INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI[®]

NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI[®]

**PEASANTS ON THE MOVE:
EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY LABOUR MIGRATION
FROM RUSSIA'S WESTERN FRONTIER TO CANADA**

by

**Vadim Kukushkin
Honours Diploma, Candidate of Sciences (History)**

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**Department of History
Carleton University
Ottawa, Canada
1 August 2004**

© 2004, Vadim Kukushkin

In compliance with the
Canadian Privacy Legislation
some supporting forms
may have been removed from
this dissertation.

While these forms may be included
in the document page count,
their removal does not represent
any loss of content from the dissertation.

0-612-97831-1

The Department of History recommends to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis

**PEASANTS ON THE MOVE:
EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY LABOUR MIGRATION
FROM RUSSIA'S WESTERN FRONTIER TO CANADA**

submitted by

Vadim Y. Kukushkin, Honours Diploma, Candidate of Sciences

in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

E. Peter Fitzgerald
Chair of the Department of History

Marilyn J. Barber, Thesis Supervisor

M. Mark Stolarik, University of Ottawa, External Examiner

Department of History

Carleton University

22 September 2004

ABSTRACT

In the early twentieth century, thousands of Ukrainian and Belarusian peasants from tsarist Russia entered Canada as wagedworkers, employed in the resource industries and the manufacturing sector. Despite the impressive amount of scholarship on immigration and ethnicity that appeared in Canada during the last decades, labour migration from Russia's western frontier has failed to attract the attention of historians. Drawing on previously untapped or little used archival and published sources, this dissertation challenges traditional assumptions about emigration from the Russian Empire, which view it as consisting primarily of religious and political refugees, and demonstrates that Ukrainian and Belarusian peasant-workers constituted a substantial share of immigrants from the empire's western frontier.

This study utilizes a systems approach to migration, attempting to integrate the New- and the Old-World contexts in which the transoceanic moves of Ukrainian and Belarusian peasants occurred. The migrants are traced all the way from their points of origin in Russia's western provinces to their transformation into industrial workers and residents of Canadian resource frontier and urban neighbourhoods. Focussing on two neighbouring regions of the Russian Empire, the dissertation contributes to a better and more detailed understanding of the source areas, spatial trajectories, social structure and ethnic composition of early twentieth-century Canadian immigration from Eastern Europe. A comparative analysis of migration from these regions aims at illuminating the similarities and differences in the configuration of migrant flows that connected various parts of the European continent with Canada.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have seen the light of day without the assistance of many people who generously shared their time and knowledge with me. My supervisor, Dr. Marilyn Barber, brought her good humour, patience and expertise in the field of Canadian immigration and social history to steer me through four years of research, restoring my enthusiasm in the project every time it began to wane. Dr. Larry Black, director of Carleton University's Centre for Research on Canadian-Russian Relations, was the first to introduce me to the treasure box of Russian consular archives, which provided the bulk of the primary material for this dissertation, and endured my numerous raids on the Centre's archival collections. Among other members of the History department, I owe a particularly great debt to Dr. Bruce Elliott, who, in his dual capacity as the department's graduate supervisor and a senior colleague in the field of migration history, helped me proceed at a brisk pace, and to Dr. Carter Elwood, who read several chapter drafts and freely gave of his unrivalled knowledge of Russian and East European history. Finally, Joan White and Regina Aulinskas did everything they could to make my stay in the department a fruitful and pleasurable experience.

While many archivists and librarians assisted me at various stages of this project, the help of Myron Momryk and Dr. George Bolotenko, both of the Library and Archives Canada, proved especially crucial. The staff of the Interlibrary Loan Department at Carleton patiently and expeditiously dealt with my countless requests of esoteric Slavic-language sources. His Grace Archbishop Seraphim (Storheim), the late Sister Dorothea (Miroshnichenko), Rev. Alexander Janowski and Rev. Mirosław Woitiuk kindly allowed

me to peruse the records of the Russian Orthodox Church in their custody. Nadezhda Vasilieva was instrumental in obtaining some rare materials from St. Petersburg and Dariusz Ciach did a splendid job preparing the maps. I am also grateful to all agencies whose financial support made the completion of this project possible: the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities, the Faculty of Graduate Studies and the Centre for Research on Canadian-Russian Relations at Carleton University, the Shannon Scholarship in Canadian Social History programme, the Open Society Institute, and the Immigration and Ethnic History Society.

The unwavering support of my parents kept me going throughout the five years of doctoral study. My heartfelt thanks also go to all friends and colleagues in Carleton's graduate programme in history, particularly Tim and Cathy Krywulak, Emily Arrowsmith and Louis-Raphaël Pelletier, who shared the joys and pitfalls of doctoral studies with me. Konstantin and Lidia Loukine, Yana Kuzmin, Dmitry Soldatov, Linda Jones, François-Nicolas Pelletier, Catherine Boucher, and Mikhail and Larissa Rastorgouev helped me in ways too numerous to describe here. I wish Mikhail and Larissa, who had to put up with my endless ranting about history and historians during our "pizza nights", had lived to see the completion of this work.

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY, TRANSLITERATION AND DATES

Given that this study encompasses two countries (including one that used the Julian calendar in the period under review), several ethnic groups and a number of languages, an explanation regarding the use of terminology, transliteration systems and dates is in order. As is the case with many studies dealing with Eastern European history, these choices are difficult to make due to the diverse character of population in the region and numerous boundary changes that have occurred during and since the period under review. In fact, it is hardly possible to devise a perfect template that would do equal justice to both historical and modern-day criteria, and whatever choice a historian makes can always be interpreted as a preference for one or another political or national orientation and generate criticism. Nonetheless, I want to stress that my decisions regarding these issues were dictated solely by the considerations of historicity and consistency as well as by the character of the available sources.

Russia. Following a long tradition in Western historiography, this study uses the word “Russia” as a shorter and more convenient substitute for the “Russian Empire” rather than a term applying only to territories populated by ethnic Russians. Thus, an expression “emigrants from Russia” is applied to any group of people that emigrated from the tsarist empire regardless of their ethnicity.

Belarus and Belarusans. Historically these terms have had several Latin-alphabet variants, including “Byelorussia”, “Belorussia”, “Bielorussia” and others (with the corresponding adjective forms). Following the spelling adopted in the *Encyclopedia of Canada’s Peoples* and the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, I have chosen to use the term “Belarus” and the adjective “Belarusan”.

Transliteration of Personal Names. Respect for the ethnicity of individuals of Ukrainian, Belarusan, Polish and other origins that are mentioned in this study would have required the use of several systems of transliteration and several variants of the Latin alphabet. However, with most of the original documents used in this study being in Russian (sources in Ukrainian and Belarusan languages pertaining to emigration from tsarist Russia hardly exist), this goal could not be attained. When a Slavic surname appears in a Russian-language document, it is not always possible to establish the ethnicity of its bearer with absolute certainty and thus apply the proper transliteration style (see Introduction for a more detailed discussion of this problem in regard to official Russian records). Therefore, all Cyrillic-script personal names spelled in Russian are transliterated into English from the original in accordance with the Library of Congress Russian transliteration system rather than the Ukrainian or one of several existing Belarusan transliteration systems (e.g. Гаврилюк is transliterated as Gavriliuk, not Havryliuk, and Гришкевич – as Grishkevich rather than Hryshkevich or Hryškievič). The only exceptions to this rule are cases when personal names appear in Belarusan- or Ukrainian-language citations or when there exists an established English-language usage different from the Library of Congress system (e.g. Matthew Shatulsky). I beg the reader's forbearance for having to compromise on the use of proper ethnic spellings in order to avoid confusion which would have resulted from the alternate use of several transliteration styles.

Transliteration of Place Names. In keeping with the historical principle and for the sake of consistency, I use the Russian rather than Ukrainian, Belarusan, Lithuanian or Polish appellations for all administrative provinces, districts, towns and villages located

within the Russian imperial territories which constituted Ukraine and Belarus as defined in this study (e.g. Podolia instead of Podillia, Grodno instead of Hrodna, and Vil'na instead of Vilnius, Vil'nia, Wilno or Vilno) except when they appear in Ukrainian- and Belarusian-language citations. All place names are transliterated into English according to the Library of Congress Russian transliteration system, with the exception of cases in which there exists an established English-language usage (e.g. Kiev, the Dnieper).

Dates. The reconciliation of dates in the old-style (Julian) calendar, which was used in Russia before 1917 and ran thirteen days behind the Gregorian calendar adopted in the West, presented no small problem. While all Russian official documents used the Julian calendar unless they were addressed to a Canadian or other foreign recipient, Russian-born immigrants in Canada gave little thought to the troubles of future historians, randomly switching between the Julian and Gregorian calendars in dating their correspondence (usually without indicating which calendar they used). Russian-language newspapers in the United States and Canada normally included both old- and new-style dates on their front pages. Therefore, the reader is asked to bear with dates expressed alternately in one or the other calendar depending on the character of the cited source (which, I hope, presents less of an issue for social than it does for political or military history). Dates in all citations from Russian diplomatic correspondence are shown in their original old style except when such correspondence was addressed to Canadian agencies, in which case the dates follow the Gregorian calendar. In references to Russian immigrant periodicals I chose to express the dates of publication in the Gregorian calendar. When a particular immigrant letter is cited, its date is given as it appears in the original.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acceptance Form	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
A Note on Terminology, Transliteration and Dates	vi
Table of Contents	ix
List of Tables	x
List of Illustrations	xi
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2. THE ANATOMY OF MIGRATION	37
CHAPTER 3. ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND POPULATION MOBILITY ON RUSSIA'S WESTERN FRONTIER	100
CHAPTER 4. STATE REGULATION OF MIGRATION IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY RUSSIA AND CANADA	141
CHAPTER 5. THE CHALLENGE OF SOJOURNING	208
CHAPTER 6. IMMIGRANT WORKERS AND THE CHURCH	276
CHAPTER 7. BOLSHEVIKS OR REBELS? IMMIGRANTS AND SOCIALISM	321
CONCLUSION	361
BIBLIOGRAPHY	375
APPENDIX	400

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1. Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada, by Nationality, 1900-1915	42
Table 2. Intensity of Emigration from Eastern Ukraine and Belarus, by Villages of Origin (percent)	62
Table 3. Emigration Movement through the Port of Libava, 1912-1913, by Province of Origin	71
Table 4. Distribution of Li-Ra-Ma Migrants in Canada, by Province (percent)	76
Table 5. Li-Ra-Ma Sample: Cities with Largest Concentrations of Eastern Ukrainians and Belarusians, by Province of Origin (percent)	77
Table 6. Age of the Immigrants at the Time of Arrival in Canada (percent)	82
Table 7. Marital Status of Li-Ra-Ma Migrants Compared with Marital Status of General Population in Provinces of Origin (Men 20-29 Years of Age Only)	83
Table 8. Comparative Literacy of Li-Ra-Ma Emigrants and Male Peasant Population in Major Provinces of Origin	90
Table 9. Religious Affiliations of the Li-Ra-Ma Migrants (percent)	92
Table 10. Territorial Mobility of Rural Population in the Right-Bank Ukraine and West-Central Belarus	106
Table 11. Peasant Landholding in the Ukrainian and Belarusian Territories of the Russian Empire (allotted land only)	112
Table 12. Early Twentieth-Century Peasant Land Ownership and Emigration in the Right-Bank Ukraine	130
Table 13. Peasant Migration to Asiatic Russia from Select Provinces and Regions of the Russian Empire, 1896-1913	136
Table 14. Major Ukrainian and Belarusian Settlement Areas in Montreal, ca. 1920	228

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Maps

Map 1. Major Areas of Emigration from Belarus to Canada	Page 56
Map 2. Major Areas of Emigration from Eastern Ukraine to Canada	57
Map 3. Major Areas of Ukrainian and Belarusian Settlement in Montreal	229

Figures

Fig. 1. Distribution of Immigrant Arrivals from Belarus and Ukraine, by Year	49
Fig. 2. Li-Ra-Ma Sample: Territorial Distribution of Emigration from Belarus, by Province of Origin	51
Fig. 3. Li-Ra-Ma Sample: Territorial Distribution of Emigration from Ukraine, by Province of Origin	52

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

My father, Tony Gretzky, had gone to Chicago from Russia before he came to Canada. His family had been landowners in the old country, supporters of the czar. When anyone asked my father whether he was Russian, he'd say, "Nyet. Belarus".

Walter Gretzky, *On Family, Hockey and Healing*

In the recent decades, Canadian immigration historiography has come a long way from the times when mapping Canada's ethnic landscape and simply "getting the facts right" were the primary tasks of those working in the field. Since Donald Avery wrote his pioneering *"Dangerous Foreigners"* a quarter century ago, historians have made substantial progress in studying immigrant worker communities in twentieth-century Canada.¹ Italian navvies in Montreal, Finnish domestics in Sudbury and Jewish garment workers in Toronto all claimed their place in Canadian history as it moved away from the past focus on the great statesmen, empire builders and valorous warriors towards a broader and more inclusive version of the nation's past.² Yet apparently there are still gaps to be filled. Unlikely as it may seem, we still know virtually nothing about Slavic labour immigrants that came to Canada prior to 1914 from the Russian Empire, especially from

¹ Donald Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979).

² The most recent historiographic reviews of Canadian literature on immigration and ethnicity are Franca Iacovetta, "Manly Militants, Cohesive Communities and Defiant Domestics: Writing about Immigrants in Canadian Historical Scholarship", *Labour/Le travail* 36 (Fall 1995): 217-252; and Anthony W. Rasporich, "Ethnicity in Canadian Historical Writing 1970-1990", in J.W. Berry and J.A. Laponce, eds., *Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp. 153-178. For an analysis of the earlier historiography, see Dirk Hoerder, "Ethnic Studies in Canada from the 1880s to 1962: A Historiographical Perspective and Critique", *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 26, 1 (1994): 1-18.

territories east of Congress Poland. The deeply entrenched view of the Russian imperial state as an autocratic Leviathan intent on keeping its borders air-tight for anyone except Jews, religious sectarians and other “undesirables” still continues to hold among both academics and the general public.³ Historians seem to take it for granted that if Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusan peasants in the tsarist empire moved anywhere at all, it was either for seasonal work in the cities or to settle on a homestead in Siberia.⁴ Because of the way in which the history of immigration from Russia has been written, the reader can be fully excused for thinking that the Mennonites, Doukhobors and Jews were the only inhabitants of the tsarist empire ever to make their way to Canadian shores.⁵ To be sure, occasional references to “Russians”, “Russian workers”, “Russian socialists” can be found in many general works on early twentieth-century immigration. However, given the fuzzy nature of the term “Russian”, which was and is commonly used as a portmanteau label that could be affixed to any native of the Romanov Empire, the Soviet Union and now the Russian Federation, such references shed little light on the true origins of these immigrants. Most Canadian historians who mention the “Russians” simply follow their sources, taking the term at its face value.

³ See, for instance, David Davies, “Canadian-Soviet Relations in Historical Perspective”, in David Davies, ed., *Canada and the Soviet Experiment: Essays on Canadian Encounters with Russia and the Soviet Union, 1900-1991* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 1994), p. 6-7.

⁴ A good example of this stereotype is Robert C. Williams’ article on emigration from Russia in an authoritative encyclopaedia, which fails to mention economic migration altogether. See his “Emigration from Russia”, in Joseph L. Wiczyński, ed., *The Modern Encyclopaedia of Russian and Soviet History*. Vol. 10. Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1979, pp. 194-200. Also Barbara A. Anderson, *Internal Migration during Modernization in Late-Nineteenth Century Russia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980).

⁵ Although Finland and Congress Poland, which produced massive numbers of labour emigrants, were also part of the Russian Empire, their history has traditionally been studied separately from the history of other imperial territories.

Who, then, were Canada's early twentieth-century "Russians"? Where did they hail from? A few, indeed, were natives of Russia proper, who came mostly from the Volga region, but the overwhelming majority were Ukrainians and Belarusans, even though most of them would call themselves Little Russians (*malorossy*) or White Russians (*belorusy*). They arrived in Canada mostly from the western borderlands of the Russian Empire, which lay within the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that had passed under Russian rule in the late eighteenth century (including Belarus and eastern Ukraine).⁶ Like Tony Gretzky, most were "supporters of the czar" and emigrated for economic rather than political or religious reasons. It is these Ukrainian and Belarusan peasant-workers, who voted with their feet against the socio-economic conditions that prevailed on Russia's western frontier, that are at the centre of this study.

The vast majority of "Russian" Ukrainians and virtually all Belarusans who left the tsarist empire before 1914 were temporary migrants, attracted by employment opportunities in the extractive and manufacturing industries of the western hemisphere. In this they were different from their "Ruthenian" neighbours from the Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina (western Ukraine), who had a larger proportion of agricultural settlers in the migrant stream.⁷ Canada was only one of several main destinations for these migrants: Belarusans, in fact, overwhelmingly went to the United States, while many Ukrainians also migrated to Argentina and Brazil. The coming of Ukrainian and Belarusan

⁶ Western Ukraine became part of the Habsburg Empire and was incorporated in the Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina.

⁷ In contrast to the Russian Empire, where Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusans were deemed part of the triune Russian nation, Ukrainians in Austria-Hungary were known as "Ruthenians" (*rusyny*) and considered a distinct nationality. These terminological differences were largely transplanted to the New World, where the term "Ruthenian" was usually applied only to Ukrainian immigrants from the Habsburg Empire, but not to Ukrainians from tsarist Russia.

peasants to Canadian shores reflected the changing sources and character of transatlantic migration flows in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Throughout the nineteenth century the bulk of the immigrants were recruited from the British Isles and northwestern Europe and belonged to the class of agricultural settlers. By contrast, the “new immigration”, as it was termed in the United States, was primarily composed of eastern and southern Europeans, who gravitated towards urban areas and took industrial occupations. The United States became the earliest and largest destination for southern and eastern Europeans, but after 1900 they also made up a constantly increasing share of Canadian immigrants. The influx of immigrant workers to Canada, as Donald Avery has demonstrated, was fuelled by the growing demand for unskilled labour generated by Canada’s industrial expansion.⁸

As previously noted, much of the existing North American literature on eastern Slav immigrants from the tsarist empire treats them as Russians. To understand why this has been the case, we need to abandon the essentialist approach to ethnicity, which posits it as a mere function of language, ancestry or place of origin.⁹ The choice of ethnic identity by eastern Europeans, especially among groups with common ancestral roots and linguistic affinity, has always been more a question of a person’s political or religious loyalties than any fixed innate characteristics. One may, in fact, argue that in North America, where such powerful criteria of nationhood as ancestral territory had no application, the

⁸ Donald Avery, “Canadian Immigration Policy and the Alien Question, 1896-1919: The Anglo-Canadian Perspective” (PhD Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1973); idem, “Canadian Immigration Policy and the “Foreign” Navy, 1896-1914”, *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers* (1972): 135-156.

⁹ For a useful theoretical discussion of ethnicity see Wsewolod W. Isajiw, “Definitions of Ethnicity”, in Rita M. Bienvenue and Jay E. Goldstein, eds., *Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada*. 2nd ed. Toronto: Butterworth, 1985, pp. 5-18.

“subjective” elements of ethnicity acquired a greater importance than they had in Europe. Thus, in early twentieth-century Canada it mattered little whether one was born in Ukraine – in fact, the term itself was rarely used before World War I. What counted was whether one considered oneself Ukrainian, which involved adherence to Greek Catholicism and an anti-Russian and anti-Polish orientation, and participated in organized community life. In other words, the notion of the Ukrainian community in Canada has never been coterminous with the collectivity of individuals with Ukrainian surnames who spoke one or another dialect of the Ukrainian language (the same, of course, could be said of many other groups). Inasmuch as they are socio-cultural constructs fashioned by their nationalist elites, North American ethnic groups are perhaps the truest examples of Benjamin Anderson’s “imagined communities”.¹⁰ For better or worse, North American immigration historians, themselves products of these communities, have taken their social boundaries for granted. Therefore, if most Ukrainians and Belarusians from the tsarist empire entered North American history as “Russians”, it was because of the fact that for many decades after emigration they continued to owe their primary loyalties to Russia, not Ukraine or Belarus. Even after 1917, when the old conservative-nationalist notion of Russianness, based on “autocracy, Orthodoxy and nationality”, faded away, most eastern Slav immigrants born in the former imperial territories retained a Russian cultural orientation.

¹⁰ See Benjamin Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). For another example of the “constructionist” approach to ethnicity see Werner Sollors, ed., *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), “Introduction”.

Some of the first English-language works on “Russians” in North America have been written by American and Canadian sociologists and social reformers.¹¹ Despite the use of “Russian” as an overarching “racial” category, most of these early authors were aware of the “Little Russian” and “White Russian” origins of most of their subjects and some even recognized “Little Russians” and “Ruthenians” (Austro-Hungarian Ukrainians) as parts of the same nationality. Although these studies can still be useful for the first-hand information gathered by their authors from close observation or conversations with their protagonists, today they are interesting primarily as illustrations of contemporary attitudes towards Eastern European immigrants. Most of these works were brought to life by the concern of the American and Canadian public with what was perceived as an insufficiently fast assimilation of the Eastern Europeans or by an intention to dispel negative stereotypes of the “Russians” created by recent events in their homeland. The somewhat awkward title of a chapter in Jerome Davis’s *The Russian Immigrant* – “Need of Increasing the Likeness between the Russian and American Mind” – tells much about the purpose of his work.¹² In a Canadian example of such writing, Rev. Gordon Hern, an Anglican minister from Dunnville, Ontario, called upon his readers not to “make the

¹¹ Jerome Davis, *The Russian Immigrant* (New York: Macmillan, 1922); idem, *The Russians and Ruthenians in America: Bolsheviks or Brothers?* (New York: George H. Doran, 1922); Jaroslav Chyz and Joseph S. Rouček, “The Russians in the United States”, *The Slavonic and Eastern European Review* 17 (1939): 638-658. Among the early general works on Slavic immigrants that pay attention to the “Russians” the best known is Emily Green Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens* (New York: Charities Publications Committee, 1910).

¹² Davis, *The Russian Immigrant*, p. 184.

mistake of branding all Russians as Bolsheviks, forgetting the hundreds and hundreds of thousands who bitterly oppose red rule".¹³

Russian community histories are the next category of works bearing upon eastern Slav immigrants from tsarist Russia. Both the quantity and the quality of this literature, however, leave much to be desired. Mostly products of amateur historians writing for a general audience, these works provide the reader with only the most general outlines of the sources and causes of eastern Slav immigration from the Russian Empire and the social and cultural life of the immigrants. The histories of Russians in America written by Mark Vil'chur and Ivan Okuntsov, both of whom played a prominent role in the political life of early twentieth-century "Russian colonies", are heavily focussed on the United States and mention Canada only occasionally.¹⁴ Specifically Canadian literature of this genre includes two works of a very different ideological provenance. A history of the "Russian workers" in Canada, written in 1952 by Grigorii Okulevich, president of the pro-Communist Federation of Russian Canadians, remains the only published Canadian source on Ukrainian and Belarusian immigrants from the Russian Empire.¹⁵ Although most of the book deals with the period after 1930, its first part, based largely on the personal

¹³ Gordon Hern, *Russians in Canada* (n.p., 1926), p. 11. See also "A Lettish Canadian", *Russians in Europe and Canada* (n.p., n.d).

¹⁴ Mark Vil'chur, *Russkie v Amerike* (New York: Pervoe russkoe izdatel'stvo v Amerike, 1918); Ivan Okuntsov, *Ruskaia emigratsiia v Severnoi i Iuzhnoi Amerike* (Buenos Aires: Seiatel', 1967). See also Viktor Petrov, *Russkie v Amerike. XX vek* (Washington, D.C.: Izdanie Russko-Amerikanskogo istoricheskogo obshchestva, 1992). A more recent work by Paul Robert Magocsi, *The Russian Americans* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989) remains the only English-language account of early Russian immigration to the United States written by an academic historian, even though designed for a popular audience.

¹⁵ Grigorii Okulevich, *Russkie v Kanade: Istoriia russkikh raboche-fermerskikh klubov imeni M. Gor'kogo (1930-1940) i Federatsii russkikh kanadtsev (1941-1952)* (Toronto: Federation of Russian Canadians, 1952). Okulevich was himself a Belarusian immigrant who came to Canada in 1928 from eastern Poland.

reminiscences of the first-generation immigrants, contains valuable information about early Russian communities in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Windsor and other centres. The second book, authored in 1983 by a group of émigré writers of non-Communist orientation, some with academic credentials, undertakes to provide a general survey of the Russian presence in Canada.¹⁶ As might be expected, most of its authors, while trying to adhere to the principle of objectivity, displayed a noticeable anti-Communist bias. Few essays in the book, however, conform to the rigorous standards of scholarly writing. Some are purely descriptive or too apologetic (such as the chapters on post-1945 immigrants), while others contain factual errors. There is also a lack of consistency among the authors in defining the boundaries of the Russian immigrant community in Canada (given the elusive nature of “Russianness”, however, these methodological difficulties are not surprising). While the first chapters treat the Doukhobors, Mennonites and Soviet Jews as part of the history of Russian immigration, those devoted to community institutions concentrate on Russians in the narrower sense of the term.

Because most pre-1914 immigrants from eastern (“Russian”) Ukraine did not integrate into Canada’s Ukrainian community, they seldom appear in the multiple renditions of its history. Beginning with early Ukrainian-Canadian historians, almost invariably with close personal and intellectual connections to the Ukrainian national movement in Europe and North America, the social boundaries of the early Ukrainian community in Canada have been defined as including only “Ruthenian” immigrants from Galicia and Bukovina plus those relatively few natives of eastern Ukraine who

¹⁶ Tamara Jeletzky, ed., *Russian Canadians: Their Past and Present* (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 1983). There is also a separate and large literature on the Doukhobors.

consciously rejected their Russian identity and adopted a nationalist orientation.¹⁷ By describing the progress of the Ukrainian community in Canada, works such as Michael Marunchak's monumental *Ukrainian Canadians* not only played an important data-gathering role but also reasserted the meaning of "true Ukrainianness" and identified its enemies (socialists, Communists, "Russophiles"¹⁸ and all others who disrupted the community consensus or stayed away from the nationalist agenda). It comes as no surprise, therefore, that immigrants from eastern Ukraine, who spoke a Russianized patois, shunned Ukrainian (Ruthenian) organizations and usually refused to adopt an anti-Russian orientation, were written off as lost to the national cause and pushed to the margins of the community history. When their numbers were too large to ignore, some of the early authors, like Ihor Monczak, a Ukrainian Catholic priest and historian of Montreal's Ukrainians, brushed them off as "Moscowphiles", who opted out of the "true" Ukrainian community by holding on to the "old Tsarist church".¹⁹

The new generation of professionally trained Ukrainian-Canadian historians (John-Paul Himka, Oleh Gerus, Frances Swyripa, Jaroslaw Petryshyn, Orest Subtelny, Orest

¹⁷ Michael Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970). Paul Yuzyk, member of the Senate of Canada and holder of a doctorate from the University of Minnesota, was among the few professionally trained historians in this group. His main works include *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953) and *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981), the latter based on his doctoral dissertation. See also Olha Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada* (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1967).

¹⁸ "Russophile" (less frequently – "Moscowphile") was the term used in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by nationally conscious Ukrainians to designate those natives of Galicia, Bukovina or Transcarpathia who shared a pro-Russian orientation and viewed Russia as their spiritual and cultural homeland. At times it was also applied to Ukrainians from the Russian Empire.

¹⁹ Cited in Yarema G. Kelebay, "The Ideological and Intellectual Baggage of Three Fragments of Ukrainian Immigrants: A Contribution to the History of Ukrainians in Quebec (1910-1960)" (PhD thesis, Concordia University, 1993), p. 53.

Martynowych, Andrij Makuch, to name only a few) that came of age in the recent decades has rejected the politically motivated approaches of the early writers in favour of objective scholarly analysis but continued to subscribe to the traditional notion of Canada's early Ukrainian community as limited, by and large, to immigrants from Galicia and Bukovina.²⁰ In fact, Ukrainian immigration from tsarist Russia has become something of a "grey area" for modern-day Ukrainian-Canadian historiography. On the one hand, most Ukrainian-Canadian historians seem to be aware that many immigrants disguised as Russians in early twentieth-century Canadian sources were of eastern Ukrainian origin. On the other hand, standard accounts of Ukrainian-Canadian history that have appeared in the last decades relegate Ukrainian immigration from the Russian Empire to an occasional sentence or paragraph as numerically insignificant and thus of little importance to the development of the community. John-Paul Himka's statement that "virtually every Ukrainian who arrived in Canada before World War I was an emigrant from the Austrian crownlands of Galicia or Bukovyna" is true only in the sense that Ukrainian self-consciousness at the time was indeed largely limited to immigrants who hailed from the lands of the Habsburgs.²¹ When Ukrainian emigration from tsarist Russia was mentioned at all, historians often assumed that a few thousand Baptists, persecuted by the tsarist state and the Orthodox Church, were the only group of eastern Ukrainians who headed *en*

²⁰ A list of the most important works on Ukrainian Canadians written to date can be found in Frances Swyripa, "Ukrainians", in Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 1310-1311.

²¹ John-Paul Himka, "The Background to Emigration: The Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna, 1848-1914", in Manoly Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), p. 11.

masse for North America.²² It was doubtless the presumably anti-tsarist orientation of these émigrés and their greater proclivity to adopt Ukrainian identity (as opposed to Russian) that made them more visible for students of Ukrainian communities in the western hemisphere.

The dearth of academic research on urban and working-class Ukrainian communities in early twentieth-century Canada may also have something to do with the invisibility of “Russian” Ukrainians in Canadian ethnic historiography. Despite the works of Donald Avery, the deeply entrenched image of early twentieth-century Slavic immigrants as agriculturalists who headed primarily to the West still holds firm not only among the general public but to some extent also in the academic community. One cannot but agree with Orest Martynowych, who pointed out over a decade ago that “Ukrainian frontier and urban labourers have failed to attract the attention of historians”.²³ Although Ukrainian socialists figure as major players in a number of works on Canadian labour radicalism, there are, surprisingly, no comprehensive academic histories of Ukrainian working-class communities in Montreal, Toronto or Winnipeg that would match the quality of Ruth Frager’s study of Jewish workers in Toronto or Franca Iacovetta’s work on the Italians.²⁴

²² Jaroslav Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1985), p. 135; Orest Subtelny, *Ukrainians in North America: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 20. This view seems to have been first put forward by Vera Lysenko in her *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947), p. 68-69.

²³ Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), p. 534.

²⁴ See Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992); Ruth A. Frager, *Sweatshop Strife: Class, Ethnicity and Gender in the Jewish Labour Movement of Toronto, 1900-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992). The best source on Ukrainian urban communities in Ontario is a collection of essays from *Polyphony*, the bulletin of the Multicultural History Society of

Nor is there a scholarly monograph or doctoral dissertation on the Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada. Two studies of Montreal's Ukrainian community, done over sixty years ago by sociologists Stephen Mamchur and Charles Bayley, still remain among the best and most useful works on urban Ukrainians.²⁵ A recent dissertation on the three generations of Ukrainians in Quebec (with a focus on Montreal) by Yarema Kelebay, while filling some gaps in the history of Ukrainians in Eastern Canada, pushes the limits of comparative analysis in a not very convincing attempt to apply Louis Hartz's theory of colonial society formation to the study of twentieth-century Canadian immigrants.²⁶ As one may expect, it fails to bring "Russian" Ukrainians into the narrative, which is focussed on Galician- and Bukovinian-born immigrants and their institutions.

The only existing English-language study that treats Ukrainians from Russia as part of the Canadian-Ukrainian community is the unpublished MA thesis by Oksana Leshchenko.²⁷ Like the present writer, Leshchenko draws much of her information from the archives of the Russian imperial consulates in Canada, but, unfortunately, limits her inquiry to a very small portion of this voluminous collection (described in more detail below), ignoring not only the invaluable material hidden in the immigrant case files, but also most of the consulate's operational records and correspondence. A useful introduction

Ontario, published as a single volume. See Lubomyr Luciuk and Iroida L. Wynnyckyj, eds., *Ukrainians in Ontario* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988).

²⁵ Stephen W. Mamchur, "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada: With Special Reference to Ukrainians in Montreal" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1934); Charles M. Bayley, "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1939).

²⁶ For a full citation, see note 19 above.

²⁷ Oksana Leshchenko, "Early Immigration from Eastern Ukraine to Canada: Background and Significance" (MA thesis, University of Waterloo, 1992).

into the history of Eastern Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, her study nevertheless leaves many questions unanswered.

In light of the low national consciousness of Belarusian immigrants in North America, it is not surprising that the English-language historiography of Canadian Belarusians is also rather sparse. With hardly any Belarusians living outside the Russian Empire, they possessed no cultural centre similar to Galicia that could become the seedbed for a cultural renaissance and for the formation of a nationally conscious elite. Depending largely on their religious affiliation (Eastern Orthodox or Roman Catholic), Belarusian immigrants who came to Canada and the United States before 1914 and in the interwar period routinely reported themselves as Russians or Poles and appeared as such in the government statistics. Belarusian was not recognized as an ethnic origin in the Canadian census until 1971.²⁸ The nationally conscious segment of the Belarusian community in Canada has always been extremely small, consisting primarily of the post-1945 immigrants, whose voice, attempting to raise public and government awareness of Belarusians as a people, was usually drowned among similar claims to recognition made by Canada's stronger and more vocal ethnic groups. John Sadousky's descriptive *A History of Byelorussians in Canada* remains the only book-length study of the community written from a nationally conscious perspective.²⁹ In its discussion of early twentieth-

²⁸ *1971 Census of Canada* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1980), vol. 1, part 3: Population: Ethnic Groups, Table 2. Even after 1971, however, many Canadians of Belarusian origin continued to report themselves under other ethnic names.

²⁹ John Sadouski, *A History of the Byelorussians in Canada* (Belleville, Ont.: Mika, 1981). See also Raissa Zuk-Hryskievic, "Belorussians in Canadian Statistics", in *Slavs in Canada: Proceedings of the Second National Conference on Canadian Slavs, June 9-11, 1967* (Toronto: Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, 1968), pp. 127-134.

century Belarusian immigration to Canada, the author, however, heavily relies on Grigorii Okulevich's *Russians in Canada*.

Ukrainian and Belarusian emigration from the Russian Empire by and large received more attention from historians in the former Soviet Union, although their research was stifled by the dominance of a single methodological paradigm. A survey of emigration from and immigration to Russia written in 1928 by an authoritative Soviet economist V.V. Obolensky (Ossinsky) is still useful in the richness of statistical material it contains and in its attempt at a comprehensive analysis of population mobility in the former imperial territories.³⁰ A 1960 monograph by A.M. Shlepakov, published in Ukrainian, was one of the first academic works on Ukrainian immigrants in North America to appear on either side of the Atlantic but was written, predictably, from the perspective of crude economic and class determinism dictated by the official Marxist-Leninist methodology.³¹ In addition, Shlepakov gave emigration from eastern Ukraine a rather scant treatment, focusing on Galicia and Bukovina. Like many of his Western colleagues, he explained the supposedly small scale of Ukrainian emigration from Russia by restrictive tsarist passport laws and settlement opportunities that existed in Siberia. Much more attention to Ukrainians and other eastern Slav immigrants is given by N.L. Tudoritanu in what remains the most comprehensive study of continental and overseas emigration from tsarist Russia

³⁰ V.V. Obolensky (Ossinsky), *Mezhdunarodnye i mezhkontinental'nye migratsii v dovoennoi Rossii i SSSR* (Moskva: TSU SSSR, 1928), reprinted in English in an abridged version as V.V. Obolensky-Ossinsky, "Emigration from and Immigration into Russia", in Walter Willcox and Imre Ferenczi, eds., *International Migrations*, vol. 2 (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1969; first ed. 1929), pp. 521-580.

³¹ A.M. Shlepakov, *Ukrains'ka trudova emihratsiia v SShA i Kanadi (kinets' XIX – pochatok XX st.)* (Kiev: Vydavnistvo Akademii nauk, 1960).

ever published in the Russian language.³² In fact, typically for authors who attempt to apply a multi-ethnic perspective to migration studies, Tudorianu unwittingly falls into the trap of looking at migration from the perspective of the state's dominant ethnic group(s), painting the picture of Jewish, Polish and Lithuanian immigration in much broader strokes. To be sure, Tudorianu's approach is as thoroughly Marxist as Shlepakov's, but the impressive amount of archival research which went into the book makes it a valuable source of information on immigrant workers from the Russian Empire. Unfortunately, Canada does not figure on the author's list of major emigrant destinations, which include Germany, Scandinavia and the United States, and is therefore mentioned only occasionally. A. Chernenko's *Russian Revolutionary Émigrés in America* – one of the last monographs on early twentieth-century emigration to appear in the USSR – is a eulogy of Russian Social Democrat organizations on the American continent written in the old traditions of Soviet historiography.³³ A useful source of information on the biographies and international connections of Russian émigré radicals, the book, however, offers little in the way of discussing their activities among the masses of ordinary Slavic immigrants, who represented their North American constituency.

Ironically, the disappearance of the old ideological restrictions in the post-Soviet era had an adverse effect on the study of labour emigration from the Russian Empire, as

³² N.L. Tudorianu, *Ocherki rossiiskoi trudovoi emigratsii perioda imperializma (v Germaniiu, Skandinavskie strany i SShA)* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1986). See also English-language reviews of this book: Thomas J. Archdeacon and Alfred E. Senn, "Labor Emigration from Tsarist Russia: A Review Essay", *International Migration Review* 24, 1 (1990): 149-160; Thomas A. Michalski, "Soviet Archival Sources for the Study of Emigration from the Lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to America", *Polish American Studies* 47, 1 (Spring 1990): 75-80.

³³ A. Chernenko, *Rossiiskaia revoliutsionnaia emigratsiia v Amerike: konets XIX v. – 1917 g.* (Kiev: Vyshcha shkola, 1989).

historians largely lost their interest in peasants, proletarians and socialists and turned their attention to such previously forbidden topics as the post-1917 White émigrés and the fate of millions of Soviet “displaced persons” after 1945. The only recent book-length study that analyzes Slavic migration from tsarist Russia comes from a historical demographer and is focussed primarily on the analysis of migration statistics.³⁴

In its attempt to reconstruct the history of early twentieth-century labour immigration from Russia’s western borderlands, this study, therefore, ventures onto a little explored terrain. Drawing on previously untapped or little used archival and published sources, a description of which follows, it challenges traditional assumptions about emigration from tsarist Russia and demonstrates that Ukrainian and Belarusian peasant-workers constituted a substantial share of Canadian immigrants who arrived from the empire’s western frontier. My purpose, however, is not merely to lay old stereotypes to rest or to retrieve two missing fragments of the Canadian ethnic mosaic. Focussing on two neighbouring regions of the Russian Empire – eastern Ukraine and Belarus – this dissertation will hopefully contribute to a better and more detailed understanding of the source areas, spatial trajectories, social structure and ethnic composition of early twentieth-century labour immigration from Eastern Europe. A comparative approach adopted in this study should also help illuminate the similarities and differences in the configuration of migrant flows that connected various parts of the European continent with Canada and assess their social, economic and cultural causes.

³⁴ V.A. Kabuzan, *Emigratsiia i reemigratsiia v Rossii v XVIII – nachale XX veka* (Moscow: Nauka, 1998). See also a recent general article on pre-1914 Russian immigration to America by E.L. Nitoburg, “Russkie trudovye immigranty v SShA (konets XIX v. – 1917 g.): adaptatsiia i sud’by”, *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 2002 (5): 63-75.

Some of the central questions raised in this study – who emigrated, who stayed behind, and why were choices made? – have occupied historians ever since the dean of North American immigration historiography Marcus Hansen first asked them in his 1940 classic *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860*.³⁵ The impressive amount of recent scholarship on continental European immigrants in twentieth-century Canada has not made Hansen's questions less relevant, for we still know surprisingly little about why people in some areas of Eastern Europe emigrated to Canada while in others they either went predominantly to the United States or did not emigrate at all. The majority of Canadian authors that investigate the experiences of eastern and southern European immigrants first meet their protagonists at the point of entry into Canada.³⁶ In these studies, written within the matrix of Canadian ethnic history rather than the history of international migration, chapters dealing with the world which the migrants were leaving behind usually serve as mere prefaces to the Canadian part of the story. There is also a need for a better understanding of the interconnections between overseas migration and other types of population mobility (both internal and external), which can come only through transcending the boundaries of North American history and applying a transatlantic perspective. With few exceptions, the work of Bruno Ramirez being the most notable, we

³⁵ Marcus Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1940).

³⁶ Some of the best studies of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe include John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988); Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*; Lillian Petroff, *Sojourners and Settlers: The Macedonian Community in Toronto to 1940* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1995). A separate literature focuses on ethnic labour militancy. See, for instance, Frager, *Sweatshop Strife*; Donald Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979); Varpu Lindstrom, *Defiant Sisters: A Social History of Finnish Immigrant Women in Canada* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988).

have yet to move beyond the Canadian version of the “To America” framework to a more panoramic and less teleological view, which would place European migration to Canada in the context of larger population movements and acknowledge the significance of temporary migrant sojourning, remigration and repatriation.³⁷

This dissertation is a study of *immigration* but also of *emigration* inasmuch as it attempts to integrate the New- and the Old-World contexts in which the transoceanic moves of eastern Ukrainian and Belarusian peasants occurred. I attempt to trace Ukrainian and Belarusian peasants all the way from their points of origin in Russia’s western provinces to their transformation into industrial workers and residents of Canadian frontier camps and urban neighbourhoods. Particular attention is paid to the initial phase of the migrants’ insertion into Canadian society when most of them had yet to cross the line between sojourning and settling. As Robert Harney astutely pointed out in his “Boarding and Belonging”, it is in these first years of migrant life that we can discover “the chrysalis of the ethnic settlement” on the North American continent.³⁸ We shall also see that many immigrant men were unable to sever the umbilical cord that tied them to the homeland and chose to return. For these men, sojourning became both the first and the only phase of their Canadian experience.

My analysis of the topic draws on theoretical models contained in the recent works of historians and social scientists who apply a systems approach to the study of

³⁷ Bruno Ramirez, *On the Move: French-Canadian and Italian Migrants in the North Atlantic Economy* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991); idem, *Crossing the 49th Parallel: Migration from Canada to the United States, 1900-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

³⁸ Robert F. Harney, “Boarding and Belonging”, in Bruno Ramirez, ed., *“If One Were to Write a History...”: Selected Writings by Robert F. Harney* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1991), p. 119.

international migrations. At the centre of this approach is the concept of migration system, which represents a distinct cluster of spatial moves between a sending and a receiving region that occurs over a period of time within a multi-level framework of social, economic and political relationships.³⁹ This study views Russia's western frontier as an easternmost segment of the Atlantic migration system, which spanned from the west coast of the American continent to the Dnieper Basin, linking the European agrarian periphery with the North American industrial core and serving as a conduit for transferring a large surplus workforce from the villages and towns of East-Central Europe to the booming cities and frontier camps of the United States and Canada.

According to Dirk Hoerder, migration systems operate and can be analyzed on three levels. On the macrolevel, one deals with the socio-economic structures of the donor and recipient states, their demography, political traditions and state systems, which determine the specific configuration of push and pull factors triggering migration between these societies. On the mesolevel, the scale of the analysis is narrowed down to the regional settings, which turned certain localities into large-scale suppliers of migrants and others into primary destination areas. This level is where migrant social and demographic characteristics and the role of family and other social networks in connecting the societies of origin and destination come into play. It is also the arena where potential migrants interact with the larger socio-economic forces and formulate their response strategies. At

³⁹ Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 16. See also his "Changing Paradigms in Migration History: From 'To America' to Worldwide Systems", *Canadian Review of American Studies* 24, 2 (1994): 105-126. Other important works on migration systems include J.T. Fawcett, "Networks, Linkages and Migration Systems", *International Migration Review* 23, 3 (Fall 1989): 671-80; and Mary M. Kritz, Lin L. Lim and Hania Zlotnik, eds., *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

the microlevel, individual psychological factors and motivations for emigration and integration into the new society are analyzed. In sum, the systems approach to migration combines “analysis of the position of a society of origin in the global order, its structures, the regional specifics, selection and self-selection of migrants from a reservoir of potential leavers and persisters, the process of migration itself, and – within the receiving society’s structures – the insertion into partly internationalized labour markets, the formation of ethnic enclaves or of transcultural networks, and the interaction with new social values and norms”.⁴⁰

This study unfolds primarily on the macro- and mesolevel, switching as needed between the two scales of analysis. Occasionally, when the sources permit, the narrative “zooms” into the analysis of individual migrant experiences and the operation of specific family and kin networks to illustrate larger migration patterns. Unfortunately, the historical distance that separates us from the early twentieth-century Ukrainian and Belarusian peasant migrants considerably limits the application of a microhistorical approach (among other things, it rules out the use of oral sources, which admittedly lend migration histories a more “human” touch).

In delineating the parameters of the dissertation, several important choices had to be made. First of all, as mentioned above, I limit my exploration of labour migration from the Russian Empire to its Ukrainian and Belarusian territories. Defining the boundaries of Ukraine and Belarus, I have followed the administrative divisions that existed in the Russian Empire before 1917 (the approach most commonly used in historical literature). Thus, Belarus, for the purposes of this study, encompasses the territory of the empire’s five northwestern provinces shown on Map 1: Grodno, Minsk, Vil’na, Vitebsk, and

⁴⁰ Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, p. 19.

Mogilev. Ukraine comprises nine imperial provinces: Podolia, Volhynia, Kiev, Chernigov, Poltava, Khar'kov, Kherson, Taurida and Ekaterinoslav (see Map 2). The only change I made to the latter definition was the inclusion of Khotin District of Bessarabia, populated mostly by ethnic Ukrainians.⁴¹ This decision seemed only natural given that it was the second largest donor of Canada-bound Ukrainian emigrants in the entire Russian Empire. The terms “Right-Bank Ukraine” and “Left-Bank Ukraine”, frequently used in Chapters 2 and 3, refer to the empire’s Ukrainian territories situated, respectively, west and east of the Dnieper River.

While the focus of the study is on ethnic Ukrainian and Belarusian migrants who came to Canada from the above territories, it is not always possible to consider them in isolation from other ethnic groups (Poles, Lithuanians, Russians, etc.) that were also part of the migrant stream. No historian of Russia’s western borderlands is likely to achieve a perfect demarcation of their chessboard-like ethnic landscape, and the present author certainly does not claim to have accomplished this task. The ethnically diverse character of the population on the empire’s western frontier resulted in a high incidence of mixed identities and what Josef Chlebowczyk calls “genetic bilingualism” (or in some cases, tri- and quadrilingualism) typical for most borderland areas.⁴² In addition, one needs to remember that in the early 1900s Eastern European nations and national identities were, by and large, still in the process of congealment. These phenomena are reflected in the sources, which, especially when they deal with a group of “Russians”, often contain few

⁴¹ In 1918, Khotin and the rest of the province of Bessarabia passed under Romanian control. It was incorporated in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1940 and has since remained part of Ukraine.

⁴² Josef Chlebowczyk, *On Small and Young Nations in Europe: Nation-Forming Processes in Ethnic Borderlands in East-Central Europe* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolinskich, 1980), p. 26.

leads that would enable the researcher to tell a Pole from a Belarusan or a Belarusan from a Ukrainian. Personal names, when they are available, do not always provide clues to a person's ethnicity (with the exception of Germans and Jews). I am also aware of the fact that, due to the constraints of time and space, certain minority groups – most notably Roman Catholic Belarusans, who usually joined Polish or Lithuanian parishes, but also small clusters of Ukrainians and Belarusans of Baptist and Greek Catholic faith – did not receive sufficient attention in this study, centred primarily on Eastern Orthodox migrants who constituted by far the dominant segment of the migrants in both groups. To attempt a massive search for natives of eastern Ukraine and Belarus in the archives of numerous Roman Catholic and Ukrainian Catholic parishes, many of them closed to the public, would have been beyond the capacity of a single individual. Ukrainian and Belarusan Baptists fared somewhat better due to a more centralized organization of archival records of the Canadian Baptist Church and the relatively small number of its Slavic congregations, but a comprehensive history of these communities is yet to be done.

Sources and Research Methodology

A variety of primary sources of both Canadian and Russian origin were used in this study. The records of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Trade and Commerce and the Russian-Asiatic Steamship Company, obtained from archives in Moscow and St. Petersburg, provided invaluable information about the emigration policies of the tsarist state and the activities of Russian steamship interests in fostering the emigrant traffic. Russian periodicals, especially those published in the western and southwestern provinces of the empire, proved useful for getting a sense of the local contexts in which labour emigration occurred and for gauging public attitudes to the issue.

The archives of the Russian Orthodox Church in North America, including a number of surviving parish registers, were invaluable for the analysis of the religious aspect of the immigrant experience and told much about the ethnic composition of the early Canadian Orthodox congregations. Russian-language immigrant newspapers in the United States and Canada, particularly the socialist *Novyi mir* and the moderately “progressive” *Russkoe slovo* (both published in New York) furnished a great deal of material about the working and living conditions of Canada’s Russian-born labourers and about their emergent organizations. No source, however, has proved more essential than the multi-volume papers of the three Russian imperial consulates that functioned in Canada from 1900 to 1922 (the Likacheff-Ragosine-Mathers Collection or Li-Ra-Ma Collection, for short).⁴³ To say more, this study would probably not have seen the light of day, had it not been for the 89 microfilm reels held at the National Archives of Canada since 1983. The collection is organized into two parts: the operational records of the consulates and the so-called Passport/Identity series. The operational records contain a large amount of correspondence between the consuls and Russian and Canadian governments and private agencies regarding various aspects of Russian immigration to this country, such as immigration policy and regulations, reports on the condition of Russian-subject immigrants in Canada, the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church among Russian, Ukrainian and other Slavic immigrants, and other matters. Of particular value to this study has been the

⁴³ The spelling of the consuls’ surnames used in the National Archives catalogue follows the early twentieth-century style. The present study retains the above spelling in the references but uses the modern transliteration in the body of the text (e.g. Likhachev and Ragozin, respectively). For a brief history of the papers of the Russian imperial consulates in North America and its Canadian component, consult Bruce Ashkenas, *Records of Imperial Russian Consulates in Canada, 1898-1922* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), and E.W. Laine, “On Documenting the Russian Presence in Canada”, in Tamara Jeletzky, *Russian Canadians*, p. xvii – xxiii.

correspondence between the consuls and the immigrants, who sought assistance in their dealings with Canadian officials, laid complaints against employment agents and contractors, asked permission to enlist in the Canadian militia, applied for Russian identification documents or had other business with the consulates. In bringing to us the voices of often barely literate East European peasant migrants, who left few other traces in the historical record, this correspondence has few equivalents in Canadian immigration history. The challenge of reading the immigrants' letters, which can test the patience of the most diligent historian, is more than rewarded by the feeling of empathy and contact with the life-worlds of their writers.

Most of the data on the geographic origins and social and demographic profiles of the migrants were taken from the files that constitute the Passport/Identity series of the Li-Ra-Ma Collection, which comprises some 11,400 case files created by the Russian consulates in Montreal and Vancouver for those Russian-subject individuals who contacted them for various papers, primarily travel documents and certificates of Russian citizenship. The majority of the files in the series are dated 1917-1918, although there are smaller subsets created as early as 1916 and as late as 1921-1922. In the 1980s, the National Archives of Canada began a project of putting the contents of the series into an electronic database, which was never finalized due to financial and time constraints. What resulted from it was an incomplete spreadsheet file, which contained the file numbers, surnames and in many cases first and middle names of about 11,400 individuals, their sex, year and place of birth, marital status, and religion. A large number of entries contained nothing but personal names and file numbers. The staff at the National Archives generously provided me with a copy of this database, which served as a good starting

point for subsequent research.

The immigrant files that reside in the Passport/Identity series can be divided into two main categories. The first contains applications for entry permits, submitted to the two consulates at various times, but mostly in late 1917 and early 1918, by Russian-subject individuals desiring to return to the homeland.⁴⁴ With some exceptions, these files owe their origin to the new passport regulations, adopted by the Russian government on 25 October 1916 but not put into effect until July 1917. These regulations annulled all passports and other travel documents issued to Russian subjects prior to the war and introduced a new uniform entry permit (*prokhodnoe svidetel'stvo*), issued by Russian consulates and allowing their holders to re-enter Russia in a legal fashion. To receive a permit, one was required to provide detailed personal information on a special questionnaire (*oproshnyi list*), which could be obtained by mail or in person from either of the two consulates, attach two recent photographs of the primary applicant and any dependents plus documentary proof of one's Russian citizenship. Such proof might include an expired passport, an internal (*volostnoi*) passport,⁴⁵ issued by local authorities to peasants wishing to travel within Russia, a certificate of military standing, a copy of a baptismal or marriage record or – when none of the above was available – postmarked family letters from Russia. The questionnaire (see appendix below) contained 21 questions: given names; family name; social rank (*zvanie*); occupation; place of registry and social estate (*soslovie*); date and place of birth; marital status, the number of children

⁴⁴ There are a limited number of files that do not quite fit this classification, either because they have no documents except a piece of correspondence or because they hold both a questionnaire and an affidavit.

⁴⁵ Internal passports were issued by local Russian authorities to peasants wishing to travel temporarily beyond their parish. There were two types of such passports: short-term (valid for one year) and long-term (which did not have a fixed expiry date).

(if any) and their names; military standing; year of summons to military service; current place of residence (number of years); names of parents and their places of residence; all places of residence during the last five years; religion; nationality; citizenship; citizenship of parents; changes of citizenship (if any); return destination in Russia; purpose of return and a list of documents proving identity; relatives in Russia and their places of residence; journeys outside Russia during the last three years and their purposes, with dates of departure and return. After the form was completed, signed and dated, one copy of it along with the attached documents was forwarded by the consulate to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for a verification of the applicant's identity. With minor modifications, the questionnaire remained in use until April 1919, although the forwarding of the files to Russia stopped soon after the Bolshevik coup. Along with completed questionnaires and photographs, most files also contain correspondence related to the application procedure. A large portion of the files hold the originals of various documents submitted as proof of the applicant's Russian nationality, including a total of about 160 emigrant family letters which are appended to 98 different files.

The second class of files in the Passport/Identity series contains applications for certificates of Russian citizenship, which became necessary for many unnaturalized immigrants due to Canadian wartime security legislation and the introduction of conscription in July 1917. Possession of such certificates diminished one's chances of being mistaken for an "enemy alien" or for a naturalized British subject (either of which could bring unwanted consequences such as internment in the former case or forced enlistment into the Canadian overseas forces in the latter). Any individual claiming to be a Russian subject and wishing to receive consular certification of his or her Russian

citizenship was required to produce a Russian passport or, in the absence of such, swear an affidavit on a special form, where the following information had to be provided: name; religion; native province, district, parish and town/village; marital status, names and address of wife and children (if any); names and addresses of closest relatives in Russia; military standing; whether he was ever sentenced in Russia and for what offence; documents in possession to prove identity; when, where and how he crossed the Russian border; whether he came to Canada direct or through the United States, including the name of port; whether he was ever sentenced in Canada and for what offence; occupation in Canada; possession of any land or real estate in Canada; and whether he had taken Canadian naturalization papers (see a copy of the affidavit in the Appendix).

The provenance of the Li-Ra-Ma files puts them in the large and diverse class of personal records created by government or private institutions that served, supervised or controlled large groups of people. In recent years, the interest of social historians in institutional case files has shown a marked increase, and they have been analyzed both as textual documents and as sources of quantifiable data.⁴⁶ However, the Li-Ra-Ma files have characteristics that make them stand out among other institutional case records. Although they owe their origin to the operation of particular government agencies, the bulk of the documents they contain were not “physically” created by officers of these agencies in contrast to census, court, police or medical records. Information that appears in these documents is by and large unmediated by the voice of an interrogator, translator, professional expert or a government official. To be sure, the reporting of personal data

⁴⁶ See, for instance, Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, eds., *On the Case: Explorations in Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), and Mariana Valverde et al., “On the Case: Explorations in Social History: A Roundtable Discussion”, *Canadian Historical Review* 81, 2 (2000): 266-287.

occurred within officially prescribed parameters, but the consuls had neither the time nor administrative resources to intervene in the completion of the forms in order to ensure full uniformity of the provided information or greater compliance with the letter of the instructions. A textual analysis of the files shows that, as long as the essential data were supplied, the applicants were allowed much freedom in the way they phrased their answers or the amount of detail they cared to report. The only exceptions to the above are forms completed at the immigrant's request by a clerk at a steamship or labour agency. In these cases much of the information entered on the forms, for time-saving reasons or through mere lack of care, was rather sketchy and usually followed a standard template.

It is precisely because of the leeway the applicants were allowed in completing the forms that we find significant variations in the amount of content and value of information found in different files. Extremely rich files, bulging with personal documents, are interspersed with those containing minimal demographic and personal data or even a single piece of correspondence. The degree of assiduousness with which the applicants completed questionnaires and affidavit forms also varies from file to file, resulting in more or less detailed biographic profiles. As a rule, files created in 1917 and early 1918 are more complete than later ones. There are also a sizable proportion of poorly legible, confused and irrelevant answers due both to the low literacy of the respondents and to the ambiguity of some questions.

Dealing with the Li-Ra-Ma immigrant files as a source of statistical data, the researcher is confronted with several methodological issues. Because the files were compiled neither by a systematic count (unlike censuses) nor by scientific sampling (unlike modern-day sociological surveys), there inevitably emerges the question of their

statistical representativity. Even a perfunctory analysis of the collection shows that it cannot, and should not, be used as a cross-section of Canada's entire migrant population with roots in the Russian Empire. As might be expected, I found only a handful of files belonging to Russian-born immigrants who had been naturalized in Canada, had purposely severed all connections to the old country or simply lived in Canada too long to feel any affinity with the Russian state or need for its protection. Therefore, ethnic, religious and social groups that were more likely to fall into one of the above categories have a poorer representation in the files. There are, for instance, few cases of religious dissenters such as the Doukhobors, Mennonites and Baptists or those of German and Jewish immigrants who came to Canada before 1900. Farmers are another category of immigrants that is largely missing from the collection: as is known, obtaining a title to land required naturalization, which usually brought along permanent settlement in Canada and the cutting of the person's ties to the state of origin. While the files have not much to offer to a student of what historians usually refer to as "permanent immigration", they are a priceless source for the analysis of temporary labour migration from tsarist Russia to Canada. The vast majority of these migrants were sojourners, "birds of passage", who came to Canada with no intention to stay. If they became naturalized at all, it was usually after five, eight or even ten years of residence in the country, after the last hopes of returning home had faded away. During all this period, they not only remained Russian nationals and continued to maintain close ties with the home country, but also held on mentally to the world they had left behind.

Because Ukrainians and Belarusians constituted the majority of Russian-subject labour migrants in Canada after 1910, it is no wonder that they are also the two best

represented groups in the Passport/Identity series. Files belonging to immigrants of these two nationalities form about half of the collection, accounting for about 5,700 cases, which may equal as much as 20-25 percent of *eastern* Ukrainian and Belarusian men that resided in Canada around 1917-1920 and perhaps about 15 percent of the population of both sexes. A more accurate estimate of the collection's representativity is precluded by the lack of reliable statistics on the ethnicity of the Russian-born population of early twentieth-century Canada (for a more detailed discussion of immigration statistics see Chapter 2).

What can the files tell us about Ukrainian and Belarusian immigrant workers in early twentieth-century Canada and what are some of the pitfalls the author had to be aware of? They are indisputably a priceless source on major emigration areas within the Russian Empire (down to the level of village), migration routes, the social and occupational standing of the immigrants both in Russia and in Canada, their religious affiliations and demographic profiles and the reasons for returning to the homeland. Since most of the migrants' individual characteristics (place of birth, age, religion, marital status, family size, occupation, etc.) had little or no relationship to the motives which brought them to the consulates, there is no reason to expect a significant over- or underrepresentation of persons sharing one or another of these characteristics. Some exceptions do apply, however. Thus, the collection may be somewhat less useful for establishing the precise territorial distribution of the migrants in Canada because of the possible overrepresentation of persons who lived closer to Montreal or Vancouver, although it can still be utilized to study the preferred destinations of different groups of migrants. One should also be aware of the probability of an inverse relationship between the number of

years a person spent in Canada and the likelihood of his or her appearance in the files. Using the files to estimate the gender composition of the migrant population, the historian needs to exercise particular caution. Less than 1 percent of the Ukrainian and Belarusian files belong to women, but many more are hidden inside the files as wives of the primary applicants. Unfortunately, questionnaires have to be discounted as a source of data on the presence of eastern Ukrainian and Belarusian women in Canada because applicants for entry permits, unlike persons seeking a Russian citizenship certificate, did not have to report the current location of their dependents (even though some still did so by their own choice).

The reliability of personal information contained in the files is another important question. Can we be sure that some immigrants did not have a reason to conceal or misreport personal information or perhaps tell the consuls what they presumably wanted to hear? While such possibility cannot be totally excluded, the reasons that compelled the immigrants to seek out the consuls were far too important and the cost of being denied an entry permit or a citizenship certificate too high to justify the risk of lying. Moreover, distorting one's personal information brought no real advantages, for after the fall of the tsarist monarchy the consuls' sole concern in processing applications for Russian documents was to filter out persons falsely claiming Russian citizenship rather than monitor the immigrants' political orientations or punish individuals who had past troubles with the Russian law (such as military deserters or illegal emigrants). In fact, shortly after the revolution of February 1917, Russian consular missions around the world received instructions to provide assistance to former political émigrés wishing to return to the homeland. On the whole, there seems to be no reason to doubt the veracity of personal

information found in the Li-Ra-Ma files more than one would question the reliability of such data in census or other serial records commonly used by immigration historians.

The first stage of my work with the Li-Ra-Ma files was creating a fifty-percent random sample of the entire Passport/Identity database. In making the decision about the size of the sample I was guided by two considerations: it had to be large enough to have a sufficient degree of representativity but also manageable by one individual within a reasonable time frame. The second step was to implement a further reduction of the ethnic and territorial scope of the sample, excluding areas and population groups irrelevant to this study. The importance of this operation could hardly be overestimated, as the final form of the sample would largely determine the scope of the whole project. In accordance with the focus of the dissertation, I used the migrants' territory of origin as the main criterion of selection, limiting the sample to cases originating in Ukraine and Belarus and leaving out persons that came from elsewhere in the empire (even when they appeared to be of Ukrainian or Belarusian ethnicity).

Thus reduced, the sample, however, still contained a substantial proportion of persons belonging to various non-eastern Slav nationalities that populated Ukrainian and Belarusian provinces. While Germans and (in most cases, Jews) were easy to identify and exclude, Poles, Russians and Lithuanians presented a greater problem due to the previously mentioned complex ethno-linguistic composition of population in Ukraine and Belarus, the overlapping of ethnic and administrative boundaries and the presence of minorities interspersed with the dominant population. Furthermore, many files lacked information that would allow me to precisely identify a person's ethnicity due in large part to the similarity of Ukrainian, Belarusian and Polish surnames, especially when spelled in

Russian. Although applicants for entry permits were required to indicate their “nationality”, the answers proved of little help in delineating the scope of the final sample – as discussed in Chapter 2, the modern-day concept of ethnicity was little known to peasants in early twentieth-century Ukraine and Belarus, who routinely described themselves as “Russians”. In some cases, a combination of a person’s name and religious affiliation served as an important clue but still did not provide a perfect solution. After some deliberation, I resolved to keep all Ukrainian- and Belarusan-born persons of Slavic and Lithuanian origin in the sample, which in its final version included 2,743 cases.

Once the sample was created, it was checked for duplicate cases, transliteration and spelling errors and other technical flaws. The English spelling of place names presented the greatest difficulty, for the compilers of the National Archives of Canada Li-Ra-Ma database had used the method of mechanical transliteration of the original Cyrillic spellings as they appeared in the files. Due to frequent errors contained in the original handwritten renderings of these names (hardly surprising given the migrants’ level of literacy), this approach often resulted in multiple and sometimes barely recognizable variants of the same geographical names. Using Russian sources and my knowledge of Ukrainian and Belarusan onomastic patterns, I corrected these errors, adopting uniform English spellings for place names. I also have done my best to fill in the missing names of provinces, districts and parishes by cross-checking them against each other when possible (e.g., the missing province of birth could be easily established by the name of the district, if the latter was available).

At the next stage, the microfilmed copies of the 2,743 case files which made it into the final sample were thoroughly examined for all quantifiable information relating to the

individuals they belonged to. The retrieved data were coded (with the exception of personal and place names) and added to the initial set of variables contained in the NAC database. The variables I used in the resulting final database are as follows: (1) file number, (2) surname, (3) first and middle name, (4) sex, (5) year of birth, (6) province of origin, (7) district of origin, (8) parish, (9) village, (10) religion, (11) nationality, (12) marital status, (13) literacy, (14) number of children, (15) military standing, (16) year of arrival in Canada, (17) current Canadian residence, (18) port of exit, (19) port of entry, (20) Canadian address (for Montreal residents only), (21) destination of return trip to Russia, (22) stated purpose of return, (23) date of completion of the questionnaire, (24) possession of a passport when emigrating from Russia, (25) current location of the family, (26) occupation in Canada, (27) possession of real estate in Canada, (28) criminal record in Canada. Variables 1-10 and 12-20, were applied to all cases in the database; variables 11 and 21-23 were only used for cases containing a questionnaire; and variables 24-28 – only for those containing an affidavit. Due to omissions in the original files, the amounts of data for various cases differ considerably; in fact, there are relatively few cases that have information in all 28 variable categories.

The main sample described above is supplemented in this study by a separate and smaller aggregate file. Named the “Passport File”, it includes all Li-Ra-Ma persons (671 in total) whose files contain any of the three types of Russian passports held by immigrants – international passports, one-year internal passports and long-term internal passports. From these passports, I retrieved three categories of data which could not be obtained on a consistent basis from either the questionnaires or affidavits: the migrants’ occupation in Russia, their literacy prior to emigration, and points of border passage.

