INTER-WAR

UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION

TO CANADA

1919 - 1939

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INTER-WAR UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA
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the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

Ukrainians formed the largest group of settlers from the "non-preferred" countries of central and eastern Europe to enter Canada between the two wars. Roughly 68,000 Ukrainians arrived during this period. These newcomers reinforced both quantitatively and qualitatively the base of about 170,000 Ukrainians who landed in Canada before 1914. The inter-war arrivals were better educated, often materially better off and more nationally conscious than their predecessors. Their arrival, then, strengthened and reinforced the Ukrainian ethnic identity in Canada.

The inter-war arrival of Ukrainians to Canada came in three distinct phases: A small movement during the immediate post-war era when little in-migration was permitted; the period of the "Railways' Agreement" (1925-1930) during which most inter-war Ukrainian arrivals landed due to an arrangement under which the two Canadian railroads received the right to recruit and settle continental immigrants in Western Canada; and finally, the period of the Great Depression.
The central findings of this thesis include the following: Unlike the pre-Great War era when the Dominion Government took the lead in immigration work, most of the initiative for attracting Ukrainians and other East Europeans in the inter-war came from the two Canadian railroads. Again in contrast to the earlier era, numerous Ukrainian Aid Societies, many commercial in nature, sprang up during the 1920's to assist European counterparts to settle in Canada. Although they aspired to a preeminent role in immigration matters, in reality they became operational appendages of the railroads. Also, unlike the pre-Great War situation, Ukrainian immigrants in the inter-war period arrived almost exclusively as agriculturalists although many quickly moved into other fields after arrival. Finally, this thesis argues that the curtailment in immigration which occurred after 1930 was not solely a function of the Depression. Rather, it was largely pre-determined by order of Parliament in 1928. As regards Ukrainians specifically, the diminution of immigration in the 1930's was further affected by Polish-Canadian shipping disputes.
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To My Grandparents

For their courage, faith and perseverance.
INTRODUCTION

Ukrainian immigration to Canada in the inter-war period is not well understood. This reflects a lack of attention not only to Ukrainian immigration during this period but also to the general field of immigration and Canadian immigration policy between the two wars. A general impression persists that immigration to Canada after the Great War was simply an extension of the massive influx which began before the turn of the century - possibly diminished in numbers but nonetheless similar in nature. Associated with this general impression is the corresponding view that the descending gloom of the Great Depression brought the movement of immigrants to Canada to a halt. Although these characterizations contain an element of truth they, by themselves, portray an incomplete picture.

Canadian historians have tended, as a group, to be preoccupied with the early years of Western settlement and have only recently begun to turn their attention to the inter-war period. A few writers, including Donald Avery, Harold Troper and Irving Abella, have of late examined specific topics within the larger context of inter-war immigration to Canada. The latter two, for example, have
just published a study on the exclusion of Jews by Canadian immigration policy in the 1930's and 1940's. Avery includes the period in a general review of labour radicalism among foreign arrivals between 1896 and 1932. Troper, in collaboration with Robert Harney, has similarly considered the twenties in a study of immigration to the urban setting of Toronto between 1890 and 1930.

In addition, a great deal of research has been devoted to examining the tensions which arose between British Canadians and various "foreigners" from Central and Eastern Europe. The vehemently anti-immigrant biases of Rev. Wellington Bridgeman and Bishop George Exton Lloyd have received wide coverage, as has the only slightly more dramatic rhetoric of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan. Other aspects surrounding the impact of the new arrivals have also been studied.

Existing published material has quite firmly established the social and political concerns which shaped the evolution and application of inter-war immigration, particularly as it differed from the predominantly economic basis of pre-Great War European settlement in Canada. Unfortunately, however, our knowledge of inter-war immigration remains incomplete.
This is especially true as regards agricultural settlement from Central and Eastern Europe. A considerable vacuum, for example, exists in terms of our appreciation for the symbiotic relationship between the railroads and various ethnic groups which cooperated to encourage and facilitate additional European settlement in Canada. The present study is offered as a small contribution to fill the void of understanding in this area.

Regarding specifically inter-war Ukrainian settlement in Canada, the few existing characterizations portray an incomplete and occasionally misleading impression. Paul Yuzyk, for example, depicts the newcomers who arrived in the twenties and thirties as being "mainly veterans of the Ukrainian armies who had fought for the independence of Ukraine." This was certainly the case for a few hundred of the arrivals but it cannot be projected as a generalization to describe anywhere near a majority of the thousands of Ukrainians who arrived during the period. Michael Marunchak, who has published most of the information so far available on inter-war Ukrainian
immigration to Canada, over-emphasizes the role played by Ukrainian immigrant aid societies in helping settle their fellow nationals. He also gives almost no attention to the proactive involvement of the Canadian railroads in soliciting and settling Ukrainian immigrants on the prairies. Our knowledge in this area, then, has suffered from major deficiencies in detailed, comprehensive research and from partial and often inaccurate coverage.

In actual fact inter-war Ukrainian immigration to Canada occurred under very different circumstances than those which prevailed before the Great War. Continental immigration to Canada in the twenties and thirties was closely monitored and highly selective. Economic and political considerations greatly affected the ebb and flow of immigration. When economic conditions were buoyant acceptable categories of continental immigrants were allowed entry. Conversely, when conditions deteriorated the country's decreasing ability to absorb newcomers resulted in restrictions. The application of restrictions was largely determined by public opinion. Tough economic
times prompted outbursts of racial invective critical of admitting "foreigners" who aggravated the competition for jobs. Fanatics such as Bishop Lloyd of the Anglican Church in Saskatchewan agitated against the admission of continental who diluted the British character of Canada. Others expressed concern that newcomers would drift to the cities and eventually become charges of the public. On the other hand the proponents of immigration – which included the railroads, farm machinery manufacturers, retailers and other business interests – viewed continued continental immigration as a means by which vacant western lands could be brought into production and farmers provided with harvest and year-round farm labourers and domestics. Against this general backdrop politicians and immigration authorities were forced to walk a narrow line, trying to balance the need for additional agricultural manpower and the single-minded criticisms against allowing entry to central and eastern Europeans.

In spite of the various restrictions which prevailed, almost 68,000 Ukrainians settled in Canada in the inter-war era. The vast majority obtained entry as single farm labourers or domestics, and, to a lesser extent, as agricultural families, intending to begin farming on their own in Western Canada. Their arrival can be divided into
three distinct periods.

A relatively small number - about 3,700 - landed in Canada in the first period, between the end of the Great War and the commencement of the Railways' Agreement in September, 1925. Initially, those who came were the wives and children of men who had immigrated to Canada before the War and because of the hostilities in Europe were unable to gain entry into Canada. Canada's preoccupation with reabsorbing her fighting forces, combined with the effects of the post-war depression, precluded the admission of any but direct relatives. By 1923 Canada's economy regained considerable strength and the doors to immigration were opened on a selective basis. All British and American settlers of any occupation were actively encouraged to settle in Canada. Scandinavian and north-western European peoples were similarly free to immigrate to Canada. Only agricultural settlers from the central and eastern European countries, however, were allowed entry and were obliged to go into the manpower-short agricultural industry. A small backlog of Ukrainians desirous of starting life over in Canada were thus able to pass requirements. No mass movement of Ukrainian settlers, however, immediately ensued.
The largest volume of Ukrainian immigrants to come to Canada in the inter-war era landed during the second period which covered the time span in which the Railways' Agreement was in effect. Under the Agreement, which was signed on September 1, 1925, and remained in force until August, 1930, the federal government granted the two railroads the right to solicit and settle in Canada immigrants from the "non-preferred" countries of central and eastern Europe. This concession was advanced on the basis that an insufficient supply of surplus agricultural population was available on the British Isles and in Western Europe. Out of necessity, then, Canada turned again to east central Europe to obtain the agricultural manpower she needed. The Railways' Agreement created a division of labour with the federal government concentrating its efforts on attracting especially British and to a lesser extent West European agricultural immigrants. The Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways received a free hand to operate on the rest of the continent. The railways were to screen prospective emigrants for their occupational suitability and accept responsibility for placing them and keeping them on the land in Western Canada. The railways appointed examining officers in continental countries and began working through central
and eastern European governments to solicit desirable settlers. They also established working relationships with prominent European and American steamship companies to effect transport of these immigrants from Europe to North America. As a result of the active campaign of the railroads, the numbers of continental arrivals skyrocketed. In 1926, the first full year of the Agreement's operation, over 9,000 Ukrainians located in Canada. By 1928 this figure climbed to over 16,000 - briefly reminiscent of the mass waves which characterized the years immediately preceding the War. In total over 55,000 Ukrainians arrived under the Railways' Agreement.

During the third and final period, which covered the time span between the termination of the Railways' Agreement in 1930 and the outbreak of the Second World War, less than 7,000 Ukrainian settlers landed in Canada. This period, which coincided with the years of the Great Depression, was marked by severe economic and climatic conditions in Western Canada. Only those individuals with close blood relatives already in Canada or agricultural families with sufficient capital to begin farming were allowed entry. In addition to Canadian restrictions, the movement of Ukrainians to Canada in this period was adversely affected by shipping disputes between the Polish
and Canadian governments. Although these disputes were never totally resolved, a semblance of agreement was reached by 1935. This agreement - combined with improving economic circumstances and growing anxiety over prospects for another European War - resulted in a modest rise in the volume of arrivals in the late 1930's.

The character of inter-war Ukrainian immigration to Canada was affected by several factors: First and foremost, Canada's manpower requirements dictated a continuing need for farm workers and agricultural settlers. The selective nature of the Canadian policy meant that only those Ukrainians with an agricultural background who intended on remaining in agriculture in Canada were welcome. Educational requirements were put into force at the end of the war making it obligatory for an intending immigrant or family head to have basic literacy in his native language. Minimum capital requirements on landing were established. These were stringently enforced during adverse economic periods. Polish shipping interests affected the flow of Ukrainian out-migration from Europe. And the involvement of the Canadian railroads in soliciting and placing immigrants changed the very process by which prospective settlers
could gain admission to Canada. Finally, the presence of large settlements of Ukrainians across Canada affected the destination of intending immigrants and made their adjustment to Canadian life somewhat easier than their predecessors'. Many Ukrainians already resident in Canada sponsored relatives and friends and accepted applications from total strangers who desired farm employment in Canada. Various benevolent aid societies sprang up hoping to assist their European counterparts to settle in Canada. Several enterprising Ukrainians established independent ticket agencies and real estate companies expecting to profit from the transportation to and settlement in Canada of their fellow nationals. Others were recruited as colonization representatives by the railroads and steamship companies. Still others became commission agents receiving a modest fee for obtaining placement for prospective settlers.

The objective of this thesis is to examine the conditions and circumstances under which Ukrainian immigrants settled in Canada in the inter-war period. This study will examine Ukrainians' reasons for leaving Europe and establishing themselves in Canada; the immigration policies of the Polish and Canadian governments which determined the parameters under which the
movement took place; the involvement of the railroads in selecting and placing arrivals and the role of Ukrainian organizations in assisting the settlement of their fellow nationals.

This study is largely based on primary documentary materials. The records of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, available at the Public Archives of Canada, were indispensable in providing detailed information on the framing and implementation of Canadian immigration regulations. They contain extensive collections of the papers of departmental officials and politicians and also correspondence with the railways and foreign government representatives. The Devlin Papers, the immigration-related collection of the Canadian National Railway, are also housed at the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa. This collection was extremely valuable in providing not only general policy information but also specific reports and correspondence of departmental officials and Ukrainian representatives employed by the company. The immigration records of the Canadian Pacific Railway have unfortunately not been preserved fully intact. The Glenbow-Alberta Institute in Calgary retains a considerable store of C.P.R. collections from the Departments of Natural Resources and Colonization and Development. These
records are not fully complete but do contain annual and district reports covering several years during this period. The C.P.R. Archives at Windsor Station in Montreal similarly house policy minutes, a collection of publications and speech materials of the company but only spotty correspondence files. The Archives of the St. Raphael Ukrainian Immigrants Welfare Association and the Ivan Bobersky Archives were both useful sources. They are housed at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg. To round out day-to-day specifics, several weekly Ukrainian newspapers from the inter-war period proved helpful as did major Canadian newspapers. Further work in the area of inter-war Ukrainian immigration should be done from the European perspective. Further study of the immigration activities of the Polish government in the twenties and thirties and the posture of various steamship companies would add valuable additional insight into this subject.
FOOTNOTES


CHAPTER I: BACKGROUND

Any discussion of the immigration of large numbers of people must begin with a review of the background circumstances which caused them to leave their native country, the policies of the host society which determined their admissibility and other relevant factors which affected where and by what avenues they settled. This chapter will examine three background areas which combined to determine the eventual flow of inter-war Ukrainian immigration to Canada. First, the policy framework and manpower requirements which affected the numbers and types of Ukrainian settlers who were deemed admissible. Second, the pre-war settlement patterns of Ukrainians and their suitability to meet inter-war Canadian manpower requirements. Third, the circumstances which caused Ukrainians to leave their homeland and begin a new life in Western Canada.

The framework in which immigration policy was developed after the Great War was very different from that which prevailed before 1914. By that year at least a start had been made in settlement across most of the prairies. Railroad branch lines had extended their reach
into even sparsely settled territories. Towns and villages had sprung up to supply the commercial needs of the agricultural economy. Massive public works projects had been undertaken by all levels of government, responding to the needs of a quickly growing population. Banking institutions and service industries had begun their appearance. A network of wholesale and retail trade had been developed. And various mining, manufacturing and industrial projects had been established at various points across Western Canada. By the outbreak of the Great War, then, many of the projects requiring massive injections of capital and the participation of thousands of unskilled labourers were well on their way to completion.

The focus of Canada's economic activities after the War shifted away from its preoccupation with western development. The expanding opportunities of the 1920's lay in mining, forestry, hydro-electric development and manufacturing. The new areas of burgeoning growth were centered in the central provinces. Manufacturers greatly increased in numbers, size and output. Hydro-electric developments more than doubled the nation's power-producing capacity by the end of the decade. And new mining developments were launched, based on extracting the mineral
wealth of the Canadian Shield.

Canada's growing industrial orientation, hastened by the war, produced changes in her manpower requirements. Substantial growth had been recorded in the size of the skilled labour force and in the number of white collar jobs requiring education or training. These changing trends were reflected in new immigration policies. Immigration regulations became more selective and care was taken not to let in more immigrants than the country could absorb. Large influxes of unskilled labourers before the war, for example, had caused concern to municipalities who were charged with providing welfare services to those unable or unwilling to find jobs.

The general flow of immigration in the inter-war period, then, was tailored to prevailing manpower requirements and adjusted according to economic circumstances. When conditions were prosperous, desirable types of immigrants were admitted; when economic downturns occurred, movements of various categories were curtailed. As a result, the volume of immigration into Canada in the inter-war period was considerably below the record levels achieved before 1914. Moreover, the relative importance of immigration as a pillar of Canada's economic prosperity was diminished, supplanted by the economic activities
associated with the new industrialization.

There remained, however, a very real need for immigrants. Again, as before the war, this need was centered on the prairie provinces and focused on the need for agricultural settlers to bring remaining vacant lands into production and swell the levels of agricultural output. In addition to actual settlers, a new need for agricultural workers and domestics was emerging, reflecting the maturing state of prairie agriculture. The extent to which it was maturing is indicated by the increasing size of the farm unit which surpassed two quarter sections in 1921, and the impressive rise in productive output registered between 1911 and 1921. Over that time span the number of farming units grew by only twenty percent. Yet, in 1911, of 57.7 million acres bought or homesteaded, 23.0 million were classed as improved and only 17.7 million acres were in crop. A decade later, 87.9 million acres were settled; 44.9 million of which were improved and almost 32.2 million acres actually under crop. (source)

Along with increasing acreage, farming techniques and practices were changing. Subsistence agriculture which characterized the early pioneer years was quickly being
replaced by the need to expand production to meet rapidly expanding markets. The gasoline tractor was beginning to make an appearance but the steam engine and teams of horses supplied much of the power which drove the mixed-farming operations which prevailed. Large crews of farm workers were required, especially during the peak seeding, haying and harvest periods. Many larger farms retained agricultural workers year round while medium and smaller operations sought labourers especially in the fall to help with cutting, stooking and threshing the grain. Along with this need for farm labourers came a corresponding need for domestics. Many farm wives hired neighbour girls or young female immigrants to help with the gardening, canning, preserving, food preparation and laundry work which went hand in hand with the existence of large work crews and large families.

Prior to the war the need for seasonal farm labourers was met by employing settlers seeking work to augment their incomes, migrant workers from Eastern Canada or newly-arrived immigrants looking for immediate employment. Because of the war, however, the manpower potential of the prairies was drained to a significant degree. The post-war growth in manufacturing and industrial projects in central Canada also drew away many young people. The
promise of good pay and security proved too powerful an attraction to avoid a regional shift in population.

By the early 1920's many farmers found it extremely difficult to attract and hold farm labourers. Responding to the situation, the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1922 initiated a practice of bringing in large numbers of British harvest workers in the fall. Although this move was seen as an appropriate stop gap measure, its effectiveness proved less than satisfactory both in actual numbers supplied and in the lack of farm background and training which characterized most of the would-be harvesters. By the early 1920's, then, the pressing need for suitable farm workers surfaced as a central concern of the prairie region.

Another pressing concern which emerged in the post-war period was the need to fill large tracts of unoccupied lands scattered across the prairies. Although a start at settlement work had been made in virtually all habitable areas, large areas remained unoccupied. Thousands of homesteads, for example, were still available, particularly along the northern edge of the prairies. In 1921 over 190,000 homesteads remained unclaimed representing an additional agricultural potential of thirty million acres.
Over 100,000 claims were concentrated in the Athabasca, Grande Prairie and Peace River districts of northern Alberta. The northern fringe of the Saskatchewan park-lands held an additional 40,000 claims while north-western Manitoba and the Inter-Lake region held about 34,000 homestead claims. Although some of these lands were easily accessible, most lay remote from existing or even proposed branch lines. The largest concentration of homesteads in the Peace River bloc, for instance, did not receive a railroad connection until the end of the 1920's. These homesteads, as before the war, were available for a $10.00 registration fee with the patent transferred to the occupant after minimum requirements of residence and acreage cleared were met. Lands in this category, as attractive as they were in terms of initial price, took years to clear and bring into production. Moreover, the lack of ready transportation facilities increased the burden of a prospective settler in getting his product to market. Thus, although many homesteads within reach of railroad branch lines were ultimately taken up in the twenties and thirties, the settlers who registered these claims were largely new arrivals with insufficient capital to purchase even minimally improved farms in areas more accessible to transportation facilities.
Of greater importance, then, for those concerned with settlement work was the existence of many thousands of farms interspersed through settled areas which remained unoccupied and undeveloped. These had been bought from the allotment of the railroad land grants or received through homestead patent. Many of the original settlers, however, had been drawn away by more attractive opportunities. Some could not tolerate the hardships of a pioneer life while others found their lands to be too poor in quality to provide an acceptable standard of living. Some took up lands with the sole intention of holding and reselling them for a handsome profit when the surrounding districts were fully settled. Others who made an initial start mortgaged their holdings for whatever they could get and abandoned their land to a mortgage company. In some areas as many as a third of farms remained undeveloped and held for speculation. The critical nature of this problem is underlined by the results of a 1922 survey which showed an astonishing 34 million acres of unoccupied or vacant lands within fifteen miles of existing railroads on the prairies.

This situation threatened the continued prosperity of the prairie region. To a large extent much of the railroad extension and capital assembly which occurred before the
war was out of proportion to what existing agricultural settlement and production levels could reasonably be expected to support. The magnitude of many projects was often determined with a view to speculation. In other cases a legitimate concern for supplying the needs of a growing population resulted in corporations and municipal bodies basing investment decisions on anticipated levels of settlement rather than current ones. The results were potentially disastrous as the termination of immigration in 1914 was soon to illustrate. Many public works projects, for example, could not be financed without continued population growth. Similarly, hundreds of businesses established on the basis of anticipated volumes of trade faced bankruptcy. Perhaps most important, hundreds of miles of railroad branch lines had been built beyond the limits of the settlement frontier. As a result the population on which Canadian railroad business depended was the least densely-settled of any similar area in the world. Severe retrenchment or cessation of immigration at the beginning of the war was only forestalled by the need to supply the war effort. Increased seeded crop acreage and inflated farm product prices produced a continuing, though artificial, level of prosperity. With the conclusion of hostilities, however, the renewed need for further settlement and colonization
became obvious. Only more extensive settlement and increased productivity levels could provide the sturdy base needed to support and sustain the infrastructure already in place.

With the end of the war, Canada's first priority was reabsorbing her returning soldiers into the economic life of the nation. Veterans were encouraged to settle on the land, taking up unclaimed or abandoned homesteads. Although some progress in this regard was made under prevailing agricultural prices, the economic recession which struck in the latter half of 1920 put an end to these activities. For the time being further settlement work and any contemplation of renewed immigration were deferred.

Rising agricultural prices and a general economic upturn in 1923, however, prompted renewed interest in colonization work. In that year the dominion Department of Immigration and Colonization received an active mandate and gained its first full-time Minister since the end of the war, the Honourable J. A. Robb. A new immigration policy, announced in November, 1923, became the basis for admission of immigrants for the remainder of the decade. Visible oriental immigration
was virtually discontinued and only select occupational groups from continental Europe were allowed entry. This new policy was in marked contrast to that which prevailed in the Laurier years when virtually anyone who could afford passage and the homestead registration fee was welcome to come. A central failing of the pre-war policy, however, was that although it contributed to filling prairie lands it also resulted in an indiscriminate influx of thousands of unskilled workers with no intention of farming. These immigrants ultimately drifted from job to job and city to city, aggravating the competition for employment. A small but visible minority predominated in the skid row districts of urban centres. Often they became public charges, prompting the enmity of a large segment of public opinion. By the early nineteen twenties, many Canadians were highly critical of any renewed movement of continentals to the prairies. Critics pointed their fingers at the large bloc settlements of continentals which had formed in the west. Extremists bemoaned the fact that many did not speak English and that they even demanded the expenditure of public monies to perpetuate their foreign tongues in the public school systems. These nativist tensions reached a peak in the nationalistic fervour of the war and were sustained by the severe
economic recession which followed it. This highly critical view of central and east European immigration remained a potent force in the Canadian political arena.

Given this general scenario immigration planners were confronted, on the one hand, with a very real continuing need for farm workers and settlers and, on the other hand, with a highly critical and potentially volatile undercurrent in Canadian public opinion. Aimed at covering middle ground, the 1923 policy was framed as a selective policy in which clear preference was given British immigrants and only needed agricultural classes from the eastern and central European countries were allowed entry. Summarizing the thrust of the new policy, the Minister, the Honourable J. A. Robb, made the following observations:

An adequate immigration policy must recognize that Canada requires increased population, but quality rather than quantity must count; British immigration must hold first place in the program; and the selection of Canada's new settlers must have due regard to physical, industrial and financial fitness and the Dominion's power of absorption. The greatest need is for those able and willing to settle on the land and assist in agricultural development.11

The strong British preference put forward in the 1923 announcement was reinforced by various schemes for providing
assisted passage and help in land settlement to British immigrants desirous of settling in Canada. A variety of programs were put into place effectively lowering the ocean passage for British settlers to as little as £2 or £3. In addition, generous land settlement plans were implemented providing ready-made farms on easy terms along with supervision services and after care. To ensure every possibility of success, British newcomers were also provided with livestock, equipment and technical assistance. A program for attracting and training British juveniles was also established with the hope they would eventually go into farming.12

American immigration, as before the war, was also highly welcomed. Residents of the Republic were seen to share many of the same ideals as Canadians and could easily be incorporated into the mainstream of Canadian economic life. American settlers had flooded into western Canada before the war, settling large tracts of the southern prairies. They practiced many similar farming techniques and were often familiar with dry land farming. Americans, it was hoped, would revive their interest in settlement particularly in Western Canada. United States residents could gain entry, regardless of occupational background, as long as they were in good
mental and physical condition and could satisfy authorities that either a position awaited them or they possessed sufficient funds to guard against indigence. Passports were not required.

Residents of north western Europe were similarly viewed as desirable settlers. They were seen as hard-working and industrious, shared many of the same traditions and democratic precepts and could assimilate with relative ease. For the purposes of the 1923 policy, then, the Scandinavian and western European countries were termed "preferred". Immigrants from these nations were free to gain admittance if they were in good mental and physical health and possessed a passport. They were free to take up whatever employment they wished as long as they brought sufficient funds to support themselves until they found a job. The average ocean fare from these countries ranged around $120.00 and no government-supported assisted passage schemes were provided for residents of the "preferred" countries.

Ukrainian immigrants were covered by the remaining designation included in the policy. The countries of eastern and central Europe were termed "non-preferred". Residents of these countries were characterized as "less
assimilable". The only classes of immigrants allowed entry from the "non-preferred" states were farm workers, domestics and agricultural families wishing to establish their own farms in Canada. Thus, although many Canadians remained concerned over whether continental Europeans could be sufficiently Canadianized, their suitability as agricultural settlers kept the immigration door at least partly opened to them. Their attractiveness as reliable and compliant labourers is illustrated by the following comment of a C.P.R. colonization officer.

They (continentals) will undertake whatever work is available, from hoeing sugar beets, clearing brush, picking stones and weeds in the hot sun, to heavy track work, and other work, which immigrants from Britian and the preferred countries will rarely do if they can help it.\(^{13}\)

Immigrants from the "non-preferred" countries were required to pass physical and mental health requirements as well as an examination to certify occupational suitability. They were to possess a prescribed sum of money on landing in Canada and family heads were required to pass a literacy examination - a requirement initiated in 1919.\(^{14}\) The average ocean fare varied between $120.00 and $140.00 per adult with an additional railway fare of $30.00 to Winnipeg. No special fares or assisted passages applied to continental immigrants. The countries classed as
"non-preferred" included Austria, Hungary, Poland, Roumania, the Baltic States, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and initially Germany.  

Thus, in spite of serious misgivings over the assimilability of continental immigrants, their reputation for back-breaking land clearing and manual labour permitted their admittance after 1923. Although occasional exceptions, covering the admission of clerics and a few professionals, could be made the vast majority of immigrants from the continental countries could not gain entry unless they fulfilled occupational requirements. The preference for British, American and western European peoples resulted in a flurry of activity to foster their settlement in Canada. Very quickly, however, Canada was forced to the realization that insufficient excess agricultural population existed in these areas to fill her needs. By 1925 she was forced to place increasing reliance on attracting agricultural families and farm workers from the "non-preferred" countries. With a renewal of immigration activities, Ukrainians again began to arrive on the prairies. As before the war, they quickly grew to form one of the largest continental groups to enter Canada.
II

The reputation of Ukrainians as submissive, hard-working and persistent farmers and labourers dated to the pre-Great War era. Beginning in 1896 and accelerating in volume, a growing tide of Ukrainian immigrants flowed into Canada – 22,000 in 1913 alone. Over 170,000 Ukrainian settlers arrived in those years, forming the largest east European group admitted. Many arrivals took whatever labouring jobs they could find after landing. Largely unskilled and lacking facility in the English language, they were forced into menial labouring jobs in railroad construction or factory work in the industrial areas of central Canada. The vast majority, however, persisted in going West. Here they took up brush-covered homesteads along the northern prairies. Settling alongside others of their nationality they formed large bloc settlements in a line stretching from southeast Manitoba to east-central Alberta. These settlements served as nuclei for much of the settlement extension which occurred in the 1920's and 1930's. A brief examination of this early settlement throws light on the economic and social conditions which caused such a substantial relocation of Ukrainians to Canada. It also serves to provide the context in which subsequent immigration took place.
The Ukrainians who settled in Canada during the Laurier years originated in eastern Galicia and northern Bukovina in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As a nation of peasants they had tilled the soil for centuries. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, they faced severe overcrowding. They grew increasingly frustrated by the lack of access to educational opportunities and social mobility afforded them by their respective Polish and Roumanian overlords. Largely helpless to change the circumstances under which they existed, many thousands sought a better life for themselves and their children through emigration abroad.

The root cause of the Ukrainians' sad lack of control over their own destiny was their historic inability to sustain an independent Ukrainian state. Lack both of natural defences and a central unifying focus left Ukraine an easy prey to invasion. Consequently Ukrainian territory over the centuries was occupied by a succession of Tatars, Lithuanians, Poles, Russians and Austrians. The Ukrainian ruling classes were assimilated by the invaders and the Ukrainian peasantry forced into serfdom. With the last of the Polish Partitions in 1795, Ukrainian territories were fully parcelled out between the Imperial Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires. The Hapsburgs
assumed control of the Western Ukrainian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina, while the Romanovs completed their accession of the provinces of Greater Ukraine.

The lot of the peasant under the Hapsburg Crown was not an enviable one. Freed from serfdom in 1848, the "liberated" peasants were required to pay heavily for their plots in order to finance indemnity payments. The new freedom, however, did nothing to enhance the economic operation of peasant holdings as large tracts of land remained in private hands or in the possession of the Church or monastic orders. In addition, peasants were required to pay heavily for pasturage and for the use of available woodlots. The land shortage became more and more acute, aggravated by the requirement that family heads divide their holdings among their heirs. This frequently resulted in plots too small to support even their occupants. In some areas, for example, the average land holding was reduced to a mere two or three acres by the 1880's. Peasants who found themselves in such situations were forced to do labour for local landlords or to mortgage their meagre holdings at rates varying from 10% to 25%.

The peasantry, unable to earn an adequate living
from the land, also found its access blocked to alternative means of earning a living. The business establishments in the towns and villages were owned by Poles, Germans and most frequently Jews. Jobs in the civil service were controlled by the Polish or Roumanian elite. Popular education, the only hope for an eventual improvement in social mobility, did not become widespread until the turn of the century. Indeed in 1900 an astounding 49% of the Ukrainian peasantry was illiterate.20 This picture of gloom was completed by the fact that agricultural prices paid to the peasant were suppressed, while the cost of manufactured goods he required such as tools and clothing continued to rise. High taxes and assorted fees imposed added hardship and the compulsory three-year term in the Austrian army caused great resentment among young men in particular.21

By the 1870's, worsening conditions prompted many Ukrainian peasants to seek seasonal work in Prussia, France and Austria in order to augment their incomes.22 In desperation, many were lured by the promise of free passage and land in Brazil. Drawn by shrewd agents who played on their illiteracy and hopeless economic circumstances, many soon found themselves in the interior jungles of Parana province in Brazil. There, instead of
free land, they found themselves hard labourers, doing the work previously done by recently liberated slaves. The American "Open Door" drew many Ukrainians to the Pennsylvania coal fields and the north-eastern industrial centres.23 A few made their way to Minnesota and the Dakotas but the American agricultural frontier was rapidly closing. From America, however, word of abundant free farm lands available in Western Canada quickly spread to Europe.

It should be noted at this point that although conditions for the Ukrainian peasantry under Russian rule were similar, few immigrated to the Western hemisphere. Rather, St. Petersburg directed excess agricultural population from European Russia across the Trans-Siberian to the Green Wedge area on the Russian Pacific. Although a small trickle of Ukrainians from Russia did settle in Canada, the vast majority of arriving Ukrainians originated from Austria-Hungary.24

Although small groups of Ukrainian settlers began arriving in Western Canada in the early 1890's, immigration of more massive proportions did not commence until the spring of 1896. Responsibility for the influx
which occurred lies largely with two men - the Honourable Clifford Sifton who became Minister of the Interior in the newly-elected Laurier government, and Dr. Josef Oleskow, a soils expert and professor at the Agricultural Seminary in Lviv, Galicia.

Dr. Oleskow was associated with the Prosvita or Enlightenment Society in Western Ukraine. The Prosvita, rooted in the populist movement of the 1860's and 1870's, was dedicated to improving the status of the Ukrainian peasant through education and co-operative action and to advancing the national cause. Reports of the misfortunes which befell Ukrainian immigrants seized by "Brazilian Fever" prompted the Prosvita to seek out an alternative destination for Ukrainians wishing to emigrate. Under the auspices of Prosvita, then, Dr. Oleskow toured Canada in 1895, studying conditions and investigating the feasibility of mass settlement on the prairies.25 Dr. Oleskow was favourably impressed by the potential for the agricultural settlement of his countrymen on the prairies. After returning to Lviv he published a pamphlet "O Emigratsii" in which he encouraged his fellow nationals to settle in Canada rather than Brazil. Dr. Oleskow's endorsement, along with the network of support which existed throughout the Prosvita societies, eventually
helped direct thousands of immigrants toward the Canadian prairies.

Dr. Oleskow was determined that the movement of Ukrainian peasants to Canada be as orderly as possible and planned so as to provide every opportunity for successful settlement. He was determined that prospective settlers possess significant capital - $800.00 to $1,000.00 - to become properly established. Oleskow made numerous representations to government officials both in Canada and Austria-Hungary in this regard. He proposed to Imperial officials at Lviv and Vienna that he be granted the sole concession to direct Ukrainian emigration.²⁶ Of Canadian officials he requested that the bonuses paid to steamship companies for attracting immigrants be discontinued and paid to him instead to finance his settlement work. He further suggested the Canadian government consider providing free passage and salaries to Greek Catholic priests so that immigrants would have spiritual comfort and guidance in their difficult transition to a new life.²⁷

Oleskow's ideal colonization scheme, however, did not materialize. The Austrian government took an understandably dim view of a mass exodus of population and capital.²⁸
Polish landlords feared the loss of a cheap source of labour. And the military feared a loss of manpower. Oleskow was not granted his concession. Indeed, efforts were made to curtail mass emigration and the often questionable activities of steamship agents.

For its part, the Canadian government was not well disposed to financing individual private schemes for colonization. Moreover, any thought of assisted passage and government payment to clerics was clearly anathema to Canadian officials. The Department of the Interior did, however, make clear to Oleskow its willingness to receive agricultural immigrants and to aid in settling them on homesteads in the West. As a minor concession, the Department of the Interior, on Oleskow's recommendation, eventually hired a Ukrainian interpreter, Cyril Genik, to direct immigrants from the distribution point of Winnipeg.

An aggressive immigration policy became a priority of the newly elected Laurier government in 1896. The election of the Laurier Liberals coincided with the end of a world economic recession. Agricultural prices were improving and so were farming techniques on the prairies. Moreover, the American settlement frontier was quickly
vanishing. Canada's "Last, Best West" was consequently fast attracting world attention with its settlement opportunities. Clifford Sifton, a prominent westerner who was appointed Minister of the Interior, was determined to sell the potential of the Canadian West around the world. Wide expanses of prairie land lay completely unpeopled. Anxious to speed their development, Sifton reorganized the priorities of his department. Immigration statutes were revised and homestead regulations simplified. A massive immigration service was set up with offices and agents promoting the West's potential across the United States, Great Britain and northwestern Europe.

Promoting the open southern prairies was a relatively easy job. Settlers with capital could purchase railroad lands or previously patented homesteads. These lands were virtually ready for the breaking plow and could rapidly be brought into production. Sifton was especially concerned, however, with luring prospective settlers for the difficult task of developing the northern prairies. Only settlers accustomed to back-breaking labour with extensive experience in agriculture were likely to succeed. Moreover, only settlers with little or no capital to begin with were likely to take up homestead claims in
the wooded, parkland areas and remain on them long enough to bring them into production. Sifton soon found that settlers from traditional sources of supply lacked the requisite attributes. Obliged to turn to east central Europe where excess agricultural population was abundant, Sifton became favourably impressed with the peasant farmers promoted by Oleskow. These "peasant immigrants" from Galicia and Bukovina, he concluded, would make desirable settlers for the northern prairie frontier.30 As a result in 1899 the dominion government granted the North Atlantic Trading Co. a commission for attracting agricultural settlers from central and eastern Europe. A commission of $5.00 was paid per family head and an additional bonus of $2.00 per head was paid for each dependent.31 The volume of immigrants from this area - and Ukrainians in particular - increased dramatically.

