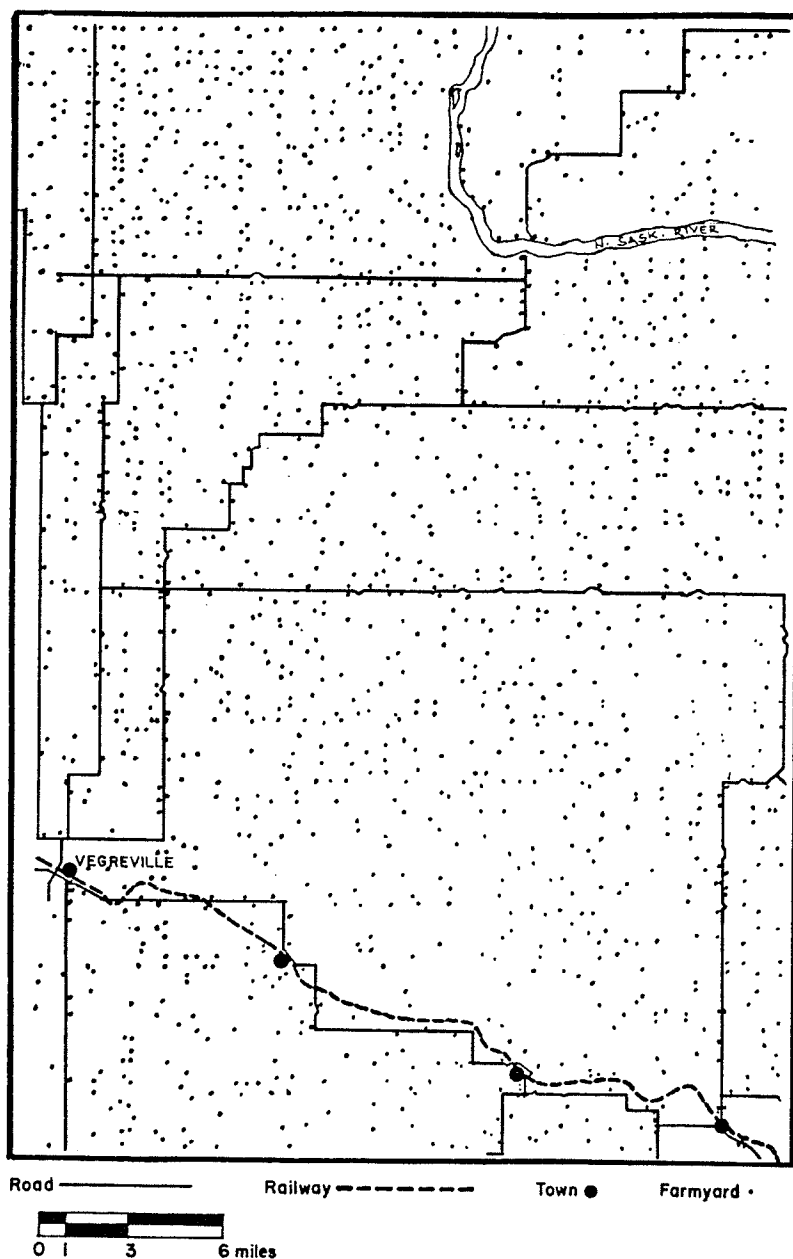


Fig. 15. "Main through roads" and "secondary roads" in a portion of east central Alberta in the mid-1920s. The centralization of these market roads on the town of Vegreville suggest that it was a popular center for the Ukrainian settlements to the north (Knight, 1923; 1924).

3. Community Components

A product of a peasant colonization, the Ukrainian settlement in east central Alberta was comprised of smaller rural communities. These vestiges of peasant villages in Ukraine provided a stark contrast to the town format of settlement that was being touted by railway concerns. The extended settlements or localities of Ukrainian settlers in Western Canada were called "rural communities" as early as 1917 (Woodsworth 1917). Although each community had boundaries, these were known only locally and were rarely recognized by outsiders. Similarly, no written signposting existed to identify streets or communities to strangers. Although some signposting did identify specific buildings within a community, the fact that all component services of a community were not clustered together in a common location made it difficult to determine which services belonged to which community. Even when it was possible to find the location of schools, churches, halls, and post offices, it was not as simple to identify the boundaries which grouped these services into communities.

It was not uncommon for schools, churches, socio-cultural organizations, post offices, and stores to operate from private homes at first. Later, most of these services were transferred to specialized structures whose architecture often identified their function. However, not all services of a community were as conspicuous as others. An individual experienced in blacksmithing would often set up a shop for himself and his neighbours in a building contained within his farmyard. Similar was true of farmers who operated flour mills or seed crushing mills for making cooking oil. Furthermore, the nature of some services

dictated that they be carried out on the procurer's property or site; sawmill operators and carpenters used their homes rather than any special structure to conduct business.

Viewed as a whole, the rural segment of east central Alberta by 1930 consisted of a series of interdependent communities whose size depended on the number of services in each community. On one extreme, some might include a school, post office, one or two stores, a blacksmith shop, an implement dealer, a seed crushing mill, church, and community hall. On the other extreme, the local school might have been the only visible component of a community. Yet each type of community had an identity of its own. Each possessed a place-name and boundaries, and had occasion to function independently by providing services which were more reminiscent of its members' former peasant economy and social organization than those associated with the Western Canadian market system.

The simplest form of rural community, where the local schoolhouse was the only visible component, might be considered a transitional form of community which separated several larger ones. Its boundaries conformed closely to those of the school district, and its place name was the same as the one assigned to the school. But while the schoolhouse could be used for several different community functions (McAllister 1925), and could be complemented by other less visible community-oriented services, this was not always enough to satisfy all the needs of the local farmers. People also became dependent on adjacent larger communities which offered still more services.

Not all people in a small school district community relied on the

same adjacent larger community. Because membership in rural communities was not mandatory, individuals frequented those which best satisfied their needs. One farmer might depend on the community where the post office, store, and telephone were closest to his farmstead. Perhaps his neighbour was from a different village in Galicia, and opted to depend on a different adjacent community where his fellow villagers had settled. On the other hand, this "neighbour" might have lived as much as half mile away, where better roads existed to a different community. Factions were also a factor in determining community membership. This was especially true of religious factionalism, which was strong enough that a family could be ostracized by its neighbours for belonging to a rival church (Nimchuk 1952).

The smaller transitional rural communities in east central Alberta were often in a greater state of flux than the larger rural communities. The most common component of the larger rural communities was the post office, which was often operated in conjunction with a general store. The boundaries of a post office usually extended over several school districts of transitional communities, and encompassed several churches, halls, and stores. There was usually one school, church, store and hall located in the immediate vicinity of the post office and considered a component of the same community. Being of the same locality, the post office and these institutions often shared the same place name.

Many of the rural community place names of east central Alberta which today remain associated with a district long after the community has ceased to function are either the name of a former post office or

school. These names reflect the predominant origins of the region's population. Communities such as Radymno, Jaroslaw, Brody, Buczacz, Skeskwitz, or Lwiw were named after villages, towns, and cities in Galicia and Bukovyna. Others such as Pruth bore names of rivers in eastern Europe. Community names such as Wasel, Shandro, and Shalka denoted the first postmasters in each area, who used their own surnames or given names to designate the post offices that they operated. Still others such as Oleskow, Bohdan, Franko, or Sheptycky were named after important figures in Ukrainian literature or history. Other names, including Slawa, Svoboda, Wolia, Myrnam, and Zhoda (meaning "glory", "liberty", "freedom", "peace be with us", and "harmony", respectively), were rallying slogans of the immigrant settlers, and were indicative of the benefits that they had found or hoped to find in their new homeland.

In the absence of any formal signposting, local communities often devised their own designations for certain physical features in the area. These designations were used as a form of signposting which was adequate enough to provide the local population with a set of commonly used reference points for relaying and receiving directions. At the same time, the designations were totally incomprehensible to individuals who were not native to the region. For example, although the official names of churches referred primarily to their patron saint or to their nearest post office and/or school district, their location was often pinpointed by referring to the owner of the homestead which surrounded it. Thus, St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church, near the town of Innisfree in Buczacz rural community, was known locally as "Hlus' church" because it was located on land originally homesteaded by the

Hlus family.

Similar reasons have been given for such designations as "Farus' church" or "Muskalyk church." Other designations relied on recognizable geographic features. For example, Nisku is now a community located near Edmonton International Airport. A more proper transliteration of the name that was originally used to designate this spot would be Nyzky (meaning "lowlands" or "marshes"), reflecting a dominant geographic feature of the district in past years. Another occasion where a local designation has become the official place-name for a district concerns the name Bellis. Presently a rapidly declining railway town, the site was initially referred to by some as the "White Forest" ([tam de] "bilyi lis") because of an abundance of white poplars there. When the railway arrived and established a townsite at the spot, the original form became hidden through both the contraction of the phrase in pronunciation ("bil'lis") and in transliteration to become "Bellis". Among older inhabitants in that district, the pronunciation and accenting of the name still bears resemblance to its original Ukrainian form. The tendency to refer to geographic features was also used by Methodist missionaries, who intermingled Ukrainian and English words to create such names as Kolokreeka school (Kolo meaning "near") and Dickiebush school (Dykyi meaning "wild").

4. The Influence of Population Size

The boundaries of the Ukrainian rural communities can surely be considered an anomaly. During the development of east central Alberta between 1895 and 1930, these boundaries were constantly changing.

Sometimes they expanded, while in other years they decreased. During some years, several institutions such as post offices, schools, or stores shared common boundaries, while in other years their boundaries were separate and had little in common. For example, the post office of Zawale changed hands so many times that it became located over five miles from its original site. In later years, the original customers of Zawale post office were served by Krakow post office. In this manner, settlers changed their community membership several times over a period of twenty years without ever having moved from their original homesteads.