The two databases were used to produce a large series of statistical data included in the text of this study or expressed in the form of graphs or tables. In the way of a disclaimer, I would like to emphasize that, although I do believe that the Li-Ra-Ma files constitute a representative and irreplaceable source for the study of labour immigration from Russia, statistical calculations based on the random sampling of the collection should not be treated as a mirror image of the reality. Rather, they are intended (with a reasonable margin of error) to illustrate the general trends of patterns of Belarusian and Ukrainian migration from Russia's western frontier between the early 1900s and 1914.

This study is arranged topically, rather than chronologically, opening with an analysis of the temporal and geographic patterns of emigration from the two regions under review and the examination of locally specific migration chains (Chapter 2). The social and demographic profiles of the migrants (social origins, age, marital status, ethnicity, religion, literacy) are also explored in this chapter. The work then proceeds to discuss the causes of emigration through an analysis of the economy and social structure on the western frontier of the Russian Empire and their effects on the mobility of the local population (Chapter 3). Chapter 4 focusses on the politico-legal contexts of labour migration from Russia to Canada, including official and public attitudes to this phenomenon at both ends of the migration process. Chapter 5 deals with the experiences of the Belarusian and Ukrainian migrant workers on the industrial frontier and in the urban environment and explores the social, economic and psychological aspects of migrant sojourning. The two concluding chapters examine what Robert Harney called the

sojourners' "amoebic institutions": the fledgling parishes, Protestant missions and, last but not least, socialist organizations, all of which vied for the migrants' minds and souls.

CHAPTER 2

THE ANATOMY OF MIGRATION

Human migration is never a random process. Even within relatively compact geographic units, let alone such vast territories as Russia's western borderlands, it always exhibits local variations in size, momentum, and the composition of the migrant flow. While certain localities on the empire's frontier developed emigration as early as the 1890s, in others it did not take on significant proportions until the eve of World War I and in most places remained nearly or fully absent. Areas where emigration proceeded at a relatively constant pace throughout the whole period under review were interspersed with those where it showed sudden fluctuations. Migration trajectories, including the choice of travel routes and destinations, also displayed considerable regional differences. As soon as the outflow of population from a particular area reached a certain level of intensity, it usually developed locally specific migration chains, which exerted a strong influence on the travel itineraries and overseas destinations of new migrant cohorts. While immigration promoters and steamship agents could have a considerable impact on determining the configuration of each local segment of the Atlantic migration system, more often than not it was shaped by informal networks of kin, neighbours and friends. One of the goals of this chapter, which introduces the reader to the geographic, temporal and social dimensions of the migration process, is to reveal some of the regionally specific migration chains that linked Russia's Ukrainian and Belarusan provinces with Canada in the early years of the twentieth century.

The socio-demographic structure of the migrant stream is the second important aspect of the migration process that will be addressed below. Sheepskin-clad "Galicians"

and “Polacks” disembarking at Halifax might seem like a faceless crowd of look-alikes to many contemporary Canadians, but the social portrait of the early twentieth-century immigrant labourer was, needless to say, much more varied. In addition, it was rarely a mirror image of the general population in the places of origin. An analysis of aggregate demographic characteristics of the donor areas can therefore tell us little about who the migrants actually were because emigration did not necessarily recruit people with socio-demographic profiles “typical” or “average” for a given area. A full understanding of the mechanism of emigrant selection can come only through studying the individual characteristics of the migrants and comparing them with those of the origin sites. This is what this chapter, based on statistical data drawn from the Li-Ra-Ma files and the Russian imperial census of 1897, seeks to accomplish. In doing so, it will attempt to answer one of the central questions of any study in human migration: to what extent people who chose emigration as a response to social and economic pressures differed from their less mobile neighbours and what were the reasons underlying this difference.

Statistics of Immigration: the Puzzle of the “Russians”

Before we begin dissecting the anatomy of Ukrainian and Belarusian migration from Russia’s western borderlands, an attempt at assessing its numerical scale is in order. Finding out even an approximate number of people that immigrated into Canada from eastern Ukraine and Belarus before 1914 is, however, laden with many difficulties. Official Russian sources are of no help for migration historians, for the Russian government never recorded even aggregate emigration from the empire’s territory, let alone emigration from particular regions or of particular nationalities. Even if such

records had been kept, the large extent of illegal emigration from Russia would have greatly reduced their credibility. Drawing on various contemporary estimates, V. Korol'ov in his 1908 *Ukrainians in America* put the total number of "Russian" Ukrainians who emigrated overseas between 1885 and 1902 at 26,000.¹ According to a Russian source cited by the same author, in 1908 Canada's entire population of Ukrainians born in the Russian Empire did not exceed 10,000.² Twenty years later, in his history of early Ukrainian churches in Canada, Rev. Panteleimon Bozhyk put the number of Eastern Ukrainians in Canada at 25,000.³ In standard works on the history of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, which base their calculations only on the number of persons registered as Ruthenians, Galicians, Bukovinians or Austrians, but not as Russians, the number of eastern ("Russian") Ukrainians is usually underestimated. Michael Marunchak, for instance, believes that by the time of World War I, Ukrainians from the Russian Empire constituted no more than 3 percent of Canada's Ukrainian population, and according to Oleh Gerus and James Rea, the total number of Ukrainian emigrants from tsarist Russia did not exceed several thousand.⁴ Even less clear is the situation with Belarusians, who, as previously mentioned, were recognized as a distinct ethnic group in Canadian statistics only in 1971. No published sources bearing upon

¹ V. Korol'ov, *Ukrainci v Amerytsi* (Kiev: Prosvita, 1909), p. 7.

² Ibid., p. 60n.

³ Panteleimon Bozhyk, *Tserkov ukrainsiv v Kanadi* (Winnipeg: Kanadyis'kyi ukrainets', 1927), p. 310.

⁴ Michael Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), p. 22; Oleh Gerus and James Edgar Rea, *The Ukrainians in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985), p. 6.

Belarusan emigration from tsarist Russia contain reliable estimates of the extent of the Belarusan presence in early twentieth-century Canada.

In the absence of Russian data, we must turn to two categories of Canadian statistics where one would expect to locate information on the size of the early twentieth-century immigration movement from the Russian Empire: aggregate census data and annual immigration reports published between 1893 and 1917 by the Department of the Interior and later by the Department of Immigration and Colonization. However, inconsistent criteria of ethnic classification used by the Canadian authorities and the resulting statistical discrepancies, known all too well to historians of eastern European immigration, present a major problem in using these data. While the lack of familiarity with the European ethnic landscape on the part of Canadian immigration officials may have been a partial cause of this inconsistency, most of all it reflected the fluid state of ethnic identities in early twentieth-century Eastern Europe, accompanied after 1918 by a major redrawing of political boundaries.

With the exception of Poles, the overwhelming majority of Slavic immigrants arriving from the Russian Empire (Ukrainians, Belarusans and Russians proper) appear in Canadian census and immigration records (at least prior to 1921) as “Russians”.⁵ However, the fact that the term “Russian” has always lacked precise definition or usage and could be applied as a generic term to anyone who hailed from the Romanov realm

⁵ By contrast, Ukrainians from Austria-Hungary were recorded either as “Ruthenians” or, according to their territorial origins, as “Galicians”, “Bukovinians” or “Austrians”. The modern term “Ukrainian” first appeared in the returns of the 1916 Prairie census as a self-identification given by some of the respondents. It was officially adopted as a category of ethnic classification in 1921 (although the older designations were retained in the 1921 census as sub-categories under the general heading of “Ukrainians”). See William Darcovich, ed., *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980), p. 20-21.

and, later, the Soviet Union, significantly lowers the value of these data. Asked about their “racial origin”, some Russian-subject immigrants arriving in Canada doubtless reported themselves as Russians, confusing political allegiance or country of birth with ethnicity, while others (including the overwhelming majority of the empire’s Belarusans and Ukrainians) did so in the belief that they were indeed part of the “Russian people” as defined at the time. To compound the problem further, some Ukrainians from Galicia and Bukovina may also have been recorded as Russians.⁶

For reasons outlined above, Canadian statistics of annual immigration from Russia, shown in Table 1, can tell us little about the real ethnic composition of the migrant flow. Although separate headings were used by the Immigration Branch for Finns, Doukhobors and, from 1904-05, also for Russian Jews (“Hebrews”) and Russian Poles, the category of “Russians Not Elsewhere Specified” (N.E.S.), which lumps the rest of the Russian-subject immigrants together, is still too broad to allow meaningful conclusions about their ethnic origins. The total number of persons that appear in this category is far too large to encompass only eastern Slavs, even though, according to contemporary ethno-linguistic notions, they were considered the only true “Russians”. It is obvious (particularly in view of the similar tendencies observed in census returns) that many Russian-subject Germans, Lithuanians, Latvians, some Jews and perhaps also the majority of Ossetians, Georgians and Armenians, for whom no separate headings existed, were also classified as “Russians N.E.S.”

⁶ The Ukrainian word *rus'kyi* (“Ruthenian”) and the Russian *ruskii* (“Russian”) are both derived from the name of Rus’, the ancestral territory of eastern Slavs, and have a very similar pronunciation, which opened wide possibilities for confusion and overlapping.

Table 1. Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada, by Nationality, 1900-1915

Year	Russians, N.E.S.	Hebrews*	Poles*	Finns	Doukhobors	Total
1900-01	1,004	2,286	76	682	-	4,048
1901-02	2,467	839	107	1,292	12	4,717
1902-03	5,505	1,709	128	1,734	-	9,076
1903-04	1,955	3,082	312	845	-	6,194
1904-05	1,887	6,206	399	1,323	24	9,839
1905-06	3,152	6,056	385	1,103	204	10,900
1906-07	1,927	5,802	492	1,049	-	9,270
1907-08	6,281	5,738	736	1,212	-	13,967
1908-09	3,547	1,444	255	669	-	5,915
1909-10	4,564	2,745	738	1,457	-	9,504
1910-11	6,621	4,188	800	2,132	41	13,782
1911-12	9,805	4,460	1,624	1,646	24	17,559
1912-13	18,623	6,304	4,488	2,391	108	31,914
1913-14	24,485	9,622	4,507	3,183	4	41,801
1914-15	5,201	2,674	544	459	-	8,878
Total, 1900-15	97,024 (49.2%)	63,155 (32.0%)	15,591 (7.9%)	21,177 (10.7%)	417 (0.2%)	197,364 (100%)

*The numbers of Russian Jews and Russian Poles for the years 1900-1904, when they were not classified separately from other immigrants of the same ethnic origin, are estimates calculated on the assumption that in this period, as in later years, Russian Jews constituted 82.7 percent of all Jewish immigration and Russian Poles – 46.6 percent of all Polish immigration into Canada.

Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Immigration, Department of the Interior, Sessional Paper No. 25, *Canada. House of Commons. Sessional Papers, 1901-1915.*

Early Canadian census records share the same deficiencies with the annual immigration statistics, showing an unrealistically large “Russian” presence in the country. According to the 1901 census, there were 19,825 persons of Russian “racial origin” in the country. In the following ten years their number grew to 43,142, and by 1921 – to a

whopping 100,064.⁷ The unreliability of these figures becomes especially obvious when they are viewed in conjunction with the marked decrease in Canadian population of German origin compared to the 1911 census and with the fact that between 1921 and 1931 the number of “Russians” shrank to 88,148.⁸ Such permutations are difficult to explain unless we assume that many Germans from Russia (as well as some Slavic-speaking nationals of Austria-Hungary) reported themselves in the 1921 census as Russians to avoid mistreatment and prejudice triggered by the First World War. In fact, Russian-born Germans (though probably in smaller numbers than in 1921) reported themselves as “Russians” long before the war – to ascertain this, one simply has to consult the relevant 1901 and 1911 census data for many German-populated districts and sub-districts of the three Prairie provinces, all of which show a large presence of “Russians”.

Given the fuzzy nature of the available statistics coupled with the high incidence of return migration and remigration to and from the United States (discussed below), there is no perfect way to ascertain the numbers of eastern Ukrainians and Belarusians that immigrated to Canada prior to 1914. A rough estimate of the size of the two groups in 1921 (the closing date of this study) can be made using the Canadian census cross-tabulation of the data on the mother tongue and “racial origin” of the Canadian population 10 years of age and over (such data were collected in 1921 for the first time).⁹

⁷ *Fourth Census of Canada, 1901*. Vol. 1 (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1902), p. 406-407; *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911*. Vol. 2 (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1913), p. 367; *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921*. Vol. 1 (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1924), p. 356-357.

⁸ Darcovitch, *Statistical Compendium*, p. 26.

⁹ *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921*, vol. 2, Table 81, “Mother tongue of the population 10 years of age and over, exclusive of aborigines, by specific origins, for provinces, 1921”, p. 582-583.

This method of calculation can only be applied if we assume 1) that virtually all eastern Ukrainians and most Belarusans at the time would define their “race” (ethnicity) as Russian and their mother tongue as a dialect of the Russian language and 2) that the proportion of native Russian speakers in the general population was the same as it was among Canadians 10 years of age or older. According to the census returns, in 1921 Canada had 67,120 persons 10 years of age and over that reported their “racial origin” as Russian. Of these, 26,515 individuals (44.4 percent) identified their mother tongue as German, 1,777 (2.7 percent) as Ukrainian or Polish, and only 33,856 (50.4 percent) as Russian. Characteristically, the proportion of German speakers of “Russian” origin was especially high in Saskatchewan and Alberta (the main provinces of Russian-German settlement), where they constituted over 50 percent of the “Russians”, and only slightly lower in Manitoba.

Applying these percentages to the entire Canadian population (i.e., including children under 10 years of age), we get the total of 50,432 individuals of Russian origin who presumably spoke Russian as their mother tongue. This figure should be further reduced by 12,674 – the number of Canadian Doukhobors, who, being ethnic Russians, would also have reported themselves as native Russian speakers. The resulting figure – 37,758 – probably still included a smattering of nationalities other than Ukrainians and Belarusans (including perhaps a thousand or two of Russians proper) but it would be fair to assume that about 35,000 belonged to one or the other group. As the Li-Ra-Ma records demonstrate, among eastern Slav immigrants from Russia, Ukrainians outnumbered Belarusans by a ratio of three to one. Therefore, we can estimate that in 1921 the number of Canadian Ukrainians born in the former territories of the Russian Empire was close to

25,000 – 26,000 (which squares with Panteleimon Bozhyk's data), and the population of Belarusians approached 8,000 – 9,000.

There are, however, several problems with the above calculations, which highlight their approximate character. First of all, while there is little doubt that the majority of Russian-born immigrants of eastern Slav origin were registered as Russians in both racial origin and mother tongue, some may have reported their "race" as Russian and their mother tongue as Ukrainian or vice versa. Although the use of the term "Ukrainian" was uncommon for natives of what had been usually referred to as "Little Russia", by 1921 national consciousness may have begun to spread among those few who had come into contact with the Ukrainian national movement. It is also possible that the majority of several hundred Romanians who reported Russian as their native tongue were, in fact, Bessarabian Ukrainians, whose homeland came under Romanian rule in 1918. Some Roman Catholic Belarusians, in turn, may figure in the census as Russian-speaking Poles or Polish-speaking Russians. Secondly, as will be seen from further analysis, the proportion of children under 10 years of age among the "Russians" (eastern Slavs from tsarist Russia) was lower than it was among the general population due to the lack of family migration.

Return migration and remigration to and from the United States represent another problem in establishing the numerical presence of Russian-born Ukrainians and Belarusians in early twentieth-century Canada. If anything, it is clear that the number of eastern Slav immigrants from tsarist Russia who entered Canada between 1900 and 1921 either by sea or by land is much higher than 35,000. Many of them, however, proceeded to the United States either immediately or after spending several years in Canada.

According to Bruno Ramirez's data, about 17.6 percent (or approximately 65,000) of all *recorded* European-born remigrants to the United States during 1906-1930 were natives of Russia. Of these, about 80 percent (or 52,000) went south before 1919.¹⁰ The movement to the United States, however, went along with some traffic in the opposite direction, although its extent is difficult to estimate.

While some Ukrainian and Belarusian labourers moved to the United States, others returned home after a working spell in Canada. Unlike the United States government, which kept a record of emigration from the country and then only after 1908, Canadian authorities did not collect such data. To the author's best knowledge, the Russian government, either before or after 1917, also did not maintain a systematic record of returning emigrants (as distinct from persons who entered the country as immigrants or temporary visitors). The U.S. data show that between 1908 and 1924, the rate of return migration among individuals classified as "Russians" stood at 65 percent, being one of the highest among all ethnic groups.¹¹ If we accept this proportion as valid for Canada's "Russians", we must conclude that the total number of eastern Slav migrants from Russia that set foot on Canadian soil before 1921 stood close to 100,000 (not including those who migrated to the United States).

¹⁰ Bruno Ramirez, *Crossing the 49th Parallel: Migration from Canada to the United States* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), p. 142, 190-191. The U.S. *Soundex Index to Canadian Border Entries*, used by Ramirez, does not include the ethnic origins of the remigrants.

¹¹ See Thomas J. Archdeacon, *Becoming American: An Ethnic History* (New York: Macmillan, 1983), p. 139. According to Archdeacon's data, there was a positive correlation (0.689) between the percentage of males in an ethnic group and the rates of repatriation.

Chronology and Source Areas

As elsewhere in Europe, a large proportion of early arrivals from eastern Ukraine and Belarus consisted of religious dissenters persecuted by Russian authorities – Doukhobors, Baptists (on whom more later) and adherents of other non-mainstream sects or Protestant faiths. The Li-Ra-Ma records contain several interesting cases of these religious exiles. Savva Prokopenko from Sumy in Khar'kov Province was forced to leave Russia in 1899 because of his conversion to Leo Tolstoy's teachings. "I would have remained an [Russian] Orthodox", he wrote to the Russian consul in 1918, "had I not realized that the so-called Orthodox faith was just one of many sects, only a dominant one".¹² He came to Canada with his wife and four children and became a British subject in 1905 ("out of sad necessity", as he put it) in order to secure the title to a homestead near Kamsack, next to a colony of Doukhobors. The majority of those who left Russia for religious reasons went to the Prairies and settled on the land, but some took up urban occupations. Petr Kuzmin, an Old Believer from Khotin District in Bessarabia, came to Canada with his wife in 1912 by a circuitous route, having spent the previous twelve years in Argentina. By 1917, he owned a tavern in Sudbury – a city with a large immigrant-worker population.¹³ Military deserters,¹⁴ persons with broken careers, plain criminals, adventurers and other non-conformist types also made up a disproportionate

¹² National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Likacheff-Ragosine-Mathers Collection (hereafter Li-Ra-Ma Collection), MG30 E406, file 2955, questionnaire and letter to consul, dated 14 August 1917.

¹³ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 48, file 3336, affidavit.

¹⁴ Two examples of military deserters found in the Li-Ra-Ma records are Aleksandr Pilipchik from Minsk Province (vol. 45, file 2881) and Kondratii Kozak from Grodno (vol. 106, file 12640). Pilipchik managed to escape from prison, where he was serving a two-year sentence for a crime committed during military service, went to Chicago and subsequently moved to Canada.

share of the early arrivals as did anti-tsarist political exiles of various ideological convictions. Among the latter, there were some Ukrainians such as Savva Fedorenko, a Social Revolutionary militant charged with murder of a policeman in Kiev Province, whose extradition was demanded in 1910 by the Russian government.¹⁵ Most of the early radical émigrés, however, seem to have hailed from various provinces of central Russia. Many went to Vancouver or Winnipeg, which established early reputations as gathering places for exiled Russian socialists.

The Li-Ra-Ma files, many of which include their subjects' year of arrival in Canada, show that 1905-07 marked a divide between the emigration of small groups of adventurous souls and the mass movement of ordinary Ukrainian and Belarusian peasants "to America". During the next several years, and especially in 1912-14, we observe a spectacular growth of arrivals that culminated in the spring months of 1913. Figure 1 demonstrates that Belarus was drawn into the orbit of transoceanic population movements earlier than eastern Ukraine. 16 percent of Belarusans who reported their dates of arrival in the Li-Ra-Ma files came before 1910, compared to less than 7 percent of Ukrainians. It also shows that emigration from Belarus exhibited a less dramatic increase in the last prewar years.

Although emigrants from Belarus may have constituted a larger share of the earliest arrivals, they were quickly outnumbered by the wave of Ukrainians who began coming in vast numbers after 1910. Immigration of Belarusans to Canada also increased

¹⁵ More on the Fedorenko episode can be found in Vadim Kukushkin, "Protectors and Watchdogs: Tsarist Consular Supervision of Russian-Subject Immigrants in Canada, 1900-1922", *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XLIV, nos. 3-4 (September-December 2002): 224-225.

significantly after 1910, but it paled in comparison to the tens of thousands of them that went to the United States. In July 1913, the Russian Immigrant Home in New York

Source: Li-Ra-Ma Sample

reported that of 6,677 immigrants received by the Home between 1908 and 1913, approximately 55 percent were born in Belarus and only 24 in Ukraine (Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia and northern Bessarabia).¹⁶ Due to New York's prominence as the main port of debarkation for America-bound immigrants, these figures may be taken to represent a general pattern in the immigration movement from tsarist Russia to the United States.

¹⁶ *Russkii emigrant*, 31 July 1913. The reading of Russian-language press published in the United States confirms the predominance of Belarusians over Ukrainians among immigrant workers from the Russian Empire.

Labour-seeking emigration from Belarus developed primarily in the northwestern and central parts of the region, which included the imperial provinces of Vil'na, Grodno and Minsk (see Map 1). Natives of Vil'na made up a much more significant proportion of the migrants in the incipient stage of the migration movement than they did thereafter. Local Belarusian peasants probably learned about "America" from their Lithuanian and Polish neighbours, who had begun to emigrate in the 1880s.¹⁷ As elsewhere in East-Central Europe, informal migrant networks, comprising kin, neighbours and friends, fed information and supplied resources to new cohorts of fortune-seekers in the form of remittances, loans and prepaid tickets. Vladimir Butkevich, a peasant from the village of Pukhovka, came to Toronto around 1906 on a prepaid ticket after his "friends in their letters praised this country and the abundance of opportunities to earn good money".¹⁸ However, as the emigration movement spread in a southeastern direction, Minsk and especially Grodno became the leading donors of Belarusian emigration to Canada. As Figure 2 demonstrates, Grodno sent by far the largest overall contingent of Canada-bound emigrants in the entire Belarus.

The intensity of emigration within each of the donor provinces displayed significant variations by district (*uezd*). The district of Pruzhany, located in the southwestern part of Grodno Province, was the birthplace of 63 percent of all emigrants from that province

¹⁷ On early Lithuanian and Belarusian emigration from Vil'na Province see L. S. Ofrosimov, *Otkhozhii promysel za okean. Obsledovanie Vilenskoi gubernii* (Vil'na: Tip. M.S. Grozenskogo, 1912).

¹⁸ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 11, file 335, Vladimir Butkevich to Russian consul in Montreal, 27 September/10 October 1912.

and approximately 42 percent of all individuals of Belarusan origin that appear in the Li-Ra-Ma sample.¹⁹ In fact, Pruzhany was probably the only district in the entire Belarus, where Canada emerged as the leading destination for peasant emigrants. Kobrin ranked second, producing 12 percent of all the emigrants from Grodno and 8 percent of all Belarusans in the sample. Emigration was also significant in Brest and Slonim, while in the remaining five districts of the province it stayed at moderate or low levels. At the

Figure 2. Li-Ra-Ma Sample: Territorial Distribution of Emigration from Belarus, by Province of Origin

Source: Li-Ra-Ma Sample

¹⁹ See also Grigorii Okulevich, *Russkie v Kanade: Istoriia russkikh raboche-fermerskikh klubov imeni M. Gor'kogo (1930-1940) i Federatsii russkikh kanadtsev (1941-1952)* (Toronto: Federation of Russian Canadians, 1952), pp. 32-34. Pruzhany would remain the largest donor of Belarusan emigrants to Canada in the 1920s and 1930s, when it became part of Poland.

same time, there appears to have been very little emigration to Canada from Grodno's westernmost districts of Sokolka, Belostok and Bel'sk, where Poles constituted the majority of the rural population. Within Minsk Province, emigration to Canada developed primarily in the southwestern districts of Pinsk and Slutsk, which accounted, respectively, for 7 and 4.5 percent of all the Belarusians in the sample.

Similar to Belarus, the intensity of emigration from eastern Ukraine to Canada exhibited a geographically clustered pattern. As Map 2 demonstrates, it was confined primarily to areas located west of the Dnieper River (the Right-Bank Ukraine). The provinces of Podolia, Volhynia and Kiev, along with the northern tip of Bessarabia, were

Figure 3. Li-Ra-Ma Sample: Territorial Distribution of Emigration from Ukraine, by Province of Origin

Source: Li-Ra-Ma Sample

the home of 96.5 percent of all Ukrainian emigrants in the Li-Ra-Ma sample. With nearly 42 percent of the Ukrainians reporting it as their place of birth, Podolia stood as the largest donor province not only in eastern Ukraine, but in the entire Russian Empire.²⁰ Before 1909-10, emigration from Podolia was not significant, but in the remaining years before World War I it skyrocketed, leaving many villages with only a fraction of their male population. In 1911, Avraam Savchuk, a peasant from the village of Grinovtsy received a letter from his sister, who reported that

[many] lads have gone to America, and Uncle Filipp's [son?] Tereshko has been away [in America] already for a year and a half, and has already sent money twice, and Uncle has already bought a couple of horses.²¹

Many peasants in Podolia apparently learned about overseas migration alternatives during annual labour-seeking forays to southern Bessarabia, Kherson and further to the Black Sea (see Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of internal migrations in Ukraine and Belarus). Men from the village of Ivankovtsy began to emigrate to Canada for work around 1908-09 after Ignat Pychko, one of the village residents, reportedly ran into an "American entrepreneur" during his sojourn in Odessa – a major destination of seasonal migration for the Ivankovtsy peasants. Soon Ignat was on his way to Canada, where he bought some land "in the city of Saskaton" [sic], "started a business", and before long began sending "good money" to his family of five, who eventually joined him in Canada.²² In a matter of several years, about half of the Ivankovtsy population caught the emigration fever, leaving behind mostly children, elders and women. Apparently, village

²⁰ Excluding Finland and Poland.

²¹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 104, file 12348, letter to Avraam Savchuk from sister, 24 November 1913 (old style).

²² *Podolianin*, 29 August 1914.

hearsay did not particularly exaggerate Pychko's Canadian achievements (as was often the case with emigrant success stories). In the records of the Russian consulate in Vancouver, he indeed figures as the owner of a "Pitchko [sic] Trading Company" in Dana, Saskatchewan, selling "dry goods, grocery, boots and shoes, crockery, etc".²³

Close cultural and commercial linkages between Podolia and Bessarabia, on the one hand, and Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina, on the other, doubtless played an important role in the feeding of information about Canada to the local peasantry and in shaping the direction of migration flows. Similar to other areas in Eastern Europe where state borders cut across ethnic lines, the boundary that separated the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires bore little significance for the daily lives of the local Ukrainian peasants. Circular movement across the border never stopped, as peasants crossed it in both directions to visit the nearest marketplace (which often happened to be in the other country), sell or buy goods, track their lost or stolen cattle or even (according to one Li-Ra-Ma file) to see a doctor. Many Galicians worked as seasonal farm labourers on large sugar-beet estates in western Podolia and northern Bessarabia.²⁴ Short-term trips to Galicia were facilitated by the relaxed passport regime that existed in areas adjacent to the Austrian border: anyone wishing to travel to Austria for the maximum of four weeks could do so by obtaining a so-called "legitimizing pass" from the parish (*volost'*)

²³ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 95, file 11061.

²⁴ M.N. Leshchenko, *Ukrains'ke selo v revoliutsii 1905-1907 rr.* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1977), p. 59.

authorities.²⁵ The intermingling of population in the border areas created transnational channels of communication, which carried information about new migration opportunities. Local marketplaces, which drew together large numbers of peasants, petty merchants and brokers from both Russia and Austria, became particularly important venues for such information exchanges.²⁶ In March 1913, *Podolianin*, the leading Russian newspaper in the province, complained that “residents of Austrian villages adjacent to the border come on market days to the market square of Novyi Plan [in Kamenets-Podol’sk] and recruit peasants to cross the border without government passports”.²⁷ Occasionally people gathered on Novyi Plan to listen to stories told by peasants who had returned from America. Thus, in August 1913, police had to be called in to disperse a large crowd attracted by Ivan Pytak, a peasant from the nearby town of Novoselitsa, who sang ditties and told stories of American life.²⁸

It is little wonder, then, that the district of Kamenets, adjacent to the Austrian border, produced by far the largest Canada-bound migrant stream in the entire Ukraine. According to the Li-Ra-Ma sample, with less than 9 percent of the total population of Podolia (as of 1897), Kamenets gave a whopping 70 percent of its emigrants. In fact, every third Canadian immigrant that came from eastern Ukraine before 1914 was likely a

²⁵ “Ustav o pasportakh”, razdel 2 (“O pasportakh zagranichnykh, propuske cherez granitsu i pograniichnykh soobshcheniakh”), *Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii*. Vol. 14 (St. Petersburg, 1903), p. 55-56. See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of Russian passport law.

²⁶ The key role of marketplaces in disseminating emigration information has been noted, for instance, by historians of Italian labour migration. See Donna Gabaccia, *Militants and Migrants: Rural Sicilians Become American Workers* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1988), p. 14.

²⁷ *Podolianin*, 23 March 1913.

²⁸ *Podolianin*, 9 August 1913.

Map 2. Major Areas of Emigration from Eastern Ukraine to Canada

Map 2. Major Areas of Emigration from Eastern Ukraine to Canada

Migrants by District:

- 200 or more
- 100 to 199
- 50 to 99
- 10 to 49

Boundaries:

- State
- Provincial
- District

40 0 120 km

Source: Li-Ra-Ma Sample

native of that district. The intensity of emigration from Kamenets becomes even more obvious considering that the second largest source district – Khotin, located in northern Bessarabia – was reported as the place of birth only by 12 percent of individuals of Ukrainian origin.

While in the overall count Podolia and northern Bessarabia may have been the largest donors in Ukraine, they were not the earliest ones. The model of Ukrainian emigration as progressively spreading in the eastward direction does not seem to be borne out by the evidence from the Li-Ra-Ma collection and other available sources. Some of the first immigrants from eastern Ukraine (labourers as well as farmers) came to Canada not from Kamenets or Khotin, but from areas further east, including especially the junction of Tarashcha, Lipovets and Uman' districts, the environs of Kiev or even some areas in the Left-Bank Ukraine, otherwise little affected by emigration. The Li-Ra-Ma sample data show, for instance, that 9.4 percent of all emigrants from Tarashcha came to Canada prior to 1911, while for the entire Ukraine this figure stands at 6.5 percent. A 1907 survey of just one parish in the district found that over 400 of its male residents were "in America" as wage workers, and some had already sent for their wives and children.²⁹ By the summer of 1913, so many of Tarashcha peasants had travelled overseas that, according to one observer, it was "not surprising to see a man with a scythe in his hands, wearing American fashion shoes, a bowler hat and a gentleman's suit".³⁰

It is likely that the catalyst for mass peasant emigration from Tarashcha as well as some other districts was provided by the exodus of local Baptists, who began to leave in

²⁹ *Rada*, 13 September 1907.

³⁰ *Rada*, 1 August 1913.

the mid-1890s, escaping the increasing persecution by the tsarist state and the Orthodox Church. In 1894, the first large party of Baptists from Tarashcha moved to the United States, forming compact agricultural settlements in North Dakota. When they arrived, small colonies of Ukrainian and Russian Baptists already existed in Virginia, Kentucky and Pennsylvania.³¹ Around 1899, Ukrainian Baptists discovered Canada as a new migration destination.³² Until 1914, small groups of Baptists (perhaps no more than several hundred in total) trickled into Canada from Kiev and other provinces of Ukraine and southern Russia. Thus, in April 1907, *Rada*, the leading Ukrainian-language newspaper in Russia, reported the departure of three Baptist families from the city of Kiev and six from the nearby town of Borodianka (about 30 people in total), who went to Canada by way of Libava.³³ Three years later, twelve Baptist families from Kherson and Stavropol settled on homesteads near Monitor, Alberta.³⁴ There is little doubt that in areas of Baptist emigration the words “America” and “Canada” became known to peasants much earlier than in many other localities, eventually prompting some of them to follow in the footsteps of the “sectarians”.

The example of Tarashcha highlights the significance of ethnic and religious diversity in shaping local migration chains. As Josef Barton points out in his study of

³¹ Ivan Okuntsov, *Ruskaia emigratsiia v Severnoi i Iuzhnoi Amerike* (Buenos Aires: Seiatel', 1967), p. 180-186. Also Mark Vil'chur, *Russkie v Amerike* (New York: Pervoe russkoe izdatel'stvo v Amerike, 1918), p. 40-41.

³² See Hryhory Domashovets, *Narys istorii ukrains'koi ievanhels'ko-baptists'koi tserkvy* (Irvington-Toronto: Harmony Printing, 1967), p. 401. The activities of Slavic Baptist missions in Canada will be discussed in Chapter 6.

³³ *Rada*, 11 April 1907.

³⁴ *Russkoe slovo*, 9 July 1918.

Slovak, Italian and Rumanian immigrants in Cleveland, the “mixture of peoples – even within a single village – exposed different segments of the population to different economic and social pressures and also provided some individuals with special resources”.³⁵ Similar to other parts of Eastern and Southern Europe, the heterogeneous character of the population in Ukraine and Belarus facilitated the formation of migrant networks. The persecuted or disadvantaged groups, or those with previous migration experience, usually left first, acting as conduits of information to their neighbours. While in some regions it was Baptists, Old Believers, Germans or Poles that served as trailblazers, most commonly peasants learned about “America” from the local Jews, who not only had a highly developed migration culture and well-functioning information networks but also constituted the majority of steamship and emigration agents. Many of them could probably subscribe to the words of several immigrants from Bessarabia who admitted that “as for Canada, we did not know that there was such [country] on earth” until two Jewish emigrant recruiters came to their village in the summer of 1913.³⁶ The relationship between migration and the ethno-religious structure of the population in a particular area was, however, not a mechanical one. Thus, Kiev District – another early sender of Baptist emigrants – never rose to the rank of a major donor area, which might have something to do with the pull of Kiev as an alternative destination for labour-seeking migrants. Needless to say, there was also a relationship between emigration and local socio-economic conditions, which will be addressed in the next chapter.

³⁵ Josef Barton, *Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians, and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 50-51.

³⁶ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 7, file 244, the case of Dionisii Popo and others.

Emigration to Canada from the Left-Bank Ukraine, although not wholly absent, never reached levels comparable to those exhibited by the Right Bank. The largest emigration cluster east of the Dnieper emerged in the northern part of Chernigov Province, where the poor quality of soil had long forced peasants to engage in peddling and other non-agricultural pursuits. In fact, peasant emigration from Chernigov began earlier than anywhere in Ukraine, when in 1895 Fedor Korotkii, a peasant from the village of Novye Bobovichy, wandered into Poland during one of his peddling excursions and met a group of emigrants who had just returned from the United States. Like thousands of others, he was captivated by the stories of the American El Dorado and joined the next group of fortune-seekers. After working for three years at a steel factory in Pennsylvania, he came back to his village as a rich “*amerikanets*”, only to return to America the next year with about a dozen co-villagers. As letters and money orders began to flow back from America to Chernigov, increasing numbers of local peasants proceeded in the opposite direction.³⁷ Although some of them found their way to Canada, the United States continued to remain the main destination for Chernigov emigrants up until 1914.

With most places of origin, the movement of peasants from eastern Ukraine and Belarus to Canada appears to never have passed the pioneer stage of solitary migration. As Table 2 shows, 594 Belarusian and 1,908 Ukrainian migrants in the Li-Ra-Ma sample came, respectively, from 367 and 729 different villages. Villages of heavy migration (10 migrants and over) made up only 1.1 percent of all places in Belarus and 7.1 percent in Ukraine (in comparing the two regions we must, however, keep in mind the larger overall

³⁷ Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv (hereafter RGIA), fond 95, opis' 6, delo 1241, list 162-165; and G. Skoropadsky, “Novozybkovskie krest'iane v Amerike”, *Zemskii sbornik*

scale of Canada-bound migration from Ukraine). These figures suggest that in most donor areas a small group of heavy-emigration villages coexisted with a much larger number of places where emigration was sparse. This pattern existed not only in the provinces and districts of minor or moderate emigration, but also in those with the heaviest migration rates, such as Kamenets and Khotin in Ukraine or Pruzhany in Belarus. In other words, relatively few eastern Ukrainians and Belarusians came to Canada as part of large village chains, with the exception of seven villages (four in

Table 2. Intensity of Emigration from Eastern Ukraine and Belarus, by Villages of Origin (percent)

Village Chains	Percentage of the total number of emigration villages		Percentage of immigrants sent	
	Belarus	Ukraine	Belarus	Ukraine
<i>Villages with:</i>				
1-4 migrants	94.6	84.8	77.6	45.5
5-9 migrants	4.4	10.7	15.3	28.7
10+ migrants	1.1	4.5	7.1	26.2
Total	100 (367)	100 (729)	100 (594)	100 (1,908)

Source: Li-Ra-Ma Sample

Podolia and three in Kiev), which were each reported as places of origin by more than 20 migrants. Geographically, villages of heavy emigration usually formed compact clusters, which sometimes cut across district borders. Thus, over two-thirds of the major emigration villages in northern Bessarabia were concentrated in the western part of Khotin District within a 20-25-mile radius. The same pattern can be observed in the south-central part of Kiev Province, at the junction of Tarashcha, Lipovets and Uman'.

Making the Crossing

For all emigrants, the journey to “America” began with the crossing of the Russian border. The common opinion of contemporaries who believed that most peasants in the empire emigrated illegally finds full support in the Li-Ra-Ma files. 76 percent of Ukrainian and Belarusan emigrants in our sample left Russia in formal violation of the law, i.e. without obtaining government passports. Of these, 2.7 percent crossed the border in a quasi-legal manner, using “legitimizing passes” which allowed them to travel to Austria. Steamship agents and their local connections played an extremely important role in determining the place and time of crossing. It was usually safer, if not necessarily cheaper, for an emigrant to take the route offered by the agent than to travel on his own in an attempt to save money. In addition, few peasants had access to alternative sources of information which would allow them to consider other travelling options. “Crossed secretly” and “crossed with an agent” are the two most common answers found in the Li-Ra-Ma citizenship affidavits. Interestingly, five or six years later some migrants still remembered the exact date of the crossing. Novoselitsa, Gukov, Gusiatin and Brody were the busiest crossing points for Podolian and Bessarabian emigrants on their way to western European ports and further to Canada. Peasants from Kiev and Volhynia usually travelled through Russian Poland, leaving the empire’s territory near the towns of Myslowice, Sosnowice or Prostkow, as did Belarusan emigrants from Grodno and Minsk. Even illegal emigrants, however, customarily hedged their risks by carrying internal passports, certificates of military standing etc., which could be used to prove their identity and, most importantly, to receive entry permits from the Russian consuls.

In Russia's southwest, transporting emigrants across the border was an especially flourishing black-market trade, which brought supplementary or primary income to hundreds of individuals. Every month, thousands of Ukrainian peasants from Podolia and Bessarabia, assisted by hired guides, slipped through the loosely patrolled borderline. The guide was usually recruited from the local population, familiar with the terrain and with the workings of the border gendarmerie, or provided by the steamship agent. According to contemporary reports, by 1913 in some areas of Podolia local residents had almost entirely switched from smuggling goods from Austria to the more lucrative business of smuggling human cargo. In Kamenets, one could hire a guide to cross the Zbruch River, which formed the boundary between Russia and Austria, for 6 to 10 rubles (\$3 to 5) per person.³⁸ Every night, dozens of emigrants waded across the shallow waters of the Zbruch with bundles of personal belongings on their shoulders. Others passed the border in carts and wagons hiding under heaps of hay or flour bags. Bribing border guards also appears to have been a common practice. The most ingenious method of deceiving the border patrol was probably practiced in Grodno, where emigrants lined their overcoats across the sand-covered security belt and used them to roll over to the other side without leaving footprints. Local agents, who reportedly invented this curious procedure, charged their clients eight rubles for the "roll-out" and two rubles for the "roll-in" (for returning emigrants).³⁹

After crossing the border, the emigrant was usually met by an Austrian or German agent, who provided him with railway tickets to the port of departure and a contact

³⁸ *Podolianin*, 23 March 1913.

³⁹ *Russkii emigrant*, 2 October 1913.

address where he would receive the steamship ticket. Hundreds of agent networks, organized in a chain-like fashion, functioned along the Austro-Russian and German-Russian borders. The mechanism of their operation is well demonstrated in the following instructions to emigrants, seized by the police from one Semen Galiants of the village of Volosovets in Letichev District of Podolia, an agent for the Ocean Express Company in London, which arranged transportation to Canada via Hamburg:

At your nearest railway station buy a ticket and take the South-Western Railway to Larga. At Larga, rent a cart and go to the city of Kamenets-Podol'sk. Kamenets [Podol'sk] is 30 verst from Larga, thus the cart will cost you 80 or 90 kopecks. After arrival in Kamenets, split into groups of one or two and go to Turetsky Bridge. After passing Turetsky Bridge, take the road along the telegraph poles to the *khutor* of Kozak. [...] After you have walked a little down the road, across from a bridge there will be a house, third on your left, with a thatch roof and a porch. There lives Ivan Savitsky. You will go to the house, and he will know what you have come for. Give 75 kopecks each to the first guide, that is, to Savitsky, give one ruble each to the second guide, and seven rubles each to the third guide, and he will get you to the right place. After crossing the Russian border, you will be met on the Austrian side by another guide, who will show you to the railway station. You will give him two rubles per person. Make sure you know the route by heart before leaving and destroy [this sheet], do not take it with you.⁴⁰

While the good organization of the smuggling business usually ensured safe passage, it did not make it completely risk-free. According to one source, every year the Russian gendarmerie shot up to 100 illegal crossers.⁴¹ Emigrants heading to the border also got caught up in conflicts between rival groups of agents or guides, who settled their scores by reporting each other's activities to the police, or became victims of local racketeers.⁴² Occasionally guides tried to extort more money from their clients by

⁴⁰ Cited in N.L.Tudorianu, *Ocherki rossiiskoi trudovoi emigratsii perioda imperializma (v Germaniiu, Skandinavskie strany i SShA)* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1986), p. 132-133.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 133.

⁴² *Rada*, 13 April 1913.

threatening to abandon them at mid-way (reportedly, even in the middle of the Zbruch River). Most, however, accomplished the crossing without much trouble.

If the crossing was successful, the emigrant proceeded to a major German and Dutch port or sometimes to the Adriatic port of Trieste. Those travelling through Germany in order to sail from Hamburg or Bremen had to report to one of the many “control stations” built by the Prussian authorities along the Russian-German border, where emigrants were placed in barracks, inspected by doctors, divided into parties and shipped to the port of departure on special trains. One of the largest such stations was located in Myslowice (one of the busiest crossing points on the entire Russian-German border) and operated by the large steamship agency of Max Weichmann, which reportedly had about 500 representatives operating in the western provinces of the Russian Empire.⁴³ Port inspection cards attached to some of the Li-Ra-Ma files show Hamburg and Bremen as the most popular ports of embarkation for Ukrainian and Belarusan emigrants travelling to Canada. Most of this traffic was carried by two German steamship giants – Hamburg-America Line (HAPAG), which operated out of Hamburg, and the Norddeutscher Lloyd, which ran passenger service between Bremen and Quebec. A large number of emigrants also took the Uranium Line, which was purchased in 1910 by the Canadian Northern Railway and began regular sailings between Rotterdam and Quebec continuing to New York. While Uranium probably had the lowest level of comfort and service among the major European lines, it offered some of the cheapest third-class and steerage rates to Canada and the United States due to its refusal to join the Continental Pool – the largest international steamship cartel, which controlled the

⁴³ *Russkii emigrant*, 13 June 1912.

transatlantic “commerce of migration” and maintained a co-ordinated fare policy.

Uranium’s reputation was, however, damaged by the deadly fire, which occurred in October 1913 on its steamer *Volturmo*, claiming about 150 lives.⁴⁴

If western European ports attracted the majority of Russia’s illegal travellers, most of the legal emigrant traffic to Canada was channelled through the Baltic port of Libava on the ships of the Russian America Line. Before 1912, the majority of emigrants booked to Canada landed at New York, which was the final destination point for the Russian America Line steamers. The opening of a steamship service between Libava and Halifax in March 1912 for the first time allowed the emigrants to travel direct from Russia to Canada for a moderate price of 60 rubles (\$30). Canadian railways played a major role in initiating the new enterprise. In the spring of 1912, the Russian America Line, a subsidiary of the Russian East-Asiatic Steamship Company (REASC), was “approached by several Canadian Firms who informed [it] that the Canadian Railroads were in want of about 60,000 labourers, *preferably Russians*, and [was] asked if possible, to send over up to 1,000 per month by [its] steamers”.⁴⁵ The interest in the proposed undertaking was mutual. The Russian-American Line, which operated with meagre profits, had long been looking for opportunities to expand its business in the North Atlantic transportation market. For Canadian railway companies, an increased influx of Russian emigrants meant both more passenger traffic and a new pool of navvy workforce. In March 1912, Halifax was made a regular transit destination for Russian-America Line steamers which sailed

⁴⁴ See Frank Bowen, *A Century of Atlantic Travel, 1830-1930* (London: Marston, [1930]), p. 286.

⁴⁵ RGIA, fonds 104, opis’ 1, delo 265, list 102, The Russian America Line to Lord Strathcona, 22 August 1912. Italics mine.

from Libava to New York, and on March 3rd the first of them, *Lituania*, pulled into Canadian waters. On June 23rd, the first trial party of 100 labourers (apparently on pre-arranged employment) came to Halifax on the *Russia*, soon followed by 800 others.⁴⁶

The opening of the new route was accompanied by a vigorous recruitment campaign to bring labourers to Canada, launched by the Russian America Line, and plans for translating and distributing Canadian promotional material among the population of Russia were well underway by the fall of 1912.⁴⁷ A vast network of the company's agents and sub-agents "'rounded up' men in small towns and villages..., telling them of the fortunes that could be made in one season if they were only willing to go to Canada".⁴⁸ A circular issued by the Russian America Line management instructed its agents to guarantee "immediate employment at Halifax" to all passengers booking their passage with the company.⁴⁹ Other materials distributed by the Line emphasized its advantages as the only non-stop steamship service between Russia and North America, allowing travellers to reach their destination without the frustrating changes of ships and repeated medical examinations, which accompanied travel by other carriers. The company's promotional poster assured prospective passengers that they would enjoy the comfort of a

⁴⁶ RGIA, fonds 104, opis' 1, delo 265, list 102, The Russian America Line to Lord Strathcona, 22 August 1912, and NAC, Halifax Ships' Manifests, June-August 1912, reels T-4743 and T-4744. The party that arrived onboard the *Czar* was marked in the passenger lists as a "special group" of "Cochrane railroad labourers" (see the entry for the *Czar*, 19 August 1912). Not every Libava-New York run included a stop at Halifax, however. It was probably made only if the ship carried a large number of Canada-bound passengers. Nor did the Russian America Line ships enter Halifax on the return voyage from New York.

⁴⁷ RGIA, fonds 104, opis' 1, delo 265, list 85.

⁴⁸ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 18, file 592, Mowbray S. Berkeley to Likhachev, November 1915.

⁴⁹ NAC, Immigration Branch, RG76, reel C-10296, vol. 407, file 594511, Part 4, copy of the Russian America Line circular to agents, Libava, 12 May 1912.

familiar cultural environment, “where everyone speaks Russian and where food caters to the Russian taste and habits”.⁵⁰ The booklet “How Do I Travel to America”, published by the Line in 1912, explained in smallest detail the booking procedures, services and amenities provided onboard the ships (even sample menus were not forgotten) as well as American and Canadian admission regulations. Third-class and steerage passengers awaiting departure were encouraged to use the company’s newly opened Emigrant House in Libava, where one could stay free of charge for 5 days and enjoy the convenience of a library, a children’s playground, hot-water baths and other facilities. Emigrants arriving at Libava without passports were assisted by the Line’s officials in obtaining them from the provincial government of Kurland.⁵¹ A mutual insurance fund for emigrants, established in Libava in 1910 at the initiative of the city police master N. Podushkin, insured passengers against non-admission at the destination port for the sum of 25 or 50 rubles (\$12.50 or \$25) on payment, respectively, of 1 or 2 rubles.⁵²

As a result of the promotional measures, by 1913 many Russian America Line ships probably had more Canadian-bound passengers than they had travellers destined to the United States. “[F]or the present we have about 1800 passengers lying here, out of which 1400 are for Canada, so we shall be able to fill the *Birma* with Canadian passengers alone”, the general manager of the Russian America Line wrote in March 1913.⁵³

Statistics of emigrant departures from Libava in 1912-1913, compiled by the Russian

⁵⁰ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 22, file 723, poster.

⁵¹ RGIA, fond 104, opis’ 18, delo 620, brochure “Kak mne ekhat’ v Ameriku”.

⁵² B. Kurchevskii, *Ob emigratsii v Ameriku* (Libava, 1913), p. 42-43.

⁵³ RGIA, fond 104, opis’ 1, delo 265, list 16; Christiansen to the East Asiatic Co., Ltd., 4 March 1913.

authorities (see Table 3), demonstrate that the port's "catchment basin" included most Belarusian provinces as well as Volhynia and Kiev. At the same time, Podolia and Bessarabia are either poorly represented or totally absent in these statistics. The figures supplied by Russian statisticians correspond with data obtained from the Li-Ra-Ma files, some of which contain information on the migrants' points of exit. An analysis of this information shows that natives of Belarus and two Ukrainian provinces – Kiev and Volhynia – reported Libava as their port of departure much more often than emigrants from Podolia and Bessarabia, who sailed primarily from Hamburg, Bremen, Rotterdam or, in some cases, from Trieste.⁵⁴ Since no passport control was enforced in western European ports, it is not surprising that the proportion of legal emigrants in the two latter provinces was much lower than in the former. While the average rate of legal emigration for the entire Ukraine and Belarus was close to 23 percent, among the natives of Bessarabia and Podolia it stood, respectively, at 1.5 and 8.2 percent. By contrast, in Kiev and Volhynia, where more emigrants chose Libava as their port of departure, legal emigrants constituted 50.2 and 35.5 percent. While channels of illegal emigration existed everywhere, peasants from provinces adjacent to the Austrian border had greater access to resources that enabled them to avoid the passport hassles and cross secretly to the other side than did those from regions further east. The reason why there were so few Bessarabians among the legal migrants must also have something to do with the geographic location of the Khotin district: making a 150-mile trip south to the provincial

⁵⁴ Some emigrants who departed from Libava went transit through England by smaller Russian steamship lines such as the North-Western Steamship Company, whose ships shuttled between Libava and English ports. From England, they continued to Canada by Cunard or the White Star Line.

capital (Kishinev) for a passport made little sense for peasants who lived just miles from the border.

After landing in Halifax, Quebec or Saint John (depending on the line chosen), the immigrants were inspected by doctors, checked for the possession of the required minimal amount of money (\$25 in the summer and \$50 in the winter) and shipped into Canada's interior by one of the major railways. Under agreements concluded between the Russian America Line and each of Canada's two largest railway companies – the

Table 3. Emigration Movement through the Port of Libava, 1912-1913, by Province of Origin

Province	1912	1913	Total
Minsk	8,370	11,251	19,621
Volhynia	6,867	9,224	16,091
Grodno	7,018	7,130	14,148
Kiev	4,090	5,991	10,081
Saratov	5,949	3,492	9,441
Kovno	3,582	4,815	8,397
Vil'na	2,711	4,412	7,123
Samara	4,126	2,182	6,308
Mogilev	2,350	2,640	4,990
Chernigov	1,777	3,092	4,869
Podolia	1,113	2,058	3,171
Tersk	881	1,350	2,231
Total	48,834	57,637	106,471

Source: B. Kurchevskii, *O russkoi emigratsii v Ameriku* (Libava, 1914), p. 14-15.

Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk, Russian passengers landing at Halifax were, until early 1913, divided evenly between the GTR and CPR. For each forwarded passenger

both companies paid the Line a ten-percent commission.⁵⁵ Grand Trunk tickets could be purchased in advance through the Russian America Line's agencies. In Russian-language flyers distributed to the passengers along with the Line's own promotional materials, the Canadian company was advertised as the "world's longest two-track railway under one management" and "the only two-track railway in Canada reaching all main destinations in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario".⁵⁶ By the end of 1912, negotiations about the sale of CPR railway tickets in Russia were also underway, but the fledgling cooperation between the two companies was brought to an end by the CPR's withdrawal in January 1913 from the Continental Pool, followed by an attempt to undersell its European competitors by cutting steamship fares.⁵⁷ After the termination of the negotiations, all passenger traffic originating in Libava was routed through the Grand Trunk, which did not own steamship lines and thus did not pose a threat to the Russian America Line. A proposal of giving half of the traffic to the Canadian Northern Railway, which owned the Uranium Line, popular among Russian immigrants, was also broached at one point but a conclusive decision seems to never have been reached.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ RGIA, fonds 104, opis' 1, delo 265, list 94, Pickford and Black, Ltd., to A.E. Johnson and Co., 26 August 1912; A.E. Johnson and Co. to the Russian American Line, 28 August 1912. A.E. Johnson and Co., located in New York, were the Line's general agents in North America.

⁵⁶ A copy of this advertisement is found in Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 40, file 2228.

⁵⁷ RGIA, fonds 104, opis' 1, delo 265, list 47, Russian America Line to A.E. Johnson and Co., 18 January 1913; list 32, Russian American Line to East Asiatic Co., Ltd., 5 February 1913; listy 14-16, Russian American Line to East Asiatic Co., Ltd., 4 March 1913; See also Tudorianu, *Ocherki*, p. 162-3. The CPR, for instance, lowered its steamship fare from Antwerp to Halifax from 160 to 120 German Marks. Ticket prices were also lowered on the Trieste line, which was operated by the CPR under a concession from the Austro-Hungarian government.

⁵⁸ RGIA, fonds 104, opis' 1, delo 265, list 15; Russian America Line to East Asiatic Co., Ltd., 4 March 1913; Russian America Line to East Asiatic Co., Ltd., 18 April 1913.

Canadian Destinations

Aggregate immigration and census statistics can give us only the most general picture of the migrants' Canadian destinations. In addition to the vagueness of the term "Russians" used in these statistics, they have little to say about regional migration chains, which can hardly be detected if all we know is one's "race", country of origin and declared destination in Canada. Underrepresentation of temporary labourers presents another problem: a comparison of census data with alternative contemporary estimates of the size of foreign-born urban communities suggests that census takers failed to account for a substantial part of Canada's migrant population. 1911 and 1921 census manuscripts would be of great help in clarifying the distribution of Ukrainian and Belarusian migrants in early twentieth-century Canada, but they remain unavailable to researchers.

Attempting to overcome the gaps in the official statistics, migration historians have traditionally turned to ethnic newspapers, memoirs, autobiographies, city directories, social surveys and, in recent decades, oral interviews in their quest to reconstruct the spatial boundaries of Canada's ethnic communities. In our case, however, these sources can yield relatively little information, for permanent urban settlements of eastern Ukrainians and especially Belarusians were not only very small, but, for this very reason, they also lacked developed community institutions, whose records could furnish us with clues regarding settlement patterns. There is also the well-known difficulty of identifying Slavic immigrants, let alone their precise ethnic origins, in Canadian city directories, whose compilers anglicized or misspelled foreign-sounding Eastern European names. Even when English name transliterations are reasonably close to the original, distinguishing between Ukrainians, Belarusians and Poles usually poses a great problem.

In addition, transient inhabitants of ethnic boarding-houses – the category to which most Slavic workers belonged – often figure in city directories simply as “foreigners”. The absence of autobiographical sources and oral interview collections pertaining to eastern Slav immigrants from tsarist Russia (in contrast to the rich literary and oral tradition produced by Galician- and Bukovinian-born Ukrainians) further complicates the historian’s task.

The Li-Ra-Ma data are therefore our most reliable source on the presence of eastern Ukrainians and Belarusians in various Canadian provinces and cities. Because most files contain both the migrants’ places of origin (down to the level of village) and their Canadian locations (often including even the current street address), we can identify, with a reasonable degree of accuracy, a number of regionally specific migration chains that linked Belarus and eastern Ukraine with Canada. Of course, these data are not flawless. In fact, I do not make a claim that they present a mirror image of the migrants’ distribution in Canada simply because residents of various Canadian provinces may not be equally represented in the collection. There is, for instance, a substantial gap between the Li-Ra-Ma data and 1921 census statistics, which (even after we account for the Doukhobors) show a much lower presence of persons of Russian origin in Quebec and their much higher number in the Prairie Provinces. In addition, it is obvious that the term “territorial distribution”, relatively unproblematic in the case of agricultural settlers, loses its definitiveness when applied to transient migrant sojourners, who often changed places of residence several times in the course of a single year. Due to the carelessness with which most migrants listed their places of residence, the Li-Ra-Ma files are not always useful for establishing the number of years spent by a given individual at a given

location.⁵⁹ However, most migration studies show that while individual labourers could (and did) float across the destination country in search of better jobs, regional migration patterns, sustained by transoceanic networks of kin, neighbours and friends, were relatively constant and took many years to change.

While figures in Tables 4 and 5 illustrate major similarities in migration destinations between Belarusians and Ukrainians, they also show important differences, grounded in locally specific migration networks. A much higher presence of Belarusians in British Columbia is perhaps the most salient example of these differences. Almost all of the Belarusian migrants were found in the easternmost part of the province known as the Crow's Nest Pass, where they worked in the local coal mining industry. A Russian journalist Zinovii Peshkov, who visited the Pass in 1913 and spent several nights in the worker's shanty houses, noted that "peasants from Grodno and Minsk provinces are in the majority [among the 'Russian' miners], although there are also Little Russians from Podolia Province".⁶⁰ According to Peshkov, lucrative employment opportunities available in western Canada's coal mining industry were well known to peasant families in southwestern Belarus, who had been sending their men to work "on the coal" for a number of years. Belarusians (who appeared in Canadian records as either Russians or Poles) may well have formed the largest contingent of eastern European miners in the Fernie area, who, according to Allen Seager, constituted 22 percent of the local

⁵⁹ The gaps in these data are most probably explained by the fact that many respondents did not remember the dates of their frequently occurring moves.

⁶⁰ *Novyi mir*, 25 July 1913. See also William Cousins, *A History of the Crow's Nest Pass* (Lethbridge: The Historic Trails Society of Alberta, 1981), p. 61.

Table 4. Distribution of Li-Ra-Ma Migrants in Canada, by Province (percent)*

Province of Residence	Belarus				Ukraine				
	Grodno	Minsk	Vil'na	All Belarus	Bessarabia	Kiev	Podolia	Volhynia	All Ukraine
Ontario	49.6	41.3	28.7	45.8	32.2	52.1	44.3	34.6	43.4
Quebec	25.5	39.0	64.3	32.0	62.3	25.7	43.8	41.9	41.5
Manitoba	5.3	1.6	4.8	4.3	0.5	7.7	2.1	14.9	5.5
Saskatchewan	2.0	2.4	-	2.0	-	8.4	2.8	4.7	4.2
Alberta	4.4	2.4	-	3.6	1.4	2.3	2.7	2.2	2.3
British Columbia	12.6	10.6	2.4	11.2	0.5	2.3	2.7	1.1	2.0
Nova Scotia	0.9	2.4	-	1.2	3.3	0.8	0.6	0.7	1.0
New Brunswick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.4	0.1

N = 2,607

*Percentages do not add up to 100 due to rounding

Source: *Li-Ra-Ma Sample*

Table 5. Li-Ra-Ma Sample: Cities with Largest Concentrations of Eastern Ukrainians and Belarusians, by Province of Origin (percent)*

Province of Residence	Belarus				Ukraine				
	Grodno	Minsk	Vil'na	All Belarus	Bessarabia	Kiev	Podolia	Volhynia	All Ukraine
Montreal/Lachine	24.9	39.2	64.3	31.6	61.9	24.9	42.6	40.0	40.4
Toronto	10.9	19.2	11.9	13.0	5.6	22.8	20.1	12.0	17.3
Hamilton	14.5	10.0	-	12.2	3.7	13.8	5.9	7.3	7.9
Timmins	7.1	0.8	-	5.0	-	2.6	0.7	2.2	1.4
Sudbury	2.4	-	2.4	1.8	1.4	2.1	1.8	1.1	1.7
Parry Sound	2.7	-	-	1.8	-	4.6	0.6	0.4	1.5
Sarnia	0.6	-	-	0.4	-	0.5	3.3	1.1	1.7
Windsor	0.3	-	-	0.2	17.7	-	1.2	1.1	3.2
Winnipeg	3.3	1.7	4.8	3.0	0.5	5.1	1.6	8.4	3.5
Le Pas	1.8	-	-	1.2	-	2.6	0.3	4.7	1.6
Fermie/Michel	8.0	1.7	-	5.8	-	-	0.1	-	0.1

N = 2,053

*Percentages do not add up to 100 due to rounding

Source: Li-Ra-Ma Sample

workforce in 1911.⁶¹ Some Belarusans and eastern Ukrainians also lived on the Alberta side of the Pass (in the mining towns of Coleman and Hillcrest). Northern Ontario was another region in which Belarusans showed a larger presence, both in relative and absolute numbers, than did natives of eastern Ukraine. Here, as in the Crow's Nest Pass, they worked mostly as miners in the South Porcupine and Sudbury districts. Timmins – the gold-mining capital of Canada – had a particularly large population of Belarusans disguised in contemporary and later records as “Russians”. At the same time, relatively few Belarusans appear to have gone to the mining districts of Nova Scotia.

As the figures above demonstrate, Ukrainians were somewhat more likely than Belarusans to gravitate towards urban areas. Although Montreal and Toronto had the largest communities of immigrants of both nationalities, residents of the two cities constituted a smaller proportion among Belarusans than they did among Ukrainians.⁶² Ontario attracted roughly similar proportions of Belarusans and Ukrainians, but the former, as previously mentioned, went mainly to the Timmins-Sudbury area, while the latter displayed a greater proclivity to settle in the Great Lakes region. Windsor, Brantford, St. Catharines, London, Galt and other small industrial cities each had from several dozen to several hundred workers from Russia. Apart from Toronto, the largest recipient of Russian-born workers in the area was Hamilton, which, according to a contemporary report, in 1917 boasted a population of about 1,500 “Russians”.⁶³ Hamilton

⁶¹ Allen Seager, “Socialists and Workers: The Western Canadian Coal Miners, 1900-21”, *Labour/Le travail* 16 (Fall 1985): 56.

⁶² For a more detailed discussion of patterns of immigrant settlement in Montreal see Chapter 5.

⁶³ United Church Archives, Victoria University, fonds 123 (Presbyterian Church of Canada Board of Home Missions and Social Service), series 2, box 2, file 19, “Report on the Foreign Problem in Hamilton”, 18 February 1914.

was also the only city in southwestern Ontario that attracted proportionally more Belarusians than Ukrainians. The construction of the new Welland Canal, which began in 1913, and the growth of munitions industry in the Great Lakes region after 1914 opened up vast employment opportunities for immigrant workers from all across Europe. The influx of immigrant labour to the so-called “border cities” (the municipalities of Windsor, Walkerville, Sandwich and Ford City) was given a great impetus when a Ford Motor plant was built there in 1904. According to one source, in 1915 the “Russian” population of Ford City, which consisted largely of Ukrainians from Bessarabia, amounted to a thousand.⁶⁴ Many other small cities in southwestern Ontario were also organized around one dominant industry, which employed the majority of the local immigrant workforce. Thus, during the war, nearly all Russian-born immigrants in Parry Sound worked for the Nobel Chemical Company, which produced explosives for the Allied armies.⁶⁵

Scaling down the level of analysis to the province of origin, we can see that significant differences in the choice of destinations existed not only *between* Ukrainians and Belarusians, but also *within* each of the two groups. A good example of this is the different proportion of “frontiersmen” among Belarusians from Grodno, Minsk and Vil’na. Most Belarusians who toiled as gold, copper or coal miners in northern Ontario and in the Crow’s Nest Pass came from the district of Pruzhany in Grodno Province. By contrast, natives of Minsk and Vil’na provinces showed a stronger preference for an

⁶⁴ *Novyi mir*, 18 October 1915. The statement made by Grigorii Okulevich, who claimed that Windsor was the location of Canada’s largest “Russian colony” in the early 1900s, does not appear to be correct, however: both Montreal and Toronto seem to have had larger populations of Russian-born immigrants. See Okulevich, *Russkie v Kanade*, p. 29.

⁶⁵ *Novyi mir*, 29 April 1918.

urban environment, heading mostly to Montreal or Toronto. Similar variations in residential preferences can be observed among Ukrainians. Natives of Bessarabia exhibited a particularly interesting pattern of territorial distribution. Over three quarters of all Li-Ra-Ma migrants who listed Bessarabia as their province of origin lived in just two Canadian localities – Montreal and Ford City and almost none of them were found west of the Manitoba-Ontario border. They were also three times more likely than the rest of the Ukrainians to settle in Nova Scotia.⁶⁶ By contrast, as Table 4 shows, immigrants from Kiev and Volhynia chose Prairie destinations much more frequently, with those from Podolia falling in between. In contrast to Belarusians, there appears to be no single area of major concentration of eastern Ukrainian workers in the West. Although some did go to the Crow's Nest Pass, the majority were scattered among the small rural communities and logging and railway construction camps of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, with perhaps one or two thousands living in Winnipeg, Calgary and other Prairie cities. An especially large proportion reported living in the Battleford district in west-central Saskatchewan, which seems to have emerged as a popular Prairie destination for Russian-born immigrants of various nationalities and religions. Along with Orthodox and Baptist farmers and workers from eastern Ukraine, it also had a large Doukhobor colony and several Russian-German settlements.

⁶⁶ On Ukrainians in Nova Scotia, see John Huk, *Strangers in the Land: The Ukrainian Presence in Cape Breton* [n.p, n.d.]. Huk's account confirms the significant presence of Bessarabians in the local Ukrainian population. See also Okulevich, *Russkie v Kanade*, p. 36-39.