Along with the movement of families, many Ukrainian males made the transatlantic journey alone. Among them were many single men, travelling in small groups or accompanying friends or relatives. Many, however, were married men, travelling without their wives and children. Often unable to afford passage for their entire family, they arrived in Canada planning to send for their
dependents when they had saved sufficient funds. Many of these unaccompanied arrivals desired to check out prospects in Canada before pulling up stakes in their native village, while others intended only to make some money and return to the Old Country for good. One consequence of this large movement of unaccompanied men was that many found themselves stranded in Canada with the outbreak of the war, unable either to return to Europe or to send for their families. Some family units, for a variety of reasons, were never reunited.

These unattached men tended to gravitate towards construction work, mining operations and most frequently railroad track work. Just as their farmer counterparts, Ukrainian labourers were similarly viewed as hard-working, perseverant and submissive. This latter quality was a particular asset in the eyes of foremen who were often required to supervise large crews of workers. The extent to which Ukrainians became sought after to do heavy and often poorly paid work is illustrated by the following excerpt from a 1912 letter written by the Vice President and General Manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway to Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, the railroad's president, in Montreal. The official, George Bury, notes that the company was having a difficult time securing a
sufficient supply of Japanese coolies for construction work. As an alternative Bury suggested bringing in several thousand Ukrainians for the 1913 season.

... we should bring in at least ten thousand laborers from Europe and preferably these should be from Galicia and Bukovina. The Galician laborer is the best man we are able to hire now for track work on the plains.32

Bury went on to describe the Ukrainian labourer as more thrifty and less troublesome and turbulent than southern European workers which the company could also obtain.

Environmental conditioning rather than any innate biological traits was responsible for the passive and obedient character of the Ukrainian immigrant labourer. Galicia and Bukovina were only minimally developed from an industrial or commercial point of view. Most immigrants therefore had never worked on large crews and were unsure of how to act. In addition they had been raised in a society where landlords and the Church conditioned them not to question orders. Because of the language barrier many immigrant workers could only understand the most basic and direct orders; when commands were directed at them they quietly complied. Whatever bases underlay the hard-working and submissive generalizations used to describe Ukrainians, they tended to reflect - at least in the early years - a predictable behaviour pattern
common among many recent arrivals. These generalizations, however, served to enhance the newcomer's prospect for employment - even if employment meant a back-breaking, menial job no one else would take.

The character of the Ukrainian immigration to Canada before the Great War was affected both by the type of settlers who emigrated and the condition of the homestead lands available for settlement. Dr. Oleskow's cautioning about the amount of capital intending immigrants should possess went unheeded. Confronted by seemingly desperate circumstances, thousands of settlers with little more than passage money made the long trek to the Canadian prairies.33 Many who settled on marginal homesteads struggled for years to develop them to a point where they would yield an adequate standard of living. More often than not the husband was forced to seek seasonal work in bush camps or on the railroads in order to help meet his family's basic needs.34 Many who opted for unskilled jobs on arrival, remained in menial positions for years. In the final analysis, then, Ukrainians began their life in Canada at the bottom rung of the social ladder. This was partly a function of their lack of skills and capital on landing. The primary determinant
of this situation, however, was that Canada's nation builders saw in Ukrainians a source of cheap labour and perseverant frontier farmers. More often than not these immigrants found themselves no better off materially than their counterparts who remained in the Old Country. For most, however, the hope that life might be better for their children - if not eventually for themselves - kept them going. In Galicia there had been little to hope for.

III

The original circumstances which caused Ukrainians to leave their homeland before 1914 were aggravated by the destruction and dislocation of the Great War and further complicated by the new political alignment which emerged by 1921. The hostilities associated with the Great War and the civil war which followed caused death, destruction and severe hardship across central and eastern Europe. Tens of thousands of Ukrainians perished either as a direct result of the fighting or from the disease and epidemics which subsequently swept Europe. Many others who survived physically saw their source of livelihood destroyed in the cataclysm. Hundreds of villages lay in complete ruin, buildings destroyed, livestock requisitioned or stolen, crops
burnt or trampled. For Ukrainians the task of beginning anew was complicated by new political conditions in which they found themselves scattered across the borders of four newly created states. Efforts at reconstruction were hampered by racial tensions between Ukrainians and their new masters and were further affected by the consequences of the unsuccessful attempt to achieve an independent Ukrainian state in Europe.

With the collapse of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires at the war's end, Ukrainians seized the opportunity for self-determination. First in Russian Ukraine, and then in Western Ukraine, declarations of autonomy and then full independence were made. In January, 1919, the independence of a unified Ukrainian state including both geographic regions was declared. The backdrop to these bold assertions, however, was one of disintegrating civil authority as the former imperial government apparatus disappeared. The new Ukrainian Republic's attempts to assert its own authority were frustrated by its lack of success at repelling invading Soviet, Polish and White Russian armies, equally bent on gaining control over Ukrainian territories. Although it mounted a spirited defence, the Ukrainian National Republic was not sufficiently strong to fend off several attackers at
once. By 1921 Ukraine had lost the military fight to preserve her statehood. The Soviet Union consolidated its control over most of Greater Ukraine. Poland, reborn after over a century under foreign domination, assumed effective control over East Galicia, adding Kholm, Polissia and Western Volynia, previously held by Tsarist Russia. Roumania forcibly annexed Bukovina and Bessarabia while the progressive democracy of Czechoslovakia gained control of the small mountain territory of Carpatho Ukraine.

The new territorial alignment, which was largely in place by 1921, was not formalized until 1923 when the Council of Ambassadors granted Poland control over East Galicia. Up to that point Ukrainians in Poland and many who had established themselves in emigré communities in Prague, Vienna, Berlin, Paris and elsewhere in Western Europe had made repeated appeals to the League of Nations and numerous foreign governments. These appeals attempted to underline continued Polish oppression of Ukrainians in East Galicia and impress upon them the case for Ukraine's independence. In these efforts Ukrainians received the moral, political and financial support of their compatriots in Canada, the United States, South America and Western Europe. In
the final analysis, however, the Allied Powers chose a policy of containing the new Soviet state by erecting a "cordon sanitaire", a string of large buffer states which would theoretically prevent the extension of Bolshevik influence westward or German influence eastward. As a result, Western Ukrainians found themselves scattered about, acting as padding to strengthen these buffer states. This decision by the Allied powers, however, sowed the seeds of future dissension between Ukrainians and their new masters and added increased impetus to renewed interest in emigration.

It should be noted that when domestic conditions stabilized to the point where orderly emigration was again possible, the bulk of Ukrainians leaving Europe for Canada originated, as before the war, in the Western Ukrainian provinces. Galicia, with the largest Ukrainian population outside the Soviet Union, provided most of the new settlers. Bukovina, Bessarabia, Volynia, Polissia and Kholm yielded most of the remainder. Small groups of settlers were also forthcoming from Ukrainian emigré communities in Vienna, Prague and other centres in Western Europe. Some relocations also took place from Ukrainian agricultural communities previously established in Yugoslavia and South America. Again, relatively few
immigrants were allowed to leave Russian territories. A small number of settlers successfully obtained clearance to emigrate but were not allowed to take possessions with them. An undetermined number fled to neighbouring Volynia or Bessarabia and subsequently relocated abroad. For the most part, the new Soviet régime continued the Tsarist policy of relocating excess population for internal colonization purposes.39

The new buffer states of Poland and Roumania were consisted largely as multi-national states. Ukrainians formed the largest national minority in Poland and constituted one of the larger minority groups under Roumanian domination. Both countries were characterized by right-wing, chauvinistic regimes which sought to bolster the domestic status of their dominant population even to the point of totally alienating their minorities. Buoyed by unbridled nationalistic zeal, and promoted by respective Roman Catholic and Roumanian Orthodox hierarchies, both governments undertook a policy of systematically assimilating their minority groups.

About seven million Ukrainians lived under Polish rule, forming a quarter of the country's population and constituting its largest minority.40 Yet instead of
trying to gain their allegiance and co-operation, the Warsaw government, dominated by Marshal Josef Pilsudski, undertook to subjugate them through political suppression, economic impoverishment and outright cultural assimilation. During the initial occupation of Galicia, for example, Polish forces destroyed dozens of Ukrainian villages and physically intimidated their residents. Hundreds of soldiers, students, political and cultural leaders were imprisoned. Ukrainian newspapers and cultural organizations were closely monitored. Even the hierarchy of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church was not immune to arrest and harassment. Polish legionaries and disabled veterans were moved into Galicia as colonists. Ukrainian educational concessions and Ukrainian departments at the University of Lviv – granted under the Hapsburgs – were withdrawn.

Ukrainians formed over 91 percent of the population in East Galicia. They constituted the vast majority of the agricultural class, earning their existence off very small plots of land. Large estates continued to dominate Polish agriculture. At the beginning of the 1920's one percent of these estates controlled over 43% of the arable land in Poland. In contrast, 65% of Poland's farmers owned only 15% of the land. In East Galicia
this lop-sided situation was further aggravated by the fact that Poles predominated in the land owning class, while Ukrainians formed the bulk of the peasantry. Extremely overcrowded conditions were somewhat eased by massive emigration in the pre-war years. The war itself served as a brutal means of population control and the start of extensive industrialization also did its share in drawing off excess population. In most areas, however, overcrowded conditions remained an ever-present fact of life.

Polish agricultural policies exacerbated the domestic position of Ukrainians and proved a compelling reason for renewed emigration. Although efforts were made to redistribute large estates and church lands, Ukrainian peasants were largely excluded and were unable to expand their holdings by this means. In a "land reform" in 1925, for example, several private estates and lands previously held by the Orthodox Church were opened for colonization. Rather than directing these lands to the indigenous Ukrainian population, 300,000 Polish colonists were brought into the region obtaining some 800,000 hectares of newly-opened lands. The depressed and overcrowded state of Ukrainian agriculture was dealt a further blow by natural disasters. In the fall of 1927 prolonged
rains caused flooding conditions over large areas of Galicia and Bukovina. The incessant torrents caused rivers to overflow their banks and flood the surrounding countryside. Roads were washed out and communication systems knocked out of service. Dozens of villages were flooded and farms devastated. Hundreds lost their lives in the floods and the whole region suffered economically as livestock was drowned and unharvested crops and orchards destroyed. Again, many thousands of Ukrainians witnessed their livelihood destroyed and faced the need either to rebuild or to emigrate.

Altering the education system was the central means adopted by the Poles to enforce cultural assimilation. Directing their efforts at Polonizing youthful Ukrainians, the Polish government moved to shut down Ukrainian schools and replace them with Polish or ostensibly "bilingual" Polish-Ukrainian schools. Ukrainian teachers were often fired outright or transferred to predominantly Polish areas. As a result the number of exclusively Ukrainian schools dropped from a high of 2,500 in 1915 to a low of 350 by 1938. In an area where Ukrainians formed a convincing majority, their schools were replaced by 5,000 Polish or Polish-Ukrainian schools. In Western Volynia the proportion of Ukrainian schools to
Polish became even more distorted, again despite the fact that Ukrainians predominated.

The oppression of occupying Poles caused great resentment among the Ukrainian population in East Galicia. In an effort to raise a popular defense force, the Ukrainian Military Organization was founded in 1920 by Colonel Evhen Konovalets. Composed largely of Ukrainian war veterans and radical students, the organization took on an increasingly uncompromising posture against the Poles and Roumanians. Although a large bloc of Ukrainian parliamentarians in Galicia sought a conciliatory approach towards dealing with the Poles, the Ukrainian Military Organization viewed Polish occupation as unlawful and pledged itself to active resistance. 47 Politically, the organization promoted revisionism, hoping to force the creation of an independent Ukrainian state through altering the entire European political status quo. The organization gradually adopted the tenets of right wing integral nationalism and became more aggressive in its approach. 48 In 1929 it was reorganized as the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) and undertook an active campaign of underground violence against Polish colonists and political figures. The tension which prevailed among these groups, it should be noted, was further exacerbated by the arbitrary powers granted local Polish authorities in the "strategic" zones adjacent to the Soviet border.
Racial tensions between the Poles and Ukrainians in East Galicia became increasingly acute as both sides dug in, determined their point of view would prevail. Continued O.U.N. raids against Polish landlords, however, became the pretext for the infamous "pacification" of the Ukrainian countryside from September to November, 1930. Polish army and police forces were sent out of Lviv destroying surrounding villages, burning crops and houses, tearing down co-operative stores and beating and torturing residents including numerous municipal officials and even priests. The indiscriminate terror applied against Ukrainians attracted international press coverage and brought Polish treatment of her minorities to the attention of the League of Nations.

The extent of Polish atrocities is indicated by the following account by Mary Sheepshanks, head of the Women's International League at Geneva. Miss Sheepshanks toured East Galicia in the fall of 1930 and recorded the methods used by the Poles in their pacificatory expeditions.

In some cases the attack on the village was made by cavalry, in others by police squads; the time chosen was generally night; the village was surrounded, machine-guns set up. Some soldiers were detailed to levy contributions in live stock, grain, and sometimes cash from each household. Others
forced the villagers to wreck their reading-room, library and co-operative store, and for these operations they were not allowed tools but had to use their hands, which were often torn and bleeding, in fact used to the bone. They were then made to sign a declaration that they had carried out the demolition of their own free will. A third detachment rounded up the leading men of the village, especially the keeper of the co-operative store, the custodian of the reading-room, and others, including the school master and the priest. These men were then driven into a barn, stripped, held down, and beaten with the thick sticks used for threshing. The beating was continued till the men lost consciousness; they then had cold water poured over them and the beating was resumed. Very often 200 or 300 blows were inflicted, so that the flesh was horribly torn, and in the case of the men we saw the wounds were still unhealed and raw after two months. In many cases bones were broken, in some cases death ensued.50

A correspondent of the Chicago Daily News also toured the region and described the treatment accorded Ukrainians by their pacifiers. In one account he described the condition and treatment of several victims at a makeshift hospital in a Greek Catholic church in Lviv. Most had been severely beaten and were denied medical attention.

... I saw eleven peasants in such a state that I could hardly bear to look at them. Their buttocks had been beaten to a pulp. Some of them had been lying there five weeks, attended by the kindly nuns. Bandages were removed, showing raw red septic sores some six inches in diameter that it seemed nothing
less than extensive skin grafting could ever make whole again. They were merely a few from the hundreds of villages that had been "visited" by the soldiery. One man of sixty-two told me how the cavalry had ridden into his village, driving the peasants before them like cattle. The peasants had been herded into a shed where twenty of the males were laid across planks and flogged with heavy sticks. When a man fainted he was revived by dashing cold water upon him - and flogged again. Fifty other peasants were coming to this hospital to have wounds treated. Hundreds of others lay in far villages, unable to receive medical attention as the Ukrainian doctors who tried to get out to them were arrested. This is a matter of fact.

It is also a fact that not one of these people had a single charge against them. They had merely been "pacified" by the Poles.51

This brutal "pacification" came to an end in late November 1930. For the duration of the 1930's the Poles refrained from using such open and violent tactics. For the remainder of the inter-war period little more than an uneasy co-existence marked official relations between the Poles and Ukrainians. Although extreme in degree, the pacification example illustrates the deep divisions and racial tensions which existed in inter-war Poland. Polish treatment of her Ukrainian minority served as a contributory factor heightening continued interest in emigration.

Conditions in the nearby Polish possessions of Volynia, Polissia and Kholm tended to be somewhat less volatile as
Ukrainian national consciousness there had not grown to the levels exhibited in East Galicia. The position of Ukrainians in these areas, however, was complicated by the predominance of the Orthodox religion in these former Russian possessions. Throughout the inter-war period the Orthodox Church was harassed and attempts made to convert its adherents to Catholicism. The height of this effort was reached in 1938 when bands of Poles destroyed many dozens of Orthodox churches in the Kholm region and the Polish government moved to transfer those which remained to the Roman Catholic church. This move deprived Ukrainians in the area of centres for cultural and social gatherings, as well as religious facilities.

Ukrainian inter-war life in the Roumanian territories of Bukovina and Bessarabia was economically depressed and culturally barren. The Roumanian government under King Carol undertook a program of assimilation even more flagrant than that pursued by Pilsudski. Roumanian was the only nationality recognized and Ukrainians, who numbered under a million, were declared Roumanians who had simply "forgotten" their Roumanian heritage. Here too land redistributions were launched beginning almost immediately after the initial
occupation of the region. Roumanian war veterans and disabled soldiers were brought in to colonize the former Austrian possession of Bukovina and the previously Tsarist territory of Bessarabia.\textsuperscript{53} This move, calculated to consolidate Roumanian control, caused bitter local resentment among the Ukrainian population which faced extremely overcrowded conditions.

Martial law existed in Roumania for most of the 1920's. No open Ukrainian political activity was allowed outside of a small pro-Roumanian group with no popular following. Intellectuals were harassed by waves of arrests and Ukrainian cultural organizations were forced to close their doors. Again, as in Poland, a flagrant effort was made to assimilate the minority population through enforcing Roumanian on school-aged children. Ukrainian schools, which had numbered in excess of 200 in 1914, faced closures. By 1923 half as many Ukrainian students were being taught in their own language as compared to a decade earlier. By the end of 1924 Ukrainian public and private schools were closed out completely and their students forced into Roumanian schools.\textsuperscript{54} Ukrainian gymnasia, or high schools, were closed, as were the two Ukrainian teachers' seminaries. Religion, too, became an instrument of assimilation.
The Ukrainian Orthodox Church which before the war had enjoyed equal rights with its Roumanian counterpart was forcibly incorporated under the Roumanian hierarchy. By 1924 even the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Chernivtsi, capital of the region, was closed. The program of Roumanization was rounded out by a ban on Ukrainian co-operative organizations and credit unions. Thus, Ukrainian life in Bukovina, which even before the war was less advanced culturally than in Galicia, was even more harshly affected by oppressive actions of the Roumanian government. There was some sympathy among Bukovinian Ukrainians for O.U.N. incursions into the area, but again, the answer for many was beginning a new life abroad.

The only bright spot in Western Ukrainian lands during the inter-war period was Carpatho Ukraine, a small mountain territory which was incorporated by the new Czechoslovak state. The area, which comprised of less than half a million inhabitants, was culturally the most backward of all Ukrainian territories at the beginning of the inter-war period. Severe agricultural overcrowding in the area had prompted a large movement of Ukrainians from the region in the 1880's and 1890's. Many who left from here formed the core of the Ukrainian
community centered around the Pennsylvania coal fields in America. Although initially deprived to a greater extent than their compatriots elsewhere in Europe, Ukrainians in the Sub Carpathian region flourished under the progressive régime of the Prague government. Far from suppressing its minorities, the Czech government promoted their economic, social and political development and provided for a degree of autonomy in its outlying regions. Thus Ukrainians in Carpatho Ukraine enjoyed freedoms and privileges not available to other Western Ukrainians in the twenties and thirties. The city of Prague became an important emigré centre among Ukrainian political and intellectual leaders abroad and the Ukrainian Free University was established there with the financial aid of the Czech government.56

The vast majority of Ukrainians who left Europe in the twenties and thirties were agriculturalists who emigrated to escape overcrowded land conditions and oppressive political régimes. They were joined by small groups of Ukrainian emigrés who were unable to reconcile their political beliefs with those of their Polish and Roumanian masters. Their presence gave inter-war Ukrainian emigration a strong political dimension which had not been as predominant in earlier movements.
By the early 1920's large numbers of Ukrainian war veterans and others connected with the Ukrainian National Republic had established themselves in emigré communities in Vienna, Prague, Berlin, Paris and elsewhere in Europe. With a return to normalized conditions they found themselves denied re-entry into either Poland or Roumania and were forced to remain in exile. Responding to this state of events, several leaders in the emigré communities formed the Western Ukrainian Political Immigration Committee in Vienna in the spring of 1923. The committee appealed to Ukrainian compatriots abroad for finances to help provide shelter and sustenance for many with no source of income. About half eventually gained re-admittance to their homeland. Ultimately, however, many who could not return to their homes remained in Western Europe or chose to begin new lives in Canada or South America and, to a lesser extent, the United States.

The above survey of domestic conditions in inter-war Western Ukrainian territories serves to underline the root causes for renewed emigration in the 1920's. Overcrowded and unable to expand their holdings many Ukrainians were simply unable to subsist by clinging to their small plots. The land distribution policies of the
Poles and Roumanians aggravated the Ukrainians' land shortage and prompted many farmers to seek a new start in Canada or Argentina. The plight of the agriculturally based Ukrainians was further affected by the oppressive social and economic policies of the chauvinistic governments at Warsaw and Bucharest. Faced by overcrowding and severe political and social oppression the choice for most was clear. Some worked towards co-existence by whatever limited political means remained. Others chose to adopt the uncompromising stance of the revolutionary nationalist underground or the communist underground which flourished in regions close to the Soviet border. Many others chose to leave their homeland behind and begin a new life elsewhere.

In total about 200,000 Ukrainians chose this latter alternative during the inter-war period. This figure represents about a third of the massive emigration which occurred between 1870 and 1914. And although over 400,000 Ukrainians had gained entry under the American Open Door before the war, those desirous of immigrating there after the war found the "door" had virtually shut tight. The Quota Laws of 1921, which were further strengthened in 1924 and 1929, severely restricted the
number of central and eastern Europeans admitted. As a result Canada, which received about 68,000 of the migrants, became the single most popular destination for Ukrainians leaving Western Ukrainian territories in the inter-war period. The United States allowed entry to a mere 12,000 Ukrainians, while Argentina admitted about 44,000. A large movement of some 36,000 was directed to France and about 8,000 resettled in Belgium. Although the volume of Ukrainian immigration to Canada in the inter-war period never approached pre-war levels, the rate of immigration in the late 1920's especially became briefly reminiscent of the mass movement associated with the two decades before the Great War.
CHAPTER I: FOOTNOTES

1 Figure cited in Vernon C. Fowke, The National Policy and the Wheat Economy. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959. p.73.

2 Ibid

3 Ibid


6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.


10 Dr. W. J. Black, C.N.R. Director of Colonization and Agriculture. Minutes of the Federal-Provincial Conference on Immigration, Ottawa, Nov. 14 and 15, 1923. op.cit., p.171. Dr. Black indicated that most railroads needed a population of 400 per mile of track to be profitable. This was the level prevailing in the U.S.A. Canada, however, had a little over 300. The prairie region had just over 100 people per mile of track.

12 For a description of these various schemes see Appendix X in Report of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement, 1930. Regina: King's Printer, 1930.


14 Under this requirement an immigrant was expected to be able to read a passage of thirty to forty words in his native language. This literacy requirement did not exist prior to the First World War. See Darcovich, William and Yuzyk, Paul. A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980. p.492.

15 Germany, a recent adversary in the Great War, was initially classified as "non-preferred". In 1927 its designation was changed to "preferred".

16 Darcovich, William/Yuzyk, Paul (eds.) op.cit., p.507.


20 Ibid., p.27.
24 M. H. Marunchak estimates that 97% of pre-war Ukrainian immigrants to Canada originated from lands held by the Hapsburgs while only 3% originated in the Russian Empire. M. H. Marunchak, op.cit., p.22. Among those who left the Russian Empire was a fairly large group of Ukrainian Baptists from the province of Volynia, adjacent to East Galicia, who settled in Manitoba.
25 For a detailed discussion of Dr. Oleskow's visit to Canada and early efforts to promote Ukrainian immigration see V. J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964
26 Ibid. p.89.
27 Ibid. p.69.
28 Ibid. Also see E. Balch in Paul Yuzyk op.cit. p.31.
32 George Bury, Vice President and General Manager, C.P.R. to Sir T. G. Shaughnessy, President. November, 1912. (exact day illegible). CPR Archives, Montreal. Uncatalogued collection.
Of 832 Ukrainian families interviewed by the Woodsworth survey of 1916, 50% had arrived with no capital; 42% had come with less than $500.00 and only 8% had more than $500.00 on arrival. J. S. Woodsworth. Ukrainian Rural Communities: Report of Investigation by The Bureau of Social Research, Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Winnipeg, 1917. (mimeographed copy at Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg).


The Council of Ambassadors made their decision public on March 14, 1923. For details of the announcement and representative Ukrainian reaction see Ukrainian Voice, March 21, 1923.

An example of the lobby undertaken by Ukrainians is illustrated by part of the text of a telegram from representatives of the Western Ukrainian Republic to Georges Clemenceau, President of the Versailles Peace Conference (Canadian Ukrainian, Dec. 17, 1919). The telegram refers to the initial occupation of the Polish army in East Galicia and the treatment accorded Ukrainians:

The Polish Policy of annihilation in the Western Territory of the Ukrainian Republic, East Galicia, started with the first invasion of the Polish army in East Galicia in November, 1918. It seemed at the time that the Poles wished to take advantage of their military preponderance to persecute the Ukrainian 'intelligentsia' and the nationalist peasant, and to destroy the leaders of the national movement. Entire villages were plundered and depopulated by massacres; thousands of Ukrainians were deported and interned in the camps of Polish West Galicia and in the Kingdom of Poland. Even assassination and atrocities were practiced against Ukrainian officers and soldiers who had been taken prisoners. In Lviv the Ukrainians were forbidden to use cyrillic letters in their writing and the Ukrainian newspaper Vpered (Forward) was suspended.

39 A notable exception to this policy was the mass eviction of Mennonites in the 1920's. See J. B. Hedges. op.cit.


41 Canadian Ukrainian. Sept. 19, 1923.


44 Ibid. p. 2.

45 D. Doroshenko; O. W. Gerus (ed.). op.cit. p. 722. Also see Canadian Ukrainian, August 5, 1923.

46 Ibid. p. 721.

47 Ibid. Chapter XXXII.


49 For a graphic description of the "Pacification" see Wasyl Swystun. Ukraine - The Sorest Spot in Europe. Winnipeg: The Ukrainian Information Bureau, 1931.

50 Miss Mary Sheepshanks. Cited in Ibid. p. 16.

D. Doroshenko; O. W. Gerus (ed.) op. cit. p.728.

See Canadian Ukrainian, April 28, 1926; also see Ukrainian Voice, October 22, 1924.


Canadian Ukrainian, April 28, 1926.

See "Czechs and Ukrainians" in Ukrainian Voice, October 22, 1924.

See Canadian Ukrainian, October 10, 1923 and March 5, 1924. Also see Ukrainian Voice, March 5, 1924. The Committee was composed of Dr. Kost Levytsky, Chairman; Dr. R. Perfetsky, Vice-Chairman; H. Mykytiy, Secretary; Ivan Kossar, Treasurer; A. Krushelnetsky, Comptroller; and A. Zhuk and H. Kuritsia, members.


A state of xenophobia seized the American public after 1918, based largely on the fear of mafia and Bolshevik influence gaining a foothold in the United States. As a result, a severe restriction was placed on the numbers of southern and eastern Europeans admissible into the country in 1921. By 1924 this quota was further reduced. In 1929 southern and east European immigration was virtually shut off completely. See Samuel Eliot Morison, The Oxford History of the American People. Vol. III. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972. p.235.

Volodymyr Kubijovič (ed.) op. cit. p.1094.
CHAPTER II  "1919-1925: LAYING THE GROUNDWORK"

Only a very small movement of Ukrainians to Canada occurred between the end of the War and 1925 when the railroads became actively involved in recruiting Ukrainian farmer-immigrants. Although not many settlers were moved up to 1925, events during this period set the stage for the substantially larger movement which occurred under the Railways' Agreement of September 1, 1925. The transportation interests began actively to lobby the government for an increased role in recruiting and handling continental immigrants. Motivated by a desire to sell vacant lands adjacent to their lines, the two railroads began to develop connections among the major ethnic groups and religious denominations settled in the West. Leading Ukrainians were brought into the employ of the railroads and steamship companies as colonization agents and interpreters. Several Ukrainians established modest ticket agencies and real estate firms, hopeful of gaining commissions from an increased volume of traffic and land sales. Private promoters launched grandiose schemes to place large numbers of Ukrainians on the prairies. And Ukrainian church and community groups directed increased attention toward settling their fellow nationals in Canada. A detailed examination of events
in these first years of the inter-war period, then, establishes the motivations and activities of the various actors involved in Ukrainian immigration work. It further establishes the groundwork on which large numbers of immigrants later arrived.

I

The volume of Ukrainian immigration to Canada between the close of the Great War and the mid 1920's was very limited. Up to the end of 1925 only about 3,700 Ukrainians arrived in Canada.¹ During the early years following the war Canada's preoccupation lay with reabsorbing returned soldiers and transforming her domestic life to normalcy. The post-war depression struck with full force by 1921 further forestalling any likelihood of a renewal of immigration which had virtually come to a halt with the outbreak of the war. Agricultural prices fell and unemployment rose. Nativist tensions, which emerged during the War, remained high under adverse economic conditions. Newcomers from foreign lands, particularly those with whom Canada had recently been at war, were admitted only sparingly.

The continuing hostilities in Ukrainian lands after the 1918 Armistice did not deter Ukrainians in Canada
from attempting to bring over dependents, other close relatives or friends. Many Ukrainian men with a wife and children in the Old Country were especially anxious to reunite their families. Ticket agents who as early as mid-1919 approached immigration officials on behalf of Ukrainian clients received the curt response that Canada was not yet in a position to accept immigrants from formerly hostile countries. Mr. F. C. Blair, Secretary of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, answered one such inquiry as follows:

... There is as yet no route by which you can bring natives of Poland and Roumania to Canada. There is a regulation in effect which debars all persons belonging to enemy countries or countries with which we were at war. Until peace is finally concluded with the Central Powers it is not likely that any encouragement will be offered to relatives in Canada to bring their friends here from central European countries.²

Although the Canadian Government was strongly disposed against any new immigration, it reluctantly declared its willingness to allow the completion of family units where the family head was already resident in Canada and in a position to support incoming dependents.³ The Department of Immigration and Colonization formalized and made known its views on family completion by early in 1920. The sponsor, in addition to ensuring his arriving dependents
would not become a public charge, was not to hold anarchist beliefs, a stipulation prompted by the desire to protect Canada from revolutionary influences which swept Europe after the war. Arrivals were to be in good mental and physical condition and were to possess passports with their new nationality clearly indicated. Nationals of Axis countries would be regarded as enemies unless they possessed revised passports. 4 Incoming dependents, or nominees, were required to possess a specific amount of money on landing, this amount being open to revision from time to time. They were required to hold a prepaid ticket to their destination in Canada and be able to demonstrate basic literacy in their native tongue. They too were required not to hold anarchist views or belong to any other organization professing "disbelief in organized government." 5

Any thought of wider encouragement to continental immigration, however, was not to be considered as an official of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway discovered when he proposed to move continental immigrants in as railroad navvies. The following response in January, 1920, by the Secretary of the Department of Immigration and Colonization capsulized the government's policy.
The letter to the railroad official predicted that the dominion government was not likely to look favourably on even "the slightest encouragement" to continental immigration to Canada over the next two or three years.

Were it not for the number of these people now in Canada who have first degree relatives still in Europe, it is quite possible that the bars would be put up and these people would be excluded altogether; however, the wives and minor children of men legally in Canada are admitted somewhat freely, conditional only to such persons being in good health, but so far as general immigration is concerned, we hope the movement will be very small.6

From 1920 to 1922, then, less than 600 Ukrainian immigrants gained admittance to Canada. Most were wives or children of men who had settled in Canada prior to the war. Other near relatives and a small backlog of nominated skilled labourers and professionals rounded out the ranks of Ukrainians admitted in this initial period.7

As economic conditions began to improve in 1923, restrictions were loosened and a small flow of around 800 Ukrainian settlers arrived. In addition to an improving economy, two other factors played a role in increasing the number of arrivals. First, dominion immigration authorities loosened the money requirements
expected of landing immigrants. Instead, occupational tests were applied to assure that only desired agricultural classes were admitted. This change was prompted by the recognition that many European families had had the basis of their livelihood destroyed during the war. Consequently, many potential settlers had the requisite agricultural skills and background for admission but did not have sufficient funds to both pay for passage and have a healthy sum left over on landing. As a result, applicants were more highly scrutinized and virtually none but agricultural families, farm workers and domestics were admitted. The second change which affected the volume of Ukrainian immigrant arrivals was the establishment of Canadian Immigration Offices in Warsaw, Bucharest and Danzig in the spring of 1923. A small backlog of low-capital settlers wanting to obtain clearance to depart for Canada were now able to do so without first leaving the country. Emigrants were now able to receive assurance of their admissibility in Canada in a few locations not too distant from their native village. Although occasional inspectional services had previously been available at Warsaw, most settlers had faced the prospect of travelling overland to Hamburg to obtain inspectional services at a Canadian Immigration office before embarking for Canada. The new change meant that
these arrangements could now be made by emigrants before pulling up stakes and leaving their homeland.

A curious component among the 1923 arrivals was a boat-load of 168 Galicians who arrived in Montreal via Cuba. Lured there by the entreaties of steamship agents, the Galician farm workers found the weather difficult to take and working conditions on the plantations unbearable. These workers were granted entry and took up farm labour or their own farms in Canada. This small contingent's arrival in Canada was the first of a continuing trickle of Ukrainian re-emigration from Cuba and elsewhere in South America throughout the 1920's.

The loosening of restrictions in the spring of 1923 was followed by a formal revision of regulations in November, 1923, when economic stability seemed firmly re-established. The new government policy respecting immigration, however, was very unlike the "Open Door" which prevailed before the war. Rather, the policy, announced by Immigration and Colonization Minister J. A. Robb, was selective in nature. Americans were freely welcome as before. Settlers from the British Isles were given distinct preference and could choose from several assisted passage and settlement schemes
designed to promote their successful establishment on the land. Scandinavian and Western European settlers of all classes were also welcome if they possessed sufficient funds to ensure against becoming charges on the public after arrival. Settlers from the "non-preferred" countries of central and eastern Europe could only gain admittance on a selective basis. Only agricultural families planning to establish themselves in farming or farm labourers and domestic servants sponsored by friends and relatives already in Canada were generally admitted from these countries. Finally, "visible" oriental immigration was virtually eliminated with the exception of direct family completions. Southern Europeans received similar treatment. They were considered unsuitable for settlement in Canada as they tended to prefer the cities, seeking employment in industrial rather than agricultural work.

With the announcement of selective immigration from central and eastern Europe, the way was now clear for an influx of Ukrainian settlers. No influx, however, occurred. The absence of any appreciable Ukrainian in-migration is attributable to the lack of effort put into soliciting their settlement as well as frustrating delays in government approval of applications for admission. At this
point neither the Canadian government nor the railroads and steamship companies were actively involved in recruiting prospective immigrants from the non preferred countries. The Canadian government initially concentrated its efforts at recruitment largely in the British Isles and, to a lesser extent, Western Europe and the United States. The steamship and railroad companies, too, concentrated their efforts at obtaining suitable settlers from these culturally preferred areas. For the 1924 season, then, both the government and the transportation companies aggressively promoted the settlement in Western Canada of farm families and labourers from Britain and the Scandanavian countries. The C.N.R., anxious to find placements for its recruits, even advertised the availability of Scandinavian and other Western European farm workers in Ukrainian weeklies in Winnipeg.12 Rather than an accompanying movement of Ukrainian immigrant-farmers, however, a mere sixty Ukrainians arrived in 1924.13

Although the Canadian government lowered restrictions to allow for renewed continental immigration it did not itself actively pursue prospective immigrants from this source. Unlike the pre-war period, Canadian immigration officials launched no massive advertising campaign to attract central
and eastern Europeans, nor did they offer commission incentives to encourage steamship companies to lure such settlers to Canada. Rather, the Canadian Department of Immigration and Colonization adopted a strictly regulatory policy, regarding the "non preferred" countries, providing inspectional services only to ensure that any who came met minimum entrance requirements. Ukrainian emigrants who applied for visit through Canadian inspectional offices did so completely of their own volition or, at the very most, on the prompting of friends or relatives already in Canada. Initially, intending emigrants were required to fill out an affidavit testifying to their occupational acceptability as agriculturalists. These were replaced by more formal application forms to be approved by the Department of Immigration and Colonization in Ottawa before the immigrant could embark for Canada.14

Thus the extension of inspectional services and lowering of capital requirements by themselves were not sufficient to produce and sustain a continued flow of Ukrainian settlers to Canada. The absence of both an active promotional campaign and any organized network to assist prospective immigrants in obtaining sponsors in Canada, militated against a large in-migration of
settlers. Although agricultural family units now faced lower hurdles in relocating to Canada, many still did not possess sufficient funds - even after disposing of their land, equipment and household effects - to pay for transporting their entire family to Canada. Many family heads therefore desired to travel to Canada on their own with a goal of either making enough money to bring over their families or establishing a rudimentary farming operation before being joined by their families. This avenue, unlike the pre-war period, was no longer available. Unattached men and women could only gain admission on the sponsorship of a friend or relative already resident in Canada and involved in farming. Those without such connections were generally unable to gain admittance. This provision, then, became a central concern among Ukrainians. As the supply of farm labourers diminished in the "preferred" countries, it also became a matter of concern among the various transportation interests who keenly desired a continued influx of settlers.