Much of the fluctuation in the size of rural communities can be attributed to the homestead survey system in Western Canada. Given the precise grid pattern of the survey and the fact that landholdings comprised approximately one square half mile each, the largest population cluster that could be formed outside railway towns was restricted to the inhabitants of a maximum of four farmsteads. In effect, the ability to foster strong social or kinship ties was greatly hampered by the inherent isolation of the Western Canadian homestead system. In fact, in districts where not all homesteads were occupied and the population density was low, local communities were not formed for many years. Instead, settlers in a low density district became peripheral members of adjacent communities. When the population density in that district finally increased, local services were developed and a new community was created. However, where population growth was held in check, it was almost impossible to form communities. Cummins Rural Directory Maps for 1924, for example, show some districts in which every second landholding was owned by a land investment company for resale to

new settlers. Consequently, the frequency, size, and complexity of rural communities in those areas of east central Alberta were much lower than in surrounding areas.

In discussing the relationship between population and the development of market systems in Kenya before and after the arrival of the colonializing Europeans, Rondinelli and Ruddle (1977:189) describe the concept of "threshold populaton":

Nearly all services require the support of a minimum number of people concentrated in a limited geographic area, a "threshold population" of sufficient size and density to attract enough customers to earn profits for suppliers of commercial and professional services and to allow public services to reach the largest number of people at the lowest cost. Threshold levels for services vary widely; and because each service has a specific threshold, the types, degree of specialization and delivery range of services found in any given community depend on the size and density of its population, its occupational profile and income distribution, transportation access and economic diversificaton.

Although the above definition was originally intended to explain the development of capitalist markets in Kenya from the perspective of "central place" theory, this is not the way in which it will be used for this thesis. The applicable portion of Rondinelli and Ruddle's definition is the precept that each community service or institution has a specific population threshold. The less applicable portion of their position is that their hypothesis is primarily applied to commercial or professional services. The historical development of rural communities in east central Alberta shows that population thresholds can also exist for establishments such as churches or halls, which are not directly related to the mode of production. In addition, the degree of specialization, type, and delivery range of non-economic yet "essential" community services in east central Alberta prior to 1930 were not

necessarily influenced as strongly by the cost factor. Instead, the size and density of population and transportation access affected the quality and quantity of service. The fact that districts existed in east central Alberta in 1924 where communities could not be formed illustrates the effect that population thresholds can have on the growth or demise of a region. In cases where much of the land was unoccupied and the population density was low, there was not enough of a threshold population to support even the simplest of services. The only resort possible for the inhabitants of such districts was to frequent the services of adjacent communities, thereby bolstering the threshold populations of those neighbouring districts.

In an earlier part of this discussion on rural communities, it was stated that the extent of each community's territories depended on the number, size and complexity of services contained within it. However, threshold populations were also important in determining community size and degree of specialization. For example, because the threshold population level was high for post offices, the boundaries of communities having post offices necessarily encompassed large territories at first. Settlers were only beginning to enter the region, and the general population density was low. Thus, a single post office typically served areas that might be ten miles away (Goresky 1975:20). When the population increased, there were enough inhabitants to support four or five post offices where there was once only one. For example, the area once served by Beaver Lake, Wostok, and Edna post offices was eventually transformed into at least fifty separate rural communities. This number, however, included many communities that did not have their

own post offices. This once again emphasizes that, of the most common components of rural communities in the region to 1930, post offices required the largest threshold population.

A survey of the services found in the early Ukrainian communities of east central Alberta has shown that the threshold population of a post office was equal in size to the combined threshold populations of several churches or halls, and an even higher number of school districts. As institutional components of the village culture of Bukovyna and Galicia reconstituted in Canada, both the church and community hall of any Ukrainian rural community were established (and later, frequented) by the same group of people. Consequently the size, growth, and decline of their membership and activities remained proportionate to each other from one community to the next.

A similar proportionate link can be seen between population size and specialization in the division of labor. Less frequently required services such as blacksmiths, oil millers, weavers, vorozhky (soothsayers), implement dealers, and lawyers required the highest population thresholds. It was not uncommon for people to travel the better part of a day for such rarer services. However, these were not services which developed and increased in number or frequency with the growing population. With the construction of the third railway line and the improvement of other transportation routes at the end of the 1920s, better smithing, machinery parts, and legal services could be found in the railway towns. More expensive services such as weaving and oil milling could not compete with ready-made products available in stores; the frequency and popularity of such services therefore did not

increase. Other services provided by such specialists as the vorozhky decreased even further with the enforcement of laws prohibiting fortune-telling.

Both the size and density of the population were influenced by the regulations of homesteading. Even allowing for the largest of families, it was still possible to predict a maximum population density under such a system. Only the railway towns were unaffected by the regulations, and both commodities and consumers were found en masse. The rather homogeneous occupational profile of the region was another result of the homesteading system. It was assumed that every piece of land under its domain would be used for agricultural purposes, even though the individuals who actually surveyed the homesteads recommended against this at times. Consequently, the potential for the diversification of services in the exclusively agricultural rural environment of east central Alberta was indeed minimal.

In surveying the services present in the rural communities of east central Alberta, it was found that some threshold population levels were state controlled. For example, post offices were granted to individuals after Canadian post office officials were satisfied that there would be enough residents using the proposed office. This was usually confirmed by the applicant for the new post office, who would include a list of signatures of neighbouring householders as an indication that the need for a local office was valid. People in east central Alberta have indicated figures ranging between twenty-five and fifty names as being the minimum acceptable requirement for the granting of an office. It is unfortunate that a more exact figure cannot be

found, but it is significant to this discussion to note that the minimum area that could be served by a post office was twenty-five homesteads, or about six and one quarter square miles.

A second instance where population thresholds were controlled was in the formation of school districts. By 1907, before the bulk of the school districts in east central Alberta had been established, provincial regulations stated that school districts could be formed in areas where there were four "residents" or householders and twelve children (Alberta; Department of Agriculture 1907:8). This population threshold level was adjusted by 1924 to a requisite of four residents and eight children (Canada; Department of Immigration and Colonization 1924:25). Because of the spatial distribution of population that resulted from the homestead survey system, these regulations made it theoretically possible to establish a school district every square mile by the mid-1920s.

While the establishment of schools every square mile did not occur, the regulations do emphasize the extremes to which the arbitrarily designated population thresholds of state institutions such as schools and post offices were disproportionate to each other. It also serves to clarify the existence of "school district" rural communities as semi-independent transitional entities within larger rural communities. Amongst those larger rural communities were some that contained post offices. Between the two extremes were community services such as churches and community halls which were reconstituted from the transplanted culture brought by the immigrant settlers in the region. In addition, services also existed which reflected the growing

capitalist mode of production that prevailed throughout Western Canada. For the latter services, the population thresholds were determined through a more natural and spontaneous process. However, because they developed within an overall framework of state authority, capitalist production, and railway enterprise, the initially different rural communities of east central Alberta were unable to override characteristics imposed by the state or the private sector capitalist enterprises.

II. MATERIAL CULTURE

"The instruments and techniques of particular technology are the product of a prolonged process of cultural accumulation in the past" Wolf (1966:7). When the peasant farmers from Bukovyna and Galicia arrived in east central Alberta with the intent to develop the forests and prairie into farmland, there was little "cultural accumulation" in evidence in the region that could challenge their centuries-old technology. It was only after the railways and other products of Industrial Revolution technology confronted the settlements that the material culture of the Ukrainian settlers underwent changes.

1. Fabrics, Clothing, etc.

Although some had acquired clothing similar to what was prevalent in Canada, the majority of early Ukrainian immigrants wore their "travelling clothes" to Canada. These clothes were of a better quality

than that used for everyday work; they had always been reserved for occasions such as going to church or to conduct formal business in the nearest town. Oleskow (1895:20) believed that it was the type and style of dress of immigrants from Bukovyna and Galicia which resulted in their being shunned in Canada. Consequently, he urged them to conform to existing Canadian norms and styles of dress even before arriving in Canada:

Those who intend to emigrate and hope to succeed in a new country, must in any event (1) get used to keeping their body and clothes extremely clean and maintain this standard throughout the trip; (2) wear even the cheapest suit, but such that it does not display their bare chests. The hooks and ribbons in shirts should be replaced by buttons and links. One should learn to use handkerchiefs and abandon the extremely untidy habit of wiping one's nose with his fingers. Women should purchase additional underwear (drawers, panties). When several families from our country went to Canada by way of England, the slightest breeze exposed their bare thighs and shins and the women themselves were embarrassed (1895:6).

Nonetheless, photographs of Ukrainians on the railways and on the streets of Edmonton and Calgary at the turn of the century indicate that they continued to use clothing that they had brought with them for some years after.

For the most part, the embroidered decoration and fiber sources for Ukrainian village clothing and textiles had always been derived from the flora and fauna (both natural and domesticated) of their village or district, as well as by the physical limitations of the technology that had been developed over time to work that particular environment. Although milled fabrics and urban styles were introduced known in the rural countryside at the end of the nineteenth century (Mateiko, 1977:208) by itinerant merchants who sold their goods in the town

markets, traditional folk clothing was still the norm. A peasant farmer's crops and animals provided the leather, thread, yarn, and even the dyes for those items with which he clothed himself or his family.

The people of Bukovyna and Galicia had developed a rich traditional competence for creating a diversity of fabrics (Mateiko 1977:207) long before the Twentieth century. For example a simple variation in the drop spindle spinning or loom weaving techniques common to these people could differentiate a work shirt from a ceremonial shirt. Similarly, bands of dyed thread woven into a fabric might indicated its intended use. The specific use of a piece of cloth might also depend on its size, which might determine whether it was a wall hanging, a bench cover, a bench backing, or a bedspread. Sometimes, depending on the motifs incorporated into a weaving, it was even possible to confuse horse blankets or saddle bagging with the above-mentioned group of home furnishings. Thus, it may well have been the versatility of the traditional Ukrainian clothing or textile tradition that resulted in it being retained in Canada.