The Demographic and Social Characteristics of the Emigrants

The demography of Eastern Ukrainian and Belarusian immigrants in Canada, as it emerges from the Li-Ra-Ma records, presents a picture that can in most aspects be considered typical of the early phase of labour migration as it shaped up elsewhere in Eastern and Southern Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The overwhelming majority of these cash-seekers were young or middle-aged men, who left their villages with an intention to return after a working sojourn in “America”. By the time of departure, 76.9 percent of them had fulfilled their military duty – a fact that contradicts the widespread stereotype that escaping conscription was a common motive for emigration from tsarist Russia. Although men in their twenties and early thirties were the most likely to leave, the migrant stream included men of all ages – from barefaced lads in their late teens to mature heads of families well into their forties or, occasionally, even fifties, some of whom already had married children. Using a five-year age group format, Table 6 shows the distribution of the Li-Ra-Ma migrants by age and region at the moment when they left their homes. From these statistics we can see that men under the age of 20 made up a greater proportion of the arrivals among the Belarusians than they did among the Ukrainians. Prior to emigration the majority of them probably still lived with their parents, who sent them to “America” to earn money for the family. This proposition fits well with the 1897 Russian census data, which show that peasant men in Belarus tended to marry (and hence separate economically from their parents) at a somewhat later age than their Ukrainian counterparts, as well as with the findings of Belarusian

historians, who have pointed to the larger size of peasant families in Belarus compared to other regions of the empire.⁶⁷

The higher percentage of married emigrants among the Ukrainians (64.8 percent compared to 58.1 among the Belarusians) can also be seen as a corollary of the above-mentioned differences in the structure of the peasant family in Belarus and Ukraine.

However, in all the provinces, with the exception of Vil'na, the proportion of married

Table 6. Age of the Immigrants at the Time of Arrival in Canada (percent)

Age group	Percentage of the total number of arrivals	
	Ukraine	Belarus
Under 20	18.7	21.0
20-24	23.2	23.1
25-29	21.6	25.6
30-34	14.9	12.1
35-39	10.4	8.7
40 and over	8.7	9.0

N = 1674

Source: *Li-Ra-Ma Sample*

*These figures do not include individuals who came to Canada after 1914.

persons among male emigrants was higher – sometimes by a fair margin – than it was in the male rural population in general.⁶⁸ The greater propensity of married men to emigrate,

⁶⁷ See, for example, V. P. Paniutich, *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie belorusskoi derevni v 1861-1900 gg.* (Minsk: Navuka i tekhnika, 1990), p. 85.

⁶⁸ Within each province, the 1897 census presents data on age and marital status of the population by district. Within each district, figures for cities (*goroda*) and the rest of the district territory are given separately. It is the latter data that are used in the table. Unfortunately, the census does not tabulate age and marital status by ethnic group or by social estate (*soslovie*). This, however, should not seriously affect the validity of these data for the purposes of our analysis, for a) the only numerically significant minority group in most of the Ukrainian and Belarusian countryside were the Jews, who generally married at the same or earlier age than the Slavic peasants and b)

leaving their families behind, has also been observed as characteristic of the early phases of labour emigration in other parts of Eastern Central Europe. Many young men went to “America” shortly after contracting a marriage (which was usually done in one’s early or mid-twenties), obviously in hopes of coming back with money and giving a head start to their families by buying some livestock, adding a few acres of land to the family plot or building a new house.

Table 7. Marital Status of Li-Ra-Ma Migrants Compared with Marital Status of General Population in Provinces of Origin (Men 20-29 Years of Age Only)

Province	Li-Ra-Ma Migrants, %		General Population outside Cities, %	
	Married	Single	Married	Single
Bessarabia (Khotin District)	70.0	30.0	58.7	40.6
Grodno	61.2	38.8	45.1	54.5
Kiev	65.7	34.3	59.2	40.3
Minsk	56.3	43.8	53.2	46.3
Podolia	57.9	42.1	54.8	44.5
Vil’na	30.8	69.2	32.5	67.2
Volhynia	57.1	42.9	62.6	36.7
Average	57.0	43.0	52.3	47.2

N = 734

Sources: Column 1, *Li-Ra-Ma Sample*; Column 2, *1897 census*, Table V, “Distribution of Population by Marital Status and Age Group”, vol. III (Bessarabia), p. 31; vol. IV (Vil’na), part 3, p. 12; vol. VIII (Volhynia), p. 28; vol. XI (Grodno), p. 32; vol. XVI (Kiev), p. 28; vol. XXII (Minsk), p. 30; vol. XXXII (Podolia), p. 32.

Approximately 22 percent of the married emigrants went to Canada prior to the birth of their first child. Among the rest, men with one or two children predominated (33 and 29

the proportion of social estates other than peasants (*krestiane*) and townsmen (*meshchane*) in the non-urban population was very small.

percent respectively). Emigrants in their late thirties and over usually had more children, but rarely more than five. The relationship between the size of the family and the likelihood of emigration of one or more of its members was certainly an ambivalent one: on the one hand, a larger number of young children prompted the head of the family to seek additional income; on the other, it made the accumulation of financial resources needed for emigration more difficult, particularly under the conditions of hereditary land tenure, which precluded periodic repartitions of land according to the size of individual families.⁶⁹

While the majority of the migrants declared themselves married, few brought their families to Canada – a fact that highlights the temporary character of much of the emigration movement from Ukraine and Belarus. In 1917-18, when most files in the sample were created, only about 8 percent of the married migrants had resident families in Canada. The proportion of these individuals was higher among Belarusians than among Ukrainians (9.8 and 7.3 percent respectively) and significantly higher among the early arrivals of both nationalities, although we do not know whether the wives came to Canada with their husbands or joined them later (or whether, in fact, the marriage occurred in Canada).⁷⁰ Thus, among those who immigrated in 1907 persons with families constituted over 42 percent, while among those who came in 1913 they made up 2.9, and among those who arrived in 1914 – a minute 1.5 percent. The proportion of family

⁶⁹ Chapter 3 discusses peasant land tenure in Ukraine and Belarus in more detail.

⁷⁰ In the majority of cases it is impossible to establish from the available data whether one's family was brought from home or was created as a result of a Canadian marriage. Some files hold a special (shorter) form of affidavit that does contain information on the place of one's marriage, but the number of such files is too small (a few dozen) to allow any meaningful statistical operations.

migration also exhibited significant variations by province. Among immigrants from Vil'na it reached 20 percent (which, of course, is closely related to the status of Vil'na as one of the early migrant donors), while Kiev Province with a mere 4.5 percent was at the other end of the scale.

The nature of the available records, unfortunately, does not allow us to establish the precise ratio of females among emigrants from eastern Ukraine and Belarus. According to Canadian immigration statistics, which classified immigrants by racial origin and sex, among "Russians" who came to Canada between 1904 and 1914 women constituted 15.5 percent of the total.⁷¹ The ratio of women showed a tendency towards decrease in the last years prior to World War I, as the small and predominantly settlement migration of the early 1900s (which, in addition, contained a large non-Slavic element) was being replaced by the growing influx of temporary labour migrants of Belarusan and Ukrainian origin. A similar picture of significant gender imbalance emerges from Canadian census records. According to the 1911 census, in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec – the preferred destinations of Slavic labour immigrants from Russia – females made up, respectively, 15.8 and 28.2 percent of all persons of "Russian" origin.⁷² It should be noted that, unlike immigration statistics cited above, these figures also include Canadian-born children of the immigrants. The higher ratio of females in Quebec doubtless reflects the position of Montreal as the oldest destination of Slavic labour migrants from Russia and the location of the most stable (or, better to say, the least transient) "Russian colony".

⁷¹ Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, *Canada. House of Commons. Sessional Papers*, paper no. 25, 1906-1915. Children are not included.

⁷² *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911*, vol. 2, Table XII, "Origins of the People, male and female, by provinces", p. 368-369.

Even these figures, however, may be too high, for the category of “Russians”, as mentioned before, also includes a large number of persons of other nationalities, some of which had a much higher ratio of female immigrants. The marriage books of the SS Peter and Paul Russian Orthodox Church in Montreal reveal that the lack of marriageable women from Russia led many young Belarusans and eastern Ukrainians to marry Orthodox girls from Bukovina or Galicia. Only 23.6 percent of eighty-five Russian-born men, who married in the parish between 1917 and 1921, were able to find a bride from their country.⁷³ In short, to use Robert Harney’s phrase, the great majority of Ukrainian and Belarusan labourers in Canada were, like their Italian co-workers, “men without women”, the archetypal migrant sojourners separated from their female kin – as most hoped, only temporarily.⁷⁴ The ties – emotional and business – with those left behind were maintained through letters, photos and money orders, which did not cease to flow across the Atlantic even in the worst months of the First World War.

The level of *literacy* among Eastern and Southern Europeans who were arriving in Canada in the early twentieth century has been an intriguing but difficult subject for historians to study, for few literacy statistics have survived (or were kept) on either side of the ocean. Literacy was not a formal requirement for admission into Canada, nor was it checked or recorded by immigration inspectors at the port of arrival until after World War I. Data available from the Li-Ra-Ma Collection, in conjunction with the 1897 census returns, allow us not only to gauge the level of literacy among the emigrants from eastern

⁷³ Archives of the SS Peter and Paul Orthodox Church in Montreal, Marriage Records, 1917-1921.

⁷⁴ Robert F. Harney, “Men Without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada, 1885-1930”, *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 1979 11 (1): 29-47.

Ukraine and Belarus but also to compare it with the literacy of the general peasant population in the main provinces of origin.

Emigrants' literacy at the moment of their departure from the homeland can be assessed from Russian travel documents, which are present in 671 cases constituting the "Passport File". On receipt of their external or internal passport, literate persons were required to sign it. If an individual could not sign his name, he was deemed illiterate, and a note of this was made in the passport. Thus, literacy was understood by the passport-issuing authorities as the ability to both read and write – at the very least, to write one's own name. From the figures in the left column of Table 8, based on the Passport File data, we can see that emigrating men displayed a significantly higher level of literacy than the general male population of similar age in the main donor provinces.⁷⁵ It is hardly surprising that the emigration movement recruited the more educated and more astute among the peasantry. Not only did literate men have access to more sources of information about the world beyond the pale of the village and become more inclined to venture into the unknown but the ability to read and write (if only in the language of their home country) also gave literate emigrants a great advantage over their illiterate

⁷⁵ The reader should be aware that in the 1897 census, as opposed to emigrants' passports, literacy meant the ability to read but not write. Had writing ability been taken as the criterion of literacy, the census figures would have certainly been even lower, as reading is normally learned prior to writing. Conversely, if the emigrants' literacy had been assessed on the basis of their reading ability, we would likely have a higher percentage of literates. In either case, there would have been an even larger gap between the emigrants and the general population. (That said, one wonders how many Li-Ra-Ma migrants there were, whose writing skills might not go beyond the ability to scribble their name.) At the same time, however, it would be fair to assume that in the decade between the 1897 census and the beginning of mass peasant emigration the general level of literacy in the younger age groups of peasant population had increased due to Russia's improving educational system and more positive peasant attitudes towards education. Although it almost certainly would not have grown so significantly as to approach the level of literacy exhibited by the emigrants, the difference between the latter and the general population in the early 1910s may have been smaller than one that emerges from the 1897 data.

comrades by increasing the range of their opportunities and making them less vulnerable to swindling and abuse. Literacy assumed even more importance when emigration from a country was still in its early stages (as it was in our case), with few community support networks being available to the emigrant pioneers in the country of destination.

Already higher than average, the level of the emigrants' literacy increased further after several years spent in Canada. The need to function in a foreign environment, to perform previously unfamiliar tasks such as signing a job contract or payroll, depositing money into the bank, sending money orders, and last but not least, reading and responding to letters from home created pressure for at least an elementary level of literacy which had not been felt with the same urgency in the old country. Living for months in a company bunkhouse next to more educated compatriots provided a good opportunity to master at least the basics of reading and writing. Some probably attended Sunday courses organized by Frontier College or by various religious missions proselytizing among foreign workers, although the migrants' itinerant way of life was hardly conducive to that kind of learning. The vast correspondence between the emigrants and Russian consuls also contains evidence that some of the former illiterates learned to write during their Canadian sojourn. Thus, in his August 1918 letter to the consul general in Montreal, Adam Shpiruk from Rakov Les, Volhynia, apologized for his poor grammar, "because [it is only] here [that] I have learned a little writing".⁷⁶ Data in the second column of Table 8 represent the percentage of individuals who were able to sign their questionnaires or affidavits with their full name (the illiterates either put a cross

⁷⁶ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 78, file 8449 (Potap Panasiuk file), Adam Shpiruk to the consul, 18 August 1918. A curious illustration of the progressing adaptation of the migrants to Canadian

mark or were identified as such by the person who filled out the form on their behalf). As the figures demonstrate, the increase in literacy was significantly higher among Belarusan emigrants (among the natives of Minsk Province it shot up by 25.2 percent) than it was among Ukrainians – a fact that defies an easy explanation. Perhaps it was due in part to the somewhat earlier beginnings of Belarusan emigration and hence the greater number of years spent by the average individual in Canada; however, we should also not discount the possibility of statistical error (particularly as a result of the low representation of Minsk natives in the Passport File).

The *ethnic composition* of the emigrants reflected in its main features that of the territories of their origin. The analysis of personal names (in conjunction with other “objective” ethnic indicators) shows that Ukrainians and Belarusans constituted the overwhelming majority among the emigrants from Ukraine and Belarus, respectively. The largest single minority group in both parts of the empire were the Poles, who tended to have a larger proportion of town residents and skilled tradesmen than either Ukrainians or Belarusans (just as they did in the general population). The few individuals of noble background found in the sample too were of recognizably Polish origin. Lithuanians, who constituted the second largest minority group among the emigrants from Belarus, all hailed from the north-western districts of Vil’na Province (Troki, Svetsiany and Vil’na), where they made up the bulk of the population.

Significantly, ethnic self-identification of many emigrants (which we have a rare opportunity to study courtesy of Russian Foreign Service officials who devised the questionnaires) was different from the picture obtained through using the “objective”

ways is the peculiar style in which they wrote their names, with Latin and Cyrillic characters used interchangeably without any uniform pattern.

*Table 8. Comparative Literacy of Li-Ra-Ma Emigrants and Male Peasant Population in Major Provinces of Origin**

Province	Passport File Data	Li-Ra-Ma Sample Data	1897 census figures (10-19 and 20-29 age groups)
Grodno (N=220)	54.1	71.2	53.2**
Kiev (N=181)	59.1	71.3	36.2
Minsk (N=42)	50.0	75.2	28.3
Podolia (N=102)	58.8	67.1	33.1
Volhynia (N=62)	54.8	65.9	32.1
Average	55.4 N = 607	70.1 N = 1,912	36.6

Sources: Column 1, *Passport File*, Li-Ra-Ma Collection; Column 2, *Li-Ra-Ma Sample*; Column 3, *1897 census*, Table IX, "Distribution of Population by Literacy, Education, Social Estate and Age Groups", vol. VIII (Volhynia), p. 54; vol. XI (Grodno), p. 60-61; vol. XVI (Kiev), p. 54; vol. XXII (Minsk), p. 54; vol. XXXII (Podolia), p. 60.

*Other provinces of origin are represented in the Passport File and/or Li-Ra-Ma Sample by too few cases to provide a reasonable level of statistical significance.

**The unusually high literacy figure for the peasant population of Grodno is likely to be due to the high proportion of Poles, who (like Roman Catholics in general) tended to have higher average literacy than Belarusians, particularly if the latter were of the Orthodox faith. According to my crude estimates, the literacy rate among Grodno's Belarusian population between the ages of 10 and 29 was unlikely to exceed 30 percent.

criteria of ethnicity. Asked to indicate (next to citizenship) their nationality (*natsional'nost'*), 75 percent, including even a few individuals with distinctly Polish names, identified themselves – or were recorded by clerks – as "Russians".⁷⁷ The high proportion of those reporting themselves as Russians illustrates the persistence of the official concept of the single "Russian nation" in the peasant mind even after the demise of the tsarist monarchy in February 1917 and the concomitant rise of national

⁷⁷ In the Russian language, then as now, *nationality* always denotes belonging to an ethnic group rather than to a nation as a political entity. The category of nationality was not used in the 1897 census; instead, respondents were asked to indicate their mother tongue.

movements. It should be noted that most Ukrainians and Belarusans from the Romanov empire (as well as some assimilated individuals of other origin) arrived in North America with a more or less well articulated sense of “pan-Russian” identity, superimposed on whatever other identities they might have. 11.6 percent of the emigrants were recorded as “Little Russians” (*malorossy*), 4.1 as “White Russians” (*belorusy*), 2.7 as Poles and 0.5 as Lithuanians. Only 8 individuals considered themselves to be “Ukrainians” (0.8 percent of the sample). The others apparently did not understand the concept of “nationality”, which had little relevance to the life-worlds of East European peasantry, and interpreted it in more familiar religious terms, reporting themselves as “Christian” (*khristianskaia*), “Orthodox” or “Catholic”. A few replied that they were “peasants”.⁷⁸

While in some cases identifying oneself as a “Little Russian” or “White Russian” (as opposed to simply “Russian”) might indicate a somewhat higher degree of ethnic self-awareness, more often it was probably an illustration of multiple identities, which, as Paul Magocsi has pointed out, were common to Dnieper Ukrainians, who usually considered themselves both “Russians” and “Little Russians”, or else as “Russians from Little Russia (*russkie iz Malorossii*)” – notions which were not arranged in a rigid order of preference and the usage of which depended on the situational context.⁷⁹ The same type of self-identification was undoubtedly also true for Belarusans, whose national consciousness was, if anything, lower than that of the Ukrainians.

⁷⁸ It is also probable that some confused two etymologically related Russian words, pronounced in a similar way: *khristianskaia* (Christian) and *krest'ianskaia* (peasant).

⁷⁹ Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p. 355.

Religious boundaries in eastern Ukraine and Belarus were largely drawn along the lines of ethnicity, yet there was some overlapping, particularly in Belarus. From Table 9 we can see the definite predominance of the adherents of Russian Orthodoxy among the migrants. Almost all Roman Catholics that came from the Ukrainian provinces were ethnic Poles, with Ukrainians being overwhelmingly Orthodox.⁸⁰ The higher proportion

Table 9. Religious Affiliations of the Li-Ra-Ma Migrants (percent)

Denomination	Region		Total
	Belarus	Ukraine	
Russian Orthodox: within denomination within region	24.9 87.3	75.1 90.8	100 89.9
Roman Catholic: within denomination within region	37.8 9.5	62.2 5.4	100 6.4
Other: * within denomination within region	22.5 3.2	77.5 3.8	100 3.7

N = 2435

*Includes various Protestant denominations, Old Believers and those who defined themselves simply as "Christian".

Source: *Li-Ra-Ma Sample*

of Catholics among those who arrived from Belarus reflected the greater ethno-religious heterogeneity of this part of the empire, where Catholicism was practised not only by Poles, but also by Lithuanians and a significant minority of Belarusians living in Vil'na

⁸⁰ There are a few cases of persons indicating their faith as *greko-katolicheskaia* (Greek Catholic), but most probably these were misnomers due to the confusing terminology used by the Russian Orthodox Church, whose official name was the "Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church" (*katholikos*, of course, meaning "universal" in Greek).

and in some parts of Grodno Province.⁸¹ Not surprisingly, among migrants from Vil'na Catholics made up over 50 percent, while among the natives of Minsk – only 7 percent (of whom virtually all were Poles).

The analysis of the *social and occupational structure* of the migrant population presents some difficulty. What we know for certain is that the vast majority of the emigrants came from the peasant class and belonged to the peasant estate (*krest'ianskoe soslovie*). Even those who reported themselves as “townsmen” (*meshchane*) – the category that included lower-class town and city dwellers – often reported agriculture as their occupation, which does not come as a surprise given the rural character of the vast majority of Ukrainian and Belarusian towns (*mestechki*). There were virtually no emigrants who hailed from large cities or belonged to the class of industrial workers (apart from seasonal work). Exceptions occurred, to be sure – for instance, Iosif Pyl' from the town of Dobuchin in Grodno Province or Iosif Rabizo from Vil'na (who would become one of the leaders of Russian socialist organizations in Montreal) – worked as mechanics in Moscow and Petrograd prior to their arrival in Canada.⁸² An examination of police registration stamps in the internal passports shows that prior to emigration a small number of peasants had experience working in railroad construction in European Russia or the Far East or as metal workers and miners in the factories of Ekaterinoslav, Odessa and Donetsk, while others had ventured to Riga and Poland. But even they were far from crossing the line that separated a seasonal peasant-worker, still essentially embedded within the rural mode of life, from an urban proletarian.

⁸¹ As previously mentioned, distinguishing between Poles, Belarusians and Lithuanians is often difficult.

⁸² Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 45, file 2931; vol. 92, file 10650.

Just what segments of the rural population were the principal sources of the emigration movement is a question difficult to answer on the basis of the available evidence. Unfortunately, no systematic data on the economic standing of the families of individual emigrants (such as the amount of immovable property or livestock owned) are available. From the evidence scattered through the voluminous correspondence between the emigrants and the Russian consuls and through the family letters to the emigrants it appears that, as elsewhere on the continent, the majority of those who emigrated were drawn from the middle or lower-middle strata of the peasantry – families owning a house with a back garden, several desyatin of land, one or two horses (or oxen, which were widely used in Podolia and Bessarabia), but still operating within the boundaries of subsistence rather than profit economy. An examination of one-year internal passports and those of the long-term passports which have information on their holders' "type of occupation" (*rod zaniatii*) in Russia (366 cases in total) showed that 62.3 percent of the migrants were recorded as engaged in "agriculture" (*khlebopashestvo* or *zemledelie*), 30.9 percent were "general labourers" (*chernorabochie*), 4.8 percent – artisans of various kind, and 1.1 percent were employed in "service".⁸³ There were also one teacher and two musicians. Behind these median figures, however, are hidden significant regional differences in the proportions of "agriculturalists" and "general labourers". While only 44.1 percent of the emigrants from Ukraine were recorded as "agriculturalists", among those from Belarus they made up 80.6 percent, with "general labourers" constituting 45.7 and 16.1 percent respectively.

⁸³ The word *chernorabochii* literally means "black worker" (from *chernaia rabota* – "black work"). It was used to describe any kind of labour (agricultural or industrial) that did not require special skill or training.

While the lower percentage of agriculturalists and the higher proportion of labourers among Ukrainian emigrants may have in part reflected the reality of greater social differentiation within the Ukrainian peasantry and the existence of a larger class of agricultural labourers than in Belarus, one should interpret the above statistics with caution. With wage work being a normal part of life in both Ukrainian and Belarusian villages, the lines between these categories of peasants were generally less than clear-cut. It is therefore possible that, depending on the judgment of the parish clerk or on the self-identification of the passport applicant, peasants of roughly the same economic standing were in some cases classified as “labourers” and in others as “agriculturalists”. Thus there is good reason to believe that some “agriculturalists” were also, at least partially, “labourers” in that they were probably engaged in hired labour (in or outside the village) at some time or other along with running their own farm. Conversely, many “labourers” might as well be termed “agriculturalists”, for they probably still cultivated a small piece of land, whatever other sources of income they might have. The lines between the rural artisans and the rest of the peasant population were drawn somewhat more precisely. Even though many of them were also more likely than not to own some land, the skilled, and reasonably well rewarded, nature of their work placed them in a category of their own and allowed them (if not in all cases) to live off their craft.

Contemporary reports from areas of heavy emigration in the Right-Bank Ukraine confirm the significant representation of artisans and tradesmen among the emigrants. “It is mostly artisans that are emigrating: carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers,” wrote a *Rada* correspondent from Chemerovtsy in Kamenets District in April 1913.⁸⁴ The village of

⁸⁴ *Rada*, 2 April 1913; 16 May 1908.

Kniazhpol' in Proskurov District lost so many of its artisans to emigration that those in need of their services had to travel to neighbouring villages.⁸⁵ Artisans were not only prominent members of the emigrant contingent but, generally being more mobile than most of their co-villagers, were also likely to leave among the first – a phenomenon observed in other parts of Eastern Europe as well.⁸⁶ Although the absolute numbers of emigrating artisans were always small, they were significantly overrepresented among the early arrivals. After 1910, as emigration expanded both horizontally and vertically, their proportion in the emigrant stream declined.

The overwhelmingly peasant character of labour emigration from the western rim of the Romanov empire could not be altered by the presence of a very small number of lower gentry (*dvorianstvo*) among the emigrants. The Li-Ra-Ma records show that these petty nobles were predominantly of Polish origin, many of them as ill educated and probably as impoverished as the majority of their fellow peasant emigrants. Having little to lose at home, they were ready recruits for any adventure, including emigration, that could wrench them from poverty. Thus, Anton Zalesskii, a nobleman from Pruzhany District, whose brother worked on the railways in Siberia, came to Vancouver in 1914. Lukian Rakhalskii immigrated to Montreal in 1913 from the town of Bershad' in Podolia, having crossed the border illegally like many of his peasant counterparts. Iosif Surent worked in Canada as a carpenter after leaving his native city of Vil'na in 1911.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ *Podolianin*, 8 May 1913.

⁸⁶ See John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), p. 56; Julianna Puskás, *From Hungary to the United States (1880-1914)* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), p. 35.

⁸⁷ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 52, file 4008 (Rakhal'skii); vol. 104, file 12369 (Surent); vol. 121, file 15331 (Zalesskii).

One of the most salient features of eastern Ukrainian and Belarusian emigration to Canada, which would also have important ramifications for the further development of these migrant communities, was the all but complete absence of an educated or professional class among the emigrants. In this it was different from emigration from Galician Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia or Italy, which included a thin, but visible stream of schoolteachers, priests and other middle-class ethnic intelligentsia, who soon became, along with the rising class of ethnic entrepreneurs, the leaders of their immigrant communities and chief promoters of national consciousness among their fellow countrymen. The explanation of this difference lies in the peculiarities of the ethno-social structure of the Russian Empire, in which Ukrainians and Belarusians were “peasant nations”, both considered part of the triune “Russian nation” and thus devoid of even such limited political, cultural or religious self-expression as Poles, Finns, Germans or even Jews were grudgingly allowed to have.⁸⁸ Resulting from this was not only a low sense of national consciousness among the masses of the empire’s Ukrainians and Belarusians but also the nearly absolute lack of an ethnic elite (commercial, intellectual or religious) capable of providing leadership in the process of national consolidation either at home or in the emigrant diaspora. Several dozen members of the Russian Orthodox clergy, who were present in Canada by 1917, were (with two or three exceptions) poor candidates for the role of ethnic community leaders, for the Russian Orthodox Church served as a mainstay of the monarchy and one of the chief promoters of the official version of Russian nationalism. Revolutionaries and socialists from Russia who had

⁸⁸ See on this: Andreas Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2001), chap. 7 and 8 passim.

found refuge in Canada were mostly ethnic Russians or Jews. The few individuals of Ukrainian or Belarusian origin among them usually identified with Russia at large rather than with Ukraine or Belarus and, like their comrades in the homeland, showed little interest in taking up the cause of national consolidation.

* * *

Although Russia's western frontier became one of the last areas of Eastern Europe to become drawn into the Atlantic economy, in the years before 1914 it quickly became an important reservoir of unskilled labour for Canadian industries. Hundreds of villages in the Right-Bank Ukraine and western Belarus were affected by emigration, and some developed intensive migration chains leading to various Canadian destinations. The Dnieper River emerged as the geographical divide between what Dirk Hoerder calls "Atlantic" (westward-oriented) and "Russo-Siberian" (east- and southward-oriented) migration systems, although limited migration from areas further east did occur.⁸⁹ By 1914, many Canadian cities and smaller industrial towns had sizable concentrations of Ukrainian and Belarusian labourers from tsarist Russia. While eastern Canada was the primary destination of the migrants, many also went to work camps and mining settlements in central and northern Manitoba, western Alberta, eastern British Columbia or Nova Scotia. The selection of destinations by the Ukrainian and Belarusian migrants reflected the spatial configuration of migration networks in each of the empire's regions that linked specific donor localities in Russia to particular receiving places in Canada.

The migrant population was by no means a random sample of the society in the places of origin. The examination of the socio-demographic structure of the migrant

⁸⁹ Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 306.

stream highlights the significance of age, literacy, marital status and family size in the process of migrant selection. Although the social and demographic profiles of the migrants show some variation depending on the area of origin, most Ukrainians and Belarusians that set out on a transatlantic voyage were young married men, usually with no more than one or two children. Women, either as individual migrants or the men's wives, constituted only a small fraction of the migrant flow. Drawn primarily from the ranks of small landholders and agricultural labourers, most of the men who left their villages in pursuit of the dollar used temporary migration as an economic strategy that could allow them to avoid slippage into the inferior category of landless rural proletarians. Fulfilling their goal of building the family nest egg, however, would turn out to be a more challenging undertaking than most had expected.

CHAPTER 3

ECONOMY, SOCIETY, AND POPULATION MOBILITY ON RUSSIA'S WESTERN FRONTIER

All peasant migrations in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe had their roots in the economic and class structures of the donor societies. In each region, the local sets of social relationships, associated with the dominant economic systems, produced peasant responses specific to that particular area. Geographic factors such as the proximity of ocean ports, major transportation junctions or large industrial centres, which served as safety valves for excess rural labour, could each have an impact on migration processes, lending them a distinctive regional configuration.

Historians have long argued that, similar to other forms of population mobility, transoceanic emigration from East-Central and Southern Europe developed in areas sharing particular socio-economic characteristics.¹ Rural overpopulation and the resulting scarcity of natural resources available to the peasantry have been universally linked to emigration, as have the structures of landholding in the sending areas. Josef Barton argued, for instance, that emigration was heaviest in regions with widely distributed property and less pronounced gradations in income and social status, and minimal in areas characterized by sharp class cleavages and the existence of large

¹ Due to the immensity of literature dealing with the "push factors" of labour emigration from continental Europe, it is impossible to mention even a fraction of these works here. For two examples of studies that deal with these issues in the most convincing and detailed way, see Julianna Puskás, *From Hungary to the United States (1880-1914)* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), p. 45-63; and Ewa Morawska, *For Bread and Butter: Life-Worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890-1914* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), chapter 1. A good summary of scholarly arguments related to the causes of European labour emigration is given in John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), chapter 1.

manors.² Low urbanization and the scarcity of industrial employment in the donor areas are also commonly considered factors that facilitated emigration. On a more general level, the growth of overseas migration from Eastern and Southern Europe has been associated with the modernizing effects of capitalism and the market economy that began to change traditional modes of life and work in these parts of the continent. According to John Bodnar's oft-cited remark, late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century labour emigrants were the "children of capitalism".³

To see whether this interpretive framework holds true for eastern Ukraine and Belarus, we need to examine the demographic, social and economic structures that existed on Imperial Russia's western frontier by the turn of the twentieth century. Such examination is all the more necessary because economy and society in the two regions have very rarely been studied from the standpoint of a migration historian. Our main purpose in this chapter is to establish the relationship between social change in Russian Ukraine and Belarus and the extent of geographic mobility exhibited by the rural population. An analysis of this relationship will bring us closer to an understanding of the "push" factors that triggered various local types of peasant migrations, whose scope by 1910 had extended to include North and South America.

The early twentieth-century Russian Empire was a country in transition. Still deeply rooted in tradition, it was profoundly affected by social and economic changes brought about by capitalism and modernization – two concurrent forces that increasingly shaped

² Josef Barton, *Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians, and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 32-34.

³ Bodnar, *The Transplanted*, p. 1.

its evolution since the abolition of serfdom and other “Great Reforms” of the 1860-70s. Shaken by the humiliating defeat in the war against Japan and the ensuing revolutionary upheaval of 1905, Russia seemed to have regained the lost momentum and enjoyed the world’s fastest rate of industrial growth by 1913. Industrial modernization was complemented by large-scale agrarian reforms initiated by Prime Minister Petr Stolypin in 1906 with the goal of eliminating the remnants of the feudal order in the Russian village and making it part of the capitalist market economy. In the political realm, the liberalization of the political regime following the 1905 revolution, including the establishment of a consultative parliament (*Duma*), represented a step towards constitutional monarchy and narrowed the gap between autocratic Russia and the bourgeois democracies of Western Europe.⁴

One of the most distinctive features of Russia’s modernization, which has repeatedly drawn the attention of historians, was its uneven and sporadic character. Pockets of industrialization, urbanization and technological advancement coexisted with the most backward forms of social and economic organization. As historical sociologist Theodor Shanin put it, “Russia was not quite Europe and yet Europe it was, a ballast for and a shadow over the brisk business and rational liberalism of the nineteenth-century West”.⁵ On the eve of the First World War, the Russian Empire was still an overwhelmingly rural country. Out of its 128 million inhabitants recorded by the Russian general census of 1897, more than 100 million (78 percent) were peasants. Only 13

⁴ See, for example, Hans Rogger, *Russia in the Age of Modernization and Revolution, 1881-1917* (London; New York: Longman, 1983). The best recent social history of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Imperial Russia is Boris Mironov (with Ben Eklof), *A Social History of Imperial Russia, 1700-1917*. 2 vols. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1999-2000).

⁵ Teodor Shanin, *The Awkward Class: Political Sociology of Peasantry in a Developing Society: Russia 1910-1925* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 9.

percent of the population lived in towns, and many of these, despite their official designation as towns (*goroda*), were, in fact, large villages. According to the census data, approximately 75 percent of the empire's population was employed in agriculture, and even the majority of industrial workers were peasants by origin, still retaining close ties with the village.⁶ In this respect, however, Russia was no exception in East-Central Europe. In Galicia, Transcarpathia and Serbia – all major emigration areas – the percentage of population engaged in agricultural pursuits was even higher (in Transcarpathia, for instance, it was 93.6 percent).⁷ Yet the sheer size of Russia's peasantry, coupled with the archaic ways of social and economic organization, gave the country its well-known reputation as the main stronghold of agricultural backwardness on the European continent.

The abolition of serfdom in the 1860s, which put Russia on the road to modernization, produced a number of long-term effects on all aspects of the economic and social life of the village. An almost double increase in the rate of population growth was one of its most significant consequences. While in the period from 1815 to 1857, the rural population of the *whole* Russian Empire (in its existing borders) increased only by 34.5 percent, in the years between 1858 and 1897 the population of its European provinces alone grew by 69.3 percent.⁸ Russian cities, which also experienced substantial growth during the post-emancipation period, could, however, absorb only a small part of the surplus rural population. The low average level of Russia's industrial development

⁶ Ibid., p. 9-10.

⁷ Morawska, *For Bread and Butter*, p. 27.

⁸ A.M.Anfimov, *Krestianskoe khoziaistvo Evropeiskoi Rossii, 1881-1904* (Moscow: Nauka, 1980), p. 10-11; V.P.Paniutich, *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie belorusskoi derevni v 1861-1900 gg.* (Minsk: Navuka i tekhnika, 1990), p. 45.

restricted their absorptive capacity and prevented them (with a few important exceptions) from becoming significant outlets for the growing congestion in Russia's villages.

Population growth in the Ukrainian and Belarusan provinces of the empire substantially exceeded the average figures for European Russia. Between 1858 (the year of the last pre-emancipation rural census) and 1897, the rural population of the Right-Bank Ukraine (the region which included the provinces of Podolia, Volhynia and Kiev) increased by 92 percent, reaching almost 7.5 million.⁹ During the same period, the peasant population of Belarus shot up by 108.1 percent. By the last quarter of the century, the rate of population growth in Belarus stood at 2.88 percent per annum (compared to 1.5 percent between 1858 and 1877).¹⁰ In 1897, there were 9,567,010 people living in the three Right-Bank provinces and 5,342,237 in west-central Belarus (provinces of Vil'na, Grodno and Minsk).¹¹

As elsewhere on the continent, the rural population boom of the second half of the nineteenth century was produced both by changed peasant expectations about the future and the slow but continuous increase in the productivity of peasant agriculture and improvements in health care. The population explosion on the right bank of the Dnieper and in Belarus was almost exclusively caused by high natural increase (i.e., the excess of births over deaths) rather than in-migration. At the same time, demographers have found that Ukraine was characterized not so much by an exceptionally high fertility as by lower

⁹ Robert Edelman, *Proletarian Peasants: The Revolution of 1905 in Russia's Southwest* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 37.

¹⁰ Paniutich, *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie*, p. 42-45. The figure in parentheses is my calculation.

¹¹ *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi Imperii 1897 goda* (St. Petersburg, 1897-1905), vol. IV (Vil'na), part I, p. 1; vol. VIII (Volhynia), p. ii; vol. XI (Grodno), p. iv; vol. XVI (Kiev), p. iv; vol. XXII (Minsk), p. v; vol. XXXII: Podolia, p. iii (hereafter *1897 census*).

mortality rates than the rest of the empire, due probably to a better and more stable supply of food than elsewhere in tsarist Russia.¹² Although the Right-Bank Ukraine had experienced some earlier inflow of migrants from north-eastern regions of the empire, by the second half of the nineteenth century migration no longer played a significant role in population growth. The 1897 imperial census results demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of rural residents in the area lived in the same district (*uezd*) where they had been born. As Table 10 demonstrates, men showed somewhat higher territorial mobility than women, but the general picture emerging from the census figures is that of a fairly sedentary peasant population. Until the mid-1900s, out-migration from Ukraine and Belarus to Asiatic Russia (across the Urals) was also low. In 1897 only 1.1 percent of Belarusians and 8.8 percent of Ukrainians lived outside Russia's European provinces.¹³ More favourable terms of peasant emancipation in the Right-Bank Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania compared to Central Russia may have initially provided an additional stimulus to rural population growth in this part of the empire. Implementing the emancipation on the empire's western rim, the government chose to punish the untrustworthy Polish nobility, who constituted the majority of landlords in the above regions, by giving local Ukrainian and Belarusian peasants relatively large allotments of land and fixing peasant obligations at a level that was considerably lower than in the empire's other territories.¹⁴

¹² Ralph S. Clem, "Population Change in the Ukraine in the Nineteenth Century", I.S. Koropec'kyj, ed., *Ukrainian Economic History: Interpretive Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 237.

¹³ Anfimov, *Krestianskoe khoziaistvo*, p. 34.

¹⁴ Edward C. Thaden, *Russia's Western Borderlands, 1710-1870* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 138; Geroid Robinson, *Rural Russia under the Old Regime: A History of the Landlord-Peasant World and a Prologue to the Peasant Revolution of 1917* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1932), p. 85.

According to an early twentieth-century estimate, the total acreage of peasant landholdings in the Right-Bank Ukraine grew by 18 percent compared to the pre-emancipation period, while in central Russian provinces it underwent a significant decrease.¹⁵ In Belarus, the statistical increase in peasant populace was also due in part to arbitrary legal decisions of the tsarist government, which in the 1860s to 1890s reassigned previously non-peasant categories of population, such as Old Believers, *odnodvortsy* (descendants of the 17th-century frontier servitors with hereditary land ownership) and some groups of town dwellers, to the peasant estate.¹⁶

Table 10. Territorial Mobility of Rural Population in the Right-Bank Ukraine and West-Central Belarus, 1897

Province	Rural Residents Living in the District of their Birth		
	Male	Female	Average
Volhynia	87.9	92.0	89.9
Kiev	92.8	94.4	93.6
Podolia	94.3	95.8	95.1
Vil'na	92.3	93.8	93.0
Minsk	92.5	95.0	93.7
Grodno	88.4	94.8	91.5
Total	91.4	94.3	92.8

Source: *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi Imperii 1897 goda* (St. Petersburg, 1897-1905), vol. IV: Vil'na, p. 96; vol. VIII: Volhynia, p. 36-7; vol. XI: Grodno, p. 42-43; vol. XVI: Kiev, p. 36-7; vol. XXII: Minsk, p. 38-9; vol. XXXII: Podolia, p. viii.

The demographic expansion found its expression in the growing density of agrarian population, especially in areas with high soil fertility. In some parts of northern

¹⁵ M.N. Leshchenko, *Ukrains'ke selo v revoliutsii 1905-1907 rr.* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1977), p. 36. Government statistics gave even higher figures of the increase.

¹⁶ Paniutich, *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie*, p. 46.

Bessarabia and the Right-Bank Ukraine it was among the highest in Europe. According to the 1897 census data, the most heavily populated territory in the region was Kamenets District in Podolia, where population density reached 115.6 persons per sq. km, surpassing the average figures for early twentieth-century Germany and Italy.¹⁷ Only slightly lower were the figures for several other rural districts in Podolia, Kiev and Bessarabia Provinces. In central and northern parts of Volhynia and in west-central Belarus, where soil was poorer and the average size of landholdings larger, population density was considerably lower, averaging 47.4 persons per sq. km in Volhynia, 47.3 in Grodno, and a modest 26.8 in Minsk Province.¹⁸

The changing demographics of Russia's western lands put a heavy pressure on the natural resources. As a peasant saying had it, "every hand that held the sickle also held the wooden spoon". By the late nineteenth century, agrarian overpopulation and the resulting shortage of land became a serious problem for most parts of European Russia, including the Right-Bank Ukraine and Belarus. The so-called Southwest – especially Podolia, southern Volhynia and some parts of Kiev Province – was characterized by a high concentration of land property and deep inequalities in economic status within rural society. A favourable combination of soil and climate in this region put a premium value on arable land and created wide possibilities for the development of commercial agriculture. While grain remained the staple crop for the local peasantry, the agricultural economy of the region was increasingly oriented towards the production of highly

¹⁷ Calculated from: *The 1897 census*, vol. XXXII: Podolia, p. 1.

¹⁸ *The 1897 census*, vol. VIII (Volhynia), p. iii; vol. XI (Grodno), p. iv; vol. XXII (Minsk), p. v-vi. The south-eastern part of Minsk Province and northern and north-western Volhynia were situated geographically in the so-called Polesie region, abundant with dense forest and marshland. This led to a particularly low population density in these districts (in the districts of Pinsk and Rechitsa it did not exceed 22 persons per sq. km).

profitable cash crops, particularly sugar beets. These crops were produced mostly on large estates owned by Russian and Polish nobility, which were quickly turning into modern capitalist enterprises employing large numbers of hired labourers, recruited from the poorer classes of the peasantry.¹⁹ The profitable character of large-scale commercial agriculture in the Right-Bank Ukraine resulted in a much lesser decline in noble landholding compared to other regions of European Russia, where the nobility generally struggled to adapt to the post-emancipation conditions. While between 1877 and 1905 (the years of two general land surveys) Russian nobility on the whole lost control (through selling) of 30 percent of their land, the landed aristocracy in the Southwest relinquished only 16.5 percent of its lands (18.5 in Kiev Province, 14.9 in Volhynia, and 13.2 in Podolia).²⁰ In 1905, the Right-Bank nobles still held 75.4 percent of all privately owned land in the region.²¹ In Bessarabia, the decrease of noble ownership during the same period was somewhat more substantial – 20.2 percent, which left the local aristocracy with only 51.9 percent of the total acreage.²² However, most of the decrease occurred in the sparsely populated southern parts of the province, while in the north both the general agricultural conditions and the patterns of noble landholding were similar to the Right-Bank Ukraine. In the northernmost Khotin District, which provided one of the

¹⁹ Edelman, *Proletarian Peasants*, p. 50-61.

²⁰ Calculated from: *Rossii. Tsentral'nyi statisticheskii komitet. Statistika zemlevladieniia v Rossii 1905 goda* (St. Petersburg, 1905-1907), vol. VIII (Volhynia), p. 39; vol. XVI (Kiev), p. 39; vol. XXXII (Podolia), p. 39 (hereafter *Statistika zemlevladieniia 1905 goda*).

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, vol. III (Bessarabia), p. 33.

largest contingents of labour emigrants, nobles in 1905 owned 75 percent of the private land – more than in any other part of the province.²³

The corollary of the economic success enjoyed by landed aristocracy in the Southwest was the progressively worsening condition of the local peasantry, which quickly neutralized the effects of the initial advantages received in 1861. The practice of partible inheritance, which existed in the villages of Ukraine and Belarus (as well as “Great” Russia), led to the progressive fragmentation and diminishing of peasant landholdings and an enormous increase in the numbers of dwarf-holders and landless rural population. Traditionally, the partitioning of family property occurred before the death of the head of the household, as nuclear families emerging within it claimed their independence. As a rule, it led to an equal division of household property and land between all adult sons.²⁴ The custom of equal land apportionment adhered to by eastern Ukrainian, Belarusian and Russian peasantry represents an important contrast to the prevailing Polish practice of inheriting family land by one (usually the senior) son, who paid other siblings off in cash or farm stock.²⁵ Some authors, in fact, have suggested that the equal division of land and property among the children tethered the heirs to the land and resulted in temporary labour migration, while the practice of impartible inheritance led to the permanent emigration of non-inheriting children.²⁶ As Table 11 shows, by

²³ Ibid., p. 36.

²⁴ Shanin, *The Awkward Class*, p. 31.

²⁵ William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. 2nd ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), p. 160.

²⁶ See, for instance, H.J. Habakkuk, “Family Structure and Economic Change in Nineteenth Century Europe”, in Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel, eds., *A Modern Introduction to the Family* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960), p. 167-168.

1905, the average size of peasant land allotments (i.e. plots they received at the time of emancipation) in the Right-Bank Ukraine had substantially declined compared to a quarter-century before. Peasant land hunger was especially acute in northern Bessarabia and in Podolia, where the decrease was nearly 50 percent. General and local statistics on the numbers of surplus agricultural workforce, found in different sources, exhibit considerable variations depending in part on each author's methodology, but by any count these numbers were substantial. According to the data compiled by a 1901 government commission, over 50 percent of rural population in European Russia could not be gainfully employed in either agriculture or industry.²⁷ Using the same data as a basis for his calculations, M. N. Leshchenko placed surplus rural population in the nine Ukrainian provinces at an enormous 68 percent, or 7.3 million.²⁸

Patterns of rural economy in the Belarusan provinces were different from the Southwest in several important respects. Poorer soils, interspersed with vast stretches of forest and marshland, especially in the Polesie region, and lower seasonal temperatures resulted in the lower value of land and the slower development of commercial agriculture in this part of the empire. Compared to Ukraine, Belarus was characterized by less obvious disparities in economic endowment between various classes of rural population. In 1905, the average size of peasant household allotments in Minsk and Grodno provinces was substantially higher than in the Southwest (see Table 11). In Grodno Province, it even showed a slight increase since 1877 due to the continued clearing of forestlands by peasantry and the government's decision to assign several previously distinct categories of landholders to the peasant estate. Compared to the Right-Bank

²⁷ Anfimov, *Krest'ianskoe khoziaistvo*, p. 24.

²⁸ Leshchenko, *Ukrains'ke selo*, p. 84.

Ukraine, the concentration of land property in Belarus was also considerably lower. The average noble estate in Grodno Province was only 14 times larger in acreage than the average peasant holding (including both allotted land and later acquisitions).²⁹ While in Minsk Province, where large estates dominated the countryside, the difference was more significant, it was still much smaller than in the Southwest and Bessarabia (in the extremely overpopulated Podolia, for instance, the average-size manor was 118 times larger than an average peasant allotment).³⁰ Agrarian overpopulation in Belarus, though substantial, also assumed less acute forms. According to V.P. Paniutich, only 32 percent of rural population in the five Belarusian provinces could be classified as surplus.³¹ Yet these differences were only differences in degree of poverty. The lower fertility of most Belarusian soils, the higher acreage of wasteland and the larger size of peasant households (9.5 inhabitants per average household compared to 7.7 in the Right-Bank Ukraine³²) – all these factors made the economic condition of the Belarusian peasantry hardly any better than elsewhere in the Russian Empire.

Thus, we have been able to establish that areas of high emigration on Russia's western frontier could exhibit considerable diversity in socio-economic organization. The inverse relationship between emigration rates and concentration of land property in certain parts of Austria-Hungary and Italy, observed by Josef Barton in his *Peasants and*

²⁹ *Statistika zemlevladieniia 1905 goda*, vol. XXII (Minsk), p. 35. Interestingly, the largest landowners in Minsk Province were not nobles but merchants, although they owned only 3.9 percent of the land. The average size of a merchant's holding in the province was 3,000 desyatin.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. XXII (Podolia), p. 43.

³¹ Paniutich, *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie*, p. 61.

³² Jeffrey Burds, *Peasant Dreams and Market Politics: Labour Migration and the Russian Village, 1861-1905* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1998), p. 36.

Table 11. Peasant Landholding in the Ukrainian and Belarusan Territories of the Russian Empire, 1877-1905 (allotted land only)

Province	Average Size of Peasant Allotment, 1877 (desyatin*)	Average Size of Peasant Allotment, 1905 (desyatin)
Bessarabia (Khotin District only)	5.1	3.4
Podolia	6.8	3.8
Kiev	7.2	5.8
Volhynia	12.5	7.9
Minsk	17.2	9.1
Grodno	15.0	16.5
Total	10.7	7.8

*1 desyatina = 2.7 acres

Source: *Statistika zemlevladieniia 1905 goda*, vol. III (Bessarabia), p.45; vol. VIII (Volhynia), p. 51; vol. XI (Grodno), p. 43; vol. XVI (Kiev), p. 53; vol. XXII (Minsk), p. 43; vol. XXXII (Podolia), p. 51.

Strangers, should not be assumed to be universal for east-central and southern Europe.³³

While in west-central Belarus the distribution of land was more even than in most areas of European Russia and class cleavages were somewhat less manifest (which makes it similar to areas explored by Barton), the Right-Bank Ukraine, especially its fertile black-earth region, presents a largely different picture. The co-existence of a large number of large capitalist-type manors with an army of agricultural wage workers and landless peasants makes it similar to areas of highly-developed commercial agriculture in Austria-Hungary and central Italy, where, according to Barton and other scholars, the

³³ Barton, *Peasants and Strangers*, p. 30-34.

predominant form of peasant response to economic hardship was not emigration but militancy.³⁴

Along with dissimilarities in their rural organization, however, Belarus and the Right-Bank Ukraine shared many common characteristics, which set them apart from imperial provinces east of the Dnieper. The most important of these was the hereditary type of peasant land tenure that predominated in both regions. The emancipation measures of the 1860s preserved Russia's two historical types of peasant landholding, which defined, each in its own way, the whole complex of economic and legal relationships between the households and the peasant commune as well as the character of the commune itself. Most regions of European Russia, including its central and southern black-earth regions, as well as the Left-Bank and Southern Ukraine, were characterized by the prevalence of communal land tenure. In peasant communes with this type of land tenure the communal assembly could, by a majority vote, redistribute the land allotted to each household, usually according to the number of its members. As a result of a reallocation, larger households received additional land, while those with fewer members might be required to give up part of their holdings. The house-and-garden plots, livestock, and other personal property were not subject to repartition, nor were the pastures, forest and other non-arable lands, which were reserved for common use under the supervision of the communal assembly. Although by the end of the nineteenth century relatively few peasant communes continued to practice repartition on a regular basis,

³⁴ The view of peasant militancy and emigration as mutually exclusive responses to socio-economic pressures was first advanced in J.S. Macdonald, "Agricultural Organization, Migration, and Labour Militancy in Rural Italy", *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 16 (1963-64): 61-75. For a critique of this thesis see Donna Gabaccia, *Militants and Migrants: Rural Sicilians Become American Workers* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1988), p. 16.

communal tenure itself seriously hindered the development of individual farming and served as a powerful mechanism of preserving the egalitarian and communalist nature of the Russian village.³⁵

The Right-Bank Ukraine, Bessarabia and Belarus owed their different system of peasant land tenure to the period when they were part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or (in the case of Bessarabia) the Duchy of Moldavia. In Minsk and Grodno provinces communal tenure did not exist at all, while in the three Right-Bank provinces it was practiced only by 6 percent of the households.³⁶ Bessarabia had a significantly higher percentage of communal tenure (28 percent), limited mostly to villages populated by former State peasants.³⁷ In peasant communes with hereditary tenure arable land was assigned to individual households in hereditary and was not subject to periodic repartition. While legally it was not equivalent to private property in the conventional sense of the term, economic interdependence within the communes with hereditary tenure even before the agrarian reforms of 1906-1911 was not as complete as in those with communal tenure, and the measure of control exercised by peasant families over their land was somewhat greater (for instance, there were fewer obstacles to the sale of hereditary plots). At the same time, the development of individual farming in this part of the empire was, besides other factors, seriously hindered by the fact that most

³⁵ Anfimov, *Krest'ianskoe khoziaistvo*, p. 150; Robinson, *Rural Russia*, p. 74-76, 211-212. Robinson's discussion of types of peasant tenure is particularly useful.

³⁶ In Podolia, only 0.4 percent of households were on communal tenure, in Volhynia – 8.6 percent, in Kiev Province – 9 percent. *Statistika zemlevladieniia 1905 goda*, vol. XXXII (Podolia), p. 53; vol. XVI (Kiev), p. 56; vol. VIII (Volhynia), p. 53. Generally, the proportion of communal tenure decreased and completely disappeared as one moved westward from the Dnieper River.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. III (Bessarabia), p. 47. Prior to emancipation Russia's peasantry was divided into several legal categories, the largest of which were private serfs, State peasants and those belonging to the imperial family.

household allotments normally consisted of several strips of land (at times only 3-4 metres in width) interspersed among other similar holdings. In this important respect, villages in the Southwest and Northwest were no different from the rest of European Russia or, for that matter, from eastern Galicia. As a result of the strip system (*cherespolositsa*), all peasant households in a village were locked together in a common three-field crop-cycle, which was also necessitated by the existence of undivided communal land such as pastures and forests, used and administered jointly by the commune.³⁸ Under this system of cultivation, peasants were as effectively precluded from using more advanced agricultural techniques and equipment as they were under communal tenure. Building and other improvements were also normally done with communal consent and assistance. As several authors have pointed out, in its daily functioning the Ukrainian peasant commune (*hromada*) in the Right Bank and the Belarusian *hramada* differed little from the better-known Russian *mir*.³⁹ Despite this, we should not disregard the effects of hereditary tenure on both peasant economy and *mentalité*. Firstly, it conserved economic inequality between peasant families, the poorer of which could not hope to increase their plots in forthcoming repartitions, as was the case in villages with communal tenure. Secondly, by creating a vast surplus of agricultural wage labour, constantly replenished by new infusions of dwarf-holders and dispossessed peasants, it stimulated the development of capitalist agriculture in the region. While our assessment of the effects of hereditary tenure on peasant outlook must,

³⁸ Robinson, *Rural Russia*, p. 71-72. Meadowland, however, was usually divided between the households. On similar conditions in the neighbouring Eastern Galicia, see Richard L. Rudolph, "The East European Peasant Household and the Beginnings of Industry: East Galicia, 1786-1914", in I.S.Koropeckyj, ed., *Ukrainian Economic History*, pp. 339-382.

³⁹ Anfimov, *Krest'ianskoe khoziaistvo*, p. 106-7; Paniutich, *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie*, p. 75-76; Edelman, *Proletarian Peasants*, p. 61-2.

by necessity, remain speculative, the existence of a permanent tie between the peasant household and the land (as opposed to the repartitional commune) and the ability to pass it on to posterity probably made collectivist instincts somewhat less entrenched among the local peasantry. One result of this was the family's greater sense of responsibility for its well-being, which might include more willingness to try non-traditional and innovative sources of additional income such as longer-distance labour migrations.

The Stolypin agrarian reforms of 1906-1911 – precisely because the economic function of the commune was already weak here – did not have such a revolutionizing effect in the Right-Bank Ukraine and Belarus as they had in areas east of the Dnieper River. The transfer of the title to the land from the commune to individual holders, which was the main provision of the government *ukase* of 9 November 1906 – the first in a series of reform acts – did not apply to the former territories, where land had already been divided among peasant families. Another key reform measure – the consolidation of scattered peasant land strips into single plots (with or without the withdrawal of the owner from the village to an isolated farm) – met with fewer difficulties in areas with original hereditary tenure than it did elsewhere. In the Right-Bank Ukraine and Belarus, the majority of peasant families who had physically consolidated their holdings (56.8 and 63.4 respectively) broke away from the commune and established individual farms (*khutora*). In all other regions the dominant form of consolidation was *otruba*, which consisted in joining a family's land strips into a single plot but was not accompanied by the withdrawal of the peasant household from the village and the establishment of an

isolated farm.⁴⁰ Although a recent study of the Stolypin reforms cautions against exaggerated views of peasants' enthusiasm for the destruction of the commune⁴¹, they could not fail to lead to an increased level of economic and personal individualization in the Ukrainian and Belarusian village. Limitations imposed by the new laws on the administrative jurisdiction of the peasant commune reduced its supervisory functions and power to control the lives of its individual members. The *ukase* of 5 October 1906 stripped elected peasant officials and the heads of households of their right to control issuance of internal passports and prevent adult members of the commune from changing their place of residence (as we have seen in the previous chapter, although internal passports did not give the right of border passage, many illegally emigrating peasants thought it best to carry one for identification purposes). The earlier elimination of the commune's joint responsibility for tax payment and other public obligations (*krugovaia poruka*) also strengthened the element of individual choice in peasant life – factors which stimulated further erosion of the commune and led to greater social and geographical mobility.⁴²

Simplified legal procedures governing the sale of old hereditary allotments were another important consequence of the Russian agrarian reforms of 1906-1911.⁴³ Land-hungry peasants in the Right-Bank Ukraine and Belarus – both before and after the

⁴⁰ S.M. Dubrovskii, *Stolypinskaia agrarnaia reforma* (Moscow: Moskovskii rabochii, 1930), p. 192. See also W.E. Mosse, "Stolypin's Villages", *Slavonic and East European Review*, XLIII, June 1965, p. 265-266.

⁴¹ Judith Pallot and Denis J.B. Shaw, *Landscape and Settlement in Romanov Russia, 1613-1917* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 191-192.

⁴² Robinson, *Rural Russia*, p. 209-212.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

reforms – tried to improve their economic status through purchase of whatever land the aristocracy (the main seller of land in post-emancipation Russia) was willing to relinquish. The State Peasant Bank, established in 1883, played an important role in peasant land purchases by providing low-interest loans to the buyers. The percentage of peasant ownership in the total acreage of individually owned land increased from 1.4 percent in 1877 to 5 percent in 1905 in the Right Bank, and from 4.5 to 5.7 in Bessarabia.⁴⁴ Until the mid-1900s, however, more widespread was the practice of collective purchases, when land was bought not by individual households but by peasant co-operatives or whole communes, allowing peasants with lesser means to increase holdings by pooling their resources. By 1905, co-operatives and communes owned 7.9 percent of all privately owned land in the Right Bank and 13.5 percent in Bessarabia, making the total percentages of private peasant ownership (both individual and collective) 12.9 for the Right Bank and 19.2 for Bessarabia.⁴⁵ After 1906, and especially in the period from 1909 to 1914, there was a slow but steady decline of collective and growth of individual land purchases through the Peasant Bank, which reflected the increasing erosion of communalist elements in the peasant economy.⁴⁶ The increase in peasant land ownership between 1877 and 1905 and later could not, however, keep pace with the demographic boom and did comparatively little to alleviate the problem of rural

⁴⁴ *Statistika zemlevladieniia 1905 goda*, vol. III (Bessarabia), p. 34; vol. XXXII (Podolia), p. 40; vol. VIII (Volhynia), p. 40; vol. XVI (Kiev), p. 41. The category of “individually owned land” did not include either peasant allotment plots or undivided communal lands.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. III (Bessarabia), p. 33; vol. XXXII (Podolia), p. 39; vol. VIII (Volhynia), p. 39; vol. XVI (Kiev), p. 39-40.

⁴⁶ Robinson, *Rural Russia*, chapter 11; Dubrovskii, *Stolypinskaia agrarnaia reforma*, p. 247-8. It is difficult to establish, however, to what extent the increase in individual buying was due to peasants’ own growing predisposition for individual ownership and to what extent it was due to the policy of the Peasant Bank, which after 1909 began to discourage collective purchases.

overcrowding. In addition, only a relatively small fraction of the peasantry (primarily the better off) could afford to purchase land, whether individually or as members of a cooperative. Moreover, the price of land in most of the Right-Bank Ukraine in the early 1900s and later was nothing less than prohibitive for the peasant buyer. In Podolia, for instance, it rose by almost 150 percent during the period from 1895 to 1910 and reached more than 250 rubles per desyatina.⁴⁷ In Volhynia and Belarus land was significantly cheaper. In Minsk Province a desyatina in 1910 cost only 49 rubles.⁴⁸ As may be expected, the amount of land peasants in the Right-Bank Ukraine and Belarus were able to purchase between 1877 and 1905 stood in direct relationship to its price. While land acquired by Ukrainian peasants accounted for only 11.8 percent of their total 1905 holdings, the corresponding figures for Minsk and Grodno were 19.9 and 13.8 percent.⁴⁹ Still, as is obvious from these statistics, in both regions allotment plots, originally received at the time of emancipation, continued to form a far greater proportion of the land owned by the peasant households. It should also not be forgotten that the quality of land in west-central Belarus was inferior to that in Ukraine and, therefore, a peasant family required a larger plot to maintain itself.

Peasants who could not buy additional land had the option of renting it. However, high commercial demand for arable land in the Right Bank made peasant renting scarcely less difficult than buying. Landowners preferred to lease land to large renters, such as

⁴⁷ I.D. Koval'chenko, L.V. Milov, *Vserossiiskii agrarnyi rynok, XVIII – nachalo XX veka: Opyt kolichestvennogo analiza* (Moscow: Nauka, 1974), p. 263.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Calculated from *Statistika zemlevladiiia 1905 goda*, vol. III (Bessarabia), p. 33, 44; vol. XXXII (Podolia), p. 39, 50; vol. VIII (Volhynia), p. 39, 50; vol. XVI (Kiev), p. 39-40, 52-53; vol. XXII (Minsk), p. 32, 42; vol. XI (Grodno), p. 32, 42.

sugar companies, which could pay as much as 26 rubles a year per desyatina. As a result, peasant households in the Right-Bank Ukraine in 1905 rented only about 5 percent of their plough-land.⁵⁰ Renting, like purchasing, was easier in west-central Belarus, where in the early 1900s peasants rented 12-15 percent of their arable land at the yearly rate of approximately 2.5 to 7 rubles per desyatina depending on the acreage and the duration of the lease.⁵¹ Meadowland was also rented on a large scale. Although money rent by the late nineteenth century became prevalent in both regions, pre-capitalist forms of land renting, such as sharecropping, survived until 1917. In some cases, rental obligations were fulfilled by working on the lessor's own land. As several studies have demonstrated, the patterns of renting both reflected and further increased the growing economic differentiation within the peasant class. The largest percentage of renters consisted of better-off peasants, who rented both allotment and privately owned land with the goal of expanding their holdings and increasing the household income. For the middle peasant stratum renting was simply a way of survival as independent cultivators. The poorest were usually not lessees, but lessors, who rented out their minuscule allotment plots to their more successful co-villagers and hired themselves out as farm hands, filling the increasing ranks of rural proletarians.⁵²

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw an enormous rise in the numbers of landless peasantry and dwarf-holders, whose economic survival depended primarily or solely on external income, obtained mainly from employment as agricultural or industrial workers. The advent of the money economy, which required the peasant

⁵⁰ Edelman, *Proletarian Peasants*, p. 67.

⁵¹ Paniutich, *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie*, p. 136-7.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 122-137, 296-303; Anfimov, *Krest'ianskoe khoziaistvo*, p. 108-113.

family to have at least minimal cash reserves to pay ever-increasing taxes, rent or mortgage on the purchased land, made wage work outside the village a vital necessity for many, if not most, peasants in Ukraine and Belarus, as it did elsewhere in Eastern-Central Europe. The increased consumption of industrial consumer goods, including those that were considered luxuries in the village, also whetted peasant hunger for cash. Many peasants in Ukraine and Belarus, as well as other parts of the empire, had traditionally been engaged in various home-based crafts and trades (pottery, carpentry, iron work, weaving, etc.), which provided their households with some extra money. Despite the progress of Russia's industrial development, these crafts survived into the twentieth century, albeit under harsher competition from mass-produced goods. An analysis of 1897 census data shows that linen weaving, carpentry and shoemaking held primacy among these peasant trades. A substantial number of peasants who owned horses also earned cash as teamsters (*izvozhiki*).⁵³ It is likely that skills acquired by peasant tradesmen (especially carpenters and blacksmiths) in districts of heavy emigration were later used by at least some of them on the North American labour market.⁵⁴

Working as craftsmen for a small local market, however, could not provide most peasant households with sufficient extra income. Every spring thousands of peasants (primarily, but not exclusively, men) left their overcrowded villages in search of

⁵³ *The 1897 census*, vols. III, IV, VIII, XI, XVI, XXII, XXXII. The data are found in Table XXIII, "Distribution of Agricultural Population by Supplementary Trades".

⁵⁴ This hypothesis, however speculative, is based on the data on the emigrants' North American occupations found in the Li-Ra-Ma sample and scattered throughout other sources (such as emigrant newspapers). These data suggest that metal workers and carpenters made up the majority of emigrants employed in *skilled* jobs. To be sure, the mechanized North American industry was different from a village artisan shop, yet familiarity with a trade prior to emigration would still have been of use. We will return to the occupational profile of the emigrants in another chapter.

temporary wage work. *Otkhodnichestvo* (leaving one's village for temporary work) had become a common phenomenon in Ukrainian and Belarusian villages long before they were drawn into continental and, subsequently, transatlantic labour markets. No reliable statistical data of these internal migrations exist; in fact, it is unlikely that any statistics, even if they did exist, would capture the annual short- and long-distance movements of people who criss-crossed Russia's western and southwestern lands in millions every year. Rough estimates made by V.P. Paniutich place the annual number of *otkhodniki* (seasonal peasant migrants) in early twentieth-century Belarus at 400,000 (13 percent of adult rural population).⁵⁵ Reliable numerical estimates of seasonal migration in Ukraine, unfortunately, could not be found.