II

Transportation companies, by land and sea, became early and fervent advocates of renewed immigration to Canada once peace-time conditions returned. The two railroads, and the steamship companies doing business
in Canada, began to rebuild their freight and passenger services and to re-orient themselves to a more stable domestic environment. For both modes of transportation the prospect of renewed passenger and freight movement was a paramount concern.

For Canada's two railroads - the Canadian Pacific, in business since the 1880's and the newly-created Canadian National, a government owned company formed from the defunct Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific lines - the concern for renewed traffic on their lines extended beyond a simple concern for increased fares. Although the movement of people and goods made for economic operation of their lines, the railroads long term interest lay in filling and bringing into production the millions of acres of vacant lands adjacent to their lines in Western Canada. More extensive settlement would result in increased levels of production, hence increased exports. The movement of raw materials out of the prairies and the importation of manufactured goods and machinery into the region would ensure the healthy long-term operation of both systems.

The railroads, however, were not the only organizations concerned with the level of agricultural settlement on the
prairies. By the beginning of the war, the growing recognition that large tracts of undeveloped western lands hampered the continued development of the prairie region had surfaced in many circles. The banks and mortgage companies, transportation interests, farm implement manufacturers and other business interests became increasingly convinced that a comprehensive scheme to gather listings of all these lands and seek colonists to fill them was required. In 1919 these various concerns came together to form the Western Canada Colonization Association with the express objective of settling privately-held non-railroad lands on the prairies. The Association, financed through private subscriptions, initially received an encouraging response. Working on a war chest which quickly exceeded a million dollars the Association launched a determined effort to identify and colonize vacant prairie lands with American and British settlers. Prevailing adverse economic conditions and intrusions by the prairie governments into the operation of the Association caused disillusionment among many of the larger subscribers who subsequently withdrew financial support. Faced with closing down operations unless alternate financing became available the Association, renamed the Canada Colonization Association, was taken over by the Canadian Government,
which financed half its expenses, and the two railroads, which equally shared the remainder. With a continuing lack of success in assembling listings and attracting settlers, the Government withdrew its support at the end of 1923 in favour of establishing its own Land Settlement Branch. The two railroads continued jointly to operate the C.C.A. until the end of 1924 when the C.N.R. too withdrew and established the Canadian National Land Settlement Association, its own subsidiary to promote additional settlement along C.N.R. lines. The C.P.R. agreed to continue the operation of the C.C.A. on a trial basis. The C.P.R./C.C.A. combination proved successful in attracting a large movement of Mennonites from Southern Ukraine as well as German-speaking Lutheran and Catholic immigrants anxious to settle on prairie farms. The C.P.R. thus succeeded in keeping the C.C.A. afloat and eventually incorporated it as a permanent arm for the promotion of settlement of privately-held lands tributary to its lines. Thus, by 1925 when the railways became actively involved in recruiting continental immigrants, both had an organization in place to receive and direct newcomers to private, though frequently little developed, lands along their prairie branch lines.

The railroads, and the C.P.R. in particular, had a
long-standing interest in prairie land settlement. With original railroad construction financed in part through the generous provision of over 25 million acres of the finest prairie land, the C.P.R. stood as the largest landlord in Western Canada after the Dominion government. Until the Great War the C.P.R. concentrated on disposing of these lands to the highest bidder, paying little attention to their eventual development. The growing realization that many of these lands, though bought, remained neglected and undeveloped or held for speculation, resulted in a rethinking of company strategy. In 1916 the company established a separate Department of Colonization and Development directed to the recruitment of settlers initially for company lands and later for both company and private lands adjacent to C.P.R. lines. Chief Commissioner of the Department, which was centered at the C.P.R.'s Montreal headquarters, was Colonel J. S. Dennis, an energetic, effective organizer who had previously served as assistant to the President and had also had experience as a land settlement agent with the Department of the Interior. With the close of hostilities, the new department began to actively solicit settlers from the mid-west and western American states, Britain and Western Europe. In 1922 Dennis also struck a successful working relationship with Mennonite organizations on the
prairies to sponsor thousands of Mennonite settlers from Southern Ukraine to farms in Western Canada.

The Canadian National Railway shared a somewhat similar perspective to the C.P.R. as regards the need for further land settlement but it began its operations from a different starting point. The companies which had originally built lines now held by the C.N.R. had acquired a modest land grant of around four million acres. Preferring to use these lands as collateral on loans, these companies did not develop a strong background in direct settlement work. The newly-created C.N.R. faced numerous financial and technical problems and it was not in a position to establish a Colonization Branch until 1923. When it was created, the Branch was headed by Dr. W. J. Black, a former senior immigration official with the Canadian Government. Like its competitor, the C.N.R.'s Colonization Department was centered at the Company's headquarters in Montreal, with district offices later established in the West. As well as being close to headquarters, it was also in a good position to receive disembarking settlers and direct them westward.

In 1924 the C.N.R.'s Department of Colonization and
Development set up an office in Winnipeg, under the direction of Western Manager Dan Johnson. The Winnipeg office expanded its staff by the end of the year to include representatives of most of the larger ethnic groups settled on the prairies. Fred Taciuk, a Greek Catholic from Manitoba, became the Ukrainian C.N.R. colonization representative at the Winnipeg Office. In 1925 Taciuk was transferred to Edmonton where he became a travelling representative for the subsidiary Canadian National Land Settlement Association. Taciuk was replaced in Winnipeg by Volodislaw Biberovich, Editor of the Canadian Ukrainian, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic weekly newspaper in Western Canada. Biberovich was appointed in charge of the distribution of farm help, steamship business and settlement work among Ukrainians, Germans, Russians and Poles. Biberovich had previously served as the Winnipeg agent for the Scandinavian-American Line, a steamship company which did the vast majority of its transportation business in Canada with the Canadian National Railway.

The Canadian Pacific Railroad was also anxious to profit by cultivating connections with various ethnic and religious groups settled on the prairies. In 1919
the C.P.R. appointed a Ukrainian, S. O. Charambura, as a special colonization agent and directed him to acquire Ukrainian settlers for C.P.R. Pigeon Lake lands west of Wetaskiwin, Alberta. These largely brush-covered lands were made available for sale under the terms of a special brush lands promotion which offered a 20-year payment plan. Brochures advertising these lands were circulated in Ukrainian and ads were placed in Ukrainian weekly newspapers in Canada. Charambura's specific mandate was to campaign among Ukrainians in Montreal, Winnipeg and other urban centres to get them to settle agriculturally. In 1922 the C.P.R. appointed another Ukrainian, Paul Gigejczuk, as a special colonization agent at Winnipeg. Gigejczuk, too, was assigned the task of helping to relocate Ukrainian settlers from cities and from overcrowded bloc settlements onto vacant lands along C.P.R. lines. When immigration regulations were loosened in 1923, these Ukrainian colonization agents were redirected towards interesting additional immigration from the Old Country and obtaining potential placements for farm workers and domestics.

In 1922 the C.P.R. launched a general campaign in Western Canada to mobilize the assistance of various
communities in providing sponsors for new immigrants. H. F. Komor, who was hired as a colonization agent in 1921, began forming local colonization or "welcome boards" on the prairies. Komor visited towns and villages across the west, promoting the idea of establishing local welcoming committees for incoming immigrants with municipal leaders, boards of trade, station agents and other interested individuals. The objective of his visits was to establish local boards which would canvass their respective areas for prospective sponsors for immigrants and/or for placements for farm labourers. An ideal local board would undertake to invite and welcome immigrants and provide prospective settlers with information on local conditions, the availability of farmlands and the prospect for farm or domestic employment. By 1923 around sixty such colonization boards were in operation on the prairies. Many communities did not state a preference for any particular nationality in terms of prospective agricultural workers. As a general rule, however, communities dominated by a particular nationality tended to want to sponsor fellow nationals. Hence, German or Hungarian communities usually sought farm labourers of the same national background or religious bent. Ukrainian communities such as Vegreville, Hafford or Canora, for
example, tended to make parallel requests for Ukrainian
farm workers. This propensity for sponsoring fellow
nationals was strengthened through the 1920's as almost
all major religious and ethnic groups in Western Canada
began organizing their own colonization societies to
foster additional settlement by their fellow countrymen
or co-religionists.

As the supply of British, American and Scandinavian
farm workers began noticeably decreasing through 1924 and
1925, the railroads began focusing increased attention on
obtaining sponsors from continental settlements in the
West. Agents of both railways consequently accelerated
efforts to develop contact with and enlist the support of
leading religious and secular figures among many of the
larger groups.

III

The prospect of renewed immigration from Eastern
Europe produced a flurry of activity among Ukrainian
Canadians themselves. Many civically-minded Ukrainians
and several Ukrainian organizations quickly began
examining ways in which they might assist their fellow
nationals to relocate in Canada. These altruistic
efforts were augmented by the activities of several
individual Ukrainian entrepreneurs who began surveying potential avenues by which they might help their compatriots and also profit from their arrival. Even several non-Ukrainians developed a keen commercial interest in renewed Ukrainian immigration to Canada. We have already seen that the way was cleared for renewed Ukrainian immigration after 1923 but that the government and the transportation companies chose to focus their efforts for attracting additional settlers in Britain and the preferred countries. Although several Ukrainian Canadians proposed organizing a large-scale movement of their European counterparts, these overtures, at least initially, fell on deaf ears.

One of the earliest proposals to stimulate a large, organized movement of Ukrainians to Canada was compiled in late November, 1923. The proposal originated with a three-member Winnipeg group which called itself the Ukrainian Immigration Bureau. The Bureau was headed by Prof. Ivan Bobersky, the representative in Canada of the short-lived Western Ukrainian Republic. Reverend Dr. Eugene Turula, a well known composer, and Dr. Iuris Theodor Datzkiw, a recent arrival from Europe, were the other members of the group. The Bureau planned - based
on the anticipated financial sponsorship of one or other of the railroads - to establish a network of salaried officials throughout Western Ukraine. It also anticipated - again at railroad expense - regularly publishing and distributing 100,000 copies of a pro-immigration tabloid in Galicia, Bukovina, Volynia and Carpatho Ukraine. The organization was to receive a $10,000 start up grant which would be repaid out of commissions earned by the Bureau. Any commissions earned over and above this amount would be split between the members of the Bureau and Ukrainian orphanages in Western Ukraine. In order to effect its plans, the Bureau approached the C.N.R. in January, 1924, and attempted to interest its involvement. Failing to do so, the Bureau turned to the C.P.R. and put to its officials a similar proposition in March, 1924. Again, however, it received an indifferent response. As a result, the Ukrainian Immigration Bureau as an independent entity did not advance beyond the blue-print stage. Its undaunted organizers, however, remained involved and participated in future Ukrainian colonization efforts.

The likelihood of renewed immigration in the 1920's also resulted in the emergence of several private Ukrainian firms devoted to the sale of steamship and
rail passage and the sale of real estate. In Alberta, for example, where most vacant lands were located, several Ukrainians including George Kuzyk, the brothers Jacob and William Hawreliak, Nicholas Ostryzniuk, and former M.L.A. Andrew Shandro began to undertake settlement work. In the spring of 1923 two of these men, Kuzyk and Ostryzniuk, opened a colonization firm in Edmonton called the Dominion Colonization Company. The Company handled passage business with several steamship companies and the Canadian Pacific Railroad. The Company was also a commission land sales agent for C.P.R.-held lands which offered a new purchase plan including no payments on land for the first four years, followed by a mortgage repaid over the next 30 years. The Company, which claimed to have a burgeoning clientele, was, according to the Winnipeg weekly Ukrainian Voice, "growing like a large English Company." Similar firms dotted Ukrainian communities across the West and increased in number with the 1925 inception of the Railways' Agreement. Other early ticket agencies and real estate firms which directed a majority of their work toward Ukrainian customers included Taciuk and Puchalski, Dauphin; Basil Baleshta, Canora; the C. Genik Company, Bankers and Steamship agents; and the Boresky Land Company, both of Winnipeg.
The J. A. Robb announcement of November, 1923, also evoked the humanitarian concerns of several Ukrainian organizations and fostered heightened interest in settlement work from a broad community point of view. In December, 1923, the First Educational-Economic Conference of Ukrainians in Canada decided to embark upon an active role in immigration matters. The conference was organized by adherents of the fledgling Ukrainian Orthodox Church whose leadership consisted largely of the more educated, nationalist element which had broken away from the Greek Catholic Church. The Conference appointed an on-going immigration committee consisting of Wasyl Swystun, one of the leading organizers of the Ukrainian nationalist element in Canada, and Nicholas Bachynsky, Liberal M.L.A. for Fisher Branch in the Manitoba Legislature.36 The conference also laid the groundwork for establishment of the Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Bureau. The Bureau, headed by Taras Ferley, also a former M.L.A. in Manitoba, set out an ambitious list of objectives. Its primary goal was to provide information and assistance - and material aid where necessary - to Ukrainian immigrants desirous of settling in Canada.37 The Bureau was to work with
government agencies and transportation companies to facilitate the transport and settlement on the land of Ukrainians coming to Canada. The Bureau was also conceived of as a central agency for the purchase of steamship and railroad tickets, and a clearing house for information on travel arrangements, availability of farm lands and orders for farm labourers. 38

In the spring of 1924 the Bureau opened its offices at the Ukrainian National home in Winnipeg. 39 Its head, Taras Ferley, launched an active promotional campaign and sought the assistance of government and railway officials in initiating a flow of Ukrainian settlers to the prairies. Although the C.N.R. expressed some interest in working with the more broadly-based Ferley organization, 40 the Bureau, like its predecessor, was forced to close its doors. The lack of an appreciable volume of commission-generating immigration was the central cause of its collapse. With no source of revenue it was not able to finance its basic operating costs let alone its more lofty - though unrealistic - goals of providing material aid to newcomers. In addition, the leadership of the group backing Ferley was scattered across the country. 41 Its efforts in the immigration field were diluted by the competing demands of raising
a new church organization, building new halls and church structures and assembling various auxilliary groups. The Ferley Bureau was also handicapped by its lack of overseas working contacts in the predominantly Greek Catholic province of Galicia and more specifically in the regional capital of Lviv. Thus, after only a very brief existence, the Ukrainian Colonization and Immigration Bureau, the first community-based immigrant aid society organized in the inter-war period, passed out of existence. The leadership of the Bureau continued to exist as a committee and several individual members remained actively involved in colonization work.

Ironically, it was a non-Ukrainian who played the role of catalyst in organizing a more sustained effort in immigration work among Ukrainians themselves. The man was Albert Dubuc, a Winnipeg lawyer and self-interested promoter. Anticipating the profit which could be made through high volumes of transport and real estate commissions, Dubuc threw together a scheme for bringing several thousand Ukrainian settlers to Canada. He successfully attracted the interest and confidence of leading figures in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic community in Western Canada. He also obtained the silent backing of the steamship concern La Compagnie
Générale Transatlantique, generally known as the French Line. With these initial contacts in place, Dubuc proceeded to request dominion government recognition of his scheme and finances to send representatives to Poland to oversee selection of suitable settlers. He downplayed his own commercial interests in the project and attempted to legitimize his scheme by advancing the impression he was little more than an intermediary working on behalf of Bishop Nicetas Budka, the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Canada. He also formally assembled a colonization company consisting of a few Ukrainian members and several lawyers and businessmen from Winnipeg and St. Boniface. Over the course of 1924 his dealings in immigration attracted considerable unfavourable publicity. His scheme, in tangible terms, produced few results. Dubuc's efforts did, nonetheless, serve the function of focusing the attention of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic element on the need for renewed immigration work.

Dubuc began assembling his scheme in January, 1924. He first surveyed potential destinations for settling large numbers of Ukrainian farm families in Canada. Early in the year he contacted Major John Barnett, head of the dominion Soldier Settlement Board, to discuss the possi-
ility of settling Ukrainians on abandoned soldier settlement grants in the Manitoba Inter-Lake region.\textsuperscript{43} He also approached the Colonization Department of the Province of Quebec with a similar objective.\textsuperscript{44} Quebec at the time was launching renewed attempts at obtaining agricultural settlers for rugged farm districts bordering on the Canadian Shield in northern Quebec. Dubuc suggested to Quebec officials that as devoted Catholics, Ukrainian settlers of the Greek rite would make suitable settlers in the Abitibi region and would help enhance the success of Quebec's colonization efforts.

The Quebec government was very receptive to the possible settlement of, as Dubuc claimed, several thousand co-religionists in northern Quebec. In addition to cheap lands, the Quebec government made known its willingness to provide several further incentives to settlement. Roads would be built into newly-settled regions and local settlers would be paid at a rate of $2 a day for helping build them. A bonus of $4 a day an acre would be paid to colonists for clearing the land and government tractors would be made available to assist with the breaking. Settling in a forested belt, colonists might also expect to get woodcutting jobs over the winter months for rates of $50 to $80 per month. They might
in addition expect to have access to abundant local fishing and game hunting. And finally, the Quebec government would, of course, provide for religious training in the schools.45

Dubuc obtained a somewhat more reserved response from Major Barnett as regards the settlement of Ukrainians in the Inter-Lake region of Manitoba. Many soldier land grants in the area had been abandoned by the veterans who who had been placed on them. The Soldier Settlement Board was anxious to obtain new settlers for these lands and was willing to entertain an experimental settlement of Ukrainian immigrants in the area. Barnett issued the condition that any lands so settled should be personally approved by Bishop Budka and that prospective settlers should possess a minimum amount of capital in order to ensure monies for sustenance during the initial pioneering phase.46 Barnett also indicated his willingness to provide the colonists with cows, pigs and chickens in exchange for clearing the land. The motive for these unusual concessions, explained Barnett, was that the Board was unlikely to find any other type of colonists to settle these marginal lands.

We have a great problem in resettling these particular lands on account of the pioneer difficulties involved, and because we cannot
hope to put on them Anglo-Saxons. There is no hope of getting people who have any considerable means to take them up, consequently it became necessary to make the clearing offer payable in cows, chickens, etc., in order that the families settled might have a means of simple living as early as possible. I feel quite sure that Ruthenian peasant people, if selected carefully, with the aid of the Greek priests, can be successfully established to their own advantage, and to the advantage of the Board and the country.47

Armed with some very loose commitments from Major Barnett and Monsieur L. A. Richard, the Quebec Deputy Minister of Colonization, and encouraged by Bishop Budka's interest in the project, Dubuc outlined an ambitious program for bringing 10,000 to 15,000 Ukrainian settlers to Canada in 1924, with further contingents in succeeding years.48 Dubuc detailed his plans in a letter to W. J. Egan, Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization, on February 6, 1924. Dubuc intimated that through Bishop Budka's clerical connections in Europe he would be able to recruit and direct to Canada a large movement of suitable agricultural settlers from East Galicia. More specifically, Dubuc's scheme hinged on the participation of parish priests screening prospective immigrants and determining which met the plan's requirements. In this way, he assured Egan, only occupationally - and politically - acceptable settlers would be secured.
We would work through the clergy and secure from each emigrant a parish priest certificate. His Lordship (Budka) is even keener than we are to get the right kind as the non-farmer is susceptible to Bolshevik influence and this is still more nefarious to the church than to the state. Our whole scheme lies on our exceptional method of selection.49

Dubuc informed Egan that Quebec was willing to accept 500 of his families in 1924. With an average family unit of five to seven members, this would represent a movement of approximately 4,000 people. Dubuc also suggested that Major Barnett had advised him there were approximately 800 abandoned soldier land grants available in the Inter-Lake requiring an additional 6,000 settlers.50 In addition to these specific proposals, Dubuc also noted that there were at least 15,000 Ukrainian men in Canada whose wives and dependents remained in the Old Country. Arrangements would be made, suggested Dubuc, to help reunite these families.

In his initial proposal to the government, Dubuc advised Egan that Bishop Budka felt "we can this year complete at least 2,000 families or 14,000 people."51 Dubuc qualified these projections with his own ostensibly
more professional and cautious estimates. He confessed that he was not sure whether he could deliver as many settlers as the Bishop thought possible, but he was confident that a large field of prospective immigrants was indeed available in Western Ukraine. "There are 5,000 parishes to draw from," he noted, "and if we take only three families from each we should get 15,000 families or 120,000 people." Dubuc further indicated that "favourable arrangements" for transportation had been made, although he did not stipulate what these were. He advised he was in a position to arrange loans to many prospective arrivals; again, however, he avoided offering details of what these included.

Dubuc assured Egan that Polish authorities would co-operate to allow large numbers to emigrate. "The Polish Government wants to get rid of the Ruthenians," asserted Dubuc, "who form a big Ireland (7 million people) in Poland." Dubuc closed his proposal with a request for government assistance in providing medical and civil examiners for prospective emigrants from Poland. He also called for government financing to send two
representatives to Poland, one of whom was preferably to be Albert Dubuc, to select suitable settlers for Canada.\textsuperscript{54}

Egan responded to Dubuc's proposal, indicating the Department was willing to do anything within its means to assist further colonization work in Western Canada. It could not, however, authorize the expenditure of public funds to promote a private "institutional proposition" such as that advanced by Dubuc.\textsuperscript{55}

Dubuc, in an obvious attempt to obtain political intercession, took his case directly to the Honourable J. A. Robb, Minister of Immigration and Colonization. He repeated his proposal to Robb, indicating that Bishop Budka had over 10,000 Ukrainian farmers in Poland "ready to come in this spring."\textsuperscript{56} Dubuc reiterated his request for two representatives to be sent to Poland to supervise selections and ensure against any undesirable settlers coming forth. "The men are willing to come," Dubuc assured the Minister, "and our purpose is only to add to your mode of supervision in order to assure a better class of immigrant."\textsuperscript{57} Dubuc's letter was routinely referred to the Deputy Minister for response. Egan therefore again wrote Dubuc advising
him that the government simply could not provide
monies for any private schemes to attract immigrants.58
He did, however, repeat the government's willingness
to assist either Dubuc or Budka in the actual settlement
on the land of any colonists who came forth.

Failing to receive government sponsorship for his
scheme, Dubuc undertook to go to Europe on his own and
begin the recruitment of settlers. In late March, 1924,
Dubuc advised Egan he was departing for Poland. There
he planned to meet with Metropolitan Andrij Sheptytcky,
primate of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in
Galicia, and other bishops to enlist their support. He
expressed confidence he would succeed in attracting
these clerics' participation and that they would "agree
to advise their priests that no parish priest certificate
shall be granted for our purposes except to farmers,
honest, industrious, hardworkers who are clearly non-
Bolsheviks."59

Before departing Dubuc also petitioned for the
incorporation of his colonization company. To be known
as the Transatlantic Settlement Corporation of Canada,
it was backed by the following individuals in addition
to Dubuc: John Thompson Huggard, barrister, Douglas
Littlejohn, bank manager, Henry Laorte, barrister, all of Winnipeg; and Guillaume Joseph Charette, magistrate and Gustave Arthur Rocan, secretary-treasurer, both of St. Boniface. The petition also included the names of four Ukrainians who were closely connected to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Winnipeg: Joseph Dyk, barrister; Andrew Zaharychuk, medical student; Volodislaus Biberovich, editor of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic weekly Canadian Ukrainian and Prof. Ivan Bobersky, former head of the defunct Ukrainian Immigration Bureau. 60

Dubuc's company, however, was not granted a charter to operate. The Department of Immigration and Colonization was not only unable to sanction any private scheme for bringing in immigrants, 61 it was also becoming increasingly suspicious of and annoyed with Dubuc's antics. Making a routine check into Dubuc's credibility the Department quickly discovered that he had misrepresented and overstated the preliminary commitments given him initially by Major Barnett. As events continued to unfold, the Department received more and more information confirming that Dubuc similarly misconstrued commitments which he alleged were made by others. Major Barnett, for instance, characterized as "exaggerated" Dubuc's claim that he had been granted
clearance to settle 6,000 Ukrainians in the Manitoba Inter-Lake. Rather than so extensive a movement, Barnett had in fact only agreed to an experimental settlement of 100 Ukrainian families in the area. The Government of Quebec confirmed it had authorized Dubuc to settle three or four thousand Ukrainian Catholics in the Abitibi region but that this offer had been made conditional to the federal government supervising the proper selection of these settlers from Europe. In the absence of federally-sponsored recruitment the Government of Quebec reduced its request for Ukrainian colonists to an experimental 200 families for the 1924 season.

Undaunted by the reversals in his fortune Dubuc continued his colonization plans as a private individual. He approached the Canadian National Railway for assistance and also attempted to interest the involvement of several mortgage and land companies. Dubuc's reputation, however, preceded him. Through the summer of 1924 the federal government received numerous inquiries from steamship and mortgage companies wondering at Dubuc's status as a colonization agent. The Department in response, disclaimed any connection with Dubuc other than as an individual citizen interested in immigration from a commercial point of view. Responding to one such
inquiry from a representative of the Robert Reford Steamship Company, F.C. Blair, the Assistant Deputy Minister of the Department, expressed frustration with Dubuc's dealings. "We have had a good deal of trouble trying to correct the statements of Mr. Dubuc," said Blair, "as to his authority for doing everything from paying passage of immigrants to purchasing land for them on arrival."\(^{66}\)

When the approach of winter brought a halt to the arrival of immigrants, all Dubuc's time and energy produced only two families from Poland, consisting of ten people.\(^{67}\) Dubuc, however, persisted in his efforts to obtain European immigrants. Failing in his attempts to organize a movement of Ukrainians from Poland he went on to Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, searching for prospective settlers from any source. In the final analysis, Dubuc's suspect dealings and approach discredited him in the eyes of immigration authorities and the people with whom he dealt. Members of the Winnipeg-based group Dubuc assembled to back his scheme lost confidence in their main promoter and disbanded. Bishop Budka and the Ukrainian members of the group found they were unable to work with Dubuc.\(^{68}\) They were disappointed that the Dubuc Scheme had not proceeded on the basis that
immigrants be allowed to pay half their transportation costs after settling in Canada. This, said Bishop Budka, had been one of the central provisions of the original Dubuc scheme. 69

Capsulizing Dubuc's dealings in immigration matters
F. C. Blair, Assistant Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization, warned department officials to exercise caution in any future dealings with Dubuc.

Mr. Dubuc came to the Department early in the year and, while he was not given any definite promise, he later proceeded to England and the continent and there represented that he had authority to do things that were absolutely contrary to any agreement or arrangement with the Department. As a matter of fact Mr. Dubuc has always been looked upon as a man interested in immigration purely for financial reasons and, while this is not to his discredit in anyway, it explains a great deal. 70

Although the Dubuc scheme yielded only a handful of actual immigrants it was not without valuable side effects. Dubuc succeeded in mobilizing an interest in colonization work among leading individuals in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, the religious body to which the vast majority of Ukrainians in Canada paid allegiance. This interest was harnessed in an organized manner and eventually paid dividends in the formation of the St.
Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrant Welfare Association. Individual Ukrainian members of Dubuc's short-lived company remained actively involved in immigration work and all took positions as agents for railroad or steamship companies promoting further Ukrainian settlement on the prairies. The failure of Dubuc's scheme underlined the weakness inherent in a private colonization scheme which enjoyed neither government sanction nor an organized, effective network of recruitment overseas. These two shortcomings obviously needed to be resolved before a successful colonization scheme could proceed.

IV

The year 1924 proved to be a turning point in the development of an organized effort to stimulate renewed Ukrainian settlement in Western Canada. Despite the obvious failure of private schemes such as the one advanced by Albert Dubuc, several factors converged to focus increased attention on the potential for renewed Ukrainian immigration. The availability of suitable agricultural settlers from the preferred areas began noticeably to diminish. The railroads and steamship companies consequently began to extend their network of offices and promotional activities into central and
eastern Europe. In addition they intensified efforts at recruiting colonization agents and interpreters from among continentals already settled on the prairies. The dominion government, too, undertook to investigate for itself the potential for a new influx of agriculturalists from Western Ukraine. And finally, Ukrainians themselves - on both sides of the Atlantic - undertook to organize community-based aid societies to help direct Ukrainian immigrants to Canada and assist them in their travel and settlement arrangements.

During the 1924 immigration season, dominion immigration authorities and railroad colonization officials began noticing an appreciable levelling off in the numbers of agricultural settlers coming forth from the preferred areas. The British Isles, for example, had little excess agricultural population to offer to begin with. Industrialization absorbed much of what little surplus farming population there was. France and the Low Countries similarly provided only a limited field of suitable agricultural immigrants. With improving world economic conditions a backlog of agricultural immigrants left North West Europe in the early 1920's. After this initial movement, however, the flow of agriculturalists from these areas diminished, replaced
increasingly by semi-skilled or unskilled workers. Even the much hoped for recovery of agricultural immigration from the United States did not materialize. The depression which struck American agriculture at the beginning of the decade persisted through the twenties resulting in only a minimal relocation of American farmers to Canada.\textsuperscript{71} Forecasts for the 1925 season suggested an even smaller movement from the preferred countries, where recruiting efforts had heretofore been concentrated. A shortage of farm workers and domestics appeared inevitable unless alternate sources of agricultural immigrants were developed. The seriousness of the situation was borne out in 1925 when actual declines in numbers of farm workers originating in the preferred countries occurred. The C.N.R., for example, registered a 45 percent decline in Scandinavian immigration.\textsuperscript{72}

The impending shortage of agricultural settlers and farm workers posed an obvious threat to the transportation companies. Fewer arrivals meant cuts in traffic volumes and revenues. Moreover, a decline in the numbers of newcomers meant a concomitant decline in railroad hopes for filling vacant lands along their branch lines and bringing them into production.
Reacting to this threat, then, the railroads began to petition Ottawa for measures to increase immigration from the non-preferred countries, an obvious source of additional agricultural settlers. They also undertook to establish offices in central and eastern Europe and to encourage continentals on the prairies to sponsor friends or relatives in Europe for settlement in Canada. In this regard both the railroads and steamship companies stepped up efforts at attracting the support and active assistance of the major ethnic and religious communities already settled in the West.

As the largest East European group on the prairies, Ukrainians became increasingly sought after as colonization and land settlement agents. Almost every railroad and steamship company attempted to engage well-respected Ukrainian community leaders in order to influence the largest possible volume of business for their company. The C.P.R., for instance, which already employed S. O. Charambura and Paul Gigejczuk as colonization representatives, fleshed out its Ukrainian staff by appointing George Kuzyk and Michael Gowda to its steamship subsidiary, Canadian Pacific SteamShips. Kuzyk, a founder of the Dominion Colonization Company at Edmonton, and Gowda, a former dominion lands administrator, became responsible
for developing Ukrainian traffic on Canadian Pacific's Trans-Atlantic lines. The C.P.R. also intensified its efforts at obtaining sponsors for potential immigrants by expanding its work as regards establishing local contacts and colonization boards in predominantly Ukrainian communities.

The C.N.R., too, increased its efforts in establishing working relations with the Ukrainian community in Western Canada. In addition to appointing Fred Taciuk and Volodislaus Biberovich to its land settlement and colonization branches, the C.N.R. began cultivating ties with Ukrainian community leaders including Bishop Nicetas Budka. Through the summer of 1924 C.N.R. officials worked closely with Joseph Dyk, a Ukrainian lawyer from Winnipeg connected with the Dubuc Scheme, and Basil Baleshta, another Ukrainian notary from Canora, Saskatchewan, attempting to convince the federal government to allow entry of additional groups of Galicians stranded in Cuba.75 Arrangements were made with Ukrainian farmers to sponsor individual Galicians and the Saskatchewan Government agreed to supervise their distribution.76 The federal government, however, harboured serious misgivings over the suitability of these settlers for agricultural settlement and delayed implementation of the plan.
Federal indecision in this matter apparently stemmed from difficulties experienced in directing the 1923 Galician arrivals from Cuba to farm work.

Unlike its competitor, the C.N.R. did not operate its own steamship subsidiary. It therefore attempted to forge ties with steamship companies which competed with the Canadian Pacific lines doing business on the Continent. Passengers on these lines, the C.N.R. hoped, would choose to travel overland on their railroad rather than on C.P.R. lines. The Canadian National would therefore not only profit from a higher volume of incoming settlers and their effects, but it would also gain the opportunity to direct such settlers, via the Canadian National Land Settlement Association, to lands along C.N.R. lines. In the early 1920's the C.N.R. developed close working relations with the British Steamship interests, the Cunard Line. They also developed ties with other lines sailing from Europe to North America. These included the White Star, Red Star, Scandinavia-America, Holland-America and others. In 1924 the C.N.R. urged the Scandinavia-America line to establish an office in Winnipeg where it could solicit business from the prairies and indirectly create further volumes of traffic from which the C.N.R. was likely to benefit. Volodislaus
Biberovich temporarily headed the Winnipeg Bureau before joining the C.N.R.'s colonization department. Biberovich was in turn replaced at the Scandinavia-America line office by Andrew Zaharychuk, a member of the editorial board of Canadian Ukrainian and an associate of Biberovich. As the flow of immigrants from Eastern Europe gradually increased, other SteamShip Companies followed suit and appointed Ukrainians to their foreign traffic departments.

By August, 1924, immigration authorities at Ottawa decided to assess for themselves the potential for renewed immigration from Western Ukraine. With this objective in mind they appointed Joseph Dyk to do an investigatory tour of Galicia to determine the potential volume and quality of any new movement of Ukrainian settlers to Canada. Dyk departed for Europe in the fall of 1924. On arriving in Poland he made contact with the recently revived Ukrainian Emigrant's Aid Society. The Society, which had existed in a similar form before the war, was resurrected in 1924 in response to growing concern over a renewed flow of Ukrainian emigrants to Brazil and other points in South America. The Society was backed by leading circles of the Ukrainian-Galician enlightened society. It was supported by the Ukrainian religious heirarchy and by leaders of the prosvita and
co-operative movements. Its president was the elderly Mykola Zajaczkiwskyj, director of Narodna Torhowla, the largest consumer co-operative in Lviv, and its secretary was a lawyer and former parliamentarian, Dr. Volodymyr Baczynskyj. Patron of the organization was the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Galicia, Archbishop Count Andrij Sheptyzkyj. The Society began organizing its activities in the summer of 1924 and received confirmation of its constitution from Polish authorities in January 1925.79

Upon receiving Dyk's visit, the Lviv society decided to write the Canadian Immigration Minister to assure him of their continued interest in Canada as a destination for emigrants from Western Ukrainian lands.80 Zajaczkiwskyj's letter, dated October 20, 1924, outlined the work of his committee and indicated its keen desire to channel increased numbers of farmer-immigrants to Canada. The Association, said Zajaczkiwskyj, was financed by voluntary subscriptions, had the support of leading elements of Ukrainian Galician society and was not directly attached to any transportation interests.81 More specifically, Zajaczkiwskyj's letter outlined various suggestions and recommendations made by his committee regarding immigration from Galicia to Canada.

First, the group understood and accepted that only
agricultural workers and farm families were desired from east-central Europe. The committee, however, expressed concern that many Ukrainians qualified for admission but did not have friends or relatives already resident in Canada who could sponsor them for the minimum one year stint in agricultural employment. 

Zajaczkiwskyj therefore wondered whether Canadian government employment Bureaux might be of assistance in locating placements for such people. On a similar note, Zajaczkiwskyj expressed a desire that families undertaking to establish themselves in Canada receive government supervision during the early period of settlement.