The base of traditional Ukrainian folk dress was a long-sleeved homespun linen gown of mid-calf length when worn by women and children, and mid-thigh length when worn by men. This was often the only garment worn by young children and was sometimes gathered at the waist with a handspun woven hempen sash. The men's garment was also gathered at the waist with a woven sash or a wide leather girdle. It was complemented with white linen trousers. The women added wrap-around skirting which was held in place with a sash. Vests and coats were often of a style which allowed them to be worn by men and women alike. Varying in the



Fig. 16. Traditional folk dress in Ukraine ca. World War I (United Church Archives).

extent to which they were decorated, this outerwear was primarily made of sheepskin or pressed felt. Whereas the men wore hats of felt, fur, or plaited straw, the women wore cloth headpieces. The latter were either woven and embroidered or (in the case of shawls or kerchiefs) acquired at district markets. Footwear, when used, was made of leather and worn in boot or mocassin form.

Although patches of cloth were occasionally sewn onto clothing to form pockets, this was not common. Instead, carrying bags were sewn from two different kinds of woven material. The shoulder strap was made of the same material as that used for sashes. The pouch was made of the same material as that used for wall hangings, bench covers, or saddle blankets. Carrying bags were also made from leather in some areas. Women's wrap-around woven skirting could also be adapted for carrying items: one or both of the bottom ends of the skirting could be raised and tucked into the sash to form loose pouches. The leather girdle worn by men from certain areas of Bukovyna and Galicia was made from a piece of leather folded in half along its length and stitched shut along the end. Since the fold was worn to the bottom, the open top side of the belt was also available for carrying items.

Clothing varied among the Ukrainian settlers in east central Alberta. When Ukrainian settlers arrived in the region, it had only been minimally settled by agricultural people. There was no local technology, and the non-Ukrainian settlers in the area were accustomed to procuring imported and manufactured clothing or textiles whenever necessary. This was foreign to the habits of the Ukrainians. The people from Bukovyna and Galicia specifically sought out portions of the



Fig. 17. A Galician immigrant on the streets of Calgary at the turn of the century. Many of the immigrants who settled in east central Alberta travelled to Calgary to seek work in the nearby mines at Canmore. Under such circumstances, they did not dress in clothing of the type worn by the man in the photograph for any great length of time (Public Archives of Canada).

Western Canadian environment which complemented their indigenous technology and subsistence methods, and which would allow them to once again live off the land in Canada. However, because the Ukrainian settlers were entering a void in which it was rare to find a similar technology or similar subsistence methods already in existence, the reconstitution of textile and clothing production took some time. In the interim, the Ukrainians wore the clothing and used the textiles that they had brought with them (Lawford 1902:35; Swystun 1917a:102).

The re-establishment of the Ukrainian clothing and textile tradition in east central Alberta was an incomplete process which saw the restricted use of traditional clothing. Much of the capital raised by emigrating families was depleted by the cost of the journey to Western Canada, and this often necessitated that husbands and elder sons find seasonal work in the mines of southern Alberta or on railway work gangs. Consequently, the men were exposed to foreign environments much sooner than were the women and children that they left behind on their isolated homesteads. The pressure on a man to conform to the clothing common to his work place was compounded by the fact that there was no clothing similar to his own that was readily available that could replace his when it wore out. Consequently, manufactured cloth and clothing appeared earliest among the working male segment of the Ukrainian immigrant population.

Children were often next to be affected by the fact that textile and clothing production did not resume immediately after Ukrainian immigrants settled in the region. While this problem could be somewhat offset by sharing clothing among siblings, this still left the eldest



Fig. 18. As much as children were dressed in manufactured clothing or in clothing sewn from manufactured fabrics, their origins were still often obvious from the way they wore the clothing (United Church Archives).

children in families without replacement clothing. Those children who began to attend the schools that were established in the region eventually fell under the pressures of their teachers to conform to British-Canadian dress styles. In some families, the change was complete, although the use of British-style manufactured clothing was constrained by Ukrainian dress codes. These codes, especially obvious among the girls, included braiding the hair in styles characteristic of regions in Bukovyna and Galicia, and covering the head with shawls or kerchiefs during most seasons of the year. Sometimes, manufactured cloth was sewn into girls' smocks that were similar in cut and style to the traditional linen gowns that they had worn when they first came to Canada. Because the cloth was patterned with motifs woven into the fabric, embroidery was not added to these smocks. Among the boys, the transition to manufactured overalls and shirts was less gradual.

Women probably took the longest time to change from their folk dress to store-bought clothing. This may be due to the relative isolation that they experienced in the first years after their arrival. The experiences of many of the pioneer families who settled in east central Alberta at the turn of the century indicate that it was a common practice for a wife to act as the mainstay of the developing farm, while her husband acted as the breadwinner. By having his wife stay on the homestead during the time that he accumulated additional capital for its development, a settler was not only able to comply with the regulations of the Homestead Act which required full time residency on the land for a good portion of each year, but he could also be assured that the land would continue to be cleared and worked in his absence. Even when a

settler found that it was no longer necessary to be away from the farm for long periods of time, his wife did not often venture beyond her own immigrant community. Even when her husband travelled to town, a settler's wife did not necessarily accompany him. Thus, the pressure upon women to change their style of dress was rarely present.

In many cases, the process by which clothing styles changed among Ukrainian immigrant women can be attributed to the hardships they experienced in developing their homesteads. Oleskow (1895:20) was startled by the appearance of the Ukrainian women he encountered in Western Canada. His tone and the description of the clothing of these women and their children, ". . . filthy rags instead of shirts . . . no blouses at all . . . clad in some sort of coat opening in front", seems to indicate that their apparel would satisfy neither British-Canadian nor Ukrainian dress habits. The demands on the early Ukrainian immigrant women were much greater than what they had known previously, and the condition of their clothing would sometimes be furthest from their minds. As in the case of the men and children, replacement clothing or materials for repair did not exist, and the demanding lifestyle was not kind even to the sturdy garments' that the women had brought with them. When some piece was discarded, it was replaced with whatever was available. As one woman told Oleskow (1895:20), "And why not . . . there is no one here to dress for."

In the absence of replacement clothing and of immediate redevelopment of their weaving tradition, there was still an attempt among some women to mimic the traditional standards, methods and appearance of dress. As in the case of girls, there was often a

tendency to respect moral codes concerning head covering and length of dress. For example, kerchiefs and shawls which were purchased ready-made in Canada or which were fashioned from fabric purchased in Canada continued to be tied or draped according to the regionally specific methods of villages in Bukovyna and Galicia. In reporting on the Shandro district, a predominantly Bukovynian settlement, Mosher (1917:78) notes: "Before the war a great deal of clothing was imported from Austria." After the war, contact with eastern Europe was restricted and this was not always as easy to do. Flour and sugar sacks were found to be a decent alternative to linen and were re-cycled by the women into children's clothing of a perceived "Canadian" appearance or into replications of their own worn-out folk dresses (Woodsworth 1917:136).

A photograph in the Provincial Archives of Alberta shows another example of the adaptation of Canadian textiles to resemble traditional clothing from Bukovyna or Galicia. Taken somewhere on a homestead in east central Alberta at the turn of the century, this photograph shows a woman dressed in the finery of her homeland. Closer examination, however, shows that only her headpiece, coat and skirt had their origins in eastern Europe. What appears to be an obhortka or horbotka, the wrap-around skirting common to the female folk dress of all Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, is actually a Hudson's Bay blanket. Not only did the thickness and coarse weave of the blanket resemble the traditional apparel, but the placement of striping on the blanket corresponded to an area of similar striping on the obhortka.

Textiles other than clothing included coverings for the walls and

furnishings in the home. As such textiles wore out and as wooden floors more popular, these textiles were recycled along with worn-out clothing into floor rags, floor coverings and dishcloths. Those who did not think it wrong to do so used their finer dowry pieces as replacements for everyday pieces which had been discarded. Others used readymade store-bought covers or cloths which occasionally contained colors and/or designs reminiscent of those common in traditional Ukrainian pieces. Still others used materials which emphasized the decorative features of traditional textiles rather than their physical characteristics or practical functions. Examinations of abandoned homes in east central Alberta have yielded benches which, contrary to what would have been the norm traditionally, were painted. The designs which were painted onto the seats of these benches were the same as the motifs which appear in traditional Ukrainian woven benchcovers. A similar adaptation can be found on the walls of some homes. Traditionally, weavings were hung on walls for the full length of the benches which lined the walls, forming a protective surface for the backs of the people who sat on the benches. Again, the aesthetic characteristics of this custom were preserved through the use of manufactured materials. The visual image of wall-mounted weavings was "translated" into the North American concept of wainscotting, and linoleum or oilcloth containing repetitive designs was applied to the walls where weavings had once been.

Although the number of households which discarded their traditional textiles and clothing or used manufactured materials to form facsimiles of them was large, some households in east central Alberta continued to make or acquire traditional apparel and interior textile



Fig. 19. Photograph "A" was shot in the living room of a typical Ukrainian living room + hallway type of home in Western Canada. The variety of textiles is illustrative of the transition that took place among the early Ukrainian settlers. The mother has retained the most characteristic of the traditional folk clothing. Note that although the table is covered with manufactured oil-cloth, the designs on it are reminiscent of the embroidery or woven design that would have appeared on its textile predecessor (United Church Archives). Conversely, photograph "B" shows a predominance of Canadian dress styles and manufactured goods (Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center).

furnishings. As mentioned earlier, however, it took some time to re-establish the weaving tradition that was familiar to Bukovyna and Galicia in Canada. With the heavy emphasis on developing homesteads and producing crops for world markets, weaving became classified almost as a leisure occupation. Looms, especially the variety found in eastern Europe, were not a common feature of any store's inventory in Western Canada. Fashioning looms by hand was often the only recourse, and such projects also could not be considered priorities. Even the raw materials necessary for spinning and dying thread were not readily available at first, and it was often only when a farm was smoothly-operating that non-priority crops such as flax would be grown, or that animals such as sheep would be raised. In short, because it was not profitable to cash crop farming, the tradition of weaving Ukrainian textiles and clothing was attempted only when there was more time for this activity, after homesteads had been secured, and after machinery with the capability of accomodating large field crops had been acquired. By that time, however, much of the population had taken on the Canadian-produced or marketed trappings that could be purchased in local stores. To this segment of the population, handwoven apparel and accessories were no longer condoned or needed for participation in the Canadian environment. Canadian-made Ukrainian textiles only continued to be made when and where desired (i.e. where there was a necessity). With the decline of the use of Ukrainian textiles in the daily lifestyle of settlers from Bukovyna and Galicia, these items became important only for ceremonial or commemorative functions. Traditional textiles continued to be used as domestic furnishings, but only during calendar