Destinations of these migrants varied from the nearest latifundia, where there was always work to be had during harvest time, to factories and mines in central Russia and Southern Ukraine. Eva Morawska's classification of peasant labour migrations in East Central Europe into rural (from farm to farm), rural-urban (from farm to cities/industries) and transoceanic (to the New World) can be usefully applied to describe peasant movements in the territories east of Congress Poland.⁵⁶ As in other parts of the continent, seasonal agricultural labourers, who worked on nearby estates or sometimes on farms owned by rich peasants, constituted the earliest and largest category of rural wage workers in Ukraine and Belarus. Most peasants hired themselves out as day or seasonal labourers (the latter usually worked from March to October), but there was also a relatively small category of true rural proletarians – permanent agricultural workers, who

⁵⁵ V.P. Paniutich, *Naemnyi trud v sel'skom khoziaistve Belarusi, 1861-1914 gg.* (Minsk: Navuka i tekhnika, 1996), p. 96.

⁵⁶ Morawska, *For Bread and Butter*, p. 29.

relied on wage work as their only source of income and constituted the lowest status group in rural society. The higher development of agricultural capitalism in the Right-Bank Ukraine and west-central Belarus (Vil'na, Grodno and Minsk provinces) and the existence of a larger class of dwarf-holders and landless peasantry resulted in a wider use of hired labour in local agriculture (both on noble estates and on large peasant farms) than in most other parts of European Russia but at the same time depressed the labourers' wages. In 1913, nominal wages of agricultural day workers (at harvest time) in the Right-Bank Ukraine were 19.5 percent, and in west-central Belarus – 15.5 percent below average for European Russia.⁵⁷

The predominantly agricultural character of the economy in the Right-Bank Ukraine and Belarus meant that excess rural population could not be siphoned off by the local industry. According to the 1897 imperial census, the proportion of the population employed in industry was meagre throughout both regions, ranging from 7.5 percent in Grodno Province to 10.5 percent in Volhynia.⁵⁸ In 1908, the entire Ukraine possessed only 1,252 industrial establishments, which had a total of 106,218 workers (less than half

⁵⁷ Calculated from data provided in Kovalchenko and Milov, *Vserossiiskii agrarnyi rynek*, p. 329-332. According to Paniutich's data, the *real* wages of agricultural workers in Belarus, expressed in the current price of rye (peasants' staple food), were 15.9 percent below European Russia's average, while those in the Right-Bank Ukraine (due undoubtedly to the lower price of foodstuffs in this region) were only about 1 percent below average (Paniutich, *Naemnyi trud*, p. 109).

⁵⁸ *The 1897 census*, vol. IV (Vil'na), part 1, p. x; vol. VIII (Volhynia), p. 154-155; vol. XI (Grodno), p. 192-195; vol. XVI (Kiev), p. 170; vol. XXII (Minsk), p. xiv; vol. XXXII: Podolia, p. iii. The census does not distinguish between hired workers and proprietors of industrial establishments or between artisan's shops and larger enterprises but simply classifies all available population by occupation. I have calculated the total figures of population employed in industry for each province by adding the numbers of those employed in 19 occupations which fall under the category of "industrial". It is highly likely, however, that most of this "industry" consisted of artisan's shops with only a handful of hired workers.

of the population of Kiev in 1897).⁵⁹ The levels of urbanization in the Right-Bank Ukraine and west-central Belarus were among the lowest in the empire. In the former region, only 9.6 percent of the population in 1897 lived in urban areas (compared to 11.2 in the Left Bank and 21.0 in the industrially developed Steppe).⁶⁰ In west-central Belarus the official proportion of urban residents stood at a somewhat higher 13 percent.⁶¹ However, in both regions most settlements officially designated as “cities”, not excluding administrative centres of districts (*uezdnye goroda*), had fewer than 10,000 inhabitants and differed from the surrounding countryside only in being focal points for local trade and home to a significant population of Jews, banned until the early twentieth century from settling in rural areas.⁶² Poverty and unemployment, which reigned in the towns of the Jewish Pale, where petty merchants and artisans tried to eke out a living in a tiny market, further diminished the prospects of urban employment for the local peasantry. Short-range rural-urban migrations (both permanent and seasonal) within the Right-Bank Ukraine and Belarus took on much smaller proportions than they did in central Russia, where, as Robert Johnson and other authors have shown, thousands of peasant-workers circulated annually between rural areas and industrial centres such as Moscow and St.

⁵⁹ *Rada*, 19 April 1908.

⁶⁰ Bohdan Krawchenko, *Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Ukraine* (London: Macmillan, 1985), p. 8. On patterns of urbanization in Ukraine, see also Boris B. Balan, “Urbanization and the Ukrainian Economy in the Mid-Nineteenth Century”, in I. S. Koropecykj, ed., *Ukrainian Economic History*, p. 283-284, 290-291.

⁶¹ Calculated from: *The 1897 census*, vol. IV, pt. 3, p. iv; vol. XI, p. v; vol. XXII, p. vi. In Vil’na Province, nearly 75 percent of the urban population lived in the city of Vil’na. If Vil’na is excluded from the count, the resulting proportion of the province’s urban population drops from 12.7 to a mere 2.7 percent (vol. IV, p. iv). A somewhat similar situation existed in Kiev Province.

⁶² Krawchenko, *Social Change*, p. 8.

Petersburg, slowly losing their connections to the land.⁶³ In Belarus and the Right-Bank Ukraine, with their lack of virtually any industry except the processing of agricultural products, the overwhelming majority of the peasantry remained tied to the countryside and to (predominantly) agricultural occupations. Kiev with its population of 247,723 and Vil'na with 198,007 (1897) were the only truly urban centres of the South- and Northwest, but even they had little industry to boast. In their low level of peasant rural-urban migration, Belarus and eastern Ukraine differed not only from central Russia but also from much of Eastern Europe where growing numbers of rural inhabitants were streaming into the cities.

In search of temporary work, some Ukrainian and Belarusian peasants did travel to the industrial centres of northern and central Russia, but on the whole labour migration from the empire's western rim to its industrial core by 1900 was not significant.⁶⁴ The labour demand of Moscow, Ivanovo and St. Petersburg industries was largely filled by the local peasantry, as was that of Poland's growing industry.⁶⁵ Some Belarusian peasants found work as longshoremen in Riga or Libava or in local timber industry. High wages paid in railway construction, especially in Eastern Russia and Manchuria, also attracted growing numbers of Belarusian and, as it seems, especially Ukrainian peasants, who crossed more than half the continent for seasonal work on the Amur and Trans-Baikal

⁶³ Robert E. Johnson, *Peasant and Proletarian: The Working Class of Moscow in the Late Nineteenth Century* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979). See also Burds, *Peasant Dreams*.

⁶⁴ Barbara A. Anderson, *Internal Migration during Modernization in Late-Nineteenth Century Russia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 105-108, maps 4.1-4.3.

⁶⁵ Inge Blank, "A Vast Migratory Experience: Eastern Europe in the Pre- and Post-Emancipation Era", in Dirk Hoerder and Inge Blank, eds., *Roots of the Transplanted. Vol.1: Late 19th Century East Central and Southeastern Europe* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; New York: Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 222-223, 239-240.

railways – the newest additions to Russia’s expanding transcontinental railway system. It was, however, the southern direction of labour migration that came to have the main attraction for the Ukrainian and Belarusan peasantry in the early 1900s. By the turn of the century, the rapid industrial growth of Southern Ukraine (Novorossia) combined with the development of commercial grain growing to make it Russia’s most dynamic region and the breadbasket of Europe. The high rate of economic growth in this part of the empire resulted in a steady demand for wage labour in both industry and agriculture, which could not be filled by the relatively sparse local population. The influx of agricultural workers to the South (Kherson and Ekaterinoslav provinces, southern Bessarabia) took on especially large proportions at harvest time. From July to September, a day labourer in Ekaterinoslav Province could net 1.20 rubles and in Kherson Province 1.23 rubles a day, while in the overpopulated Volhynia and Podolia daily wages on average did not exceed 72 kopeks.⁶⁶ Many agricultural migrants who headed south found work with prosperous German colonists, who often paid their farmhands more and fed them better than large Russian and Ukrainian latifundists. Others went to the Donets Basin area to work in the booming steel and mining industry, where wages were substantially higher than those in central Russia, or travelled further to Odessa – Russia’s chief commercial port on the Black Sea – where seasonal work opportunities always seemed to be plentiful. However, in-migration from the Left- and Right-Bank Ukraine to the Steppe region was on the whole smaller than in-migration from central and south-central Russian provinces, although it showed a tendency towards increase by 1914.⁶⁷ In addition, Russian workers

⁶⁶ Kovalchenko and Milov, *Vserossiiskii agrarnyi rynek*, p. 329-332; also *Rada*, 9 May, 25 June 1908.

⁶⁷ Krawchenko, *Social Change*, p. 42; Anderson, *Internal Migration*, p. 160, map 6.2.

generally possessed higher industrial skills, developed throughout a longer history of rural-urban migrations than in Ukraine, and therefore enjoyed a competitive advantage over the Ukrainians.⁶⁸

Demographic pressures, however, were beginning to be felt even in the thriving South. By the end of the first decade of the new century the expansion of labour markets in Southern Ukraine could barely keep pace with the spiralling growth of surplus workforce pushed out of Russia's villages. High competition for well-paying jobs, especially in the agricultural sector, forced thousands of migrant peasant-workers to wander throughout the southern Ukrainian countryside in search of work. Every summer one could see thousands of these migrants, waiting at town marketplaces for weeks to be hired for farm labour. Sometimes, only a few hundred of them managed to get jobs, while others resumed their desperate journeys.⁶⁹

It was only a matter of time before the limited capacity of internal labour markets drove the land- and cash-hungry peasantry in Ukraine and Belarus beyond the imperial realm. In fact, international peasant migrations on the western rim of the tsarist empire had been a fact of economic life long before the 1900s, but they primarily included Polish peasants, who since the 1880s had migrated *en masse* to Germany, and some even ventured as far as Denmark and Sweden.⁷⁰ Experiencing a severe shortage of labour due

⁶⁸ Krawchenko, *Social Change*, p. 18.

⁶⁹ *Rada*, 13, 23 July 1909.

⁷⁰ N.L. Tudorianu, *Ocherki rossiiskoi trudovoi emigratsii perioda imperializma (v Germaniiu, Skandinavskie strany i SshA)* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1986), chapter 1. Some workers from Russia's North also migrated to Sweden and Norway. I also found an apparently unique case of about 100 Russian workers from the Urals employed at a zinc factory in Aubry, France (Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii, fond 102, opis' 243, delo 341, pt. 2).

to rapid rural depopulation, wealthy Prussian Junkers provided attractive wages, good food provisions and tolerable working conditions for migrant labourers. By the early 1900s, Polish migration to Germany and, to a lesser extent, other countries of Western Europe reached considerable proportions. Estimates of the number of Russian-subject labourers in Germany in the years before World War I display some variation (due to the lack of reliable statistics), but most authors put their annual numbers at 350,000 to 400,000 or approximately 70 percent of Germany's foreign workforce.⁷¹ Although Russian Poland remained the chief supplier of *Gastarbeiters* for German agriculture, Ukrainian and Belarusian peasants, especially from ethnically mixed provinces of eastern Poland, could also be seen working on large Prussian estates.

Economic conditions were obviously a key factor in triggering overseas migration, just as they played a major role in producing internal work-seeking journeys. Table 12 uses data from the Li-Ra-Ma sample and those obtained from the 1897 Russian census and the 1905 imperial land survey to analyze the relationship between the scale of emigration to Canada from the largest sending districts of the Right-Bank Ukraine and their demographic and economic characteristics. The analysis shows that in the southern-central part of the region, characterized by relatively homogeneous topography, climate and soil fertility, emigration was generally higher in areas with smaller peasant land ownership, a greater percentage of dwarf holdings and higher population density. It also tended to develop almost exclusively in places far away from the large cities, which, despite their low industrial development, offered some choice of non-agricultural employment to the nearby rural population. With the exception of Kamenets-Podol'sk –

⁷¹ See a discussion of these statistics in Tudorianu, *Ocherki*, p. 64-65.

the smallest and most backward among provincial capitals of European Russia – nowhere did the capital district of a province produce a significant number of emigrants.

However, the push of poverty alone was not enough to produce an exodus from a specific area. Thus, in Podolia most of the high-emigration northwestern districts (Kamenets, Letichev, Proskurov, Ushitsa) were characterized by an intermediate level of economic development and a relatively intensive agriculture. The most economically advanced north-eastern districts (Vinnitsa and Bratslav) or the backward southern districts (Balta, Olgopol') produced few or no emigrants.⁷² Moreover, contrary to the general correlation presented in Table 12, in districts with the absolute lowest average size of peasant landholdings, such as Mogilev and Gaisin, emigration remained virtually unknown. In analysing the complex relationship between economy and migration, one should keep in mind that even in those regions of Eastern Europe where economic conditions could be classified as poor, they were seldom so intolerable as to make emigration a matter of physical survival ("the lack of food for my own self" given as a reason for emigration by one of the Li-Ra-Ma migrants should probably not be taken literally).⁷³ As we have seen in Chapter 2, it usually took other factors to set off emigration from a specific locale – a word dropped by an itinerant pedlar, a tavern-keeper or a market vendor, an accidental meeting with a returning emigrant from another area or with a clandestinely operating steamship agent – provided, of course, that there existed a group of enterprising souls ready to explore the unknown.

⁷² The classification of Podolia's districts by the level of their economic development is based on N. Eremin, "Opyt razdeleniia Podol'skoi gubernii na sel'skokhoziaistvennye raiony", *Ekonomicheskaiia zhizn' Podolii* 18-19 (1913), p. 6-14; 20 (1913), p. 17-22.

⁷³ See Morawska, *For Bread and Butter*, p. 70-71.

Table 12. Early Twentieth-Century Peasant Land Ownership and Emigration in the Right-Bank Ukraine

District	Number of emigrants in the sample	Average landholdings (desyatin), 1905*	Percentage of households with less than 5 desyatin of land	Density of population (persons per sq.km)
Kamenets	597	3.1	96.0	126.1
Khotin	246	3.7	93.7	105.4
Tarashcha	177	6.1	58.3	100.8
Lipovets	131	6.2	50.9	100.1
Uman'	129	4.3	75.0	102.0
Ushitsa	81	3.3	95.0	106.9
Proskurov	76	3.5	92.2	114.7
Letichev	58	5.0	89.7	93.3
Zaslav	46	6.8	28.4	82.0
Dubna	43	8.4	14.5	67.3
Ostrog	31	8.7	21.8	75.4
Starokonstantinov	30	4.6	76.5	103.6
Kremenets	20	5.7	60.0	86.1
Kanev	20	6.4	38.2	112.6
Novograd-Volynsk	17	9.7	20.6	66.1
Skvira	10	8.0	32.7	92.2
<i>Correlation with emigration (Spearman's rank-order)</i>		- 0.658**	0.617***	0.528***

Sources: Column 1, *Li-Ra-Ma Sample*; Columns 2 and 3, *Statistika zemlevladieniia v Rossii 1905 goda*, vol. III (Bessarabia), p. 33, 44; vol. VIII (Volhynia), p. 39, 50; vol. XVI (Kiev), p. 39-40, 52-53; vol. XXXII (Podolia), p. 39, 50; Column 4, *1897 census*, vol. III (Bessarabia), p. xiii; vol. VIII (Volhynia), p. iii; vol. XVI (Kiev), p. iv; vol. XXXII (Podolia), p.1. The table does not include districts represented by less than 10 individuals and northern districts of Volhynia, where agricultural economy was different due to a colder climate and poorer soils.

*The acreage includes both hereditary allotments and land acquired through individual or collective purchase.

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

***Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Increasing temporary migrations were steadily undermining the centuries-old reign of tradition and immobility in the village, pushing hundreds of thousands of people off the land, introducing them to calculative economic thinking and extending the range of their contacts. Even though these migrations did not involve all, or perhaps even most of the peasants, they created a new cultural milieu characterized by an expanding knowledge about the outer world and a growing awareness of conditions of work and life in various countries of the continent and other parts of the globe. Still, the impact of capitalism and modernization on the peasantry should not be exaggerated. Donna Gabaccia certainly has a point when she cautions against equating the growth of money economy in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century eastern and southern Europe with the development of rural capitalism.⁷⁴ Capitalism did have a profound effect on the village by commercializing (in Gabaccia's words, "monetizing") the rural economy and stimulating the peasants' cash-earning drive but it could not instantly transform the peasant into a rational-thinking, profit-oriented capitalist farmer or a proletarian who had nothing to lose but his chains. As Dirk Hoerder put it, most men and women who streamed into industrial work accepted "temporary proletarianization as an expedient to avoid being permanently stuck in that condition".⁷⁵ A temporary working stint in "America" was seen in the same light – first and foremost as a source of supplementary income for the peasant household with the ultimate goal of continuing its habitual life-cycle in a traditional socio-cultural setting. There is evidence that peasant labour emigration often had a clearly defined short-term economic purpose, such as obtaining

⁷⁴ Gabaccia, *Militants and Migrants*, p. 8-11.

⁷⁵ Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 333.

money for paying off a particular debt or a mortgage on purchased land – hence the term “target migrants” used by some historians. Having achieved this goal, the peasant returned to his village (or at least planned to do so) in order to settle back into his regular routine. In other words, for the majority of peasant migrants it was economic security rather than the spirit of capitalist entrepreneurship that provided the most compelling motive for leaving their villages. The accumulation of capital did occur over time, but the process was slow and usually required multiple transoceanic voyages. A. Mukhin, author of a 1911 statistical study of two peasant communities of the Surazh District in Chernigov, where 47 and 19 percent of men, respectively, had been to America in the preceding six years, reported that whatever remained of the “American money” after paying off the old debts was spent mostly on short-term improvements such as house renovations, new clothes and purchase of agricultural tools. Only a few managed to save just enough to buy a small piece of land. In addition, most returnees spent the next year or two at home in order to recover after the exhausting American sojourn and thus further depleted whatever savings they had been able to make.⁷⁶ The communalist social customs of the eastern Slav village, which required the returning “nouveaux riches” to share their newly acquired “wealth” with co-villagers in a chain of feasts and other displays of neighbourly generosity also bore heavily on the ability of the returnees’ families to build up savings.⁷⁷ In short, by 1914, when labour emigration from eastern Ukraine and

⁷⁶ A. Mukhin, “Otkhod krest’ian na zarabotki v Ameriku”, *Agromicheskii zhurnal*, 9-10 (1913): 153. Mukhin’s article appears to be the only contemporary study of the impact of emigration on the peasant economy in eastern Ukraine.

⁷⁷ On such practices in Belarus, see Tomas Berd, “Zluchanyia Shtaty Ameryki i emihratsyinaia tematyka u publitsystytsy i paezii ‘Nashai nivy’”, *Zapisy: Belaruski instytut navuki i mastatstva*, 23 (1999): 25.

Belarus was cut off by the war (never to resume again in areas that fell under Soviet control), it had barely approached a stage that could lead to a noticeable transformation of the peasant economy.

The analysis of causes of labour emigration from eastern Ukraine and Belarus would not be complete without at least a general attempt to establish its correlation with another, and much more significant, type of rural population mobility – the permanent migration of Ukrainian and Belarusian peasantry to Asiatic Russia (primarily to south-western and south-eastern Siberia and Kazakhstan). Spontaneous peasant movement beyond the Urals had already been on the rise in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, especially after the easing of migration restrictions in the 1880s and the completion of the first leg of Trans-Siberian Railway in 1896, but it underwent a truly dramatic increase in 1906-1910, when the promotion of peasant colonization was made a strategic priority in the government's agrarian policy.⁷⁸ Nearly 2.8 million people relocated to Siberia from 1906 to 1913 under Russia's largest ever government-sponsored migration scheme.⁷⁹

The existence of an enormous fund of colonizable land east and south-east of the Urals made the Russian Empire unique among other early twentieth-century migrant donors such as Austria-Hungary, Italy and the Balkan countries. The mutual impact of internal peasant colonization and external migration on each other was therefore a matter of interest for both Russian and North-American contemporary observers. Russian official opinion, for instance, tended to view the saturation of prime Siberian lands as a

⁷⁸ Anderson, *Internal Migration*, p. 121-153.

⁷⁹ Calculated from data in S.M. Sidel'nikov, *Agrarnaia reforma Stolypina* (Moscow: Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 1973), p. 219-220. According to official and probably understated figures, return migration from Asiatic to European Russia during this period amounted to 18 percent.

major cause of growing emigration.⁸⁰ Emily Greene Balch in her classic 1910 study of Slavic immigrants in the United States reversed the argument, using the pull of Siberia as an explanation for the relatively small participation of “Russians” in transatlantic migration compared to other peoples of East-Central Europe.⁸¹ However, neither she nor the few later scholars who touched upon the subject went beyond general statements, which *a priori* assumed the existence of an inverse relationship between Siberian colonization and emigration.⁸² Recently Dirk Hoerder again drew the attention of migration scholars to the interplay between external and internal migrations in the Russian Empire as part of his general theory of migration systems. According to him, the border between what he appropriately calls “Atlantic” and the “Russo-Siberian” migration systems went “from Lake Peipus via Smolensk along the Dnieper, to Odessa”.⁸³ The former system was dominated by westward migrations within Europe and between Europe and North America, the latter included migration southward and eastward, as well as local rural-urban migrations to Moscow and St. Petersburg.

⁸⁰ A. Orlov, “K voprosu ob uporiadochenii nashei emigratsii”, *Vestnik finansov, promyshlennosti i torgovli* 8 (1914): 332-333.

⁸¹ Emily Greene Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens* (New York: Charities Publications Committee, 1910), p. 279.

⁸² See, for instance: A.M. Shlepakov, *Ukrains'ka trudova emihratsiia v SShA i Kanadi (kinets' XIX – pochatok XX st.)* (Kiev: Vydavnistvo akademii nauk, 1960), p. 43; John-Paul Himka, “The Background to Emigration: Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna, 1848-1914”, in Manoly Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), p. 11.

⁸³ Dirk Hoerder, “Migration in the Atlantic Economies: Regional European Origins and Worldwide Expansion”, in Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch, eds., *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), p. 35. This thesis has recently been reiterated by Hoerder in his *Cultures in Contact*, p. 306ff. Lake Peipus, also known by its Russian name of Chudskoe Lake, is located in contemporary Estonia (formerly Lifland Province of the Russian Empire).

While Hoerder's model is plausible, its author did not explain his placement of the geographical border between eastward and westward migration, nor seek to explore the supposed impact of the two systems on each other. A comparison of the official Russian statistics of peasant resettlement to Siberia with the Li-Ra-Ma sample data on annual immigrant arrivals to Canada (assuming that the sample is representative of the general emigration patterns) demonstrates that the growth in overseas peasant migration from the Right-Bank Ukraine and Belarus (particularly after 1910) was indeed contemporaneous with a decline in the movement across the Urals. The parallel character of the two processes, however, does not by itself imply a causal relationship. In fact, it turned out difficult to find definitive evidence of such a relationship, let alone measure it with any degree of precision. First of all, as Table 13 demonstrates, the post-1910 decrease in the intensity of the trans-Siberian movement was by no means limited to regions with high emigration. As Russian officials themselves admitted and historians later demonstrated, it was a general phenomenon caused both by the reduction in Siberia's colonization capacity and by shortcomings in the government's management of the resettlement policy.⁸⁴ In fact, in the Right-Bank Ukraine the decline in the colonization movement was generally smaller compared to areas where no overseas emigration was observed. Particularly interesting is the case of the extremely overpopulated Podolia, where peasants continued to migrate to Siberia, albeit on a smaller scale, while also leaving the country *en masse* for North America. In the eastern part of Belarus, where emigration was negligible, the slump in Siberian migration was almost as pronounced as it was in the high-emigration western-central Belarus (Minsk and Vil'na provinces). Secondly, as we

⁸⁴ Orlov, "K voprosu ob uporiadochenii", p. 332; M.A. Iakymenko, "Orhanizatsiia pereselennia selian z Ukrainy v roki stolypins'koi ahrarnoi reformy (1906-1913)", *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 7 (July 1974): 32-42.

can see from statistics presented in Table 13, even *before* the beginning of mass overseas exodus from these areas per capita rates of peasant migration across the Urals from the Right-Bank Ukraine (excluding Kiev Province) and western Belarus were among the lowest in the European part of the empire, and much lower than in the regions to the east and south.

Why did peasants on Russia's western frontier show little enthusiasm for the Siberian option? Ukrainian historian M. Iakymenko explained the low levels of internal out-migration from the Right Bank – the most land-hungry region of Dnieper Ukraine –

Table 13. Peasant Migration to Asiatic Russia from Select Provinces and Regions of the Russian Empire, 1896-1913

Province or region	1896-1909	Rate of migration (per 1000)	1910-1913	Decrease compared to 1896-1909(%)	Total 1896-1913
Podolia	51,190	17	28,443	44.4	79,633
Kiev	152,288	43	39,898	73.8	192,186
Volhynia	40,392	14	18,776	53.5	59,168
Left-Bank Ukraine*	653,483	86	168,856	74.2	822,339
Southern Ukraine**	281,829	45	178,071	36.8	459,900
Minsk	76,781	36	11,430	85.1	88,211
Vil'na	34,831	22	3,412	90.2	38,243
Grodno	20,382	13	6,338	68.9	26,720
Eastern Belarus***	313,669	99	53,905	82.8	367,574
Total	1,624,845		509,129	32.3	2,133,974

*Includes the provinces of Chernigov, Poltava and Khar'kov

**Includes the provinces of Taurida, Kherson and Ekaterinoslav

***Includes the provinces of Vitebsk and Mogilev

Calculated from: N. Turchaninov and L. Domrachev, *Itogi pereselencheskogo dvizheniia za vremia c 1910 po 1914 gg. (vkluchitel'no)* (Petrograd, 1916), pp. 8-9, 10-11, 30-31, 32-33, 34-35; M.A. Iakymenko, "Orhanizatsiia pereselennia selian z Ukrainy v roki stolypins'koi ahrarnoi reformy (1906-1913 rr.)", *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 1974 (7): 37; *the 1897 census*, vol. IV, part I, p. 1; VIII, p. iii; vol. XI, p. iv; vol. XVI, p. iv; vol. XXII, p. v; vol. XXXII, p. iii.

by the existence of the sugar-refining industry, which absorbed a great number of surplus rural population, and by the development of peasant commercial horticulture in this region.⁸⁵ This explanation, however, fails to account for the similar lack of migration to Siberia from Northern Volhynia and from Belarus, where both the sugar industry and peasant horticulture were non-existent. In our view, the reasons for the relatively low attraction of Siberia for Right-Bank and Belarusan peasants should be sought in the traditionally weak economic and cultural ties of the empire's western and southwestern frontier with Central and Asiatic Russia, not to mention the great distances between the two. Even over a hundred years after the Right-Bank Ukraine and western Belarus were incorporated in the Russian Empire during the partitions of Poland, the Dnieper River still remained not only a geographic but to an extent also a cultural and economic divide that separated the inner core of the empire from its periphery. Ambiguous government policy regarding peasant resettlement from the empire's western localities also needs to be taken into consideration. Seeking to resolve the problem of agrarian overpopulation west of the Dnieper, the imperial authorities were at the same time concerned with the potential decline in the Slavic-Orthodox presence in the ethnically diverse western provinces as a result of permanent out-migration eastward and hence made less effort to stimulate it. Expressing this concern, Prime Minister P. Stolypin and director of the Main Administration for Agriculture A. Krivoshein wrote in 1911 that an "excessive weakening of the density of Russian population in Russia's western belt [...] is hardly desirable either politically or economically [because] Russia would surrender its western

⁸⁵ M.A. Iakymenko, "Mihratsii ukrains'koho selianstva (1861-1905)", *Ukrains'kii istorychnyi zhurnal*, 9 (September 1982): 66.

positions for a German advance, and mass out-migration would open numerous pores and apertures, which will be quickly filled with foreign colonists.”⁸⁶

Thus, the evidence regarding the relationship between the two types of peasant mobility on the empire's western rim does not make for simple generalizations. It is clear that the growth of overseas emigration from areas west of the Dnieper had little to do with the diminishing attraction of Siberia merely because the latter had not been there in the first place. Whether emigration, in its turn, contributed to the further decline of the already weak internal colonization movement from western Belarus and the Right-Bank Ukraine is a more complicated question, which cannot be answered solely on the basis of aggregate regional statistics. While in some localities with highly intensive emigration the irresistible pull of America further dampened whatever interest in Siberia there might exist, in others the picture was more ambiguous. Thus, among 212 persons from Podolia who moved to Siberia in June 1911 there were none from Kamenets District, and in April 1912 there was only one resident of Kamenets among 366 migrants.⁸⁷ At the same time, a 1910 study by P. Novoselov, the chief statistician of the Volhynian *zemstvo*, who drew upon data obtained from a rural emigration survey, showed that in most of the province's twelve districts high emigration was not accompanied by low internal migration or vice versa and that only in the northernmost district of Kovel' the former definitely exceeded the latter.⁸⁸ It is obvious that the relationship between external and internal migration was contingent on a variety of local circumstances, including previous migration traditions,

⁸⁶ P.A. Stolypin, V.A. Krivoshein, *Poezdka v Sibir' i Povolzh'e* (St. Petersburg, 1911), p. 79.

⁸⁷ *Ekonomicheskii listok Podol'skogo gubernskogo zemstva* 15 (1911): 4-5; 12 (1912): 54.

⁸⁸ P.M. Novoselov, *Ob emigratsii v Ameriku. Dokladnaia zapiska statistika biuro Volynskoi oblastnoi organizatsii* (Zhitomir, 1912), p. 1-2.

experiences of earlier migrants, the longevity of the emigration movement in a particular area, the attitudes of the zemstvo and the local administration and others. In order to arrive at more definitive conclusions, we certainly need much more research, including that in the archives of Ukraine and Belarus – an undertaking that extends beyond the scope of the present study.

* * *

By the first decade of the twentieth century, conditions on the western rim of the tsarist empire were ripe for the development of transcontinental labour migrations. Large, though geographically scattered territories in the Right-Bank Ukraine and west-central Belarus, were rapidly becoming the easternmost labour-supplying periphery for the North-Atlantic industrial core. Though different in several important ways, the socio-economic systems in both regions of the Romanov Empire were characterized by the inability of a large part of the peasantry to maintain an acceptable standard of living by remaining tied to the land. Diminutive landholdings (in the Right-Bank Ukraine and northern Bessarabia) or barely cultivable soils (such as existed in many areas of Belarus) forced some peasants to seek additional income from home-based trades and crafts and pushed others out of the villages. Seasonal work migrations had long become a familiar phenomenon for rural communities in most of these areas, and it was only a matter of time before they began to extend across Russia's borders.

Through a combination of geography, economy and ethnic diversity in this part of the empire, which lay at the meeting point of different cultures and ways of life, Russia's Ukrainian and Belarusian territories west of the Dnieper were the first to be drawn into the vortex of transoceanic migrations. With several exceptions, the Dnieper River became the

geographical divide between the “Atlantic” (westward-oriented) and “Russo-Siberian” (south- and eastward-oriented) migration systems.⁸⁹ While the Left Bank and Southern Ukraine, as well as eastern Belarus, remained more closely tied to Eurasian migration routes, Russia’s western borderlands, more distant geographically, culturally and economically from the heartland of the Russian Empire, developed strong connections with the Atlantic economy.

⁸⁹ Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, p. 306.

CHAPTER 4

STATE REGULATION OF MIGRATION IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY RUSSIA AND CANADA

Population movements in the early twentieth-century Atlantic economy cannot be fully understood unless viewed within the framework of the legal and political institutions of the donor and recipient states. Although family and kin networks may have played the primary role in determining the size, momentum and trajectories of these movements, the state impinged on the migration process at both of its ends through adopting emigration/immigration laws which might either facilitate or hinder migrant flows and by regulating the activities of national steamship companies.¹ The legal and administrative barriers to economic migration were admittedly less considerable a hundred years ago than they are today, but medical inspections, monetary requirements and passport laws did have an impact on migration decisions and outcomes. However little the migrants might be aware of the larger considerations that guided the policy makers, they had to take the existing regulations into account when planning their moves. In turn, migrants' responses to regulatory practices were an important stimulus for policy changes.

Unfortunately, Canadian historiography has too often analyzed the social and political aspects of immigration as if they were not related. The social and cultural histories of Canada's ethnic groups, with some exceptions, have been written with little regard to the emigration/immigration attitudes of sending and receiving states, while the

¹ See a useful discussion of state regulation of labour migration in Carl Strikwerda and Camille Guerin-Gonzales, "Labor, Migration and Politics", in Camille Guerin-Gonzales and Carl Strikwerda, eds., *The Politics of Immigrant Workers: Labor Activism and Migration in the World Economy since 1830* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1998), pp. 12, 15.

sizeable literature dealing with Canadian immigration policies usually pays attention to particular nationalities only inasmuch as they were targets of promotional campaigns or victims of state discrimination. As for emigration attitudes and policies of the donor states, they have all but failed to attract the interest of historians, who view immigration through the lens of the Canadian history and have a natural proclivity to focus on the receiving end of the migration process (the history of British immigration being an important exception). It is not surprising, then, that references to Russian emigration policy in Canadian historical literature are few and far between.

This chapter discusses the emigration/immigration attitudes and policies of the Russian state and its Canadian counterpart with reference to peasant labour migration between the two countries. In light of the scarcity of literature on the emigration attitudes of the Russian monarchy, I deemed it necessary not to limit the scope of the discussion to Russian reactions to Canada-bound emigration, but to offer an analysis of wider legal, administrative and political contexts in which Russian official policies regarding emigration were formulated and put into effect. Such an approach is also justified by the fact that Canada, either as a recipient of immigrants or in any other capacity, rarely loomed large on the Russian horizon. The reader may find it amusing that in 1913 a Duma speaker cited the growing trade with *South America* among the reasons for increasing the number of Russian consular missions in Canada, but this example reveals the extent of the ignorance of this country that existed in St. Petersburg.² Curiously, as we shall see below, Ottawa often paid the powerful European empire in kind.

² *Stenograficheskie otchety Gosudarstvennoi Dumi*, 4 sozyv, sessiia 1, tom 3 (St. Petersburg, 1913), col. 2235.

Emigration, State and Society in Late Imperial Russia

Until the first decade of the twentieth century, emigration in tsarist Russia was considered a marginal phenomenon, limited to the territorial and ethno-religious fringes of the empire and having little or nothing to do with “indigenous Russians (*korennye russkie*)”, considered the mainstay of the nation. This view was not without its foundation in reality. While emigration of Russian Jews began in the early 1880s, soon followed by increasing Polish, Lithuanian and Finnish emigration, the masses of Slavic-speaking population east of Congress Poland long remained outside the continental and transoceanic migrant streams. Apart from the Jews, Mennonites and Germans from Volhynia, Southern Ukraine and the Lower Volga region constituted the only ethnic group in the empire’s heartland that provided a substantial number of emigrants before 1900. Some political exiles and other imperial subjects who had reasons to avoid the heavy hand of tsarist justice also trickled out of the empire but their numbers were too minuscule to draw the attention of anyone except Russia’s police authorities. The estimated total of 769,000 people who emigrated from the Russian Empire during the 1890s may seem impressive, but it constituted a mere 0.6 percent of the country’s 127-million population and included not only overseas migration but also continental movements.³

The fact that emigration was long restricted to the ethnic and territorial periphery of the Romanov realm largely accounted for the lack of either government or public interest in it prior to the 1900s. The government kept no tally of its emigrating subjects, with the

³ V.V. Obolensky-Ossinsky, “Emigration from and Immigration into Russia,” in Imre Ferenczi and Walter F. Willcox, eds., *International Migrations. Vol.2: Interpretations* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1969), p. 527.

exception of the semi-autonomous Finland and Poland, where limited emigration statistics were collected by local authorities and public organizations. The closest the Russian authorities ever came to recording emigration at the imperial level were the annual reports on the movement of people across the imperial borders, published after 1828 by the Customs Department of the Russian Ministry of Trade and Industry, but these reports made no distinction between emigrants and other travellers.⁴ Such distinction was, in fact, impossible, for no legal definition of emigration existed in tsarist Russia.⁵ Anyone going abroad was *a priori* considered leaving the country temporarily and to all intents and purposes remained subject to Russian law. Even though emigration was not explicitly forbidden, Russian penal law contained harsh sanctions for an attempt to leave the country permanently or for an unspecified period of time without obtaining a special permission. Thus, articles 325-327 of the 1903 Code of Punishments forbade “unauthorized abandonment of the homeland”, which included staying abroad longer than five years. Nor was naturalization in a foreign country permitted without prior consent of the Russian authorities and official release from Russian citizenship. Until the first decade of the twentieth century, any propaganda of emigration (or, more precisely, “abandonment of the homeland”) on the territory of the empire was also considered a criminal activity, punishable by arrest, exile or disfranchisement.⁶ The stringency of the

⁴ Imre Ferenczi and Walter F. Willcox, eds., *International Migrations*. Vol.1: *Statistics* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1969), p. 792.

⁵ Galina Tschernowa, “Zur Herausbildung staatlicher Auswanderungspolitik in Rußland: Bestrebungen um einen Lenkungsmechanismus Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1914“, *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1994, 42(5): 418.

⁶ S.A. Ianovskii, “Russkoe zakonodatel'stvo i emigratsiia”, *Vestnik Ministerstva iustitsii*, April 1909, p. 92-94.

juridical norms that regulated the procedures of border passage and temporary residence abroad was, however, more a natural vestige of the autocratic system of government than a conscious policy adopted with a view of restricting emigration. As we will see below, these legal provisions were routinely ignored in real administrative practice of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The unwillingness of the imperial government to develop a general policy on emigration was consistent with the underlying politico-legal doctrine of the Russian monarchical state, which rejected the notion of universal rights in favour of a complex system of duties and privileges specific to, and determined individually for, each category of its subjects. Group emigration of certain classes of population (such as religious minorities) was handled on an *ad hoc* basis in accordance with the current political priorities of the Russian monarchy rather than any general set of principles. Emigration of Jews – the largest and chronologically first group of Russia’s emigrants – is a good example of this approach. In the early 1880s, when Jewish emigration for the first time assumed large proportions, the tsarist government lacked a coherent policy on the issue. Although it never objected to the exodus of its Jewish subjects, considered to be an alien and inassimilable minority, “no explicit licence to leave the empire [was] granted Russia’s Jews”.⁷ By the early 1890s, the pro-emigration attitude had apparently recruited more supporters in the higher echelons of St. Petersburg bureaucracy. The permanent removal of the largest contingent of the empire’s non-Christian population seemed to be beneficial both politically and economically, as it would not only help eradicate the major

⁷ David Vital, *A People Apart: The Jews in Europe, 1789-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 347, 363; also Hans Rogger, “Tsarist Policy on Jewish Emigration”, *Soviet Jewish Affairs*, 3, 1 (1973): 27-28.

source of ethno-religious tensions and, allegedly, left-wing radicalism, but also reduce extreme overpopulation in the towns of the Jewish Pale of Settlement. In 1892, the government granted a charter to the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA), established by Jewish philanthropist Baron Maurice de Hirsch in order to facilitate Jewish resettlement from Eastern Europe to other countries. According to the charter, Jews leaving Russia under the auspices of the association were exempt from paying hefty passport fees and received a preferential train fare to the Russian border.⁸ These privileges came with a cost, however: the emigrants were automatically stripped of their Russian citizenship and prohibited from returning to the homeland.

Similar policies were adopted in regard to group migration of persecuted Christian sectarians such as Doukhobors and Molokans. By the late nineteenth century, having failed to break the faith of these religious dissenters by repressive measures, the government largely lifted its objections against their permanent emigration from Russia. In the best-known act of this policy, approximately 7,700 Doukhobors were allowed in 1898-99 to leave the southern provinces of the empire, where the majority of them had been forced to live, and move to Canada. In a confidential letter to the Minister of Internal Affairs, the civil governor of Caucasus, Count Golitsyn, wrote that mass Doukhor departure “would facilitate the resolution of the Doukhor question, for the removal from our territory of such a troublesome and dangerous element would seem very desirable”.⁹ Similar to the Jews leaving through the JCA, the Doukhobors too were

⁸ Ianovskii, p. 106-111. The majority of Russian Jews, who emigrated on their own rather than through the Jewish Colonization Association, were not eligible to these privileges.

⁹ Cited in Andrew Donskov, ed., *Sergej Tolstoy and the Doukhobors: A Journey to Canada* (Ottawa: Slavic Research Group at the University of Ottawa, 1998), p. 38n. The English-language literature on the Doukhobors is very large. The classic treatment of the Doukhor history with a

barred from returning to the territory of the empire under the threat of “exile to remote localities”.¹⁰

By the mid-1890s, as seasonal movement of agricultural workers from Russian Poland to Germany and, to a lesser extent, other European countries, was gaining strength, the Russian government was forced to deal with this first large class of economic migrants from the empire. In response to numerous requests from Berlin, interested in a steady supply of cheap labour for German Junkers, special regulatory procedures were established for this class of migrants. In 1894, residents of Russian Poland, who lived within three miles from the German border, received the right to go to Germany for seasonal work on special free permits issued by the local police. After 1909 this privilege was extended to all Russian subjects going abroad as temporary agricultural labourers regardless of their territorial origin.¹¹ According to another regulation, residents of Russian districts bordering on Austria could travel there on personal business with special short-term permits known as “legitimizing passes” (*legitimatsionnye bilety*) and valid for the maximum of four weeks.¹²

focus on the Canadian period is George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors* (Toronto; New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

¹⁰ Donskov, *Sergej Tolstoy and the Doukhobors*, p. 38. The emigrating Doukhobors were freed of all obligations to the Russian state. However, men who reached the military service age in 1898 were not allowed to leave with the others. It should also be noted that, despite the special procedures, the Doukhobors still had to receive Russian passports prior to emigration, although some alterations in the existing passport procedures were made in their case.

¹¹ N.L. Tudorianu, *Ocherki rossiiskoi trudovoi emigratsii perioda imperializma (v Germaniiu, Skandinavskie strany i SShA)* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1986), p. 38-50.

¹² “Ustav o pasportakh”, razdel 2 (“O pasportakh zagranichnykh, propuske cherez granitsu i pogranichnykh soobshcheniiakh”), *Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii*. Vol. 14 (St. Petersburg, 1903), p. 55-56.

Categories of population for which no special regulations were in place were subject to the general provisions of the passport law, which allowed any resident of the empire to leave the country temporarily after obtaining a passport from the provincial government. Cumbersome and inefficient, these procedures went back at least to the mid-nineteenth century and were designed as an instrument of retaining control and supervision over the subjects of the tsar rather than a means of easing the movement of population across the imperial borders. The revised 1903 Passport Statute established a passport fee of ten rubles for every half-year and an additional payment of five rubles collected by the Russian Imperial Red Cross Society.¹³ Additional fees had to be paid for the application forms. The resulting total of more than seventeen rubles (approximately \$9) was no small amount for a peasant or small artisan, almost equalling the average monthly earnings of a Russian farm labourer in 1913. In addition to the prohibitive fees, passport seekers encountered a daunting amount of bureaucratic formalities. Before applying for a passport, a village resident had to receive the consent of the peasant commune to his departure and obtain written proof from the head of his administrative parish (*volost'*) that he did not owe the government any taxes. Following that, local police authorities had to certify that the applicant was not under criminal investigation or required to report for military service within the next six months. An emigrant's wife who wished to join her husband was required to produce his written permission before

¹³ Ibid., p. 46. If the passport expired during the holder's stay abroad, it had to be renewed for another six months at the nearest Russian consular mission on payment of the fifteen-ruble fee.

she could receive a passport. The final decision rested with the office of the provincial governor, which issued the passport. A similar procedure existed for town residents.¹⁴

Neither Russian legislation nor administration was, however, prepared to handle the increasing mass of economic emigrants streaming out of the country. Most emigrants spent weeks, if not months, on passport hassles prior to setting out to America. The sheer size of most Russian provinces along with the poor transportation system presented an additional difficulty for passport seekers. Moreover, a peasant had first to obtain an internal passport from the *volost'* authorities to be able to go to the provincial capital. Added to this was the proverbial red tape and corruption that flourished on the lower levels of Russian government. As a result, a seemingly routine administrative procedure easily turned into a frustrating experience. Not surprisingly, many emigrants found it too demanding to comply with the passport regulations. "However bad it may be without a passport, with one it is even worse", Volhynian peasants were reported to complain.¹⁵ A contemporary Russian author P. Tizenko estimated that the procedure of obtaining a foreign passport normally took three to six months, and in cases when the government offices were further away from the applicant's place of residence – even longer. According to official estimates, the average expenses incurred by the passport seeker (including passport fees, travel and postal expenses) amounted to over 33 rubles (approximately \$17).¹⁶

¹⁴ P. Tizenko, *Emigratsionnyi vopros v Rossii, 1820-1910* (Libava: Libavskii vestnik, 1909), p. 20; Ianovskii, *Russkoe zakonodatel'stvo*, p. 99-101.

¹⁵ *Izvestiia Volynskogo gubernskogo zemstva* 2 (1913): 20.

¹⁶ Tizenko, *Emigratsionnyi vopros*, p. 21; Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv (hereafter RGIA), fond 95, opis' 6, delo 678, list 12.

Had the Russian authorities ever succeeded in (or even attempted) consistent enforcement of passport and other regulations restricting the movement across the empire's border, mass emigration from the empire would have been made all but impossible. However, the usual failure of Russia's legal system to keep pace with social change and the resulting discrepancy between legal norms and everyday administrative practices extended in full measure to emigration. By the end of the nineteenth century, as the migratory movement was assuming progressively higher proportions, many of the regulations described in the previous paragraphs (especially those imposing penal sanctions on illegal emigrants, i.e. those travelling without a passport or remaining abroad longer than five years) had become a dead letter, while others were interpreted by provincial governments in different and sometimes conflicting ways.¹⁷ In short, emigration acquired a sort of quasi-legitimacy and was increasingly regulated by administrative precedent, which differed, at times substantially, from the statutory law. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the consequence of this peculiar state of affairs was the common practice of circumventing passport law, which became a rule rather than an exception in early twentieth-century Imperial Russia. According to contemporary estimates, illegal emigration from early twentieth-century Russia amounted to 75 per cent of the total.¹⁸ Of the remaining quarter, only a small percentage applied for passport extension to Russian consulates during their stay abroad. Many illegal emigrants wishing to return home declared their passports lost or stolen and applied to the consuls for entry

¹⁷ In some provinces, for instance, each member of a family was issued a separate passport (and had to pay the passport fee), while in others the wife and children were included in the passport issued to the head of the family (as stipulated by the law). In many cases, the passport-issuing authorities also neglected to indicate the holder's military status in the passport.

¹⁸ Tizenko, *Emigratsionnyi vopros*, p. 34.

permits, which were issued for a nominal fee after a routine check of the applicant's citizenship.¹⁹

The archaic character of Russia's passport system was becoming obvious not only to the public interested in the emigration question but also to many officials on various levels of the government. In 1906, for instance, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs admitted, in a typically heavy bureaucratic jargon of the time, that "the continued legal view of the passport as a document *permitting* a particular individual to reside abroad rather than a certificate of one's identity, along with the complexity of passport-issuing regulations and high fees, leads to a situation of insurmountable difficulty for those Russian subjects who wish to regularize their passport status".²⁰ Some officials and public observers suggested replacing the obsolete passports with emigration permits issued for a nominal fee at the emigrant's place of residence.²¹ Russian consuls, who had to deal with masses of illegal Russian-subject emigrants lining up for entry permits, also joined their voice in advocating simpler passport procedures. Mikhail Ustinov, who in 1912-13 briefly held the post of Russian consul in Montreal prior to being appointed consul general in New York, wrote to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Second Section that he thought it advisable to "give free passports to all Russian workers who are going to Canada".²²

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 29.

²⁰ National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Likacheff-Ragosine-Mathers Collection (hereafter Li-Ra-Ma Collection), MG30 E406, vol. 1, file 6, "Obrabotka obshchikh ocherkov konsul'skoi deiatel'nosti za 1906 god, dostavlennykh vo Vtoroi Departament vsledstvie tsirkuliarov ot 2 apreliia s.g. za no. 4669 i ot 5 apreliia s.g. za no. 4798". Italics are mine.

²¹ For some examples of these opinions see: Tizenko, *Emigratsionnyi vopros*, p. 38-41; B. Kurchevskii, *O russkoi emigratsii v Ameriku* (Libava, 1914), p. 34; RGIA, fond 95, opis' 6, delo 1241, list 127.

²² Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 3, file 94, Ustinov to Vtoroi Departament, 20 February 1913. The Second Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was in charge of the consular service.

Support for the removal of administrative barriers to emigration also came from some members of the Russian Orthodox clergy in North America, anxious to increase their flock. Rev. Theophan Buketov, who served in several Russian Orthodox parishes in North America, wrote in the *Russian Orthodox American Messenger*, organ of the Russian Orthodox Church in North America, that emigration to America, which had a civilizing effect on the Russian peasantry, should be stimulated by the authorities rather than restricted by inefficient passport regulations.²³ By the early 1910s, the old emigration regulations had few supporters both in the government and among the general public.

Calls for a liberalization of Russia's passport system were part of the growing public discussion of the emigration question, which had been slowly gaining strength after 1906-07, when Canadian and American immigration statistics began to register quickly increasing numbers of "indigenous (*korennye*) Russians" among the emigrants from the tsarist empire. Emigration finally ceased to be a non-issue and began to attract greater attention from the governing elite, social critics, economists and all those who by virtue of their intellectual interests or professional duties came into contact with population movements. Assessing the latest trends in the emigration movement, a prominent agrarian economist N. Oganovskii wrote in 1914 that

the earlier emigrant types - the Jewish emigrant fleeing the pogroms in panic fear, the marginalized politician – have been replaced by the common village workfolk, induced [to emigrate] by an agent of some legal or clandestine emigration bureau skilfully painting the picture of high pay in the United States or the vast land resources in Brazil.²⁴

²³ Theophan Buketov, "Vysokii opekun emigrantov", *American Orthodox Messenger* 16 (1912): 292.

²⁴ *Russkie vedomosti*, 22 April 1914.

The motives that led the “Russian peasant”, believed to be attached to his country and his plot of land, to leave the homeland and seek a fortune in America became a matter of concern for Russia’s educated class. The emigration theme had already inspired the imagination of at least one prominent Russian writer. In 1902, Vladimir Korolenko, a renowned writer and publicist of a mixed Ukrainian-Polish origin (1853-1921), published a short novel *Bez iazyka* (Without the Language). Based on Korolenko’s personal impressions of emigrant life during his 1893 trip to America, the book described the dramatic and touching story of Matvei Lozinskii, a Ukrainian peasant from Volhynia, who set out to America with his sister and a co-villager and encountered mockery and abuse because of his foreign manners and inability to speak English.²⁵

The character of the unfolding discussion on emigration and the main lines of argument were largely defined by Russia’s post-1905 political discourse shaped by the conflict between the two dominant intellectual and political orientations, which may be broadly defined as liberal-constitutionalist and national-monarchist.²⁶ Attitudes towards emigration, expressed in the course of the polemic, usually reflected their authors’ political affiliations and connections to various interests and lobby groups, although some views found supporters across the political spectrum. For the Russian liberals, who played the role of the “loyal opposition” to the tsarist monarchy and advocated a broad program of political and social reform, the growing labour emigration from the empire’s

²⁵ More on Korolenko and his novel can be found in Thomas M. Prymak, “The Great Migration: East Central Europe to the Americas in the Literatures of the Slavs, 1880-1914, Some Examples” *Ethnic Forum* 12, 2 (1992): 41-44. The novel was later published in English under the title *In a Strange Land* (New York: Bernard G. Richards Company, 1925).

²⁶ See Boris Mironov (with Ben Eklof), *A Social History of Imperial Russia, 1700-1917*, vol. 2 (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2000), p. 171-2.

western rim was first and foremost another evidence of the poor state of the Russian peasantry, which required attention from both the government and the society at large. From about 1910 until 1914, publications on peasant emigration, ranging from brief reports to large analytical articles, increasingly appeared in the leading national journals of liberal orientation and various liberal and zemstvo organs in the provinces.²⁷

According to the prevailing liberal view of emigration, the peasants were pushed out of the country by the same economic forces that had long been driving them to seek extra income outside the village.²⁸ For Oganovskii, the main liberal writer on emigration, it was little more than a new phase in the long history of peasant labour migrations, which, under proper organization, could prove beneficial for both the peasantry itself and the nation at large. In a large article carried by the leading liberal newspaper *Russkie vedomosti*, he argued that “for Russia this work migration is a definite plus: we do not lose the emigrants, they return home with money and some knowledge of foreign culture”.²⁹ Oganovskii also pointed to the fact that “American money” allowed a growing number of peasants in the western provinces to raise their economic status and increase landholdings.³⁰ An economist and statistician Konstantin Voblyi, who in 1904 published

²⁷ The term “zemstvo” collectively refers to provincial and district representative assemblies with limited administrative functions, which were established in the 1870s and by the late nineteenth century became one of the strongholds of political liberalism in Imperial Russia. In Belarus and Right-Bank Ukraine, however, zemstvo was not introduced until 1911, mainly for fear of its domination by Polish gentry and other non-Russian minorities. On the role of zemstvo in the history of Russia the best source is Terence Emmons and Wayne S. Vucinich, eds., *The Zemstvo in Russia: An Experiment in Local Self-Government* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

²⁸ *Russkie vedomosti*, 20 May 1914.

²⁹ *Russkie vedomosti*, 11 April 1914.

³⁰ N. Oganovskii, “Novyi vid otkhozhego promysla”, *Vestnik Evropy* 10 (October 1914): 279.

the first major Russian study of the emigration question, stressed the connection between emigration and economic inequality and argued that the former could have a positive impact on the sending country, especially if the emigrants, after settling in the new land, “keep their nationality, their tongue, their mores and customs”.³¹ According to Voblyi, emigrants loyal to their homeland would never align themselves with its enemies and would provide a potent stimulus to the development of international commerce. Therefore, the maintenance of economic and spiritual ties with its emigrating subjects must become the basis of any state’s emigration policy.³² Publicists affiliated with Russia’s transportation interests concurred with this view, pointing to the influx of emigrant money into the country as a source of economic growth and the development of trade relations with the Western hemisphere.³³

For Russian liberals, emigration was a complex phenomenon, whose short- and long-term effects still awaited a thorough analysis. Apart from pointing to the economic benefits derived by the peasantry from emigration in the form of American dollars, a number of liberal-oriented authors argued that it also had a strong “civilizing” and educational effect on Russia’s rural society. They approvingly noted the fact that peasants returning to their villages after a two- or three-year stint in the United States or Canada possessed more self-discipline, energy and initiative than their less adventurous and mobile co-villagers. The returnees were reported to be more polite, self-respectful and less addicted to drinking than their neighbours. Observers especially noted that exposure

³¹ K.G. Voblyi, *Zaatlanticheskaia emigratsiia: ee prichiny i sledstviia (opyt statistiko-ekonomicheskogo issledovaniia)* (Varshava: Tip. Varshavskogo Uchebnogo Okruga, 1904), p. 109.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 111.

³³ Tizenko, *Emigratsionnyi vopros*, p. 13-15; Kurchevskii, *Ob emigratsii v Ameriku*, p. 19.

to American values led to a transformation of peasants' work attitudes expressed in greater industriousness and work discipline. This was admitted even by government officials whose attitudes to emigration were normally less than friendly.³⁴ Migration experience was also believed to lead to the peasants' greater interest in education and self-improvement, as exemplified by the case of a Tver' peasant M. Volkov, who settled in Michigan in 1907 and combined factory work with attending evening agricultural courses. The bulletin of the Tver' provincial zemstvo carried a selection of Volkov's letters from America, extolling American agricultural practices and calling for their adoption by Russian cultivators.³⁵ It seemed as if a source of the new, enlightened type of Russian peasant, which had long been searched for by Russian liberal reformers, was suddenly found in the returning "Americans".

The government's continuing neglect of peasant emigration led many liberal writers to look to the zemstvo as a possible source of assistance to the emigrants. The zemstvo's long-time interest and expertise in peasant economy, which stemmed from the nature of responsibilities assigned to it in the administrative system of the Russian state, seemed to make it the natural candidate for dealing with the complex of issues related to peasant migrations. Many zemstvo institutions had already been co-operating with the government in implementing a massive program of peasant resettlement beyond the Urals, which after 1906 had become the cornerstone of tsarist agrarian policies. Social commentators of the time saw emigration assistance and collection of emigration statistics as logically falling within zemstvo's responsibility, especially given its

³⁴ *Russkie vedomosti*, 22 April 1914; Oganovskii, "Novyi vid otkhozhego promysla", p. 283; F. Kryshtofovich, "Kak ekhat' v Ameriku na zarabotki", *Sel'skii khoziain* 17 (1913): 825.

³⁵ Cited in N. Oganovskii, "Novyi vid otkhozhego promysla", p. 283-284.

acclaimed statistical apparatus and expertise, which in many ways surpassed those of the tsarist administration. *Vestnik Novouzenskogo zemstva* wrote that “[t]here is no reason to doubt that zemstvo workers, [...] were they to incorporate emigration in their work, would make it as orderly as they have already made colonization”.³⁶

The Chernigov provincial zemstvo was one of the first to turn its attention to the emigration question. In 1904, its monthly journal carried an article “Novozybkov Peasants in America”, devoted to the developing peasant emigration from one of the province’s northern districts.³⁷ After 1911, as Ukrainian peasantry in the Right Bank caught the “America fever”, the newly established local zemstvo branches quickly followed suit, as materials on peasant emigration began to appear in their monthly bulletins on a regular basis – most of them, however, short reports chronicling emigration from particular localities or exposing another case of deceitful propaganda and dishonest practices of emigration agents. An important role in facilitating the public discussion of emigration was played by the South-Russian Regional Resettlement Organization (SRRO), an association formed in 1908 by several provincial zemstvos with the goal of assisting peasant resettlement from Ukraine and Southern Russia to Siberia. Between 1911 and 1914, its journal, *Izvestiia iuzhnorusskoi oblastnoi zemskoi pereselencheskoi organizatsii*, carried more than twenty publications on the subject.³⁸

³⁶ S.R., “Emigratsiia i pereselenie”, *Vestnik novouzenskogo zemstva* 4 (1913): 41. Similar opinions were voiced in *Russkie vedomosti*, 22 April and 20 May 1914. See also Oganovskii, “Novyi vid otkhozhego promysla”, p. 291-292.

³⁷ G. Skoropadskii, “Novozybkovskie krest’iane v Amerike”, *Zemskii sbornik Chernigovskoi gubernii* 11 (1904): 67-77.

³⁸ See, for instance, *Izvestiia iuzhno-russkoi oblastnoi zemskoi pereselencheskoi organizatsii* (hereafter *Izvestiia IuROZPO*), 1911-1913, no. 45, pp. 135-7; no. 46, p. 84-5; no. 47, p. 73-4; no. 54, p. 152-3; no. 57, pp. 79-82; no. 58, p. 150.

The challenge that emigration was thought to present to the cause of internal peasant colonization, in which both the tsarist administration and the zemstvo were investing a great deal of effort and money, was a matter of concern for many zemstvo commentators. Even though emigration was not openly condemned and emigrating peasants received sympathetic treatment, moving to a farm in one's own country was considered a better and more natural alternative to the tribulations of a transient worker in a foreign land. One author hoped, for instance, that emigration would abate if the peasants were better informed about "the conditions of resettlement to Siberia, where they can always rely on the support of both the government and the zemstvo".³⁹ Another believed that what the peasants lacked was reliable information about America, not Siberia: "If only a portion of [government's] expenses [spent on colonization] went towards acquainting those going to America with the arduous conditions of work overseas, it would probably direct some of the needed human resources to Siberia".⁴⁰

Among the diverse materials on emigration that appeared in Russian liberal-oriented papers, zemstvo journals and agricultural bulletins, there were some that contained practical information for prospective emigrants, including travelling tips, brief descriptions of economy and immigration conditions in major destination countries, and the like. An extensive selection of U.S. immigration laws published in *Izvestiia iuzhno-russkoi oblastnoi zemskoi pereselencheskoi organizatsii* with detailed commentary is one example of such materials.⁴¹ These publications hardly fit the definition of promotional

³⁹ A. R-ii, "O pereselenii v Ameriku", *Izvestiia Volynskogo gubernskogo zemstva* 25 (1913): 10.

⁴⁰ *Izvestiia IuROZPO* 58 (1913): 41-42.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43ff.

literature as it is usually understood by migration historians, for they were motivated primarily by a desire to protect the emigrants from the potentially harmful consequences of misinformation or idealistic expectations rather than by an attempt to encourage emigration. Most of their authors tried to convey their message in terms adapted to the Russian reader. Canada did not pass unnoticed in this sort of literature. *Vestnik Novouzenskogo zemstva*, for instance, informed its readers that it was “the most suitable place for wage work in North America...A common peasant labourer makes in Canada three rubles a day, and one who knows a trade twice as much.”⁴² In an article “How Does One Go to America for Work”, which appeared in one of Russia’s leading agricultural journals *Sel’skii khoziain*, F. Kryshstofovich, an agent of the Russian Ministry of Agriculture, who had widely travelled throughout North and South America, described Canada as a “country suitable for both settlement and wage work”:

For those who wish to settle in Canada its western part is more suitable. For those who seek work – its eastern, more populated, part, primarily the province of Ontario with the cities of Toronto, Hamilton, St. Thomas and others. Winters in Canada in their severity resemble those in Perm’ or Viatka. Its westernmost province, British Columbia, is much warmer but humid. In the western provinces there is plenty of free government land, which is allotted to settlers free of charge in homesteads, which are each 50 desyatins in size.⁴³

Presenting a favourable picture of Canada, Kryshstofovich, however, cautioned his readers that “work in America has to be done quickly and strenuously, without losing a minute”.⁴⁴ He warned Russian peasants, whom he thought to be used to doing only the minimal amount of work necessary to sustain their household, that they should be

⁴² S.R., “Emigratsiia i pereselenie”, p. 30.

⁴³ F. Kryshstofovich, “Kak ekhat’ v Ameriku na zarabotki”, p. 823-824.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 825.

prepared for higher intensity and discipline required of an industrial worker in North America. The cautionary tone was even more explicit in another of Kryshtofovich's "letters from America", in which cold Canadian winters, which "make window glass crack" and which had apparently ruined many Doukhobor settlers, were mentioned as a factor to be taken into consideration by everyone who intended to take up farming in Canada. After all, moving to Siberia might still be a better option for the land-seeking peasant: "Why go to Canada, when Russia has more than a few places similar to Canada? Many of them are both warmer and better".⁴⁵

Many zemstvo publications lamented the lack of a national policy on emigration, which was blamed for the continued misfortunes of the emigrants on their way to America, and repeatedly attempted to draw the attention of the government to the need of recording and studying the emigration movement. A report by statistician P.M. Novoselov, who himself had spent over a year in the United States, to the sixth conference of the South-Russian Regional Zemstvo Resettlement Organization in 1912 revealed a poor state of national emigration statistics and a general neglect of the emigration question by Russian authorities. It concluded that "neither the government nor the zemstvo [had] yet made any serious steps towards the study of overseas emigration – this extremely important phenomenon in Russia's national life".⁴⁶ According to the author, a thorough statistical analysis of emigration was in order as a prerequisite to the formulation of a sound emigration policy. An agreement with American immigration

⁴⁵ F. Kryshtofovich, "Zemliakam moim v Rossii serdechnoe (shchire) poslanie", *Ekonomicheskii listok Podol'skogo gubernskogo zemstva* 7 (1912): 8.

⁴⁶ P.M. Novoselov, *Ob emigratsii v Ameriku. Dokladnaia zapiska statistika biuro Volynskoi oblastnoi organizatsii* (Zhitomir, 1912), p. 15.

authorities, which would allow collection of demographic statistics on Russian-subject immigrants entering the United States, was suggested as the first possible measure that could help put emigration under state control. Novoselov also advocated the appointment of a Russian government agent on Ellis Island to take care of the arriving immigrants and prevent their mistreatment by American authorities.⁴⁷ On his recommendations, the conference submitted an official petition to the Main Administration of Land Organization and Agriculture in St. Petersburg, urging the government to begin recording and studying peasant emigration.⁴⁸

The Russian zemstvo certainly played an important – perhaps the most important – role in bringing peasant emigration to the attention of the imperial government and the general public and in analyzing its impact on rural society. However, by 1914 its interest in emigration still very much remained at the data-gathering stage rather than that of practical work. With the exception of one attempt to establish a credit association for the emigrating peasants, zemstvo organs had done little in the way of practical organization of emigrant assistance.⁴⁹ Nor did they have much time to develop practical measures, for when the First World War broke out, mass peasant emigration from areas east of Russian Poland (except for a few localities) still had a very short history.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 16.

⁴⁸ *Izvestiia IuROZPO* 58 (1913): 40. The zemstvo's expertise in the emigration question appears to have attracted more interest from the United States government than from St. Petersburg. In September 1913, W.W. Husband, an agent of the U.S. Department of Labour, dispatched to Russia to study emigration conditions, met with Novoselov and received from him all materials on emigration accumulated by the south-Russian zemstvo. See *Izvestiia IuROZPO* 60 (1913): 67.

⁴⁹ "Emigratsiia i zemstvo (po materialam Chernigovskoi zemskoi nedeli)", *Izvestiia Volynskogo gubernskogo zemstva* 39-40 (1913): 8.

Emigration attitudes of Russian liberals and the zemstvo had much in common with those taken by Russia's nascent Ukrainian and Belarusian intelligentsia, which, too, stood in political opposition to the tsarist monarchy.⁵⁰ The growing proportion of ethnic Belarusians in the emigrant stream attracted the attention of the empire's leading Belarusian-language newspaper *Nasha niva* soon after it had been founded in Vilna in 1906 by a small circle of nationally conscious *littérateurs*.⁵¹ Between 1906 and 1914, it featured some thirty publications on emigration and the life of Belarusians in America, including several pieces of poetry written by Belarusian national bard Ianka Kupala and authors of lesser stature. Canada, which attracted a relatively small share of Belarusians compared to the United States, was, however, only rarely mentioned. The largest article on Canada, published in July 1912 by N. Charnotski, was devoted mostly to the discussion of its settlement opportunities. Prospective seekers of land were advised to go to the Canadian West, where "one still can get good land of one's choice...although far from the city, in the back country".⁵² While varying in both tenor and content, all of these materials expressed a sympathetic attitude towards the emigrants and emphasized the economic causes of the peasants' increasing flight off the land. Like Russian liberals, most *Nasha niva* authors saw the overall impact of emigration on the peasant economy in

⁵⁰ The general relationship between Russian liberals and the emerging Ukrainian and Belarusian national movements was a complicated one. While both groups advocated a similar socio-economic platform, the imperialist thinking of most Russian liberal intellectuals, who shared the official doctrine of a "single Russian nation" and frowned upon "Ukrainophiles", was a major source of mutual mistrust. See, for instance, *Rada*, 10 April 1912.