Second, the Lviv committee was anxious to receive information on the precise requirements for entry of immigrants, the possibility for land settlement, the general state of agricultural development in Western Canada and a brief outline of government administration at all levels. With this in mind, Zajaczkiwskyj recommended that Canadian Immigration officials produce and distribute a pamphlet in Ukrainian containing this information.

Third, the Lviv committee recommended that both the government and the transportation companies appoint officials and inspectors who could speak Ukrainian, thus
protecting Ukrainians against exploitation during travel or actual settlement.

Finally, Zajaczkiwskyj's letter suggested that the Canadian Department of Agriculture circulate copies of its various bulletins and informational pamphlets at least partially in Ukrainian so that Ukrainian farmers would have the benefit of recent developments in agricultural research.83

The interest of Canadian authorities in surveying the immigration potential of Galicia elicited an enthusiastic response from Ukrainians on both sides of the Atlantic. The fledgling Ukrainian Emigrant's Aid Society in Lviv intensified its organizational activities and began making informal contacts in Canada. In Canada, momentum was growing for creation of a parallel Ukrainian community aid society to solicit sponsors for prospective immigrants and to help in their settlement. In this regard, Bishop Budka's personal ties in Europe and his long-standing interest in immigration work proved an inestimable boon. While still a priest in Galicia before the war, the Bishop had done considerable work with the "Association of St. Raphael for the Protection of Ruthenian Emigrants from Galicia and
and Bukovina." His previous work in immigration had prompted Bishop Budka to examine ways to increase the flow of Ukrainians desirous of settling in Canada and had prompted his involvement in the Dubuc Scheme. After its collapse, Bishop Budka and the other Ukrainians associated with the plan decided to form their own aid society under the auspices of the Greek Catholic Church.

The medium chosen for launching the new society was two educational-farmer conventions sponsored by the Ukrainian Greek Catholic leadership in Canada. At the first convention, held in Saskatoon on November 18, 1924, Bishop Budka initiated a proposition that a Canadian organization of St. Raphael's - the namesake of the society with which Budka had been involved from 1907 to 1912 - be formed in Canada.\(^\text{84}\) At a subsequent convention held on December 10 and 11 in Winnipeg, Volodislaus Biberovich made a presentation on the same theme.\(^\text{85}\) This meeting, however, went a step further by appointing a committee to launch the St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrant Welfare Association in Canada. The committee chosen consisted of Kornylo Prodan and Dmytro Elcheshen, both agricultural scientists at Winnipeg, Andrew Zaharychuk and Volodislaus Biberovich.\(^\text{86}\) The committee immediately began structuring its work,
drafting a constitution, applying for a charter and addressing the issue of the transportation and settlement of prospective immigrants.

The first official meeting of the organization was held in Winnipeg on January 4, 1925. The gathering addressed various organizational concerns and elected its first provisional executive. Rev. Dr. Eugene Turula was elected president. Dr. M. Mihaychuk, a Winnipeg dentist, was named vice-president and Rev. M. Hyrhorychuk of Montreal, second vice-president. D. M. Elcheshen became secretary and Ivan Zarovsky, a printer, agreed to serve as treasurer. Other members of the executive included a teacher, Miss Maria Koreska; Rev. P. Oleskiw, Andrew Zaharychuk and K. S. Prodan.

The new organization established ties with the Ukrainian Emigrant Aid Association in Lviv and formally advertised its connections and working arrangements with the Lviv group. The organization was structured on an open membership basis limited to Ukrainian Greek Catholics. The St. Raphael's Association applied for a federal charter to operate and was incorporated on July 13, 1925. Turula, however, dropped out of the presidency and was replaced by a Winnipeg lawyer,
Stepan Sawula. Sawula's down-town Winnipeg office served as headquarters for the organization.

From the outset, the St. Raphael's Association established close working relations with the Canadian National Railway. The degree of affinity which resulted is indicated by the fact that D. M. Elcheshen and Dr. Mihaychuk approached P. Owens of the C.N.R.'s Winnipeg office for assistance in drafting their charter application. Co-operation with the C.N.R. was initially viewed by the organization as a beneficial move. The St. Raphael's Association would benefit by having a major railroad with which to co-operate in the transportation and placement of farm labourers and agricultural settlers. The C.N.R., for its part, would benefit by increased immigrant traffic and by settling incoming Ukrainians on lands adjacent to C.N.R. lines. Most Ukrainians already established in Canada were settled along the northern prairies in areas where C.N.R. lines dominated. In addition, the vast majority of Ukrainians in Canada were Greek Catholics, making association with the St. Raphael's group a potentially highly profitable connection from the C.N.R.'s point of view.

For its part, the C.N.R. quickly adopted a manipu-
lative attitude toward the new organization. With a
view towards increasing its volume of Ukrainian immigrant
traffic, the C.N.R. extended both advice and later money
grants to the new organization. The degree of control
which the C.N.R. was taking in directing the organization
is evidenced from the following excerpt of a report by
the Western Manager of the C.N.R. Colonization Department
in Winnipeg. The report is interesting not only from
the manipulative tone of its contents but also from the
perspective that the C.N.R. began actively cultivating
the formation of a Ukrainian colonization organization
during 1924, well before the St. Raphael's organization
was formally established.

We succeeded in bringing together a number
of the most prominent Ukrainians in Western
Canada in order to form a branch of the
St. Raphael's Immigration Society, with
Bishop Budka as President (sic). This
society has now been formed, the constitu-
tion being drafted in our office, and all
steps taken up to this time with our
approval. ... It can be taken for granted
that the Canadian National Railways will
get all the business originating through
this society.92

The C.N.R. further strengthened its ties with the
Ukrainian community in Canada, the St. Raphael's
Association in particular, by employing leading figures
associated with the Ukrainian Greek Catholic element. Volodislaus Biberovich, editor of the diocesan weekly newspaper, was brought on staff in 1925 to handle foreign traffic out of Winnipeg. Others hired later as colonization agents included D. M. Elcheshen and Volodymyr Bossy. These connections were further reinforced by the working relations of the St. Raphael's Association with her sister group in Lviv and its eventual decision to channel all of its business through the Cunard Lines with which the C.N.R. was allied.

The precise working relationship between the St. Raphael's Association, the C.N.R., the Lviv Aid Society and the government of Canada was largely clarified by mid 1925 during a visit to Canada of a delegation from the Lviv committee. The Ukrainian Emigrant's Aid Committee decided to explore in detail the possibilities for increased Ukrainian immigration to Canada by sending a delegation to Canada. The delegation consisted of the committee's secretary, Dr. Volodymyr Bachynskyj and Fr. Josaphat Jean, an envoy from Metropolitan Sheptyzkyj. Fr. Jean was entrusted with the particular mission of exploring the possibilities of settling Ukrainian farmer-emigrants from Yugoslavia in the Abitibi region of Quebec, the area where Albert Dubuc had hoped to place
several thousand Ukrainian Catholic settlers.

Bachynskyj and Jean held lengthy consultations with immigration officials in Ottawa and with leading Ukrainians in Canada. They also conducted an extensive tour of Western Canada, assessing placement opportunities and assisting in the establishment of branches of the St. Raphael's Immigration Aid Association in various predominantly Ukrainian settlements in the West. These branches were established to help in determining the availability of farm labour and domestic placements among established Ukrainian farmers. In addition branches could provide information on the availability of farm lands for sale. Members of these branches were expected to generate sponsors for friends and relatives in the Old Country or to provide applications for farm workers which the St. Raphael's organization would then attempt to fill. It is noteworthy that this initial western tour was sponsored by the Canadian National Railway and by the British Cunard Steamship Lines. Bishop Budka and other officials of the St. Raphael's Association were also afforded free transportation by the same firms. This generosity was designed with a view towards reinforcing their gratitude to, and continuing
connections with, these firms. Bachynskyj's work proved instrumental in clarifying working relations of St. Raphael's Association and relations with the dominion government. His contacts with immigration officials, for example, resulted in the St. Raphael's Association receiving government recognition as a non-profit Immigrant's Aid Association. The Association was to be allowed to develop sponsors for Ukrainian immigrants and undertake to place potential immigrants who desired to come to Canada but did not have friends or relatives already resident in the country. W. J. Egan, Deputy Minister of the Department of Immigration and Colonization wrote Bachynskyj on July 2, 1925 outlining the terms of reference under which the St. Raphael's Association was to be allowed to operate.

The Association was to concentrate on bringing in bona fide agricultural workers and domestic servants of good character and in good health. Arrivals would be cleared by a Departmental examining officer in Europe and be in possession of a valid passport. Applications for immigrants were to originate in Canada and be processed by Division Commissioner of Immigration, Thomas Gelley, in Winnipeg. Once cleared by Gelley, a letter of confirmation would be issued the applicant and the
St. Raphael's Association would be allowed to proceed to arrange transportation and placement for the newcomer. The crux of the arrangement was that the St. Raphael's Association would be allowed to put forth applications through Gelley's office without these applications being individually investigated by the Department. Thus, the St. Raphael's Association was granted a quasi-official status by the dominion government.

It is understood that in view of the Department's willingness to consider the acceptance of applications bearing the endorsement of your Head Office in Winnipeg, without making a personal investigation in each case, your Society will use the greatest care in submitting only bona fide applications and it is further understood that your endorsement of any application means that your Society accepts responsibility for seeing that the immigrant is found suitable employment and in the event of a change being necessary within a year, you will find him other employment and guarantee that he will not become a charge on the public.98

Having received long sought after recognition and the right to independently forward applications and sponsorships, the St. Raphael's Association - with the continued aid of the C.N.R. - proceeded to step up branch organization across the prairies. In August, 1925, the
Association decided to build further on the groundwork laid by Dr. Baczynskyj and Fr. Jean by conducting its own organizational tour. Stepan Sawula and Dr. Mihaychuk set off on an extensive 26-day tour of the West visiting Ukrainian communities in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. The two, like their predecessors, worked through the clergy and leading local citizens to set up meetings in various Ukrainian communities. Again, these meetings were designed to mobilize the efforts of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic element in fostering additional Ukrainian settlement from Europe. More branches were established and nominations of friends or relatives and applications for farm workers or domestics were also collected. After conducting several meetings and examining settlement opportunities and labour requirements, the duo concluded that the Association should concentrate its work first in Alberta, second in Saskatchewan and third in Manitoba.

In Edmonton, Sawula and Mihaychuk were successful in obtaining commitments for the involvement of several community leaders including Nicholas Ostryzniuk who had switched his loyalty to the C.N.R. after his colonization business partner, George Kuzyk, joined the C.P.R.'s colonization staff. The initial public meeting in Edmonton on August 7, 1925, did not, however, form an official committee. Formation of a local committee was
"postponed on account of the absence of the local priest whom we wished to include in the Committee." 101 The committee was formed later in the tour as were several others across the prairies.

Sawula and Mihaychuk were also able to determine which communities were relatively better off or had reported very good crops and were likely to require additional farm labourers for the following season. In Vegreville, Alberta, as well as several other points, the two discovered that many Ukrainian farmers were not satisfied with past efforts at providing farm workers. In Vegreville, for example, over 200 Ukrainian farm labourers had been ordered for 1924 but only 10 arrived. Ukrainian farm workers had been ordered but farmers initiating applications were sent other nationalities instead. "A large number of other nationalities who came were not accepted by the farmers" noted Sawula, "as they insisted upon having workers of their own nationality." 102 The representatives of the St. Raphael's Association assured farmers that every effort would be made to recruit the Ukrainian workers they desired.

Thus, by the fall of 1925, a Ukrainian community-
based settlement association had emerged. Ukrainians had finally registered a similar success to their Mennonite, German Lutheran and German Catholic counterparts in receiving government recognition and the right to independently recruit suitable immigrants. The St. Raphael's Association energetically set about obtaining sponsors and preparing for an increased flow of Ukrainian immigrants for the 1926 season. The signing of the Railways' Agreement in September, 1925, however, drastically altered the ground rules affecting continental immigration to Canada. As a result, the St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrant Welfare Association did not realize its intended objectives in the field of immigration. Increasingly, it was drawn into the immigration activities of the C.N.R., in its efforts to out-manoeuver its competitor for the larger share of immigrant traffic. The St. Raphael's Association continued to play a useful role, however, by providing information and assistance to newcomers and prospective settlers who asked for its help.
CHAPTER II: FOOTNOTES


2 F. C. Blair to Mr. H. Dworkin of Dworkin's Advertising, Toronto; July 9, 1919. Also see similar letter from F. C. Blair to the Gurefsky Co., Bankers and Steamship Agents, July 17, 1919. Records of the Dept. of Immigration and Colonization. PAC RG76 v.629 file 962419.

3 F. C. Blair, Secretary, Dept. of Immigration and Colonization to Mr. S. W. Jacobs, a Montreal lawyer; Jan. 14, 1920. PAC RG76 Vol. 629 file 962419.

4 Ibid.


7 For a Statistical breakdown, see William Darcovich, Paul Yuzyk (eds.) op.cit. p.524.


10 Canadian Ukrainian. July 25, 1923
Ukrainian Voice. June 20, 1923.


13 Darcovich/Yuzyk (eds.) op. cit., p. 526.

14 Letter from Polish Consul General Straszewski, Montreal, to Hon. J. A. Robb, Ottawa. May 2, 1924. PAC RG76 v. 629 file 962419.

15 For a brief history of this organization see Appendix X, The Report of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement, 1930. op. cit. Also see Minutes of the Canadian Colonization Association in the C.P.R. Archival Collection, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary.


17 Ibid. Chapter XII, "The Department of Colonization," pp. 346-386.


23 Ibid.

24 Canadian Ukrainian. February 11, 1925.


26 Minutes of the 33rd Meeting of the Advisory Committee of the Departments of Natural Resources and Colonization and Development at Calgary. Nov. 17, 1919. CPR Archives. Montreal.

27 Minutes of the 48th Meeting Of the Advisory Committee, Departments of Natural Resources and Colonization and Development at Montreal. March 6, 1922. CPR Archives. Montreal.


29 Ibid.


31 See Bylaws of the Ukrainian Immigration Bureau, Nov. 23, 1923. File 58. Ivan Bobersky Archives, Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg.

33 "Our Plans and How to Execute Them." March 5, 1924. file 56. Also see collection #91/1093. Ivan Bobersky Archives. op.cit.


36 Ukrainian Voice. May 14, 1924.

37 Ukrainian Voice. April 9, 1924.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.


47 Ibid.


49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.


57 Ibid.


60 Petition of Transatlantic Settlement Corporation submitted by Albert Dubuc to the Under Secretary of State. March 24, 1924. P.A.C. RG76 v.232 file 135361.


63 Ibid.


66 F. C. Blair to F. J. McClure, Passenger Manager, Robert Reford Co. summer, 1924 (exact date illegible) P.A.C. RG76, v.232 file 135361.


71 J. B. Hedges, op.cit., p.357.

73 Canadian Ukrainian. January 9, 1924.

74 Ukrainian Voice. August 20, 1924.


76 Ibid.

77 Canadian Ukrainian. November 11, 1925.


80 Letter from Mykola Zajaczkiewskyj to the Minister of Immigration. October 20, 1924. SRA uncatalogued collection. Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid

83 Ibid.

85 Ibid.

86 See Ibid., Also see M. H. Marunchak, op.cit. p.365.

87 Hand-written Minutes. Winnipeg, January 14, 1925. SRA uncatalogued collection. Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg.


89 Ibid.

90 Hand-written Minutes St. Raphaels Association, Winnipeg, March 3, 1925. SRA uncatalogued collection, Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg.

91 Ibid.


93 M. H. Marunchak, op.cit., p.367.

94 Perehlyad Robotu (Review of Work) op.cit. pp.3-9.


96 W. J. Egan to Dr. Volodymyr Baczynskyj at Montreal. July 2, 1925. SRA uncatalogued collection. Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.
99 Stepan Sawula, "Z Moyi Poyeездку" (From my travels) SRA Archives #91/1105. Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg. Also see Canadian Ukrainian. September 9, 1925.

100 English Manuscript of Sawula's Pamphlet. Winnipeg, September 8, 1925, p.5 SRA uncatalogued collection. Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg.


102 Ibid, p.2.
CHAPTER III: "1925-1930: UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA UNDER THE RAILWAYS' AGREEMENT"

The most successful stimulus to inter-war Ukrainian immigration to Canada - and continental immigration in general - was the launching of the Railways' Agreement on September 1, 1925. Prompted on the basis that an insufficient supply of suitable agriculturalists was available in Britain and the preferred countries, the Agreement granted the railways the privilege of directly recruiting and selecting bona fide agriculturalists, farm workers and domestics from the non-preferred countries. The railroads vouched for the occupational suitability of immigrants forwarded by them and agreed to place these immigrants on the land for a minimum period of a year. These assurances greatly simplified the process of immigrating from out of central and eastern Europe. Prospective immigrants were no longer subjected to lengthy delays while individual applications were investigated by immigration authorities. Not only was the whole process greatly accelerated, but the farm employment assurances provided by the railroads largely removed the sponsorship block which had previously prevented so many continents from immigrating to Canada.
The launching of the Railways' Agreement radically altered the ground rules under which Ukrainian immigrants could now be brought to Canada. As a result, the previously independent efforts by Ukrainians on both sides of the Atlantic to promote the settlement of their countrymen in Canada became increasingly bound up with one or other of the railroads or their allied steamship firms. The recruitment and farm employment provisions of the Agreement prompted the development of mutually advantageous relations between the transportation interests and various Ukrainian groups concerned with immigration. Their joint efforts produced mutually satisfactory results. Thousands of Ukrainians were able to gain admission to Canada while the railroad companies were able to bolster revenues and enhance settlement activity along their prairie branch lines.

Implementation of the Railways' Agreement cleared the way for a dramatic increase in Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Although the numbers of farm families admitted rose appreciably, the greatest increase occurred in the flow of unattached males, and to a lesser extent, domestics. The active recruitment activities of the railroads and steamship companies, combined with lowered restrictions, produced an immediate increase in the volume of Ukrainian
arrivals in Canada. The number of Ukrainians admitted rose sharply, from 2,245 in 1925 — before implementation of the Railways' Agreement — to 9,534 in 1926.¹ By 1928 the momentum of Ukrainian immigration topped the 16,000² mark with every indication that similar levels would continue to be sustained. Unstable economic conditions in the late twenties combined with indiscriminate recruitment by the railways, however, produced an over-supply of farm workers. This resulted in public agitation against continued continental immigration and prompted the cancellation of the Railways' Agreement in 1930.

Over the five-year life of the Agreement, however, 55,000³ Ukrainians were able to gain admittance to Canada. This total represents eighty percent of the entire movement of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada during the inter-war period. The significance of the Ukrainian movement under the Railways' Agreement is further underlined by the fact that Ukrainians formed the largest single nationality admitted from the non-preferred countries during the life of the Agreement.

¹

By 1924-25 the two Canadian railroads had become increasingly concerned with the impending shortage of farm workers from Europe. They had also grown frustrated
and impatient over lengthy delays in approving applications for entry from agriculturalists from the non-preferred countries. As early as February, 1925, the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National approached the federal government with a proposal to allow them to become actively involved in recruiting agricultural workers from central and eastern Europe. The railroads advanced the argument that their transportation connections made them logical agents for involvement in recruiting and settling immigrants in Canada. Moreover, their obvious interest in land settlement, the railroads assured, would result in the selection of no classes other than suitable agriculturalists and farm workers.

This lobby soon struck a responsive chord. The dominion government, in addition to recognizing the need for more agricultural settlers, had its own motives for agreeing to allow an active role to the railroads. In general terms the Mackenzie King Liberal government adopted a conservative attitude towards government expenditures, aiming to keep spending as low as possible. Despite the relative prosperity of the twenties, taxation levels were lowered and the dominion government refrained from involving itself in any projects likely to cause a drain on the public purse. The railroads' proposal
that they be granted the right to select continental immigrants for settlement in the West complemented the government's desire to keep its own spending at a minimum. Granting the railroads a concession to recruit continental settlers, then, would not only yield needed agricultural settlers but would free the government of all but the provision of civil and medical inspectional facilities. No outlay of public funds would be required to do promotional work or hire agents. This was not only cost effective from the government's point of view, but it served to streamline procedures and avoid a duplication of efforts. It also freed the government to deflect to the railroads any public criticism levelled against renewed continental immigration.

After relatively limited negotiations, the principles of the arrangement were hammered out and an agreement was arrived at on the eve of the federal general election of 1925. The exact timing of this move was apparently not coincidental, the Liberals choosing to inject an aggressive immigration plank into their largely lack-lustre election platform. Some segments of public opinion continued to view increased immigration as a bygone panacea for invoking prosperity. Renewed continental
immigration was also seen as a way to bolster Liberal support among New Canadians. Moreover, renewed large-scale immigration would produce increased economic activity from which all Canadians would benefit.

The Railways' Agreement was officially signed on September 1, 1925, in the office of Prime Minister Mackenzie King in Ottawa. Present for the signing were the Honourable Robert Forke, a western Progressive recently appointed Minister of Immigration and Colonization, and the Presidents of the two railroads - Sir Henry Thornton of the Canadian National Railway and Mr. E. W. Beatty of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The Agreement was now official but did not become fully effective until November 15, 1925. The various European governments affected by the Agreement had first to be advised of the new arrangement and the railroads were required to appoint their Certificate-Issuing-Officers (C.I.O.'s) in the non-preferred countries.

With the conclusion of the Railways Agreement the Canadian government agreed to withdraw from the continental field and concentrate its own efforts at soliciting settlers in Britain and the preferred countries.
Recruitment in the non-preferred countries was left totally in the hands of the two railroads. The specific countries included under the Agreement were Finland, Switzerland, the Baltic countries, Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Austria and Hungary. Germany, too, was initially listed as a "non-preferred" country but was later designated a "preferred" state. The Soviet Union was formally excluded although the railroads were free to recruit Mennonites from southern Ukraine by special arrangement. Although an accompanying trickle of Ukrainians and other Soviet nationals was also allowed, this flow was very small due to Soviet immigration restrictions and heightened diplomatic tensions between the Canadian and Soviet governments. As a result, the origin of Ukrainian immigration under the Railways' Agreement continued to conform to the pre-Great War pattern. The bulk of new settlers originated in Poland with a peripheral movement from Roumania and an almost insignificant stream from Czechoslovakia.

The Agreement between the dominion government and the two railroads was established for a two year period. During that time the Canadian National Railway and Canadian Pacific Railway were to station officers in the non preferred countries and recruit
suitable agricultural settlers, domestics and farm labourers for settlement in Western Canada. The railroads agreed to bring over only settlers who were mentally, morally, physically and industrially fit for permanent settlement. The key provision of the arrangement was that the railroads were to guarantee that the settlers they forwarded to Canada would be placed in farming for a minimum of a year. Any settler who refused to engage in agriculture and became a public charge within a year of arrival became the responsibility of the railroad which brought him to Canada. The railroad was then liable to return the indigent to his native country. The European officers appointed by the railroads were required carefully to screen applicants, to verify their agricultural background and suitability for prairie settlement. Those found to be bona fide agriculturalists were to be granted an occupational certificate. Emigrants possessing these railroad certificates were required subsequently to approach Canadian government inspectional offices where they then received clearance almost as a matter of course. In practice, if the individual or family head involved possessed a certificate, appeared fit and healthy and could demonstrate literacy in his or her native tongue, permission to embark for Canada
was granted. The small number of non-agriculturalists who applied to settle in Canada - professionals, clerics, skilled or unskilled workers - were required to apply for a special government permit directly from immigration authorities and could only be admitted if Canadians with comparable skills were not available to fill these positions. Only a very small handful of Ukrainians, however, gained admittance by this avenue. The Assistant Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization, F. C. Blair, outlined as follows the certificate issuing procedure which applied to agriculturalists:

The Railways will each place accredited agents with Canadian experience and free from the control of steamship companies, in the various countries from which immigrants are drawn. These accredited agents will issue the certificate... The certificate will have to do with occupation. On the presentation of the certificate our officer, if satisfied that the immigrant complies with the regulations, will issue a vise and the immigrant will come forward to be placed by the company that started him for Canada.12

In the early fall of 1925, then, the railroads began making the necessary arrangements for appointing Certificate-Issuing-Officers (C.I.O.'s) and establishing plans for large scale recruitment. Canadian Immigration officials, for their part, proceeded to inform the
Consuls General of the various European diplomatic corps from countries affected by the Agreement about the new arrangements concerning immigration from the continent to Canada.

In response to receiving notification of the Railways' Agreement, Poland - the country from which the vast majority of Ukrainian immigrants either originated or passed through to get to a port - in turn presented Canada with the terms under which emigrants from Poland could be moved out of the country. The Polish government sought to monitor closely any out-migration and minimize the exploitation of immigrants by unscrupulous steamship agents. Any Polish citizens applying to a railroad Certificate-Issuing-Officer would have to receive passport clearance from Warsaw or Lwow (Lviv) for the three East Galician voyevodships, or provinces. Each steamship line with a concession to operate in Poland would receive a maximum allotment of emigrants it could move out. The steamship line was then responsible to ensure that it took no more deposits than its quota allowed. The steamship agents were also required not to take deposits from emigrants until they received their passport and clearance to leave the country. Mr. R. Mazurkiewicz, Acting Polish Consul General in Canada, outlined the
specifics of the arrangement to F. C. Blair.

The steamship line is responsible for each and every emigrant who either makes deposit for or purchases steamer ticket. If such prospective emigrant does not receive the certificate of the Canadian National Railway or Canadian Pacific Railway, he is entitled to demand from the steamship line the equivalent of the railroad fare from his place of residence to Warsaw or Lwow or return.13

Mr. Mazurkiewicz went on to underline the fact that steamship companies working on behalf of the Canadian railroads were prohibited from engaging in outright propaganda to solicit immigrants. Polish citizens desirous of emigrating were first to obtain clearance from Polish authorities. Information on conditions and opportunities in Canada could be made available to prospective settlers but only through Polish Government Employment Offices.14

Under the Railways' Agreement the distribution, placement and supervision of new settlers was recognized as a shared responsibility between the government and the two railroads.15 The dominion immigration department retained the right to establish a quota of settlers which the federal government would place. All others recruited by the railroads were to be placed under their supervision.
In practice, most unattached farm workers were handled by the railroads. Dominion immigration authorities did, however, place small allotments that were requested from them. The Land Settlement Branch of the Department of Immigration and Colonization also undertook annually to settle a number of continental family units. In addition, Thomas Gelley, Division Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg, was to handle all orders for domestics from urban areas in the West. The railroads were to concentrate on domestic placements in rural areas, and settlement of low capital families and farm labourers.

In an effort to avoid destitution befalling arriving immigrants, the federal government attempted to enforce minimum capital requirements on landing. Although immigration officials hoped to demand a $500.00 per family minimum capital requirement on landing, this was not enforced except in the case of families placed by the dominion Land Settlement Branch. The Canadian Pacific Railway in particular protested that continental families would not come forth if they were required to possess $500.00 on landing, $400.00 of which was to be held on deposit until the family actually established itself on the land. In practice, then, the railroads
were allowed to use discretion in certifying continental family units as regards possession of capital. In the final analysis, however, the railroad which recruited a family with less than the expected capital was responsible for that family if it became a public charge.

Considerably less stringent requirements were placed on the importation of farm labourers. Each farm labourer was expected to pay for his transportation in advance and have a minimum $25.00 in cash on arrival. He was restricted to arriving between March 15 and August 15 when agricultural work was generally available. For the 1926 season, incidentally, a farm worker might expect to earn $300.00 in wages plus a $1.00 per day bonus during threshing. Domestics faced the fewest capital restrictions, however they were often more closely scrutinized to ensure they had a definite destination or position awaiting them. In the case of both farm workers and domestics the pre-paid passage requirement could be waived if a friend or relative in Canada already farming was prepared to cover the cost of transportation through direct sponsorship. For those without specific sponsors, however, prepaid passage and minimum capital requirements were enforced.
By November, 1925, then, the Railways' Agreement became fully operational. Initial public reaction to the Agreement and the impending continental influx, however, was surprisingly mute. The major Canadian Newspapers of course made comment on the Agreement and their responses were highly predictable. The Montreal Gazette, for example, reflected the interests of the transportation companies headquartered in its city. The Gazette applauded the Railways' Agreement and expressed the view that increased emigration would be good for the economy.\(^{19}\) The Globe in Toronto, on the other hand, assumed a highly critical perspective. Although favouring some co-operation between the government and the railroads, it chided the federal government for turning over direction of immigration policy to the two railroads.\(^{20}\) By and large, however, public sentiment was not aroused in either direction. In a period of increasing prosperity the potential arrival of a few more immigrants went largely without comment.

II

The successful operation of the Railways' Agreement hinged heavily on the organizational strategies which the two railroads put into place to recruit and handle
the new flow of continental traffic. The Canadian Pacific Railway, for example, directed its Ukrainian arrivals through several local colonization boards, but moved increasingly to channel its allotment through a few large private Ukrainian boards on the prairies. The Canadian National Railway, on the other hand, adopted a direct settlement approach, using Ukrainian colonization representatives to supervise settlement through a network of Ukrainian commission agents which was initially based on St. Raphael Association connections in the West.

Over the fall and winter of 1925-26 more Ukrainians joined the colonization staffs of the various transportation companies, mandated to expand Ukrainian and other continental in-migration. These representatives combed the West encouraging Ukrainian farmers either to sponsor a specific friend or relative from the Old Country or agree to place a farm worker or domestic eager for an opportunity to begin life anew in Canada. It soon came to be considered the patriotic duty of every farmer who could afford seasonal help to agree to place a fellow national.
By November, 1925, both railways had appointed and placed their Certificate-Issuing-Officers in the non-preferred countries. The C.N.R. placed Basil Baleshta in its Warsaw office to cover recruiting from the Baltic countries, Poland and the Roumanian provinces of Bukovina and Bessarabia. The C.P.R. initially appointed Alexander Kimak as its C.I.O. in Warsaw to service roughly the same area as Baleshta. Early in 1926, however, he was replaced by W. A. Drelenkiewicz. Because most east European countries prohibited open solicitation of emigrants, Baleshta and Drelenkiewicz began separately to cultivate informal ties with various groups and organizations interested in promoting immigration to Canada. They also began co-ordinated work with their respective allied steamship companies in order to interest the largest possible movement on their lines. The C.P.R. worked almost exclusively with its steamship subsidiary, Canadian Pacific Steamships, while the C.N.R. co-operated with several British and European companies which based their operations out of Hamburg and, to a lesser extent, Danzig.
Over the fall and winter of 1925-26 the various transportation companies staffed up their colonization departments and prepared to expand their recruitment efforts both in Europe and through ethnic communities on the prairies. For its part the C.P.R., whose main and secondary rail lines straddled the southern prairies, intensified its efforts at working with various local and regional colonization boards. The majority of local boards, which the C.P.R. had organized and continued to finance, were in communities along the C.P.R. lines. These areas were, for the most part, settled by American, British, Ontario-British or Scandinavian settlers. Those continental groups in the southern prairies tended to be mainly Mennonites, Hungarians, German Catholics and Lutherans and to a lesser extent Czechs and Austrians. These, then, constituted the major ethnic and religious groups with which the C.P.R. had already forged ties. Among these, the Mennonite organizations, the Lutheran Immigration Board and the V.D.C.K. - the colonization association of German Catholics - enjoyed continued government recognition and were allowed the privilege of sponsoring co-religionists on a year-round basis. These organizations worked closely with
the C.P.R. which offered them ongoing settlement assistance and financial aid. These boards – and the Mennonite organizations in particular – co-operated with the C.P.R.'s Canada Colonization Association subsidiary in locating farm lands for settlers along C.P.R. lines. The Canadian Pacific up to 1925, then, had concentrated much of its effort at settling American and European families of modest means and had dedicated comparatively little effort at attracting Ukrainians as few of their colonies lay within C.P.R. territory. As a direct consequence, the C.P.R. lacked the close ties with Ukrainian groups enjoyed by its competitor.

The C.N.R., on the other hand, enjoyed well-developed connections with ethnic and religious groups on the central and northern prairies. Here continentals predominated and the Ukrainians in particular formed large bloc settlements. The C.N.R. had already cultivated close relations with influential members of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the St. Raphael's Association. These ties proved particularly advantageous as the
St. Raphael's Association's tentative right independently to place immigrants was supplanted by the provisions of the Railways' Agreement. Through its steamship connections, moreover, the C.N.R. became the benefactor of working ties with the Ukrainian Emigrant's Aid Association in Lviv. Very early in its existence, the Lviv Association made a conscious decision to channel its emigrants on the British Cunard Lines. This connection was aggressively promoted by Dr. Volodymyr Bachynskyj, the Association's secretary, who felt such commercial ties would enhance Anglo-Ukrainian relations and ultimately aid the cause of Ukrainian independence. The C.N.R.'s link with the Ukrainian Emigrant's Aid Association was further reinforced through the activities of Prof. Ivan Bobersky, who was appointed the Cunard Line's Bureau Head in Winnipeg. In addition to his business position, Prof. Bobersky also held an advisory position on the Executive of the St. Raphael's Association as the representative of the Lviv organization. The C.N.R., it should be noted, also worked with several other European steamship firms, co-ordinating the land transportation of their respective passengers in Canada.
The C.P.R. naturally attempted to integrate its steamship and railroad operations in order to carry immigrants on Canadian Pacific facilities as far into the continent as possible. Because the C.P.R. lacked strong ties with the Ukrainian community in Canada, however, it suffered from an obvious competitive disadvantage as compared to the C.N.R. The Canadian Pacific was therefore forced to adopt aggressive measures to capture a share of the potentially burgeoning Ukrainian traffic. Free passes were offered Bishop Budka and later Wasyl Swystun, a leading figure in the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, and both men were offered commissions for diverting placements to the Canadian Pacific. It also further developed local colonization boards in Ukrainian dominated areas. In Saskatchewan during 1926, for example, Colonization Boards involving Ukrainians were established at Hafford, Blaine Lake, Prince Albert, Vonda and Canora. In addition, a small Ukrainian Baptist Board was established at Saskatoon under Reverend Ivan Shakotko.30

These modest efforts were supplemented by more aggressive tactics. A group of Ukrainian businessmen
in Edmonton was appointed commission agents to place unattached farm labourers and settlers forwarded to Alberta. The group, headed by Jacob and William Hawreliak, established itself as a private colonization company called the Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Association. In addition to seeking transportation commissions, the Association was also involved in assembling land deals and establishing itself in the field of real estate. Farm lands and other real estate were listed by the Association for sale to resident Canadians and incoming settlers. The group was connected to the C.P.R. through George Kuzyk who was already employed as a travelling representative for the Canadian Pacific SteamShip lines. In addition to the Hawreliak brothers, the group included H. Bohonis, A. Kuprovsky, M. Korchynsky, W. Pylypiwsky and J. Ruryk. The Edmonton-based Association, however, very quickly developed a notorious reputation for questionable placement practices and various other irregularities.

The C.N.R. followed a direct colonization approach. Rather than distributing arrivals through arm's-length organizations, the C.N.R. preferred to retain closer
control over the development of placements and the actual distribution of settlers. In the fall of 1925, Fred Taciuk, the company's Ukrainian travelling representative, was transferred to Edmonton to co-ordinate Ukrainian and other continental placements through the Canadian National Land Settlement Association. He was replaced in Winnipeg by Volodislaus Biberovich who became responsible for the placement and distribution of various continental settlers. Taciuk and Biberovich travelled extensively across the prairies supervising settlement work. In making their initial contacts, they relied heavily on the system of St. Raphael Association correspondents and committees established by the Baczynskyj and Sawula tours in 1925. In 1926 the St. Raphael's Association boasted 143 such correspondents and 23 local committees across Canada.