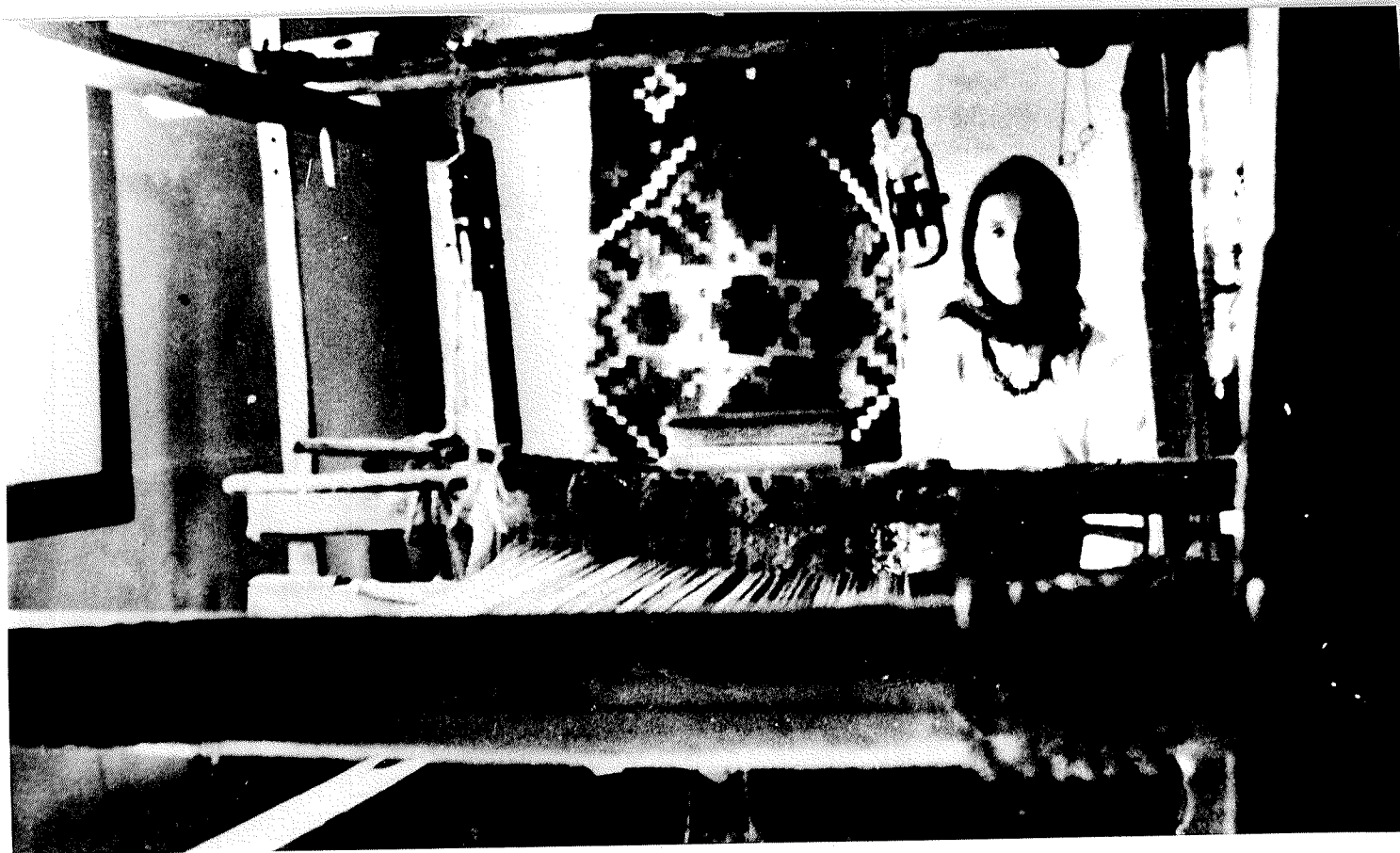


Fig. 20. A traditional weaving loom set up in the less used second room of a home in Western Canada. Behind the weaver can be seen the doorway from the main living room of the house. The importance of weaving declined among the Ukrainian settlers, and became limited to the production of textiles that were no longer considered utilitarian but were valued more for their aesthetic appeal (United Church Archives).

holidays or special celebrations associated with the traditional forms of the rites of passage. Similar was true with the wearing of folk clothing. Weddings, funerals, Easter and any other rituals carried out in ancestral ways were occasions when people emphasized their ethnicity through the use of traditional clothing, furnishings, or accessories. Conversely, those who converted to British-Canadian ways often forsook any physical manifestation of the origins of their forebears.

Ukrainian rural community halls became one of the depositories of discarded folk clothing. During the 1920s and 1930s, one of the organizational activities which took place in these halls was the presentation of short plays or dramas. Many of the productions' themes were of a Ukrainian nature, and required costumes to represent various facets of the lifestyle of Bukovyna and Galicia. By this time, many of the early Ukrainian settlers or their children had come to look upon their old folk clothing as being simply costumes, suitable for the "old" style of wedding or funeral, or for plays. Thus, it was not difficult for drama groups to collect donations of folk dress for their activities. In the absence of museums, the Ukrainian community halls of Western Canada had, by 1930, become almost the only organs of Bukovynian or Galician material cultural preservation.

2. Architecture

Ukrainian or Ukrainian-based architecture in east central Alberta persisted even longer than traditional Ukrainian clothing styles. Much of it is still in use today, although it has often been upgraded to meet contemporary standards. At the turn of the century, though, the

architecture was very reflective of changes that were occurring in Bukovyna and Galicia. Contrary to a popular belief that the peasants of Western Ukraine at the beginning of the century were a homogeneous class of peasant society which was preyed upon by the landowning class, a more contemporary view is that the peasants of Bukovyna and Galicia had already been affected by capitalism by that time to the degree where socio-economic stratification amongst them was evident throughout (Sviezhynsky 1966:35). This manifested itself even in domestic architecture, where the degree of technological advancement, specialization of spatial function, quality of materials, and size of buildings was determined by the amount of capital wealth of each family unit (Kosmina 1980:57;87). Many people turned to the cities or large towns for seasonal employment, and joined a growing migrant worker class (Poritsky 1964:63).

Heisler and Mellon's account of the Ukrainians in the Carpathian regions contains several semi-fictional glimpses of village life at the turn of the twentieth century, among which is the following:

Several lads from his village were already earning fair wages as wood-cutters. After the harvest he was going to join them or apply for work in a saw-mill. Then he should be able to marry all right. And should all go well, he might later on become a regular forest-keeper with a fixed salary and the right to a pension.

Inspired by the hope of such wealth Ivan quickened his pace as he walked homeward up the slope. After a while he reached the humble dwelling and stepped into the yellow light of the living room. It was little more than a potting shed. In the corner by the door an open log fire burnt brightly, and over it a large pot was simmering. A thick roll of smoke hung under the ceiling, making the room look lower than it really was. . . Such was the room which he shared with his mother, his brother, and his two sisters who were still at home. With a pile of wood by the fire and a heap of potatoes next to it, the place was kitchen, living room, larder and bedroom in one.

Before supper he pattered about in the adjoining room which served as shed, store-room, and hen-coop. . .

. . . His new house would have a chimney, and there would be two rooms, a guest room, which would be kept clean like the one in Mikita's house, to be used on special occasions only, and a living room with a proper stove which would not fill the air with smoke (Heisler and Mellon 1946:24-26).

Since those who immigrated to Canada equated its large tract farms in terms of the wealth that such farms would have represented in Galicia or Bukovyna, it is not surprising to find that many of the early immigrants in east central Alberta developed their farmyards to resemble the village yards of wealthy peasant farmers in Ukraine. Although the reason for much of this development can be explained by the need to respond to the larger Canadian farms and different agrarian practices, certain features made their way into the farmsteads of the Ukrainian settlers which were more reflective of the prevailing symbols of social stratification and prestige which had existed in their native villages. By the end of World War I, the farmyards of Ukrainian immigrants in Western Canada had reached such a degree of complexity that a single Ukrainian-Canadian homestead might have been mistaken for a small village in Ukraine (Swystun 1917a:98).

a. Dwellings

The development of large, multi-structured farmyards among the early Ukrainian immigrants of east central Alberta was a gradual process. Many of the materials necessary to recreate the architecture to which they aspired were not immediately available. Although the land that they chose was usually plentiful in trees suitable for construction, they still had to be cut down, seasoned, and stripped of

their bark. Thus, it often took a minimum of six months to construct a solid-walled shelter. Construction of the type of thatched roof common to Bukovyna and Galicia could not even be undertaken until a sufficiently large crop of rye could be planted and harvested. Therefore, the first steps taken in developing homesteads were necessarily crude and were concentrated on constructing shelters for the human inhabitants of the site. The immigrants were required to live in conditions that were often worse than they had ever known. Even in their native villages, people would have considered these being conditions of abject poverty. Considering that the Ukrainians had come to Canada to better their lot, their first experiences in this country would definitely appear to be contradictory to their expectations.

The earliest shelters or dwellings were not altogether uniform in type, but were usually based on three variations which had existed in Ukraine. The most common terms used to describe these shelters by the residents of east central Alberta were burdei, buda, zemlianka, and khata or khaty. None of these terms were exclusively associated with any specific style of shelter, and the name used to designate a particular shelter depended on the region of origin of its inhabitant. Literature which variously describes a single-roomed shelter in Ukraine by such names as burdei, buda, zemlianka, or khata shows a similar interchanging of these designations. Furthermore, in Ukraine such structures were normally considered "poor" or "poorer," and either genuinely or hopefully temporary. In east central Alberta such structures were considered temporary, even though some of the settlers had always lived in this type of dwelling before immigrating to Canada.