⁵¹ On Belarusian national movement in tsarist Russia see Jan Zaprudnik, *The Historical Dictionary of Belarus* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1998), pp. 159-160, 181.

⁵² Cited in Tomas Berd, "Zluchanyia Shtaty Ameryki i emihratsyinaia tematyka u publitsystytsy i paezii 'Nashai nivy'", *Zapisy: Belaruski instytut navuki i mastatstva* 23 (1999): 36.

positive terms. In a 1911 article “Emigration to the USA”, the newspaper’s editor Aliaksandr Ulasau estimated that “American money” accounted for at least three-fourths of peasant capital in Belarus. Descriptions of hard emigration conditions and deceitful practices of steamship and labour agents were another prominent theme in *Nasha niva* publications. The spread of education among the Belarusian peasantry, including a suggestion to open English-language courses for prospective emigrants, and government supervision of the emigration process were seen as two main ways to reduce the extent of mistreatment of the emigrants at the hands of various profiteers.⁵³

In Ukraine, the chronicle of peasant emigration and, occasionally, larger articles on the subject appeared from time to time on the pages of *Rada* – the leading mouthpiece of nationally conscious Ukrainians in the Russian Empire, published in Kiev by Ievhen Chykalenko.⁵⁴ Despite the ambivalent attitude of Ukrainian activists to the zemstvo, which was regarded as a vehicle of Russification, a number of *Rada* publications called upon zemstvo organs to take the initiative in the organization of assistance to emigrating Ukrainian peasants. A large editorial, published in July 1913, characterized emigration from “Russian” Ukraine as a movement whose desirability and effects on the peasantry could be debated, but which required immediate government and public attention:

At present, our emigrants are left to themselves; they have no reliable information about the travel routes, the conditions which await emigrants in America or the American wages. As a result, [they] are being killed by guardsmen at the border, swindled by emigration agents, turned back from America, heavily exploited by American entrepreneurs. It is obvious that if not the government, then at least the

⁵³ Ibid., p. 19.

⁵⁴ On the Ukrainian national movement in tsarist Russia, see Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p. 379.

zemstvo should come to the peasants' aid. Time for this has come, for it has become clear enough that [emigration] is not a temporary but a long-term movement...⁵⁵

The author suggested a regional association of Ukrainian zemstvos for emigrant assistance modelled after the South-Russian Resettlement Organization. Such an association, he hoped, would send its agents to every heavy-emigration province, to main Russian seaports and to America, with the goal of providing the emigrants with necessary information, helping them in finding work and protecting from mistreatment and abuse. Another publication commended the government on its recently announced plans to introduce a new emigration law bringing organization and state supervision into the hitherto spontaneous movement.⁵⁶

Canada enjoyed a much more prominent place on the pages of *Rada* than it did in *Nasha niva* – a natural consequence of the large presence and vibrant cultural life of Ukrainians in the country. Notes about the life of Canadian Ukrainians, including reprints from *Kanadyis'kyi farmer* (Canadian Farmer) and other Ukrainian-Canadian press, regularly appeared in the section “Ukrainians in America” along with less numerous reports from the United States. Most of these publications carried no promotional message, but there were exceptions such as a 1908 article by Iaroslav Kupins'kyi, reprinted in full from a Lviv paper *Hromads'kyi holos*, which eulogized Canada as a better place for Ukrainian emigrants than the United States, for it had superior employment prospects and a better organized Ukrainian community life. Kupins'kyi

⁵⁵ *Rada*, 9 July 1913.

⁵⁶ *Rada*, 22 January 1913.

exhorted all Ukrainian emigrants “who set out to seek ‘fortune beyond the seas’ [...] to choose one way – to Canada”.⁵⁷

Education of prospective emigrants was also carried out through the publishing activities of “Prosvita” – the largest Ukrainian cultural association in the Russian Empire modelled on its Galician prototype. In 1908, the Kiev branch of the association produced a pamphlet entitled *Canada: What Kind of Land It Is and How People Live in It*. The publication contained a detailed overview of Canada’s geography, history, political system and economic development as well as advice for those wishing to settle or work there. A special section – “How Working People Live in Canada” – described the social conditions of Canadian farmers and farm workers, which “our peasants cannot even dream of”.⁵⁸ The accessible style of the pamphlet leaves no doubt that it was intended for the literate peasant as well as for a more educated audience. V. Korol’ov’s *Ukrainians in America*, which appeared a year later, was also written with regard to the prospective emigrant readership. It exemplified the attitude, taken by most Russian and Ukrainian intellectuals in the empire, that, although temporary emigration could be a benefit for the peasantry, permanent settlement in America “weakens the native land”, draining it of the most industrious workers.⁵⁹ The history of Ukrainian emigration to Canada and Ukrainian-Canadian community life occupied about half of the volume. While Ukrainian farm settlements in the West received most of the author’s attention, lucrative money-earning opportunities offered by Canada were also mentioned. The reader could learn, for instance, that miners and sawmill workers in the labour-short British Columbia made as

⁵⁷ *Rada*, 22 April 1908.

⁵⁸ *Pro Kanadu: iaka tse zemlia i iak v ii zhyvut’ liude* (Kiev: Prosvita, 1908), p. 34.

⁵⁹ V. Korol’ov, *Ukraintsy v Amerytsi* (Kiev: Prosvita, 1909), p. 105-6.

much as 10 rubles (\$5) per day.⁶⁰ Practical recommendations for those considering emigration to “America” were also included:

Do not believe various crooks that wander through our villages.
 [Before leaving] seek advice from well-informed people and find out everything in detail.
 Do not go by yourself, it is better to leave together with other fellow villagers...
 People who are weak or ill should not go to the foreign land.
 You should get good advance knowledge of the laws that are presently in force in this or that state.
 Naturally, those who know the language of the country where they are going will earn more money.⁶¹

It is important to note that while for Russian liberals, who by and large adhered to the official doctrine of the “single Russian nation”, the ethno-cultural dimension of peasant emigration was not an issue, the Ukrainian and Belarusan political activists saw the emigration question not only as another opportunity to press for social reform, but also as an important avenue for reaching out to the millions of Ukrainian and Belarusan peasants with the ultimate goal of awakening their national consciousness. This was done, for instance, through explaining to the emigrating peasants the value of mutual aid and national organization, which was deemed essential for survival in the foreign land. Ulasau, for instance, urged Belarusan emigrants in America to form mutual-aid associations (*khaury*) along ethnic lines “in the same way as it is done, for instance, by Galician Ruthenians”.⁶² Another author wrote that while “a steam plough in a co-

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 81.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 106-107.

⁶² Cited in Berd, “Zluchanyia Shtaty Ameryki”, p. 19.

operative can, of course, serve equally to a Belarusan, a Ukrainian, a Lithuanian or a Pole [...] each people needs its own songs, schools and libraries.”⁶³

Around 1912, Belarusan political activists set up what they likely hoped to be a practical demonstration of the value of national association – a Vil’na branch of the Warsaw-based Society for Assistance to Emigrants. Whereas little information has survived about the activities of this organization, it is known to have published the only emigrant guidebook produced in the Belarusan language before 1914. Entitled *Rady dlia emihrantau, katorye eduts’ u Ameryku* (Advice for Emigrants Who Are Going to America), this 64-page brochure contained extensive travel information, American immigration regulations, addresses of various agencies providing help to the immigrants, a chart showing train fare from major U.S. ports to various cities, including Montreal, and a Belarusan-English conversation aid. Like scores of other emigrant guides produced in early twentieth-century Europe, it warned the readers that “overseas one can achieve anything only through hard work” and cautioned them against taking emigration lightly and believing the stories of an American El Dorado told by steamship agents and often repeated in “America letters”.⁶⁴

As peasant emigration from the western rim of the empire reached its all-time high after 1910, it also began to draw the attention of Russian national-monarchist organs. The national-monarchist camp in early twentieth-century Imperial Russia comprised a motley assemblage of political groups, writers and thinkers held together by a common adherence to the official doctrine of Russian statehood expressed in the triadic formula of

⁶³ Ibid., p. 36.

⁶⁴ *Rady dlia emihrantau, katorye eduts’ v Ameryku* (Vil’nia: Izd. Tavarystva apeki nad emihrantami, 1912), p. 4-5.

autocracy, Orthodoxy and nationality.⁶⁵ Mass emigration of “Little Russian” and “White Russian” peasantry came to be viewed by the nationalists as one of the forces that threatened the foundations of the Russian national life, for it was believed to deprive the nation of its keystone Slavic-Orthodox element, ruin the patriarchal life of the village and lead to the replacement of communal values, intrinsic to the Russian peasantry, with commercialism and individualism. Such views were regularly voiced in Russia’s leading national-monarchist paper *Novoe vremia* and echoed in its counterparts in the western and south-western provinces - *Kievlia**nin*, *Podolia**nin*, *Severo-Zapadnaia zhizn'* and others. Lamenting the skyrocketing rates of labour emigration from the villages of Podolia, *Podolia**nin* went as far as to call it a “psychic disease of our peasant, which manifests itself in an excessive lust for money and ‘gold’ ”.⁶⁶ A correspondence from the province’s Proskurov District (incidentally, one of the largest donors of emigrants to Canada) entitled “Flamboyance and Hooliganism”, rebuked local peasants for their increasing preference for urban dress and lifestyle, which was explained, among other things, by their voyages to America.⁶⁷ The nationalists were quick to put the blame for the new social evil on the mischievous “agent”, who scoured the villages of Belarus and Ukraine, inducing the gullible peasants to desert their country. This “conspiracy theory” was nothing new in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Eastern Europe. In the neighbouring Poland, for instance, it had been enunciated a few decades earlier by

⁶⁵ It needs to be mentioned here that while the tsarist monarchy relied on the Russian nationalists as its ideological allies, it preferred to dissociate itself from the extreme expressions of nationalist xenophobia and anti-Semitism, which frequently came from the most radical adherents of this ideology. See, for instance, Andreas Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2001), p. 347.

⁶⁶ *Podolia**nin*, 8 May 1913.

⁶⁷ *Podolia**nin*, 2 August 1913.

conservative gentry, who saw emigration as a threat to the survival of the Polish nation. In their search for the roots of the increasing population drain, the Russian conservatives, like their Polish counterparts, focussed on the question of “Who was responsible for the emigration movement?” instead of “What was responsible for the emigration movement?”⁶⁸

“Agent-bashing”, permeated with Judeophobia, became one of the central themes of Russian nationalist writing on emigration. Deceit and swindling commonly practiced by emigration agents, most of them Jews, were portrayed as qualities inherent to the “Jewish tribe”. “Our peasants should not trust greedy agents (Jews), painting a rosy picture of American life”, warned *Podolianin*.⁶⁹ Warnings of a similar kind could be found in many other right-wing periodicals, which widely exploited one of the favourite public characters constructed by the Russian ruling elite – the ingenious and shifty Jew taking advantage of the honest but simple-minded “Russian peasant”.⁷⁰ Attached to communitarian values and convinced of Russia’s predestination as a moral saviour of the Christian world, the nationalists portrayed “America” as a land of rampant commercialism, pragmatism and individualism, where “religion and morality [were] nil”.⁷¹ The roots of all difficulties experienced by Russian emigrants in the New World

⁶⁸ Benjamin Murdzek, *Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought, 1870-1914* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly: New York: Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1977), p. 59-60; also William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), p. 1484.

⁶⁹ *Podolianin*, 29 August 1913.

⁷⁰ On the uses of anti-Jewish rhetoric in tsarist Russia see Hans Rogger, “Government, Jews, Peasants, and Land in Post-Emancipation Russia”, *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* XXVII, 1 (janv.-mars 1976): 5-25, XXVII, 2-3 (avr.-sept. 1976): 171-211.

⁷¹ *Podolianin*, 2 August 1913.

were sought in the difference which was believed to exist between the communalist and spiritually driven Russia and the individualist and pragmatic West. While this view was more widespread among the national-monarchists, in its less Manichean forms it also extended to other parts of Russian society. Thus, a publicist disguised as S.R. wrote in the liberal *Vestnik Novouzenskogo zemstva* that the “Russian character” saw the main purpose of human life “not in the pursuit of the dollar, but in that ‘poetry of life’, which Russian people (even Russian Jews) do not find anywhere outside the borders of their homeland”.⁷²

However, even the nationalists had to admit that, while “emigration abroad is, of course, an *unnatural* and *undesirable* phenomenon which should not be encouraged [...] it is erroneous to think that [it] can be stopped or even reduced by police measures aimed at making border passage or the sale of steamship tickets more difficult”.⁷³ Instead of trying to turn the clock back, they focussed their efforts on pressing for government control over emigration matters, which they thought to be the only way to protect the emigrants from swindling and abuse at the hands of Jewish agents at various stages of the migration process. “There is no doubt that the absurd ‘fortune-seeking’ would have ceased long ago, had our Russian authorities noticed this ‘America fever’ in time. In fact, they still remain silent. The public sounds the alarm, but as for the government, it keeps calm”, wrote *Kievlianin*.⁷⁴

⁷² S.R., “Emigratsiia i pereselenie”, *Vestnik Novouzenskogo zemstva* 4 (1913): 28. Novouzenskii District of Samara Province was one of the few central Russian territories where mass emigration developed early due to the presence of a large Mennonite and German population.

⁷³ *Novoe vremia*, 22 May 1913. Italics are mine.

⁷⁴ *Kievlianin*, 15 August 1913.

Stories of emigrant failure and suffering appeared in the national-monarchist press in increasing numbers in an attempt to deter peasants from deserting the homeland. “Do Not Go To America”, “American ‘Happiness’”, “Tragedy at the Border” – these headlines provide a sense of the general tenor of these publications.⁷⁵ It was not that reports of the poor conditions of Russian emigrants did not appear in journals of other political orientations, but in the national-monarchist organs they invariably had a strong didactic tone, instructing peasants to stay home and resist the lure of the American dollar. The beginning of the worldwide economic recession in the summer of 1913 played into the hands of Russian emigration critics. Accounts of unemployment and destitution among immigrant workers in America spread through the Russian press and raised the anti-emigration tone of national-monarchist writings to a new height. Sometimes they included extensive quotations from letters reported to have come from the emigrants who appealed for help or attempted to advise their correspondents against emigration.⁷⁵

Interestingly, Canada was featured in these admonitory publications just as often as the United States or the notorious Brazil, where Russian emigrants were reported to die in droves of tropical diseases. In a series of travel notes by M. Bernov, published in July-August 1913, *Kievlianin* – the leading Russian nationalist daily in Ukraine – described the scandalous conditions of many Russian workers in Canada. Bernov’s correspondence from Montreal featured a story, recently published in Canadian papers, of sixty Russians robbed of their money and forced to walk from Quebec to Montreal.⁷⁶ Four of them

⁷⁵ See, for instance, *Podolianin*, 26 June, 10 July, 9 August, 29 August 1913.

⁷⁵ Several reprints of such publications, including one featuring a Belarusan peasant’s letter from Canada, can be found in Kurchevskii, *Ob emigratsii v Ameriku*, p. 44-45.

⁷⁶ *Kievlianin*, 22 July 1913.

reportedly committed suicide by drowning themselves in the St. Lawrence shortly after the incident. “You cannot imagine what a great mass of Russian people Canada has!” Bernov exclaimed in his next letter, obviously astonished by the number of his compatriots he had met in the country. “And every ship arriving from Europe brings more and more emigrants from Russia, mostly peasants from the southern and southwestern provinces – Podolia, Volhynia and others. All of them come to Canada lured by big money, having heard that the wages here are two, three, four times higher than in Russia”.⁷⁷ While some of them, according to his observations, managed to find work, many swelled the growing ranks of the unemployed and “curse[d] the day when they came to Canada”.⁷⁸

The story of the suffering Russian workers in Canada became one the most publicized accounts of this type in the contemporary Russian press, reverberating for several weeks through regional and central newspapers, at times in what seem to be deliberately inflated versions. Thus, in *Podolianin*, which carried extensive quotations from Bernov’s report two weeks after its first appearance, the number of the robbed Russians somehow rose from sixty to two hundred.⁷⁹ The reprints were accompanied by indignant commentary and more appeals to the government to find a remedy to prevent Russian subjects abroad from abuse and destitution. Hardly any of these publications, however, went on to suggest concrete measures.

The anti-emigration fervour of *Podolianin* was explained by the fact that by 1912-1913 Podolia had become the area of heaviest peasant emigration in the entire eastern

⁷⁷ *Kievlianin*, 27 July 1913.

⁷⁸ *Kievlianin*, 22 July 1913.

⁷⁹ *Podolianin*, 11 August 1913.

Ukraine, with most of the emigrants heading to Canada. The peasant exodus to “America” began to seriously alarm large local landlords, who suddenly faced a shortage and rising cost of agricultural labour.⁸⁰ In yet another attempt to reduce the outflow of emigrants, the newspaper published in April 1914 a “Warning to Those Emigrating to Canada”, reported to have come from the Russian consul in Montreal. Written in a condescendingly paternalistic style, the correspondence described the emigrant workers as “Papuan of our south-western provinces”, individuals “of low mental development”, whose docility and ignorance made them a “desirable element for the local quasi-liberal and [quasi-] humane exploiters of white slavery”.⁸¹ The author strongly advised the government to take immediate steps to notify all “unfortunate seekers of daily bread” intending to go to Canada of the critical situation in the country’s labour market. The government of Podolia acted on the consul’s advice, circulating his message across the province.⁸²

Thus, the public discussion of emigration in early twentieth-century imperial Russia revealed a variety of reactions to the growing exodus of the country’s predominantly Slavic peasantry. Attitudes to emigration ranged from outright condemnation to cautious acceptance, more often than not in unison with the general political orientations of the

⁸⁰ *Podolianin*, 8 May 1913. Landlords’ fears of rural labour shortage due to emigration were also reported in Chernigov Province (*Rada*, 21 May 1913).

⁸¹ *Podolianin*, 30 April 1914. The authenticity of this correspondence is difficult to establish, for it appeared in the period between the death of Nikolai Passek in Montreal in February 1914 and the arrival of his successor Sergei Likhachev in May of the same year, when the position of Russian consul in Canada temporarily remained vacant. It may have been, however, a belated publication of one of Passek’s earlier reports.

⁸² *Ibid.*

exponents. Common to all, however, was the conviction that a national emigration policy was the order of the day, even though the motives for its advocacy were different.

By the early 1900s, the higher echelons of the imperial government were slowly coming to an understanding of the need to put emigration under more effective control. The first signs of the government's intention to create new emigration legislation appeared even before the matter caught public attention. In 1905, at the initiative of the Division of Commercial Navigation of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, a tsar's decree established an inter-ministerial committee on emigration, which included representatives of seven ministries – Trade and Industry, Internal Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Transportation, Defence and the Admiralty, as well as steamship companies and the Jewish Colonization Association – the only officially registered emigrant aid society in tsarist Russia at the time. The creation of the committee was almost entirely a response to the increased pressure of Russian steamship interests engaged in the transportation of emigrants from Russian to European ports and, from 1906, directly to the American continent. Sharp competition from the more powerful German, Dutch and British steamship lines, which carried the bulk of the migrant traffic, forced them to press the imperial government for protectionist measures. Russia's main players in the Atlantic transportation market included the Russian East-Asiatic Steamship Company (REASC), controlled by Danish and German capital, and the state-owned Voluntary Fleet.⁸³ In view of the opening of the first direct line between the Russian Baltic port of Libava and New York, scheduled by the Volunteer Fleet for June 1906, government support of the Russian marine interests was regarded as especially crucial. The steamship companies hoped to draw part of the Russian passenger traffic away from Western European ports

⁸³ Tudorianu, *Ocherki*, p. 146-150.

through a combination of state-authorized incentives and restrictions and redirect it to Libava and Riga –Russia’s two main western sea gates. An easier and more efficient passport system was seen as one of the most important measures, for it was believed to result in a smaller proportion of illegal emigrants, who bypassed Russian ports because of passport control. As early as 1904, the head of the Voluntary Fleet Admiral Zelenyi strongly advocated relaxation of the passport rules in a memorandum submitted to the Ministry of Trade and Industry.⁸⁴

In the summer of 1906, as the first Russian steamships cast anchor on Ellis Island, the committee began its deliberations on the draft of Russia’s first emigration bill prepared by the Division of Commercial Navigation. The bill demonstrated considerable progress made by the tsarist authorities on the way to a formal recognition of the right of Russian subjects to change their permanent residence by allowing them “to settle in a foreign state for an unspecified period of time”.⁸⁵ It also proposed a much simpler passport procedure (passports were to be issued free of charge within 24 hours of application), and declared protection of Russian subjects abroad a responsibility of the Russian state. Despite these positive signs, the bill revealed the limitations of the inchoate emigration policy by giving priority to the interests of the state and the steamship industry at the expense of the emigrants. While giving substantial privileges to emigrants travelling through Russian ports, it banned the sale of tickets for transoceanic lines originating outside Russia and imposed a number of other restrictions on those leaving

⁸⁴ RGIA, fond 95, opis’ 5, delo 611.

⁸⁵ RGIA, fond 95, opis’ 8, delo 1027, list 2.

the continent through European ports.⁸⁶ Such an approach reduced the government's policy to little more than a set of administrative regulations intended to suit Russia's shipping interests. No attempt was made to deal with the larger social implications of emigration or to consider providing assistance or information services to the emigrants. The proposed law, however, fell victim to a developing rift between the Ministry of Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Internal Affairs over the control of emigration matters, which brought further work of the committee to a standstill by the fall of 1907.⁸⁷

The government's failure to create a legal framework for regulating overseas emigration was partly compensated for by several piecemeal steps towards more liberal emigration procedures taken in the aftermath of the 1905 revolution. However limited, they demonstrated that the Russian authorities were slowly coming to grips with the new reality of global migrations. In 1906, the government partially lifted the ban on emigration propaganda. In the revised version of the Code of Punishments it ceased to be a crime in itself, and sanctions were limited only to cases of spreading *false* information about the benefits of emigration.⁸⁸ Some adjustments were also made in the passport system. Soon after the opening of direct steamship service between Russia and North America, the government of Kurland Province was allowed to issue passports at Libava to any Russian subjects departing from this port regardless of their province of origin.⁸⁹ Another important step was made in November 1907, when, yielding to the pressure from Russian steamship companies, the government allowed them to open, under strict

⁸⁶ Ibid., list 3-4.

⁸⁷ Tschernowa, "Zur Herausbildung staatlicher Auswanderungspolitik in Rußland", p. 424.

⁸⁸ Ianovskii, *Russkoe zakonodatel'stvo i emigratsiia*, p. 94.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 98; Tudorianu, *Ocherki*, p. 151-2.

supervision; ticket agencies on the empire's territory to serve the growing emigrant clientele.⁹⁰ Previous requests to authorize these agencies had been invariably rejected on the grounds that there was no formal definition of such business operations in the Russian commercial law.⁹¹

The Russian East-Asiatic Steamship Company took full advantage of the November 1907 decree. While its main competitor, the Volunteer Fleet, was forced to close its Russian-American line in 1908 due to its unprofitability, the REASC continued to operate a direct service between Libava and New York. The company's relative success was due partly to better management and partly to its membership in the Atlantic Conference – the world's largest shipping syndicate also known as “the Continental Pool” – which guaranteed it a 2.5 percent share in the annual passenger traffic from Europe to America and 3 percent of the return traffic.⁹² Smaller Russian steamship operations such as the North-Western Steamship Company and the Riurik Company, which carried transit passengers from Russian to European ports, soon followed suit, albeit on a smaller scale. Despite the relative success of the REASC, its transatlantic passenger service operated with substantial annual losses, covered only by the profits from growing freight shipping between America and Europe. In search of ways to remedy the situation, some writers connected to steamship interests called for the introduction of government-subsidized tickets and the extension of preferential railway

⁹⁰ RGIA, fond 111, opis' 1, delo 184, listy 191-198r.

⁹¹ Tudorianu, *Ocherki*, p. 126-7 and RGIA, fond 1284, opis' 188, delo 9, list 306r. The irony of the situation was in the fact that, while opposing the opening of legal agencies, the government did little to stop the activities of hundreds of foreign steamship agents freely advertising their services in the western provinces of the empire.

⁹² Tudorianu, *Ocherki*, p. 154-158.

fares received by Jewish emigrants travelling under the auspices of the JCA to all passengers leaving through Russian ports.⁹³

While the interests of the Russian steamship industry continued to play a substantial role in official emigration policy by the late 1900s, other considerations were becoming just as important. The continuing spread of the emigration movement from the outer limits of the empire to its interior, inhabited primarily by Slavic and Russian-Orthodox peasantry, posed new challenges for the Russian authorities. As pointed out in the previous chapter, mass peasant exodus from the country, particularly from its ethnically diverse western provinces, went against the strategic interests of the Russian monarchy, threatening to weaken the “Russian element” and increase the weight of ethno-religious minorities (Jews, Germans, Poles, etc.). Expectations of a growing peasant movement to America as a result of the filling-up of Siberia’s prime land by 1910-11 were an important factor shaping emigration policy by the eve of World War I. The government was convinced of the close interconnection between the American and Siberian migrations. A.Orlov wrote in the official bulletin of the Ministry of Trade and Industry that “[i]f so far there has existed no causal link and relationship between external migration and internal colonization, at the present time, with the saturation of colonisable land east of the Urals, the labour-seeking emigration movement of Russian peasantry from Russia’s interior to Europe and across the ocean is beginning to grow and will inevitably continue to increase in the future”.⁹⁴ The need for regulation of the emigration process and provision of assistance to the labour emigrants, the majority of whom by

⁹³ Tizenko, *Emigratsionnyi vopros v Rossii*, p. 15.

⁹⁴ A. Orlov, “K voprosu ob uporiadochenii nashei emigratsii”, *Vestnik finansov, promyshlennosti i torgovli* 8 (1914): 332-333.

1910 were “indigenous Russians”, thus assumed particular significance for St. Petersburg.

In early 1910, as public discussion of emigration was broadening, the work of the joint committee on emigration was resumed under a new chairman – Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry P.I. Miller. The committee was assigned the task of creating legislation regulating not only overseas emigration, but also seasonal migration to European countries. Of all forms of emigration, economic (labour) emigration became the primary focus of the committee’s deliberations.⁹⁵

In January 1910, the Ministry of Industry and Trade on behalf of the committee approached provincial governments with a wide range of questions related to emigration from their territories: causes, ethnic and demographic composition; destinations; economic and other impact on the local economy; the extent of return migration; and several others. The governors’ responses, which kept coming in throughout the spring, summer and fall of 1910, demonstrated a variety of local circumstances but all emphasized that labour emigration recruited primarily peasant men between the ages of 20 and 40, who usually spent 2 to 5 years in America, Canada or South America before returning to their villages. Permanent emigration, according to the reports, was limited primarily to the Jewish population.⁹⁶ The governor of Volhynia wrote, for instance, that “[a]mong the indigenous Russian population one does not observe a desire to emigrate forever”.⁹⁷ Many reports contained an acknowledgment of real economic causes that

⁹⁵ RGIA, fond 95, opis’ 6, delo 678, list 1-4.

⁹⁶ RGIA, fond 95, opis’ 6, delo 1241.

⁹⁷ Ibid., list 149.

drove peasants to America, although it went hand in hand with the familiar denunciation of the “agent”. Assessments of the scale of return migration varied widely, from 20 percent in Podolia to 90 percent in Minsk Province.⁹⁸ Most governors stressed the positive impact of American money and cultural baggage on peasant economy and morality, but the governor of Grodno also cautioned St. Petersburg that some returnees brought back a “certain free thinking spirit”, which “through the insufficient level of [their] intellectual development” had already led in several cases to “undesirable excesses”.⁹⁹ The nature of the “excesses” was not specified, but one suspects that it was a euphemistic reference to peasant unrest as a result of the increased class consciousness of the returnees.

Due to the onset of the war, which relegated the emigration question to a position of minor importance, the government’s renewed attempt to introduce emigration legislation also came to nothing. In February 1914, the first part of the emigration bill, dealing with transcontinental migration, was approved by the Council of Ministers for submission to the Duma but, overshadowed by more pressing concerns, it never received parliamentary hearings. Despite this outcome, it warrants a closer examination. Apart from being the most comprehensive measure in the area of emigration policy ever attempted by the Russian monarchy, the bill signalled important changes in Russian official thinking on emigration. The most far-reaching of them was the recognition of the fact that labour emigration under certain conditions could be “favourable to the economic interests of the country” due to the resulting influx of capital and knowledge from abroad. Permanent emigration, however, was explicitly declared undesirable, although it was not banned. All

⁹⁸ Ibid., list 127, 144, 155, 167.

⁹⁹ Ibid., list 127.

labour emigrants were assumed to be leaving the country temporarily, retaining all obligations – but also privileges – of Russian subjects.¹⁰⁰

General supervision of labour emigration was placed in the hands of a special council to be created in the Ministry of Trade and Industry, which was given responsibility for appointing local emigration inspectors. The new legislation also forbade the activities of private emigration agents and provided for the establishment of government agencies in areas of heavy emigration to give assistance to the emigrants. In addition, the government reiterated its commitment to state protection of Russian subjects abroad by introducing the post of special “emigration commissioners” in places with large concentrations of Russian-subject workers and providing for the opening of state-supervised employment and money exchange bureaus.¹⁰¹

One of the most significant departures in the government’s emigration policy was the proposed replacement of the notorious passport system with five-year emigration permits, which were to be issued by the village or town police for a fee of 20 kopecks (=10 cents). A proposition by the representatives of the Jewish and Polish emigration societies not to limit the validity of the permits by five years was declined, obviously out of fear of losing control over the emigrant traffic. Eligibility for the permits was, however, subject to a special condition, which, had it come to fruition, would have largely neutralized the positive effects of the new provision: the emigrants had to leave through Russian ports and travel by Russian steamship lines. Those using the services of foreign steamship lines were required to apply for regular passports and pay the old 15-

¹⁰⁰ RGIA, fond 95, opis’ 6, delo 678, list 5.

¹⁰¹ A. Orlov, “K voprosu ob uporiadochenii”, p. 334.

ruble renewal fee every six months.¹⁰² Thus, protectionism in regard to the Russian steamship interests and economic nationalism in general remained key features of the government's emigration policy. Under the pretext of levelling the playing field for the Russian and European steamship companies, the government essentially attempted to introduce the monopoly of the Russian marine fleet in the passenger service between Russia and the New World, thus greatly disfavoursing those emigrants who for some or other reason chose other routes.

Until the fall of the Russian monarchy, its emigration policy continued to display an inconsistent and often contradictory mixture of old and new approaches in an attempt to find the elusive balance between the interests of the state, the steamship business, and the emigrants. On both central and local levels, the tsarist administration remained apprehensive, to say the least, of any initiatives which could be construed as promotion of emigration among the "indigenous Russian" population of the empire, e.g. Russians proper, Ukrainians and Belarusians. Attempts to establish officially registered bureaus to provide information and assistance to emigrating peasants met with resistance from provincial governors and their superiors in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In February 1913, the governor of Saratov Province, after consultation with St. Petersburg, refused to grant approval to the proposed opening of private agencies for the provision of information and assistance to the emigrants on the grounds that "emigration from Saratov Province [was] already considerable".¹⁰³ Another provincial administrator – the governor of Podolia – even insisted in August 1913 on banning the activities of legally authorized

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 333.

¹⁰³ RGIA, fond 1284, opis' 188, delo 9, list 306-313.

steamship agencies in rural areas in order to reduce the “serious damage to the state interests” inflicted by their agitation among the peasantry.¹⁰⁴ Pending government measures, he called upon local Orthodox clergy to warn local peasants about the perils of emigration.¹⁰⁵

St. Petersburg reacted nervously to any proposals it regarded as encouraging the further exodus of “Russian” peasant stock from the empire even when such proposals came from those who could hardly be suspected of evil designs. In 1913, the Russian consul in Canada, Nikolai Passek, whose brief tenure (1912-13) also happened to be the period of heaviest labour immigration, produced a circular “Advice and Suggestions for Russian Immigrants Arriving in Canada” intended for distribution among passengers of the Russian-American Line along with copies of the new Canadian regulations concerning employment agencies. Raising the familiar Judeophobic theme, it warned the arriving emigrants against trusting “Jewish agents” and advised them instead to use the services of the Russian vice-consulate in Halifax, which could “provide the newcomers with various aid and full assistance, as well as various information and advice”.¹⁰⁶ The head management of the Russian East-Asiatic Steamship Company received Passek’s idea with enthusiasm and even recommended the distribution of the pamphlet among the general population in major emigration areas. The latter proposal, however, raised objections from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The director of the Police Department, V.F. Dzhunkovskii, pointed out in a letter to the Minister of Trade and Industry S. Timashev that such distribution would constitute indirect propaganda of labour

¹⁰⁴ RGIA, fond 95, opis’ 8, delo 1027, list 19.

¹⁰⁵ *Vestnik Novouzenskogo zemstva* 3 (1913): 180.

¹⁰⁶ RGIA, fond 95, opis’ 18, delo 620, list 2.

emigration by creating an impression that “in Canada employment for foreign workers is guaranteed; therefore [...] wide dissemination of these facts would only serve to increase the outflow of our workers to America, which has already reached immense proportions in the last years”.¹⁰⁷

Passek’s initiative was an example of the increasing attention given by the Russian Foreign Service to the state of thousands of Russian-subject emigrants in Canada, United States, Argentina, Brazil and other countries. By the early 1910s, consular institutions slowly evolved into the primary vehicles of administrative control and regulation of migration from and to the empire and, increasingly, into monitors of the political orientations of Russian subjects overseas. An improved efficiency of the consular service in its dealings with the emigrants became one of the priorities for Russia’s new Minister of Foreign Affairs S.D. Sazonov. In a January 1912 circular from St. Petersburg, Russian consuls across the world were reminded that “taking care of the interests of Russian subjects in foreign countries and giving [them] protection when necessary” were one of their main responsibilities.¹⁰⁸ The circular defined the consul’s position as that of the “head (*glava*) but by no means a superior (*nachal’nik*) of the Russian colony in his district”, who must display “personal accessibility” and “attentive and considerate attitude” to the needs of the Russian subjects.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., list 16r.

¹⁰⁸ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 1, file 3, Ministerstvo inostrannykh del. Departament lichnogo sostava i khoziaistvennykh del – gg. Imperatorskim rossiiskim general’nym konsulam, konsulam i vitse-konsulam, 9 January 1912.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

In 1917, just before the collapse of the monarchy, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs had seven consular missions in the United States (Portland, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, Honolulu, Seattle, and New York), one in Mexico, three in South America, and three in Canada. The establishment of Russian consular service in Canada went back to 1899-1900, when Nikolai Struve, brother of the well-known socialist writer Petr Struve, was posted to Montreal as first Russian consul in British North America and Henry Mathers installed as head of a vice-consulate in Halifax. A memorandum by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs specifically mentioned the “considerable and ever growing influx of Russian emigrants to the country, attracted by the favourable conditions provided by Canada” among the reasons for opening the consulate.¹¹⁰ The growing workload resulting from the swelling numbers of emigrants from Russia caused Struve to suggest the opening of another consulate in Winnipeg as early as 1906.¹¹¹ Passek and especially his successor Sergei Likhachev, former Russian consul in Morocco and an able and efficient public servant, continued to broach the subject with their superiors but progress was made only in 1915, when the developing trans-Pacific exchanges with Canada led the Russian government to open another consulate in Vancouver.¹¹² The new consular district included British Columbia, Alberta and the Yukon. Dealings with Russian subjects residing in Saskatchewan, Manitoba and eastern Canada remained the responsibility of the Montreal consulate.

¹¹⁰ RGIA, fond 1149, opis' XII-1899, delo 100, list 15.

¹¹¹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 1, file 6. “Obrabotka obshchikh ocherkov konsul'skoi deiatel'nosti za 1906 god...”

¹¹² RGIA, fond 1409, opis' 6, delo 1691, list 1-3.

In the chapters that follow we will return, in various contexts, to the relations between Russian officialdom in Canada and the emigrants. At this point, it would be pertinent to provide a brief look at the consular activities in the area of emigrant aid, for they were a reflection of the dominant attitudes to emigration in the higher reaches of tsarist bureaucracy. An analysis of available sources on the subject reveals that, despite some efforts to streamline the provision of consular assistance to Russian subjects abroad, it continued to have a haphazard character and remained greatly dependent on the professional competence and personal aptitude of the tsarist diplomats. Not all consuls shared the opinion expressed by Likhachev that the consulate was “a special Institution, obliged to protect and take care of the Immigrants, as a tutor does for minors intrusted [sic] to his care”.¹¹³ Some apparently regarded the complainants as annoying intruders in the smooth bureaucratic routine of their institutions. A 1906 digest of annual consular reports to the Second Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs mentioned that Russian Jews, who were “characterized by pushiness and insolence”, were seen as a particular nuisance by some consuls.¹¹⁴ Complaints of the indifference shown by Russian consuls abroad to the plight of their needy compatriots were not uncommon and sometimes reached the Russian public and even the members of the parliament (the Duma). In January 1915, as the subject was raised in the budget committee of the Duma during the discussion of the annual appropriations for the Foreign Service, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was questioned if its consular officers had collected any information about the destitute condition of thousands of unemployed Russian immigrants in America or taken

¹¹³ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 2, file 86, Likhachev to J. Calder (circa 1918).

¹¹⁴ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 1, file 6, “Obrabotka obshchikh ocherkov konsul’skoi deiatel’nosti za 1906 god...”

measures to help them.¹¹⁵ Earlier, in March 1914, a similar inquiry had been made by 43 Duma deputies after the Russian press carried disturbing reports of massive unemployment among the emigrants to the United States due to the economic recession.¹¹⁶ The Foreign Ministry admitted its knowledge of the problem but maintained that it could come to their aid only in exceptional cases: “There is such a great mass of emigrants that our consuls cannot help all of them in such a way as one would desire”.¹¹⁷

The ability of the consulates to provide financial or legal assistance to the emigrants also suffered from insufficient funding. According to information in the Russian newspaper *Novoe vremia*, the Russian consulate general in New York received only \$500 a year from St. Petersburg for the purpose of assisting destitute emigrants.¹¹⁸ With the onset of the war, the monitoring of emigrant political loyalties, including those of Austro-Hungarian subjects, overshadowed other emigration-related consular functions. Still, within the limits circumscribed by their administrative capacity and conservative-bureaucratic outlook, the consulates often became the place of last resort for the emigrants when other methods of problem solving failed or were unavailable. Apart from providing routine services such as certification of Russian citizenship or issuing entry permits, the consulates served as a medium of communication with the homeland, intermediaries in emigrants’ dealings with the host-country authorities and, as we shall see, even as a sort of clearance house for emigrant correspondence and money orders.

¹¹⁵ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 1, file 9, “Iz vlecheniia iz preni biudzhethnoi komissii Gosudarstvennoi Dumy po proektu smety Ministerstva inostrannykh del na 1915 god. Zasedaniia 14 i 17 ianvaria 1915 g.”

¹¹⁶ RGIA, fond 1278, opis’ 5, delo 968, list 3r.

¹¹⁷ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 1, file 9, “Iz vlecheniia iz preni biudzhethnoi komissii...”

¹¹⁸ RGIA, fond 1278, opis’ 5, delo 968, list 3.

Many emigrant peasant-workers, in Canada and elsewhere, resorted to the authority of the old state in resolving such problems as non-payment of wages, mistreatment by Canadian employers or labour agents, difficulties in sending money or returning to Russia. Some continued to do so until 1922, when the former imperial consular missions in the country ceased to exist.

"Russian Moujiks" for Canadian Railways: Official Canadian Responses to Emigration from Russia

On March 19, 1909, the *Ottawa Free Press* carried a short article with a title that must have caught the attention of some readers and mystified others – "Russian Moujiks for G.T.P. Work".¹¹⁹ It reported the landing of a group of "Russian labourers" at Vancouver for employment in the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific (GTP) Railway. A few weeks later, in a correspondence entitled "Russian Invasion Next", the *Vancouver Evening Post* predicted that Canada was on the threshold of a massive inrush of "Slavs from Siberia". Quoting an unnamed passenger who had just arrived from Japan on the *Empress of India*, the writer opined that after the Chinese, Japanese and Hindus, the "next immigrant invasion [to Canada] will be of Russians."¹²⁰ Increasing numbers of Russian emigrants, apparently dissatisfied with the "unsettled conditions" that prevailed

¹¹⁹ Clipping from the *Ottawa Free Press*, 19 March 1909, in NAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, reel C-10645, vol. 565, file 809068. "Moujik" is the French spelling of "muzhik" (мужик), a Russian word used in its most common meaning to describe an unsophisticated, boorish man, a rustic.

¹²⁰ Clipping from the *Vancouver Evening Post*, 3 April 1909, RG 76, reel C-10645, vol. 565, file 809068. Note the juxtaposition of "Russians" with Chinese and East Indians, clearly suggestive of their perception as "Asiatics" and "aliens" in certain segments of Canadian society. As will be demonstrated shortly, these perceptions were shared in the government circles.

in the tsar's realm, were reported to gather in Far Eastern ports waiting for an opportunity to proceed to Canada.

Prior to the spring of 1909, "Russians" was a word that was seldom, if ever, mentioned in Canada in the context of labour immigration. It is true that, being a generic term referring to all subjects of the tsar regardless of their ethnic origins, it was often applied, collectively or individually, to Russian-born Jews, Germans, Poles or even Finns – in short, to all groups which constituted early immigration from the Russian Empire. This time, however, it seemed as if "Russian labourers" for the first time made an appearance on the Canadian horizon as a distinct group.¹²¹ As we will see below, the 1909 episode would have a considerable impact on Canadian policies in regard to the "Russians", who would soon become one of Canada's largest groups of immigrant workers.

The influx of foreign labour into early twentieth-century Canada was a corollary of the unparalleled economic expansion that had begun in the late 1890s. Agriculture and resource industries (mining, lumbering and others) enjoyed particularly high rates of growth. The rapid settlement of the western lands along with the demand for improved infrastructure created by the quickening pace of industrial development led to a railway construction boom, as Canada's second and third largest railway companies – the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Northern began the building of two new transcontinental lines, in addition to the Canadian Pacific. Of all the immigrants who came to Canada between 1896 and 1914, only 30 percent immediately took homesteads in the West and nearly 50

¹²¹ While the term "Russians" continued to be applied in the former sense throughout the whole period before 1914 and thereafter, it was also increasingly used by Canadian officials and the public in its narrower "racial" meaning, as referring only to Slavs (Russians proper, Ukrainians and Belarusians) inhabiting the tsarist empire.

percent settled in the city. The majority of the remainder were employed as unskilled labourers in resource industries, railway construction, and agriculture.¹²² This was despite the fact that the official immigration policy of the early twentieth-century Canadian governments, as formulated by Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior between 1896 and 1905, explicitly favoured non-industrial categories of immigrants – agriculturalists with means sufficient to run a homestead, farm workers and domestic servants. Under Sifton, the source areas of Canadian settlement immigration expanded to include not only the traditional “preferred” countries such as Britain, Germany or Scandinavian states, but also Eastern and Central Europe, particularly Galicia and Bukovina. Tens of thousands of Galician and Bukovinian Ukrainians entered Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and settled on the Prairies. While mass Ukrainian immigration to Canada began in 1891, it assumed particularly large proportions during Sifton’s tenure as minister.¹²³

In contrast to late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Slavic immigration from Austria-Hungary, which was largely driven by Canadian settlement opportunities (especially prior to 1905-06), few settlers were coming from east of the Austro-Russian border. The availability of large colonisable areas in Russia itself, the stringency of Russian laws regarding peasant land tenure and the prohibitive emigration procedures may all have played a role in preventing the empire’s peasantry from permanent resettlement to North America. But the fact that Russia did not supply Canada with its

¹²² Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 112.

¹²³ Jaroslav Petryshyn, “Sifton’s Immigration Policy”, in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, eds., *Canada’s Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 17-29; David J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton. Vol.2: A Lonely Eminence, 1901-1929* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), pp. 63-68.

own share of agricultural settlers should also be attributed to the lack of any effort, on the part of either the Canadian government or the Russian public, to promote settlement emigration among Russia's Slavic peasantry. As the history of Canadian immigration demonstrates, the existence of emigration enthusiasts from the educated class in the country of origin (Jozef Oleskow in Galicia is a classic example) was a necessary prerequisite for triggering settlement migration from non-traditional donor areas, particularly those inhabited by "non-preferred" races. In tsarist Russia, however, such promoters could hardly appear, for we have seen that the country's elites considered internal colonization the only truly legitimate and commendable type of rural population mobility (religious sectarians, whose emigration raised few objections, were a marked exception).

Without any help coming from within Russia, Ottawa was clearly unwilling to tread the risky path of recruiting immigrants in a country known for its prohibitive emigration laws, unwieldy bureaucracy and the general poverty of its peasantry. Rare voices calling to induce settlement immigration from Russia failed to find support with Canadian policy makers. One of these came as early as 1890 in the form of an unsigned memorandum to the Minister of Agriculture (then responsible for immigration), suggesting that the government should "try and induce the settlement of 'Russians'", who, in the author's view, would make perfect settlers for Prince Rupert Land and other north-eastern areas of the country. "The North-West can be populated by the British Races easily but this region should be opened up also and no race is better fitted for it than are the Russians", the author reasoned.¹²⁴ No evidence, however, has come to light that any official action was

¹²⁴ NAC, Department of Agriculture, RG17, vol. 643, docket 73116, memorandum on Russian immigration, 20 May 1890.

taken on this recommendation. Nor did Canadian immigration authorities contemplate attracting Slavic peasant settlers from Russia in later years. Among the promotional materials translated into a dozen languages and distributed across Europe by Canadian immigration and steamship agents not a single pamphlet was printed in Russian – the only written language known at the time to the majority of Russia’s population, including Ukrainians and Belarusians. Consul Nikolai Struve’s belief that “the Canadian government as such takes absolutely no part in the propaganda of emigration in Russia” on the whole seems to be an accurate description of the existing situation.¹²⁵ Russian Germans and Mennonites, who had already established their reputation in Canada as first-class farmers, were the only class of Russian subjects sought by Canadian immigration authorities.¹²⁶ The survey of possibilities of bringing new parties of German settlers to Canada was the main purpose of a brief visit to Russia in 1899 by W. T. R. Preston, chief inspector of Canadian immigration agencies in Europe.¹²⁷

The first signs of official Canadian interest in Russia’s massive Slavic population as a possible source of settlers appeared when it was too late to undertake any promotional efforts. A short memorandum by Lloyd Roberts of the Office of the Superintendent of Immigration, dated 22 July 1914, called the government’s attention to a United States report, which praised the Russian peasant as a “worthy settler” and encouraged

¹²⁵ *Sbornik konsul'skikh donezenii 1909* (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 232.

¹²⁶ RG76, reel C-7317, vol. 161, file 40361; reel C-4714, vol. 50, file 2183, pt.1; reel C-4715, vol. 51, file 2183, pt. 2.

¹²⁷ RG76, reel C-4714, vol. 50, file 2183, pt.1, “Extract from a report from W. Preston, Esq., Inspector of European Immigration Agencies, November 28, 1899, to the Right Honourable Lord Strathcona, High Commissioner for Canada, London, England”.

Washington to promote agricultural immigration from the tsarist empire. "At present we [also] ignore him, not even having a Russian pamphlet", Roberts wrote, suggesting that the matter be looked into.¹²⁸ Given the timing of the memorandum, which came a week before the outbreak of the war, it obviously failed to produce any effect.

While the government of Canada made no effort to promote mass emigration from Russia, agents of private Canadian land companies did reveal their presence in some areas of the Russian Empire. Thus, in 1913, a group of Moldavian peasant families from Orgeev District in Bessarabia was induced by a Jewish agent to leave their village and settle near Canora, Saskatchewan, on the property of the Canada Land Company, where, according to their own words, they found "nothing but forest, marshes, water and stones".¹²⁹ A few other private schemes to recruit Russian settlers, of which the bringing of the Doukhobors in 1899 was the largest and the only successful one, targeted primarily religious minorities wishing to leave the Romanov monarchy. One such scheme was attempted in 1913-14 by a Vancouver entrepreneur of Russian origin A.M. Azanchev, who, in co-operation with some influential city businesspeople, formed the Russian Colonization Syndicate in order to facilitate the settlement of some 4,000 "Russian farmers" in British Columbia and Alberta on a vast tract of land along the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. The necessary arrangements to that effect were reported to have already been made with the Grand Trunk Land Department. Most of the initial settlers were to come from the sect of New Israelites, who should then be followed by other land

¹²⁸ RG76, reel C-4715, vol. 51, file 2183, pt. 2, memorandum by Lloyd Roberts, 22 July 1914. The U.S. report, which Roberts referred to, came from W. W. Husband, a special agent of the U.S. Department of Labour, who had recently returned from a trip to Russia.

¹²⁹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 7, file 244, Dionisii Popo and others to S.A. Likhachev, May 9, 1914.

seekers.¹³⁰ The settlement project, however, did not come to fruition. After inspecting potential migration destinations, the New Israelite leaders rejected Canada in favour of the warmer Uruguay. Another of Azancheev's ideas – the establishment of direct steamship service between Vancouver and Vladivostok in order to stimulate Russian immigration – proved to be more in tune with the times.¹³¹ Russian steamship interests were already contemplating opening a Pacific route to Canada, and in October 1914 the Russian Volunteer Fleet began regular sailings between Vladivostok and Vancouver.¹³²

It was, therefore, as immigrant labourers rather than Sifton's stout farmers that the majority of Slavic immigrants from Russia came to Canadian shores. Formally, immigration of industrial workers, particularly from the "non-preferred" countries (i.e. other than Northern and Western Europe), was discouraged by Ottawa, and nationals of Asian countries were, in addition, subject to prohibitive money requirements (head taxes). The Alien Labour Act of 1897, adopted largely to accommodate Canadian organized labour, specifically prohibited importation of contracted foreign workers into Canada.¹³³ The selectivity of government policy was further increased under Sifton's successor Frank Oliver, who headed the Department of the Interior until 1911, and the new director of the Immigration Branch W.D. Scott. In 1908, in response to the arrival of large numbers of Japanese immigrants on the Pacific Coast, the governor's order-in-council (P.C. 27) introduced the so-called "continuous journey requirement", whereby the Department of the Interior received the authority to reject any class of immigrants

¹³⁰ RGIA, fond 104, opis' 1, delo 265, list 63-65.

¹³¹ Ibid., list 36-37; fond 95, opis' 7, delo 637, list 1.

¹³² Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 18, file 596.

¹³³ Kelley and Trebilcock, *Making the Mosaic*, pp. 120, 140.

who did not arrive directly from the country of their birth or citizenship. Another order-in-council (P.C. 28) stipulated that every immigrant entering Canada (with the exception of those going to pre-arranged farm or domestic employment or having family or kin capable of providing support) had to possess \$25 (and twice as much if coming between December 1 and February 15).¹³⁴ Both of these provisions were subsequently incorporated into the new Immigration Act of 1910, which, as Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock point out, substantially increased the discretionary powers of the executive branch of the government in the area of immigration policy.¹³⁵ However, with the important exception of “Asiatics”, the Immigration Branch rarely adopted a firm stand against labour immigration. In real practice it was usually willing to accommodate the labour demands of Canadian industries, especially the railways, and interpret the laws regulating the entry of industrial labourers in a rather flexible way.¹³⁶

By the mid-1900s, the largest demand for immigrant labour in the Canadian industry came from the country’s major railway companies, which employed, through dozens of contractor and sub-contractor firms, a great mass of foreign workers.¹³⁷ Throughout the early 1900s railway interests continued to apply pressure on the government in order to obtain relaxation of Canada’s admission policies. Ample evidence of these efforts can be found, for instance, in the archives of the Grand Trunk Railway, then Canada’s second largest railway company. In October 1912, W. Smithers, the

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 137, 146-7.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 137-8.

¹³⁶ Donald Avery, *The Reluctant Host: Canada’s Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896-1994* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995), pp. 20-42.

¹³⁷ Donald Avery, “Canadian Immigration Policy and the ‘Foreign’ Navvy, 1896-1914”, *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers* (1972): 135-156.

chairman of the Grand Trunk, wrote to the company's president E.J. Chamberlain: "I hope you have taken up the question of obtaining labour in the North West, and I think whether the Government consent to a relaxation of their regulations or not, you should write them your views on the subject in order to have it on record that we have done all that is possible to press for the introduction of more men".¹³⁸

As we have seen, some migration to Canada from areas east of Russian Poland occurred as early as 1905-06, but it was not before the 1910s that peasant-workers of Slavic origin (primarily Ukrainians and Belarusians but also ethnic Russians from Saratov and Samara) became a dominant group among Russian-born immigrants. In search of new sources of cheap labour, Canadian industrial companies were increasingly turning to the untapped Russian market. In 1906 and 1907, for instance, two Canadian pulp-and-paper companies inquired with Consul Nikolai Struve about the possibility of getting "Russian and Polish workers".¹³⁹ In the fall of 1906, the Grand Trunk Pacific attempted to negotiate an agreement with the Russian government about bringing to Canada on a temporary basis a party of 10,000 railway navvies. Despite Struve's efforts to promote the scheme, logistical difficulties, bureaucratic inefficiency and disagreements over the proposed wages of the workers brought the negotiations to an end by March 1907. The negotiations, however, highlighted the negative Russian attitudes to permanent emigration, which, as Struve was careful to point out to the Grand Trunk's general manager Frank Morse, could "not possibly correspond to the views of the [Russian]

¹³⁸ NAC, Canadian National Railway Records, RG 30, Letterbooks, vol. 10712, p. 288, A.W. Smithers to E.J. Chamberlain, 18 October 1912.

¹³⁹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 8, file 256, The Belgo-Canadian Pulp and Paper Co. to N. Struve, 19 May 1906; vol. 20, file 650, The Riordan Paper Mills, Ltd. to N. Struve, 19 February 1907.

Imperial Government”.¹⁴⁰ Three years later, the Grand Trunk again raised the question of labour emigration with St. Petersburg. In 1910, the head of its labour department Louis Kon submitted a memorandum to the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, which pointed to the shortage of railway labour in Canada and requested permission to recruit workers in Russia on the basis of two- or three-year contracts. The GTR assured the Russian authorities that it would provide the workers with “good meals, lodging, care and supervision” and would also pay for their return transportation to Russia.¹⁴¹ Although the outcome of this scheme remains unknown, it clearly shows the rising interest of Canadian railways in Russian labour. Apparently, some Canadian business operators also began sending their paid agents to recruit workers in Russia in a clandestine fashion. Edmund Bradwin wrote in *The Bunkhouse Man* that in August 1911 “a trusted Russian” went back to his native village with money advanced by a railway sub-contractor and returned with sixteen “stalwart countrymen”.¹⁴² The Canadian Dominion Iron and Steel Corporation (DISCO) hired labourers in Russia using its London office as a base for European recruitment operations and reportedly paying its agents a commission of \$3 for each contracted worker.¹⁴³ Canadian coal mining companies, faced by a series of strikes in 1912-13, also attempted to recruit scabs in various Russian provinces.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 20, file 649, Struve to Morse, 6 November 1906; 13 February 1907. See also Struve’s report on the matter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in RGIA, fond 1291, opis’ 50, delo 23, pp. 69-72.

¹⁴¹ Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv voenno-morskogo flota, fond 420, opis’ 1, file 180, list 73r-74.

¹⁴² Edmund Bradwin, *The Bunkhouse Man*. 2nd ed. (New York: AMS Press, 1968), p. 77.

¹⁴³ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 7, file 248, Rev. M.C.A. Kinsale to N. Passek, 12 April 1913; see also A.M. Shlepakov, *Ukrains’ka trudova emihratsiia v SShA i Kanadi (kinets’ XIX – pochatok XX st.)* (Kiev: Vydavnistvo Akademii nauk, 1960), p. 20.

There is also some evidence of the activity of the Canadian Pacific Railway on Russia's Pacific rim. According to information in the Russian press, in 1911 two CPR agents – Perelstruz and Kashnitsky – set up a steamship office in the Manchurian port of Dairen (then part of Russia), offering transportation to Canada, Australia, the United States and Hawaii through the Japanese port of Yokohama and advertising employment opportunities in these countries.¹⁴⁵ One L. de Lara, who presented himself in Russian newspapers as the “Steamship and Railway Agent of Canada”, ran a network of associates in Vladikavkaz (the capital of the Ossetian-populated Tersk Province), Khar'kov and other southern Russian and Ukrainian cities, spreading information about the high demand for labour in Canada and guaranteeing a daily wage of \$2.50.¹⁴⁶

The arrival of fifty “Russian labourers” in Vancouver in March 1909, which opened our discussion of Canadian immigration policies, was apparently the result of de Lara's recruiting activities. The coming of the “Russians” put Canadian immigration authorities under pressure to define their attitude to this new class of immigrants. In view of high labour demand in British Columbia, the government immigration agent at Vancouver, J.H. MacGill, decided to overlook the newcomers' indirect passage to Canada and arrange their employment with MacDonald and Gzowski – one of the main contractor firms engaged by the Canadian Pacific Railway.¹⁴⁷ But when the first Russian party was

¹⁴⁴ *Novyi mir*, 12 June 1912.

¹⁴⁵ *Izvestiia Iuzhno-Russkoi oblastnoi zemskoi pereselencheskoi organizatsii* 47 (June 1911): 73-74.

¹⁴⁶ RG76, reel C-10645, vol. 565, file 809068, J.H. MacGill to W.D. Scott, 9 November 1909.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, MacGill to Scott, 29 March 1909.

followed by several smaller groups, the immigration authorities, always on guard against the penetration of “undesirable” foreigners into the country, rang the alarm bell. MacGill reported to W.D. Scott that, according to his information, the CPR “had been approached with regard to the transportation from Japan to Canada of about 10,000 Russians”, and asked for instructions.¹⁴⁸

Ottawa’s hasty inquiries with British diplomats in Japan failed to produce information about any secret schemes to import Russian labour.¹⁴⁹ What *was* discovered, however – and discovered with obvious concern – was that some of the incoming “Russians” appeared to be “Turks, Circassians and other Caucasian tribes” (in reality, they were Ossetians and Georgians – terms one would not expect Canadian immigration officials to have known).¹⁵⁰ This immediately led to the recasting of the discussion in racial terms, as Canadian immigration officials struggled with the dilemma of finding a proper place for these newcomers in the ethnic classification system used by the Immigration Branch. A perplexed MacGill wrote to Scott that he foresaw “considerable difficulty in distinguishing the European or Asiatic origins of this Slav immigration, whose passports will all apparently be issued at their point of departure from the Russian Empire”.¹⁵¹ The major cause of concern, aside from the traditional western view of Russia as not quite part of Europe, was the impreciseness of the term “Russians”, used as

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., MacGill to Scott, 4 May 1909. Some of these rumours betrayed a striking ignorance of Eurasian geography: thus, some Canadian agent was reported as having gone to Siberia to recruit a party of “900 Russians and Finns”. Ibid., H. Rumbold to Earl Grey, 15 July 1909.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., Rumbold to Grey, 15 July 1909.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., J.C. Hall to Rumbold, 8 July 1909.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., MacGill to Scott, 9 November 1909.

a label of convenience for all subjects of the tsar, including those that might happen to fall within the “Asiatic” category by virtue of their place of birth. In addition, there was little in the physical appearance of the Ossetian immigrants that would enable Canadian immigration inspectors to identify their “Asiatic” origins. Attempting to dispel the government’s concerns regarding the racial suitability of the immigrants, W.M. Stitt, CPR’s general passenger agent for eastern steamship lines, described them as “white men having been employed on farms and at other work in Siberia, [who] will make desirable settlers for our west, both for the harvest fields and public works”.¹⁵² The vigilant Immigrant Branch gatekeepers, however, were not easily convinced. Racial prejudice and the fear of stirring up anti-Asiatic sentiments on the Pacific Coast were pushing Ottawa towards an exclusionary attitude.¹⁵³ In November 1909, as the matter continued to be discussed, Scott wrote to the Minister of the Interior Frank Oliver that the arriving Russians

may be technically European, but they are so close to being Asiatics that I think we would do well to regard them as such. I do not regard them as good immigrants for Canada and I think that the movement ought to be discouraged as soon as possible.¹⁵⁴

The racial composition of trans-Pacific immigration from Russia was, however, not the only motive that propelled Canadian immigration authorities towards adopting exclusionary measures. As if unsure of the validity of its racial argument, Ottawa soon found another reason to keep “Russians” coming via the Pacific out of the country. In

¹⁵² Ibid., W.M. Stitt to Scott, 24 November 1909.

¹⁵³ Only two years earlier Vancouver was the scene of a riot triggered by exaggerated rumours of an impending “Oriental invasion”. See Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Towards Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1978), chapter 4.

¹⁵⁴ RG76, reel C-10645, vol. 565, file 809068, Scott to F. Oliver, 26 November 1909.

March 1911, Assistant Superintendent of Immigration L.M. Fortier wrote that “one of the reasons why Canada does not favour the immigration of people from Siberia is the fact that that part of the Russian Empire is used as a sort of penal colony and we would be likely to get among the immigrants quite a percentage who were really of the criminal class”.¹⁵⁵ According to Fortier and Scott, exceptions could be made only for “bona fide” Russian agriculturalists.

Attempts to erect barriers to the movement of Russian subjects to the Pacific Coast demonstrated not only the persistence of racial prejudice in early twentieth-century Canadian immigration policy-making (of which we have much other evidence), but also a surprising ignorance of Russian realities and world migration routes on the part of Canadian officialdom. Ottawa seemed to be unaware of the fact that the time when Siberia was little other than a dumping ground for criminals and misfits was gone. Nor did the Immigration Branch officials appear to realize that labour emigration from Russia was channelled primarily through Atlantic ports and that the relatively few Russian subjects arriving via the Pacific used Siberia only as a transit route on their way from Ukraine or Southern Russia to North America. Ironically, when the supposedly “Asiatic” Ossetians and Georgians arrived in Halifax (as most of them did), they usually entered Canada without a ripple. Moreover, after the opening of direct steamship traffic between Libava and Halifax, Canadian immigration inspectors praised the arriving “Russians” as “the finest lot of foreigners ever landed by a foreign line”.¹⁵⁶ Canada’s Chief Medical

¹⁵⁵ RG76, reel C-4715, vol. 51, file 2183, pt. 2, L.M. Fortier to F.C.T. O’Hara, 11 March 1911; also reel C-10645, vol. 565, file 809068, Scott to N.R.J. Reid, 18 September 1913.

¹⁵⁶ RGIA, fond 104, opis’ 1, delo 265, list 112, excerpt from a letter by Pickford and Black, 4 March 1912.

Officer Dr. P. H. Bryce too complimented the Russian America Line for the high quality of its steamship service.¹⁵⁷

Ambiguous attitudes towards the “Russians”, however, remained deeply entrenched among Canadian officialdom and soon resurfaced in connection with the question of relaxed admission procedures for immigrant workers. In the summer of 1910, with the Canadian industrial boom at its peak, railway interests had pressured Ottawa into lifting the \$25 money requirement for labourers coming from continental Europe, who made up the bulk of the workforce employed in railway construction. Between July and December 1910, and again in the spring and summer of 1911, *all* healthy immigrants going to work in railway construction (with the exception of Asiatics) were admitted regardless of the money qualification or the continuous journey requirement.¹⁵⁸ However, alarmed by the resultant influx of thousands of “Galicians”, “Polacks” and Italians, the Immigration Branch soon called a retreat. When the question of money qualifications was raised again in early 1912, Scott pressed for a more selective approach. The government circular issued in March limited the 1912 exemptions to immigrants from Western and Northern European countries, later extending them under the pressure from big business to “Scandinavians, Finns, Poles and Austrians, desirable and suitable for railway labour”.¹⁵⁹ An inquiry from G.T. Bell, assistant manager of the Grand Trunk, who asked whether the new regulations included “Russian workers”, received a negative response from Scott,

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., list 113, excerpt from a letter by Bryce to W.L. Barnstead (Immigration Agent at Halifax), 23 July 1912.

¹⁵⁸ RG76, reel C-10296, vol. 407, file 594511, Part 2a, circular of 20 July 1910; Part 3, circular of 25 April 1911.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., Part 4, circular of 11 March 1912; Office of the Deputy Minister, memorandum to W.D. Scott, 26 March 1912.

who pointed out that “the relaxation refers only to the classes specifically mentioned in the circulars” and, consequently, Finns and Poles were the only eligible Russian subjects.¹⁶⁰

The opposition of the Immigration Branch to the free admission of “Russians” would eventually be defeated by a peculiar alliance of Canadian railway business, Russian steamship interests and official St. Petersburg. In March 1912, the general manager of the Russian America Line, Robert Christiansen, sent a letter to Lord Strathcona, Canada’s High Commissioner in London and, notably, a past president of the CPR, asking him to “consider whether it would not be possible to extend the exemptions, now valid for emigrants from Northern and Western Europe, also to comprise labourers from Russia”.¹⁶¹ Christiansen also briefly mentioned the possibility of signing an agreement between Russia and Canada, similar to Russian-German and Russian-Danish treaties, in order to provide a legal basis for the recruitment of labourers in Russia and perhaps allow them to emigrate without having to obtain the costly passports.¹⁶² Another letter, sent to St. Petersburg, asked the Russian government to bring the matter to the attention of the Canadian authorities. Essentially a feudal state in origin, the Russian monarchy, as we have seen, was nevertheless prepared to stand behind the national bourgeoisie when the latter was perceived to be unfairly treated by foreign powers. Mikhail Ustinov, then Russian consul in Montreal, was promptly instructed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to “enter into communication with the appropriate authorities

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., G.T. Bell to Scott, 10 April 1912; Scott to Bell, 15 April 1912 and 17 April 1912.