Although the St. Raphael's Association continued to aspire to the role of an independent colonization association, its limited resources did not enable it to realize its objectives. It simply did not have the funds - nor the authority now that the railways officially oversaw the placement of most continentals - to sustain an independent colonization effort.
Increasingly, its efforts became tied with those of the Canadian National Railway. The Association for some time continued to promote its settlement objectives through a weekly column in the Canadian Ukrainian. It very soon recognized the changed circumstances under which it now operated and greatly reduced its own attempts at direct placement in favour of supporting C.N.R. initiative in this area. By late 1926, then, the St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants Welfare Association refocused its activities towards informational, educational and other non-monetary forms of assistance. The Association endeavoured to correspond with individuals who wrote for help and began publication of an annual almanac designed to orient new arrivals to life in Canada.37 The Association also provided limited assistance to Father Josaphat Jean who began the work of establishing a small Ukrainian colony at Landrieve, Quebec. Beyond these activities, however, the St. Raphael's Association largely ceased to function as an independent colonization entity.

Although the C.N.R. preferred to oversee directly the distribution of immigrants, it did work with several ticket and real estate agents
in co-ordinating transportation arrangements and developing placements. Nicholas Ostrozniuk, owner of the Dominion Colonization Company at Edmonton, for example, worked closely with both the C.N.R. and the Cunard Lines. Another individual who developed commercial ties initially with the C.N.R. was ex-Alberta M.L.A. Andrew Shandro. Shandro was an agent for the Edmonton Trust Company. His portfolio included 120 quarter sections of land east of Edmonton on which he hoped to place Orthodox settlers from Western Ukraine. Shandro's local colonization hopes were initially at least connected with those of the St. Nicholas Russian Greek Orthodox Immigration and Colonization Association. The Association was headed by Reverend Andrew Kokolsky of Smokey Lake, Alberta, and was consisted of Russian Orthodox missionaries to whom many Bukovinian congregations remained loyal. Interestingly, the priests involved in the project were hopeful the C.N.R. would favour them with free passes so they might more easily pursue their "colonization" and other activities. This Association, however, soon faded out of existence, its colonization activities assumed by Shandro as well as the Hawreliak
organization.

Even before implementation of the Railway's Agreement the C.N.R. had intensified its efforts to cultivate ties with steamship companies doing business in the non-preferred countries. In 1924, the C.N.R. succeeded in convincing the Scandinavian-American to establish an office in Western Canada. Volodislaus Biberovich, who had served as the Line's Winnipeg agent before his move the C.N.R., was replaced in November, 1925, by Andrew Zaharychuk, another active member of the St. Raphael's Association. The Scandinavian-American line was in a particularly advantageous position as regards Ukrainian immigration. Although it had only limited experience in moving immigrants to Canada, it sailed directly out of Danzig. This meant emigrants leaving Poland, the Baltic countries and Roumania could embark for Canada after a relatively short overland trek. Other immigrants who chose the Cunard or Canadian Pacific Lines, for example, were usually required to travel to Hamburg, Germany, for sailing. This entailed a considerably longer overland journey and crossing an additional international frontier. The C.N.R. confidently expected to
capture 85 percent of the Scandinavian-American's business through the establishment of its Winnipeg office. In October, 1925, another steamship line, the Red Star, appointed a Ukrainian, George Drobey, as its Winnipeg Bureau Head. Drobey also served as the agent for the White Star and Dominion Lines. In March, 1926, these companies expanded their operations. Drobey was transferred to Edmonton and replaced in Winnipeg by Leonhay Sikevich. These lines too worked in close co-operation with the Canadian National.

The Canadian Pacific SteamShip lines, as well, intensified their recruitment efforts. Ivan Rudachek, another former editor of Canadian Ukrainian, was promoted from translator to assistant director of foreign traffic at Winnipeg. George Kuzyk retained the travelling representative position for Alberta and eastern British Columbia while Michael Gowda continued to centre his activities in Manitoba. A new field man, Dr. D. I. Lalkow of Saskatoon, was brought on as Travelling Passenger Agent for Saskatchewan. These SteamShip subsidiary representatives co-ordinated their recruitment efforts with the travelling colonization representatives employed by
Colonel Dennis' Colonization Department, Paul Gigejczuk and S. O. Charambura.

From the outset, the C.P.R. placed virtually no effort at attracting and placing Ukrainian families in Canada. Its family placements continued to focus on Mennonites, Scandinavians, a small trickle of American settlers and central Europeans with sufficient capital to buy established farms on the southern prairies. With a potential influx of tens of thousands of unattached East European farm labourers, however, the C.P.R. could ill-afford to ignore the movement of single Ukrainians, Poles and other continentals. It aggressively pursued placements of as many continentals as possible in the southern prairies where its operations remained centered. The C.P.R. also adopted a strategy of invading its competitor's territory by recruiting Slavic — and especially Ukrainian — farm workers and directing them to Ukrainian colonies along Canadian National lines. The C.P.R. thereby enhanced its own traffic volumes while cutting into its competitor's business.
Such highly competitive behaviour was characteristic of the operation of the Railways' Agreement. Every transportation company pursued intensively aggressive methods to maximize placements and revenues earned. Over the life of the Agreement the degree of competitiveness intensified. The incidence of questionable practices which clearly violated both the spirit and letter of the Agreement also increased. Europeans with no farm background and no intention of pursuing agriculture in Canada were granted certificates as bona fide agriculturalists. Blacksmiths, butchers, barbers and even fishermen arrived on railroad certificates. Many of these went immediately into industrial work, and many others attempted to use Canada as a springboard for gaining admittance - usually illegally - into the United States. No attempt was made to place on farms hundreds of those admitted and many who were placed did not remain in farm employment for a year or even a season. Immigration officials did not, unfortunately, retain a breakdown of these abuses by nationality. Yugoslavs, Czechs and Hungarians, however, were the most frequently mentioned offenders; but all continental nationalities were represented in the above categories.

The abuses associated with the Railways' Agreement
began with the first arrivals of 1926. The C.N.R., for example, violated the Agreement by diverting its very first contingent of "farm workers" to track work in British Columbia and Northern Ontario.53 Similar abuses throughout the period covered by the Railways' Agreement became almost a matter of course, varying in degree rather than occurrence.

Among the more notorious practices used during the period of the Railways' Agreement were those attributed to the Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization at Edmonton. The Ukrainian Association was the central vehicle through which the C.P.R. distributed continental farm workers to points in the largely Canadian National territory of central and northern Alberta. The Association, for its part, eagerly received as many workers as possible and actively pursued obtaining as many nominations and sponsors as it could find. The larger the number of placements, the larger the sum of commissions. Although the Association was constituted as an ostensibly Ukrainian organization, it dealt in the placement of any and all continentals it could get - Poles, Yugoslavs, Czechs and others. Its questionable recruitment and
placement methods, however, frequently brought it into disfavour with the Department of Immigration and Colonization. A Canadian inspectional officer at Danzig, for instance, complained that the Edmonton Association had sponsored in the late summer of 1926 a group of ninety Poles who were of inferior quality and hastily assembled to meet the fall sailing deadline.

'The above named men are Poles and are backed through the Ukrainian Colonization Board, Edmonton, for placement by that organization. None understand the Ukrainian language and are of a section of the Polish race more or less hostile to Ukrainians. None of these men had been informed by railroad officials as to when they were going and appear to have been sent forward indiscriminately. Some are of poor type physically. The prospects of having these men placed in farm work by Ukrainian Colonization Board during the coming winter are not very bright. Not 10% of number have more than $25. They appear to have been herded together and rushed forward regardless of possible complications on arrival, in order to reach Canada before September 15th. Would appear that primary consideration was the passage money (all are cash passengers) the emigrants' proper settlement more or less a gamble.'

The Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Association at Edmonton not only took great pains to attract settlers of various nationalities in Europe, it even
took its recruitment activities as far away as northern China. A large Russian and Ukrainian population was centered at Harbin, Manchuria, which before the Russian Revolution had served as an important Russian railroad centre. The European population at Harbin was greatly expanded by the arrival of hundreds of refugees fleeing Bolshevik Russia. Many viewed Harbin as a temporary stop over point, hoping eventually to relocate abroad. Word of the large numbers of potential settlers available at Harbin quickly spread to Canada. The Ukrainian Immigration Association hastened to attempt to benefit from so obvious an opportunity by pressing the federal government to allow it the right to settle several hundred of these refugees in Canada. \(^55\) A brief examination of this Harbin effort illustrates the lengths to which the organization was prepared to go in order to fulfill its objectives. It also serves to underline the reputation the Edmonton group held in the eyes of immigration officials.

Jacob Hawreliak, Secretary of the Association, wrote the Acting Minister of Immigration and Colonization on December 2, 1925, requesting permission to settle 150 of these families in northern Alberta. Hawreliak noted the sad fate of these refugees and
stressed their desire to remain loyal to the "international system of government." Moreover, assured Hawreliak, "these people are agriculturalists in the true sense of the word having tilled the soil all their lives." He further claimed that most of these families possessed capital of $1,000.00 to $5,000.00.

Because these people were refugees, however, they lacked internationally recognized passports. If Canada were to allow entry to such families only to have them become indigents, for example, no recourse to deportation would be possible since such arrivals would not officially be citizens of a recognized state. Canadian authorities, therefore, had carefully to weigh the prospects for successful settlement of such immigrants before allowing their entry. One immigration official noted the Department's concerns in the following terms:

The absence of passports means that if any of these people become public charges in Canada (and it would be strange if they do not) we must leave the undesirable a charge upon the Province as long as he lives. People coming with valid passports may be returned within five years to the country of their origin, but these people cannot be returned to Manchuria, China or
Japan or any of the countries in which they are now refugees. 57

The specific settlement scheme advanced by Hawreliak centred around the bloc sale of the Kleskun Ranch near Sexsmith, Alberta, to Russian and Ukrainian settlers from Harbin. 58 The Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Association worked out an arrangement with the executors of the 20,000 acre ranch to sell their property for $15.00 an acre over a ten year period in return for substantial sales commissions.

Before granting permission to proceed, the Department of Immigration and Colonization decided to investigate the proposition and the individuals who backed it. The Government's central concern in the matter was, of course, that the intended immigrants were in fact bona fide agriculturalists and possessed sufficient capital to purchase farm land and not become charges of the public. Immigration officials had already had some experience with Russian refugees settled by the Canadian Pacific Railway near Wetaskiwin, Alberta. Through consultation with the Wetaskiwin Russians the Department discovered that "comparatively few" of the potential Harbin settlers were actually likely to be "worthwhile settlers." 59 F. C. Blair's
initial response to the Hawreliak scheme, then, was that "the proposal made by Kleskun Ranch looks to me more like a real estate deal than a colonization enterprise."⁶⁰ Although Blair was skeptical of the plan he agreed to give it consideration if the Harbin settlers arrived with sufficient funds and received proper supervision in settlement. Even though Blair was clearly not disposed to proceeding with the plan, his decision to do so appears to have been influenced by the fact that J. D. O. Mothersill, legal counsel to and executor of the Kleskun Ranch, was "favourably known" to the Honourable Charles Stewart, Acting Minister of Immigration and Colonization.

In January, 1926, Mothersill wrote Blair to advise him that Jacob Hawreliak would be travelling to Harbin shortly to supervise the selection of suitable clients for the sale of and settlement on Kleskun properties. Each family screened was to be of agricultural background and possess at least $500.00 which was to be deposited as part of the land payment.⁶¹ The total selling price of the land had, incidentally, been raised to $16.00 per acre.

Before Hawreliak's departure, however, immigration
officials received some rather unflattering reports in response to their investigation of the Hawreliaks and others associated with their colonization enterprise. As early as March, 1924, it was learned, Division Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg, Thomas Gelley, had complained that he had caught Jacob and William Hawreliak in "several shady practices" and that overall they had a rather "unsavoury reputation." In 1924, the investigation report noted, Jacob Hawreliak had served as Manager of the Western Colonization Company of Edmonton which was headed by George M. Kuzyk, Travelling Passenger Agent for the Canadian Pacific Steamship Company. Senior immigration department officials were further advised that:

Hawreliak came under notice at that time by his complaint that one of his competitors in the steamship business (Ostryzniuk) was representing himself as an Immigration Officer. Some time previously Kuzyk was connected with a steamship agency operated by Andrew S. Shandro, ex-M.L.A., who was later convicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonment for taking money for the purpose of obtaining transportation, which he converted to his own use. Shandro and Kuzyk are apparently related.

Commenting on this latter incident, the Departmental report indicated that William Hawreliak and Andrew
Shandro had been involved in the production of false affidavits which had been issued to secure the admission of European aliens before the implementation of the Railways' Agreement. 64

The departmental investigation on the Hawreliaks and other Alberta Ukrainians involved in colonization work concluded that:

The trend of the evidence would indicate that Shandro, Kuzyk, Hawreliak and Ostryzniuk were at one time working with one another and another time at one other's throats but all for the all-mighty dollar and not a bit particular how they got it. 65

Although the report vindicated George Kuzyk whose continued immigration work with the Canadian Pacific was seen as above board, the report clearly viewed the Hawreliaks and their associates with continued suspicion and counselled caution in any future dealings with them.

Upon receiving this information the Immigration and Colonization Department proceeded to warn the British Consul at Harbin to be wary of Hawreliak's activities. The Department conceded that it had given approval to
a movement of Russian agricultural settlers from Harbin but that it could not "certify that Jacob Hawreliak's connection with the movement is above suspicion."\textsuperscript{66}

Despite a lengthy stay in Manchuria, Hawreliak's activities bore few results. Although he aggressively promoted Kleskun lands and Canadian Pacific SteamShip/Canadian Pacific Railway transportation connections, Hawreliak found that potential settlers at Harbin would not consent to placing a $500.00 deposit on lands which they could not view before purchasing. He was therefore forced to discontinue his mission by late April, 1926.\textsuperscript{67} Hawreliak's recruitment activities at Harbin stalled not only because prospective settlers chose to exercise caution with whatever capital they retained, they also faltered because his methods excited the antagonism of the local Russian press which questioned his motives for soliciting passenger traffic and attempting to dispose of unseen properties to unsuspecting settlers.\textsuperscript{68}

Although the Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Association suspended its attempts to obtain suitable clients from Harbin, Hawreliak's visit there did ultimately yield a small trickle of settlers to Canada.
In the early summer of 1926 a small handful of Harbin immigrants landed and was turned over to the Canadian National Railway for placement near Kuroki, Saskatchewan. When the group of eight arrived, however, it was discovered the refugees had no farming experience. Included in the group were one professor, two students and two actors.

Reflecting on the failure of Hawreliak's Harbin expedition, F. C. Blair concluded the whole affair constituted "a good illustration of how sometimes people or concerns in Canada will ask for a privilege, accept responsibility, and then back out with scarcely a thought of what it means to the Department or perhaps to a group of settlers."

Although other Canadian Pacific Railway-related placement work was similarly controversial, most of its settlement activities progressed in a more routine fashion. Generally these efforts were carried out under the stipulations set out in the Railways' Agreement. Throughout 1926 the various colonization boards established by the Canadian Pacific Railway absorbed thousands of arrivals. The placements undertaken by these boards generally
reflected the ethnic composition of the areas in which these boards operated. Orest Zerebko, head of the Hafford, Saskatchewan, Colonization Board, for example, directed the placement of almost two hundred Ukrainians during the year. Some were part of another contingent of Galicians from Cuba who were successfully directed to Canada by the Canadian Pacific. Most, however, originated in Western Ukraine. The Ukrainian Baptist Board at Saskatoon developed nominations for over one hundred and fifty Baptists, or Stundists, from Soviet Ukraine. Tight Soviet restrictions on emigration, however, prevented or delayed the arrival of many of those nominated. Other boards at Canora, Vonda and Prince Albert absorbed many hundred more Ukrainians, mostly from Poland and, to a lesser extent, Roumania.

In 1926, roughly 35,000 immigrants from the non-preferred countries arrived in Canada under occupational certificates issued by the two railroads. Of this number, over 25,000 were unattached farm labourers placed on the prairies between March and September. Roughly one quarter of all continentals who arrived during the first year of the operation of the Railways' Agreement were Ukrainians. This pattern prevailed for most of the period.
On an overall basis, the volume of continental immigrants brought in by the two railroads during 1926 favoured the Canadian National Railroad almost three to two.77 The largest contributory factor involved in this imbalance was that the Canadian Pacific Railway was not able to successfully combat the joint recruitment activities of the Cunard, Scandinavian-American, White Star, Red Star and various other steamship companies which directed their business almost exclusively to the Canadian National Railway.78

The majority of Ukrainian farm labour placements were directed to central and northern Saskatchewan and Alberta, reflecting the general trend among all incoming continentals.79 A large acreage of brush land was cleared by the newcomers and the need for harvest workers was largely met for 1926. Many single workers of all nationalities, however, did not remain in farming and drifted into the cities and mining towns. The vast majority of arrivals, however, were absorbed somewhere and very little unemployment was reported among these recent immigrants.80 Family placements in agriculture fared relatively better. Most recent family arrivals pursued farm employment or began
establishing their own farming operations. Domestics caused the least amount of problems. The majority went directly to their destination and tended to stay with their sponsors for at least a few months if not indefinitely.

In summation, the first full season of the operation of the Railways' Agreement saw numerous breaches in the terms under which both railways had previously agreed to place immigrants from the non-preferred countries. Hundreds of non-agriculturalists obtained entry; many who arrived were not directed to farm employment; and many of those who did go to farm work did not remain long on the land. In many cases the prospects of better pay drew new immigrants to jobs in railroad construction, mining and industrial work. For the most part, however, little unemployment resulted and little public attention was focused on the issue.

In October, 1926, representatives of the two railroads met with immigration officials to review operation of the Railways' Agreement and discuss a railroad proposal that the existing Agreement be extended beyond the two-year period originally
established. The railroads argued that the recruitment process was time consuming and expensive. The railroads could only recoup their costs, they claimed, if the Agreement was extended over a longer period of time. For its part, the government strongly reprimanded the railroads for abuses which were allowed by both companies throughout 1926. It agreed, however, to give consideration to continuing and possibly extending the Agreement.

Senior Immigration Department officials counselled their Minister, the Honourable Robert Forke, not to renew the Agreement in its existing form. They were highly critical of the abuses perpetrated by the railroads and assembled documentary evidence detailing their criticisms. The central concern of departmental authorities was that their officers in Europe were not permitted to reject emigrants bearing railroad certificates on the basis of occupation. W. J. Egan, Deputy Minister of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, noted that Canadian inspectional officers were not allowed to turn back certified emigrants despite the fact many were clearly non-agriculturalists. In spite of strong departmental representations,
the Honourable Robert Forke advised the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National on February 8, 1927, that the Railways' Agreement would be extended for an additional three-year term. After consultation with Cabinet, Forke agreed to the extension and also agreed to leaving the power of recruitment and occupational screening with the railroads. If the government were again to assume these duties it would have had to expand its European staff and devote considerably larger resources to immigration. The country had experienced little increased unemployment as a result of the abuses - which all parties involved agreed were prevalent - so little danger was perceived in extending the arrangement.

Some minor changes in the Agreement were, however, included. Germany was officially reclassified a "preferred" country and Russia was officially added to the list of "non preferred" countries covered by the Agreement. Because Soviet emigrants were not generally allowed to return to their country once they had emigrated, Canada was left without recourse to deportation if a Soviet emigrant committed a criminal offense or became a public charge. Especial requirements were therefore placed on the sponsorship of Soviet citizens in Canada,
particularly to insure against indigence. Particular care was to be taken in insuring a sponsor was capable of supporting his nominee in the event he became unemployed. A breach in Soviet-Canadian diplomatic relations later in 1927, however, effectively made the U.S.S.R.'s inclusion in the Agreement a dead letter.

In addition to the above provisions, the railroads were cautioned to ensure their Certificate-Issuing-Officer's did not have overt connections with any steamship companies. Farm workers who were not specifically nominated were to sail no earlier than February 1 and no later than August 15. In response to numerous complaints over the lackadaisical distribution practices of various Canadian Pacific Railway-related colonization boards, the government clarified the list of boards which retained the privilege to place immigrants on a year-round basis over and above the terms of the Railways' Agreement. The only ones allowed to continue doing so were the Lutheran Immigration Board, the V.D.C.K. (German Catholic agency) and the various mennonite boards which had the financial capacity to care for immigrants, not only an interest in earning commissions. Finally, the government gave notice that a quota system would
be enforced and that it retained the right to cancel
the agreement on one year's notice. 85

III

During the remaining years of the Agreement the
recruitment and placement of Ukrainians by the two
railroads became more highly specialized. The
C.P.R. refined its "colonization board" approach
toward continental placements. Rather than con-
tinuing to support a plethora of local boards, the
C.P.R. chose to expand its activities by channeling
most newcomers through a few centralized and more
highly commercialized organizations. The C.N.R.,
on the other hand, chose to extend its system of
local commission agents across the prairies. Addi-
tional Ukrainian travelling representatives were
employed and a large network of independent commission
agents was established to develop nominations and
distribute incoming immigrants in Ukrainian communi-
ties in the three prairie provinces. The degree of
competition for traffic was enhanced even more
than before as both companies sought to develop
contacts and attract capable organizers to their
respective colonization organizations.
In 1927 the C.N.R., and its C.N.L.S.A. subsidiary, stepped up its Ukrainian colonization efforts. Although it continued to co-operate with the St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants Welfare Association, it moved to establish its own network of local commission agents. It established a policy of paying local agents $5.00 per family placed plus an additional $1.00 per family member. Fred Taciuk was put in charge of developing a strong network of Ukrainian agents and was assisted by a new Slavic settlement representative, F. M. Jurema. The duo criss-crossed the prairies establishing contacts in various Ukrainian communities. In Saskatchewan alone over a dozen Ukrainian community leaders were recruited as C.N.R. colonization representatives in 1927.

A continued organizational drive almost doubled this total in the following year and the number of Ukrainian agents grew to over a quarter of all C.N.R. placement agents in the West, reflecting the relative emphasis devoted to Ukrainian placements. It should be noted that although Ukrainians were highly sought after as colonization representatives, almost none were retained by the C.N.R. as land agents in the
inter-war period. These positions, which involved the listing and sale for substantial commissions of lands adjacent to C.N.R. lines, remained the preserve of the traditional English-speaking business elite.

Typically, Taciuk and Jurema would enter a community and approach a prominent Ukrainian businessman, farmer or municipal leader to interest his involvement. Although most agents thus recruited were Greek Catholics, several Greek Orthodox agents were also appointed. If the individual agreed to place settlers for the Canadian National, he was sent an official notification of his appointment from the headquarters in Winnipeg. Once appointed, the agent was expected to survey his community to estimate the number of farm workers or domestics required in his district. In addition, he was expected to note any vacant lands - and their cost - on which immigrant families could be placed. As much as possible he was to obtain applications for workers from farmers on which concrete estimates of requirements could be based. Canadian National officials then tabulated these to determine the total number of Ukrainians, and other nationalities, required
to meet prairie placement needs. C.N.R. officers in Europe were subsequently notified of these totals and authorized to clear a prescribed number of immigrants for sailing. Once they landed in Canada these immigrants were greeted at Winnipeg and dispersed through a central clearing house to be placed by the local colonization agent nearest their ultimate destination.

The placement system used by the C.N.R. was highly centralized and usually produced an orderly distribution of immigrants to their intended destination. Invariably some confusion occurred and a few settlers found themselves misdirected. On the whole, however, the bulk of C.N.R. placements were undertaken to the satisfaction of both the railroad and the settler. The C.N.R. did appoint commission agents at one or two points in communities on C.P.R. lines but these tended to be in areas not too distant from its own lines. For the most part, then, the C.N.R. did not undertake the territorial violation practices pursued by its competitor.

The importance of the St. Raphael's Association
in terms of placing Ukrainian immigrants further diminished in 1927, its role supplanted by the growing number of independent agents appointed by the company. The Association virtually completely withdrew from direct placement work, referring most inquiries received at its Winnipeg office to the C.N.R. to pursue. In the winter and spring of 1927 the St. Raphael's Association received some 470 inquiries from prospective settlers from Europe and South America requesting information on subjects varying from Canadian immigration regulations to farm employment prospects and transportation facilities. The Association office responded by supplying inquirers with the requested information as well as general brochures outlining immigration procedures and Canadian conditions. These brochures openly promoted the settlement organization of the C.N.R., completely ignoring mention of the Canadian Pacific. The inquirers' names were then forwarded to the C.N.R. colonization department for follow-up work.

Although the C.N.R. obviously continued to benefit from its association with the St. Raphael's organization, the relationship was not always completely cordial.
Bishop Budka, for instance, withdrew his active support from the organization not long after it began openly co-operating with the C.N.R. The Bishop's reasons for doing so are not clear. It is known, however, that both Budka and his successor, Bishop Ladyka, favoured the establishment of an independent, wholly church-oriented Ukrainian colonization association. Budka for some time played both sides of the fence, requesting free passes and other concessions from both railroads. Early in 1927, however, Budka was recalled to Europe leaving Greek Catholic ecclesiastical preference over the control of Ukrainian colonization work in Canada largely a mute concern.

Some C.N.R. officials privately minimized the usefulness of the St. Raphael's Association in terms of actual settlement work. The Company did, however, profit by referrals from the Association and gained invaluable connections with the existing network of Ukrainian Greek Catholic community leaders in Canada. Some St. Raphael Association members were brought into the employ of the company as colonization representatives. In 1928, for example, D. M. Elcheshen, the Association's secretary, joined the company. The
following year another prominent Greek Catholic and community leader, Volodymyr Bossy, served briefly with the company. These ties solidified the C.N.R.'s relations with a large segment of the Ukrainian community in Canada. They also provided the company with a maze of automatic contacts across the prairies, enhancing the placement potential enjoyed by the C.N.R. An offshoot of the C.N.R.'s Greek Catholic connections was an active working relationship between the company and the Basilian Fathers at Mundare, Alberta. The Basilians worked with another colonization representative, William Smolyk, to assist with farm worker and family placements in northern Alberta.

Overall, the C.N.R. devoted considerably more effort to placing Ukrainian family units in farming than did its competitor. This was, to a significant degree, determined by the fact that most homesteads and minimally improved lands adjacent to existing Ukrainian colonies in Western Canada lay in C.N.R. territory. From the outset, the Canadian National directed a strong attempt to attract agricultural families as well as farm workers and domestics for placement in the northern prairies.
By early 1927, however, economic improvement and a stiffening of land prices made it more difficult for suitable agricultural families to purchase even moderately improved property. Increasingly, then, the C.N.R. directed more of its low capital families to homesteads and other minimally improved lands in areas more remote from existing branch lines. In general the C.N.R.'s family placements focused on Polish, Ukrainian and various German-speaking groups. The C.N.R. pursued a policy that families they placed should arrive with $500.00 in capital and be prepared to deposit $400.00 of this on landing. This provision, as it affected Ukrainians, however, was somewhat modified in 1927. This particular concession was prompted by the fact that although Ukrainian families generally proved to be satisfactory and stable placements, few could afford to both pay transportation and deposit a large sum on arrival. This was in contrast to other Europeans who did not face the same degree of difficulty. In response, the C.N.L.S.A. lowered its capital requirements for Ukrainian families only to $350.00, of which $250.00 was required as a deposit. This concession, though, was restricted to families with two or more children.
The presence of children, it was felt, generally served as an anchor to keep families from moving on.

The effort expended by the C.N.R. in family placement is reflected in the numbers of family units the company succeeded in establishing on the land. In 1928, for example, the C.N.R. placed 170 Ukrainian families 99 on the prairies compared with an anticipated placement of only 15 Ukrainian families 100 by the C.P.R.'s Canada Colonization Association subsidiary in the same year. Ukrainian family business represented the second largest ethnic category placed by the C.N.R., exceeded only by German placements. 101 On an overall basis the C.N.R., through its steamship connections and its well developed network of local agents, continued to enjoy the majority of both Ukrainian and Polish traffic to Canada. 102

Brief mention of the specific strategy behind the C.N.R.'s family placements is helpful in understanding the particular distribution pattern which obtained by the late 1920's. Due to the scarcity in more settled
areas of farm lands which incoming settlers could afford, C.N.R. placement officials attempted to direct arrivals to more remote areas further removed from existing transportation connections. Colonization representatives frequently found, however, that new arrivals - similar to their predecessors - exhibited a strong inclination to settle near previously established fellow nationals. To overcome the obstacles imposed by this group settlement psychology, the railroad frequently grouped settlers by nationality, placed them together in a remote area, then relied on their natural tendency to attract relatives and former neighbours to join them. This strategy not only helped overcome the loneliness inherent in frontier settlement, it also served to advance the railroad's interests through the more rapid development of remote districts. The head of the C.N.L.S.A., F. J. Freer, described the strategy in a letter to his district superintendent at Saskatoon.

... it has been our practice, once we have made a substantial start with new settlers, to let further settlement take care of itself pretty much from the 'follow on' of friends and relatives. For example, at points like Minitonas, St. Walburg, St. Paul and Kuroki we have found that
once we have established a number of new settlers they attract their friends and relatives to such an extent that further settlement will continue at a satisfactory rate. As previously stated, one of our very real jobs is one of continually breaking into new territory and getting new settlers established at points on our line where traffic is small owing to insufficient farm population and area under cultivation.  

Justifying apportioning of resources for the C.N.R.'s substantial colonization effort was a relatively easy task. Although the railroad's Colonization Department expended almost $170,000.00 on colonization work in 1927, for example, this amount was balanced off by receipts of over $160,000.00 which the Company pegged as revenues directly ascertainable to immigration. That is, rail fares and a share of ocean revenues. The company's immediate financial picture did not suffer from added immigration expense, and its long term interests would clearly be advanced through increased settlement activity. The company's Annual Reports in this period boast of the large number of homestead claims and vacant lands taken up in C.N.R. territory. Lands in fringe areas which were brought into production very appreciably enhanced the company's future freight revenues. One
company report in 1927, for instance, confidently predicted the company stood to gain about a million dollars in extra revenues yearly as a result of the production possible from the added breaking done in that year. Much of this clearing and breaking work had been done by farm workers or newly-arrived farm families from the non-preferred countries.

Given average yields, and on the basis of an average grain freight rate of 24¢ per 100 pounds to Port Arthur, an acre of new breaking should be worth to the system approximately $2.00 per annum over a period of years, and the amount broken up along our lines this year will justify the expectation of increased revenue in future years from grain transportation to the extent of over $1,000,000 per annum.105

The C.P.R., too, justified its colonization expenditures on a similar basis.

In sharp contrast to the C.N.R.'s mode of operation, the C.P.R. chose to pursue a decentralized distribution approach and to intensify its colonization board approach towards most of its continental traffic. Rather than clearing all placements out of a centralized location, the C.P.R. opted for channeling allocations directly
through its various prairie colonization boards. Over the winter of 1926-27, moreover, the C.P.R. also moved to streamline its procedures and concentrate the bulk of its continental traffic through a few larger private colonization agencies. Over the 1927 immigration season, for example, several local boards at such predominantly Ukrainian points as Canora, Vonda and Prud'homme, Saskatchewan, and Shoal Lake, Manitoba, were allowed to lapse out of existence. These were largely replaced by three major Ukrainian agencies, one in each prairie province. The company found that an attractive commission policy drew a few private organizers into the business of placing immigrants who proved much more effective in placing large volumes of immigrants than a large field of part-time local agents. What the company gained in increased traffic and lower direct costs, however, it lost in terms of control.

The bulk of Ukrainian C.P.R. placements in Alberta continued to go to the Hawreliak organization at Edmonton. The organization changed its name to the Confederation Land Corporation in 1927 and greatly expanded its activities. Not only did the
Confederation Land Corporation settled over 1,000 Ukrainians in Alberta that year, its recruitment activities among other non-preferred nationalities gave the Corporation combined placements in farm labour of over 2,500 men. This constituted over a quarter of all C.P.R. continental placements in Canada for the year 1927. When considered in combination with the placements undertaken by its sister organizations at Saskatoon and Winnipeg, these ostensibly "Ukrainian" boards moved almost half the Canadian Pacific Railway's total allotment of immigrants from the non-preferred countries. This impressive success was partially due to the effectiveness of the various organizers involved and their concomitant penchant for overlooking misdirected placements and overlapping of orders for workers.

The other two major C.P.R. Ukrainian settlement boards which came into operation in the spring of 1927 were the Ukrainian Colonization Board at Saskatoon and the Ukrainian Settler's Aid Association in Winnipeg. The former was organized by John G. Ruryk, one of the more talented organizers associated with the Hawreliak agency at Edmonton. On the prompting of the C.P.R., Ruryk
established an office in Saskatoon and succeeded in obtaining the moral support of the Ukrainian Self Reliance League, the lay organization which backed the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.\textsuperscript{111} Although no formal working arrangement was established, the group did agree to give Ruryk whatever assistance it could. As an added incentive to gain Orthodox support, the organization's president, Wasyl Swystun, was granted a complementary rail pass and was offered a commission for any immigrants he channeled to the company.\textsuperscript{112} In spite of a relatively late start in commencing operations in Saskatchewan, Ruryk was successful in placing 1,454 farm labourers and 7 domestics in 1927, increasing these totals to 2,332 farm workers, 26 domestics and 2 families in the following year.\textsuperscript{113}

For his colonization efforts, Ruryk received a $5.00 per placement commission from the C.P.R. His Saskatoon operations were also subsidized through a monthly grant from the company of $200.00,\textsuperscript{114} an amount similar to that allowed the Winnipeg and Edmonton organizations. To facilitate gathering applications and distributing farm workers, Ruryk at first established a network of sub-agents in several Ukrainian
communities to whom he paid a part of his commission. Initially he developed a network of six or seven such local contacts, providing them commissions ranging from $1.25 to $2.00 per placement. Once firmly established in business, however, he discontinued the use of sub-agents and undertook most of the placement work himself. Colonization work proved a very lucrative business for energetic organizers such as Ruryk. Based on a per placement profit of around $1.75,115 Ruryk's more than 2,300 placements in 1928 yielded him a very handsome net return in excess of $4,000.00. In addition to such earnings, Ruryk and his fellow organizers at Edmonton and Winnipeg also received commissions on real estate sold either to newcomers or Canadian citizens by separate arrangement.

Given the high stakes involved it is not surprising that many Colonization agents often chose to overlook the fact that many of their supposed placements either never arrived at their intended destination or never stayed on the land for even a full season let alone a year. John Ruryk, for example, admitted that he did not initiate any checks into whether farm workers he directed to rural areas had in fact remained on the land.116 The only means by which he discovered his
placements did not remain in farm employment was if they contacted him personally or drifted back into his office. Given the general set up of C.P.R. colonization work, however, there was no incentive to do otherwise. Colonization agents such as Ruryk were expected to provide after care to farm labourers who were not placed in or did not stay in agriculture and undertake the expense of re-placing them elsewhere. The obvious emphasis in the whole system was, however, attracting the biggest volume of immigrants with little company or organization control to ensure workers were placed on farms as required by the Railways' Agreement. Ruryk conceded, as well, that only 50 to 60 percent of his placements stayed on the land, an optimistic appraisal compared to most government estimates. Another side effect of the intense competition for placements was that various boards would complain to the C.P.R. of territorial intrusions by sister boards. In one amusing instance the Confederation Land Corporation at Edmonton even wrote to federal immigration authorities complaining the Ukrainian Colonization Board at Saskatoon had pirated some of what they felt were placements which should rightfully have been directed to Edmonton.118 The Department
respectfully declined to arbitrate.