The crudest type of temporary shelter used by Ukrainian immigrants at the turn of the century was a semi-subterranean dwelling. Its construction was initiated by excavating a pit, often in the side of a hill. This was covered with a peaked framework of saplings, which was in turn made weatherproof with a covering of such materials as clay, sod, and wild grass. The roof framework either sat directly on the ground or on very low (perhaps one foot high) walls. In east central Alberta, such dwellings were utilized on the homesteads for periods averaging to two years until more permanent residence could be built. Potrebenko (1977:44) cites an instance which suggests that dugout shelters continued to be used by Ukrainian migrant workers in Western Canada. During the strike of railway workers in 1901, the Ukrainians in Edmonton dug "caves" in the sloping terrain overlooking the North Saskatchewan River which were collectively named the "Galician Hotel". Structures similar to these were not only popular among the migrant worker population of Ukraine at the end of the nineteenth century, but also among the Bulgarian and Serbian workers (Poritsky 1964). This type of shelter was used as early as the sixteenth century in Cossack settlements (Onatsky 1957:117). Indeed, pit houses have been found the world over in temperate climates with cold winters. The oldest remains of such pit houses have been found at Campigny in France, and date from the Mesolithic period (ca. 10,000 B.C.). The most advantageous characteristic of such shelters is the fact that their semi-subterranean construction makes them easier to keep warm than a shelter that is completely above ground (Hoebe1 1966:255-56).

Another variation of the single-roomed shelter which required a

A



B



Fig. 21. Two examples of the temporary shelters built by early Ukrainian immigrants in east central Alberta. Photograph "A" is of the typical pit house, known as a burdei or zemlianka (Fletcher 1908). The photograph "B" is of a shelter built totally above ground (United Church Archives).

bit more labor consisted of a hut built above ground. The walls were constructed of logs daubed with clay, with the entrance wall often higher than the rear wall. When covered over with saplings and sod, wild grass, or hay, a flat shed roof was formed. This type of dwelling resembled more closely the shanties of non-Ukrainian homesteaders on the Canadian Prairies, but Poritsky (1964:63) indicates that structures of this sort were also known to the poorest segment of population in Ukraine.

A third style of dwelling, built as a somewhat temporary or transitional measure in east central Alberta, had been the predominant form of dwelling of the poorer peasant population in Ukraine throughout the nineteenth century (Samoilovych 1961:21). Although considered by non-Ukrainians to be a crude and uncomfortable home, it was also an extremely energy efficient structure, versatile enough to meet the bulk of the needs of a typical peasant family at that time. As mentioned previously in Heisler and Mellon's account, the single living room was occupied by the whole family. It was spatially organized into three main functional areas which could be adapted to serve any and all domestic functions at any time of day or year (Samoilovych 1961:25). This multi-purpose use of space was also evident in the unheated storage room or hallway that was a part of such dwellings.

The methods of retaining heat in the hallway + living-room type of dwelling seemed to make equal consideration for both the quality and the availability of resources. For example, only the living room was heated. Not only was it small, but it had a low ceiling and doorway and small windows to minimize the amount of air that had to be heated. The

communal bed, and the wide benches that were used both for seating and sleeping not only served as adequate accommodations for large families in these cramped quarters, but provided comfort through shared body heat.

Whereas methods of roofing and wall construction did vary between districts in Bukovyna and Galicia and were influenced by the scarcity or cost of materials, the apparent lack of such restrictions in the Canadian environment is evident in the extent of uniformity that has been found among the old homestead buildings in east central Alberta. Part of this uniformity was due to the vast, tall forests of the region. Good-sized trees were considered by the Ukrainian settlers to be a boon rather than a hindrance: this meant that they would not have to resort to the more time-consuming construction methods that were used in parts of Ukraine where building logs were scarce.

In the absence of good logs, some peasant farmers in Bukovyna or Galicia had to rely on methods that used a large amount of clay over a weaker structure. Depending on the region of origin and the wealth of the individual farmer, the structure was made from a variety of materials. Some walls were formed by weaving or braiding willow branches. Others were made by inserting poles (rather than logs) vertically into the ground or into a foundation beam. Still other structures utilized short pieces of log placed horizontally between vertical logs to form walls. Whatever style of structure was built, when it was plastered over with yellow clay, the walls provided a shelter from the outside elements, and the clay simultaneously prolonged the retention of heat within the living room of the house.

Anywhere from one-third (Kosmina 198:63) to one quarter (Sopoliga

1977:141) of the floor space in the hallway + living room style of dwelling was always taken up by a clay oven. Even this feature was not contradictory to the principle of economizing space. People who settled in east central Alberta can recall that such ovens could retain heat for twenty-four to forty-eight hours after being fired, and that they were constructed in such a way that people slept on them for warmth. Consequently, cooking ovens had always been viewed as an integral part of Ukrainian domestic folk architecture. Their ability to retain heat also made them the main heat source.

The style of dwelling to which most of the Ukrainian settlers in east central Alberta aspired would have reflected their new-found prosperity well if they were still living in their native villages. Whereas the size of homes in Ukraine was influenced by heating costs and building taxes (Koenig 1935:187), the absence of similar constraints in Alberta resulted in the eventual prevalence of two roomed dwellings amongst the Ukrainian immigrant settlers. Such homes, previously common to the wealthier strata of peasant farmers in Ukraine, consisted of two living rooms, often separated by a hallway (room + hallway + room). Where a hallway was not included as part of the structure (room + room) the entrance was always in the room that retained the cooking and dining function. Those families who retained the second room of a two-roomed home as a salon for occasional use kept it unheated. Conversely, those who made equal use of both rooms had a source of heat in each room. In either case, the hallways remained unheated. Contrary to what was the case in Ukraine at the turn of the twentieth century, the two-roomed house became the predominant form of dwelling in the Ukrainian

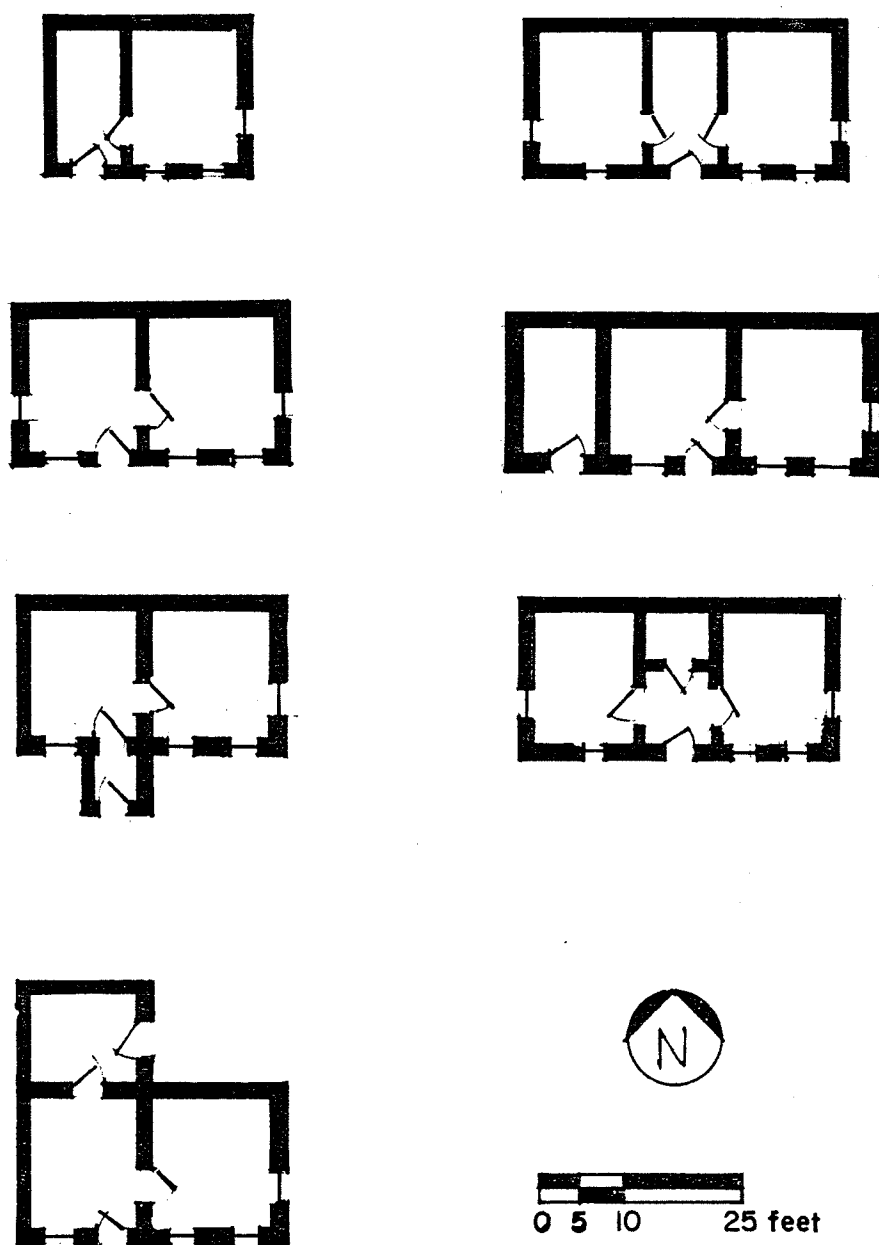


Fig. 22. Variations in Ukrainian dwelling floor plans in east central Alberta at the beginning of the twentieth century.

farmsteads of east central Alberta. Consequently, a popular assumption has been that it was the only form of "traditional" Ukrainian dwelling established in Canada, and that the one-roomed dwelling was some type of hybrid of this "true" form.