¹⁶¹ RGIA, fond 104, opis’ 1, delo 265, list 103, Russian America Line to Lord Strathcona, 22 August 1912.

¹⁶² Ibid., list 104.

with a view to obtain a cancellation of the restrictions existing in the local immigration law for Russian subjects going to Canada for work..."¹⁶³ Following the instructions, Ustinov immediately contacted W.J. Roche, recently appointed as Minister of the Interior in Robert Borden's Conservative government.¹⁶⁴

The Canadian Pacific, which at the time still remained a member of the Atlantic Conference and a business partner of the Russian America Line, also did its share of lobbying. The London office of the Russian East-Asiatic Steamship Company assured Christiansen that "Mr. Brown of the C.P.R. is...very much interested [in extending the relaxation to the Russians], and with the valuable aid of Lord Grey, we hope to get the Canadian government to move in the matter".¹⁶⁵ Despite the pressure, the Immigration Branch held its ground, continuing to apply the regular immigration procedures to the "Russians" throughout the summer of 1912. Only by mid-September, with the demand of the railway companies for labour continuing to increase, did its position soften. On 25 September, Scott notified Pickford and Black, the official agents of the Russian America Line in Halifax, that "Russian labourers already ticketed to assured employment via Russian America Line will be admitted on the same terms as those coming from the United States".¹⁶⁶ In March 1913, "Russians" and all other European immigrants with

¹⁶³ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 3, file 94.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., Ustinov to Roche, 8 January 1913.

¹⁶⁵ RGIA, fond 104, opis' 1, delo 265, list 80, East Asiatic Co., Ltd., to Russian America Line, 11 October 1912.

¹⁶⁶ RG76, reel C-10296, vol. 407, file 594511, Part 5, Scott to Barnstead, 25 September 1912. Scott was referring to the circular of 11 September, which had authorized Canadian border inspectors to admit, until 1 December, all railway labourers coming by land from the United States regardless of nationality or money qualifications (see *ibid.*, circular of 11 September 1912).

sufficient means and “definite employment” were again allowed to freely enter the country.¹⁶⁷ However, the first signs of an economic recession soon forced Ottawa to revert to the old procedures. Starting on July 1, 1913, the monetary qualification for European labourers of all nationalities was gradually reinstated in all seaports and on the Canadian-U.S. border territory and kept in place until the beginning of the war.¹⁶⁸ In May 1914, Scott notified the new Russian consul Sergei Likhachev that in view of the “economic difficulties” only farmers, farm labourers and female domestics should be encouraged to immigrate to Canada.¹⁶⁹ Likhachev passed Scott’s letter on to the Second Section of the Russian Foreign Ministry, adding that he too thought the influx of Russian workers to Canada undesirable at the present time.¹⁷⁰ It was, however, the war that broke out two weeks after Likhachev’s communication with St. Petersburg that did more than any regulations to stop the movement of labourers from Russia to Canada.

* * *

For early twentieth-century Canada *immigration* was obviously a problem of much greater dimensions and political importance than *emigration* was for tsarist Russia. In both countries, however, population mobility became closely linked to larger issues of national development. Different as they were in their origins, sources of legitimacy and doctrines of governance, the Russian and Canadian states displayed essentially similar views of people as “human capital” necessary for the economic growth and cultural survival of their nations and acted as managers of this capital. Official Canadian and

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., circular of 12 March 1913.

¹⁶⁸ RG76, reel C-10296, vol. 407, file 594511, Part 5.

¹⁶⁹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 3, file 94, Scott to Likhachev, 27 May 1914.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., Likhachev to A.K. Bentkovskii, 17 July 1914.

Russian attitudes towards migration should also be seen in the context of the expanding administrative functions of the modern state, which aimed at imposing a greater degree of control and maintaining a better record of population movements across national borders. Just as the Russian imperial state showed itself reluctant to embrace the idea of permanent emigration of its “true Russian” subjects, needed to people the vast lands of Siberia and serve as a bastion of Orthodox culture, immigration officials in Ottawa too imposed economically and racially motivated restrictions on the admission of Canadian immigrants, attempting to filter out those who they saw unfit to be moulded into “true Canadians”. Notably, immigration of Russian labour to Canada found its main opponents not in St. Petersburg, but in Ottawa, which in its policy-making struggled to reconcile the considerations of racial suitability with the interests of big business that favoured an open-door immigration policy. Similarly, the Russian ruling elites tried hard to find a middle ground between the possible economic gains that might be accrued from temporary labour emigration and the traditional view of the people as a resource of the state.

The similarities between Russia and Canada can also be observed in the attempt of both states to move from a haphazard melange of regulations passed and implemented by the executive branches of government towards universal emigration/immigration legislation. With its immigration acts of 1906 and 1910, Canada admittedly came closer to achieving that goal. Although the attempts of the tsarist government to introduce such legislation were foiled by the bureaucratic inertia, instinctive fear of any political innovations and, finally, by the onset of the war, they nonetheless showed a slow

movement of the Russian state towards monarchy based on a rule of law rather than on a tangled fabric of group-specific privileges and obligations.

CHAPTER 5

THE CHALLENGE OF SOJOURNING

Similar to thousands of other labour immigrants from eastern, central and southern Europe, the vast majority of eastern Ukrainians and Belarusians who came to Canada before 1914 were temporary sojourners, “birds of passage”, who did not intend to settle in Canada for good. By the eve of the First World War, only a few earlier arrivals had completed the transition from sojourning to settling. The Li-Ra-Ma files show that some eastern Ukrainians and Belarusians, while still primarily engaged in industrial occupations, acquired plots of land with the apparent goal to take root in Canada and become farmers. Yet even by 1917-18 their number, by all indications, was insignificant, as the vast majority of the migrants continued to float across the country in search of employment and nurture plans of returning home (*do krai*) once conditions permitted. Paul Siu’s concept of the sojourner as an individual who regards his stay in the host country as a “job” that is to be finished in the shortest possible time and organizes his life accordingly is a useful framework for explaining the mindset and behavioural patterns typical for the Eastern Ukrainian and Belarusian labour migrants in early twentieth-century Canada.¹ The temporary character of these men’s presence in Canada (at least as far as their own intentions went) shaped the whole range of their Canadian experiences – from residential patterns to living conditions and modes of work, leisure, labour protest, cultural and religious expressions. It also explains the tenacity with which most of them sought to maintain ties with the old land and with their families even after the war made this task considerably more difficult and often impossible. As sojourners, most Ukrainian

¹ Paul C.P. Siu, “The Sojourner”, *American Journal of Sociology* 58 (July 1952): 34-44. The use of the term “sojourner” in regard to temporary labour migrants dates back at least to the 1930s.

and Belarusan migrants interacted with the host society only to such an extent as enabled them to reach their target of accumulating enough financial resources to return home. The continued use of the old-style Julian calendar, which we find in the immigrants' correspondence, may be a small detail but it tells volumes about the mindsets of the writers. As one contemporary Russian-American commentator put it, migrant workers from Russia were like tenants in a "squalid hotel, where you wake up, get rid of bedbugs and go about your business trying to think about this hotel as little as you can".² Forming stable social ties or putting down roots was difficult and made little sense as long as one's primary-group affiliations and loyalties remained elsewhere. This chapter seeks to explore the economic and cultural dimensions of migrant sojourning in early twentieth-century as they played out in the lives of peasant-workers from Belarus and eastern Ukraine.

Navvies, Loggers and Miners: Working on the Frontier

After their arrival in Canada, the majority of Belarusan and eastern Ukrainian labourers streamed into industrial frontier occupations. The rapid growth of mining and forest industries and an even more spectacular expansion of Canada's railway network generated an insatiable demand for unskilled labour, filled primarily by immigration from continental Europe. Like other eastern and central Europeans, "sturdy" and "strong-limbed" peasants from Belarus and Ukraine were ideal candidates for taking up arduous and usually low-paid jobs in railway construction, logging or mining, which had little

² *Novyi mir*, 29 December 1911. The phrase referred to Russian workers in the United States, but it was at least as much applicable to the even more transient Canadian population of Russian-born migrant labourers.

appeal to native-born Canadians (especially those of Anglo-Celtic origin).³ Some immigrants alternated industrial employment with working as farmhands, especially during the harvesting season.

Working as railway navvies provided most Ukrainians and Belarusians with the first source of income and the first experience on the Canadian labour market. Thousands of Belarusian and Ukrainian immigrants toiled on the construction of multiple additions and extensions to the Canadian Pacific Railway network and on the building of the new Grand Trunk and Canadian Northern transcontinental lines. At the height of the railway boom in 1912-13, hundreds of immigrants were hired immediately after their landing at a Canadian port, crammed into specially provided coaches attached to regular trains, and taken to construction camps in the country's interior. To prevent "contract jumping", the immigrants were often locked up and watched by the company's armed guards until the end of the journey.⁴ Not surprisingly, the labourers resented such treatment, which they hardly expected in a supposedly free country, and some attempted to protest. In an indignant letter to the Russian consulate, Ivan Gumeniuk, a labourer from Volhynia, resentfully described his first experiences in Canada after arrival at Halifax on March 29, 1913:

³ John Porter's concept of "vertical mosaic", which postulated that Canadian immigrants were traditionally channelled into low-paid and low-status occupations, has been occasionally questioned by sociologists and historians, most recently in Eric Sager, "Immigrants, Ethnicity and Earnings in 1901: Revisiting Canada's Vertical Mosaic", *Canadian Historical Review* 83, 2 (June 2002): 196-229. However, Sager's study, based on the 1901 manuscript census, covers the period before the great wave of labour immigration from continental Europe and its conclusions cannot be automatically projected onto subsequent decades. In addition, Sager does not analyze the economic performance of individual ethnic groups, using the category of "other Europeans" for all immigrants from continental Europe except the Germans and, on one occasion, Scandinavians, which diminishes the accuracy of his findings.

⁴ See Edmund Bradwin, *The Bunkhouse Man* (New York: AMS Press, 1968), p. 58.

At debarkation, Canadian immigration authorities charged each of us ten dollars for railway transportation through Canada to the place of our work, and gave us some sort of tickets, which later turned out to be contracts. There were over a thousand immigrants, but nobody knew that they cheated us this way into taking contracts. We were carried locked up in the cars like criminals; at the stations where the train stopped, CPR policemen with handguns and other arms surrounded the train and did not let anyone out, and those who did come out were beaten like criminals with handguns and some other arms and driven back into the car. This way they carried us for five days and brought us to a parkway in Saskatchewan, and there they divided us into work gangs.⁵

At least on one occasion the scandalous treatment of navvies from Russia by the CPR drew public attention. In late March 1913, the *Montreal Gazette* reported (probably referring to the same incident as related in Gumeniuk's letter) that a great number of "Russians" were transported in boxcars without food and when several men managed to escape near Boharm, Sask., they were fired at and wounded by the guards.⁶ The reported seriousness of the incident led to the intervention by the Russian consul in Montreal Nikolai Passek, who wrote to the Minister of Interior W.J. Roche on April 9 to obtain the particulars.⁷ On Roche's orders, the government immigration agent in Winnipeg conducted an investigation, which revealed that, incited by "their fellow countrymen", seventeen Russian labourers jumped from the moving train and forced the guard to stop the train and fire "a revolver into the air to intimidate them".⁸

⁵ National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Likacheff-Ragosine-Mathers Collection (hereafter Li-Ra-Ma Collection), MG30 E406, vol. 6, File 210, the Gumeniuk case. The author clearly confuses Canadian port officials with CPR labour agents, but his letter nonetheless provides a vivid description of the conditions in which the newly arrived labourers often found themselves. Interestingly, the letter was written and sent to Passek after Gumeniuk's return to Ukraine.

⁶ See an unidentified newspaper clipping in Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 7, file 239, "The Case of 300 in Moose Jaw, Sask."

⁷ *Ibid.*, Passek to J.W. Roche, April 9, 1913.

⁸ *Ibid.*, J.G. Mitchell to Passek, April 16, 1913.

The report claimed that statements regarding the lack of food and other “improper action” were “entirely unfounded” and that nobody was hurt as a result of the shooting. The government’s interpretation of the events, which absolved the CPR of any responsibility for the disorder, did not convince Passek, who decided to use an unusual method of protest for a foreign diplomat by appealing to Canadian public opinion. On May 23, he sent an angry letter to S. White, the editor of the *Gazette*, complaining “against the drastic measures taken by the officers of the CPR Co. in the case...which, I am sorry to say, remember [sic] not only those taken in South Africa against the Chinese coolies, but even the old days of lash in the Black Slave Trade”.⁹ The next day, the newspaper made the Russian consul’s protest known to the Canadian public. In the meantime, the matter had been brought to the attention of the government by the Moose Jaw Trades and Labour Council, which sent a letter to the Department of Justice, accusing the CPR of violating the Alien Labour Law and inhumane treatment of workers.¹⁰ In the House of Commons, W.E. Knowles, MP for Moose Jaw, questioned the Borden government whether it was aware of the shameful conditions in which the CPR transported Russian navvies.¹¹ Borden ordered the Minister of Labour T.W. Crothers to investigate the matter. In his May 28 report to the House, Crothers dismissed the “allegations” by the Russian consul and the TLC as “entirely inaccurate” and confirmed

⁹ Ibid., Passek to S. White, 23 May 1913. Short reports of the incident even appeared in the Russian press. See *Novoe vremia*, 12 May 1913.

¹⁰ NAC, Department of Justice, RG13, Series A-2, vol. 179, file 730, W.H. Stiles to C.J. Doherty, 15 May 1913.

¹¹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, May 22, 1913, col. 10529-30 (hereafter *Debates*).

the earlier official version of the incident as triggered by the workers who attempted to break their contracts.¹² Passek chose not to press the matter further.

In most cases, railway contractors advanced train fare to the hired workers, who rarely had more than a few dollars in their pockets, and then deducted it from their paycheque. “Greenhorns”, who knew nothing of the advance fare system and read no English, easily became victims of unscrupulous employment agents, who charged them for “transportation” that was already covered by the contracts. The fraud was usually not discovered until the first payday, when the deducted wages appeared on the worker’s account.¹³ Keeping the worker from deserting his job before the fare was fully repaid often presented a challenge to the contractors, but any losses incurred from desertions were far surpassed by the profits received. Train fare deductions were not the only ones that saddled the workers’ accounts: they were also charged sixty to seventy cents per day for bunk and board, and about \$1.25 per month for medical and mail services.¹⁴

Both Ukrainians and Belarusians usually entered the industry’s occupational hierarchy at its lowest rung as members of “extra gangs”, whose task was to ballast the railway bed and repair the tracks. Still others worked in grade camps, cutting rock and shovelling clay to prepare the roadbed for the laying of tracks. Only a few immigrants were able to land more skilled and better-paid jobs – for instance, as conductors or telegraph operators. Some achieved the rank of gang foremen, although Scandinavians, Slovaks and even Galician Ukrainians were more numerous in this category. The wages

¹² *Debates*, May 28, 1913, col. 11077-8.

¹³ See Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 6, file 210 (the case of Semen Khropanitsky); vol. 7, file 244 (the case of Gerasim Demchuk).

¹⁴ Bradwin, *The Bunkhouse Man*, p. 66-67.

received for unskilled work could sustain a single labourer, but they could hardly provide a living to a family or bring the desired savings, which were the main object of his arrival in Canada. In 1915, Petr Leshchuk, who worked on the construction of a CPR line near Success, Manitoba, was paid only \$1.50 a day. In northern Ontario, wages were somewhat higher: in 1912-13 Roman Daniliuk made \$1.75 for ten hours of work in a CPR extra gang near Sudbury. Those working in grade camps could receive \$2 or \$2.50 per day.¹⁵ Still, when all the deductions were made, most navvies pocketed \$25- 30 per month at best. If a worker stayed on the job longer than several months (usually three to six), he might receive a small daily bonus and/or be issued a free one-way railway pass at the end of the contract.¹⁶ Even these wages, however, were earned by backbreaking work and, as we will see below, often at the expense of the workers' health. During the depression years (late 1913 to mid-1915), contractor firms used the constant threat of unemployment that hung over immigrant workers to raise the pace of work to a level that could hardly be sustained even by men accustomed to hard physical labour. Arnold F. George, a government immigration agent sent to investigate a complaint by a group of thirty "Russians" in Winnipeg discharged for "unsatisfactory" work by the contractor firm of McMillan Bros., wrote in his report that

it is not a question of how skilful work such men can do, but how much. At the time when these men were dismissed as unsatisfactory, thousands of men were roaming the line looking for work, while Le Pas is also full of them. Under such conditions, a pace is invariably set for the labourers,

¹⁵ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 6, file 211 (the case of Petr Leshchuk), file 217 (the case of Roman Daniliuk); see also Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press), 1991, p. 114.

¹⁶ Bradwin, *The Bunkhouse Man*, p. 65. The Li-Ra-Ma correspondence contains several cases of navvies complaining of being refused free passes to which they considered themselves entitled. See for instance Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 6, file 210 (the case of Ivan Gumeniuk).

which requires the discipline of a constant discharge of some of the men to speed the others up.¹⁷

To increase earnings, more experienced labourers often formed their own gangs (usually from three to five men but sometimes as many as twenty) and contracted themselves for “station work” – a type of employment that in some ways resembled the old Russian tradition of *arteli* – small communes of itinerant workmen, who owned their own tools and travelled far and wide in search of employment. “Station men” were leased stretches of land (“stations”), which had to be graded for the laying of tracks. They were required to supply themselves with shelter, tools and food, usually purchased at exorbitant prices from the contractor, who might charge up to \$6 for a bag of flour that normally cost \$2. Many contractors repeatedly recycled tools and equipment abandoned at the stations by previous gangs.¹⁸ The need to pay back the resulting debt, coupled with the sojourner’s drive to earn the most money in the shortest possible time, proved a far better incentive for hard work than did the watchful eye of a foreman and made the station system very cost-effective for the railway companies. Unlike regular navvies, station men set their own hours and were paid by the amount of earth or rock removed rather than by the time spent on the job. Pay schedules could vary significantly depending on the location and the hiring company. Labourers working on Vancouver Island in 1915 for McKenzie and Mann received 95¢ per cubic yard of solid rock and 26¢ for any other material removed. A gang of twelve Russian-born station men, who

¹⁷ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 6, file 208 (the case of Vladimir Babenko et al.), cited in W.D. Scott to Dessaulles, Garneau and Vanier, 5 November 1915.

¹⁸ *Novyi mir*, 20 February 1915; 31 January 1916.

worked the same year on the construction of the Hudson's Bay Railway in Manitoba, were paid 40¢ per yard for clay and \$1.35 for rock.¹⁹

While station work offered the alluring prospect of higher pay, it also had many pitfalls, especially for less experienced labourers, who frequently miscalculated the degree of its difficulty and their own skills. A formally larger measure of control over the work process allotted to station labourers often turned out to be illusory. Rough or swampy terrain and rainy weather could significantly slow the workers down and jeopardize the chances of fulfilling the contract. To get fair pay, company engineers who assessed the amount of work done by a gang usually had to be "oiled" – that is, paid off in the form of liquor (a widespread practice in other industries as well²⁰). Workers who refused to participate in the bribing might find their paycheques slashed by as much as several hundred dollars. Russian-born station men, working in 1913-14 in western Manitoba, regularly dispatched one of their own to The Pas, located over 200 miles from the worksite, to buy liquor for the engineer (and, one suspects, for the workers' own consumption). Since alcohol was banned in and near construction camps, the "couriers" often had to tread much of the way with five to ten bottles of whiskey in their bags trying to avoid a police patrol.²¹ If all went well, the stationers might net \$500, \$600 or even \$800 per season. In the worst case scenario, they were fortunate to break even.

Contractors and company engineers who oversaw the work often tried to take advantage

¹⁹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 6, file 209 (complaint by 12 workers in The Pas, January 1915); vol. 7, file 244 (the case of 14 workers on Vancouver Island), D. Newton Wemyss to Likhachev, 20 January 1916.

²⁰ On similar practices in the Hollinger mines, see Grigorii Okulevich, *Russkie v Kanade: Istoriia russkikh raboche-fermerskikh klubov imeni M. Gor'kogo (1930-1940) i Federatsii russkikh kanadtsev (1941-1952)* (Toronto: Federation of Russian Canadians, 1952), p. 33.

²¹ *Novyi mir*, 20 February 1915.

of the workers' illiteracy or lack of experience. Thus, a group of fourteen station men on Vancouver Island discovered after the completion of their work that in addition to the charges for equipment, tools and horses, the contract they had signed required them to assume a debt of \$1,500 left by an "Austrian gang" which had attempted and given up the same work earlier. With the help of a sympathetic lawyer the men fought their case in the Supreme Court of British Columbia, only to fall victim to the nativist prejudice of the judge, who could "not see how we are to build railways in British Columbia, unless we make these sort of people live up to their contracts".²²

After railway construction, the mining industry was the second largest employer of Russian-born immigrants in early twentieth-century Canada. The collieries of the Crow's Nest Pass and the Hollinger gold mines in Timmins employed the largest numbers of Russian-born miners, although "Russians" were also found in copper and nickel mines around Cobalt and Sudbury, Thetford asbestos mines in Quebec, and a few, primarily Bessarabians, even managed to find their way to Cape Breton. By 1914, some Russian-born miners in Fernie had already made several trips to Canada, returning each time for a new portion of "coal dollars".²³ Most "Russians", like other Slavic miners across Canada, worked in unskilled jobs – as surface workers or underground as muckers, trammers or machine helpers.

In contrast to railway construction, logging or farm labour, mining was less subject to seasonal fluctuations and thus provided a greater measure of stability for the workers. Of all low- and unskilled frontier occupations in early twentieth-century Canada, it also

²² Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 7, file 244 (the case of 14 workers on Vancouver Island), D. Newton Wemyss to Likhachev, 20 January 1916.

²³ *Novyi mir*, 25 July 1913.

brought the highest day wages. In 1913, Russian-born miners in Fernie averaged \$3 per day, and more experienced workers earned up to \$3.50. A series of strikes that occurred in the Crow's Nest Pass during the war (along with war bonuses) nearly doubled the wages: in 1919, skilled miners working at the coal face received up to \$7.50 per day and even help boys could earn as much as \$3.85.²⁴ In 1915, Hollinger paid its low-skilled workers \$60-80 per month depending on the nature of work and seniority. Machine operators received \$3.50, helpers \$3, muckers \$2.75 per day, with 75 cents deducted for board and other services.²⁵ Similar to other frontier industries, the labour turnover in mining was high: thus, in 1917, only 10 percent of the male population of Timmins were permanent residents and at least half of the remaining 90 percent stayed in the town for only 3-4 months.²⁶ Arduous working conditions and health hazards of the mining profession forced many to quit after a few weeks or even days. Yet it was not uncommon for miners to remain in the same job for four, five or even more years – something that rarely occurred among loggers or railway navvies. By 1914, a handful of Russian-born miners in northern Ontario had begun the transition from sojourning to permanent residence. An old-time resident of Timmins recalled that in the spring of that year, Daniil Shumovich, one of the few Belarusian miners to build their own permanent homes before

²⁴ Ibid.; William James Cousins, *A History of the Crow's Nest Pass* (Lethbridge: The Historic Trails Society of Alberta, 1981), p. 64. In 1916, strikes over wage raises also occurred in Cobalt and Thetford Mines. See *Labour Gazette*, September 1916, p. 1550; October 1916, 1634-1638.

²⁵ *Novyi mir*, 19 June 1915; Pylyp Yasnowskyj, *Pid ridnym i pid chuzhym nebom: spohady pionera* (Buenos Aires: Vyd. Iuliana Seredyaka, 1961), p. 174.

²⁶ Nancy Forestell, "All That Glitters Is Not Gold: The Gendered Dimensions of Work, Family and Community Life in the Northern Ontario Goldmining Town of Timmins, 1909-1950" (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1993), p. 60.

the war, brought over his wife Daria, who reportedly became the first “Russian” woman in the still nearly all-male town.²⁷

While navvies and loggers in early twentieth-century Canada inhabited temporary bunkhouse camps, well described in Edmund Bradwin’s classic *The Bunkhouse Man*, miners usually lived in small company towns (of which Fernie and Timmins were typical examples), scattered across the resource frontier. In Fernie, they built rough wooden frame shacks, shared by five or more tenants, who slept on bunk beds covered with straw mattresses and crude blankets. The centre of the shack was occupied by a stove, used for heating, cooking and washing. The Fernie *Free Press* complained in 1910 about the unsanitary conditions among the “Russians” and thought some action had to be taken to improve them.²⁸ As historians have pointed out, early twentieth-century Canadian mining towns were socially and ethnically segregated communities.²⁹ In the Fernie area, “Russian” workers lived in a shanty settlement ironically called “New York”, which was nestled on a mountain slope and separated from the town by the Elk River. Italians, French Canadians and Scandinavians populated the opposite end of the shantytown, while the English and Scottish managers of the Crow’s Nest Coal Company inhabited comfortable houses across the river, equipped with sewage and other amenities.³⁰

²⁷ Okulevich, *Russkie v Kanade*, p. 34. In 1915 the *Canadian Mining Manual* reported that married men in Timmins began to build their own homes, while 150 single men were still quartered in bunkhouses. Michael Barnes, *Gold in the Porcupine* (Cobalt: Highway Book Shop, 1975), p. 77.

²⁸ Cousins, *A History of the Crow’s Nest Pass*, p. 61.

²⁹ Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, p. 118.

³⁰ *Novyi mir*, 25 July 1913.

Frontier occupations usually presented a greater hazard for the workers than urban employment. According to the Department of Labour statistics, lumbering, mining and railway construction, which together employed about 9 percent of Canada's working population, accounted for 46 percent of fatal industrial accidents recorded between 1904 and 1923.³¹ Railway navvies received most of their injuries from dynamite explosions and tumbling piles of rails or ties. Mishandled dynamite was also a common cause of injury and death among miners, who could also be crippled by falling coal and rock, hit by cars and poisoned by seeping gas. Silicosis – a lung disease caused by inhaling tiny particles of silica dust – claimed the lives of many Slavic workers in Timmins and other places. Many Slavic workers lost their lives and property during the devastating fires that blazed through the Porcupine district in 1911 and 1916, wiping out much of Timmins and other settlements. In Fernie, when the wind blew from the coke ovens located near the miners' shantytown, the air became filled with flakes of soot, which covered the buildings and polluted the town's wells. Falling trees were the leading cause of industrial accidents in the logging industry. The inability of many immigrant loggers to communicate verbally with their co-workers made coordinated action difficult and increased the chances of industrial accidents. In logging as in other industries, employers were rarely prepared to admit their fault in the accident and often accused their victims of malingering. Thus, Foma Melnichuk, who was hit by a falling tree because he could not understand a French Canadian assigned as his workmate, was told by his contractor that he knew the trade well enough to be able to get out of the tree's way.³² Iakov Mazur, who had his arm broken as a result of a similar accident, also failed to obtain

³¹ See Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, p. 116.

³² Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 6, file 225 (the case of Foma Melnichuk).

compensation from his employer, the Lake Superior Paper Company. The company doctor, who failed to set the bone properly, not only considered Mazur fit for “any kind of work” but also rebuked the injured worker for thinking that “because he had been hurt somebody ought to maintain him...”³³

By 1916, laws providing some degree of protection to victims of industrial accidents were in place in all Canadian provinces except Prince Edward Island. If employer negligence could be established, the workers were entitled to a one-time payment, weekly disability pension or a combination of both. In Nova Scotia, large coal and steel companies had established their own insurance funds regulated by special legislation. Obtaining compensation under the industrial disability laws was, however, a costly and often frustrating experience even for native-born workers, let alone immigrant labourers. In some provinces, workers employed in the forest industry, agriculture, fisheries and domestic service were not covered by this legislation and could proceed only under the common law. In Quebec, foreign-born workers without resident families could not claim benefits under the provincial *Loi des accidents du travail*, and under the Manitoba law the dependents of a deceased worker could receive an indemnity only if they resided within the British Empire. Ontario was the first among Canadian provinces to take disability protection away from the courts and place it into the hands of a government-appointed body. Under the Workmen’s Compensation Act, introduced in April 1914, a special board composed of three commissioners dealt with all claims involving death or injury in industrial accidents and determined the amount of compensation. Under the act, non-resident families of foreign workers could receive an indemnity equivalent in value to that accorded them by the laws of their home country.

³³ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 6, file 224 (the case of Iakov Mazur).

Where such laws did not exist, the amount of the compensation was left to the discretion of the commissioners. Immigrant workers got much better protection in the 1915 British Columbia law, which in most respects emulated the Ontario legislation but made no distinction between Canadians and “foreigners”.³⁴

With the adoption of government-regulated disability protection schemes in Ontario and British Columbia, Russian-born workers injured in industrial accidents that occurred in the two provinces were spared the costly and often fruitless procedure of suing their employers for damages. Elsewhere, they still had to initiate lawsuits under the common law or the provincial disability act in order to obtain compensation. This was exactly what some Ukrainian and Belarusian workers attempted to do – they hired interpreters and lawyers and attempted to turn the law to their advantage. While organized labour militancy in early twentieth-century Canada has received detailed attention in Canadian historiography, we have yet to explore the extent and significance of litigation as a form of *individual* protest used by workers (including immigrants) to confront mistreatment and overexploitation. The Li-Ra-Ma records suggest that legal action by Russian-born workers against their employers or labour agents was far from exceptional, even though it was difficult to bring to a successful end due to the plaintiff’s poor knowledge of English, unfamiliarity with Canadian legal procedures and the double burden of class and ethnic prejudice.³⁵ Proving employer negligence in court usually

³⁴ A useful summary of Canadian provincial laws regulating workers’ compensation, prepared in 1916 for Likhachev by the law firm of Dessaulles, Garneau and Vanier, can be found in Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 6, file 215, “Resumé des lois canadiennes des différentes provinces concernant les accidents du travail”. See also Dennis Guest, *The Emergence of Social Security in Canada*. 2nd rev. ed. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), p. 39-47.

³⁵ Settlement of cases by mutual agreement between the parties (i.e. without instituting formal legal proceedings) was also not unknown.

presented the greatest challenge. Due to the high mobility of the migrant workers and the typically late institution of legal proceedings, few plaintiffs could produce witnesses of the accident. Given that most employers knew better than to testify against themselves, many such cases were dismissed by the courts. Time was also a crucial factor: according to the law, lawsuits initiated more than six months after the accident could be accepted by a court only in exceptional circumstances. High fees charged by lawyers and interpreters (sometimes amounting to several hundred dollars) often left their clients penniless without increasing their chances for a successful verdict. A security deposit of another two or three hundred dollars was required if the plaintiff decided to appeal an unfavourable verdict in a higher court. When a successful outcome of the appeal seemed probable, some lawyers advanced part of the expenses to their clients, but the latter still had to raise the bulk of the money.

Occasionally, Ukrainian and Belarusian immigrants brought their complaints against employers and labour agents to Russian consulates in Montreal and Vancouver. Usually such assistance was sought as the last resort, after other ways of obtaining redress failed to bring results. The operational files of the two consulates contain over a hundred cases involving compensation of damages suffered from industrial accidents.³⁶ After fruitless encounters with Canadian legal bureaucracy, many injured workers regarded the consuls as their only remaining hope for justice. To prick the conscience of the supposedly cold-hearted tsarist bureaucrats, they resorted to the same strategies as used by peasant

³⁶ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 6, files 216 – 229, 807 – 808. The second most common category of complaints (over 40 individual and group cases) involved wage disputes (see files 208 – 214 and 806).

petitioners in the homeland – from purposely colourful descriptions of their misery to personal flattery and straightforward offers of monetary rewards.³⁷

As we have mentioned, by 1914 the Russian government began to pay greater attention to the protection of its subjects in foreign countries. The ongoing transformation of the Russian monarchy into a state based on the rule of law was bringing with it an understanding that every subject of the tsar should, at least in theory, be entitled to an equal measure of protection. Around 1913, to handle the skyrocketing number of requests for legal assistance, the consulate general began to use the services of a reputable Montreal law firm of Dessaulles, Garneau and Vanier. At times, the lawyers acted as direct representatives of the injured workers, but more often their role was limited to finding out the details of the case and providing the plaintiff with legal advice. In some cases, such intervention facilitated settlement; however, if no witnesses could be located or employer negligence seemed impossible to prove, it made little difference. Reporting to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in March 1915, consul general Sergei Likhachev wrote that most victims of mistreatment applied “for consular assistance too late and, moreover, [could not] provide the needed information”.³⁸ When no compensation could be obtained, the consulate sometimes stepped in with small one-time allowances (usually not exceeding \$10-15), but these were rare and reserved only for the most destitute. It is clear that both the industrial accidents legislation and consular

³⁷ On peasant petitions in wartime Russia see Emily Pyle, “Peasant Strategies for Obtaining State Aid: A Study of Petitions during World War I”, *Russian History* 24, 1-2 (Spring – Summer 1997): 41-64.

³⁸ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 6, file 226, Likhachev to Vtoroi Departament, 12 March 1915.

intervention could provide only a modicum of protection for Ukrainian and Belarusan labourers, exposed on a daily basis to the risks and hazards of the frontier occupations.

For Slavic frontier labourers, as Orest Martynowych put it, “insecurity and uncertainty were the only constants”.³⁹ Their work and life cycles usually revolved around the irregular rhythm of the resource economy heavily dependent on the vagaries of the climate and the market. After working for eight or nine months on the frontier, most spent the winter months in nearby cities, living on their quickly dwindling savings or taking occasional jobs. Here they entered the emerging ethnic enclaves, which by 1914 were a permanent fixture on the Canadian urban landscape.

The “Urbanites”: the Case of Montreal

Similar to the frontier camps, the fledgling urban communities of Ukrainian and Belarusan workers were composed mostly of single men, and their size and composition fluctuated in unison with the seasonal and long-term economic cycles. In the late autumn and winter months, the number of immigrants in such cities as Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton could swell to several thousand, while in the spring and summer, with the beginning of the railway construction and farming season, it shrank to a few hundred. Before 1914, only a relatively small proportion of Ukrainian and Belarusan workers, primarily those with skilled jobs or resident families, remained in cities on a permanent basis. For the majority, the boundary between the city and the resource frontier was never a fixed one, as they alternated short urban stints with longer periods of “roughing it in the bush”.

Of all early twentieth-century Canadian cities, Montreal was by far the largest recipient of immigrants from “Russian” Ukraine and Belarus. The size of the city’s

³⁹ Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, p. 111.

“Russian colony” and its relatively well-documented history make it the best model for exploring the social experiences of these urban labourers.⁴⁰ Toronto, Winnipeg and Hamilton – other popular destinations for immigrant workers from eastern Ukraine and Belarus – were in many ways smaller replicas of Montreal’s Belarusian and eastern Ukrainian communities, with similar patterns of settlement, work and leisure.

A bustling metropolis, which produced 17 percent of Canada’s industrial output in the early 1900s and served as its largest commercial port, Montreal exerted a strong pull on immigrants from central, eastern and southern Europe. A census conducted by the YMCA in 1915 found 102,000 “people of foreign speech” living within the city borders, including 55,000 Jews, 17,500 Italians, 12,500 “Ruthenians and Poles” as well as smaller numbers of Bulgarians, Greeks, Chinese and others, and by 1917 some observers believed the city’s foreign-speaking population to have increased at least by another 5 percent.⁴¹

⁴⁰ For a variety of reasons too complex to be discussed here, Montreal has not received its due share of attention from ethnic and migration historians, who have barely scratched the surface of its rich ethnic mosaic. Studies of Montreal’s Jewish and Italian communities among the rare exceptions (see, for instance, Joe King, *From the Ghetto to the Main: the Story of the Jews of Montreal* (Montreal: Montreal Jewish Publications Society, 2000) and Bruno Ramirez, *Les premiers italiens de Montréal* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1984)). Beginning with the work of McGill’s Carl Dawson and his students, sociologists and social geographers have showed a more sustained interest in the city’s ethnic groups. Two most important works bearing on Slavic immigrants are Stephen Mamchur, “The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada: With Special Reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal” (MA thesis, McGill University, 1934), and Charles M. Bailey, “The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal, 1935-1937” (MA thesis, McGill University, 1939). See also the more recent Annick Germain and Damaris Rose, *Montréal: The Quest for a Metropolis* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2000), chapter 7, and Claire McNicoll, *Montréal, une société multiculturelle* (Paris: Belin, 1993).

⁴¹ United Church Archives (hereafter UCA), Victoria University, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Home Mission Records, fonds 14, series 4, box 4, file 10, “Report of Central Committee on the Work among European Foreigners in Canada”, p. 5. Immigrants from eastern Ukraine and Belarus, as was often the case in early twentieth-century Canada, were obviously classed as “Ruthenians” or “Poles”. Interestingly, the federal census of 1921 listed only 79,708 people of

Labour immigration from eastern Ukraine and Belarus to the city began around 1903 – 1904 and took such large proportions during the last pre-war years that even the *Labour Gazette*, which rarely paid attention to specific groups of immigrant workers, felt compelled to note in August 1913 that “this season a large number of Russians have been added to the labour population of the city and suburbs”.⁴² The federal census of 1921 (taken in summertime), which found only 2,067 “Russians” living in Montreal (still an approximately two-fold increase compared to 1911), doubtless missed a large army of transient migrants, who flooded into the city at the end of every year only to leave it again in several months.⁴³ The estimated figure of 5,000 “Russians”, given in 1915 by the Montreal correspondent of the Russian socialist newspaper *Novyi mir*, is much closer to reality.⁴⁴ The first eastern Ukrainians to arrive in Montreal were natives of Volhynia and Kiev provinces. The records of the city’s Saint Peter and Saint Paul Russian Orthodox Church for 1906 – 1910 list several persons born in Staro-Konstantinov District of Volhynia and Tarashcha District of Kiev Province. Among the earliest Belarusian immigrants in Montreal, most probably came from Minsk and Mogilev provinces.⁴⁵ After

non-British and non-French origin in Montreal. See *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921* (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1924), vol. 1, p. 542.

⁴² The *Labour Gazette*, August 1913, p. 126.

⁴³ *Sixth Census of Canada*, vol. 1, p. 542. The unreliability of the official statistics of Ukrainian population in Montreal is also noted in Yarema Kelebay, “Three Fragments of the Ukrainian Community in Montreal, 1899-1970: A Hartzian Approach”, *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XII, 2 (1980): 86, 11n.

⁴⁴ *Novyi mir*, 1 February 1915. Some sources put the number of “Russians” in the city at 10,000. At least several hundred of these must have been Russians proper, whose presence in Montreal is documented, for instance, in *Kanadskii gudok*, 14 February 1939.

⁴⁵ Archives of the SS Peter and Paul Orthodox Church of Montreal (hereafter SSPP), membership book of the Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox Brotherhood, 1906 – [1916].

1910, these early arrivals were joined by a larger wave of labour migrants from the new donors – Podolia, Bessarabia and Grodno.

Table 14. Major Ukrainian and Belarusian Settlement Areas in Montreal, ca. 1920

Areas	Origins	
	Belarus	Ukraine
Centre	51.0	66.2
Hochelaga	26.0	14.4
Point St. Charles	14.4	16.1
Other	8.6	3.3

N = 471

Source: Li-Ra-Ma Sample

As Table 14 demonstrates, Montreal's Ukrainians and Belarusians exhibited largely similar residential patterns, although the rate of dispersal for the latter was somewhat higher.⁴⁶ The earliest area of Ukrainian and Belarusian settlement emerged in Point St. Charles, whose character as a primarily Irish- and French-populated working-class neighbourhood was being rapidly changed in the early 1900s by the arrival of hundreds of eastern-central Europeans (see Map 3). Point St. Charles was also the first site of the city's Russian Orthodox parish, founded in 1907 and housed until 1914 in a small rented building on Soulages Street.⁴⁷ By the early 1910s, however, the role of Point St. Charles as the centre of the city's Slavic colony began to decline, as more and more immigrants streamed into the large downtown area along St. Lawrence Boulevard – the city's main

⁴⁶ The following discussion of immigrant residential patterns in Montreal is largely based on the analysis of approximately 500 individual street addresses obtained from the Li-Ra-Ma files.

⁴⁷ More on the history of the Russian Orthodox parish in Montreal follows in Chapter 6.

Map 3. Major Areas of Ukrainian Settlement in Montreal (1900)

Ukrainian and Belarusan Settlement (1900 - 1920)

Areas of settlement

✙ The SS Peter and Paul
Russian Orthodox Parish
(1907-1914)

▲ The proposed site
of the permanent
Russian Orthodox Church

✝ Early Russian Baptist Mission

250 0 1000 m

and Belarusan - 1920)

Areas of settlement

✙ The SS Peter and Paul
Russian Orthodox Parish
(1907-1914)

▲ The proposed site
of the permanent
Russian Orthodox Church

✝ Early Russian Baptist Mission

250 0 1000 m

thoroughfare. which historically constituted the dividing line between its English- and French-speaking sections. Over 60 percent of Montreal's immigrants from eastern Ukraine and Belarus, along with thousands of other Eastern and Southern Europeans, were huddled into what has been termed an "immigrant corridor", extending, roughly, from Ontario Street in the north to Craig Street (now rue St. Antoine) in the south and from St. Denis to Bleury Street in the east and west. Most Ukrainians and Belarusians lived within the rectangle formed by St. Urbain, Craig, Sanguinet and St. Catherine streets. St. Dominique and Cadieux (now de Bullion) streets had particularly dense Slavic congregations. The availability of cheap boarding-houses and the abundance of small garment, cigar-making and food-packing shops and factories, which could provide jobs, were the main factors that drew thousands of migrant sojourners to the Centre area, described by one author in 1934 as "a cosmopolitan Mecca where the Jew predominates".⁴⁸ A third large area of Ukrainian and Belarusian settlement in early twentieth-century Montreal sprang up at the western edge of the Hochelaga ward, north of Ontario Street and east of Iberville. As Table 14 demonstrates, it was especially popular with the Belarusians, who probably followed in the footsteps of their Lithuanian and Polish neighbours from Suvalki Province, who had chosen Hochelaga as their prime area of settlement. The 1916 decision of the SS Peter and Paul parish to buy property on Cartier Street for the building of a permanent church (which never materialized) reflected the change in the geography of Slavic immigrant settlements in Montreal, characterized by the declining significance of Point St. Charles and the growing attraction of the central and Hochelaga districts.

⁴⁸ Mamchur, "The Economic and Social Adjustment", p. 71.

Along with three large colonies that existed by 1914 in Point St. Charles, the central district and Hochelaga, smaller groups of Ukrainians and Belarusans were found in other city districts, especially Côte St-Paul (on Notre Dame Street West and adjoining streets) and in Montreal's numerous satellite towns and suburbs. In Beloeil, about a dozen miles southeast of the city, the Canadian Explosives Company employed a number of immigrants from eastern Ukraine and Belarus, and in nearby Laprairie, "Russian" workers toiled in road construction and at the local brick plant for \$1.75 – \$2 per day plus board.⁴⁹ However, the largest Slavic colony on the city fringes emerged in Lachine, where hundreds of Ukrainians from Podolia, Kiev and Bessarabia lived next to the even more numerous Bukovinians, occupying the area known as the Dominion Park. Unlike most other ethnic neighbourhoods within Montreal and its environs, which attracted both Ukrainians and Belarusans in comparable proportions, Lachine remained predominantly a Ukrainian enclave. By 1909-10, the Orthodox community of Lachine was large enough to establish a separate parish, mostly composed of Bukovinian Ukrainians.⁵⁰

Socially as well as geographically, eastern Ukrainians and Belarusans in early twentieth-century Montreal were closely intertwined communities. Not only did they settle in the same neighbourhoods, but they also shared the same boarding-houses, frequented the same stores and labour agencies and belonged to the same parishes and immigrant organizations. Although natives of the same villages and districts tended to cluster together on certain streets, it was common for an immigrant from Minsk to live in a boarding-house with several Ukrainians or vice versa. The rate of "clannishness" seems

⁴⁹ *Novyi mir*, 10 September 1914.

⁵⁰ Yarema G. Kelebay, "The Ideological and Intellectual Baggage of Three Fragments of Ukrainian Immigrants: A Contribution to the History of Ukrainians in Quebec (1910-1960)" (PhD thesis, Concordia University, 1993), p. 47.

to have been somewhat higher among natives of Bessarabia and Podolia, but it may well have been the result of their numerical predominance within the “Russian colony”. The social geography of Montreal’s Ukrainian and Belarusan communities proves the validity of Robert Harney’s insightful remark that “ethnic enclaves are rarely made up uniformly of one ethnic group, [nor] does consensus within the group necessarily follow from shared ethnicity”.⁵¹ A weak or non-existent national consciousness, prevalent among early twentieth-century eastern Europeans, prevented the creation of socio-cultural barriers between various ethnic groups, which their nascent nationalist-minded elites were so eager to erect. The social identities of early twentieth-century immigrants from eastern Ukraine and Belarus were defined by their country of birth, common religious and political loyalties and a shared “high language” (Russian). To all intents and purposes, they were “Russians”, who regarded themselves as members of the city’s polyethnic “Russian colony” – a rather amorphous formation, which also included some Russians proper, Russian-speaking Jews, Poles, Armenians and all others whose self-identification as “Russian” superseded other identities. Similar to other “Russian” immigrant communities across North America, Montreal’s “Russian colony” had no clear-cut ethnic boundaries – the fact that reflected the absence of a commonly accepted understanding of what exactly constituted one’s Russianness. In this regard, “Russian colonies” abroad were very much a mirror image of the homeland, where, as historian Theodore Weeks pointed out, no clear definition of any nationality – Russian or non-

⁵¹ Robert F. Harney, “Ethnicity and Neighbourhoods”, in Harney, ed., *Gathering Place: People and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985), p. 6.

Russian – was ever formulated.⁵² Due to cultural assimilation into the dominant Russian nation, many non-Russians born in the tsarist empire not only knew enough Russian to function easily in both the larger “Russian colony” and their own communities, but some identified themselves first as Russians and only then as Poles (Germans, Jews, Latvians etc.). In addition, there was a substantial degree of intermingling between Ukrainians and Belarusians from the Russian Empire and “Russophile” Orthodox Ukrainians from Galicia and Bukovina, who regarded Russia as their cultural metropolis. The surviving records of the SS Peter and Paul Russian Orthodox parish reveal a high degree of intermarriage among Orthodox Slavs from Russia and Austria. Due to the scarcity of marriageable women from eastern Ukraine and Belarus, young immigrant men searching for a spouse turned to the more numerous Bukovinian and Galician girls. With 110 marital unions recorded in the church’s metric books between 1917 and 1921, in 54 cases the groom was from Russia and the bride from Austria-Hungary, and only in 28 cases were both spouses Russian-born.⁵³ Marriages with Greek and Roman Catholics did occur, but these seem to have been exceptions.

The living conditions in Montreal’s immigrant neighbourhoods were no different from other large North American cities. According to historian Paul-André Linteau, overcrowding was generally less rampant in the city’s working-class quarters than it was

⁵² See on this Theodore R. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863-1914* (DeKalb, Ill: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996), p. 8; and Geoffrey Hosking, “Empire and Nation-Building in Late Imperial Russia”, in Geoffrey Hosking and Robert Service, eds., *Russian Nationalism: Past and Present* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), p. 21.

⁵³ SSPP, marriage registers, 1917-1921. The rest were marriages between the natives of Austria-Hungary.

in such American metropolises as New York or Boston.⁵⁴ However, in certain areas of the downtown core it still appears to have reached significant proportions, especially following the immigration boom that occurred on the eve of the First World War. A survey of just one block on an unidentified street east of Bleury, conducted by Methodist social workers in 1917, found 333 men and 16 women packed into 16 boarding-houses with a total of 84 rooms, 10 by 8 ft. in average size.⁵⁵ Unsanitary living conditions and lack of sewage were an even more serious problem, causing some of the continent's highest rates of infectious disease and child mortality.⁵⁶ Like most migrant sojourners, Ukrainians and Belarusians were prepared to sacrifice personal comfort for the sake of accumulating larger savings in order to return home, send money to the family or bring it over to Canada in the shortest possible time. In addition, running water and in-house bathrooms were amenities deemed expendable by all but very few eastern Europeans, who had not been familiar with these "luxuries" of modern civilization in the old world. Only a few long-timers and men with families owned or rented their own homes; the majority were content with living in numerous boarding-houses, which lined the streets of the immigrant neighbourhoods. Run mostly by Jewish families from Eastern Europe, these cramped dwellings provided their tenants with a bed in a shared room and with daily meals as well as the comfort of a familiar cultural environment. From the boarding-

⁵⁴ Paul-André Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération* (2ème éd., Montreal: Boréal, 2000), p. 214-215. In this conclusion Linteau largely draws on the well-known 1897 survey of working-class Montreal conducted under the direction of Herbert Ames.

⁵⁵ UCA, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Home Mission Records, fonds 14, series 4, box 4, file 10, "Report of Central Committee on the Work among European Foreigners in Canada", p. 4.

⁵⁶ Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp.25-26, 88.

house keepers, a “greenhorn” immigrant could also obtain precious information about the city, its amenities and, most importantly, employment opportunities. Even such uncomfortable lodging could, however, prove a burden on one’s finances. The unwillingness of Montreal city authorities to regulate the housing market, combined with the constant influx of new immigrants, pushed up rents in the working-class neighbourhoods, which in 1914 averaged between \$10 and \$16 a month, or about one-third of an unskilled worker’s earnings.⁵⁷ As far as housing costs were concerned, Ukrainians and Belarusians in Lachine, who usually inhabited their own shanties, built of scrap wood and metal, were in a better situation than their fellow workers in Pointe St-Charles, Centre and Hochelaga districts.

With the exception of the recessions of 1907-08 and 1913-1915, early twentieth-century Canadian cities offered plenty of jobs to be filled by Slavic, Italian and other European workers, but these jobs were mostly of unskilled or low-skilled type. Of 501 Montreal immigrants who indicated their Canadian occupation in the Li-Ra-Ma files, 417 (83.2 percent) put themselves in the broad category of *chernorabochii*, translated from Russian as “one who performs black (i.e. unskilled, rough) labour”. This figure obviously represents the respondents’ own view of their occupational status, but given that the definition of skill has always contained socially constructed elements, there is no reason why it should be accepted as less valid than data provided in contemporary censuses or social surveys.⁵⁸ Various sources indicate that many Ukrainians and Belarusians who held

⁵⁷ The *Labour Gazette*, March 1914, p. 1026; Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty*, p. 83-84.

⁵⁸ Note the similarity of this figure to the findings of Steven Mamchur, who surveyed Montreal’s Ukrainian community in 1933. Out of his 96 male respondents, 80.2 percent were unskilled workers. Mamchur, “The Economic and Social Adjustment”, p. 91. On the social construction of

jobs usually defined as “unskilled” worked in road construction. An especially large number of Slavic workers were employed digging the railway tunnel under Mount Royal – one of the city’s most labour-intensive projects on the eve of World War I – while others worked on the construction of new streetcar tracks. The “immigrant corridor” along St. Lawrence Boulevard, with its plethora of employment bureaux, served as the main distribution point for these workers. Being on the city payroll brought higher wages than working for private contractors: in 1914, construction workers employed directly by the city earned \$2.25 per day compared to \$1.75 to \$2.00 offered by private firms.⁵⁹

Immigrants also took jobs as freight handlers, coal drivers, general helpers, night watchmen, waiters or window cleaners. The fast growth of the city’s munitions industry after 1914 generated new demand for unskilled and low-skilled labour. Numerous factories, plants and shops, clustered within the city’s “industrial axis” that stretched along the Lachine Canal, not only employed a large foreign workforce but also shaped the geography of immigrant settlement. Thus, many of the first Ukrainians and Belarusians who settled in Point St. Charles were attracted by employment opportunities offered by the Redpath Sugar Refining Company.⁶⁰ The Grand Trunk railway yard, the Northern Electric and Canadian Steel Foundries companies, all located in Point St. Charles, also hired large numbers of Slavic immigrants. The opening of the Canadian Pacific’s Angus shops in 1904 played no small part in turning Hochelaga into a major centre of Slavic and east European settlement. Other large employers of immigrant

skill see, for instance, Ian Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario, 1900-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 67-69.

⁵⁹ The *Labour Gazette*, May 1914, p. 1260.

⁶⁰ Okulevich, *Russkie v Kanade*, p. 26.

workforce in the area included the CPR railway yard, the Montreal Locomotive Works and the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company – the city's main supplier of electricity.⁶¹ Most immigrants living in Lachine worked at Canada Car Turcot, Dominion Copper Products, Dominion Bridge or Dominion Engineering.⁶²

Among those in the Li-Ra-Ma sample who held jobs requiring at least a minimal level of skill, carpenters, ironworkers and mechanics constituted the majority. This category also included tailors, shoemakers, car drivers, bakers, cooks, firemen, miners, machinists, as well as an electrician and two musicians. Interestingly, the proportion of workers who reported their jobs as being other than “general labourers” was almost twice as high among the Belarusians (26.6 percent) as it was among the Ukrainians (13.5 percent). While the somewhat higher literacy of the Belarusians (see Chapter 2) might have something to do with their greater representation in the skilled worker category, the difference in occupational patterns between the two groups was likely to stem mainly from the longer presence of Belarusian immigrants in the city. The analysis of the Li-Ra-Ma data revealed a discernible correlation between the year of arrival in Canada and the nature of employment held by the immigrant in 1917-18 (the time when most of the consular files were created). Among persons who came to the country before 1911, the

⁶¹ According to Bruno Ramirez, between 1900 and 1930 the CPR drew about half of its Montreal's workforce from the immigrant pool: Bruno Ramirez, *On the Move: French-Canadian and Italian Migrants in the North Atlantic Economy, 1860 – 1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), pp. 88-91.

⁶² Information about the immigrants' places of employment is partly culled from about 40 “discharge certificates”, issued by the employers to Russian-subject workers after the end of their contracts under a special arrangement between the Canadian and Russian authorities. The purpose of the certificates was to provide legal proof of its bearer's employment in a war-related industry in order to qualify for an exemption from military service in Russia. See Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 71, files 7440 to 7495.

proportion of “general labourers” was only 66.7 percent compared to 85.3 percent among those who arrived in later years.⁶³ A higher degree of socio-cultural adaptation and familiarity with the Canadian labour market that came with being an “old-timer” were likely to increase one’s chances of breaking out of the endless cycle of exhausting low-end jobs and finding a more skilled employment, which provided a higher income and greater economic stability. In many cases, it also heralded the beginning of transition from sojourning to permanent settlement. Not surprisingly, the percentage of individuals with resident families was significantly higher among skilled workers and artisans than it was among “general labourers” (19.1 compared to 11 percent). By the war’s end, a tiny number of Montreal’s Belarusans and eastern Ukrainians, of whom most came to Canada before 1910, were even able to establish themselves as small entrepreneurs. Around 1917, Vasili Gutsuliak, who came from his native Bessarabia in 1908, opened a grocery store at 86 St. Dominique.⁶⁴ Aleksei Skopets, a Belarusan immigrant from Vil’na Province, owned a business (the nature of which he did not specify) at 92 St. Lawrence Boulevard, and another “old-timer”, Grigorii Milovskii from Mogilev, ran a restaurant on de Montigny Street.

Many Ukrainian and Belarusan immigrants found their first jobs through friends or relatives who had come to the city earlier. Labourers without the advantage of such connections resorted to private labour agencies, which mushroomed in pre-World War I Montreal. In 1912, the city had 26 licensed employment bureaux and hundreds of

⁶³ This finding contrasts with the calculations of Eric Sager, who did not find a definitive correlation between the number of years spent by immigrants in Canada and their earnings (unless one assumes that more skilled jobs do not always bring higher wages). See Sager, “Immigrants, Ethnicity and Earnings”, p. 217.

⁶⁴ Gutsuliak first appears as Vassil Hussul in the 1916-17 Lovell’s Montreal city directory.

unauthorized labour agents.⁶⁵ Some agencies catered to a multi-ethnic immigrant clientele, supplying employers with workers of the nationality they preferred. “Send us the Order and we will send you the Men. Describe the Work and State Wages Paid, also what Nationality is preferred”, read the advertisement of the Dominion Labour Bureau, which offered services in Russian and seven other languages.⁶⁶ Others, like the “Russian-Bulgarian Agency”, located in Hotel Bulgarian on St. Antoine Street, had a more specific ethnic coloration. Ethnic steamship agents, grocers and other entrepreneurs also ventured into this lucrative market niche in an attempt to supplement their main income by acting as middlemen between employers and job seekers. In fact, multi-functionality was common for immigrant businesses, which often operated as a combination of a general store, bank, ticket agency, labour exchange and translation and interpretation office. Many such establishments also served as postal outlets of sorts, where their usually peripatetic clients picked up their mail.

While ethnic entrepreneurs performed many vital functions for the immigrants, they were also notorious for their fraudulent practices. The history of early twentieth-century Montreal, like that of any large North American city, is full of colourful characters, including a few women, who made a comfortable living off the credulity, social maladjustment and economic difficulties of their Slavic immigrant patrons. Esther Slobodsky, the owner of a grocery store on St. Urbain, became infamous far beyond Montreal for scam job placement schemes. In 1914, as employment became tight due to recession, the enterprising Mme Slobodsky, in collusion with several company “bosses”

⁶⁵ “General Report of the Minister of Public Works and Labour of the Province of Quebec, for the year ending 30th June 1912”, *Quebec Sessional Papers*, 1912, paper no. 4, p. 78-79.

⁶⁶ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 7, file 249.

(foremen), charged her Ukrainian, Belarusan and other clients \$10 for placing them at work. After earning his money back, if not earlier, the worker was discharged under a false pretext and replaced by another unsuspecting candidate. The scheme worked smoothly until in March 1914 about fifty victims of the scam, with the help of George Alexander, an agent and lawyer of Armenian origin, brought a lawsuit against Slobodsky, resulting in her conviction for fraud.⁶⁷ Alexander, alias Georgii Iskenderov, was himself an interesting type, whose integrity was not beyond doubt. He came to Canada in 1902 after spending several years in Europe and employed himself as an interpreter and middleman for Russian and Armenian immigrants in various Canadian cities before turning up in Montreal around 1913. Posing as a defender of the interests of Montreal's "Russian people" against a supposed legion of Jewish crooks, he got involved in the Slobodsky case and attempted to curry favour with the Russian consul, obviously in order to secure a license for his newly established "Russian-Slavic Agency". With the help of Likhachev, who initially sympathized with Alexander's anti-swindling crusade, the license was obtained, but just over a year after the Slobodsky case, Alexander himself was fined by the court for overcharging his clients and had to go out of business. His last appearance in the consular records is dated February 1918, when he wrote to Likhachev about his decision to relinquish British citizenship and return to Russia.⁶⁸

The fact that most businesses that catered to Montreal's Slavic workers (including the Slobodsky agency) were run by Jews often added a distinctive ethno-religious connotation to the relations between immigrant entrepreneurs and their clients. Thus,

⁶⁷ *Novyi mir*, 10 April 1914.

⁶⁸ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 7, files 247, 252.

Moishe Tatarinsky, the proprietor of a boarding-house and the *Adresnyi Stol* bureau on de Montigny Street, complained to Likhachev in February 1915 of being pursued by an immigrant gang, which allegedly tried to lighten up his pocketbook. Tatarinsky claimed (but did not convince the consul) that the real cause of his troubles lay in his Jewish roots and that, had opportunity presented itself, “such types would have organized a pogrom under the leadership of their own kind...”⁶⁹ Overall, however, the degree of popular Judeophobia in Slavic immigrant communities seems to have been relatively benign, although more research into the topic is needed for any definitive conclusions. Appeals to keep “Yids” (*zhidy*)⁷⁰ away from “true Russians”, made by some Russian Orthodox hierarchs and right-wing Russian-American newspapers, achieved remarkably little success, not least for economic reasons: the fact that Jews constituted an economically vital element of “Russian colonies” and usually provided better service than Slavic entrepreneurs was grudgingly acknowledged even by their most vicious critics.⁷¹ With their usually better English-speaking skills and wider connections, Jews were also prominent as interpreters and negotiators in legal disputes between Slavic workers and their employers. As immigrant letters demonstrate, many Ukrainians and Belarusians used the words “Jew”, “agent” and “interpreter” as interchangeable. In fact, instances of amicable relations between Jewish and Slavic immigrants in Montreal were probably much more common than cases of overt prejudice. In a somewhat exceptional demonstration of goodwill, George Rabinovitch, the owner of a reputable banking and

⁶⁹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 7, file 245, Tatarinsky to Likhachev, 3 February 1915.

⁷⁰ The derogatory *zhidy* (Yids), as opposed to the neutral *evrei* (Jews), was a term commonly applied to individuals of Jewish origin by Judeophobic Russian nationalists.

⁷¹ See, for instance, *Russkii emigrant*, 3 July 1913.

steamship agency on St. Lawrence Boulevard, even donated \$50 to Montreal's SS Peter and Paul Russian Orthodox parish, when in 1915 it found itself on the verge of bankruptcy.⁷² Jewish boarding-house keepers and small proprietors often took care of their sick or injured Slavic tenants, providing them with food and, sometimes, a few dollars to maintain themselves.

The peak of the "Russian" presence in Montreal occurred during the last years of the First World War, when the end of the railway construction boom and the expansion of munitions industries drew many frontier workers to the city. As we shall see in the following chapters, it was also the heyday of the city's Russian Orthodox Church, Russian Protestant missions and, in 1917-1918, Russian socialist groups. The "urbanites" might have a larger circle of social contacts and better access to community support networks, but essentially most of them still remained temporary sojourners, who, like their fellow workers on the frontier, had to face the mental and emotional tests of the sojourning life.

The Culture of Sojourning

Migrant men fashioned their responses to the psycho-emotional challenges of sojourning along similar gendered lines, which lent the culture of sojourning certain characteristics traditionally defined as masculine, including excessive consumption of alcohol, debauchery, gambling and, frequently, sexual profligacy.⁷³ However, explaining

⁷² SSPP, folder "Church Affairs, 1914-1935" part 1, George Rabinovitch to the secretary of the Montreal Orthodox church, 27 July 1916. See also Rabinovitch's ad in *Russkoe slovo*, 12 October 1917.

⁷³ The best discussion of working-class culture in the context of the Canadian resource frontier is found in Nancy Forestell, "Bachelors, Boarding-Houses, and Blind Pigs: Gender Construction in a Multi-Ethnic Mining Camp, 1909-1920", in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian*

the large extent of violent, rowdy and anti-social behaviour among the migrant labourers solely by the brutalizing effects of the sojourning experience, as some authors do, misses the Old-World cultural roots of this phenomenon.⁷⁴ Although the impact of loneliness and lack of stable social ties on the migrants' behaviour cannot be denied, we need to remember that brawn and rowdiness had long been associated with masculinity in the popular culture of eastern European peasantry.⁷⁵ Heavy drinking and ritual group fistfights were a normal part of village life in peasant Russia, occurring most frequently on Sundays, major holidays and weddings.⁷⁶ Transplanted across the ocean, these forms of socializing reflected the migrants' yearning for the familiar in a foreign cultural environment and were used as ways of fostering the sense of male camaraderie.

Of all forms of leisure, drinking was practiced the most widely by Ukrainian and Belarusan labourers. Following the Old-World pattern, paydays, Sundays and religious holidays all turned into major occasions for excessive use of alcohol (usually beer and whiskey, which were often consumed together). A curious example shows that the migrants' typically peasant resourcefulness in adjusting to a foreign diet did not exclude

History, 1840s – 1960s (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 251-290. Unfortunately, the author's analysis of ethnicity as a determinant of the migrants' social behaviour is less impressive than her examination of gender.

⁷⁴ Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, p. 124; Robert F. Harney, "Men without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada, 1885-1930", in Betty Caroli, Robert Harney and Lydio Tomasi, eds., *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1978), p. 87.

⁷⁵ Gregory Robinson comes close to making this point when he links Ukrainian crime in Canada to the normality of violence in the old-country Ukrainian village. See his "Rougher Than Any Other Nationality? Ukrainian Canadians and Crime in Alberta, 1915-1929", *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 16, 1-2 (Summer – Winter 1991): 156-157.

⁷⁶ See Stephen Frank, *Crime, Cultural Conflict, and Justice in Rural Russia, 1856-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 122-124, 155-159, 280-296.

even the consumption of liquor. Unaccustomed to the specific flavour of whiskey, Belarusan and Ukrainian workers in the Crow's Nest Pass mixed it with chilli pepper to eliminate the "unpleasant smell".⁷⁷ The arrival or departure of a comrade was also accompanied by spontaneous drinking parties. The intemperate habits of the Slavic workers made them a constant source of profits for bar owners and bootleggers. One immigrant recalled that on paydays the owners of Fernie hotels (known more for their sleazy bars than for lodging facilities) drove to the workers' quarters in their automobiles handing out free liquor. "Warmed up" this way, the labourers immediately proceeded to the hotel to continue the feast, squandering hundreds of dollars in a matter of days.⁷⁸ After the introduction of prohibition in wartime Canada, the sale of hard liquor moved from licensed establishments to boarding-houses and immigrant-owned stores, which soon attracted the attention of the police. Belarusan immigrants Paraskeva and Andrei Shumovich, owners of a boarding-house in Sault Ste. Marie, were arrested and fined twice for illegal sale of liquor in addition to other charges (which included obstructing a police officer and maiming a cow by cutting off its tail).⁷⁹ Drinking often triggered brawls followed by the arrival of the police and fines for disorderly conduct. In the Li-Ra-Ma affidavits, which included a question about the subject's criminal record in Canada, drinking and disorderly conduct were the most commonly listed offences (failure to carry identity papers during the war being the next most common infraction). At times,

⁷⁷ *Novyi mir*, 25 July 1913.

⁷⁸ *Kanadskii gudok*, 11 March 1939.