The third and least significant C.P.R. Ukrainian colonization agency was the Ukrainian Settler's Aid Association of Winnipeg. Unlike the Edmonton and Saskatoon groups which were headed by Ukrainians of the Orthodox faith, the Winnipeg Association was composed largely of Ukrainian Greek Catholics. Bishop Budka was formally listed as its patron despite the fact he had been recalled to Europe. Joseph Dyk was the Association's president while Basil Baleshta, who had left his former C.N.R. employer, was its secretary. Bishop Budka's secretary, Reverend Bartman, was a member of the Board of Directors, as were several other C.P.R. employees including Dr. Datzkiw, Ivan Rudachek and Volodislaus Biberovich who had also bolted the C.N.R. to take a position as travelling representative for the Canadian Pacific SteamShip lines. Another prominent individual involved in the enterprise was Hryhory Kurdydyk, editor of the Ukrainian weekly Canadian Farmer. The Winnipeg Association apparently received similar support from the C.P.R. to that received by John Ruryk's Board. They were granted a $200.00 per
month support payment for office expenses, a $5.00 commission rate for placing farm workers as well as a $5.00 commission on steamship tickets sold. 121 Although the Ukrainian Settler's Aid Society set out with an ambitious objective of placing 1,500 settlers in Manitoba in 1927, their actual placements totalled only 247. 122

Part of the failure of the Ukrainian Settler's Aid Association to attract immigrants to Manitoba reflected the relative advantage enjoyed by the C.N.R. in terms of Ukrainian placements in the province. An additional aspect of the explanation, however, is that Manitoba was the least popular of the three prairie provinces as a destination as far more farm placements were generally available in Alberta and Saskatchewan. 123 These factors continued to handicap the Winnipeg Association in its colonization efforts. When general immigration declined in the late 1920's, the Ukrainian Settler's Aid Association was the first of the three major C.P.R. Ukrainian agencies on the prairies to close its doors.

By late 1927 the only two other local Ukrainian
colonization boards working with the C.P.R. were the Hafford, Saskatchewan, Colonization Board headed by Orest Zerebko and the Ukrainian Baptist Board at Saskatoon directed by Reverend Ivan Shakotko. The two boards jointly placed only a few dozen settlers and Zerebko, it should be noted, also acted as a local colonization agent for the C.N.R., finding farm work for part of their allotment as well. For the duration of the Railways' Agreement period, then, the vast majority of C.P.R. Ukrainian placements emanated from three private central organizations at Edmonton, Saskatoon and Winnipeg.

IV

The impressive volume of Ukrainian immigrants moved to Canada in the late twenties was disrupted by the eventual withdrawal of the Railways' Agreement. The erosion in public opinion which led to the ultimate cancellation of the Railways Agreement commenced in the spring of 1927. The immediate cause of widespread criticism was an oversupply of farm labourers early in the year. This oversupply was due primarily to the railroads' propensity to pass for sailing as many immigrant labourers as
could pay the fare in order to maximize traffic flows. Such abuses, even in the first year of the Agreements' operation, had drawn considerable public attention. This attention, however, turned increasingly into concern and outright disapproval as bad spring weather in 1927 forced many farmers to release or not accept for placement continental labourers they had previously agreed to hire. As a result, hundreds of central and east European immigrants drifted to the cities, logging camps and industrial sites in search of employment.125 The provinces and municipalities, ultimately responsible for the provision of welfare services, raised a hue and cry. Although politicians had previously been able largely to disregard what had been viewed as relatively minor abuses, the size of the problem now made it impossible to ignore. The government was consequently forced into a series of moves designed to diffuse public opinion. An examination of the events surrounding these moves serves to underline the impact of a vocally critical element, on the one hand, determined to restrict immigration; and illustrates attempts by the railroads and continental groups such as Ukrainians, on the other hand, to keep the avenues of immigration open.
Public awareness of the degree to which abuses had occurred was evident even in many of the smallest communities in the West. Many colonization boards - including the Ukrainian boards associated with the Canadian Pacific Railway - had been guilty of pursuing questionable practices designed to bring in as many continental workers as possible. Every attempt was made to attract sponsors for incoming immigrants. When these proved hard to come by, fictitious names were often placed on documents as were names of individuals who clearly had not requested and did not want immigrant labourers. Although the large private colonization boards attracted considerable notoriety over their pursuit of such practices, many independent Canadian National Railway commission agents were also found guilty of pursuing similar methods. One Ukrainian farmer at Lipton, Saskatchewan, as a representative example, complained to authorities he had been sent a farm worker by the Canadian National Railway though he had definitely not ordered one.\textsuperscript{126} The hope of such less than scrupulous agents was that incoming workers would be absorbed somewhere in the economy thus making both the railroad and the immigrant happy, yet avoiding public criticism.
With the adverse weather conditions of early 1927, however, the human by-products of this strategy became increasingly more visible. Hundreds of Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians and other central Europeans were forced to drift back and forth across the prairies trying to secure even temporary placements. A graphic example of the fate which befell many of the spring arrivals is evident in the following account of two Canadian National Railway-sponsored Slavic immigrants who arrived in Canada in February, 1927, and remained largely destitute fully four months later.

As soon as we arrived in Winnipeg the Immigration office would not give us a position, so we had to look for work ourselves which we had got from the Government Employment Board. We worked for one month at Great Falls, after one months time there was no more work so we had to be without any work for two months going from one office to another, but they would not give us any work. On the 12th June from Winnipeg office they sent us to Saskatoon and told us they will take us on extra gang work, we gave our last cent for the tickets to Saskatoon, but when we arrived here they could not take us on so we have to go around without a cent in our pockets and no work.

By May, 1927, public dissatisfaction with the operation of the Railways' Agreement began to produce
political repercussions. Numerous protests were lodged by provincial and municipal officials. Dozens of community groups and individual citizens also publicized their concerns. Under such circumstances federal immigration authorities were faced with a dilemma both in terms of heading off a worse oversupply of farm labourers as well as reassuring concerned elements in the population. F. C. Blair of the Department of Immigration and Colonization described the situation and outlined the government's policy options in a letter to his Acting Minister on May 18, 1927.

It appears to me that there is a gathering storm rising in the West and that we will not be able to find very much shelter in the statement that the Government handed over to the Railways, under an arrangement which tied our hands, the right to move any number of people whom they can place at farm work in Canada, regardless of whether these are actually fit for or intend to take farm work. There will be a terrific outcry from the Railway Companies if this thing is cancelled. On the other hand there is bound to be a worse situation created by public opinion in Canada if the present conditions are allowed to continue.128

Given the severity of the circumstances, the federal government at the end of May imposed an
embargo against the admission of any more unattached farm labourers from the non-preferred countries for the remainder of the season. The volumes of domestics were to be closely monitored and also open to control. Family units with sufficient capital to begin farming as well as dependents arriving to join relatives already resident in Canada, however, were free to move as before.129

Railroad reaction to the embargo was, not surprisingly, negative. Each company religiously attempted to absolve itself of any major share of responsibility for the situation and offered government officials a host of evidence of the other's wrong doings. And, although the Canadian National Railway immediately halted its movement of continental farm workers to Canada, its competitor did not do likewise. The Canadian Pacific Railway indeed adopted a practice of antedating applications for departure from Europe so as to enable a larger number of unattached agricultural labourers to gain entry before the cut off date decreed in the embargo.130

In addition to attempting to deflect blame from themselves, both railroads - the Canadian Pacific Railway
in particular - lobbied the government to lift the embargo. The cessation of farm labour immigration as it had been applied, they argued, was unfair to many continental who had sold all their possessions to pay their fare and were now left high and dry, unable to sail until the next immigration season and possibly indefinitely. Government officials, however, clearly viewed this new-found altruistic concern for the welfare of immigrants as a thin veneer. The Department of Immigration and Colonization, by this point, had little patience either for the railroads or the many colonization boards with which they worked.

The Department had come to view the operation of most of these boards with an intense cynicism. One senior immigration official, for example, termed these boards as the organizations which had already set so many immigrants "adrift" and were now looking for "fresh material". In a briefing to the Prime Minister on the embargo and its aftermath, F. C. Blair of the Immigration Department evaluated the work of several of these boards. The Hungarian Immigration Board at Calgary, for instance, he characterized as nothing more than a Hungarian Jew "trafficking in immigrants and incidentally gets paid so much a head
Blair extended an essentially similar characterization of the three Canadian Pacific Railway-related Ukrainian colonization boards in the West. He described them as fronts for the Canadian Pacific Railway which existed to obtain nominations for immigrants and provide an avenue by which it could place or otherwise "get rid of" as many arrivals as possible. Blair outlined, for the Prime Minister, the operation of these boards and their lobbying effort to re-open the importation of unattached agricultural workers.

We have received three or four telegrams which I should say are inspired. They come from the Ukrainian Colonization Boards of the West. These Boards are the creation largely of the Canadian Pacific Railway. They are all merely skeleton organizations used by the Companies to collect information about the number of foreign immigrants supposed to be wanted in various districts and to distribute or otherwise to get rid of the immigrants when they arrive.133

Such fleeting attempts by Ukrainians and others to lift the embargo, however, fell on deaf ears. Not only were federal officials deeply concerned with the
oversupply of farm workers, their embargo had the support of most municipal and provincial political leaders on the prairies. Although Premier Gardiner of Saskatchewan felt the excess supply could soon be absorbed, Premiers Brownlee and Bracken of Alberta and Manitoba respectively blamed the railroads for the oversupply of agricultural and non-agricultural labourers in the western economy. These, they felt, supplanted local workers, provoked public resentment and placed local governments in the position of having to support many of the new arrivals.134

The public criticism which prompted the embargo was the first widespread discussion related to the Railways' Agreement but it was not to be the last. Under previously prosperous conditions the issue of continental immigration had passed largely unnoticed. With the first signs of economic downturn, however, public criticism surfaced and the issue of immigration remained a current topic of popular concern.

In spite of the embargo, 10,899 Ukrainians gained admittance to Canada in 1927.135 Of these, 7,670 were males, most of whom arrived unaccompanied; 326 wives and mothers also arrived as did 523 children. About
a dozen unskilled workers and tradespeople arrived under special permits, representative of the very small movement of Ukrainians which occurred beyond the bounds of the Railways' Agreement. Finally, about 1,461 domestics also passed through immigration lines. Clearly, many more Ukrainians in the farm labourer classes would have arrived in 1927 except for the embargo. Because of its imposition many Ukrainians either postponed or completely cancelled plans to relocate in Canada.

The abusive practices which provoked the embargo formed the subject matter of an internal departmental investigation on the Railways' Agreement. The "Brief of Summary Evidence Covering Operation of the Railways' Agreement, January to August, 1927" contained extensive documentation to support many of the charges publicly levelled against the railroads. The head immigration official on the prairies, for example, testified that only about 45 percent of continental immigrant labourers went to farm work on arrival. Moreover, only about half of these remained employed on the land for any length of time. Those who did not settle in farm employment gravitated towards industrial jobs in the
larger prairie cities, Central Canada and the West Coast. A British Columbian official, for instance, testified that hundreds of continentals who had gained admittance as farm labourers had arrived on the West Coast in search of non-agricultural employment. He further capsulized his criticism of the placement effort of the railroads noting that "selection seems to be based entirely on the ability of the applicant to raise the funds to pay the fare." 138

The issue of continental competition for non-agricultural employment throughout Canada became increasingly controversial as the number of jobs declined. This controversy, however, assumed dimensions beyond a simple concern for the preservation of employment opportunities for Canadian labourers. The importation of thousands of foreign workers also rekindled the "Red Scare" which had swept North America after the war. Many Canadians feared that more than a number of the newcomers harboured Bolshevik sympathies and wouldagitate to overthrow the Canadian system of government and economic organization. Although there was little concrete evidence to support such fears this public perception persisted.
The pro-Soviet Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association became a prime target of such suspicions. Although supported by only a minority of Ukrainians, this group formed one of the largest pro-communist organizations in Canada. Many people both within and outside the Ukrainian community in Canada were disquieted by the potential influx of communist agitators. Civil authorities, too, expressed apprehension of the immigration-related activities of the U.L.F.T.A.; so much so that R.C.M.P. agents were assigned to monitor the activities of the organization in the several urban centres in Canada where it was active. 139

R.C.M.P. surveillance of U.L.F.T.A. activities included monitoring its publications, sending undercover agents to spy at its meetings and following the movements of its leaders. In one of his frequent reports to immigration authorities, R.C.M.P. Commissioner Cortlandt Starnes reported on the January 22, 1927, convention of the U.L.F.T.A. "which is well known to us as a definite communist organization." 140 Starnes warned the government that the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association was preparing to intensify its "propaganda" activities
among new arrivals. The convention, he noted, had agreed to establish committees to give advice and moral assistance to immigrants. These committees were to be established at various centres including Montreal, Toronto, Fort William, Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton and Calgary. As translated from the Ukrainian Labour News:

'The role of the committees of the above mentioned places are limited to giving only information and care to immigrants who arrive from the old country. The work of the committees would be under the supervision of the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association.'

The R.C.M.P. succeeded in uncovering a small interchange of money and personnel between Canada and the Soviet Union which involved leaders of the U.L.F.T.A. and a pro-Soviet Doukhobour group. It was unable, however, to establish that the U.L.F.T.A. played any major or effective role in the movement or political indoctrination of Ukrainian immigrants. This situation changed somewhat at a later date when the chronic unemployment and destitution of the Depression drove many recent immigrants to seek radical solutions to their problems. The fear of Bolshevik infiltration in
the late 1920's, however, persisted despite the lack of hard evidence that it was actually prevalent.

It is interesting to note the manner in which Ukrainian colonization interests manipulated this fear to their own ends. In an effort to deflect attention from their own shortcomings, for example, some Ukrainian colonization agents attributed the fact that immigrants had not arrived at their destination to Bolshevik agitators who pulled Ukrainian immigrants off the trains. John Ruryk from Saskatoon testified to R.C.M.P. officials that the practice had become so common that he "nearly" had one such agitator at Moose Jaw arrested. 144 Such repeated occurrences, he claimed, frequently explained why his "Colonization Board lost track of the immigrant." 145 Given the overwhelming evidence on the abuses perpetrated by the railroads and their associated boards, this was an obviously specious claim. It was, nonetheless, largely accepted at face value by R.C.M.P. and immigration officials. 146 These and other similar claims were frequently paraded in the anti-communist Ukrainian press. Newspapers such as the Ukrainian Voice repeatedly advanced the charge that Bolshevik provocation would eventually cause the tightening
of immigration restrictions, yet completely avoided comment on the numerous immigration-related abuses perpetrated by some of its own supporters. Although the U.L.F.T.A. openly aspired to an active role in immigration work, its actual impact was minimal. Its desire to be actively involved, however, drew the attack of anti-communist Ukrainians and further aided in disquieting public opinion in general.

Growing public anxiety and an increasing awareness of the numerous irregularities attendant on the operation of the Railways' Agreement forced the government to take steps additional to the imposition of the embargo. In October, 1927, Immigration Minister Robert Forke announced that various recognized immigration boards such as the Lutheran Immigration Board would no longer be allowed to directly nominate immigrants. Rather, all immigrants from the non-preferred countries were to be sponsored through one or other of the railroads. The colonization boards and railroads could continue to work together but the boards were formally excluded from the sponsorship process. This provision was designed to eliminate the potential for confusion and lay the responsibility for the placement of immigrants squarely on the two
railroads. This stipulation did not affect the movement of Ukrainians as none of the Ukrainian boards enjoyed government recognition. These boards already channeled their allotments through the railroads. The other provision announced by Forke had a more direct effect on Ukrainians. Under this provision, all nominations of or applications for single men or men unaccompanied by their families were restricted to persons actually engaged in agriculture. This latter move was an attempt to ensure newcomers were at least initially directed to farm employment.

This alteration in government policy, however, proved largely insufficient to quell public concern. Indeed, the public pressure which arose in early 1927 remained potent and forced politicians at all levels to seek a further amelioration of the situation. Even many members of the governing Liberal caucus were highly critical of what they perceived to be an unbridled flood of continental labourers. As a result of these various pressures, the House of Commons referred the entire issue of immigration and the work of the Department of Immigration and Colonization for study to the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture.
and Colonization. The Committee began its work in February, 1928. While the matter was under review, however, prevailing regulations continued to govern the flow of immigrants. The embargo against unattached farm labourers was not extended into 1928. With no such restriction and under more favourable weather conditions than the previous year, the flow of European immigrants hit an inter-war high.

Ukrainian immigration, for example, topped the 16,000 mark in 1928, well over 11,000 of whom were male agriculturalists. The spring weather was generally good and farmers were able to provide relatively more placements than in the preceding year. Under growing speculation that the Canadian Parliament might soon order permanent restrictions on immigration, thousands of Ukrainians gained entry early in the season. As regards male farm workers, many were part of a carry over from the 1927 embargo. The timing of relocation for many others was prompted by the devastation caused by extensive flooding in Ukrainian lands the previous autumn.

The agitation to curtail immigration from the non-preferred countries intensified and gained
increased focus thanks to the parliamentary hearings of the Select Standing Committee. The hearings drew further public attention to the issue of immigration and served as a forum for such critics as Bishop George Exton Lloyd of the Anglican Church in Saskatchewan to launch attacks against continental immigration. Bishop Lloyd conducted a widely publicized campaign in which he castigated the dominion government for allowing the two railroads to denationalize Canada. The pro-British rhetoric proffered by Lloyd was more than mildly reminiscent of the intense racial invective of such earlier critics of immigration as Reverend Wellington Bridgeman. A sample of Lloyd's assault is contained in a letter to the Saskatoon Star Phoenix, April 24, 1928.

We have already been warned that the Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Ruthenians and Mennonites are coming in floods. Will those Canadians who object to the heading of this letter 'Mongrel Canada' please ask the Premier (WLMK) why He (sic) gave these two railways the liberty to denationalize this country, nearly three years ago?

The extreme tone of Bishop Lloyd's attacks reflected a rising tide of public opinion critical of
the dilution of the British character of Canada, the potential security risks posed by many of the newcomers and the aggravated competition for employment they caused. Agricultural and labour groups frequently lodged such complaints as did organizations such as the Legion and the British Empire Service League. The intense sentiments surrounding the issue are further illustrated by the rapid rise of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan in the late nineteen twenties. The Klan focused its attacks on the threats imposed by the uncontrolled influx of garlic-smelling, catholic immigrants from Eastern Europe; Ukrainians, as the largest such group, were not surprisingly a prime target of attack. The impact of these nativist tensions is further evidenced by the Conservative success in toppling the pro-immigration Gardiner Liberals from power in the 1929 Saskatchewan election.153

Declining economic conditions combined with the high incidence of public criticism over continental immigration underlay the eventual recommendations of the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization. The central recommendation of its Report was that the Railways' Agreement should be allowed to run its term and that it should not be extended.154
For what remained of the term, however, further restrictions were advised. Specifically, sponsorship criteria affecting farm labourers were to be narrowed to direct blood relationships. That is, to farm workers of a near relationship to someone already engaged in farming in Canada (father, mother, husband, wife, son, daughter, brother or sister). The Committee's recommendations were accepted by Parliament and implemented effective at the end of June, 1928. Only farm workers or domestics with first degree relatives in Canada were now admissible. The movement of family units with capital and intending to settle on the land, however, was unaffected. Direct dependents, too, were permitted to move as before. The prospects for continued large-scale Ukrainian immigration dimmed accordingly. The railroads and colonization agencies consequently shifted part of their emphasis to a greater concentration on the movement of families. For the most part, however, the move by Parliament triggered a gradual retrenchment in immigration work. For most Canadians, though, the restrictions imposed by Ottawa were a reassurance that the excesses of the past would be curbed and that dwindling employment opportunities would be reserved for resident Canadians.
Adoption of the recommendations of the Select Standing Committee with respect to immigration was a clear indication that the volume of Ukrainian arrivals was likely to diminish considerably in 1929 and 1930. The expected decline, however, was even greater than projected as a result of poor weather conditions and the consequent application of additional government restrictions. Although the 1928 growing season was generally quite satisfactory, many areas of the prairies were hit by severe frosts which damaged or destroyed millions of bushels of grain. This had an immediate effect on the purchasing power of farmers and their willingness to hire on farm labourers. The result was a quick drop in the demand for foreign agricultural workers as many farmers resolved to make do on their own efforts. Hundreds of labourers who had arrived in 1928 were hard-pressed to find or retain employment and orders for additional workers in 1929 fell off dramatically. In a routine report on conditions and the potential for new orders for immigrants, D. M. Elcheshen, a Ukrainian placement representative for the Canadian National Railway, made the following observations in December, 1928:
Outlook for immediate or winter farm employment is extremely doubtful, and the farmers are unwilling to make, at present, any definite decisions regarding their spring farm help. The pessimistic feeling which prevails generally was caused chiefly by the frost which destroyed the would-be farm labourers' wages.156

Reacting to the downturn in demand for European farm workers — and conditioned to expect a public outcry in the absence of action by Ottawa — the government of Canada moved to further reduce the already limited quota of continental farm workers for the 1929 season. Speaking to a meeting of the United Farmers of Manitoba on January 7, 1929, the Honourable Robert Forke announced that the movement of farm workers from the non-preferred countries would be held down to 30 percent of the volume admitted in 1928.157

Again, these new restrictions applied primarily to unaccompanied farm workers. The movement of family units destined for farmings dependents and domestics remained largely unaffected by the new quotas. Interestingly, although the number of Ukrainian farm labourers ultimately admitted in 1929 fell substantially, the number of family units as well as spouse and child family completions rose appreciably.158 This reflected
a growing anxiety on the part of family heads previously settled in Canada that they might not be able to bring over dependents once the Railways' Agreement expired. Complete family units who had contemplated leaving Europe were also faced with this possibility, again accelerating the volume of departures. This phenomenon was also an indication that the railroads – particularly the Canadian National Railway – were having some moderate success in refocusing their emphasis from farm worker to family traffic. In total, 11,009 Ukrainians entered Canada in 1929, 5,000 fewer than the year before.\(^{159}\)

Another interesting trend which persisted to the end of the Railways' Agreement period was that the volume of Ukrainian domestics admitted remained near the record levels of 1928. In both 1929 and 1930 the number of Ukrainian domestic servants to enter Canada exceeded 1,600.\(^{160}\)\(^\text{160}\) Ukrainian as well as German-speaking domestics were in high demand\(^{161}\) and generally caused little trouble to either the railroads or their ultimate sponsors. Their transportation, distribution and placement was subjected to the most systematic approach applied to any group of continental arrivals. The Winnipeg office of the Department of Immigration
and Colonization supervised the placement of domestic help in urban centres while the railroads directed domestic placements in rural areas. Girls were met at the port where they landed, collected into groups of twenty-five and moved inland under the escort of a woman officer of the women's immigration branch. Very few girls did not arrive at their intended destination. This is undoubtedly accountable at least in part to the close supervision to which they were subjected. In addition, the vast majority were destined to friends, relatives or former Old Country neighbours who were known to them and to whom they consequently felt a considerable degree of commitment. This contrasted with male agricultural workers who at least before 1928 were frequently placed with total strangers.

Response to the additional restrictions announced by the Honourable Robert Forke in January, 1929, was largely predictable. The majority of Canadian daily newspapers supported the initiative as did large segments of public opinion. The ethnic press, however, adopted an understandably critical perspective. The new restrictions were viewed as limiting the ability of their fellow nationals in Europe to escape oppression
by re-establishing themselves in Canada. Ukrainian community leaders condemned the move and petitioned for its elimination. The Ukrainian community rallied on the issue and a large protest was organized in Winnipeg. In addition, Ukrainian newspapers led the ethnic press assault against the restrictions. The Greek Catholic weekly Canadian Ukrainian, for example, bitterly decried the fact that Canada had used Ukrainians to do the back-breaking work of nation-building and was now turning against them.

So it is. When Ukrainians came here and cleared the trees, pulled stones, built towns and roads, they were desirable, but now that most of the hard work is already done, they don't want to admit those they now consider undesirable.¹⁶²

The appeals from Ukrainians and other continentals, however, found a cool reception from most Canadians. Far from empathizing with their sentiments many simply dismissed their concerns and some branded them outrightly un-Canadian. The Toronto Globe, for example, continually echoed the theme that unbridled European immigration had endangered the British character of Canada. The paper reacted to the Ukrainian demonstration in Winnipeg by questioning
the loyalty of Ukrainian settlers in Canada.

The protest shows, above all things, that the petitioners are Ukrainians still, although they have taken an oath as Canadians and Britishers. Their first sympathies are with their own people; Canada is secondary. To them Canada is merely a country to be exploited for their own gain. It has proved to be a good country for them and should be at the command of their friends also. They recognize no obligation to conform with the wishes of the Canadians and other British people who opened the way for them to benefit, but propose to use the political strength which has fallen to them to compel their benefactors to accede to their demands.163

Taken together the above two editorials demonstrate the diametrically opposite view held on the issue of immigration. The Globe commentary quite accurately reflected the thinking of many Canadians. The editorial, incidentally, closed by castigating the federal government for having allowed the railroads to bring so many central and eastern Europeans into the country. It also reaffirmed the view that "Canada is a British country, and must remain British, and the European immigrants have no moral right to protest against a policy designed to this end."164

A generally poor crop in 1929, combined with a
worsening oversupply of farm labourers produced still stricter quotas on the importation of European farm workers. In the fall of 1929 the railroads were advised that their quota of continental agricultural labourers for 1930 was to be trimmed an additional 25 percent over 1929 levels. 

Clearly the volume and momentum of Ukrainian immigration to Canada was to suffer even further decline. Indeed, for the last year of the operation of the Railways' Agreement, the number of Ukrainians admitted into Canada fell to a low of 8,133. The entry of domestics held firm while the entry of direct family dependents and family units increased. The movement of single male farm labourers, however, suffered an even sharper decline than in 1929.

Despite the impending termination of the Railways' Agreement, the continental immigration issue remained alive. The hundreds of continental labourers who traversed the country sometimes unwilling but more often unable to find work served as a constant reminder of what many Canadians had come to view as a serious error in federal policy. Hundreds of inter-war arrivals gravitated to the larger cities of the prairies and to the industrial areas of Central Canada. They continued to be the object of scorn and resentment as jobs of
any description became ever more scarce.

In the summer elections of 1930 the Bennett Conservatives capitalized on economic decline and general uncertainty to defeat Mackenzie King by an overwhelming majority. The Conservatives, who had been vocal critics of King's immigration stance, appropriately made one of their first policy decisions in the area of immigration. In August, 1930, the Cabinet passed an Order-in-Council to effectively bring the movement of European immigrants to Canada to a halt. Until a general economic improvement began, continental immigration was to be limited to families with capital wishing to begin farming or dependents coming to join sponsors in a financial position to support them. The move, however, was more symbolic than real; it passed a little over two months before the Railways' Agreement was scheduled to expire.

Thus, the brief period during which most inter-war Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Canada drew to a close. Ironically, its passing attracted as little attention in the midst of rapid economic decline as its onset drew under much more prosperous conditions.
During the Depression which followed only a few hundred Ukrainians arrived in Canada annually. Government restrictions and economic depression were undoubtedly the main causes of the very small movement which occurred during the rest of the decade. For further insight into the degree to which the movement was curtailed, however, we must examine the dynamics of Polish-Canadian relations in the nineteen thirties.
CHAPTER III: FOOTNOTES

1 William Darcovich, Paul Yuzyk (eds.) A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada. 1891-1976. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980. pp. 526-7. The Darcovich/Yuzyk figures are used because they are based on calendar rather than April to March fiscal years which immigration department records use. Year by year comparisons are therefore both greatly simplified and more meaningful.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Memorandum from W. T. Egan, Deputy Minister to the Honourable Robert Forke, Minister of Immigration and Colonization, January 18, 1927. PAC, RG76, v.262 file 216882.


6 Ibid. Chapter IV. "In Search of an Issue." The actual Agreement was not immediately publicized for fear of a public backlash. Its passage did, however, bolster support for the Liberals from the transportation interests.

7 For details on the negotiations see Department of Immigration and Colonization correspondence. PAC, RG76, v.262. file 216882.

8 Departmental memorandum by F.C. Blair, Assistant Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization. September 10, 1925. PAC, RG76, v.262. file 216882.

The difference in applying regulations between Mennonites and other nationalities from the Soviet Union centered around capital and passport assurances. Mennonite organizations, with the support of the C.P.R./C.C.A., were both willing and able to assist their Soviet counterparts materially as well as morally. Sponsoring Mennonite organizations located potential farm units, arranged mortgages and other financing and assisted in transportation. Other nationalities, such as Ukrainians and Poles who straddled both sides of the Soviet border, did not have Canadian organizations with the cohesiveness or financial capacity to offer similar aid. Such assistance, however, was crucial, as Soviet authorities allowed neither a drain of capital with departing immigrants nor re-entry privileges to those who emigrated. As former Soviet citizens were disallowed re-entry, Canadian officials were unable to apply deportation against any immigrant from the Soviet Union who became a public charge or committed a criminal offense. Special assurances, then, were required that Soviet immigrants be sponsored by friends or relatives already in agriculture in Canada in a position to support them if they became unemployed. Although occasional exceptions to the Mennonites only rule were allowed, these were undertaken very sparingly. The volume of non-Mennonite Soviet immigration increased modestly in the mid 1920's when Canada grudgingly granted diplomatic recognition to the U.S.S.R. Further obstacles in the free flow of immigrants, however, arose again after the 1927 Canadian diplomatic break with the Soviets. (See Aloysius Balawyder. Canadian Soviet Relations Between the World Wars. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972).
An additional complicating factor in this situation was that Soviet authorities denied Canada the right to establish civil and medical inspectional facilities in Soviet territory. Immigrants who wished to leave the Soviet Union, then, were required formally to emigrate before receiving any assurance they would be admitted into Canada. Mennonite and other immigrant aid organizations, then, were forced to establish agencies in Germany for providing after-care to any immigrants from the Soviet Union unable to gain entry into Canada.

11 See "The Railways' Agreement". Appendix A.


13 Mr. R. Mazurkieiwicz, Acting Polish Consul General, to F. C. Blair, Assistant Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization. January 19, 1926. PAC, RG76, v.262. file 216882.

14 Ibid.

15 See "The Railways' Agreement". Appendix A

16 W. J. Egan, Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization to Colonel J. S. Dennis, Director of Colonization and Development, C.P.R., September 14, 1925. PAC, RG76, v.262. file 216882.

17 A. L. Joliffe, Acting Deputy Minister to W. J. Black, Director of Colonization, C.N.R. December 15, 1925. PAC, RG76, v.262. file 216882.

18 Thomas Gelley, Division Commissioner of Immigration to A. L. Joliffe. November 26, 1925. RAC, RG76, v.262. file 216882.

20 The Globe, September 19, 1925, Ibid.

21 Dr. W. J. Black to W. J. Egan. October 26, 1925. PAC, RG76, v.262. file 216882.

22 Colonel J. S. Dennis to W. J. Egan. November 2, 1925. PAC, RG76, v.262. file 216882.


27 Ibid.

28 Minutes of the 72nd Advisory Committee Meeting of the Departments of Colonization and Development and Natural Resources, Winnipeg. November 18, 1925. CPR Archives, Montreal.

29 Minutes of the 85th Advisory Committee Meeting of the Departments of Colonization and Development and Natural Resources, Calgary. June 19, 1928. CPR Archives, Montreal.

30 Saskatoon Star. September 19, 1926. Clipping from PAC, RG76. v.288. file 262212.


34 Canadian Ukrainian. November 11, 1925


36 See article by Stepan Sawula. Canadian Ukrainian, October 14, 1925.

37 The St. Raphael's Association published a series of almanac's well into the 1930's. Their publications included: 1927, "New Field"; 1928, "Prairie"; 1929, "Maple Leaf"; 1930, "Farm". From 1931 to 1936 the organization published an annual "Calendar of Canadian Ukrainians" entitled "The Leader". See M. H. Marunchak, op. cit., p.368. Copies of these almanacs are housed in the S.R.A. Archives at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg.

38 Ukrainian Voice. January 6, 1926.

In the twenties and thirties most of these Bukovinian congregations joined the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.


Canadian Ukrainian. November 11, 1925.


Canadian Ukrainian. October 28, 1925

Canadian Ukrainian. March 17, 1926

Canadian Ukrainian. November 25, 1925


Ibid, p. 10.


55 Jacob Hawreliak, Secretary of the Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Association, to the Honourable Charles Stewart, Acting Minister of Immigration and Colonization. December 2, 1925. P.A.C., RG76, v.267. file 227785.

56 Ibid.


59 F. C. Blair. Departmental Memorandum to Mr. Cullen. December 7, 1925. op.cit.


63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.

66 F. C. Blair to the British Consul, Harbin, China. January 17, 1926. op.cit.


68 Russian New Word newspaper. Harbin, China, Spring, 1926. Clipping contained in C.P.R. Archives (File 676 Box 89) Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary.


70 Dan Johnson, Western Manager of the C.N.R. Colonization Department to W. J. Black, Director of Colonization, C.N.R. June 30, 1926. P.A.C., RG76, v.267. file 227785.


73 Reverend Ivan Shakotko report in Ibid. p.28.
74 A. L. Joliffe, Commissioner of Immigration. 
Departmental Memorandum. October 23, 1926. P.A.C. 
RG76, v.262. file 216882.

75 Report of Division Commission Thomas Gelley to 
A. L. Joliffe, Commissioner of Immigration. October 
12, 1926. P.A.C., RG76, v.262. file 216882.

76 William Darcovich; Paul Yuzyk (eds.) op.cit. p. 524.

77 Bruce Walker, European Director of Immigration, 
London to the Department of Immigration and 
file 216882.

78 Ibid.

79 Report of Division Commissioner Gelley to A. L. 
Joliffe. October 12, 1926. op.cit.

80 Ibid.

81 See Departmental Memorandum on the discussion 
prepared by A. L. Joliffe. October 23, 1926. 
PAC RG76, v.262. file 216882.

82 W. J. Egan to Honourable Forke. Memorandum Re: 
The Railways' Agreement. January 18, 1927. op.cit. 
p. 4.

83 See letters from W. J. Egan to Colonel J. S. Dennis 
and Dr. W. J. Black, February 11, 1927 covering the 
government-railroads conference on February 8, 1927. 
PAC. RG76, v.262. file 216882.

84 See Footnote 10.

85 W. J. Egan to Colonel Dennis, February 11, 1927. op.cit.


89 See F. M. Jerome to T. P. Devlin, District Superintendent, Department of Colonization and Agriculture, Saskatoon. December 15, 1927. Devlin Papers PAC, RG30, v.5991. Jurema, who initially went under the anglicization "Jerome", describes a visitation to several north eastern Saskatchewan communities to recruit colonization agents. Included in his week's tour were Canora, Kamsack, Sturgis, Preeceville, Hyas, Arran, Pelly, Insinger and Willowbrook. His efforts at these points produced 1928 placement orders for some 400 farm labourers.


92 "Information About Canada for the Year 1927." An English bulletin explaining the C.N.R.'s colonization organization and desire to place new immigrants on "the best farms in Canada." Mimeographed copy in the SRA uncatalogued collection. Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg.

94 Fred Taciuk to F. J. Freer. January 21, 1927.

95 Devlin Papers. PAC, RG30, v.5650. Commenting in 1941 on the effectiveness of the St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association, the head of the C.N.R. Colonization Department said:

"I believe that this organization was formed in 1926 (sic), with Mr. Prodan as president and Mr. Elcheshen as secretary. The Association was never of much value to our department in connection with the settlement and placement of immigrants. As a matter of fact, in November, 1929 Bishop Ladyka had a discussion in Montreal with Dr. Black, in connection with the formation of a Ukrainian Colonist Board."


97 Annual Statement, 1927, p.4. C.N.R. Western Region, Department of Colonization and Agriculture, Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Edmonton offices. Devlin Papers PAC, RG30. v.5570.

98 Ibid.


100 Minutes. Advisory Committee of the C.P.R. Department of Colonization and Development and Natural Resources, Winnipeg, November 6, 1927. p.3. Glenbow-Alberta Archives, Box 82. File 649.

102 "Report from the London Office (C.N.R.)." November 9, 1928. The Report notes that Wychodzca, a Polish weekly newspaper summed 1928 immigration from Poland to Canada as C.N.R. - 11,024; and C.P.R. - 7,916. Derived from Wychodzca, Number 43, October 21, 1928. Devlin Papers. PAC RG30 v.5634.


105 Ibid.


107 See Appendices in Ibid.

108 Ibid. p.4.

109 See Appendices in Ibid. Note particularly Report p.2 which indicates the C.P.R. placed 8,843 central Europeans in Canada in 1927.

110 Ibid.
For a detailed report on the establishment and operations of the Ukrainian Colonization Board at Saskatoon see evidence presented by John Ruryk to the June 2, 1930, Saskatoon hearing of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Land Settlement in *The Minutes of Proceedings*, vol. 52, pp. 143-168. Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Land Settlement, 1930; Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina.