Examination of the structural make-up of Ukrainian peasant homes suggests the existence of an uncanny awareness of the potential benefits of the sun. Samoilovych (1961:52) describes how, through a variable combination of roof overhang size, window size and placement, and building orientation, the planning of these homes relied as much as possible on the heat and light that could be reaped from the sun. In fact, this combination was variable enough that it could even take into consideration regional differences in the circuit of the sun. It was also so efficient that it could ensure that the living quarters of the house were in cool shade during the hottest moments of summer days, and yet these same quarters would be fully lit and passively heated by the sun during the cold winter. This created corresponding seasonal variations in the daily activities of family members, for homes tended to be most often occupied during the winter months and least occupied during the days of summer (Sopoliga 1977:143).

As sophisticated as Ukrainian village architecture may have been in its consideration of its environment, it may be more significant to note that it was based on a time-tried unwritten formula. Consequently, the retention of this architectural tradition in east central Alberta was not done with a consistent cognizance of its engineering genius, but was simply a repetition or imitation of something that functioned well in Ukraine and responded well to the environment of east central

Season	Month	% of wall in shade at 1200 (noon)	% of wall in shade according to time of day				Time
			WINTER	SPRING	FALL	SUMMER	
SPRING	MARCH	45					600
	APRIL	70		9			700
	MAY	96		21		38	800
SUMMER	JUNE	100	9	30		56	900
	JULY	96	14	36		76	1000
	AUGUST	70	18	44		98	1100
	SEPTEMBER	45	19	45		100	1200
FALL	OCTOBER	32	18	44		98	1300
	NOVEMBER	22	14	36		76	1400
	DECEMBER	19	9	30		56	1500
WINTER	JANUARY	22		21		38	1600
	FEBRUARY	32		9			1700

Fig. 23. The interaction of traditional Ukrainian house design with the yearly circuit of the sun. All walls shown are southern facing facades (adapted from Samoilovych 1961).

Alberta. This repetition even included features which reflected the growing stratification in Ukrainian villages between those who continued to accumulate capital and others who continued to lose it. The variations which existed in the villages of Ukraine prior to the commencement of the mass immigration of Ukrainians to Canada can be summarized as follows:

1. With a developing concern for hygiene, there was an attempt to improve ventilation within dwellings. Among the poorest portion of the population, the living-room portion of dwellings remained unvented; smoke from the cookstove gathered along the ceiling and caused such homes to be known as kurni (meaning "smoky") or chorni (meaning "black") khaty. In other homes, smoke drifted through the central wall of the house into the ceiling-less hallway, where a vent hood sometimes led through the roof to accelerate the removal of smoke from the building. These homes were termed napivkurni ("half smoky"). Still others vented smoke completely to the outside by means of chimneys connected directly to the stoves. Such homes were only for those who could afford them, for houses with chimneys were taxed extra. Ventilation in dwellings was also improved by the introduction of windows which could be opened.
2. The accumulation of property among part of the population led to the development of specialized rooms and structures, partly because the hallway room in the homes of wealthier villagers no longer sufficed for the storage of all crop returns and implements. The instances where dwellings were attached to outbuildings as a single structure decreased.
3. Wealthier villagers were able to afford larger dwellings. This led to the popularization of the living-room + hallway + spare room/living-room type of home, or living-room + hallway types with rooms of larger proportions.
4. The development of smoke-free dwellings combined with the declining function of the storage hallway led to the transformation of the hallway room into a heated kitchen area with a ceiling.

Some of the studies describing domestic folk architecture in Ukraine disagree with others regarding whether all homes at the turn of

the twentieth century tended to face a southerly direction. One of the few consistencies within these studies is that homes never faced north. In Western Canada, barely a handful of examples has been found in field samplings where homes that exhibit strong features of Ukrainian folk architecture have not faced a southerly direction. A possible explanation for this can be found in studies by Hoshko (1976:139), Kosmina (1980:87), Koenig (1935:187), Kvitkovsky et al. (1956:44), Sopoliga (1979:68), and Beskyd (1972:51). What they have shown is that despite there being a preference for having homes in Ukraine face a southerly direction, factors such as topography and drainage, the size of yard and availability of building space, and the direction of prevailing winds during periods of precipitation also influenced the orientation of dwellings. In Canada, the large size of homesteads made some of these restrictions irrelevant. With each family having one hundred and sixty acres to choose from, and with winds originating consistently from the north-west, conditions for constructing dwellings with southern facades were probably more favorable in Western Canada than they had been in Ukraine.

Descriptions of Ukrainian-Canadian settlements during the first quarter of this century by non-Ukrainian travellers have often seemed to contradict each other. Some described the Ukrainian homes that they visited as large, clean, and well organized, while others gave the impression that they were all "filthy", "primitive", and hardly indicative of prosperity. The descriptions of others were perhaps more accurate:

. . . In a few minutes the conventional shacks of the

English-speaking settlers were left behind and the homes were the kind they build in "the Old Country", which is the Ukraine. Some of them were very pretty, trim and thrifty, with thatched roofs and decorated walls; others were dirty, rickety, and disreputable. But whatever the condition they were typically not Anglo-Saxon, but Ukrainian. We had left Canada behind. (The Missionary Outlook 1919:245.)

Later on during their trip, these same travellers began to note changes that had occurred within some areas of settlement: "There the old houses stood as they had been built, but residence had been removed to larger and more substantial houses built after the English style. Some of these would be a credit to a farmer in any community" (1919:245).

Woodsworth's (1917) report together with my own examination of the domestic architecture which remains throughout east central Alberta today confirms that what the above travellers observed was much more than the successive integration or change of the traditional Ukrainian dwelling style to the "conventional" British-Canadian type. Some farmsteads show a succession of several homes based on traditional Ukrainian architecture. Other farms underwent an immediate change from the first permanent Ukrainian-style home to a Western-Canadian style of dwelling. The latter tendency seemed to occur more frequently among the richer segment of the Ukrainian immigrants, who could more easily afford the purchase of milled lumber and manufactured building supplies. People like Peter Svarich (1917), however, did not believe that the non-Ukrainian style of home was too costly for any of his fellow immigrants from Bukovyna or Galicia. According to his article on the subject, he believed that log homes were more costly, that they represented a weaker form of construction which required too much maintenance, and that they were less attractive than homes built from

lumber. He advocated a changeover from the traditional forms of Ukrainian architecture, believing that such change would not only be an indication of progress but especially progress into the twentieth century. His arguments further indicate that he believed traditional Ukrainian homes too often contained conditions that were favorable to the spread of sickness, mold, or fungus. He rejected the custom of orienting the facades of homes to the south, arguing that it looked much better to have farm homes face the public roadway. As well, he encouraged the construction of homes which were of more than a single storey and contained rooms of specific function: a parlor, dining room, kitchen, pantry, and several bedrooms. Homes of more than four rooms, he wrote, should have two chimneys which would pass through the roof to the outside and vent all smoke completely away from the dwelling.

Had they been followed completely, the changes or progress recommended by Svarich would have drastically altered the architectural landscape of east Central Alberta within less than a decade. A major portion of the Ukrainian population was either constructing new homes at the time Svarich wrote his article, or else planned to do so within the next several years. This was because many homesteaders had finally fulfilled their obligations to the Homestead Act, and could now give more attention to improving their living quarters.

Despite Svarich's recommendations, the pattern of development and/or change in building styles was far from consistent. For example, some homesteaders adopted chimney venting and manufactured stoves immediately, while others did so gradually. After a while, traditional storage rooms in some dwellings became obsolete as outbuildings of

larger dimensions and specialized function were built. The rooms of other homes became less versatile in function, and this led to the addition of more rooms to the traditional floor plan. In some instances, the addition of various appendages, staircases, and second storeys often tripled a home's original size and made its derivation difficult to discern. Thus, although the reaction of the Ukrainian immigrants to their perceived wealth did not manifest itself or develop in a consistent fashion in house architecture, its effect was still obvious.

The materials used to construct the traditional style of dwelling among early Ukrainian-Canadian pioneers deviated in varying degrees from those used in Ukraine. For example, siding and finished boards were often added to the exterior and interior walls and floors of Ukrainian homes to avoid the frequent attention that was required to maintain their clay plaster finishes. Similarly, homesteaders began to use shingles not only on their roofs but also on exterior walls of their homes, since shingles required virtually no maintenance after installation. This changeover from thatch to shingles was accelerated by several successive years of droughts at the end of World War I. The resulting poor crops made animal feed scarce. Consequently, although their charred, smoky condition made the animals quite sick, many thatched roofs were dismantled and recycled as feed. An immediate solution to re-roofing these homes was found in shingles. Not only could they be readily purchased, but they also did not require as much of the farmer's physical input as would be required to grow and harvest enough rye for another roof. Furthermore, shingles did not require

A



B



Fig. 24. The larger homes to which aspired most Ukrainian settlers in east central Alberta. Whereas photograph "A" (United Church Archives) shows a home that is relatively intact in its traditional Ukrainian features, photograph "B" (Public Archives of Canada) shows a home whose features illustrate the effect of contact with manufactured materials in Western Canada: a shingled roof of a lower pitch and with gabled ends; a brick chimney; and opening casement-type windows of a length that would have made their correct interaction with the roof overhang for shade impossible.



Fig. 25. Farmyards in Ukraine and Alberta. The Ukrainians came to Canada accustomed to the close confines of their clustered villages (United Church Archives). In Alberta, they were in complete isolation from each other. Many developed larger yards that reflected the larger size of their landholdings. Later, houses began to display characteristics of the new surroundings as well. Some houses, for example, were built facing the road rather than the sun (Public Archives of Canada).

roofs as steep as thatch did, and many farmers saved on materials by lowering the traditional pitch of their roofs. Although homes continued to be thatched among poorer or nostalgic farmers after 1920, thatch never regained its former popularity as a roof covering.