⁷⁹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 22, file 719, J.P. Reed to Likhachev, 28 June 1917; Paraskeva Shumovich to Likhachev, 19 January 1918; R. Vincent to Likhachev, 14 February 1918. Brutal treatment of domestic animals for the purpose of drunken entertainment was not uncommon for late nineteenth-century "hooligans" in Russian villages.

drunkenness brought more serious consequences, as it did in the case of Andrei Lesnik, who stabbed his boarding-house keeper to death after the latter attempted to prevent him from making improper advances to his wife.⁸⁰

Alcohol could also aggravate sectional divisions between various groups of Slavic workers, which normally lay dormant at other times. After August 1914, when the war pitted “Russians” and “Austrians” against each other, drunken fights between the two groups, both largely consisting of Ukrainians, became increasingly common. Some Russian-born immigrants in Montreal, using their privileged status as subjects of an allied state, saw “the beating of Galicians” as a sort of entertainment. Similar incidents flared up in other places. In Saskatoon, what began as a baptism celebration at a Russian immigrant’s house soon turned into a debate with several Galician guests over “whose tsar will win” and ended in a drunken brawl, followed by the arrest of ten people.⁸¹ In London, Ontario, a street fight between “Austrians” and “Russians” broke out after the former made a scornful remark about the Russian army as they walked past Russian boarding-houses. Deploring such incidents of popular chauvinism, the Russian-American socialist newspaper *Novyi mir* wrote sarcastically, but with good reason, that “all week Russians and Austrians live together peacefully, and only on Sundays, under the impact of alcoholic fumes, turn into patriots”.⁸²

⁸⁰ Ibid., vol. 7, file 232 (the case of A. Lesnik). On the relationship between alcohol and homicide among Canadian frontier workers see Angus McLaren, “Males, Migrants, and Murder in British Columbia, 1900-1923”, in Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, eds., *On the Case: Explorations in Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 159-180.

⁸¹ *Novyi mir*, 9 March 1915.

⁸² *Novyi mir*, 1 July 1916. For an “Austrian’s” perspective on these encounters, see Yasnowskyj, *Pid ridnym i chuzhym nebom*, p. 213.

Gambling and playing pool were two other favourite pastimes, and it was far from uncommon for an unfortunate labourer to leave a whole month's wage at the card table. Cardsharps and various crooks preyed upon the immigrants, the young and the inexperienced being the primary targets.⁸³ Immigrants fortunate enough to land good jobs often fell victim to the sudden transition from Old-World poverty and the monotony of village life to relative financial security, and the temptation to indulge in bodily pleasures became hard to resist. Young bachelors, unburdened by the obligations of the family breadwinner, were apparently more susceptible to the lure of the gambling house and the beer parlour than married men, who usually showed more frugality and self-discipline. They were also the main frequenters of brothels, which proliferated both in the cities and the resource frontier, often operating under the roof of boarding-houses or hiding under their guise. Thus, the abovementioned Moishe Tatarinsky, the owner of a boarding-house and a labour agency in Montreal, was also said to run a brothel filled "with Russian and Austrian prostitutes".⁸⁴

Short periods of time between work and leisure were usually spent writing or dictating letters to family, relatives and friends in the old country. Maintaining a connection with kith and kin was an essential part of the sojourning culture: as one author put it, a migrant "is not typically a sojourner unless he has maintained his homeland tie".⁸⁵ Apart from its practical purposes, it helped relieve the mental and emotional

⁸³ See, for instance, a story of one Timofei Mukha, who cheated inebriated Russian immigrants out of their money in the bars of Cochrane and Timmins in *Novyi mir*, 27 July 1915.

⁸⁴ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 7, file 245.

⁸⁵ Siu, "The Sojourner", p. 39.

stresses of what Robert Harney called the “suspended animation” of the sojourner’s life.⁸⁶ The familial attachments of most Ukrainian and Belarusian peasant-workers might not be quite as strong as those of one Lithuanian immigrant, who, after returning to Vilnius fifty years later, immediately apologized to his sister for having failed to send her dowry money a half-century earlier.⁸⁷ Still, despite the gradual decline of eastern European peasant culture with its traditional anti-individualism and communitarianism, family obligations remained central to the peasant cosmogony. Failure to conform to the socially prescribed spousal roles, disrespect for the elders or other intentional violation of traditional norms of conduct could result in a loss of one’s social standing in the village. It was precisely the strong sense of familial duty that provided one of the most compelling motives for peasant men to go overseas in search of temporary work. Nonetheless, we should not generalize too easily about the migrants’ familial values. As William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki pointed out in their classic study of the Polish peasantry, emigration often recruited individuals less wedded to traditional peasant culture and, in turn, further contributed to the latter’s erosion.⁸⁸ In addition, the migrants were a demographically heterogeneous group, which included single and married, young and old individuals, persons with and without children. Last but not least, searching for socio-cultural explanations of the migrants’ behaviour, we should not ignore the impact of individual psycho-emotional characteristics on family relationships. Similar to

⁸⁶ Harney, “Men without Women”, p. 90. According to Harney, the sojourning migrant found himself “suspended” in time by being ejected from his normal life cycle until he was able to return or reconstitute his family and social relationships in the new land.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 81.

⁸⁸ William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. 2nd ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), vol. 1, p. 102-103; vol. 2, p. 1489.

modern-day humans, early twentieth-century peasant men differed in the strength of their attachment to their spouses, parents and children, not to mention the obvious fact that some individuals tended to feel the psychic stress of separation more keenly than others.

There is little doubt that, like other European peasant-workers, most Ukrainian and Belarusian labourers tried to maintain a regular two-way communication with their families. This correspondence, occasionally accompanied by photographs, was not simply the only way of exchanging news available to the early twentieth-century immigrant but also a medium through which the writers reasserted their sense of belonging and negotiated relationships with their kin.⁸⁹ Exactly how frequent the communication was depended on the psycho-emotional dynamics of each relationship. We know, for instance, that Grigory Studilka from Podolia sent nine letters (and remitted \$115) to his wife over the period of eight months, while Prokofii Podorozhnyi wrote only twice before breaking communication off altogether.⁹⁰ Unfortunately, very few letters written by early twentieth-century immigrants from eastern Ukraine and Belarus are available to modern-day historians. We do, however, have a large cache of what is often called “reverse” letters, written between 1912 and 1920 by wives, parents and, occasionally, other relatives of the immigrants and preserved in the Li-Ra-Ma personal files. These letters, which often contain indirect voices of the other party, give us precious glimpses into the impact of sojourning on family relationships.

⁸⁹ On this function of the emigrant letter see David A. Gerber, “Epistolary Ethics: Personal Correspondence and the Culture of Emigration in the Nineteenth Century”, *Journal of American Ethnic History* 19, 4 (Summer 2000): 3-23.

⁹⁰ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 9, file 285.

Similar to peasant letter writers in other parts of Eastern Europe, Ukrainians and Belarusians followed a certain writing ritual, in which showing respect for the members of the family played a central role. As a rule, the letters opened with “bows” from the writer to each of the readers (leading Thomas and Znaniecki to call such correspondence “bowing letters”⁹¹), sometimes accompanied with other standard forms of greeting such as wishes of good health and/or “success in the deeds of your hands”. The writers rarely went beyond the events and accidents within the household and the village (deaths, births, marriages, fires, comings and goings of the co-villagers, etc), and even major social and political happenings such as the war and (in 1917) the changes of government were rarely mentioned. Family business was the dominant theme in the majority of the letters, suggesting that many men remained closely involved in the management of the household even years after emigration (thus, one letter from Bessarabia refers to an argument regarding the purchase of a new ox-cart⁹²). Wives and parents, in their turn, took special care to provide their husbands and sons with detailed accounts of the current state of the family economy: acreage occupied by various crops, harvest prospects, current agricultural prices, sold and bought livestock etc. The management of the money received from Canada and purchases made with it were accounted for with particular diligence.

A modicum of economic security brought to peasant families by the emigration of their male members was, however, purchased at the cost of considerable social disruption. The departure of husbands and fathers altered the fragile structure of power

⁹¹ Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, vol. 1, p. 303.

⁹² Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 38, file 1235 (Ignatii Voroniuk).

relations within peasant households and whole rural communities and placed the remaining members of the emigrant families in vulnerable positions.⁹³ The longer the husband's absence, the more likely was his wife to be mistreated by senior relatives, particularly by in-laws, whose authority was buttressed by tradition and custom.

Economic power in the family, including control over the money received from Canada, was among the main issues behind these conflicts. On the other hand, the temporary role of household managers (for some women it would turn out to be permanent) provided emigrants' wives with leverage they had lacked before. Some women even tried, not always without success, to defy the hostile elders: thus, after numerous conflicts with the in-laws, whose house she shared, the wife of Iustin Gedz', an immigrant from Podolia, reported to her husband that she had started building a separate house for the young family.⁹⁴ Endowed with this new power, the women felt that they were not only entitled to fair treatment by the relatives, but also had the moral right to hold their absent husbands accountable for their failure to stay in touch or provide enough support the family. Natalia Shkiruk from Podillia wrote to her husband: "I don't have any food for the children now. You only sent me enough money to pay the debts, but not for my expenses. I am struggling to feed the children here, and you are there all by yourself".⁹⁵

Mary Eleanor Cygan in a study of the effects of male emigration on Polish women argued that, far from enjoying their autonomy, the emigrants' wives typically saw their

⁹³ The negative effects of the migrants' prolonged absence from their home communities are well discussed in Harney, "Men without Women", p. 81-82.

⁹⁴ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 101, file 11976 (Iustin Gedz). For more examples of troubled relationships with in-laws, see vol. 117, file 14739 (Efim Iakimchuk); vol. 106, file 12629 (Afanasii Koval'); vol. 37, file 1050 (Arkhip Bezhenar).

⁹⁵ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 55, file 4479 (Kirill Shkiriuk).

situation in rather glum terms and encouraged their husbands to return.⁹⁶ By and large, the reading of letters from eastern Ukraine and Belarus bears out this conclusion.

Frustrated by years of trying to maintain a seeming normalcy of family life under the adverse circumstances of the war and, later, revolution and civil war, the women used various ways of persuading their husbands to come back: from threatening them with public shame (“people are laughing at how you are shirking your family”) to trying to melt the men’s hearts by telling touching stories of their children who kept asking about Dad.⁹⁷

The theme of spousal fidelity – an inevitable corollary of any long-distance relationship – loomed large in the emigrant correspondence. That adultery was common among male immigrant sojourners in North America is well known, and Ukrainian and Belarusian men were no exception. Forced and voluntary sexual liaisons between male boarders and wives or daughters of the boarding-house keepers occurred on a regular basis, and visits to “houses of ill fame” were such a normal part of the sojourners’ lives that they almost ceased to be regarded as serious moral offences. Despite long distances, information about the men’s moral indiscretions travelled to their home villages by way of gossip and stories passed on through village and kin networks. However, in the patriarchal peasant society, male sexual transgressions were subjected to far less scrutiny and moral condemnation than female infidelity, not to mention the fact that they were much more difficult to prove. Nor was it easy to exercise the usual forms of community

⁹⁶ Mary Eleanor Cygan, “Polish Women and Emigrant Husbands”, in Dirk Hoerder and Inge Blank, eds., *Roots of the Transplanted* (Boulder, Colo: Eastern European Monographs, 1994), vol. 1, pp. 359-374.

⁹⁷ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 55, files 4425 (Artemii Zhuk) and 4479 (Kirill Shkiriuk); vol. 40, file 2163 (Vasilii Dovgan’); vol. 43, file 2656 (Vasilii Malyi).

pressure such as public shaming over men who were thousands of miles away from home – in fact, as Jeffrey Burds has shown, it was hard enough for the peasant commune in Russia to enforce moral control even on seasonal migrants working in the nearest city.⁹⁸ It was usually left to the woman herself to try to appeal to her husband's sense of spousal duty. Thus Vasilii Ostapchuk, a native of Pruzhany, had to face unpleasant questions from his wife and teenaged children: "Maybe you want to forget about us? We hear that you are having a good time there, like a bachelor. All of you there have forgotten your wives and children, and you all pretend to be single men there".⁹⁹ Some women went so far as to raise openly the question of divorce. Pavlina Gushcha from Pruzhany insisted that her husband Andrei tell her whether he intended to "live with [her] as before" and, if not, send her divorce papers so she could remarry.¹⁰⁰ When pleas and moral pressure did not work, the more determined wrote to the local authorities in Ukraine or Belarus complaining about their husbands' misdeeds. After passing through the many circuits of the tsarist bureaucracy, some of these petitions reached the desk of the Russian consul in Montreal but, as might be expected, seldom brought results. In the rare cases when the men could be located (a tall order for the consuls given the migrants' transience), they often turned the tables on the women, casting aspersions on their moral character. Thus, Sergei Asaulenko, who had emigrated in 1908 from Kiev Province, wrote to Consul Struve that, despite his wife's demands, he would not send her any money, for she had

⁹⁸ Jeffrey Burds, *Peasant Dreams and Market Politics: Labor Migration and the Russian Village, 1861-1905* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998).

⁹⁹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 57, file 5102 (Vasilii Ostapchuk). Note the association of bachelorhood with easy living, which had deep roots in the peasant folk culture.

¹⁰⁰ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 102, file 12048 (Andrei Gushcha).

always led an immoral life, repeatedly turned down his attempts to bring her to Canada and eventually left the village, abandoning their small children.¹⁰¹

These counter-accusations were not necessarily unfounded. Although a detailed discussion of sexual practices in the early twentieth-century Ukrainian and Belarusian village would require a separate volume, adultery and illicit sex appear to have become increasingly common among peasant women as well as men. As elsewhere in Europe, the outbreak of the war further shook the patriarchal foundations of the peasant society in eastern Ukraine and Belarus, already affected by modernization and secularization. The passage of Russian troops through a village often resulted in sexual liaisons between the stationed soldiers and local women, followed by the rise in bastardy.¹⁰² Unlike extra-marital adventures of their emigrant husbands, female adultery was much more likely to be noticed (especially if followed by pregnancy) and publicly condemned. As Christine Worobec has pointed out, in the male-dominated Ukrainian peasant society (as in most Christian societies of the day) women were seen as temptresses possessing insatiable sexual urges and prone to moral laxity.¹⁰³ A married woman who remained away from her husband for a long time, even through no fault of her own, usually found herself frowned upon by the peasant community, her chastity becoming the subject of village

¹⁰¹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 9, file 279 (the Asaulenko case).

¹⁰² See, for instance, a letter from the parents of Vasily Sytnik in Stufchintsy (Podolia), who wrote to their son that girls in their village “had made babies with the soldiers”. Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 98, file 11549 (Vasily Sytnik).

¹⁰³ Christine Worobec, “Temptress or Virgin? The Precarious Sexual Position of Women in Postemancipation Ukrainian Peasant Society”, *Slavic Review* 49, 2 (Summer 1990): 227-238. See also her “Victims or Actors? Russian Peasant Women and Patriarchy”, in Esther Kingston-Mann and Timothy Mixer, eds., *Peasant Economy, Culture and Politics of European Russia, 1800-1921* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 177-206.

gossip. Many peasant men working in the mines of Fernie or logging camps of northern Ontario suspected that their wives back home did not always lead virtuous lives. Real or suspected “improprieties” committed by the wives and fiancées of the migrants were promptly reported to Canada by parents, friends, neighbours or new arrivals from the village. Nikolai Korsak received a short note from his friend, apparently written with the sole purpose of informing him that a certain Pavel Skrobot from his village had “gotten into a habit of...pleasing” his girlfriend.¹⁰⁴ Sometimes such reports led to tragic consequences. A miner in Fernie, who worked hard to pay off the mortgage on his recently acquired land, collapsed and died of a heart attack after learning from a newly arrived co-villager that his son had passed away and his wife had eloped with a soldier. Another reportedly killed his unfaithful wife and her illegitimate child after returning home.¹⁰⁵ The women defended their honour (or perhaps hid their misdeeds) as best as they could, trying to dispel their husbands’ suspicions. Thus Agafia Koval’ from Davidkovtsy, Podolia, assured her husband Afanasii in an affectionate and emotional letter that she was “free from any crimes and improper acts which your father may think I am guilty of”.¹⁰⁶

If letters helped preserve the emotional tie between the migrant and his kin in the old land, the economic connection with the home village was sustained through money remittances, sent in the form of postal or bank money orders or passed on in cash with returning co-villagers. As Li-Ra-Ma family letters demonstrate, it was not uncommon for

¹⁰⁴ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 106, file 12654 (Nikolai Korsak).

¹⁰⁵ *Novyi mir*, 25 July 1913.

¹⁰⁶ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 106, file 12629 (Afanasii Koval’).

the migrant men to send money not only to wives and parents, but also to siblings, cousins and other members of the extended family. Female relatives, especially younger sisters, might also receive small gifts from “America” (kerchiefs being the most coveted ones) in addition to money allowances. Remarkably, some migrants sent money orders even to their brothers who were on active service in the Russian army.¹⁰⁷ Most immigrants began to send money home as soon as they found their first full-time jobs, with the first remittances normally used to pay back the loans which had been made to finance the sender’s voyage. The amount and frequency of the remittances depended on one’s earnings, frugality and sense of moral duty. The Li-Ra-Ma files, some of which contain money order receipts, show that the value of individual remittances sent by Ukrainian and Belarusan migrants varied from \$5 to about \$400. While small cash infusions had the purpose of simply helping the family stay afloat, larger sums were sent with a view of accumulating savings (although the rampant inflation that hit Russia’s wartime economy and the total collapse of its economy after 1917 thwarted these intentions). Pavel Gorbelik, an immigrant from Minsk, sent eleven money orders between 1913 and 1917 for a modest total of \$326. By contrast, Anton Zapotochny transferred \$577 to his family in Podolia in just two years.¹⁰⁸ In some cases (usually when the emigrant was a bachelor living with his parents), the family had to wait months or even

¹⁰⁷ See, for instance, letters in Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 48, file 3392 (Petr Bezushko); vol. 49, file 3464 (Iakov Lukovich).

¹⁰⁸ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 39, file 2075 (Pavel Gorbelik); vol. 41, file 2296 (Anton Zapotochny). It should be noted that during the First World War Canadian government regulations prohibited sending international money orders for the amount exceeding \$100 in order to avoid speculation. Many immigrants, however, got around this ban by sending several orders, each worth \$100.

years to receive the first remittance. Anton Elets, for instance, was told off by his parents for not sending his first \$25 until four years after leaving his native Grodno.¹⁰⁹

As one scholar put it, immigrant remittances that circulated in the early 1900s between the two continents (including cash carried by returning migrants and enclosed in letters) represented the “lower circuit” of the transnational movement of capital.¹¹⁰ On the eve of the First World War, the amount of immigrant money annually remitted to Russia numbered in the millions of dollars. According to the statistics of Canada’s Post Office Department, between March 1, 1913 and January 31, 1914 Russian immigrants sent home 43,074 money orders with a total value of \$1,864,735.¹¹¹ Due to the absence of direct postal exchange between Russia and Canada, the money was sent through the medium of British banks and post offices, which charged an additional six-cent commission per every \$24 (the project of a Russian-Canadian postal convention, discussed in 1914, never materialized). In Montreal, immigrants from Russia made up such a large proportion of customers at the city’s main post office that in the autumn of 1914 Consul Likhachev suggested (unsuccessfully) to Canada’s Postmaster General that a Russian interpreter be attached to it.¹¹² To send money to the homeland, many Ukrainians and Belarusians turned to immigrant-owned banking and steamship agencies, where they could be served in Russian or another familiar language. In each Canadian

¹⁰⁹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 106, file 12690 (Anton Elets).

¹¹⁰ Ewa Morawska, “Return Migrations: Theoretical and Research Agenda”, in Rudolph J. Vecoli and Suzanne M. Sinke, eds., *A Century of European Migrations, 1830-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), p. 281.

¹¹¹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 2, file 84.

¹¹² See correspondence between Likhachev and Canada’s Post Office Department in Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 10, file 302.

province or large city, the business of handling immigrants' transactions with Russia was concentrated in the hands of a few large operators. Many Russian-born labourers in Ontario sent money through the Louis Gurofsky Company, which had its head office in Toronto and branches in Hamilton, Sudbury, Timmins, Parry Sound and Sault Ste. Marie. In Montreal, they usually came to the George Rabinovitch agency and in Hamilton – to J. Goodman Company. Dealing with immigrant bankers could be a risky business, however. Thus, in August 1914, Louis Mednik, the owner of Montreal's International Bureau, declared bankruptcy and disappeared with several thousand dollars of his clients' money.¹¹³ Canada's chartered banks and express mail companies – Dominion Express and Canadian Express – usually presented a safer alternative but had the drawback of not offering service in eastern European languages. In search of the most reliable way of sending their money home, some immigrants turned to the Russian consulates. As early as 1908, several young Bessarabians working near Gaspé asked Consul Nicholas Struve to forward money to their parents.¹¹⁴ Under Struve's successors, the consulate continued to act occasionally as a conduit for immigrant money remittances, which were passed on to the recipients through the Foreign Ministry's Second Department and later through provincial governors' offices.¹¹⁵ In 1916, in an attempt to draw emigrant savings to the faltering Russian economy, the Russian State Savings Bank began setting up overseas branches under the auspices of local Russian consulates. In June 1917, the "Special Financial Department for Transfers and Deposits of Money to the State Savings Banks"

¹¹³ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 10, file 295.

¹¹⁴ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 8, file 257.

¹¹⁵ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 10, files 269, 299, 301.

was set up in Montreal. It offered its clients an opportunity to convert Canadian dollars into rubles and deposit them into a savings account with the bank.¹¹⁶ It is difficult to estimate how many immigrants used the new service, which, like the whole financial system of the Russian state, would soon fall victim to the Bolshevik revolution and the ensuing civil disorder.

At the Crossroads: 1914-1920

The outbreak of war in August 1914 marked a turning point in the lives of thousands of Canada's immigrant workers. By thwarting their plans of returning home, the war eventually prompted many to ponder permanent settlement, establish more stable communities and, ultimately, move towards a greater degree of integration into Canadian society. While in many respects the wartime experiences of Russian-subject immigrant workers were similar to those of other continental Europeans, they were also characterized by important differences arising from the status of Russians as nationals of a major power allied with the British Empire. Despite some instances of mistreatment, prejudice and even occasional internment caused by the increased tendency of native Canadians to question the loyalty of all "foreigners", the general situation of Russian subjects of Ukrainian and Belarusan origin in 1914 – 1917 was not as precarious as that of Ukrainian immigrants from Austria, who bore the stigma of "enemy aliens" and were subjected to a variety of legal restrictions. On the contrary, there is evidence of a raised Canadian awareness of Russia and the Russian presence in the country (especially in the early war years), stimulated by the newly forged alliance between the two countries.

Things turned for the worse in 1918-1920, however. The end of the Great War in

¹¹⁶ *Russkoe slovo*, 1 September 1917.

November 1918 brought little relief to thousands of former subjects of the tsar. The outbreak of another – civil – war in their homeland following the Bolshevik coup of October 1917 continued to keep Eastern Ukrainian and Belarusian workers trapped in Canada, gradually diminishing the prospects of reunion with their families.

As Russian subjects of military service age, in the first weeks of the war most Russian Ukrainians and Belarusians had to confront the difficult dilemma of answering the call of duty and returning to fight for the “Faith, Tsar and Fatherland” or remaining in Canada, facing the risk of hefty penalties and public condemnation in the homeland. Reactions to the war in Canada’s “Russian” colonies were mixed. Cooler heads questioned the wisdom of sacrificing the comfort of Canadian life on the altar of the decadent Romanov monarchy, and socialist organizations denounced the war as imperialist and having nothing to do with the interests of the international working class. The Russian Progressive Club of Winnipeg at its meeting on August 8 passed a resolution of protest against the war. Anti-war meetings were also held in other cities. In Montreal, Russian patriots, who tried to exhort their fellow countrymen to go home and fight, were removed from a large workers’ rally convened by socialist and labour organizations.¹¹⁷ On the whole, however, popular chauvinism, which ruled the day in all belligerent nations, seems to have been the dominant feeling in the opening months of the conflict. Letters from their wives and parents urged the immigrant men to come and join the Russian army to avoid being branded as cowards.¹¹⁸ In the first two months of the war, 1,267 Russian-subject immigrants (most of them Ukrainians and Belarusians from

¹¹⁷ *Novyi mir*, 18, 25 August 1914.

¹¹⁸ See for instance Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 3, file 111.

Montreal) signed up at the consulate to be shipped to the front at the first call of the Russian military authorities.¹¹⁹ Sometimes as many as ten to twelve men from the same boarding-house came to the consulate asking to be sent to fight. Throughout the fall and winter of 1914-15, dozens of loyalist addresses and letters poured into the Russian consulate general. Thus, Daniil Bobik, a Bessarabian living in Windsor, Ontario, wrote that he wanted to become a pilot in order to “be of some use to Russia”.¹²⁰ The mayor of Vancouver T.S. Baxter telegraphed Consul Likhachev that many Russian-subject residents of the city were zealous to enlist in the Russian army. Communications of a similar nature also came from Sudbury, Edmonton and other cities.¹²¹

Patriotism was not the sole reason behind the desire of many Russian immigrants to return to the homeland. The economic crisis, which hit Canada in mid-1913, and the bleak prospects of finding industrial employment drove many Ukrainians, Belarusians and other Russian-born workers to destitution and made them search for ways to leave Canada. Persistent rumours that the Russian government had promised to cover the cost of the return passage of persons liable for mobilization doubtless led many immigrants to pose as ultra-patriots in order to receive a travel allowance. In the late summer and fall of 1914, the Russian consulate was flooded with requests to be shipped to Russia at government expense. An experienced bureaucrat, Likhachev was not easily convinced by the patriotic rhetoric that often accompanied these letters. “I can say with some certainty that the desire to enlist in our army was not the only or main one for those who applied

¹¹⁹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 36, “Register of Russian Subjects of Military Service Age Who Expressed Preparedness to Leave for Military Service at the First Summons of Military Authorities”.

¹²⁰ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 11, file 366, Bobik to Likhachev.

¹²¹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 12, file 383.

[for travel subsidies]. The hope of leaving Canada at the time of poor job prospects played a major role”, he reported to Petrograd in March 1915.¹²²

Making one’s way back home during the war was difficult but not impossible, provided one had a stable job in the midst of an economic recession and could save enough money to buy a steamship ticket. The common assumption that the outbreak of the war put a stop to transatlantic population movements is only partially true, for even after August 1914 there was substantial return migration to Europe.¹²³ Although major German and Dutch ports were no longer accessible, steamship communication with Europe continued to be maintained via the North Sea despite the increased risk of sea travel. The Scandinavian-American Line, which operated under the flag of neutral Denmark, offered Russian passengers safe passage from New York to Christiania (Oslo) and further by rail to Petrograd. For \$60, one could also take the Cunard Line from New York to Liverpool or travel to Finland by the White Star Line, which sailed under the American flag and thus (until 1917) was deemed less vulnerable to German submarine attacks.¹²⁴ After a short interruption in August 1914, the Russian America Line also resumed regular sailings to New York, using Archangel (on the North Sea coast) as the port of origin instead of German-occupied Libava. Finally, returning immigrants could use the relatively safe Pacific route – from Vancouver or Seattle through Yokohama to Vladivostok. In the first two years of the war, there was little change in the passport and visa regulations pertaining to Russian

¹²² Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 13, file 399, Likhachev to Vtoroi Departament, 4 March 1915.

¹²³ See more about wartime remigration from America in Mark Wyman, *Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880-1920* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 109-113. Wyman’s account does not include Canada, however.

¹²⁴ See advertisements in *Novyi mir*, 3, 5 January 1916.

subjects in Canada. Unlike nationals of enemy states, Russians could freely leave the country provided they had the required papers. According to the Russian regulations of 1912, which remained in force until late 1916, returning subjects of the empire had to possess a valid passport or apply to the nearest Russian consulate for a one-time entry permit (*prokhoznoe svidetel'stvo*). An affidavit signed by a priest or two proven Russian subjects who knew the applicant was normally accepted by the consuls as sufficient proof of citizenship. According to the figures which Likhachev provided to Prime Minister Robert Borden in January 1917, since August 1914 the two consulates in Montreal and Vancouver had issued nearly 3,500 entry permits and validated some 100 passports.¹²⁵ About 300 Russian-subject immigrants hired themselves as crew members on Canadian transports that carried shipments of horses to Britain as a way to travel back to Europe (several of the transports were torpedoed en route by German U-boats).¹²⁶ It is not possible to establish how many of these 3,900 individuals actually returned to Russia, for the fact of possessing a travel document cannot by itself serve as proof of departure. It is also likely that many others who *did* return had either neglected to contact the consulates for entry permits or obtained them from Russian consular missions in the United States or Sweden (the main transit point for Russian immigrants). These statistics show, however, that migration back to Russia continued even at the worst months of the war, even if it was never close to anything like a mass return of recruits and reservists expected by the Russian government. The proof of

¹²⁵ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 11, file 357, Likhachev to R. Borden, 20 January 1917. Vice-consul Henry Mathers in Halifax could not issue entry permits.

¹²⁶ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 3, file 97, Likhachev to Vtoroi Departament, 22 January 1916. No data regarding the ethnic origins or socio-demographic profile of the returnees were included in these statistics.

such migration can also be found in emigrant family letters dated 1915-1917. Within days after returning to the home village, most men were drafted and sent to the trenches.¹²⁷

By the fall of 1916, increased security concerns led the Russian government to tighten up the procedures of admission to the empire's territory. The new entry regulations, adopted by the Council of Ministers in late October, annulled all previously issued passports and required all Russian subjects who wished to return to the homeland to submit detailed personal and family information on a special questionnaire along with proof of citizenship and two photographs, all of which were forwarded to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for an identity check.¹²⁸ However, it was only in January 1917, when the days of the Romanov monarchy were numbered, that Russian consular missions finally received detailed instructions from Petrograd (known as Circular 630) explaining the new procedures. Putting the regulations into effect therefore fell upon Russia's new Provisional Government, but the post-revolution turmoil and various more pressing concerns delayed their introduction until July 1917. Shortly thereafter, the Russian consulates in Montreal and Vancouver were swamped with applications for entry permits. Answers provided in line 19 of the questionnaire, where the applicant was asked for a "precise indication of the trip's purpose", were usually standard (especially when the form was completed by a clerk at a ticket or labour agency). While these answers should not always be taken at face value, they are nonetheless our only available source on the motives for wartime return migration to Ukraine and Belarus (unlike the U.S. government, Canadian immigration authorities did not

¹²⁷ See, for instance, a letter from the parents of Mikhail Matsiokha (Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 99, file 11610) and a letter from the brother of Andrei Marziavka, both from Podolia (vol. 44, file 2740).

¹²⁸ It is to these regulations that we owe the existence of several thousand Li-Ra-Ma files containing applications for entry permits.

collect demographic and personal information on the repatriates). The most commonly given reasons included “going back to my family” (25 percent of the answers), “returning home” (21 percent), “going to take care of my household” (15 percent), and “returning after temporary work (*zarabotki*)” (14 percent). Notably, about 45 percent of the immigrants gave return destinations other than their native provinces – most of these individuals were Belarusians from the provinces of Grodno and Vil’na returning to search for their refugee families scattered across central and eastern Russia. Although economic and family reasons for returning predominated, approximately 20 percent gave “political” motives such as the desire to “serve the motherland” or “fulfil my military obligation”, and 4 percent decided to go back because of nostalgia. Some naturalized immigrants wanted to leave in order to avoid conscription into the Canadian army. Threatened with conscription, Timofei Fedik, owner of a farm in Alberta, wrote to the consul that he would rather sell his land and return to Russia than “suffer and die for the country of Canada which I have no love for”.¹²⁹

Given that the application process took about three months, only a handful of immigrants must have received their entry permits by late October 1917, when the Bolshevik coup in Petrograd once again drastically changed Russia’s political fortunes. The installation of the Soviet government in Petrograd brought the review of applications by the Foreign Ministry to an end, leaving Russian consulates across North America (none of which had recognized the new Soviet regime) with a backlog of unprocessed files. With Russia’s political future unclear and anxiety among thousands of permit seekers on the increase, in January 1918 the Russian embassy in Washington gave all Russian consular

¹²⁹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 96, file 11170 (Timofei Fedik). While we should remain cautious in assessing the sincerity of such pronouncements, there is no reason to dismiss patriotism completely as a motive for returning and see the immigrants only as skilful manipulators telling the consuls what they presumably wanted to hear.

missions in North America the green light to resume the issuance of permits to all persons who could prove their Russian citizenship. Between January 1918 and May 1919, the Russian consulate in Montreal furnished over 2,000 former Russian subjects of various nationalities with travel papers (the figures for the Vancouver consulate are missing), but, similar to the previous years, it is impossible to ascertain how many of them actually managed to make the crossing.¹³⁰ The outbreak of a civil war in Russia, followed by the Allied intervention and naval blockade of Russia's western seaports, made travelling via the Atlantic for most of 1919 and 1920 next to impossible. Although the eastern frontier remained open, the unstable political situation in Siberia and the Far East (controlled for the most part by the White forces) could not guarantee a safe passage. Nevertheless, during 1918 and the early months of 1919 those most desperate to return attempted to sail from Vancouver to Vladivostok via Yokohama until the White government of Admiral Kolchak closed the Far Eastern border in March 1919, apparently out of fear of "Red" infiltration. The admission of returning emigrants was resumed in April with new entry regulations in place, which turned over the prerogative of issuing entry permits from consulates to embassies and required all applicants to include proof of their non-involvement in the Bolshevik movement.¹³¹ When in May 1920 (after the Kolchak government's demise) Russian consular missions in North America regained their powers of issuing travel papers, not only had the flow of return migration subsided, but the ex-tsarist diplomats had also lost their legitimacy in the eyes of many Russians across the continent.

¹³⁰ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 36, "Registry of Passports Issued to Russian Subjects".

¹³¹ When sailing through Yokohama, the returning Russian citizens were required to possess a transit visa, issued by the Japanese consulate in Vancouver only after a check of the applicant's financial means.

Although thousands of Ukrainians and Belarusians returned home during the war years, most stayed in Canada by either choice or necessity. For many of them, enlistment in the Canadian expeditionary troops became the only way to contribute to the Allied war effort and achieve financial security at a time of rampant unemployment that lasted until 1916. Although the tsar's decree of April 1915 allowed Russian reservists who could not return home for mobilization to enlist in the armies of Russia's allies, Canada was only added to the list on 5/18 June 1915.¹³² However, many immigrants from Russia had already begun to enlist as volunteers in the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) with little regard for or knowledge of Petrograd's regulations.¹³³ Substantial salaries paid to Canadian soldiers (a private in the CEF received \$33 a month) and equally liberal separation allowances (\$20 per month) remitted to the wives, widowed mothers and guardians of minor children of the volunteers were a significant attraction for many of those who signed up. They were high enough to attract even Russian-subject immigrants from the United States. The 25-year-old Anthony (Anton) Gretzky, a native of Grodno and the grandfather of Wayne Gretzky, was one of them. In August 1917, he left the job of a "stationary fireman" in Chicago to come to Toronto and enlist in the 1st Reserve Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force.¹³⁴ When the volunteer's family was in Russia (as was the case with Gretzky and many others),

¹³² Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 11, file 344, Likhachev to Joseph Pope, 23 July 1915. Those who had just reached the military service age were excluded from this provision; they had to return to Russia for mobilization.

¹³³ Ibid., Likhachev to Vtoroi Departament, 18 February 1916. In November 1916, Likhachev asked Canadian military authorities to discharge 16 Russians who had enlisted in the Westmont Rifle Battalion without the Russian government's permission.

¹³⁴ See Gretzky's attestation paper in NAC, Ministry of the Overseas Military Forces, RG150, box 3819-50, reg. number 3030122; also Walter Gretzky, *On Family, Hockey and Healing* (Toronto: Random House of Canada, 2001), p. 18.

it received Canadian separation allowances through the office of the British consul in Petrograd. Thus enlistment not only provided an escape from destitution for many immigrant men but also allowed them to remain their families' breadwinners at a time when civilian employment was scarce.

The Russian consulates in Canada tried to monitor the enlistment campaign in order to prevent "enemy aliens" (especially Austrian Ukrainians and Poles) from enlisting under the guise of Russian subjects. The Russian government's fear that nationals of enemy states might infiltrate into the Allied forces due to the laxity of Canadian recruitment procedures was based on the mounting evidence that many Ukrainians from Austria indeed masqueraded as Russians during the war to avoid discrimination.¹³⁵ At the meeting between Likhachev and Robert Borden, held in July 1915, it was decided that in all cases when the Russian citizenship of a volunteer could not be ascertained, recruiting officers or the men themselves should contact the Russian consuls for identity verification. Despite instructions from the Department of Militia and Defence, recruiting officers, anxious to "snatch" anyone willing to serve, commonly accepted volunteers without a proper identity check.¹³⁶ There were many instances when immigrant men signed recruitment papers under the influence of alcohol bought by an unscrupulous recruiter or, like Isaak Drobotenko, were led to believe

¹³⁵ See Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983), p. 60; Yasnowskyj, *Pid ridnym i chuzhym nebom*, p. 219-220.

¹³⁶ NAC, Immigration Branch, RG76, Series I-A-1, vol. 603, reel C-10670, file 884866; Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 11, file 344, Likhachev to Pope, 23 July 1915; H. Walker to Likhachev, 5 August 1915.

that they were signing merely a “declaration of their Russian citizenship”.¹³⁷ The majority, however, enlisted of their own free will.

The total number of Russian-subject immigrants of various nationalities who served in the CEF during the war remains unknown and can be established only through an all-out search of hundreds of thousands of archived military personnel files. A consular list, compiled in late 1916 – early 1917, contains the names and birthplaces of 124 Russian-subject soldiers affiliated with 20 various CEF units, including 52 men born in eastern Ukraine and 35 in Belarus.¹³⁸ Ukrainian-Canadian historians have accepted 2,000 as the probable number of Ukrainians from the Russian Empire who served in the Canadian army during the Great War.¹³⁹ Assuming the relative proportions of Ukrainians and Belarusians shown in the consular list to be typical of the whole Canadian Expeditionary Force, it may be estimated that the number of Belarusian volunteers was close to 1,300. The difficulty of establishing the extent of Russian nationals’ representation in the CEF is increased by the fact that many non-Canadian volunteers had their names anglicized or mangled in other ways: thus, Grigory Petrikovsky became Harry Patrick and Filipp Titorenko was enlisted as Philip Titeronto. Various sources indicate, however, that a great many Canadian units had significant contingents of “Russians”. Two undated consular logs of enlisted Russian subjects show that at least 78 battalions and several auxiliary units had Russian volunteers, including the 218th Battalion (“Irish Guards”) with as many as 153 Russian-born servicemen

¹³⁷ *Kanadskii gudok*, 28 February, 11 March 1939; Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 75, file 7996. See also the case of Vikentii Lutka in vol. 14, file 440.

¹³⁸ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 13, file 415. The rest were born in Poland (19), Finland (3), and Russia proper (4). The origins of five other men are undecipherable.

¹³⁹ Swyripa and Thompson, *Loyalties in Conflict*, p. 58. The ongoing digitization of the CEF personnel records by the National Archives of Canada should facilitate further studies of immigrant participation in Canada’s war effort.

and the 221st Overseas Infantry Battalion with 71.¹⁴⁰ According to the testimony of its commanding officer, the 198th Battalion (“Canadian Buffs”) boasted a whole “Russian platoon”.¹⁴¹ The enthusiastic enlistment of Russian subjects in the CEF even brought out proposals to create separate Russian battalions. Although the idea of ethnic units never caught on with Canadian military authorities, the number of Russians in the overseas-bound units was large enough for the Department of Militia and Defence to enlist, in September 1915, Rev. Ioann Ovsianitsky, a Russian Orthodox priest from Quebec City, as a military chaplain with the 57th Battalion, then in training at Valcartier. Ovsianitsky not only performed religious services for the CEF volunteers in various units but also vigorously promoted enlistment in the Canadian overseas forces through the newspaper *Russkaia zemlia* published by the Russian Orthodox mission in the United States. In August 1916, he sailed off to Britain to minister to Orthodox soldiers waiting to be shipped to the front.¹⁴²

While some Ukrainians and Belarusians signed up for military duty, the rest contributed to the war effort by working at Canada’s numerous industrial establishments producing munitions and war supplies. In 1914-1915, when the job market remained tight, Russian-subject workers in some localities were quick to turn the restrictions imposed on “enemy aliens” to their advantage by demanding the discharge of “Austrian” navvies and miners. In July 1915, a group of Russian-subject navvies working near Sudbury urged Consul Likhachev to help “drive these Austrian scumbags out of this [railway] section”. Forty-three Ukrainian and Belarusian miners from Russia employed

¹⁴⁰ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 13, files 412, 859. See also the *Toronto Globe*, 3 August 1915.

¹⁴¹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 11, file 348, Commander of the 198th Battalion to Likhachev, 10 September 1916.

¹⁴² Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 13, file 411; Ioann Ovsianitsky, “S kanadskoi armiei na fronte”, *American Orthodox Messenger* 33 (18 August 1916): 522-523.

with the Mond Nickel Company signed a petition, claiming that “there are many Russians out of employment and unable to obtain work at the said Mines owing to the number of Austrians employed”.¹⁴³ In June 1915, Russian, Italian and Canadian-born miners in the Crow’s Nest Pass held several strikes in protest against the employment of enemy aliens. After prolonged negotiations between the strike committee and the management, naturalized and married enemy aliens were allowed to return to work.¹⁴⁴ In 1916, labour shortages and high wages, brought by the expanding war production, replaced the stagnation of the previous two years and improved the migrants’ economic situation. By mid-1916, workers who did not report for mobilization no longer had to fear punishment from the home country’s authorities, for in June of that year the Russian General Staff granted exemptions from mobilization to Russian subjects employed in Canadian industries deemed essential for the war (the definition of which was later expanded to include railway construction, shipbuilding and agriculture). Beginning in the spring of 1917, these workers were required to obtain certificates of employment from their companies and present them to the consulate for legalization, but only a few did so.¹⁴⁵

Economic difficulties aside, for the first three years of the war Russian-subject immigrants enjoyed a relatively trouble-free existence in Canada. Although they were occasionally mistaken for enemy aliens and some even appear to have been placed in internment camps, such instances seem to have been uncommon. The introduction of

¹⁴³ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 7, file 251.

¹⁴⁴ NAC, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, RG18, series F-3, vol. 490, file 433-15.

¹⁴⁵ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 15, file 483, Vtoroi Departament to Imperatorskoe Rossiiskoe Posol’sstvo v Londone, 21 June 1916; Pope to Likhachev, 12 March 1917; 20 March 1917; Likhachev to Pope, 7 May 1917.

national manpower registration in August 1916, however, marked the first step towards increased government control over Canada's "friendly aliens". The fact that most Russian-subject labourers lived in Canada without documents and could not prove their citizenship began to pose especially significant problems after the passage, in July 1917, of the Military Service Act introducing selective conscription of male British subjects between the age of twenty and forty-five. As foreign nationals, Russian Ukrainians and Belarusians were not subject to the draft, but their failure to immediately produce proof of their Russian citizenship to the police or military authorities often resulted in detentions and fines for non-possession of identity papers.¹⁴⁶ By late 1917, as Ottawa struggled to put more men in the field, Canada's "friendly aliens" were faced with a rather difficult conundrum. As able-bodied men of conscription age who nonetheless could not be legally forced to serve, they were increasingly seen as "slackers" profiteering from the war. By the end of 1917 and especially in 1918, instances of Russian nationals being pressured into enlistment by their employers or the police began to multiply. Nikifor Shchur from Podolia wrote to Likhachev that he and several other Russian-subject immigrants in Welland, Ontario, were "given two weeks to obtain passports from the Russian consul, and if we do not have them, they will send us to the Canadian army".¹⁴⁷ In response to increased cases of unlawful treatment of Russian-born immigrants, Russian socialist organizations in several Canadian cities set up "committees for the defence of Russian citizens". These committees provided immigrants with legal advice regarding conscription and other wartime laws and helped them obtain

¹⁴⁶ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 26, file 867, Ragozin to C.J. Doherty, 16 August 1917.

¹⁴⁷ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vols. 66-67, file 6822; see also vol. 75, file 7964 (Sergei Makarchuk) and vol. 99, file 11691 (Panteleimon Vakul'chik).

certificates of citizenship issued by the Russian consulates in Montreal and Vancouver.¹⁴⁸

They could do little, however, to prevent “Russians” from being increasingly seen as Bolsheviks and traitors of the Allied cause.

The increasingly precarious situation in which thousands of Canada’s Ukrainian and Belarusian migrant workers found themselves by the war’s end was coupled with the growing psychic strain of separation from their loved ones. The disruptive effect of separation on the migrants’ family relationships was aggravated first by the German occupation and the faltering Russian economy and, after 1917, by the turmoil and chaos of the civil war, which assumed a particularly brutal character in Ukraine. Undelivered letters, returned money orders and years spent without hearing a word from wives or parents put the strength of the migrants’ familial attachments to a severe test. Many Belarusian and some Ukrainian migrants lost all contact with their families who fled from the German troops into Russia’s interior, some as far as Siberia and Central Asia.¹⁴⁹ Those who managed to stay in touch received letters from their wives, in which pleas to return were often mixed with growing resentment and bitterness. Discrimination, often suffered by emigrants’ wives at the hands of *volost* councils, which assigned them to dig trenches or perform other home-front duties, added another strain to many relationships that already hung by a thread. The wife of Vasilii Dovgan’ complained in a letter to her husband that “*soldatki* [soldiers’ wives] are never sent to dig trenches, only *amerikanki*

¹⁴⁸ *Russkoe slovo*, 23 October 1917; *Rabochii narod*, 13 April 1918.

¹⁴⁹ By 1915, all western Belarus (Grodno and Vil’na provinces) and parts of Volhynia were under German occupation, which lasted until the enactment of the Treaty of Versailles. In 1921, much of this territory passed under Polish control. In 1918, Romanians in Bessarabia proclaimed an independent republic, which soon joined the Romanian state.

are. You are away, and I am suffering here because of you".¹⁵⁰ The wife of Ivan Kravchenko fell ill and nearly died after shovelling snow from the railway tracks in cold weather.¹⁵¹ As if matters were not bad enough, the Bolshevik revolution and civil war brought public order in most of Ukraine and Belarus to a total collapse. Trapped in a state of permanent uncertainty, the migrants and their families struggled to stay in touch, despite a complete breakdown of postal communication with most of European Russia between 1918 and 1921. Others gave up, as happy dreams of a reunion were replaced by frustration and despair and then by weariness and indifference.

By the war's end, many Ukrainian and Belarusian migrants found themselves at a point where crucial decisions about the future had to be made. Until 1920-1921, most probably still harboured hopes of return. In his "Short Report on the Russian Colony in Canada", prepared in December 1918, Consul Sergei Likhachev wrote that "[t]he majority of Russia's natives living in Canada at the present time have made considerable savings and are only waiting for an opportunity to go back to the homeland".¹⁵² However, with travel routes remaining closed and post-war economic recession setting in, these hopes were slowly waning. Silvestr Nechikhman, like thousands of other migrant workers, grappled with the dilemma of staying or returning. In June 1917, he wrote to his sister in Ukraine that he needed another two years of work to buy a return steamship ticket and, should he not succeed, he "would probably have to settle here in Canada".¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 40, file 2163.

¹⁵¹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 41, file 2362. More resourceful women attempted to use their husbands' remittances to hire a male relative or neighbour to perform the assignments.

¹⁵² Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 22, file 712.

¹⁵³ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 103, file 12198.

He also advised her not to make major investments in the family household, for her husband (his brother-in-law) was looking for ways to establish himself in Canada and send for the family. Attitudes toward the new Soviet government also mattered in deciding whether to go back. While the desire to live in the world's first workers' state was hard to resist for those with strong sympathies for the Soviet regime (as we shall see in Chapter 7, such sympathies were far from exceptional among Canada's Russian-born workers), others were discouraged from returning by ghastly rumours coming from the homeland. Dmitrii Shvets, a CEF veteran, gave up hopes of ever seeing his native Ukraine "because the Bolsheviks do not admit those who served in the Canadian army, and if someone comes home...he gets killed at night in his house by mobsters".¹⁵⁴ He decided instead to find a way to bring his family to Canada, hoping, as did some other war veterans, that the Canadian government would assist him in covering the cost of their passage.¹⁵⁵

We do not know if Dmitrii's family managed to make their way to Canada. Nor do we know the general extent of individual or family migration from Soviet Ukraine and Belarus to Canada. In any case, such migration was unlikely to occur before 1921, when the storm of the war and Russian revolution finally calmed down, political borders stabilized, and communication between Eastern Europe and North America gradually resumed. Until the late 1920s, the Soviet authorities generally put few obstacles to emigration, and there is scattered evidence that some of Canada's pre-war immigrants

¹⁵⁴ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 14, file 433.

¹⁵⁵ For other examples of CEF veterans attempting to obtain help in bringing their families to Canada see Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 16, files 513-514.

from eastern Ukraine and Belarus did bring their families over.¹⁵⁶ Emigration from western Volhynia and Grodno, which both became part of the independent Polish state after 1921, or from northern Bessarabia, which was incorporated into Romania, was associated with even fewer difficulties, provided one had the determination and sufficient means to travel. But many men never saw their families again, eventually forging new marital alliances in Canada and leaving old relationships behind. For some, the “suspended animation” of sojourning never quite ended, as they continued to lead the lives of permanent bachelors in the ethnic slums of Montreal or Toronto, haunted by fading memories of the old land and unable to find a place they could call home.

¹⁵⁶ Research in the now-opened Russian archives should throw more light on the scale of migration both to and from the Soviet Union in the first post-revolution decade, before the country’s borders were sealed completely.

CHAPTER 6

IMMIGRANT WORKERS AND THE CHURCH

A central role in easing the adjustment of Eastern European immigrant workers to the new society and in preserving Old-World heritage belonged to ethnic churches. However, much of the existing literature on the subject is written in teleological terms, assuming the centrality of the church to the life-worlds of the immigrants instead of making it an object of critical analysis. The reality of the relations between immigrant workers and religion was, however, more complex. For cultural, social or political reasons (or a mixture of the above), not all immigrant groups displayed the same degree of religiosity and commitment to the church. In fact, as this chapter will demonstrate, religion was a secondary concern for most Russian-born labourers, who viewed their presence in Canada as a temporary break in the normal village lifecycle and showed little inclination to expend their energy and savings on the creation of institutions which they considered to be of little use. Such attitudes, partly rooted in intrinsic peasant pragmatism, were supplemented by the lack of even such minimal experience in organized community life as was brought to North America by Italians, Slovaks, Poles, Finns and Galician Ukrainians, not to mention Jews. Village reading clubs and peasant benevolent societies, often organized and headed by priests in other parts of East-Central Europe, were virtually unknown in Eastern Ukraine and Belarus.

In this context, it is important to remember that in contrast to Slavic peoples living under Ottoman and Habsburg rule, whose status as minorities stimulated a feeling of “us against them” and provided an impetus for organization, in the Romanov realm it was the state itself that posed as supreme protector of its Slavic Orthodox subjects (to be sure,

only as long as they accepted their Russianness). In the early 1900s, the process of national awakening, which provided a vital bond for building ethnic parishes and community institutions among Galician Ukrainians and many other immigrant groups, had barely touched Russia's western frontier, where most nationalist movements were either in their heritage-gathering stage (in Belarus) or had just begun to embark on mass political agitation (in Ukraine).¹ This explains why Ukrainians who came to Canada from the Russian Empire prior to 1914 produced hardly any prominent spokesmen of Ukrainian nationalism and why so few Belarusians were aware of their ethnic roots.²

The fact that Russian Orthodoxy, to which most of the immigrants confessed, had the status of the official church in the tsarist empire also had profound consequences for the shaping of their rather ambivalent relationship with organized religion. Although the Russian Orthodox Church did take some steps to adjust to the multi-ethnic character of its North American parishes, it essentially saw all its eastern Slav adherents as part of a single national and spiritual community. While among Poles or western (Greek Catholic) Ukrainians religion emerged as one of the main pillars of the national movement, Russian Orthodox priests in North America served as promoters of official Russian nationalism

¹ In the early 1960s, Czech political scientist Miroslav Hroch divided national movements of "small nations" of Eastern-Central Europe into three phases. According to Hroch, in Phase A, a small group of intellectuals develops an interest in the nation's cultural heritage, which is followed by the phase of national agitation aimed at disseminating national ideas among the general population (Phase B) and, eventually, by Phase C, in which the matured national movement espouses the goal of political autonomy. See Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*. 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000): §

² Two examples are Pavlo Krat (Petr Ternenko), a native of Poltava, who tried his hand at various intellectual pursuits and attempted to blend Ukrainian nationalism with socialism, and Havrylo Slipchenko, an ex-socialist and one-time director of the Ukrainian Publishing House (the base of the nationalist daily *Ukrainskyi holos*). See Orest Martynowych *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1914* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1991), p. 248.

and loyalty to the tsarist empire as protector of all Orthodox believers regardless of their ethnic roots. While prior to 1917 this posture created few problems with Russian-born immigrants, usually loyal subjects of the tsar, the situation changed drastically after the demise of the Romanov monarchy, when the inability of the church to divest itself of its former ideological and political connections would become a major reason for the decline of many Russian Orthodox parishes across the continent. Increased competition from better-funded Protestant missions also played a role in drawing Ukrainian and Belarusan immigrants away from their Orthodox roots.

The Russian Orthodox Church established a foothold in North America in the late eighteenth century following the Russian discovery of Alaska. Its first mission was organized in 1794 in Kodiak, Alaska, where it ministered to Aboriginal converts and a handful of Russian merchants and settlers. In 1870, the Alaskan parishes received the status of a separate Diocese of the Alaska and the Aleutians, and two years later the newly created episcopal see was transferred from Sitka to San Francisco. The beginning of mass immigration from Eastern and Central Europe in the 1880s provided the basis for an impressive growth of the church in the next quarter century, as dozens of Orthodox parishes and brotherhoods sprang up across the North American continent. In September 1895, a meeting of clergy and lay representatives of Orthodox brotherhoods in Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, resulted in the organization of a federated Russian Orthodox Mutual Aid Society with a weekly organ *Svit* (The Light), published in a mixture of Russian and Ukrainian languages.³ In 1900, the name of the diocese was changed to the Diocese of

³ Strictly speaking, most materials were published in a variety of the Carpatho-Rusyn dialect rather than standard Ukrainian used by the Ukrainian nationalist press.

the Aleutians and North America and five years later, in response to the shifting geography of America's Orthodox population, the episcopal seat was moved from San Francisco to New York.⁴

The earliest followers of Russian Orthodoxy in Canada were Bukovinian and Galician immigrants in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. The first Orthodox service in Canada was held in 1897 at the Ukrainian farm settlement of Wostok in Alberta (also known as Limestone Lake) by a missionary priest dispatched by Bishop Nicholas, then head of the Russian Orthodox Church in North America. The majority of Wostok inhabitants consisted of Greek Catholic (Uniate) Galicians converted by the missionary to Orthodox faith.⁵ In 1908, a separate Canadian deanery of the Russian Orthodox mission in North America was created with Hieromonk Arseny Chekhovtsev as head. Its 33 parishes were all except one located in the West and were served by a mere seven priests, most of whom had to spend their time travelling great distances across the prairies.⁶

By the late 1890s, the return of Uniate immigrants from Galicia to Orthodoxy became (and remained) the most politically important task for the Russian Orthodox

⁴ Constance J. Tarasar, ed., *Orthodox America, 1794-1976: Development of the Orthodox Church in America* (Syosset, NY: Orthodox Church in America, 1975), pp. 15-16, 20, 92-93, 113-114. On the Russian Orthodox Mutual Aid Society, see also Keith P. Dyrud, *The Quest for the Rusyn Soul: The Politics of Religion and Culture in Eastern Europe and in America, 1890 – World War I* (Philadelphia: The Balch Institute Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1992), p. 69-70.

⁵ Tarasar, *Orthodox America*, p. 69. Also in 1905 Tikhon Belavin became the first head of the Russian Orthodox Church in North America to hold the title of archbishop.

⁶ Alaskan Russian Church Archives (hereafter ARCA), series D (Geographic File), box D514, reel 322, Winnipeg, diocese administration, correspondence, 1893-1916, Chekhovtsev to Platon Rozhdestvensky, 15 November 1908. Chekhovtsev's name is sometimes spelled as "Chavtsov".

Church in Canada. The struggle between the Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches for the souls of Ukrainian immigrants soon turned the Prairies into an arena of bitter religious divisions, splits and conflicts between various factions.⁷ Ukrainians from Russia, relatively few in numbers and having barely any adherents of Greek Catholicism among them, were rarely involved in these battles. According to Chekhovtsev, the mission of the church among its Russian-born flock was to keep them away from various “evil [Protestant] heresies and alien sects” and spread the “spirit of patriotism and...love for the dear fatherland”.⁸ As elsewhere in North America, the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada became the primary medium through which the Russian imperial state exerted ideological and political influence upon its emigrant subjects. In the minds of the Russian Orthodox hierarchy in North America and their superiors in St. Petersburg, patriotism was inextricably linked with maintaining an allegiance to the faith of one’s ancestors.

The presence of immigrants from the Russian Empire in the rural Orthodox parishes of western Canada always remained small. Many, if not most congregations in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta had no “Russians” at all. Winnipeg, which by the early 1900s had the largest population of immigrant workers from Russia in the Canadian West, was something of an exception, but even here the Russian-born represented a clear minority. If marriage and baptism registers can be used as indicators of a parish’s composition, they clearly show the predominance of Galicians and Bukovinians even in the urban parishes of western Canada. Thus, according to the 1907 records of the Winnipeg Holy

⁷ See Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, chap. 7, 8, 9; and Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981), chap. 2.

⁸ ARCA, series D, box D514, reel 322, Winnipeg, diocese administration, correspondence, 1893-1916, Chekhovtsev to Platon Rozhdestvensky, 15 November 1908.

Trinity Russian Orthodox Church (established in 1904), immigrants from Russia made up only about 16 percent of its 316 parishioners – a proportion that remained relatively constant in later years.⁹ Of 507 baptisms performed in the church from 1913 to 1915, children who had at least one Russian-born parent constituted 17.2 percent, and among 352 persons who married there in the same period, those from Russia made up 15 percent (the proportion of couples where either or both of the spouses were natives of Russia stood at 22.7 percent of the total). Most Russian-born members of the church were Ukrainians from Volhynia and Kiev, with Belarusans and ethnic Russians (mostly from Saratov) each constituting about 15 percent.¹⁰ The parish had a school, where a small number of Ukrainian, Belarusan and Russian children learned the Russian language, history and the basics of the Orthodox faith.

Dnieper Ukrainians and Belarusans came to have a considerably larger presence in the Orthodox communities of eastern Canada, which attracted the majority of labour migrants from the tsarist empire. The first and largest Russian Orthodox congregation east of Manitoba – the parish of St. Peter and St. Paul in Montreal – was organized in 1907 primarily by natives of Volhynia and Minsk provinces. Around 1905, with the help of the Russian consul in Montreal, Nikolai Struve, they wrote to Archbishop Tikhon Belavin, then head of the Russian Orthodox Mission in North America, asking him to send a priest to the “Russian Orthodox people” of Montreal. In March 1906, the mission dispatched Alexander Hotovitsky, rector of the St. Nicholas Cathedral in New York, to find out the needs of the city’s Slavic Orthodox immigrants, perform communion and

⁹ ARCA, series D, box D514, reel 322, Winnipeg, Parish records, cumulative, 1907.

¹⁰ Archives of the Archdiocese of Canada, Orthodox Church in America (hereafter AC), Holy Trinity Church (Winnipeg), baptism and marriage books, 1907-1915.

other ceremonies, and hold a liturgy.¹¹ After the service, Hotovitsky attended the founding meeting of a fraternal society named the Russian Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity. Both the service and the meeting were held at the St. Nicholas Syrian Orthodox church housed in a remodelled factory building on Vitre Street.¹² The founding of the Montreal parish thus followed the model typical for many North American immigrant communities, when the organization of the parish was preceded by the creation of a fraternal society, which served to consolidate the community and prepare the way for the accumulation of financial resources needed to build the church and support the clergy.¹³ As far as the ethnic and territorial origins of its members were concerned, the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity had a mixed character, with about 40 percent of its members being Ukrainians from Volhynia, Kiev and Podolia, 40 percent – Belarusians from the provinces of Minsk, Grodno, Vil’na and Mogilev, and the remaining 20 percent – Galician and Bukovinian Ukrainians. Consul Nikolai Struve became an honorary member of the brotherhood, and David Malevich from the town of Kopyl’ in Minsk Province was elected as its secretary.¹⁴ Shortly after its organization the brotherhood joined the Russian Orthodox Mutual Aid Society of North America.¹⁵ Like

¹¹ A. Hotovitsky, “Poezdka v Kanadu”, *Russian Orthodox American Messenger* 10 (1906): 110-111. Hotovitsky, who later returned to Russia and perished during the Stalin terror, was recently canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church as a martyr.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 112-117. The Syrian parish, founded in 1903, was the first Eastern Orthodox congregation in eastern Canada.

¹³ See, for instance, M. Mark Stolarik, *Immigration and Urbanization: The Slovak Experience, 1870-1918* (New York: AMS Press, 1989), p. 75.

¹⁴ Archive of the SS Peter and Paul Orthodox Church in Montreal (hereafter SSPP), membership book of the Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox Brotherhood, 1906 – [1916?].

¹⁵ The listings of Russian Orthodox brotherhoods were regularly published in *Svit*. For information on the Montreal chapter, see, for instance, *Svit*, 9 January 1913.

other chapters of the society, it provided its members with sickness and death insurance in proportion to the paid dues.

The official opening of the parish, named after Saint Peter and Saint Paul, took place in late 1907. A small building on Soulanges Street in Point St. Charles, which the congregation had to share with a poolroom, was rented to serve as a temporary church hall and the first permanent priest, Theophan Buketov, was assigned to Montreal. In many respects, Buketov exemplified the more competent type of North American Russian Orthodox clergy of the time – a young, energetic missionary in his late twenties born in Kherson, Ukraine, who went to the United States shortly after graduation from a theological seminary in Odessa. Before his Montreal assignment, Buketov had served in Ansonia and Waterbury (Connecticut), where he was instrumental in leading a group of Greek Catholics back into the fold of Orthodoxy. Buketov, however, stayed in the parish only until 1908, when he was transferred to Brooklyn, New York.¹⁶

For several years the Montreal parish remained the only Russian Orthodox congregation in eastern Canada. Only in 1911-1912, as immigration of Slavic Orthodox workers into Canada reached its zenith, small and unstable congregations, with predominantly Galician and Bukovinian membership, sprang up in Fort William, Ottawa, Lachine, Quebec City and Sydney. The establishment of new parishes continued at a brisk pace after the outbreak of the world war, due largely to the energy of Alexander Nemolovsky, appointed in 1916 as the first Russian Orthodox bishop of Canada.¹⁷ While the Prairies continued to remain the stronghold of the Russian Orthodox Church, it was

¹⁶ For Buketov's biography see Tarasar, *Orthodox America*, p. 123.

¹⁷ *The Orthodox Church in Canada: A Chronology* (n.p., Archdiocese of Canada – Orthodox Church in America, 1988), p. 6.

Eastern Canada with its substantial and increasingly radicalized migrant worker population that, in Nemolovsky's view, demanded primary attention. Although Winnipeg was officially chosen as the centre of the Canadian bishopric, the diocesan chancellery was set up in Buffalo with a view of moving it to Montreal once a permanent church building had been erected in that city. A tireless traveller and dedicated missionary, Nemolovsky spent weeks touring eastern and central Canadian cities with large concentrations of Russian Orthodox population. In October 1915, accompanied by the head of the Ontario deanery Iosif Dankevich, he visited southern Ontario to assess the prospects of organizing Orthodox parishes. Nemolovsky and Dankevich performed liturgies in the Macedonian church of Toronto and the Serbian church in Hamilton, where they managed, with great pains, to gather only about 30 people by canvassing the city's Slavic immigrant neighbourhood. Nemolovsky's impressions of the immigrants' religious zeal were rather grim. "[R]ussians in Toronto have gone absolutely wild (*sovershenno odichali*)", he lamented in the pages of the *American Orthodox Messenger*. "In Hamilton, the state of Orthodoxy is even more horrible. There are up to 30 Russian families here and about 600 single [Russian] men, about a hundred Serbs (15 families) and nearly 700 Bulgarians. The Russians have almost all turned to socialism".¹⁸

Soon after Nemolovsky's visit, a small group of Orthodox immigrants from Russia and Austria in Toronto purchased, for \$6,000, an old Protestant church in the Junction area, at the corner of Royce and Edwin avenues, and organized the St. Michael Orthodox brotherhood, which became a chapter of the Russian Orthodox Mutual Aid Society.¹⁹ The

¹⁸ *Russian Orthodox American Messenger* 30 (1915): 473-474.

¹⁹ *Svit*, 12 October 1916; 11 January, 15 February 1917; *The Jubilee Book of the Russian Orthodox Christ the Saviour Cathedral in Toronto, 1915-1965* (n.p., n.d.), p. 12.

consecration of the new church, named the Russian Orthodox Church of the Resurrection of Christ, was performed on 24 September 1916 by Nemolovsky himself and, according to the *Toronto Globe*, which sent a reporter to the ceremony, gathered some 700 people.²⁰ The *Globe*'s estimate that there were already about 300 people on the church books was, however, an exaggeration. According to its first priest Mikhail Kaimakan, the parish could boast only about 150 permanent members, including 50 from Galicia, 75 from Bukovyna, and 25 from Russia.²¹

Between 1914 and 1917, new parishes and missions appeared in Hamilton, London, Oshawa, Windsor, Welland, St. Catharines, Thorold, The Pas, Halifax, and even in the small industrial settlement of Thetford Mines, Quebec. Migrant worker communities on the West Coast were also not forgotten. In the summer of 1916, the Russian Orthodox Mission in New York dispatched a Galician-born priest, Mikhail Prodan, and his associate Erasmus Banov, founder of the ephemeral "Pan-Slavic League", to organize a church in Vancouver – a city seen as a hotbed of "Ukrainophile" and socialist propaganda. The duo also toured Nanaimo, Britannia Mine and other far-flung mining towns of the province, holding services and attempting to establish missions among the local Ukrainian and Russian miners.²²

²⁰ The *Toronto Globe*, 25 September 1916. From Toronto Nemolovsky proceeded to Montreal, where the next day he consecrated the cornerstone of the future church building. See V. Sakovich, "Osviashchenie kraegol'nogo kamnia montreal'skoi tserkvi", *Russian Orthodox American Messenger* (1916), 42, pp. 666-668.