In addition to Swystun, the C.P.R. also appointed Bishop Nicetas Budka and his successor, Bishop Basil Ladyka, as commission agents. C.P.R. records do not, unfortunately, indicate whether these men actually channeled many applications for immigrant workers to the C.P.R. or if their appointments were made largely on a public relations basis.


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114 *Ibid.* p. 150


117 *Ibid* p. 148


121 Fred Taciuk to F. J. Freer. November 25, 1927. op.cit.

122 See Appendices in the C.P.R.'s Report of the Western Canadian Offices and United States Organization, 1927. op.cit.

123 Ibid.

124 Ibid.

125 Evidence provided by Division Commissioner of Immigration, Thomas Gelley, in a Memorandum for File by F. C. Blair. May 16, 1927. PAC. RG76, v.262.

126 Statement by John Tkach, Lipton, Saskatchewan; cited in J. S. Dennis to W. J. Black, pp. 5-6. July 11, 1927. PAC. RG76 v.263.

127 Statement of Nykola Czyryk and P. Dralnik at Saskatoon. Cited in Ibid.

128 F. C. Blair to Honourable Charles Stewart, Acting Minister of Immigration and Colonization. May 18, 1927. PAC. RG76, v.262.

129 For details of the embargo and the railroads' reaction see Department of Immigration and Colonization correspondence and reports from May and June, 1927. PAC. RG76, Vols. 262 and 263.

130 See W. J. Egan to W. J. Black. August 17, 1927. PAC. RG76 v.264.

131 F. C. Blair to the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King. July 26, 1927. PAC. RG76, v.263.
132 Ibid.

133 Ibid. Also see texts of telegrams to the Honourable Charles Dunning, Minister of Railroads. July, 1927. PAC. RG76, v.263.

134 F. C. Blair Memorandum to the Honourable Charles Dunning, Minister of Railroads. July 12, 1927. PAC. RG76, v.263.

135 William Darcovich; Paul Yuzyk (eds.) op.cit. p.526

136 See "Brief of Summary Evidence Covering Operation of the Railways' Agreement, January to August, 1927." PAC. RG76 vol.263.

137 Evidence by Divisioner Commission of Immigration, Thomas Gelley, cited in Ibid.

138 Supervisor, B. C. Employment Services, quoted in Ibid.

139 See correspondence and reports on the U.L.F.T.A. by R.C.M.P. and immigration officials in PAC. RG76 vol. 299. file 274585.

140 R.C.M.P. Commissioner Cortlandt Starnes to W. J. Egan. February 7, 1927. PAC. RG76 vol. 299 file 274585.


142 Ibid.

Commissioner Cortlandt Starnes to W. J. Egan. April 20, 1927. PAC. RG76, v.299. file 274585.

Ibid.

Ibid. Also see F. C. Blair Memorandum for Filing, February 20, 1929. PAC. RG76, vol. 264, file 216882.

Ukrainian Voice. October 5, 1927.


Ibid.

William Darcovich; Paul Yuzyk (eds.) op.cit. p.526.


Saskatoon Star Phoenix. April 24, 1928.


Ukrainian Voice. January 9, 1929. Also see W. J. Egan to Thomas Molloy, Deputy Minister of the Saskatchewan Department of Railways, Labour and Industries. January 16, 1929. PAC. RG76 vol. 264.
158 William Darcovich, Paul Yuzyk (eds.) op.cit., p. 526.

159 Ibid. pp. 526.


162 Canadian Ukrainian. January 16, 1929.

163 Toronto Globe. February 8, 1929.

164 Ibid

165 F. C. Blair to Mr. H. N. Ward, Deputy Minister of Labour. December 17, 1929. PAC. RG76 vol. 265. A total movement of only 8,000 continental labourers was approved for 1930; 4,000 to each railroad.

166 William Darcovich; Paul Yuzyk (eds.) op.cit. p. 525-6.

167 Ukrainian Voice. August 20, 1930.
CHAPTER IV: "1930 - 1939: THE DEPRESSION AND CANADIAN-POLISH SHIPPING DISPUTES."

The immigration restrictions imposed by the Bennett Conservatives were seen by many Canadians as a temporary measure which would be lifted with a return of prosperity. The expected improvement in economic conditions unfortunately did not materialize. The immigration activities of the railroads and colonization organizations, which faced increasing diminution after 1928, came almost to a complete halt. Except for some settlement work in Alberta, almost no immigration-related activity proceeded. Ukrainian immigration to Canada in the early thirties consequently fell off to its lowest level since 1924. The degree to which the movement of Ukrainians to Canada was curtailed, however, was not solely a function of restrictions which coincided with the Depression. Rather, Polish-Canadian jurisdictional disputes also played a central role in minimizing the movement of even those Ukrainians who still qualified for entry into Canada.

I

Retrenchment of immigration activities first became
evident among the colonization associations and later the railroads. With the very considerable limitation imposed on in-migration by the August 14, 1930, Order-in-Council, many colonization associations slipped into inactivity or faded completely out of existence. The C.P.R.-associated Ukrainian Settler's Aid Association in Winnipeg and John Ruryk's Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Association in Saskatoon were among the first to go. With no influx of settlers to furnish commissions their raison d'être disappeared.

Despite the onset of hard times their sister organization in Edmonton continued to operate. Acknowledging that the supply of new immigrants would soon taper off completely, the Confederation Land Corporation, headed by the Hawreliak brothers, shifted its focus. It concentrated most of its energies in real estate and managed to maintain its viability even without large commissions for settlement work. The Company's reputation for questionable practices, however, continued to plague it. Indeed, its immigration records were seized by the Alberta Attorney General's Department and a thorough investigation of its operations was undertaken. It is unclear as to what specifically motivated the seizure, although it is known that no
charges were laid against the company as a result.

The only other Ukrainian immigration organization to survive the Depression was the St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants Welfare Association. As we have already seen, the St. Raphael Association's active role in immigration work had long since been supplanted by the Canadian National Railway. It continued the pretense of existence until 1941, when it decided formally to dissolve after consultation with officials of the C.N.R.'s Department of Colonization.² Through the early thirties the Association continued to correspond with individuals overseas who requested information although even its volume of mail dwindled considerably. Publication of its educational almanac, Providnyk (The Leader), continued until 1936; after which it, too, folded.³ In the early thirties the Association's executive contacted several Latin American countries including Mexico and British Guiana⁴ to investigate alternative destinations to direct Ukrainians from Europe who desired to emigrate but were unable to gain admission into Canada. Because of the world-wide extent of the Depression, however, the search was in vain. Increasingly, therefore, members of the St. Raphael's Association turned their efforts to other pursuits. Prof. Ivan Boberskyj, for example, began
collecting documentary material on the history of Ukrainians in Canada while some other active members including D. M. Elcheshen, the Association's long-time secretary, intensified their political involvement with the Ukrainian Hetmanite, or monarchist, movement. At least one other prominent member, Dr. Ivan Gulay, increased his activity within the Ukrainian War Veteran's Association, later reorganized as the Ukrainian National Federation. Without the clear focus of immigration, then, the St. Raphael's Association languished. During the last half of the Depression in particular the organization held together in name only. The outbreak of World War II dealt it its final blow and the group officially disbanded.

Under the very severe conditions of the Great Depression the colonization departments of the railroads fared little better. In general terms the railroads had begun winding down their immigration activities as early as 1928 in response to the restrictive measures recommended by the Parliamentary Committee on Agriculture and Colonization. With the virtual shutdown of immigration in 1930, the railroad companies had little choice but to cut their colonization budgets and trim staff. Initially, however, the railroads hoped - just as others who favoured
continued immigration - that the shutdown would be of brief duration. A core staff of immigration personnel was therefore retained by both companies, poised to recommence operations under improved economic circumstances. As the depression deepened, however, economic realities forced both companies to take drastic action. By early 1933 the C.P.R. closed down its western colonization offices and absorbed the remnants of its immigration staff into the Canada Colonization Association. The C.N.R. maintained colonization offices at Winnipeg and Edmonton, manned by only a skeleton staff. In 1931 both Fred Taciuk and D. M. Elcheshen - along with the majority of C.N.R. colonization staff - disappeared from the C.N.R. payroll. William Smolyk at Edmonton remained the only active Ukrainian immigration representative employed by the C.N.R. Smolyk concentrated his activities in central and northern Alberta carrying on much of his activity with the co-operation and active support of the Basilian Fathers at Mundare. The Basilian Order of the Greek Catholic Church maintained its interest in settlement work throughout the thirties. Indeed, it enjoyed the distinction of being the only church organization with which the Canadian National continued to work throughout this period.
Although federal restrictions on the admissibility of immigrants formed the major block to continued Ukrainian immigration, new provincial regulations also somewhat affected the settlement of those immigrants who did gain entry. In 1930 the dominion government transferred its control over natural resources to the three prairie provinces. New homestead regulations were implemented almost immediately. Almost no Crown land suitable for agricultural development was available in Manitoba. In Saskatchewan and more particularly in Alberta, however, thousands of acres in more remote areas were still available. Very quickly, however, these latter two provinces took steps to restrict homestead availability to provincial residents. Saskatchewan initiated a five-year residence limitation, while Alberta imposed a three-year limit. The few Ukrainian agricultural families who did arrive, then, were forced to buy lands rather than rely on the possibility of homesteading. This in turn established an additional financial obstacle to the settlement of complete family units. Those who chose to make an attempt at settlement despite the odds faced innumerable problems. Prices for farm products hit rock bottom and drought and plant rust destroyed several crops through the decade.
Although William Smolyk remained available to help new arrivals settle in the West, his primary task became the resettlement of Ukrainians already on the prairies. The biggest job assigned Smolyk was assisting in re-establishing hundreds of Ukrainian farmers and sons of farmers from the overcrowded bloc settlement of east central Alberta. In this effort Smolyk had the active assistance of Greek Catholic priests of the Basilian Order. Priests frequently travelled with Smolyk to various Ukrainian communities, speaking to parishes and accompanying prospective settlers to inspect lands in the Athabasca and rapidly developing Peace River districts. The Basilians also involved themselves in the "Back to the Land" movement. As part of the strategy for coping with the depression, unemployed immigrants as well as resident Canadians were encouraged to leave the cities and industrial centres and establish themselves on self-sufficient farms. This measure was viewed as diminishing the relief rolls in the cities as well as aiding the country's future development. As part of this effort, then, Smolyk attempted to encourage Ukrainian and other Slavic immigrants from Calgary and coal mining communities on the eastern slope of the Rockies to relocate on open farm lands. Smolyk also helped
re-establish "dried out" farmers of all nationalities from the southern prairies on farms in the north where the effects of drought were less severe.\(^13\)

The destination of most of those who chose to relocate was the Peace River district of northern Alberta. In 1930 the two railroads agreed to joint operation of the Northern Alberta Railway.\(^14\) Both companies subsequently attempted to direct as much traffic as possible to the area where the country's last agricultural frontier still held five million acres of wholly unoccupied land.\(^15\) Hundreds of Ukrainian prairie families settled in the area throughout the 1930's.

Another district in which Ukrainian farmers from east central Alberta in particular were interested was central British Columbia.\(^16\) Several families were actively interested in this area and expeditions were organized so that representatives of the farmers could view the land first hand. The move to British Columbia did not, however, proceed in mass proportions as reported in the following account by the C.N.R.'s western colonization manager.
Unfortunately, due to a variety of causes, chief of which is possibly the election of a Social Credit Government in the province, with its promise of monthly dividends of $25.00, we have been unable to get any of the people to make this trip. 17

In Saskatchewan and Manitoba a similar northward movement of prairie settlers occurred. The extent of the movement and more especially the availability of open lands for relocation, however, was considerably less than Alberta. The northwestern Manitoba region of Swan River enjoyed substantial growth in this period as did the sparsely settled region directly across the Saskatchewan border. In addition, extensive settlement of both new and relocating settlers occurred in the Prince Albert, St. Walburg and Meadow Lake areas of Saskatchewan.

While some hard-pressed immigrants attempted to escape destitution through relocation, the situation for many others simply became hopeless. Unable to find employment or earn a livelihood through any conventional means, hundreds were driven to desperation. The incidence of theft and other criminal offenses rose and many thousands in the larger cities especially were forced onto relief rolls. Forced to
bear the burden of providing welfare services to recent and even long-settled immigrants, many municipalities themselves tottered on bankruptcy. As a result, many cities attempted to export their liability by initiating deportation proceedings.

For at least three decades prior to 1930 Canada had reserved the right to deport to their native land any immigrants with less than five year's residence who committed a criminal act, fell victim to such diseases as tuberculosis, which required long-term treatment, or who became insane. This rider was largely motivated by a desire to avoid the cost of institutionalization. Non-British immigrants could also face deportation after the five year limit but only as a result of an infraction of the Opium and Narcotic Drug Act or for advocating the overthrow of Canada's laws and institutions by force or violence.¹⁸

An additional cause for deportation was the act of becoming a public charge. For the most part this latter provision was infrequently used. Its greatest benefit was seen as a deterrent to indigence and an encouragement to new arrivals to make their own way.
The exceptional circumstances of the Great Depression, however, placed tens of thousands of immigrants on the relief rolls. Numerous municipalities consequently invoked their right to initiate deportation proceedings against those of less than five years residence. It should be noted, however, that federal immigration regulations obligated municipalities to report such cases of destitution. Once a complaint was laid a federal Board of Inquiry consisting of three dominion officers examined the evidence and passed judgement on the case. The complainant had the right to be represented by legal counsel, to call witnesses and to appeal the Board's decision to the Minister of Immigration and Colonization.

A strong current of public opinion supported the deportation of indigent immigrants. One Anglican church leader from Ontario, for example, urged the government to take advantage of the opportunity to deport undesirables, although he qualified his views noting that due to widespread economic distress simple inability to find employment should not be a grounds for deportation.
I believe that the present economic distress and consequent slowing up of migration work should be used as giving the Department an opportunity gradually and quietly to arrange for the deportation of all recent arrivals, who have at once proved themselves physically, mentally and morally unsuitable for settlement in Canada.22

The cost of providing relief was a compelling argument on the side of deportation. In October, 1930, for instance, the City of Toronto initiated the deportation of seventy-five immigrants who had become charges of the public as a result of the cost of hospital services. The City's relief officer estimated that civic relief cost Toronto taxpayers about a million dollars annually. Forty percent of those on the welfare rolls, he noted, were not Canadian born.23

During the fiscal year 1930-31, 4,376 individuals were deported from Canada.24 Slightly over half those deported were on the basis of destitution, the remainder covered by a combination of criminality, medical or civil cause. Between March 1930 and March 1934 a total of over 24,000 people involuntarily left Canada on the basis of deportation. It is interesting to note that about sixty percent of these were of British origin.24 Unfortunately immigration branch compilations do not
break down deportations by nationality. Rather, they are listed by country of origin. Although it is therefore difficult to quantify the number of Ukrainians among those forced to leave the country it can be presumed to be quite low. The statistics for 1934, for example, place the number of total deportations to Poland at just over 200.25 Again, however, becoming a public charge was listed as the cause in over half these cases. It should be noted that many Ukrainians suffered severe deprivation to avoid going on relief for fear of ultimate deportation.

Few individual deportations attracted public attention. That of a Galician Ukrainian, Dan Chomicki of Winnipeg, however, was an exception. Chomicki, a Canadian resident since 1913, was a printer employed by the Ukrainian Labour News. His vocal pro-communist stance caused him to be reported to immigration officials. In January, 1933, he consequently became one of a handful of "agitators" to be deported as a threat to Canada.26

The very high rate of "British subject" deportations caused concern among even those who favoured wide-scale deportations. The Toronto Star, for example, frequently bemoaned this fact.27 The Immigration Minister, the Honourable W. A. Gordon, however, defended his government's actions indicating that simply being a public charge was not the sole grounds for deportation.
Rather, an immigrant's unwillingness or inability to find work, he said, were the main causes.\textsuperscript{28} By 1934, however, the government yielded to public opinion and large scale deportations ceased.

Under adverse economic conditions and prevailing restrictions, then, Ukrainian immigration to Canada between 1931 and 1935 was almost insignificant. Only families with capital in a position to begin farming and dependents of family members already resident in Canada were admitted. For the first few years of the decade not more than a dozen Ukrainian agricultural families arrived annually.\textsuperscript{29} The number in this category, however, increased quite dramatically after 1935. Similarly, not more than three to five hundred wives and children of family heads resident in Canada arrived during these years.\textsuperscript{30} Again, however, these figures doubled and tripled in the latter half of the decade. Part of the explanation for this phenomenon lies in modestly improved economic conditions and in a growing fear of war in Europe. A substantial part of the explanation for this particular pattern, however, is tied to Polish-Canadian shipping disputes throughout the 1930's.
II

The movement of Ukrainian emigrants from Europe to Canada in the inter-war period was greatly affected by the policies of the reborn Polish Republic. Poland was the major source of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada and it was also the country through which most other Ukrainians who arrived in Canada passed in order to depart from Europe. The central immigration-related objective of the intensely nationalistic Pilsudski régime was to maximize for Poland any benefits of out-migration. First, immigration offered the country the opportunity to rid itself of excess population, particularly of those groups or classes it least desired to keep. Second, a steady traffic of emigrants leaving the country was viewed as a base on which Poland could develop her own port and shipping interests. Relations between Poland and Canada during the inter-war period, then, were dominated by the interplay of these Polish objectives with the corresponding concern of the Canadian government to meet its own manpower requirements as well as protect Canadian and British shipping interests.

It is important to understand the historical context of Polish out-migration to appreciate fully
the Warsaw government's motivation in this area. By the mid nineteenth century most Polish territories were desperately overcrowded. Agriculture remained the mainstay of the bulk of the populace. Although several large estates provided exports of grain and other agricultural products most Polish farmers barely eked out a living off their small plots of land. Industrialization was slow to develop and was incapable of absorbing the already overcrowded and rapidly growing population. Tens of thousands of Poles emigrated abroad, many going to the industrial northeastern United States. By the 1870's a strong seasonal emigration movement also emerged. Many Poles gravitated, on a seasonal basis, to Prussia and France where industrialization was more advanced and semi-skilled and unskilled workers were in short supply. This pattern persisted after the Great War and Poland had to contend with emigration of both a permanent and seasonal nature. Poland's central concern, then, was one of ensuring her own labour needs while regulating the recruitment practices of foreign employers anxious to obtain Polish workers to meet their peak production period manpower requirements.

The new Polish state from its inception focused on
promoting national development. Unsuccessful in obtaining Danzig in the peace talks, she decided to develop a new Polish Baltic Sea port at Gdynia, about twenty-five miles from the international free port. For the duration of the inter-war period, then, Poland's domestic and diplomatic efforts were geared towards enhancing the development of Gdynia.

The major obstacle encountered by this strategy was the fact that considerable shipping and most passenger traffic from Poland to North America in particular was carried overland to Hamburg on the North Sea. Most large British and American Steam-Ship companies, for instance, based their central and eastern European traffic out of Hamburg. This meant that prospective emigrants from Galicia and Bukovina, for example, were usually required to travel overland to Germany to embark for North America. The continuance of this pattern, however, frustrated Polish aspirations for the development of Gdynia.

In the spring of 1925 the Polish government attempted to encourage the use of Polish ports through initiation of a new fee structure for SteamShip
companies carrying passengers out of Poland. Those Steamship companies which moved passengers directly from Gdynia were charged a modest concession fee. Those which first ferried travellers to North Sea ports to link with trans-oceanic connections, were levied a higher fee. Other companies which moved passengers out of the country overland, however, paid the highest fee - six times that charged to SteamShip firms using Gdynia. Finally, because Poland enjoyed some spin-off benefits from the use of Danzig, companies operating from there appear to have been assessed a lower fee than those whose Polish traffic remained centered at Dutch or German ports.

Initially, the only two SteamShip firms to apply for and receive a concession to have offices and operate in Poland were the Baltic-American and Scandinavian-American lines. These companies agreed to sail directly out of Polish ports and therefore faced the smallest levy in order to continue operating in the country. British SteamShip interests such as the Cunard line complained bitterly against the concession arrangement and attempted to organize the large shipping companies to resist its imposition. By late summer, 1925, however, the large Red Star line
accepted Polish conditions, leaving other companies no choice but to do likewise. The Polish government, then, succeeded in effecting a degree of control over the transport of immigrants and other travellers leaving the country.

The adoption of the "Railway's Agreement" in the fall of 1925 resulted in an exchange of regulations between Canada and Poland regarding operation of the Agreement. Early in 1926 the Polish government advised Canadian officials of the rules governing immigration from Poland. These rules were largely those which applied to all countries to which Polish citizens immigrated, though tailored to accommodate the intermediary role of the two Canadian railroads. To begin with, Polish regulations clearly indicated that Steamship companies were not to undertake active propaganda drives in Poland to attract emigrants. Rather, Polish Employment Offices were to dispense any information on Canada requested by potential immigrants. On this matter the Polish Consul General to Canada made the following points:

The steamship offices can only give to emigrants such information as
pertains to the voyage from Poland to Canada. Information as to conditions of labour, opportunities for colonists, etc., is given to emigrants by the Government Employment Offices. The steamship offices, however, may give to inquirers, calling at their offices, information as issued by the Emigration Department.\textsuperscript{34}

In fairness to the Polish Emigration Department it should be noted that circulars and information supplied by its officers were straight-forward and factual.\textsuperscript{35} Initially most of this material was available only in Polish. In 1927, however, the Emigration Department contracted the services of Dr. Volodymyr Bachynskyj, secretary of the Lviv Ukrainian Immigrants Aid Society, to edit a Ukrainian circular entitled Emigrant and provide similar information in the Ukrainian language.\textsuperscript{36} Government brochures clearly indicated that Canada was only interested in farmer-immigrants and that the host government's primary concern was that such immigrants remain on the land.

On implementation of the Railway's Agreement, however, Polish authorities were unclear as to the status of the occupational certificates issued by the representatives of the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railroads (C.I.O.'s) in Warsaw.
To clarify the situation Canada's Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization, W. J. Egan, wrote Dr. Stanislaw Gawronski, Director of Emigration at Warsaw. He explained that these certificates constituted documents similar in nature to the labour contracts under which Polish seasonal workers left the country. The sponsoring railroad, Egan noted, was expected to guarantee farm employment to the bearer of the certificate.

... the certificate of employment visaed by the respective nominated officers of the Presidents of our two railways, the Canadian Pacific Railway and Canadian National Railway, is really a labour contract, and the respective railways are responsible to the Canadian Government in respect to keeping your Nationals, to whom they issue a visaed certificate, at farm work for at least one year. 37

Once both countries fully understood the other's rules and procedures affecting immigration, cordial relations prevailed. Officials of both governments as well as representatives of the transportation companies maintained regular contact and a generally friendly working relationship.

These smooth relations, however, were threatened
when the Polish government attempted to gain control over the selection of prospective emigrants. Late in 1927 the Polish Consul General at Montreal intimated his government was considering making some changes in the field of emigration. When the nature of these changes became clear, however, relations among all parties involved became strained.

On November 2, 1927, Colonel J. S. Dennis, Chief Commissioner of the C.P.R.'s Colonization and Development division, sent an alarmist note to W. J. Egan. Dennis indicated that the Canadian Pacific's European General Manager, Sir George Brown, had cabled him informing him that Poland intended to assume control over the selection of emigrants who left the country. This, of course, would place Canadian railroads in an untenable position and threaten the whole basis of emigration of Polish nationals to Canada. Part of Sir George Brown's telegram ran as follows:

'Polish Government propose withdraw from transportation interests power selection settlers under Railroads' Agreement. STOP. Desire themselves recruit settlers through medium Government Labour Bureau and send settlers acceptable to them. STOP. Such selection Polish Government undesirable because Canada may thus get only what
Poland desire send and from districts
Polish Government desire lessen popula-
tion either for economic or political
reasons. STOP. Feel be almost impossible
and lead difficulties if Railroad Certifi-
cate Issuing Officers decline accept
any men whom Poland nominated and continual
friction would arise. STOP. Polish Govern-
ment proposes all nominated passengers
handled also through Labour Bureau. STOP.
Situation would possibly develop same as
Italy and transportation interests deprived
any powers of handling own business. STOP.
Expenses recruiting settlers likely be
borne by Steamship Lines who obliged pay
Government whatever amounts demanded and
whatever taxes they desire impose meet
Government administrative expenses ...".

Through the early winter of 1928, the "selection"
issue as it affected emigration to Canada remained
unclear. At various points the controversy became very
heated. At one such point, for example, the C.P.R.
suggested Canada should threaten to withdraw from the
Polish emigration field altogether. The C.N.R.
counseled a more moderate course and the Canadian
government attempted to mediate in the situation.

The specific Polish action which prompted this
tension was the introduction of the omnibus Emigration
Ordinance in December, 1927. The Ordinance was a
major initiative on the part of the Warsaw government
to assume control over the disparate groups and concerns
involved in drawing Polish emigrants out of the country. These various elements included not only railroad and steamship companies but also involved agents of several South American countries who attempted to attract permanent settlers as well as dozens of West European employers in search of seasonal labourers. Poland's concern, then, was to eliminate confusion and protect her own labour needs. Specifically, the Ordinance established comprehensive regulations covering all aspects of immigration work in the country. Its most controversial stipulation, however, was that the selection of labourers by "foreign employers or their representatives" could only proceed through the State Employment Agencies. This provision, it should be noted, did not distinguish as between seasonal and permanent emigrants. Poland's concern for the selection of seasonal industrial and agricultural workers was clearly legitimate and defensible. To apply these provisions against settlers who planned to settle permanently overseas, however, was quite another matter.

After both diplomatic and corporate-level representations from Canada, the Polish government agreed not to apply the controversial selection provisions
of the Ordinance to emigrants destined for Canada. This was done on the basis that Polish nationals departing for Canada were largely permanent settlers, many of whom were leaving to join friends and family members already resident in Canada. The government of Canada was advised of this concession in a letter from the Polish Consul General in Canada, Dr. M. Strazewski, dated February 3, 1928. The letter noted the "special character" of Polish emigration to Canada and offered Poland's "willingness to arrive at an understanding." Although some uncertainty regarding the continued immigration of Polish citizens to Canada arose as a result of this situation, the actual flow of settlers was not appreciably affected. Indeed, relations among the various parties involved in moving Ukrainians and other Polish nationals to Canada again became quite cordial and the flow of immigrants continued largely unabated.

In the fall of 1929, however, a new attempt by Poland to effect its control over out-migration produced new strains in relations between Warsaw and Ottawa. Specifically, the Polish government established an Emigration Syndicate to deal in all matters of emigration business including the allotment of emigrants to
various steamship companies as well as such routine matters as co-ordinating passage bookings and various other civil arrangements. Under the Syndicate arrangement the Polish Government was to hold sixty percent control and the transportation companies a forty percent interest. Again, as in the case of the Emigration Ordinance, this was an attempt by the Poles to protect their emigrants against exploitation. More importantly, however, it was another of several efforts by the Polish government to extend its control over the out-migration of its nationals.

The Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways, however, adamantly resisted incorporation into the Syndicate. Both feared a loss of control over selection of prospective settlers. The two companies, then, declined the Polish invitation to join the Syndicate and clearly indicated to Warsaw officials that they would not do business in Poland under any other circumstances than had previously prevailed. The Poles, however, again conceded.

In mid-1930 a new Polish policy departure helped set the stage for the near complete cessation of emigration from Poland to Canada. In the spring of
1930 the Polish government acquired the Baltic-America SteamShip Line which had previously based much of its business directly out of Poland. The Polish government, by placing a small deposit on the Line, thus created its own shipping company, renamed the Gdynia-America Line.⁴⁷ The Warsaw government then initiated additional measures designed to bolster traffic on the line and ensure its solvency.

Various railroad and steamship interests quickly attacked the new line and, more particularly, Polish government actions to direct business to it. Canadian transportation interests, for example, claimed unfair competition. Specifically, they complained that business they had developed in Poland was diverted by the government to the new Gdynia-America Line. The railroads protested that the names of emigrants who had applied for passports and had booked passage on other lines were passed on to the new Polish national line. These emigrants subsequently received a letter from the Gdynia-America which encouraged them to use the new Polish Line and indicated that emigrants could expect all manner of inconvenience and delay if they travelled by any of the foreign companies.⁴⁸ The Polish press further reinforced this theme by launching a
sustained attack against British SteamShip companies in the summer of 1930. British Lines, it was claimed, caused needless delays and treated Polish citizens like 'cattle'.

The Canadian government responded to these actions with a stern warning which indicated that the new Bennett administration was already reviewing the future of immigration from Central Europe to Canada. In a curt letter to the Polish Consul General for Canada, F. C. Blair noted "that there is not likely to be much immigration to Canada from any country that undertakes directly or indirectly to control both selection and shipping." 

These warnings, however, were greeted with indifference. In a world atmosphere of rapidly deteriorating economic conditions and increasing trade barriers, the Poles stuck to protecting the liquidity of their new line. Far from acceding to Canadian warnings, then, the Poles introduced a program of rate reductions to enhance their competitive position. In addition, Canadian officials also strongly suspected that the Poles were prolonging passport requests for passengers of other lines in an attempt to present the Polish National
Line as quicker and more efficient. 51

These new Polish initiatives were clearly provocative. In response, Canadian immigration authorities were forced to consider various options to deal with the situation. In a departmental briefing, the Assistant Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization offered the following analysis of the situation:

"Our immigration from Poland is not worth much. It would do us no harm at all if we never got any more. We have in this action of the Polish Government some fairly good reason for intimating as much to the Polish Authorities. We also hold the winning hand because we can withdraw from any inspection at Wejcherowo [Gdynia] and return to Danzig where our work has been well established. I think we could afford to say to the Polish Government that if they are not prepared to give British Lines any part in Polish emigration we are not prepared to allow Polish ships to use our ports on the same basis as the British Lines use them." 52

Canadian immigration officials were plainly annoyed by Poland's actions. They recommended to their political superiors that they use the threat of withdrawing inspectional facilities from Gdynia as a bargaining tool. Moreover, they felt the timing of Poland's actions could not have been better from the Canadian perspective.
The new conservative government had already indicated its intention to restrict immigration so a Canadian threat to limit inspectional services in Poland would have to be taken as a serious portent by the Warsaw government.

'The Polish Government could not have chosen a more opportune time from our viewpoint to put into operation their control scheme and I think we might very properly tell them that we are going to withdraw altogether from medical and civil inspection at Wejcherowo, which will mean that their emigrants must come down to the international free port of Danzig and after examination there travel from whatever way they choose.'

A further provocative act by Poland, however, forced Canada to react in a severe manner. In late 1930, the Polish government insisted that all Polish nationals leaving the country must embark from a Polish port. Any SteamShip Company which failed to alter its shipping arrangements to accommodate this directive would lose its concession to operate in Poland effective June, 1931. The majority of Polish traffic on British lines, despite various initiatives by the Polish Emigration Department, had continued to center on Hamburg either overland or ferry-linked. Because of deteriorating economic conditions and declining traffic volumes, these lines
could not afford to schedule direct departures from Poland. Yet if they failed to do so, they would lose the largest share of East European business to the Gdynia-America Line.

The Canadian Railroads were angered by this Polish initiative. They quite correctly viewed the Polish measure as an effort to create a monopoly for the Gdynia-America Line and force foreign transportation interests to use their company to carry Polish citizens into and out of the country. The C.N.R. and C.P.R., too, felt they would be obligated to pay whatever fees the Poles demanded. This, they observed, clearly amounted to black mail.

The Bennett Conservatives quickly retaliated. Canada immediately played her trump card. She totally withdrew civil and medical inspectional facilities from Poland in January, 1931. As a result, even such non-emigrant Polish citizens as tourists, students and diplomats could no longer receive Canadian clearance at a Polish port. Rather, emigrants and such other travellers were now required to travel to Hamburg, Rotterdam, Antwerp or Paris to be visaed and receive Canadian inspection. The new Tory Immigration Minister,
the Honourable W. A. Gordon, was personally involved in framing Canada's quick rebuff as indicated in the following internal government correspondence.

The instruction issued by my Minister, is to immediately withdraw all medical and civil inspection at Gdynia and Danzig. In future, prospective immigrants from this section of Europe will have to secure their examination and vise at one or other of the ports where we have officers.57

In turn, Canada's decision effectively to terminate the direct movement of Polish nationals between Gdynia, Danzig and Canada was greeted angrily by Poland. Government officials were indignant and the Polish press openly expressed its hostility. One newspaper report, for example was quick to point out that this Canadian move affected not only citizens of Poland but also many other nationalities from east and central Europe which had previously embarked from Polish ports.

From these heavy Canadian "War Instructions" will also suffer innocently, the poor emigrants from Soviet Russia, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and the Baltic Countries, who used to go through the necessary formalities at Danzig.58
The Poles, like the Canadians, stubbornly dug in their heels. On February 25, 1931, the Polish Consul General in Canada advised the Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization that his country would not issue passports to Polish nationals desirous of settling in Canada except in "meritorious cases." These he defined as direct dependents or first person relatives of individuals already established in Canada. Even family units with capital who qualified to enter Canada within prescribed immigration limits were therefore unable to leave Poland. Canadian immigration records are insufficiently detailed to trace the precise origin of the few Ukrainian families who arrived between 1931 and 1933. It is clear, however, that Ukrainian family entries into Canada dropped from several hundred in 1930 to about a dozen annually in each of the following three years. The arrival of dependents, too, declined to the mere hundreds.

This represented the low point in inter-war Canadian-Polish relations. Although diplomatic tensions between the two sporadically ran high during the 1920's, they had not produced any considerable fluctuations in immigration. The descending gloom of the depression, however, clouded the picture. Both countries
pursued policies to protect their own interests. Thus, although Canadian restrictions severely curtailed the arrival of Ukrainians and others, additional measures by Poland compounded the effect and reduced Ukrainian immigration into Canada to an almost insignificant trickle.

Canadian immigration officials recognized that the major victim of Warsaw's intransigence was the Ukrainian population of Eastern Poland. The previous extent of specifically "Polish" emigration to Canada was historically overshadowed by the massive movements of ethnic Poles to the United States. Even under the limitations imposed by the American Quota Laws, tens of thousands of Poles were able to settle in the U.S.A. Many of the Poles who gravitated to Canada in the 1920's were single agricultural workers; with the total lack of employment opportunities presented by Canada, then, Polish workers exhibited comparatively little interest in Canada as a destination. This, however, was not the case with Ukrainians. By this point Ukrainians had grown to become Canada's fourth largest ethnic minority and her shores had become the single most popular destination for Ukrainian immigrants in the inter-war period. Under prevailing circumstances, then, Ukrainian emigrants became a dispensable pawn in Polish diplomatic
manoeuvres. Polish-Canadian disputes had little direct impact on ethnic Poles and the inconvenience of a few remote Galicians was hardly viewed as a pressing political imperative.

For the next two or three years there was almost no diplomatic movement from either side. Each clung to its position and a virtual stand off remained in effect. The Gdynia-America Line carried no passengers to Canada and Canadian inspectional offices in Poland remained unopened. What little Polish traffic to Canada that existed was carried on British Steamship Lines, with the Canadian Pacific enjoying the largest share. The nearest port where Polish nationals could obtain Canadian inspection services was Hamburg. By the spring of 1932 the Polish position began to soften. The Poles offered a share of expanded Polish traffic to Canada to the British Steamship Lines if Canada would agree to reopen visaing and inspectional facilities at Gdynia. Canada, however, rejected Polish overtures outright. Canadian officials indicated their operations had been severely cut across the board and that the limited volume of emigration out of Poland would not warrant the expense. The Canadian response, however, was also predicated on an additional unstated motive. Canada was not about to place herself in a position
where the Poles might again be able to manoeuvre their out-migration in order to favour the exclusive interests of the Gdynia-America Line.\textsuperscript{66}

Polish emigration officials and representatives of the Gdynia-America Line, however, continued to push their case. By June, 1932, there appeared to be a good possibility for compromise. Indeed, a compromise proposal was discussed and the Poles agreed to accede to stringent Canadian conditions. The proposal involved a Canadian concession that intending immigrants be allowed to travel to Canada on the Gdynia-America Line if they so chose, out of any port where Canadian inspectional services were available.\textsuperscript{67} In return, Poland was required to advise Canada formally that the decree enforcing departure from a Polish port would be immediately suspended. In addition, British Steam-Ship companies would enjoy the same rights as the Gdynia-America Line and taxation measures would not be applied against those who travelled overland. The Poles were also required to give proper advance notice of any changes in future.\textsuperscript{68} Yet, despite initial Polish agreement to Canadian terms, the compromise was not effected. An additional matter intruded into the situation and resolution of the entire issue was
consequently delayed.