With the increased demands of working their larger Canadian homesteads, the Ukrainians found that they had less time available for maintenance activities than when they owned less land in their native villages. Eventually, even the cutting down of trees and preparation of logs for construction was often considered overly time-consuming, and more dwellings begun to be built by hired contractors with materials purchased at the lumber yards which were located in each town. Although many homes began to be built according to blueprints from those lumber yards, homes have also been found which were strictly Ukrainian in plan but which were constructed totally with purchased materials. By 1930, dwellings in the Ukrainian immigrant settlement bloc of east central Alberta had become so diversified in plan, style, and materials of construction that their occupants were often at a loss when it came to recognizing which parts of their homes were peculiarly "Ukrainian", and which features were specifically "Canadian." Even those individuals who had strived to retain their ancestral domestic architecture had usually failed to do so; the materials which they added to their homes had disturbed the solar-oriented environmental balance inherent in the traditional form.

b. Outbuildings

Formal detailed surveys (Woodsworth 1917) documented sequences of development or change in the outbuildings of the early Ukrainian

settlers in east central Alberta. This development, like that which occurred with dwellings, reflected sequential changes in the size of landholding and the mode of production, as well as corresponding changes in values among the immigrant settlers. The first outbuildings constructed by Ukrainian settlers in east central Alberta were simple, small, and few. Comparison of data in homestead documents from the region (usually indicative of up to ten years of settlement) with data about outbuildings in Ukraine (Hoshko 1976; Koenig 1935; Kosmina 1980; Vovk 1916; Pasichnyk 1954; Beskyd 1972; Prysiashniuk 1981; Samoilovych 1961) shows that much of what was initially constructed by the immigrant settlers was a transplantation of their former village yard architecture. It was only after the settlers had clear more land and expanded their farm size to the extent that their fields had no equivalent in Ukraine that changes of a non-Ukrainian origin began to appear more frequently in their outbuildings.

Kosmina (1980:86) arranged the majority of outbuildings found in village yards in Ukraine at the turn of the century into three large groups based on function:

1. Structures for the storage of crops.
2. Animal shelters.
3. Implement and/or vehicle shelters.

The presence, number, and size of such buildings were directly proportional to the size and demands of an individual's landholdings. Prysiashniuk (1981:93) notes that animal shelter rooms were the most basic or frequent component of any villager's farming operation, even among the poorest of farmers. Whereas the storage of crop yields and

implements among those individuals with minimal landholdings could be accommodated in the hallway, in the komora or storage room of their dwellings or in the yard, the animals were allotted a room separate from the family but within the same structure. Where the numbers of farm stock had increased in response to a growth in the size of landholding, the animals were housed in a separate structure of proportions resembling a dwelling. In either case, horses, cows, goats, or oxen alike were housed in the same room, and were kept separate from each other by means of board partitions (Koenig 1935:262). It was the wealthier farmers who developed separate specialized structures of varying proportions, depending on their function (storage of hay, straw, grain, wagons; shelters for chickens, pigs, cows, horses, etc.). The overall appearance of these buildings, save for such features as windows (Prysiashnuik 1981:93), was no different from the appearance of any village dwelling (Vovk 1916:111).

In east central Alberta, the construction of a shelter for animals usually followed the completion of a homestead's first permanent home. However, the traditional practice of attaching outbuildings to dwellings seems to have been practised only among the poorest of the immigrant settlers in this region. Nonetheless, granaries, horse stables and/or cow barns, and wagon sheds were still united under a common roof at first. In the Canadian context, this practice seemed to give more consideration the time needed to construct separate structures than to building materials, since there were usually more than enough trees and clay available to any individual who required them.

Homestead documents and oral history interviews have indicated



Fig. 26. The yard of a Ukrainian immigrant at the turn of the century, probably near Mundare, Alberta. Note the pile of large and long building logs seasoning in the background (United Church Archives).

that the initial purchase of farm animals among the Ukrainian immigrant settlers was based on their presumption that farming in Canada was carried out no differently than in Bukovyna or Galicia. Thus, the first animals on a farmstead were often a cow and a horse, and this purchase often exhausted a farmer's available capital for a time. Consequently, cows and horses were often hitched together to the same vehicle or implement to clear and work the land until more horses could be purchased.

Capital returns resulting from successful crop yields led to the accumulation of more property, and this in turn led to the further expansion of cultivated fields on each farm. By 1917, the number of animals owned by the earliest Ukrainian settlers indicates that they had changed their approach to farming and to living in general (Woodsworth). It was not uncommon for them to own over five horses each, and almost as many cows. Pigs, cows and chickens were plentiful on each farm, and provided a good source of meat, eggs, milk, and other animal by-products.

It was not only greater livestock holdings that made Ukrainian-Canadian farms so obviously different from the small holdings in Bukovyna or Galicia at the end of World War I. Since the average amount of land cleared per farm surpassed that of the village farms of Ukraine several times over, it became physically impossible to accommodate the larger Canadian landholdings with a technology that relied on hand implements. Horsedrawn machines that could easily cover several acres within a day became the answer, and farmers increasingly depended on such implements. The yields from their fields were so large

that they had to be transported in vehicles such as wagons or hayracks.

Kosmina's three basic functional groups (crop storage, animal shelters, implement shelter) of buildings could still be recognized on Ukrainian farmsteads in east central Alberta after more than a decade of settlement, but with variations which reflected the growth of the farming operations. The earliest barns, for example, were initially intended as seasonal shelters for horses and cows alike. Their roofs were either thatched, or flat and covered with piles of hay. The chinks in the often windowless log walls were lightly filled with clay plaster to keep out the cold winter winds. Although outbuildings were shared at first, an eventual growth in livestock holdings led to the construction of separate structures for horses and cows. These were not considered "barns" in the Canadian sense of the word. The criterion which separated the Ukrainian "low stables" (Pike 1917:82; Swystun 1917a:98) from the "modern barn" (Swystun 1917b:75) was that a Canadian barn combined both a storage function and a shelter function within a single-roomed, one and a half storey structure. In Ukraine (Kosmina 1980:86), methods of crop storage depended on the individual wealth of the landowner. Poorer farmers left their hay, unthreshed crops, and straw in piles or stacks about their yards. Wealthier villagers had a special storage structure (stodola), often complete with flailing floor, which could also accommodate a wagon filled with sheaves. Although such storage structures did appear in east central Alberta, the development of barns with gambrel roofs (uncharacteristic of Ukrainian architecture) which allowed for the storage of hay in the upper loft area eventually made them redundant. In addition, the popularization of threshing

A



B



Fig. 27. Ukrainian barns in east central Alberta. Photograph "A" shows the type of shelter built first by the immigrant settlers. Photograph "B" demonstrates the transition from the earlier shelter (to the left) to the large barn with a gambrel roof for hay storage (Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center).

machines, eliminating the need for a flailing floor. Nonetheless, the barns of the Ukrainian-Canadian farmers sometimes belied the origins of their builders by the fact that they consisted of two or more rooms of varying functions united under a single gambrel roof.

In Ukraine, grain was sometimes stored in one of the rooms (komora, shpykhlir) that comprised the dwelling (Vovk 1916:112).

However, among those farmers who had enough of a crop yield to warrant a large, specialized structure, the komora was a well-constructed building that was located within sight of the dwellings. It differed from other buildings in the yard in that it had a floor and unplastered walls (Kosmina 1980:96). In east central Alberta, the effects of working larger landholdings were immediately evident in the style of grain storage structures that developed amongst the Ukrainian settlers. Although other items continued to be stored in the rafters of these buildings, their primary function eventually became grain storage. However, in the earliest years of a homestead's development, granaries were still not required. Instead, because crop yields were still small, grain was kept in trunk-like storage boxes in the dwelling's storage hallway. It was only after enough land had been cleared to result in larger crop yields that granaries were constructed, still within sight of the house. The earlier storage boxes were discarded, however, because the large amount of grain made them impractical. Instead, the interior wall surfaces of the granary were plastered so that grain could not leak out, and the grain was dumped onto the floor. As the amounts of grain increased, waist high partitions were installed to form large holding bins. Eventually, even this was not sufficient and more

granaries had to be constructed to meet the ever-increasing demand for grain storage.

Smaller animals such as pigs and chickens received little consideration in the early years of Ukrainian settlement in east central Alberta. In cold weather, a few chickens would roost in the storage hallway of the dwelling. Because the number of pigs was kept to a minimum in those days, and because they were usually butchered by the time winter arrived, pigsties were not too common. As farmstead development progressed, crudely thatched or hay-covered seasonal shelters for pigs and chickens appeared. These were miniature versions of the first animal shelters and temporary dwellings, and their structures changed at the same rate as barns.

The structure which took longest to appear but probably underwent the greatest amount of change was the one used for implement and vehicle storage. In Ukraine, a wagon shed was usually the only structure needed (Prysiashniuk 1981:94), since implements could usually be adequately stored within one of the other buildings in the yard. In Canada, the priority of the Ukrainian settlers was to fulfill the requirements of the Homestead Act. Consequently, they spent time clearing and developing their land, and shelters for the larger farm machinery which they began to acquire were not built until later. In the interim, they kept their machinery uncovered in the yard. When machinery sheds were finally constructed, they were often lean-to additions to existing structures, as they had been in Ukraine (Kosmina 1980:102). However, as the inventory of machinery grew larger in proportion to the amount of land under cultivation, separate structures were built. These did not

resemble the solid log wall construction of other buildings in the yard. Instead, they often consisted of a log frame sheathed in boards on three walls and with an ample roof to provide protection from blowing rain or snow.

The use of building materials and techniques not native to Ukrainian architecture in the construction of outbuildings was synchronous with similar changes in house architecture. Faced with a seasonal schedule that increased its demands with every acre cleared, the Ukrainian immigrant farmers in east central Alberta attempted to decrease the input that was once considered necessary to maintain their outbuildings. Furthermore, as their farms grew beyond any comparable scale of farms in Galicia and Bukovyna, Ukrainian homesteaders found it necessary to adapt their traditional architecture to Canadian features, and even to replace their buildings with structures that were totally non-Ukrainian.

c. Institutional Architecture

A discussion of Ukrainian architecture in the rural communities of east central Alberta to 1930 could not be complete without a brief mention of institutional architecture. At first, buildings such as stores, churches, and community halls were constructed in the same fashion as homes, as was the tendency in Ukraine (Vovk 1916:115). However, it was rare for this to occur during the first decade of settlement. This might be attributed to the heavy demands put upon individuals to develop their homesteads, which consequently did not allow them to focus their attention too strongly or immediately on

community needs. When institutional structures were finally built, it was during the era when new manufactured materials and non-Ukrainian building techniques were already beginning to appear in domestic architecture. This was the time when railway lines were being constructed through east central Alberta, and such materials were more readily available. Thus, the period of time during which Ukrainian characteristics were retained in their purest form among churches, halls, and stores was much shorter than the period during which Ukrainian home architecture was duplicated.

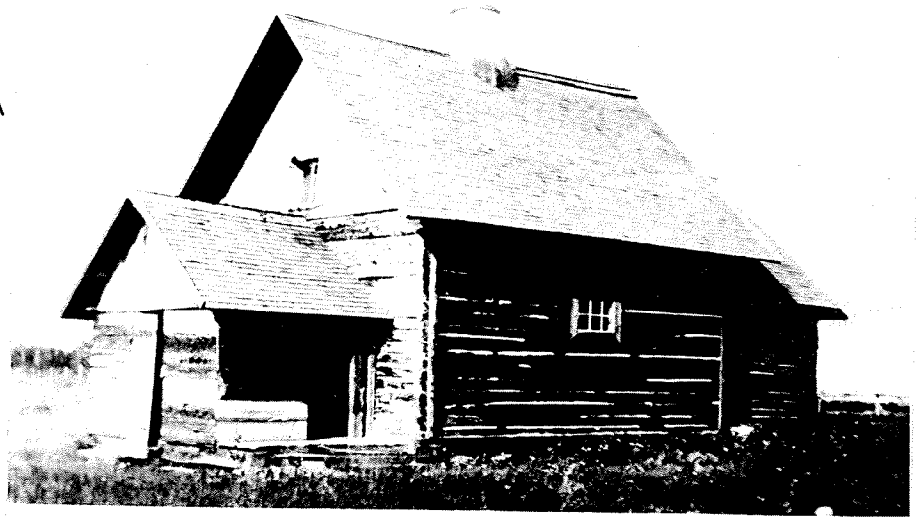
One of the community buildings that did not begin with a transplanted model from Ukraine was the school. In fact, the school and its outbuildings were probably the first non-log buildings in the rural communities. However, it was not as if the Ukrainian settlers had not attempted to construct log schools:

The Ruthenian people looked with distrust upon the issuing of debentures for the purpose of erecting school houses at first, and were in favour of building log schools by gratis work, but when they saw the frame school at Wostok and learned its prices, they were quick to perceive the advantages of the frame structure. In some districts the people changed their minds even after the logs were laid on the ground, and built frame buildings. (Fletcher 1908:57).

Judging from the receipts of the Alberta Lumber Company building in the town of Lamont, the immediate use of purchased lumber to build schools created sizeable profits for the large lumber companies whose branches were located in each railway town.

By 1930, most institutional and service structures in the rural communities were built with lumber purchased in the railway towns. With the exception of churches (whose architecture relied on requisites of

A



B



Fig. 28. Photograph "A" shows an example of the early type of rural church architecture that was constructed in east central Alberta (United Church Archives). Photograph "B" is of a typical community hall (Provincial Archives of Alberta).

the Byzantine rite) and schools (which were built according to blueprints issued by the Department of Education), most of the other institutional or service structures in Ukrainian rural communities utilized the same "false front" style of architecture that could be found in any of the railway towns. Homes and outbuildings were also changing to the point where they resembled the structures of other, non-Ukrainian farmers on the Western Prairies. Farming was undertaken on a large scale, and was only considered profitable if carried out with the help of large machine implements. Although the "cultural baggage" of the early immigrant settlers in east central Alberta was no longer in the forefront, its presence could still be seen and felt. To the grain farmer who was beginning to feel the first pressures of the Great Depression, however, the origins of his lifestyle were rarely relevant.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

The arrival of the Ukrainians in Canada elicited quite open concern among the non-Ukrainian population. In fact, the encouragement of the immigration of the peasant farmers from Bukovyna and Galicia was usually considered a backward step for Canada. Thus, the fact that these foreigners often settled together in clusters was preferred, but at the same time, feared. Among the many discouraged analyses of the "Russian" (sic:Ukrainian) immigrant settlers is the following commentary about the ignorance that they displayed about farming and about living the Christian, Canadian way:

. . . the tragedy of such a fine environment is that the people can scarcely make a living. They make no attempt to wrest the wealth of the country from the soil. They content themselves with periodic spurts of effort when their need is greatest. Many an acre is never sown because a furrow is required to drain it in the spring. Few ship cream, though it has proven the best paying crop in the country. There are three creameries within shipping distance. Crops of wild oats and sow thistle are viewed with most placid unconcern.

Now, far be it from me to complain of the difficulty of the task. But we ought not to have large blocks of peoples whom we must approach as isolated missionaries in a foreign country. Evangelization must always be by persuasion of the individual, but what a difference can be made in the entire group if they find that in living in this country they must obey the laws of the land. There is the danger that we shall be assimilated. I have noticed the tendency in English-speaking children unconsciously to adopt the ideals and tactics of the Ukrainian children who overwhelmingly outnumber them. The consolidation of the Russian-speaking peoples here will mean the ousting of every last English-speaking family (Banks 1925:78).

The above description is a good reminder concerning the society that came to Canada and turned vast untapped regions of Western Canada into productive farmland. At the point of emigration, the peasant farmers of Bukovyna and Galicia were a waning component of a pre-capitalist or proto-capitalist economy. In Ukraine, a single Canadian homestead of one hundred and sixty acres could support as many as fifty households, with little additional input of resources other than what could be found on that land. Their way of life might have been more conscious of the "laws of the land" than Banks perceived. The clustered immigrant Ukrainian settlers, having little else to rely on other than the knowledge and attitudes developed in Ukraine, initially wrested "the wealth of the soil" according to their own needs.

Although east European farmers were encouraged to settle in Western Canada as a part of a grand scheme to develop the Canadian West, their only intent was to improve their individual lot in life. Consequently, some groups even insisted on being allowed to do so according to the consolidated settlement pattern of east European villages. The Ukrainian settlers, however, adapted directly to the settlement pattern prescribed by the homestead survey. In either case, the peasant farmer immigrants in Western Canada were utilized as a labor base for the development of a capitalist market economy.

The Ukrainians began to arrive in east central Alberta prior to the establishment of any railways. Within the confines of the regulations governing homestead development, they still managed to reconstitute much of the lifestyle that they had left in Ukraine, as evidenced through the recreation of their native material culture.

However, the influence of the larger size of landholdings soon became obvious in the way the material culture was recreated amongst the settlers. Using the cultural determinants of stratification that had been in effect in their native villages, the east central Albertan settlers eventually established farmsteads that would have made them the envy of any wealthy landowner in Ukraine. As their farms grew to a scale that surpassed the size of farms in the villages of Ukraine, the Ukrainian homesteaders altered or discarded the ways and means of their traditional culture. Alternatives were available in the railway towns, and these assisted the farmers in changing the focus of their farming operation and allowed them to concentrate on large-scale grain farming. In doing so, however, the balance of self-sufficiency inherent in their former peasant way of life was dislodged, and the Ukrainian farmers began to rely more on the goods and services provided in the railway towns.

After a while, the never-ending cycle of capital accumulation was extended further by the change from hand implemented agrarian techniques to mechanized farming. The one hundred and sixty acre homestead that was a barely fathomable concept to the Ukrainian immigrants at the turn of the century was no longer sufficient to meet their farming needs. Settlers began to double or triple the size of their original homesteads. Contrary to Banks' (1925) perception of Ukrainian settlement, Fletcher (1916) provides an observation of Ukrainian settlers which confirms that the rate of change to a capitalist economy was dependent on the individual producer, who was successfully isolated by the homestead system's settlement pattern:

The improvement in roads during the year has been marked indeed. It is not the extent to which improvements have been made, although this is considerable, but the quality of the work done that elicits favorable comment from the travelling public.

The effect of the success of settlers in their farm work is reacting on their ideas of comfort in living, improvement and extension in tillage operations, the increase in live stock, and the improvement in general purpose equipment on the farms. The raising of hogs is growing to large proportions and the improvement in horse-stock is very marked. Strong heavy work horses from Percheron or Clyde sires have displaced the cayuse, and the horses invariably show good keep. The settlement is well into the second stage of home-making. The original homesteading shack or hut is being rapidly replaced by the real house. With more room and better floors and adequate lighting, the idea of greater comfort and greater attention to personal condition is taking hold.

Today, farms continue to grow in size. Although vestiges of the recreated traditional Ukrainian farmstead still exist, these features have been altered to the needs of the capitalist economy and its complementary lifestyle to such a degree that their Ukrainian origins are not commonly recognizable.

The village pattern of Ukraine was not incorporated into the capitalist infrastructure of Western Canada. Although community services which were reminiscent of services that could be found in the villages of Bukovyna or Galicia were developed in advance of the railways, the homestead survey system prevented the formation of settlement clusters. Therefore, a full recreation of the village pattern common to Ukraine was impossible. This was further complicated by the imposition of arbitrary threshold population requirements for schools and post offices which, when coupled with more naturally determined requirements for other services, created a disjointed system of rural community development. In addition, since the services

relating directly to the prevailing economy were confined almost exclusively to the railway towns, the rural communities were often considered as satellites of essential services for neighbouring towns, rather than as independent communities.

As farms continue to increase in size and the population density decreases, east central Alberta has entered a period of decline. Although the rural communities disappeared first, the railway towns are now being affected as well. Their population continues to decrease in size, and it is only every third or fourth townsite that has retained its former identity as a market center. In a similar fashion, some farms now cover an area of several former rural communities. As a method of developing the resources of Western Canada along capitalist lines, the homestead survey system and methods of railroad development at the turn of the twentieth century did achieve their objective. On the other hand, the accumulation of capital that was initiated by these processes seems to have reached unmanageable proportions. It may well be time to redefine the methods and objectives of the Western Canadian economic system to meet contemporary needs.

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