The issue which jeopardized and ultimately postponed agreement between Canada and Poland was that of eastbound traffic. In order to encourage travel on the Gdynia-America Line from North America eastward to Poland, the Warsaw government initiated a scheme of discriminatory passport tariffs. A substantial visaing fee was charged against people who wished to enter Poland but lifted for those passengers who chose to travel on the Gdynia-America Line. On discovering this, Canada refused to conclude an agreement until all aspects of the situation were resolved. Any compromise was indefinitely postponed and no substantive change in immigration from Poland resulted.

On several subsequent occasions, Polish representatives broached the issue of re-opening talks. In January, 1934, for instance, the Polish Consul General in Canada advised F. C. Blair that Poland had dramatically reduced her passport fees. As the long-standing issue of eastbound traffic was thus resolved, the Polish diplomat requested that Canada give consideration to re-establishing inspectional facilities on Polish territory. Canada responded
in the negative, again giving insufficient traffic volumes as the official reason.

Poland, then, widened her strategy as regards luring Canada's interest. In April, 1934, the Gdynia-America Line was a driving force behind a new compromise proposal at the commercial level. The new proposal was included in a joint communiqué to the Immigration branch from the Gdynia-America, Cunard, Canadian Pacific and White Star Lines. Its central suggestion was that the movement of immigrants from Poland would be divided among the four companies, with the Gdynia-America Line restricted to two Canadian excursions annually. In the communiqué the four lines also indicated they were initiating a single inland transportation fee based at Quebec City. This meant that even if an immigrant landed at St. John or Halifax on the Atlantic seaboard, his inland transportation was adjusted as if he had disembarked at Quebec. The impact of this move was that SteamShip companies could take advantage of their major trans-atlantic routes in moving immigrants. This was especially advantageous whenever the supply of passengers was not sufficient to justify a sailing up the St.
Lawrence to Quebec. Another advantage of this arrangement was that a larger number of travellers could be landed at Halifax or St. John during the winter months when Quebec was ice bound. In closing their proposal, the four steamship companies again advanced the case for reopening Canadian inspectional offices in Poland. Again, however, the Canadian government refused to commit itself.

Another strategic Polish move in early 1934 concerned the visaing of Ukrainians from Canada who wished to visit Poland. Such travellers had previously been able to obtain visa services from the Polish Consulate in Montreal. In the spring of 1934, however, Poland advised Canada that such travellers would in future be required to obtain clearance directly from Warsaw. Although the Poles were usually suspicious of their Ukrainian minority, it is unclear why they implemented this new restriction at this particular point. Part of their motivation may have been to prompt Ukrainians in Canada to pressure Ottawa for a freer movement of people between the two countries.

Up to the end of 1934, then, Poland and Canada were at various points either unable or unwilling to resolve
their differences with respect to the transport of Polish nationals to Canada. As a consequence, the Gdynia-America Line remained completely shut out of the Canadian market until 1933 when it was granted permission to move a small contingent of settlers to Canada. Canadian inspectional facilities remained unavailable on Polish territory and Ukrainians, who continued the largest group desirous of emigrating to Canada, also formed the largest group to suffer the consequences of this diplomatic stand off.

Changes in the international shipping situation during 1935 forced Canada to reconsider her position. The Poles, who continued firm in their determination to expand traffic through Gdynia, successfully negotiated a new shipping agreement with Britain. In the Anglo-Polish agreement, formally concluded in May, 1935, Britain recognized the exclusivity of Polish ports. That is, any Polish traffic carried on British lines was required to depart directly from Gdynia.

This agreement established a powerful precedent as regards a similar Polish demand of Canada. It also
had immediate implications in terms of the creation of a new shipping alignment. The large British lines including the Cunard and Canadian Pacific were no longer allowed to accept overland Polish departures at Hamburg. Rather, they were forced to channel most of their Polish traffic on trans-Atlantic sailings out of London, relying on a North Sea feeder service to transport passengers first from Gdynia to London and then overseas. Specifically, the British liners were unable, for lack of volume, to initiate separate sailings for Polish passengers. Instead, they routed their Polish traffic according to the existing freight schedule from Gdynia to England. In order to reach London in time for the commencement of the weekly market on Mondays, the feeder service left Poland on the previous Thursday. Passengers from Poland were then required to wait for another departure which left Britain on Friday with arrival in Canada on the following Friday. This resulted in an inconvenient, and often more costly, circuitous journey of sixteen days.

This situation clearly gave the competitive edge to the Gdynia-America Line whose combined freight and passenger volumes could support a schedule of direct
sailings to North America. Although its outmoded fleet rarely met the eight day crossing it advertised, the Line had begun construction of modern carriers which could easily meet this schedule. The British Lines' future traffic, then, was likely to be even more disadvantaged.

To resolve the situation Prime Minister Bennett agreed to a compromise proposal. He gave tentative approval to providing occasional inspectional facilities in Poland and to discontinue the movement of Polish nationals to Canada through Hamburg. In exchange, however, Bennett demanded the introduction of a pooling arrangement which would ensure British lines a part of passenger volumes. The Poles, in turn, tentatively agreed to Bennett's demands and arrangements for an increased movement of Polish citizens to Canada began to be assembled.

The loosening of diplomatic tensions between Poland and Canada - combined with a modest improvement in economic conditions - stimulated the first, albeit weak, active interest by a railroad in the movement of Polish citizens to Canada in almost five years. In the spring of 1935 the Canadian National Railway requested permission to
settle fifty families from Poland, many of which were Ukrainian, in Western Canada. In order to facilitate inspection and visaing, the C.N.R. requested that a Canadian inspectional officer be sent to Warsaw to clear these people for sailing before they were required to leave the country. These families were to be transported on the Gdynia-America Line with whom the Canadian National had begun to co-operate in 1933. Family dependents previously moved by the line travelled overland to Hamburg for inspection, were then ferried to Copenhagen and subsequently transported overseas. Under the new arrangement dependents and family units were now able to obtain clearance inside Poland and were also able to depart directly from a Polish port. Again, this made the whole immigration process a much less onerous one and resulted in a modest renewal of immigration from Poland to Canada.

As was so frequently the case in inter-war Polish-Canadian relations, agreements completed in every detail except for the signatures, were often cancelled or postponed due to the intrusion of complicating factors. This was certainly true of the pooling arrangement which both countries agreed to in principle. Initially the Gdynia-America and
Canadian Pacific SteamShip companies agreed to a 55/45 split of Polish traffic to Canada. Because the Canadian National Railway had begun to work closely with the Polish national line, this arrangement would have ensured a proportionate share of the passenger volumes to both Canadian railroads. This pooling agreement, however, was not formalized. First, the Cunard line objected to being excluded from the arrangement, and second, the Gdynia-America line resisted signing as it anticipated being able to capture a larger share of the traffic through direct transport and by bringing on stream its modern new carriers.

A new compromise pooling proposal was discussed which broke down the shares to the various companies as follows: 50 percent to Gdynia-America; 30 percent to the Canadian Pacific, and 20 percent to the Cunard Lines. This arrangement, too, was staffed by commercial bickering between the Canadian Pacific and Gdynia-America Lines. The Canadian Pacific attempted to widen the scope of discussions to include what they termed a "continued share" of Polish-United States transportation via the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes. The Poles retaliated by demanding a share of
transportation business out of Glasgow.  

At first Canadian officials were sympathetic to the Canadian Pacific's desire to ensure its continued American business. Frustrated by the Poles' refusal to budge on the issue, Ottawa officials threatened again to withdraw occasional inspectional services in Poland unless the matter was satisfactorily resolved. Following is the text of the telegram sent to the Manager of the Gdynia-America Line in New York:

The Hon. Mr. Crerar desires me to inform you that the unreasonable delay in failing to complete the pooling arrangement followed by the decision to prevent the use of Canadian ports for Westbound Polish migrants destined to the United States, is likely to move this Department to withdraw at an early date from the arrangement under which Canadian inspectional facilities are provided at Polish ports.

Canadian immigration officials, however, quickly discovered they had made an embarrassing mistake. The Poles protested that the Canadian Pacific had not enjoyed an official concession to move Polish nationals via the St. Lawrence to the United States since 1925. The Canadian Pacific countered that they had moved thousands of Poles to the United States through the
1920's. In reality the C.P.S.S. had moved travellers from Poland but many of these were students, tourists or diplomats. The company continued to carry some Polish traffic after 1925 although without the sanction of the Polish government. After 1927, however, this movement was cancelled in its entirety. The Canadian Immigration Branch thus discovered they had jumped to the defense of a major Canadian interest to defend the continuation of a right they had not enjoyed for many years. Senior administrators of the Department, then, quite naturally expressed annoyance with the Canadian Pacific. 90

The end result of the respective manoeuving and bickering was that no permanent pooling arrangement was effected. Neither were permanent inspectional facilities placed at Gdynia. Rather, the Canadian government continued to provide occasional visaing services in Poland as required. This was accomplished by periodically sending the Department's representative at Hamburg to Poland to oversee the required arrangements. 91 By and large this provision was acceptable to Polish authorities and satisfactorily handled the limited movement that existed. And, although no firm pooling arrangement was adopted, both the Gdynia-America and Canadian Pacific
SteamShip lines jointly continued to enjoy the majority of Canada-bound traffic out of Poland.

In the latter half of the decade, then, Ukrainian immigration to Canada increased quite considerably. The volume of both dependents and first person relations as well as agricultural families with capital entering Canada tripled over the number admitted in the early 1930's. In 1936, 815 Ukrainians landed in Canada, up from 483 the previous year. By 1937 the number was up to 1,215; it further rose to 1,905 in 1938 and levelled off at 1,766 in 1939. The movement of Ukrainians to Canada during this period outnumbered that of ethnic Poles by a proportion of three to one. This latter fact is significant in understanding Poland's treatment of Ukrainian emigrants.

In 1936, as part of a general program to bolster its currency and limit the outflow of capital from the country, the Polish Emigration Syndicate restricted the amount of capital any family could leave the country with to $1,000.00. This measure clearly limited the exodus of capital which could accompany Jewish families who feared war and left the country. Its other major target was Poland's Ukrainian minority. Canadian authorities
were cognizant of the treatment accorded Ukrainians who left Poland in the late 1930's. The following report by the Director of Canada's Immigration Branch describes the all encompassing manner by which many Ukrainians were relieved of a large chunk of their life savings before leaving Poland.

Ukrainian (sic) farmers who have land and want to sell it and leave Poland are encouraged to do so by Poland. The Government sets the price and sees that the amount paid is very little more than will pay passage and allow $1,000 to be taken out of the country. They also see that the land sold by the Ukrainian (sic) farmer falls into the hands of a Polish settler. By one operation they therefore, get rid of a Ukrainian (sic), replace him on the land by a Pole, fix the price that the Ukrainian (sic) gets for his land and by routing this business into the hands of the Polish Line get back from the Ukrainian (sic) a considerable part of the price of his land by selling him transportation on the National Line.97

Through the late 1930's the sailing requirements for agricultural families remained mid-March to mid-October but the arrival of first person family members was possible regardless of the season.98 Families with capital were allowed to come to Canada to settle on the land. Generally, $1,000.00 was considered the minimum
amount which could ensure a family an adequate start at settlement. Canadian authorities were agreeable to accepting families with as little capital on landing as $500.00 but the railroad bringing in such a family was technically expected to find a friend or relative prepared to make up the difference. Any nominations of families issued to the Gdynia Line were forwarded to the C.N.R. to investigate before processing and the Canadian Pacific handled most of the remainder.

As the political situation in Europe became increasingly unsettled, Canada experienced a corresponding rise in the number of families who sought entry but were unable to meet minimum capital requirements. Mostly on humanitarian grounds, the Immigration Branch was willing to accept a number of settlers in such circumstances but remained convinced that beginning farmers needed at least some capital to make an acceptable start on the land. At one point immigration officials complained that for every family that arrived with the minimum amount of capital, three landed with less than $1,000.00. As a result, Canadian authorities insisted that at the very least a fifty-fifty split must prevail. Commenting on the matter, the Canadian Director of Immigration expressed his
frustration with Poland in this regard. His remarks quite accurately reflect the tone which characterized Canadian-Polish relations for most of the inter-war period.

We can get along without Polish families and if they are not agreeable to the fifty-fifty arrangement for this year their fest plan is to keep their families and their capital both.

The German invasion of Poland in 1939 and the subsequent outbreak of World War II brought a halt to immigration to Canada and signalled the end of an era. From this point on only a small number of refugees were allowed entry. Canada increasingly turned her attention to the war effort. The often controversial arrival of continentals on the prairies became a faint and distant memory of the past.
CHAPTER IV: FOOTNOTES


2 See footnote 95, Chapter III.


4 See 1931 correspondence in St. Raphael Association Archives, uncatalogued collection, Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg.

5 M. H. Marunchak, op. cit. p.368.


10 Ibid.


15 Ibid. p.9.


18 For details of provisions affecting deportation see F.C. Blair to W. Saville, Vancouver. March 27, 1931. PAC RG76 v.365.

19 See Memorandum Re: Deportations. No signature. February 6, 1934. Department of Immigration and Colonization, Ottawa. PAC RG76 v.396.

20 Ibid.


24 Annual Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1934. p.73.

25 Ibid. p.74.

26 See PAC RG76 v.376.

27 Toronto Star. February 6, 1931. Clipping contained in PAC RG76 v.395.


30 Ibid.

31 Polish Consul General in Canada to W. J. Egan. November 19, 1925. PAC RG76 v.629.

32 See Immigration Branch correspondence April to June, 1925. PAC RG76 v.629.


34 Mr. R. Mazurkiewcz, Acting Polish Consul General in Canada, Montreal to F. C. Blair. January 19, 1926. PAC RG76 v.629.

35 See letter from the White Star-Dominion Line to F. C. Blair. March 4, 1926. PAC RG76 v.629.
Copies of the *Emigrant* circular are available in the St. Raphael Association Archives at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg. The tabloid was short-lived due to the untimely death of Dr. Bachynskyj later in 1927. M. H. Marunchak credits publication of the circular to the Lviv Ukrainian Immigrants Aid Society. Its publication, however, was clearly financed by the Polish government. See M. H. Marunchak, op. cit. p. 364.

W. J. Egan to Dr. S. Gawronski. February 9, 1926. PAC RG76 v. 629.

Sir George Brown cited in Ibid.

See W. J. Black to W. J. Egan. February 2, 1928. PAC RG76 v. 629.

Copy of Ordinance is included in a letter from Polish Consul General, Dr. M. Strazewski to W. J. Egan. November 19, 1927. PAC RG76 v. 629.

See Ordinance in Ibid.

Dr. M. Strazewski to W. J. Egan. February 3, 1928. PAC RG76 v. 629.

F. C. Blair to J. N. K. Macalister, C.P.R. Chief Commissioner of Colonization and Development. February 15, 1930. PAC RG76 v. 629.


49 See F. C. Blair. "Memorandum Reviewing the Correspondence Touching Upon Poland's Restriction of Emigration to Polish Ports." May 2, 1935. PAC RG76 v.629.


51 W. R. Little, Director of European Emigration, to W. J. Egan. November 12, 1930. PAC RG76 v.629.


53 Ibid.

54 W. J. Black, C.N.R. Director of Colonization, to W. J. Egan. December 11, 1930. PAC RG76 v.629.

55 Ibid.

56 W. J. Egan to the Polish Consul General, January 17, 1931. PAC RG76 v.629.

57 W. J. Egan to Dr. Amyot, Deputy Minister of Pensions and National Health. January 17, 1931. PAC RG76 v.629.

58 Quote from Editorial in Der Moment, Warsaw, January 23, 1931. Clipping enclosed in a letter from W. R. Little, European Director of Emigration; to W. J. Egan, February 3, 1931. PAC RG76 v.629.

59 Polish Consul General to W. J. Egan. February 25, 1931. PAC RG76 v.629.
60 William Darcovich; Paul Yuzyk (eds.) op.cit. p.525.

61 Departmental Memorandum to the Honourable W. A. Gordon, Minister of Immigration and Colonization. April 1, 1931. p.2. PAC RG76 v.629.


63 F. C. Blair, "Notes for Discussion with the Minister and Polish Shipping Situation." December 5, 1935. p.3. PAC RG76 v.629.

64 F. C. Blair to Honourable W. A. Gordon. February 14, 1935. PAC RG76 v.629.

65 See briefing Memorandum for Estimates from F. C. Blair to W. J. Egan. April 17, 1932. PAC RG76 v.629.

66 Ibid.

67 O. D. Skelton, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, to Dr. George Adamkiewicz, Polish Consul General in Canada. April 22, 1932. PAC, RG76 v.629.

68 Ibid.


71 Joint communiqué from the Gdynia-America, Canadian Pacific, Cunard and White Star lines to Thomas Magladery, Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization. April 17, 1934. PAC RG76 v.629.

72 Ibid.
F. C. Blair, Memorandum for File. April 10, 1934. PAC RG76 v.629.

There is no clear evidence either to support or dispute this supposition although it would appear to fit in the general context of relations during this period.

See F. C. Blair. "Notes for Discussion with the Minister and Polish Shipping Situation" December 5, 1935. op.cit. p.3.

F. C. Blair to Dr. W. J. Black. May 21, 1935. PAC RG76 v.629.


Ibid.

F. C. Blair, "Notes for Discussion with the Minister and Polish Shipping Situation" December 5, 1935. op.cit. p.6.

Ibid.

Dr. W. J. Black, C.N.R. Colonization Director to Major T. Magdalery, Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization. February 7, 1935. PAC RG76 v.629.

Ibid.

F. C. Blair, "Notes for Discussion with the Minister and Polish Shipping Situation" December 5, 1935. op.cit. p.3.

Ibid.  

Ibid.


88 Text of telegram included in a memorandum from Major T. Magdalery to the Honourable Mr. Crerar. February 5, 1936. PAC RG76 v.629.

89 F. C. Blair to O. D. Skelton. May 1, 1936. PAC RG76 v.629.

90 Ibid.


92 William Darcovich; Paul Yuzyk (eds.) op.cit. p.525.

93 Ibid.

94 Ibid. p.546.

95 A. L. Joliffe to Division Immigration Commissioner at Winnipeg, October 10, 1936. PAC RG76 v.629.

96 F. C. Blair, Director of Immigration, Department of Mines and Resources. Memorandum for File. July 14, 1937. PAC RG76 v.629.


98 F. C. Blair to Mr. Levine, Passenger Manager, Gdynia-America Line, July 14, 1937. PAC RG76 v.629.


101 Ibid.
CONCLUSION

Canada was the single most popular destination for Ukrainian emigrants in the inter-war period. This popularity was largely a function of American quota restrictions and a lack of comparable economic opportunities in various Latin America countries. In the two decades between the wars almost 68,000 Ukrainians arrived on Canada's shores. Among them were many complete family units as well as dependents of settlers who had arrived in the country before the Great War. The majority, however, arrived as unattached farm labourers and domestics.

For most of these, severe agricultural overcrowding, social and economic suppression and the almost complete lack of social mobility were the chief reasons for leaving their native land. The disappointment and frustration which attended the collapse of the Ukrainian National Republic proved an additional cause to emigrate. Some of the newcomers had been actively associated with the independence movement and therefore contributed a stronger political component to the migration than had prevailed in the large pre-war movement of Ukrainians to Canada.

The character of inter-war Ukrainian immigration to
Canada also differed in several other respects. Canadian immigration regulations, for instance, were now clearly more selective. For most of the period only sponsored workers, direct dependents of Ukrainian family heads already in Canada and families or individuals who planned to pursue agriculture on the prairies were officially welcome to come. This reflected Canada's changed manpower requirements and a more sophisticated approach to the whole issue of immigration. Gone were the days of Canada's Open Door. Untrammeled immigration was replaced by a new policy based on British preference and admission of only those occupational groups from central and eastern Europe where Canada was in short supply. The nativist tensions of the immediate post-war period greatly influenced the development of the new policy. Canada therefore grudgingly agreed to accept only farm families, domestics and agricultural workers from the non-preferred continental countries. In addition to being screened occupationally, Ukrainian and other inter-war immigrants also faced language examinations which were designed to ensure that new settlers were at least literate in their native tongue. Modest capital requirements were enforced on landing and immigrants faced the usual health and civil inspections generally applied against immigrants.
The entrance requirements under which Ukrainian immigrants were now expected to fall were considerably narrower than before. This change was implemented in an attempt to restrict the entrance of semi-skilled or unskilled workers and to direct most continental newcomers to farming communities and frontier homesteads. The Ukrainians' general lack of capital, combined with clear immigration directives designed to restrict continental newcomers to low-paying farm work or homesteading, meant that many inter-war settlers were doomed to begin life in Canada at the bottom rung of the social ladder. The pursuance of this strategy therefore not only fulfilled Canada's agricultural requirements, but was also used to placate those concerned over the perceived erosion of British predominance in Canada. The following excerpt from a 1927 colonization report of the Canadian Pacific Railroad illustrates the logic of societal stratification which was often proffered to mollify such concerns. Ukrainians and other continentals, as before the war, clearly were expected to continue to do the poorly paid and physically demanding work of frontier development and allow the British majority to profit from more lucrative pursuits.
Notwithstanding some adverse criticism of a too large percentage of other than Anglo Saxon stock in the immigration totals for the year, it may safely be said that by far the larger majority in the West are favourable to increased immigration, and are favourable to the Central Europeans of selected agricultural type to undertake the pioneering work necessary for the agricultural development of the West, to lay a sound foundation of largely increased British immigration for industrial pursuits made possible by the agricultural development. 1

Inter-war Ukrainian immigration to Canada can be divided into three distinct phases: the post-war era, the period covered by the "Railways' Agreement" and the time span which coincided with the Great Depression. The boundaries which delineate these phases resulted from and were defined by pragmatic policy decisions made by either the Canadian or Polish governments, and often both.

In the immediate post-war period, little immigration from any source was permitted into Canada until her armed forces were re-absorbed into the economy and domestic conditions improved. By 1923 economic recovery appeared at hand and the Canadian government announced its intention to allow limited agricultural immigration from central and eastern Europe. Moreover, for the first time since 1914, Canadian immigration offices were re-opened on Polish territory. Ukrainian emigrants from Eastern Poland and Northern Roumania were again
able to receive visa and civil inspection at offices not too distant from their native villages. Immigrants, thus able to gain assurance of their admissibility into Canada before first leaving Poland, became understandably less apprehensive about relocating. Canada's clear indication that she was again ready to accept agricultural settlers reinforced these assurances. A modest increase, particularly of dependents and others with either sufficient capital or willing sponsors in Canada, was thereby facilitated.

After an initial backlog of Ukrainian settlers was cleared, however, very little additional movement ensued. The subsequent decline in Ukrainian immigration in 1924 was caused by a lack of sponsors for many hundreds of others who wished to immigrate but did not know anyone already established in Canada. This sponsorship requirement was inacted by Canadian immigration authorities to ensure against indigence befalling prospective settlers. It was a new provision which again did not exist before the war and was implemented largely as a guard against municipalities being burdened with the provision of welfare services to those who became public charges. This sponsorship block, however, excluded many immigrants who could otherwise meet entrance requirements and fill
the growing need for farm labourers in particular. Sporadic efforts by Ukrainian groups anxious to promote additional immigration were not, however, successful in either convincing the government to remove this restriction or in assembling the finances and placement network by themselves to undertake an extensive campaign to obtain sponsors. The Greek Catholic-initiated St. Raphael Ukrainian Immigrants Welfare Association — in conjunction with the Lviv Ukrainian Immigrants Aid Society — held the promise of succeeding in this respect but was quickly supplanted by broader developments.

By 1925 a decline in the supply of farm labourers and domestics from the culturally preferred countries of Scandinavia and Western Europe caused considerable concern in Canada. The railroads, whose continued viability was tied to expanding the settlement base of Western Canada, became increasingly frustrated by the impending shortage of manpower and government inaction to obtain new sources of farm labour. They became particularly perturbed by lengthy delays in processing applications for admission from the non-preferred countries. A series of negotiations between the railroads and the dominion government ensued. These resulted in the
"Railways Agreement" which granted the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railroads the right to recruit and place in Western Canada immigrants in the prescribed agricultural classes from the non-preferred countries. The central provision of the Agreement was a railroad guarantee to place farm labourers, domestics and agricultural families on the land for a minimum period of a year. The railroads, with their substantial financial capability, moved quickly to activate a network of agents and colonization boards to obtain potential placements and sponsorships. This provision, then, eliminated the crucial sponsorship block which had prevented many Ukrainians from gaining admission to Canada. As a result, the volume of Ukrainian immigration to Canada rose dramatically. During the five years in which the Agreement remained in effect about 55,000 Ukrainians entered Canada, representing the largest single group admitted from the non-preferred countries.

The activities of various Ukrainian associations which aspired to lead the movement of these fellow nationals to Canada became increasingly bound up with one or other of the railroads. The original network of St. Raphael's Association representatives, for example, became the groundwork on which the Canadian National
built its organization of Ukrainian commission agents. It also initially served as a helpful referral service to the C.N.R., directing many inquirers to the railroad ultimately to place. Very quickly, however, the Association lost its independent rationale for existence and faded out of active immigration work. Many of its members, however, remained in the active employ of the Canadian National or several of the SteamShip companies with which it co-operated. The resultant high visibility in immigration work of individuals such as D. M. Elcheshen, then, may have been the basis on which at least one historian has attached high importance to the work of the St. Raphael's Association in the overall movement of inter-war Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. Although the organization was certainly of some assistance, to assign it a leading role in inter-war Ukrainian settlement in Canada is clearly an overstatement.

The Canadian Pacific, unlike its competitor, did not undertake direct placement of immigrants. Rather, it subsidized the expansion of various colonization boards to obtain prospective placements and theoretically to supervise the settlement of labourers recruited. The C.P.R.'s organization for Ukrainian settlement became concentrated in three private colonization boards, one
in each of the prairie provinces. The largest was the Confederation Land Corporation at Edmonton followed by the Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Association of Saskatoon and the Ukrainian Settler's Aid Society of Winnipeg. These boards became highly commercialized and focused their efforts on obtaining any and all continental placements they could get. As a result, they placed fully half of the Canadian Pacific's total allotment of immigrants from the non-preferred countries. These boards allocated immigrants to various districts but made only a very superficial attempt actually to supervise their settlement. Their prime motivation was plainly an interest in the substantial commissions made possible through the placement of arrivals.

Although the expectation of the Railways' Agreement was that the railroads would actively promote the agricultural settlement of arrivals, this was not strictly enforced. Moreover, both railroads in an effort to enhance volumes of passengers cleared many emigrants for sailing who did not meet occupational criteria for admission. This strategy resulted in the arrival of many settlers who were not suitable for nor desirous of settling in agriculture. As long as the economy was buoyant, however, few repercussions resulted. A wet spring in 1927, though,
caused many farmers to lay off or not accept farm labourers previously ordered and a visible oversupply of farm workers resulted. In turn, political pressures mounted. Continental immigrants were accused of taking jobs from resident Canadians. The renewed flow of central and east Europeans - many of whom did not speak English, pursued alien customs and tended to be predominantly Catholic - also revived nativist tensions in Western Canada in particular. The government responded by placing an embargo against unattached farm labourers in late May, 1927. This measure was followed by further restrictions and eventually resulted in referral of the immigration question to the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization. In June, 1928, the Committee recommended that sponsorship of unattached settlers from the non-preferred countries be restricted to first degree relatives and that the Railways' Agreement not be extended beyond 1930. Adoption of these recommendations produced a reduction in the number of Ukrainians who could now gain admission. The first provision, in particular, re-erected the sponsorship block and resulted in the tapering off of Ukrainian immigration to Canada even before the Depression.

Although the Bennett Conservatives in 1930 formally restricted immigration to direct dependents and families
with sufficient capital to begin farming, it should be noted that the curtailment in the movement which followed had been actually predetermined by the earlier decision not to renew the Railways' Agreement. It is also noteworthy that the very abrupt decline in Ukrainian immigration to Canada after 1930 was also a function of additional external considerations. Specifically, the degree to which the movement of even Ukrainians who remained eligible for admission ceased was affected by the withdrawal of Canadian inspectional offices in Poland. It was further constrained by the subsequent Polish restrictions on immigration of all but direct dependents because Ottawa was not agreeable to the exclusivity of Polish ports. Although this issue was tentatively resolved in 1936, only a modest increase in additional immigration resulted. The increasing fear of war in the late 1930's prompted others eligible for admission to make the trans-atlantic journey to Canada. The arrival at an understanding in the shipping issue thus enabled several thousand other Ukrainians who could meet entrance requirements subsequently to gain admission into Canada. The continuing effects of the depression, however, precluded any larger movement.

On an overall basis the majority of newcomers settled on the land, either as farm hands or on their own farms.
Many arrivals, however, soon became part of the emerging trend under which many second generation Ukrainians in Canada gravitated increasingly to industrial employment in urban centres or forestry and mining communities. Because of the lack of statistics on internal immigration it is impossible to quantify this movement. That it was substantial, however, is indicated by the geographical concentration of new political organizations which were initially consisted of only recent arrivals. In 1930, for example, thirteen branches of the Ukrainian War Veterans Association were established. Except for three rural clubs, the majority of the 585 members were located in cities or mining communities: Montreal, Windsor, Sudbury, Toronto, Moose Jaw, Saskatoon, the coal-mining community of Bienfait, Saskatchewan, Edmonton and Winnipeg. This general trend away from the land accelerated during the depression when little farm work was available. By 1937, for instance, the organization of veterans of Ukrainian army units extended to several additional industrial areas in Ontario and Quebec.

The nationalism of these newcomers has been a matter of conjecture for some time. Paul Yuzyk has suggested that inter-war Ukrainians "were mainly veterans of the Ukrainian armies who had fought for the independence of
It is, however, quite accurate to note that the new arrivals were far more nationally conscious than their pre-war Galician and Bukovinian counterparts. The existence of a strong national identity among inter-war Ukrainian immigrants proved invaluable in strengthening the Ukrainian community in Canada. The new arrivals were not only more conscious of their ethnicity, they were also better educated and more able to assume leadership roles in various organizations. The preservation of the Ukrainian fact in Canada was not only bolstered by large numbers of recruits, it was also strengthened in a qualitative sense. In contrast, the Ukrainian community in the United States was denied the extent of inter-war reinforcement enjoyed by its Canadian counterpart and was ultimately weakened as a result. The impact of inter-war Ukrainian immigration to Canada, then, had its greatest effect in terms of helping to preserve the Ukrainian identity in Canada. In more general terms, though, the

Ukraine. Although statistical evidence is lacking, the organized presence of less than six hundred Ukrainian war veterans in 1930 is a strong indication that in fact they formed a very small component of the larger, predominantly agriculturally-based movement.
arrival of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada in the 1920's and 1930's assisted in expanding particularly her agricultural potential and helped reinforce Canadian ethnic diversity.

The substantial pre-Great War immigration of Ukrainians to Canada was initiated by Clifford Sifton and was largely the product of a determined, government-sponsored effort to populate the prairies. Inter-war Ukrainian immigration, on the other hand, took place under a very difficult political climate and within a much more selective framework. The dominion government withdrew its active involvement and the commercial interests of the railroads prompted and facilitated the new movement of Ukrainians to Canada. In the final analysis, pragmatic considerations inspired, controlled and defined the inter-war movement of Ukrainians to Canada.
CONCLUSION: FOOTNOTES

1 Report of Western Canadian Office and United States Organization, Department of Colonization and Development, Canadian Pacific Railway. December 1, 1926 to November 30, 1927, p.7. CPR Archives, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary. File 615 Box 72.

2 See W. J. Egan to Dr. Volodymyr Baczyński at Montreal. July 2, 1925. Also see letter from Mykola Zajaczkiwskyj to the Canadian Minister of Immigration. October 20, 1924. St. Raphael Association uncatalogued collection. Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre Archives, Winnipeg.


5 Ibid.

APPENDIX A

Source: Public Archives of Canada.
(PAC) RG76 Vol. 262 File 216882 Part 1.

"Railways Agreement"

signed in the office of Prime Minister Mackenzie King on September 1, 1925, by Honourable G. N. Gordon, Minister of Immigration and Colonization and the Presidents of the two railroads Messrs. Beatty and Thorton

AGREEMENT

Party of the first part

His majesty the king, represented by the Minister of Immigration and Colonization

and

Party of the second part

Canadian National Railway Co. and Canadian Pacific Railway Co.

WHEREAS it is the policy of the Government of Canada to promote the immigration into Canada of persons who, being eligible for admission as immigrants under the statutes and Orders-in-Council regulating immigration, are of such nationalities, races and mode of life as to be assimilable into the population and citizenship of Canada;

AND WHEREAS in pursuance of the said policy the Government desires to procure the immigration of agricultural workers and domestic servants from countries provided for by existing laws and regulations;

AND WHEREAS the Parties of the Second Part by reason of their special interest in the early settlement of available unoccupied lands and their transportation facilities by land and sea are specially qualified to procure, select and settle immigrants of the classes mentioned, and have the necessary organizations for that purpose;

AND WHEREAS in order to facilitate the movement of immigrants of the aforementioned classes and to avoid duplication of effort, it is expedient that the measures taken hereinafter set forth should be adopted.
NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESS

1. That the Party of the First Part hereby authorizes the Parties of the Second Part for the period of two years next insuing to invite persons who are citizens or residents of the countries referred to to emigrate to Canada and to settle them in Canada as agriculturalists, agricultural workers and domestic servants.

2. That the Parties to this Agreement recognize and affirm the importance of bringing to Canada only those immigrants mentally, morally, physically and industrially fit and a type suitable for permanent settlement in the Dominion, and further that this Agreement is not made with the object of superseding in any way the Immigration regulations that are now or may hereafter be in effect, but rather of joining the forces or the Parties of the Second Part with the Party of the First Part in a Partnership for the improvement of the work in which all are now engaged.

3. That the Parties of the Second Part agree each for itself to use their best efforts in the countries above mentioned to procure immigrants of the above occupations and to settle them in Canada, and agree that they will in no case bring to Canada any immigrants who shall not be eligible under the immigration laws for admission to Canada, and agree further to transport to the countries whence they emigrated all immigrants brought by them to Canada under the agreement, who, refusing to engage in agriculture, agricultural labour or domestic service in Canada shall become public charges, within the period of one year from the date of their admission.

4. That the Party of the First Part agrees to admit to Canada all emigrants of the aforementioned classes not prohibited by law who shall be brought to Canada by either of the Parties of the Second Part, and to assist the Parties of the Second Part in receiving and settling the said immigrants by use of immigration halls and the services of the officials of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, and that the Parties further agree that distribution, placement and such supervision as the new settlers may require after their arrival in Canada, shall be undertaken by the Parties to this Agreement on the basis of joint responsibility.
5. That for the purpose of facilitating such admission the Party of the First Part agrees to provide for the viseing of passports of all immigrants of whom passports by law required in accordance with instructions and regulations made by the Minister of Immigration and Colonization.

In witness whereof the Parties hereto have executed these presents

Minister of Immigration and Colonization

Canadian National Railway

President

Secretary

Canadian Pacific Railway

President

Secretary
APPENDIX B


INTER-WAR UKRAINE

Ukrainian Ethnographic Territory

Boundary of Ukrainian SSR 1921-1939

R.S.F.S.R.

BLACK SEA

UKRAINE IN 1918

Eastern Front, December 1917 in the East in 1918

Boundaries of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Ukrainian State in 1918.
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