²¹ National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Likacheff-Ragosine-Mathers Collection (hereafter Li-Ra-Ma Collection), MG30 E406, vol. 21, file 700, Mikhail Kaimakan to Likhachev, 30 September 1916.

²² ARCA, series D, box D514, reel 322, Vancouver file, Prodan to Evdokim Meshchersky, 4/17 August 1916. The first attempt to organize a Russian Orthodox parish in Vancouver was

Most of the small and sometimes short-lived Russian Orthodox congregations that sprang up after 1910 on Canada's industrial frontier could rarely boast their own church buildings and struggled with the lack of clergy and funds. Some parishes, however, fared somewhat better than others. It was often the size of the community and its material well-being that made the difference. In Windsor, where most immigrant workers were employed with the well-paying Ford Motor Company (which, notably, encouraged sobriety, thrift and discipline among its employees), efforts to organize a viable church community proved to be more successful. In the summer of 1916, the city's newly organized Orthodox brotherhood purchased two lots in the area known as "Ford City" for the construction of a church building. The Windsor Orthodox parish of St. John the Divine was officially opened in 1917. According to the extant baptismal records of the church for 1917-1921, immigrants from the Russian Empire (primarily natives of Bessarabia) constituted about 58 percent of the parish membership, with Bukovinians, Galicians, and a few Romanian and Serbian immigrants making up the rest.²³ Despite the extremely high turnover of clergy in its first years of existence, the congregation held on (and still exists today in the same location).

It is difficult to say with any degree of certainty what proportion of Russian Orthodox workers in early twentieth-century Canada was involved in organized religious life. However, the few surviving membership rolls and church registers of the time suggest that the constituency of the Russian Orthodox Church among urban and frontier

apparently made in 1912 by Russian immigrant entrepreneur A. Azancheev (see more on him in Chapter 4) but it proved abortive.

²³ AC, baptismal records and collection book of the Russian Orthodox Church of St. John the Divine, Windsor, 1917-1921.

labourers never amounted to more than a small fraction of Canada's total population of Eastern Orthodox workers, which numbered in tens of thousands. Thus, between 1906 and 1916, the membership of the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity in Montreal never exceeded several dozen people, with many members leaving after one or two years and others expelled for non-payment of dues, "improper behaviour" (the nature of which was not specified) or other reasons. By late 1916, when the record of its activities breaks off, it had fewer than 20 members.²⁴ The itinerant way of life pursued by most migrant workers and the very low ratio of families among them certainly presented the greatest challenge to the urban and frontier parishes. Their membership and level of financial stability changed with every fluctuation of the economic cycle. As a result of the industrial recession of 1913-1915, many migrants either left Canada or drifted away from the church in order to save their shrinking earnings. Others waited only for the end of the war to return to their villages and were rarely keen to spend their dollars and short time off work on church activities (apart from attending liturgies on major holidays such as Easter or Christmas). Priest Vasily Gorsky, who ministered to a small parish in Halifax, complained to Likhachev in early 1917 that most of about one hundred and fifty Orthodox immigrants living in the city spent their Sundays drinking and gambling rather than praying and that, while they regularly paid fines for drunkenness, "when you ask them to give to the church, it is hard to get anything".²⁵

To understand the roots of such behaviour (even assuming the usual tendency of the priests to lament their flock's low piety), one also needs to bear in mind that in much of

²⁴ SSPP, Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox Brotherhood, membership book.

²⁵ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 21, file 671, Gorsky to Likhachev, 8 February 1917.

Eastern Europe, and certainly in tsarist Russia, peasant religious practices were largely based on the formal observance of prescribed rituals, buttressed more by social custom than deep spiritual devoutness, much less a clear understanding of religious canons. In Canada, where mechanisms of social control enforced by the village community and, to an extent, by the tsarist state largely lost their hold over the sojourning peasant-workers, most of them either avoided church altogether (not least for reasons of financial economy) or began to regard it from a purely utilitarian standpoint: whatever authority the priest could command depended more on his acting as a sort of a middleman, who could write or read a letter, tell the latest news, help find a job, rather than being a spiritual guide. The nearly all-male character of Slavic urban communities also had a negative effect on the degree of immigrant religiosity. As Robert Harney pointed out, “for most of the [immigrant] groups...the presence of women was required to make ethnic parishes necessary”.²⁶ Aware of this situation, many priests attempted to use their function as intermediaries between the immigrants and the outer world as a way to maintain at least some form of connection between them and the church. Thus, Vladimir Sakovich, according to the testimony of one of his parishioners, lent him money and gave food in times of need.²⁷ In Toronto, Mikhail Kaimakan attempted, through the Russian consul in Montreal, to obtain release of some of his Austrian-subject parishioners interned at Kapuskasing.²⁸

²⁶ Robert F. Harney, “Boarding and Belonging”, in Bruno Ramirez, ed., *“If One Were to Write a History...”: Selected Writings by Robert F. Harney* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1991), p. 132.

²⁷ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 8, file 261, Pavel Zaitsevskii to Likhachev, 3 February 1915.

²⁸ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 5, file 183, Kaimakan to Likhachev, June 1916.

The specific nature of the relationship between church, state and society in late Imperial Russia and the resulting popular attitudes towards institutionalized religion also need to be taken into consideration. While in most of early twentieth-century Eastern Europe the church continued to retain close links to the state, nowhere was it so subordinated to and dependent on secular authorities as it was in the Russian Empire, where religious affairs were governed through a state-appointed body, the Holy Synod, and where Orthodox Christianity was inextricably linked to the official doctrine of Russian nationhood with its triadic formula of “autocracy, Orthodoxy and nationality”. Orthodox priests were appointed to their parishes by the Synod and were not accountable to their flock for the administration of parish affairs. Lay initiative, let alone parish democracy, was not only unwelcome, but most often regarded with hostility as intervention in matters considered to be beyond the understanding and competence of the rank-and-file faithful. The financial support of the state guaranteed salaries (if not particularly lucrative ones) to the priesthood and released the parishioners from the responsibility of shouldering the financial burdens of church membership.²⁹ The priest in tsarist Russia “was severely handicapped [by the fact] that he had been compulsorily converted into a quasi-official and defender of the state”³⁰. As a result, the low esteem in which the peasantry held tsarist bureaucracy (though, for a time, not the monarchy as an

²⁹ See for instance: Donald W. Treadgold, “Russian Orthodoxy and Society”, in Robert L. Nichols and Theofanis G. Stavrou, eds., *Russian Orthodoxy under the Old Regime* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978), pp. 21-43, and Marc Szeftel, “Church and State in Imperial Russia”, *ibid.*, pp. 127-141. For a revisionist view, see Gregory Freeze, “Handmaiden of the State? The Orthodox Church in Imperial Russia Reconsidered”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985): 82-102.

³⁰ Treadgold, “Russian Orthodoxy”, p. 30. The common use of the derogatory *pop*, instead of the reverent *batiushka* (father) or neutral *sviashchennik* (priest) is a telling example of the low esteem in which Orthodox clergy was held by much of the Russian peasantry and working class.

institution) was often projected onto the priesthood. Insufficient education and, at times, the dubious moral qualities of village priests (widely believed to be addicted to the bottle) did not help to boost their authority among peasants. Parish churches in Russia, in contrast to much of Eastern Europe, rarely became the centres of organized social or cultural life in the village, which can be seen, for example, from the modest number of Russian Orthodox fraternal societies that existed in the tsarist empire. Of 715 such societies that existed in 1914 under the authority of the Russian Holy Synod, 275 (nearly 40 percent) were in North America, where the majority of the Orthodox were natives of Bukovina, Galicia or Transcarpathia rather than the Russian Empire. By comparison, one of Russia's largest dioceses – the Diocese of Volhynia – had only 58 fraternal societies for a 2.2-million Orthodox population, and the Diocese of Minsk, with its 1.6 million Orthodox Christians – a mere twenty-two.³¹ The social inertia of Russian-born immigrants perplexed Orthodox priests from Galicia and Bukovina. Panteleimon Bozhyk, who served parishes in Mundare, Edmonton and Toronto, lamented, for instance, that “very rarely do [Ukrainians from Russia] say a kind word about their priests in the Old Country. At the mention of priests, one notices their indifference. One does not hear them talk, as do Galicians, about priests in the Old Country organizing them into reading clubs or cooperatives, or siding with the [peasant] commune in taking the landlord to court.”³²

The North American situation, where priests and ministers had to depend on their parishioners for material support and, therefore, share control over parish affairs with the elected representatives of the congregation was a novelty to many Russian Orthodox

³¹ *Svit*, 25 June 1914.

³² Panteleimon Bozhyk, *Tserkov ukrainsiv v Kanadi* (Winnipeg: Kanadyis'kyi ukrainets', 1927), p. 310.

clerics in Canada, particularly those with no record of service outside Russia. As a result, conflicts often arose between priests and church trustees (members of the elected parish committees), who resisted the pastors' high-handed manner in running parish affairs and, most importantly, in administering its usually modest finances. A typical conflict of this sort developed in Montreal, where tensions between the trustees and Vladimir Sakovich, an ambitious 31-year-old pastor appointed to the parish in October 1913, came to a head in March 1914, when he pressured a general meeting of the parish into a complete change of the committee membership.³³ The ex-officers of the committee sent a letter of protest against the priest's actions to Consul Sergei Likhachev, which is worth quoting at some length:

On his arrival in Montreal, Rev. V. Sakovich announced that he was appointed here by His Grace Bishop Alexander and if things are not his way, he would leave and Montreal would no longer have a priest. He had [allegedly] been told so by His Grace, and his first wish was to be the full master and have no control over himself in financial matters. [...] The committee unanimously decided to stand for the interests of the church, and bylaws were adopted, which laid down what belongs to the priest and what to the church. Fr. Vladimir did not like this and began to change the membership of the committee and to expel those who did not suit him [...] He chose people who obey him in everything and do not care if there is an Orthodox church in Montreal or not; they are here now but tomorrow they might be gone [...] He wants all who speak to him to take off their hats and kiss his hand [...] and those who do not do it are not considered Christians. *Maybe such an interpretation of Orthodox religion was all right in that village where Fr. Vladimir was something before his arrival in America, but it will not do in Montreal.*³⁴

³³ SSPP, folder "Church Affairs, 1914-1935", report by Sakovich to the North American Ecclesiastical Consistory, 2 April 1914.

³⁴ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 21, file 664, Montreal parish committee to Likhachev, 25 May 1914. Italics are mine. In fact, Sakovich never served as a village priest in Russia. Born in Siedlce Province of Russian Poland, he was first a schoolteacher in Minsk Province and in Libava and later served as deacon at Libava's St. Nicholas Orthodox Church.

The clash between Sakovich and the trustees was a conflict between two opposing concepts of parish governance – parish democracy versus the absolute authority of the priest. Significantly, opposition to Sakovich was headed by the older and better established members of the immigrant community, who were less likely to be forced into submission, while the majority of his supporters were recent arrivals. The split within the parish went from bad to worse when the banished committee officers Ignatii Gofman, Petr Burma and Efim Krasutsky padlocked the church door and refused to give up the parish seal and control of the bank account. After several unsuccessful attempts by Sakovich to obtain the keys, Likhachev, who took the priest's side in the conflict, ordered the lock to be cut.³⁵ The “rebels” were finally defeated in 1915, when the act of incorporation of the parish, passed by the Legislative Assembly of Quebec, required them to turn in to the new committee “all property [...] including all sums of money whatsoever belonging to the said congregation [...]”³⁶ The siding of the provincial legislature with Sakovich was hardly unpredictable in Catholic Quebec, where the authority of the parish priest was not to be questioned.

Financial instability was another problem that afflicted all Russian Orthodox parishes, especially urban and frontier ones. Although the Russian Orthodox mission in North America did receive funding from the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg (and occasional donations from the tsar's family), it was inadequate to cover even a fraction of

³⁵ SSPP, folder “Church Affairs, 1914-1935”, report by Sakovich to the North American Ecclesiastical Consistory, 2 April 1914 (notes on the back).

³⁶ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 21, file 666, copy of the incorporation bill.

the rising expenses of keeping its large flock in the fold of Orthodoxy.³⁷ To make matters worse, for Russian ecclesiastic authorities Canada always ranked far below the United States as a field for missionary work. The much larger numbers of Slavic immigrants (Ukrainians, Belarusans, Carpatho-Rusyns and others) south of the border ensured the priority of the United States over Canada and, as a result, better funding of American Orthodox parishes and a larger supply of clergymen. According to one source, less than four percent of the mission's annual budget of \$70,000 was spent on Canadian parishes prior to 1914.³⁸ In comparison, the Baptist Convention of Eastern Ontario and Quebec, whose activities will be discussed below, spent \$6,711 on Slavic missionary work in 1914.³⁹ Direct appeals for money to the Holy Synod that came from individual parishes rarely brought results. Thus, even the support of Consul Nikolai Struve failed to persuade the chief procurator of the Synod to provide a grant to the Montreal parish of SS Peter and Paul for the purchase of a church building. The request was rejected on the grounds that "parishioners [in North America] are getting used to take financial support from the Mission for granted, but do not care about the church themselves and contribute nothing

³⁷ Rival churches (Roman and Greek Catholic) had a tendency to exaggerate the significance of tsarist government assistance to the Russian Orthodox mission in North America. Unfortunately, this view is sometimes uncritically repeated in modern-day historical studies. See for instance Roberto Perin, "Religion, Ethnicity and Identity: Placing the Immigrant within the Church", in William Westfall et al, eds., *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies* (Ottawa: Association for Canadian Studies, 1985), p. 220.

³⁸ SSPP, folder "Church Affairs, 1930-1936", Rev. Ioann Chepelev to an unknown correspondent, 6 March 1935. At the same time, the diocese of Alaska, whose Orthodox population (mostly of Aboriginal descent) did not exceed several thousand but which had a highly symbolic meaning as the birthplace of American Orthodoxy, received \$25,000 a year.

³⁹ Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster University (hereafter CBA), Home Mission Board Minutes, treasurer's statement for the year ending Oct. 8th, 1914.

to it from their own earnings”.⁴⁰ Most early Canadian Orthodox parishes struggled to survive, receiving only limited financial support from the diocesan authorities and having to rely on the contributions from their members – mostly Ukrainian farmers and labourers, whose material conditions and willingness to give to the parish varied greatly from place to place. Many parishes became mired in debt attempting to build churches, and some even had to declare bankruptcy. Thus, by late 1917 the Montreal parish of SS Peter and Paul amassed a debt of \$13,848, including \$1,000 owed to the priest.⁴¹

The poor financial condition of the Russian Orthodox Church resulted largely from its status as a small ethnic denomination without any connections to Canada’s mainstream churches. Such status was not without its advantages, but it clearly had drawbacks as well. Unlike Greek Catholics, Orthodox believers in Canada did not have to struggle to stake out their claim to autonomy within an existing church organization, but they were also devoid of the financial assistance that Canada’s Greek Catholic parishes received from the Roman Catholic bishops, interested in bringing Eastern European immigrants under their control. The majority of Russian Orthodox priests in early twentieth-century Canada lived in very modest material conditions, and some in outright poverty. In January 1917, out of 41 clerics of the Canadian diocese, 22 received living allowances (or in some cases only room and board) from the parish (from about \$15-25 a month in rural areas and small cities up to \$60-65 in larger cities such as Toronto), 8 received some money from both the parish and the Russian Orthodox Ecclesiastical Consistory in New York, 2 were given support only from the Consistory, and the rest had

⁴⁰ Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv (hereafter RGIA), fond 796, opis’ 190, 1 stol, VI otdelenie, delo 96.

⁴¹ SSPP, “Church Affairs, 1914-1935”, act of the transfer of the church property, 26 December 1917.

no regular income at all.⁴² Unsurprisingly, some priests were tempted to supplement their meagre earnings by charging illegitimate fees for performing various non-religious services for the local immigrants, such as providing them with certificates of Russian citizenship (an administrative prerogative enjoyed by Russian Orthodox clergy in North America until late 1916) or for acting as intermediaries in obtaining travel passes to Russia from the imperial consulates located in Montreal or Vancouver.⁴³ High turnover of clergy became the plague of most Russian Orthodox parishes in Canada. A small mission parish of Welland, Thorold and St. Catharines was deserted by three priests during the period of four months, while the St. John the Divine parish in Windsor changed ten [!] pastors between 1917 and 1921. The majority of priests, especially those with large families, preferred the relative stability of the older and larger American congregations to the insecurity of the Canadian missionary frontier and attempted to get reassigned to the United States as soon as opportunity presented itself. In an attempt to overcome the shortage of clergy, Sakovich set up a winter theological seminary in his Montreal house, which trained three priests but was forced to close after Sakovich's departure from the city.⁴⁴ The problem grew even more acute with the onset of the economic recession – so much that in October 1915 Nemolovsky was forced to appeal to the Canadian clergy, pleading with them to remain true to their missionary duty and not

⁴² See a detailed report to Likhachev by Nemolovsky (5 January 1917) on the state of church affairs in Canada: Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 21, file 674.

⁴³ For examples of immigrants' complaints about these practices see Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 71, file 7497 (A. Zadorin); vol. 72, file 7736 (Ivan Shevchuk).

⁴⁴ *The Orthodox Church in Canada: A Chronology*, p. 5.

“to dream about the brightly lit streets and various conveniences of life in the States”.⁴⁵

The plea produced little effect: less than a year and a half later, 18 of the 41 priests of the diocese were still asking to be transferred south of the border. The insolvency of many small parishes, which had no money to either purchase land for the construction of a church or pay the priest prompted Nemolovsky to issue a pastoral letter, urging fledgling congregations not to proceed with the organization of a parish until he had personally inspected it.⁴⁶

As we shall see in the next chapter, the authority of the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada was also increasingly challenged by socialist and anti-tsarist ideas, which found increasingly fertile ground among the proletarianized migrant labourers. Socialist propaganda, with its pointedly anti-religious message, was causing much consternation among Canada’s Russian Orthodox clergy, who could not resort to the protection of the state against the agitators as they did in Russia. Within days after his assignment to the SS Peter and Paul parish in Montreal, Vladimir Sakovich complained in his letter to Archbishop Platon Rozhdestvensky that “much harm to the [Orthodox] cause is done by the so-called Socialists – atheists, who have a great influence on the uneducated mass by their authoritative word”.⁴⁷ In August 1914, a group of Russian radicals in Montreal attempted to disrupt a patriotic manifestation organized by the church brotherhood in support of Russia’s war effort. On Sundays, when church services were held, one could

⁴⁵ *Russian Orthodox American Messenger* 32 (1915): 503.

⁴⁶ *Kanadiiskaia pravoslavnaia Rus'*, 28 September 1916.

⁴⁷ ARCA, cont. D514, reel 322, Montreal, Diocese Administration, Correspondence, 1911-1915, Sakovich to Platon Rozhdestvensky, 28 October 1913.

increasingly see radical activists distributing socialist literature at the church door, which sometimes resulted in scuffles between the “patriots” and the “socialists”.⁴⁸

As the war drew on, the close associations between the Russian Orthodox church and the quickly unravelling tsarist state made the former especially vulnerable to socialist attacks. On his arrival in The Pas, Manitoba, a shocked Nemolovsky had to endure the scorn and ridicule of local Russian-born workers, who called Orthodox priests “robbers, obscurantists and agents of the Russian government” and threw unpleasant questions into the bishop’s face: “Why did you excommunicate Tolstoy? He is a genius of philosophy! Why jails? Why this war?”⁴⁹ Heated debates, which occasionally burst into skirmishes, broke out between supporters and opponents of the church in many newly organized parishes. Radical activists often purposely attended community meetings convened by the clergy to collect funds for the church, attempting to disrupt them.⁵⁰

While among Russian-born workers it was socialism that emerged as the main threat to the authority of the church, many Orthodox Ukrainians from Galicia and Bukovina increasingly resented its Russian nationalist orientation. Conflicting political and national loyalties, dormant in peacetime, came to the fore during the war, which pitted Austria-Hungary against Russia and caused a wave of popular nationalism. Thus, in May 1916, Ukrainian war internees in Edmonton shouted down Panteleimon Bozhyk,

⁴⁸ *Novyi mir*, 1 October 1914.

⁴⁹ Bishop Alexander [Nemolovsky], “Otkryvaem novyi prikhod”, *Russian Orthodox American Messenger* 37 (1915): 588-589.

⁵⁰ *Novyi mir*, 8 May 1916.

brought in to perform a service, by singing Ivan Franko's national hymn *Ne pora*.⁵¹ In many places, relations between Austrian- and Russian-born parishioners soured. Ieronim Lutsyk, a "Russophile" priest from Bukovina transferred to the near bankrupt Fort William parish in 1915, complained to Archbishop Meshchersky, the newly appointed Russian Orthodox Archbishop in North America, that most of his parishioners were "roused by [the propaganda of] Ukraine, with the result that the difference between Galicians and Bukovinians has been erased".⁵²

And yet, troubles experienced by the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada prior to 1917 were nothing compared to the disastrous situation it found itself in after the overthrow of the Russian monarchy and especially after the Bolshevik revolution of November 1917. Spared the physical violence and destruction brought upon the parent church in Russia, it was heavily affected by the dwindling of its authority among the flock and the loss of financial support from Russia. With morale running low and the mood of uncertainty and disorientation setting in, petty intrigues and plotting spread widely among the anguished clerics. "Poaching" of each other's flock became increasingly common, as impoverished priests travelled from parish to parish offering their services at lower fees than those charged by the local pastor.⁵³ By 1918, the Russian

⁵¹ *Russian Orthodox American Messenger* 21 (1916), p. 335. The song declared: It is time, it is time / To refuse to serve the Russian and the Pole / For an end is at hand to the past and its crime / Our Ukraine claims your life and your soul.

⁵² ARCA, series D, box D514, reel 322, Fort William file, Lutsyk to Evdokim Meshchersky, 5 [?] September 1915.

⁵³ See a copy of the circular (27 October 1917) from Nemolovsky to Russian Orthodox clergy in North America in SSSP, folder "Church Affairs, 1914-1935". The bishop's letter to Likhachev written in March 1917 well captures the effect produced on the Russian Orthodox hierarchy in North America by the fall of tsarism: "Everybody is in a nasty mood. Last Sunday [I] had a service in the New York cathedral. In the sermon said something in the sense that every fool now

Orthodox hierarchy in North America was also riven by bitter factional conflicts, as the legitimacy of Nemolovsky, appointed in early 1917 as temporary administrator of the archdiocese after the departure of Archbishop Meshchersky to Russia, was being questioned in various quarters. A detailed analysis of the complicated internal strife within the Russian Orthodox hierarchy after 1917, which still awaits impartial scholarly treatment, would go far beyond the limits of the present study. It may be briefly noted, however, that one of the central battles was waged in Canada, where a group of Galician intelligentsia started, in mid-1918, a movement for a separate Ukrainian Orthodox church. Although the 1919 Cleveland *sobor* of the Russian Orthodox Church in North America recognized the right of Ukrainians to have a national church, Nemolovsky, acting in his new capacity as head of the mission, took a hostile attitude to the idea. His infamous September 1919 phrase that Ukrainians were “not a nation but only a political party” spurred the Ukrainian activists to break away completely from the Russian Orthodox Church. On the other side, Archimandrite Adam Filippovsky of Winnipeg accused Nemolovsky as being too soft to the “Ukrainophiles” and attempted to establish jurisdictional control over the Canadian diocese. In his quest for power Filippovsky was supported by the Carpatho-Rusyn organizations in Canada and the United States, which distanced themselves from the Russian Orthodox hierarchy, at the same time opposing the creation of a separate Ukrainian church.⁵⁴

joins the extreme left. Some took it personally...So much for the freedom of speech!” (Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 21, file 667)

⁵⁴ See Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, pp. 488-496; Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church*, chap. 4. For a different perspective, see Tarasar, *Orthodox America*, chap. 5.

Many urban and frontier Orthodox parishes in Canada were ill prepared to weather the storm of the Russian revolution and the rising national and social movements, not to mention proselytizing by Protestant churches, especially Baptists, who had established Russian and Ruthenian missions in Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton and other cities.⁵⁵ Several newly organized parishes were disbanded in 1917-1919 under the double burden of mounting debts and shrinking flock, and a few amalgamated with larger neighbouring congregations. The Resurrection of Christ parish in Toronto, whose church building was seized by the creditors, became defunct by late 1918.⁵⁶ The Russian Orthodox parish in Vancouver ceased to exist in September 1917, about a year after its opening, due to financial woes and meagre membership. When Mitrofan Poplavsky, the former rector of Winnipeg's Holy Trinity Church and now head of the Seattle Deanery, was sent to inspect the parish, he was appalled to discover that its priest, Mikhail Prodan, slept in the church hall and worked as a longshoreman to support himself. Asked by Poplavsky about the state of affairs in the parish, Prodan caustically replied that he "had no parishioners left except for Mr. Consul [Ragozin]".⁵⁷ In Halifax, many parishioners were also leaving the local Russian Orthodox church, which, after several futile attempts to remain afloat, was finally closed in 1923 and its property auctioned off. The church iconostasis and furnishings were bought by the local Ukrainian Catholic church, and the

⁵⁵ See more on these missions below.

⁵⁶ *Jubilee Book of the Russian Orthodox Christ the Saviour Cathedral in Toronto*, p.7.

⁵⁷ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 27, file 949, Report by Rev. M. Poplavsky to the North American Ecclesiastical Consistory, 1 September 1917. In fact, the relationship between Prodan and Ragozin had been tense for a while. The priest's Galician roots obviously bothered Ragozin, who would have much preferred to have a "true" Russian pastor in the city.

building passed to a Protestant congregation.⁵⁸ The Montreal SS Peter and Paul parish was among the few urban congregations that managed to survive despite the comings and goings of priests, unable to command the support of the diminishing flock and manage the parish's daunting debt. In June 1919, Rev. Grigorii Glebov, who served in the parish for about a year, was desperately asking the Russian consulate in Montreal (itself on the verge of bankruptcy) for money to satisfy the mounting claims of the creditors and to "fight the terrible virus of Bolshevism" among the parishioners.⁵⁹

The Russian Orthodox Church in Canada never fully recovered from the shock of the revolution. Its constituency continued to plummet, depleted, on the one hand, by the secession of Ukrainian, Serbian, Romanian and other ethnic congregations and, on the other, by the growing weariness of any form of organized activity within the "Russian" communities. O. Shevchenko from Winnipeg wrote in *Russkoe slovo* that "Russian people are becoming rare visitors at the churches. Orthodox churches in Canada are turning primarily into churches of Ruthenians and Carpatho-Rusyns."⁶⁰ On the left wing of the immigrant community, religion continued to be associated with obscurantism.⁶¹ Only in the early 1920s, when the storm had calmed down, did the membership of some Orthodox churches stabilize, albeit at a much lower level, and in some places old parishes were reconstituted under new names by small groups of the faithful. In Toronto, a handful of Orthodox immigrants began in 1921 to hold services in an Anglican church.

⁵⁸ John Huk, *Strangers in the Land: The Ukrainian Presence in Cape Breton* (n.p., n.d.), p. 35.

⁵⁹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 21, file 678, Glebov to Likhachev, 27 June 1919.

⁶⁰ *Russkoe slovo*, 26 June 1920.

⁶¹ *Russkoe slovo*, 9 July 1920; 21 July 1920.

The new congregation was soon officially registered as the Russian Orthodox Church of Christ the Saviour.⁶² The slow revival of the SS Peter and Paul parish in Montreal began in 1921 with the arrival of Rev. Arkady Piotrovsky, who discovered only five cents in the congregation's bank account and had to rely on his own savings and voluntary donations to buy church supplies.⁶³ Both parishes retained their ethnically mixed character, and included Belarusians, Ukrainians from Russia and Austria, as well as a small proportion of Serbians, Romanians and other Orthodox believers.⁶⁴

Canadian Protestant churches increasingly challenged the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church among Russian-born Slavic immigrants. Missionary work among "foreigners" was part of the large-scale social gospel movement, which encompassed most large Protestant denominations in North America. Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists moved into the field with particular zeal, while Anglicans, who held on to their historical roots as an English church, were less active. Early twentieth-century Canadian social reformers sought not only to bring about a spiritual reformation of the "foreigners" but also introduce them to the virtues of democratic citizenship and speed up their assimilation.⁶⁵ Slavic immigrants, believed to have been raised in the dark atmosphere of

⁶² *Jubilee Book of the Russian Orthodox Christ the Saviour Cathedral in Toronto*, p. 44.

⁶³ SSPP, folder "Church Affairs, 1914-1935", part 1, Piotrovsky to Nemolovsky, 17 June 1921.

⁶⁴ SSPP, folder "Various Minutes, 1925-1931", questionnaire "On the Condition of the Church and the Parish of the City of Montreal for the Year 1922", and Provincial Archives of Ontario, Multicultural History Society of Ontario Collection, Series 72 (Russian-Canadian Papers), Christ the Saviour Russian Orthodox Cathedral, registers of marriages, 1922-1927.

⁶⁵ A classic exposition of social evangelism is found in J. S. Woodsworth, *Strangers within Our Gates; or Coming Canadians*, with an introduction by Marilyn Barber (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972). For the intellectual roots of social gospel see Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

autocracy and spiritual slavery, were among the primary targets for the evangelizers. While Ukrainian and other immigrant farming settlements in the Prairies became the first arena of these missionary activities, it was not long before preachers, ministers and social workers followed the newcomers into the crowded urban slums and the far-flung bunkhouse camps of the Canadian resource frontier. By 1914, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist and, in some cases, inter-denominational missions functioned in Winnipeg (including the largest and successful All People's Methodist Mission), Toronto, Montreal as well as smaller industrial towns of northern and southern Ontario, where they ministered to the rapidly swelling numbers of foreign migrant workers. In these missions, religious services were combined with educational and social events, including English language classes, lectures, lantern slide shows, Sunday schools, sewing and cooking classes for the women, etc.⁶⁶

Of all major Protestant churches that tried to proselytize among Russian-born immigrant workers Baptists made the most sustained and successful effort. Unlike other Protestant denominations, Canadian Baptists put individual salvation before social reform, being convinced that "if they could Christianize all (or at least most) of the individuals in society, ... these individuals could then in turn be counted on to Christianize the social order".⁶⁷ The fact that Baptists were the only Protestant church that had struck some root among the Slavic population of the Russian Empire, especially in Ukraine, gave Baptist missionaries in Canada an important edge over other proselytizers. As

⁶⁶ See, for instance, John Burgon Bickersteth, *The Land of Open Doors; Being Letters from Western Canada* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, 1914).

⁶⁷ Robert Smale, *For Whose Kingdom: Canadian Baptists and the Evangelization of Immigrants and Refugees, 1880 to 1945* (Ed.D thesis, University of Toronto, 2001), p. 48.

mentioned in Chapter 2, small and close-knit groups of Ukrainians and Russians of Baptist faith had existed in most of the empire's western provinces since the mid-nineteenth century, when evangelist teachings first began to spread to the local peasantry from German colonists. As a result, in their missionary work among the immigrants, Canadian Baptists could rely on a small but dedicated cadre of Russian-born preachers, of whom most had been converted to the Baptist faith in the old country and later come to Canada in an attempt to escape persecution by the Russian government and the Orthodox church. A 1916 report on Baptist work among the Russians stated, perhaps too optimistically, that "'Baptist' to [the Russians] needs no explanation as does 'Methodist' or 'Presbyterian'. It is native to the Russian'.⁶⁸ The importance of having missionaries (even if few and far between) who spoke the language of the immigrants and were familiar with their customs was well understood by Baptists, who, of all Protestant churches, probably placed the greatest emphasis on personal contact between the missionary and his or her audience.⁶⁹

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, Baptist missionary work was restricted mostly to German and Scandinavian immigrants, and it was not until the late 1890s that they also began to target Galician and Doukhobor settlers on the Prairies. As early as 1897, George Burgdorff, a German missionary who reportedly knew some Russian, was sent by the Home Mission Board of the Baptist Convention of Manitoba (BCMNB) and the

⁶⁸ CBA, box "Baptist Union Historical", typescript dated 1916, author unknown, p.1.

⁶⁹ See Smale, *For Whose Kingdom*, p. 83.

Northwest to preach the gospel to the Slavic immigrants.⁷⁰ Canada's first Baptist preacher of Slavic origin was probably Sil'vestr Muzh, who was exiled from Russia in 1899 for his beliefs and began missionary work among Galician Ukrainians at Stuartburn, the Dauphin-Sifton area and, later, Winnipeg.⁷¹ The arrival of new groups of Baptist exiles from Eastern Ukraine in the early 1900s soon broadened the Baptist immigrant constituency in the West and increased the number of preachers who could minister both to old adherents and to potential converts in their own language. Ivan Shakotko, a native of Chernigov Province, came to Canada with his family in the spring of 1903 and the next year organized a Russian Baptist Church in Winnipeg.⁷² In 1905, a church building was erected. In five years, the membership of the congregation rose from 15 to 24, and a Sunday school was established with H. Hilton, a local Baptist missionary and reportedly a fluent Russian speaker, as schoolmaster.⁷³ The dedication and organizing abilities of Shakotko were quickly recognized by the BCMN, which appointed him the "missionary to the Russo-Ukrainian people of the West" at a salary of \$50 per month and sent to establish new Baptist parishes in Saskatchewan, which by then had become the main destination of Baptist immigration from Russia. Travelling across the western provinces, the tireless missionary preached to Doukhobor, Eastern Ukrainian and Ruthenian farmers

⁷⁰ CBA, *Mission Work in Manitoba and the Northwest. Reports Submitted to the Baptist Convention of Manitoba and the Northwest and the Women's Baptist Home and Foreign Missionary Society of Manitoba and the Northwest, Winnipeg, July 4th and 5th, 1900*, p. 5.

⁷¹ CBA, *Manitoba and the North-West. Some Facts Regarding Rapid Settlement, Religions, etc., also Reports on Baptist Missions, Showing the Present Urgent Need of Vigorous Prosecution of the Work* [n.p., 1901?], p. 7; also Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 1, file 46, Sil'vestr Muzh to Struve, 8 July 1903.

⁷² A short biography of Shakotko and a description of his Canadian activities are found in CBA, Western Collection, Ivan Shakotko file.

⁷³ *The Year Book of the Baptist Union of Western Canada 1910*, p. 142

(some of them already Baptist converts) in Eagle Creek, Canora, Rosthern, Blaine Lake, Lizard Lake and other settlements. In 1909, the first “Russian and Galician” Baptist conference was held in Canora. It resolved to establish a monthly religious paper in the Russian language, to increase the number of Sunday schools, and seek the appointment of a “General Missionary to the Russian and Galician people” of Canada.⁷⁴ By 1912, there were five ordained Slavic missionaries and five organized Slavic churches in western Canada (one in Manitoba, one in Alberta and three in Saskatchewan) with a total membership of 171.⁷⁵

While by the mid-1900s Baptist work among Ukrainians and other Slavs had made some progress, it was confined, with the single exception of Winnipeg, to the rural areas of the Canadian West and rarely touched labour migrants. The vast opportunities opened by the growing number of foreign workers in Canadian urban centres, particularly those of Eastern Canada, were not lost on Baptist church leaders, but the shortage of Slavic-speaking missionaries hindered the expansion of work into this new and promising field. In this situation, John (Ivan Alekseevich) Kolesnikoff, a 53-year-old Baptist preacher of Russian origin, who arrived in Toronto in 1908 from Scranton, Pennsylvania, reportedly to survey potential opportunities for missionary work, was indeed a “man sent from God” to help Canadian Baptists in spreading their word among Slavic urban immigrants.

Kolesnikoff’s name has made a few short appearances in Canadian ethnic historiography, primarily in studies of immigrant Toronto, but his full story still remains

⁷⁴ *The Year Book of the Baptist Union of Western Canada 1909*, p. 102-103.

⁷⁵ *The Baptist Year Book 1912*, p. 24.

to be told.⁷⁶ A man of outstanding preaching talent and dedication verging on fanaticism, he was by far the most successful Baptist immigrant missionary in early twentieth-century Canada. Born in 1855 in Kherson (Southern Ukraine), he lost his parents at an early age and was placed in an Orthodox church orphanage. Intent on becoming a priest, he successfully graduated from a theological seminary, but after a conflict with the Synod hierarchy over the place of his first missionary assignment, broke with the church and joined an underground socialist group.⁷⁷ His conversion to the Baptist faith (which reportedly occurred around 1883) and the beginning of his activities as a preacher were the result of his meeting with a Baptist missionary, who introduced the young rebellious mind to the Scripture. Undeterred by a term in prison for preaching a forbidden religion and banished from his native Kherson, Kolesnikoff went to Odessa, where he helped organize a number of missions and preaching stations. Alarmed by his popularity, the authorities forced him to move to Bessarabia, where he continued preaching the gospel, this time among the small sect of Russian Quakers, who enjoyed limited religious freedom in tsarist Russia. Four years later he left Russia altogether and spent thirteen years in Romania and Bulgaria. Working in partnership with a Bulgarian Baptist

⁷⁶ Robert Harney and Harold Troper, eds., *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930* (Toronto: Van Nostrand, 1975), p. 145; Lillian Petroff, *Sojourners and Settlers: The Macedonian Community in Toronto to 1940* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1995), p. 60-61; Zoriana Yaworsky Sokolsky, "The Beginnings of Ukrainian Settlement in Toronto, 1891-1939", in Robert F. Harney, ed., *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985), p. 287-288; Smale, *For Whose Kingdom*, p. 84-85. Unfortunately, Smale's dissertation is focussed primarily on the doctrinal attitudes of Canadian Baptists towards immigrants but has very little to say about the practical work of the missions.

⁷⁷ Biographical data on Kolesnikoff are obtained from various printed material collected in the John Kolesnikoff file held in CBA, particularly from an offprint entitled "Sacrifice, the Supreme Law of Service: A Biographical Sketch of Rev. J. Kolesnikoff, Russian Baptist Missionary" (year and source unknown, probably early 1920s) and a photocopy of an article by C.H. Schutt, "Rev. John Kolesnikoff", which appeared in *Home Mission Digest*, vol. 2, 1955, pp. 83-86.

missionary Peter Doycheff, he was reported to have brought more than a hundred new converts to the church. In 1903, he emigrated to the United States with his wife and three children to work among fellow Slavs in Scranton, where he soon established a vibrant Russo-Ukrainian Baptist mission.

The next day after his arrival in Toronto in late July 1908, Kolesnikoff could be seen preaching, singing Gospel songs and reading the Bible at the corner of Trinity Square and King Street, attracting dozens of curious listeners with his oratorical skill and remarkable ability to switch between at least four languages during a sermon.⁷⁸ During the following month, he visited the homes of several hundred Macedonian, Polish, Ruthenian and Russian immigrants in the city's centre ward and in the East End, combining his visits with regular outdoor sermons. In early September, the Baptist Home Mission Board, impressed with his achievements, appointed him as a missionary to the "foreign population of Toronto" with a monthly salary of \$75.⁷⁹ In the autumn of 1908, two mission halls were set up – one on King Street East for Macedonians and Bulgarians (later turned over to a Macedonian preacher Michael Andoff), the other on Alice Street for "Russians and Ukrainians". In 1913, a second Russian mission was opened in West Toronto on Dundas Street.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Some contemporaries claimed that Kolesnikoff was able to speak fluently as many as seven different languages.

⁷⁹ CBA, Home Mission Board Minutes, Meeting of the Executive, 11 September 1908.

⁸⁰ CBA, John Kolesnikoff file, "Sacrifice, the Supreme Law of Service", p. 26. In 1910, the Alice Street mission was relocated to Simcoe Street, and in 1911 to Elizabeth Street, where it remained until late 1914, when it was amalgamated with the Beverley Street Baptist Church for reasons of financial economy. The latter move, however, was admittedly a failure, and two years later the mission again received its own separate hall, this time at 124 York Street. The Dundas Street mission existed for only about two years and was closed in 1915. See *Baptist Year Book 1910*, p. 309; CBA, minutes of the annual meeting of the Home Mission Board, 6 December 1915;

The missions became centres of vigorous evangelical and social activities. Regular prayer meetings and Bible readings alternated with English-language classes, “lantern lectures” on social issues (with topics varying from the prevention of tuberculosis to the stopping of liquor traffic) and concerts of the Macedonian brass band. A dispensary functioned at the King Street mission once a week, providing free medical treatment. All three missions also operated as labour exchanges. In 1909, Kolesnikoff began to publish a sixteen-page semi-monthly *The Witness of the Truth* in the Ukrainian language, which was distributed across North America as well as in Russia and Austria. Hymn books and religious tracts in Russian and Ukrainian were also printed. In their missionary activities Kolesnikoff and Andoff were assisted by the Women’s Baptist Home Missionary Society, which sent volunteers to the Toronto Slavic missions to organize classes of sewing and “household science”, teach night and Sunday school and visit immigrants’ homes.⁸¹

More than anything else, Kolesnikoff was driven by a vision of transforming the derided “foreigners”, compared by his own Canadian co-religionists to the “hordes of barbarians from the north that overwhelmed Rome”,⁸² into enlightened Christians. While the “Canadianization” part of the missionary work was probably less important for him and for other Russian-born preachers than it was for native-born social reformers, he emphasized the civilizing aspects of Protestant Christianity on Slavic immigrants in

minutes of the executive meeting, 21 February 1916; Minute Book of the Beverley Street Baptist Church, church meetings of 8 November 1914 and 29 October 1916.

⁸¹ *Baptist Year Book 1912*, p. 38-39; CBA, John Kolesnikoff file, “Rev. John Kolesnikoff” by C.H. Schutt, p. 85.

⁸² *Baptist Year Book 1913*, p. 86.

Canada (whom he often called “my people”), seeing evangelization as the shortest road to equality and respect within Canadian society: “You English say, ‘Scratch a Slav and find a Tartar’. I want you to give them the Gospel. When they have the Gospel, you will not say, ‘Scratch a Slav and find a Tartar’, but ‘Scratch a Slav and find a Christian’ ”. These words, reported to be said by Kolesnikoff on his deathbed (he died in March 1918), are probably the best summary of the motives that guided him in his missionary pursuits.⁸³ From his headquarters in Toronto he travelled widely across eastern Canada, seeking to establish new missions and performing *de facto* the role of a General Slavic (Baptist) Missionary – the position he would be formally appointed to in early 1915. In July 1909, he sent Peter Shostak, a missionary from eastern Ukraine, to preach in Fort William at the annual salary of \$200 provided by the Baptist Home Board Mission.⁸⁴ In the following years, Russian Baptist missions also sprang up in Hamilton, Welland, Berlin, Port Arthur and London – all important centres of Slavic immigration from the Russian and Habsburg empires. The missions in Welland and Hamilton were run by Kolesnikoff’s two sons, appropriately named Peter and Paul.⁸⁵ By 1911, Baptist missionary activities expanded in scope to include Montreal, where a group of about forty Ukrainians and other Slavic immigrants in Montreal had petitioned the Home Board Mission “for a missionary who could speak the Polish and Ruthenian languages”.⁸⁶ In February 1912, Kolesnikoff was

⁸³ *Baptist Year Book 1918*, p. 71.

⁸⁴ CBA, Home Mission Board Minutes, executive meeting, 28 July 1909.

⁸⁵ CBA, Home Mission Board Minutes, executive meetings of 26 September 1911; 23 June 1914; 3 November 1914; 4 December 1914; quarterly meeting of the Home Mission Board, 5 January 1915. See also the Paul John Kolesnikoff file, which contains his obituary (he died in 1974).

⁸⁶ *Baptist Year Book 1912*, p. 90.

dispatched to the city to train the new missionary Alex Naydovitch, a former labour activist and a recent convert to the Baptist church. The same month, with the help of the First Baptist Church of Montreal, which supplied the furnishings and provided teaching staff for the night school, a mission for Russian and Ruthenian immigrants was opened on Brown Street, on the edge of a large Slavic colony in the city's Hochelaga ward.⁸⁷

By 1914, thanks to the efforts of Kolesnikoff and his associates, Baptists were well ahead of the other Protestant churches in missionary work among Slavic immigrants in the urban centres of Eastern Canada. In many Ontario cities, including Toronto, Baptist missions appeared earlier than Russian Orthodox or Greek Catholic parishes. In April 1915, when the city's Eastern Orthodox immigrants still possessed no place of worship, the Russian Baptist congregation of Toronto had a membership of 53 (consisting of Ukrainians and Belarusians, with a few Poles and Russians proper), and Georgii Kurilovich, one of Kolesnikoff's lieutenants, was accepted at McMaster College to study for the ministry.⁸⁸ By 1916, through a network of Russian secret police agents in North America, reports of Kolesnikoff's successful proselytizing activities in Toronto reached the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Petrograd, which branded him as a dangerous agitator spreading "anti-Russian propaganda under the guise of preaching the gospel".⁸⁹ The ubiquitous missionary also became a thorn in the side of Toronto's newly established Russian Orthodox church. In November 1916, its priest, Mikhail Kaimakan, complained

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ See the list of the Russian members of the Beverley Street Church in CBA, Beverley Street Baptist Church Minutes, 1911-1932, quarterly business meeting, 28 April 1915.

⁸⁹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 21, file 705, a copy of the letter from the Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 17 January 1917.

to the Russian consulate general that Kolesnikoff delivered anti-Russian and pro-German sermons at the corner of Royce and Edwin avenues, the site of the Orthodox church. At Likhachev's insistence, the police conducted an investigation by dispatching a Russian-speaking agent to one of Kolesnikoff's open-air prayer meetings, but found no anti-Allied statements in his sermons.⁹⁰

What brought Ukrainian, Belarusan and other East European immigrant workers to Baptist (or, for that matter, other Protestant) missions and how serious was their commitment to Protestantism? Historian Lillian Petroff rightly observed that the vast majority of Macedonian immigrants in Toronto simply used the educational and work opportunities offered by the proselytizers without abandoning their faith or cultural heritage.⁹¹ There is no reason to believe that the motives of Slavic immigrants from tsarist Russia were substantially different, with the exception of those few who had adopted the Baptist faith in the homeland. If the numbers of formal conversions among the immigrants can be used as an indicator of success, they always remained low. Thus, in 1916, only four baptized converts were reported in Toronto and nine in Montreal, the figures for other years being similar.⁹² Most of those who frequented the missions probably came for information or assistance or simply used them as an opportunity to socialize. For others, belonging to a Baptist congregation was a form of intellectual protest against the ritualistic practices and statist attitudes of the Russian Orthodox Church or perhaps simply satisfied intellectual curiosity. In any case, it seems that very

⁹⁰ Ibid., Kaimakan to Likhachev, 17 November 1916; Likhachev to A.P. Sherwood, 23 November 1916; Sherwood to Likhachev, 13 December 1916.

⁹¹ Petroff, *Sojourners and Settlers*, p. 63.

⁹² *Baptist Year Book 1916*, pp. 67, 241.

few embraced the new faith wholeheartedly and irreversibly. The fact that Baptist missions did not depend on financial contributions from their Slavic members gave them a short-time advantage over the traditional churches, particularly in times of economic trouble. It may not be accidental that the zenith of the Baptist missionary work fell on the time of economic depression of 1913-1915.

Eventually, however, the progress of social adaptation and an improving economy began to draw many immigrants away from the missions, which increasingly experienced difficulties maintaining their membership, let alone recruiting new adherents. After 1915, the size of "Russian" Baptist congregations in large urban areas began to shrink. The departure of many immigrants to Europe after August 1914, both as war reservists and to escape economic depression, also cut deeply into the Baptist constituency, which could no longer be replenished by new immigration. When economic prosperity returned in late 1915, many of the old adherents, lured away by high wartime wages and broadening opportunities of employment, did not come back. The itinerant way of life pursued by most Slavic migrants, characterized by the Home Mission Board as people "of a restless, roving disposition", presented as much difficulty to Protestant missions as it did for the Russian Orthodox parishes. The number of "non-resident members" of Slavic Baptist congregations began to grow: in 1919, only nine of the thirty-four members of the York Street mission in Toronto still remained in the city.⁹³ The death of Kolesnikoff at the age of 63 in March 1918 added to the mounting troubles. For about a year and a half, the Toronto Russian mission was led by his daughter Sarah and his son-in-law Paul Ambrosimoff. After both left Toronto in September 1919, the mission went into further

⁹³ *Baptist Year Book 1919*, p. 76.

decline, with barely ten people regularly attending the services. It was finally closed in May 1921, with a view of amalgamating all Slavic work in the city in a single mission hall in the Junction district.⁹⁴

There was also increasing tension between the Russian-born preachers and Canadian Baptist missionaries assigned to Slavic work. In June 1917, the Home Mission Board had to admit that work in Montreal “was not making progress” because of “a constantly widening breach” between Alex Naydovitch and one Miss Owen, sent to assist him by the Women’s Baptist Missionary Society.⁹⁵ While the precise causes of the misunderstanding were not specified, one wonders if Russian-born preachers and their Slavic flock simply found it difficult to bear with the inability (or perhaps unwillingness) of Anglo-Saxon Baptist workers to adjust to the specific socio-cultural environment of the immigrant missions and to the different mentality of their Slavic members. This conclusion comes to mind especially in view of the fact that three years earlier similar friction had emerged between Kolesnikoff and his female Canadian assistant in the Toronto mission.⁹⁶ It is also possible that both the members of the Russian congregations and their Russian-born leaders resisted the forced Canadianization that the Anglo-Saxon missionaries attempted to impose on them. This might be one of the reasons why in 1919 the Russian-born members of the Montreal mission demanded that their pastors be

⁹⁴ CBA, Home Mission Board Minutes, joint meeting of the Finance Committee and the Executive Committee of the Home Mission Board, 16 March 1921.

⁹⁵ CBA, Home Mission Board Records, quarterly meeting of the Home Mission Board, 19 June 1917.

⁹⁶ CBA, Home Mission Board Records, executive meeting, 23 June 1914.

selected only from their own midst even if they had not been formally ordained.⁹⁷

Apparently, both Naydovitch and his flock also struggled with the notion of an unmarried woman as a church worker, which was foreign (except in the case of nuns) to the Russian and East European tradition. According to the Home Mission Board's report, the Slavic members of the congregation were "unable to appreciate or comprehend the position and motive of an *English Bible Woman*, and her day to day activities suggest to their mind an improper familiarity on the part of the Bible Woman".⁹⁸ It was decided, therefore, to remove Owen from the mission and give her position on a part-time basis to Mrs. Alex Naydovitch.

Ethnic and political antagonisms exacerbated by the war and European revolutionary and national movements also took their toll on Slavic Baptist communities. By late 1918, the Montreal Slavic mission was in the throes of another conflict – this time between its "Russian" and "Ruthenian" members, in which the use of the Russian language in the services was a major issue. Accused of pro-Russian sympathies and taking illegitimate monetary rewards from the Russians, Naydovich finally had to resign and soon left Montreal. Conciliatory efforts by the Home Mission Board brought no result, and in 1919 the mission split into two separate – Russian and Ruthenian (Ukrainian) – congregations.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ CBA, Home Mission Board Records, semi-annual meeting of the Home Mission Board, 15 May 1919.

⁹⁸ CBA, Home Mission Board Records, quarterly meeting of the Home Mission Board, 19 June 1917.

⁹⁹ CBA, Home Mission Board Records, semi-annual meeting of the Home Mission Board, 15 May 1919.

Despite the efforts of the Home Mission Board, which was willing to accommodate to a certain extent the special needs of its ethnic congregations, by 1920 Slavic mission work across Canada was back at square one. Slavic Baptist communities in eastern and northern Ontario struggled with financial adversity, diminishing membership and often with the hostile attitudes of the traditional churches and their adherents. Missions in some Ontario cities had to be closed altogether and their property sold. In search of a solution, the Home Mission Board began shifting the emphasis from immigrant men to the slowly increasing urban population of Slavic women and children and giving more control over the Slavic missions to the Baptist Women's Missionary Society.¹⁰⁰ In sum, towards the early 1920s, Baptist "Slavic work" in Canada came to a crossroads, with opinions regarding its future widely divided.

Although other Protestant denominations in early twentieth-century Canada also tried to reach the "Russians" through mission work, their efforts were less ethnically pointed and had a more sporadic character. Presbyterians, who could boast considerable success among Ukrainians on the Prairies, began to turn their attention to the "Russians" only in the mid-1910s. In November 1913, a Russian Presbyterian mission in Winnipeg, with a reading room and regular lectures, was added to the city's several Ruthenian missions.¹⁰¹ The mission was regularly visited by workers from Russia, attracted by free Russian-language journals and newspapers, and became a source of permanent concern to the nearby Russian Progressive Club, which could not afford the luxury of not charging

¹⁰⁰ CBA, Home Mission Board Minutes, annual meeting of the Home Mission Board, 6 November 1919; *Baptist Year Book 1919*, pp. 235-237.

¹⁰¹ A Lettish Canadian, *Russians in Europe and in Canada* [n.p, n.d.], p. 21.

its readers for the use of the library.¹⁰² In Toronto, the Presbyterian Social Service Institute for Non-Anglo-Saxons, run from February 1913 by a Russian-born preacher Michael Sherbinin, served Ruthenians, Russians and other immigrant workers, holding Sunday and weeknight services, lectures and providing reading facilities.¹⁰³

Among 23 missions for “foreigners” established by the Methodist church prior to August 1914, none catered specifically to “Russians” (compare this, for instance, to no less than 8 Italian Methodist missions that existed by 1917).¹⁰⁴ Methodist social workers, however, reached labourers from Russia through ethnically mixed missions, which welcomed all immigrants regardless of nationality. Thus, annual reports of the All People’s Mission in Winnipeg, run by a prominent social reformer J.S. Woodsworth, regularly listed “Russian” children enrolled in its Sunday school as well as “Russian” workers attending night classes.¹⁰⁵ In the Sault St. Marie area, with a population of several thousand immigrant labourers, the Methodist church established a mission to the “Finns, Russians and Syrians”, while the Presbyterians were responsible for the

¹⁰² *Novyi mir*, 18 September 1915.

¹⁰³ United Church Archives, Victoria University (hereafter UCA); *Presbyterian Church of Canada. Board of Social Service and Evangelism. Report for 1913*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ UCA, fonds 14 (Methodist Church Missionary Society), series 4 (Home Mission Records), box 4, file 10, “Report of Central Committee on the Work among European Foreigners in Canada [1917]”.

¹⁰⁵ UCA, fonds 14, series 4, box 7, file 2, All People’s Mission’s annual report, 1907-08; J.S. Woodsworth to James Allen, 10 April 1908; file 3, All People’s Mission’s annual report, 1908-09. Since “Russians” were listed along with “Ruthenians”, it is likely that the former term was used to designate Slavic immigrants from the Russian Empire as opposed to those from Austria-Hungary.

Italians.¹⁰⁶ The division of missionary work along ethnic or territorial lines between the two churches, which maintained friendly relations, existed in other places as well.

Unlike Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists, the Anglican Church in early twentieth-century Canada stayed away from proselytizing among non-English-speaking immigrants. However, some Anglican parishes provided assistance or church space to local Slavic immigrants, including Ukrainians and Belarusians from the Russian Empire. These acts of benevolence were grounded in the amicable relations, which existed between the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Church of England.¹⁰⁷ In contrast to other Protestant churches, these acts were not accompanied by attempts to poach souls. On the contrary, the Anglicans displayed a surprising readiness to adjust as much as possible to Orthodox ways and customs and did not use aggressive evangelist rhetoric, which was probably the main reason for the success of their efforts. The most remarkable example of “cohabitation” between an Anglican parish and a Russian Orthodox community occurred in Halifax, where Rev. V.E. Harris of the All Saints’ Cathedral began in June 1914 to hold weekly Orthodox-rite services for the local “Russians” “until such time as a priest of their own Church may be sent to minister to them”.¹⁰⁸ By the end of the year, the services, initially held in English of necessity, were conducted “almost entirely in Russian”, and sacraments such as baptisms and marriages were performed as well. The parish even purchased a plot of land at the local St. John’s

¹⁰⁶ UCA, fonds 14, series 4, box 4, file 10, “Report of Central Committee on the Work among European Foreigners in Canada [1917]”.

¹⁰⁷ See on this: Gordon Hern, *Russians in Canada* (Toronto, n.d. [1926]), p. 7-8.

¹⁰⁸ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 21, file 651, “All Saints’ Cathedral. Halifax, Nova Scotia. Annual Report, 1914”, p. 18.

Cemetery for the burial of its “adopted” Russian Orthodox members. In December 1914, night classes were organized for the local “Russian colony”, taught by student volunteers from Dalhousie College. Significantly, the classes had a purely educational character, with no religion taught.¹⁰⁹ Harris’ efforts received the support of Consul Sergei Likhachev, who sent him money for the purpose of assisting needy immigrants. The co-operation between Anglican clergy and Orthodox immigrants in various Canadian cities would continue into the 1920s.

Several religious denominations in early twentieth-century Canada vied for the souls of Russian-born immigrant workers, attempting to organize them into viable church communities. In virtually every case, these efforts were inextricably linked to larger political goals. Maintaining an allegiance to Russian Orthodoxy was inseparable from a pro-Russian and, for the time being, pro-tsarist orientation, while the adoption of a Protestant faith usually involved a renunciation of old-country heritage. Despite some initial successes, attempts to harness the predominantly male population of transient labourers to the church and inculcate it with religious piety largely proved a failure, not least because of the lack of the family element in the “Russian colonies”. While the decline of the Russian Baptist and the less numerous Presbyterian and Methodist missions was largely due to the gap that separated Protestant *Weltanschauung* from the culture and traditions of the Eastern European peasantry, the Russian Orthodox Mission in North America fell victim to its close association with the tsarist monarchy, which by 1916 was in a state of irreparable crisis. It hardly comes as a surprise that, incapable of

¹⁰⁹ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 21, file 651, “All Saints’ Cathedral. Halifax, Nova Scotia. Annual Report, 1915”, p. 16; Henry Mathers to Likhachev, 10 February 1915.

keeping the allegiance of its predominantly peasant subjects at home, the Russian tsarist state could not accomplish a similar task in the North American democracies with their free market of secular and religious teachings. Left without a clear political orientation after the double shock of the February and October revolutions of 1917, the Russian Orthodox mission in North America – the main arm of the Russian state in the emigrant diaspora – proved unable to muster either sufficient moral authority or the necessary resources to keep thousands of itinerant Ukrainian and Belarusian peasant-workers in Canada in the Orthodox fold. In North America no less than in Russia, socialism had emerged as a powerful alternative to church and religion for all those who were too impatient to wait for eternal happiness in the other world.

CHAPTER 7

BOLSHEVIKS OR REBELS? IMMIGRANTS AND SOCIALISM

Canada's Ukrainian and Belarusian immigrants hailed from rural societies with no traditions of organized labour and socialist movement that could be transplanted to the New World. However, industrial backwardness *per se* did not necessarily preclude the emergence of socialism as an intellectual movement, which recruited its first ideologues and followers from the ranks of the intelligentsia or nobility. With few distinctly Ukrainian or Belarusian socialist groups existing in the Russian Empire, the first attempts to inculcate the small landholders and rural proletariat on the western frontier with elemental class consciousness were made by the much stronger Russian socialist organizations. By the early 1900s, Russia's two largest socialist parties – the Russian Social Revolutionary Party and the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) – had both established their cells in the empire's western provinces, even though their influence outside the predominantly Russian- and Jewish-populated industrial centres of the Left-Bank and Southern Ukraine remained minimal.¹ Some Russian socialists, forced out of the country by tsarist repression, found themselves in North America, where they soon discovered a growing constituency of compatriots and potential followers composed primarily of peasant-workers from Belarus and eastern Ukraine. Not necessarily of ethnic Russian origin, most of these socialists nonetheless regarded themselves and their fledgling organizations as part of the all-Russian socialist movement and saw the demands of the empire's non-Russians as subordinate to the principal goal of social liberation. Although the spectrum of émigré socialist groups included some that defined

¹ See, for instance, R.C. Elwood, *Russian Social Democracy in the Underground: A Study of the RSDRP in the Ukraine, 1907-1914* (Assen: VanGorcum, 1974), p. 274.

themselves as “Russo-Ukrainian” rather than simply Russian, they made no consistent effort to mobilize their immigrant constituency along the lines of ethnicity. The pattern of Russian socialist organizations in North America as multi-ethnic organizations, usually open to any Russian-speaking native of the empire, was retained throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century and, to a large extent, even in the later decades.

The Bolshevik revolution in Russia and the ensuing “Red Scare”, which swept through Canada and the United States in 1918-1920, created a lasting image of “Russians” (the term, as usual, could include any native of the former empire) as an immigrant group especially susceptible to radical agitation. In 1919, most Canadians were probably convinced that every Russian-born immigrant was a member of the Bolshevik party plotting a socialist revolution. Although the intensity of such perceptions waned in subsequent years, Canadian suspicions of the “Russians” as potential bearers of ideas dangerous for Canadian democracy never completely disappeared. To what extent were these stereotypes grounded in historical reality? Were Russian-born immigrants in early twentieth-century Canada as prone to radicalism as they were routinely portrayed? Who were the Russian émigré radicals and how did they attempt to mobilize the immigrant masses? These are the questions that the present chapter will attempt to answer.

The small cohort of Russian émigré socialists in early twentieth-century Canada could not boast the authority and intellectual rigour of Lev Deich, Sergei Ingerman, Leon Trotsky or Nikolai Bukharin, all affiliated at different times (and for various periods) with the Russian socialist movement in the United States.² In contrast to Western Europe

² See A. Chernenko, *Rossiiskaia revoliutsionnaia emigratsiia v Amerike: konets XIX v. – 1917 g.* (Kiev: Vyshcha shkola, 1989).

or even the United States, Canada never became a major destination for political emigration from tsarist Russia. A remote and predominantly rural land with weak traditions of organized labour protest, it held little appeal for “elite” Russian socialists, who preferred to settle in the warmer and more culturally hospitable climate of Switzerland or France or at least in bustling New York or Chicago. Nonetheless, small numbers of political dissenters of lesser prominence, including fugitives from tsarist justice, did find their way to Canada, especially after the Russian revolution of 1905-07. The largest single group of Russian political expatriates that chose Canada as their destination were probably former sailors who had participated in the famous 1905 mutiny on the Russian battleship *Potemkin* and afterwards escaped to Romania. Among those of them who came to Canada were Russians David Borodin, Vasilii Zverev and Pavel Peresedov, Ukrainians Karp Babchenko and Stepan Denisenko and several others.³ In 1912, several former *Potemkin* crewmen settled with their families on farms near Nelson, British Columbia, in the vicinity of a large Doukhobor colony. While some of them appear to have opted out of political activities, others came to play an active role in the socialist and labour movement.⁴

Before the times when immigrant radicalism began to be perceived as a threat, Russian political exiles enjoyed sympathetic attitudes in Canada, and some received a good deal of publicity, helping to perpetuate the unsavoury image of tsarist Russia, already well entrenched in the public opinion. On occasion, Canadian newspapers carried

³ Chernenko, *Rossiiskaia revoliutsionnaia emigratsiia*, p. 79-80.

⁴ See G.I. Luzianin, *Rossia i Kanada v1893-1927* (Moskva: Prometei, 1997), p. 79; *Novyi mir*, 14 June 1912.

sensationalist stories of Russian revolutionaries who escaped Siberian exile and made their way to Canada.⁵ In 1910, the Canadian public was stirred by a Manitoba court decision to extradite Savva Fedorenko, a Social Revolutionary militant of Ukrainian origin wanted by the Russian authorities for the alleged murder of a policeman in his native Kiev Province.⁶ When Fedorenko was arrested by the police after his arrival in Winnipeg, Canadian socialist organizations, including the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) and its Jewish, Ukrainian and other ethnic branches, established a “League for the Defence of Russian Revolutionaries” and launched an international campaign against his deportation. As the Fedorenko case was being appealed in the Manitoba provincial court, the League held numerous public meetings and fundraising events, collecting an impressive \$2,600 in Canada and \$2,500 in the United States for the Fedorenko Defence Fund.⁷ The campaign received nation-wide press coverage, becoming one of the early examples of working co-operation between ethnic and mainstream socialist and labour organizations in Canada. In December 1910 the Manitoba court of appeal rescinded the deportation order on technical grounds (the extradition procedure was judged to be not wholly compliant with the 1886 Anglo-Russian extradition treaty) but the political motives of the verdict were transparent. Fedorenko was released and wisely chose to

⁵ See, for instance, a story entitled “Tragic Tale of Girl’s Escape from Russia’s Frozen Prison” in the *Vancouver Sun*, 3 June 1914, which related the biography of one such exile, Marie Sucloff.

⁶ More about official Russian attitudes to the Fedorenko case can be found in Vadim Kukushkin, “Protectors and Watchdogs: Tsarist Consular Supervision of Russian-Subject Immigrants in Canada, 1900-1922”, *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XLIV, nos. 3-4 (September-December 2002): 224-225.

⁷ The use of funds (approximately \$800) left over from the Fedorenko defence campaign later became a source of friction among various ethnic socialist groups. See *Novyi mir*, 29 November 1912.

leave Canada before the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council, on appeal by the Canadian Department of Justice, upheld the deportation verdict in July 1911.⁸

While some Russian socialist exiles in early twentieth-century Canada came and went (usually to the United States), an increasing number remained in the country and made attempts to join Canadian socialist groups or form their own organizations. A few Russian-born émigré socialists of Ukrainian origin found themselves at home in the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats, established in 1909 by a circle of left-wing Galician intelligentsia and later renamed the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (USDP). Pavlo Krat (Ternenko), a romantic nationalist and social radical, was both the most colourful and the most controversial figure among Russian-born émigrés who participated in the Ukrainian socialist movement, but he was by no means the only one.⁹ Thus, Matvii (Matthew) Shatulsky, a miner from the town of Bazalia in Volhynia, was among the organizers of the socialist-oriented Taras Shevchenko Self-Education Association in Edmonton and later became one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Labour and Farmer Temple Association.¹⁰ Lev Mikhnevich, a native of Podolia and one of the organizers of the Sudbury branch of the USDP, had been involved in the Russian Social Revolutionary movement since 1902. Sentenced to imprisonment for his participation in

⁸ National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Likacheff-Ragosine-Mathers Collection, MG30 E406 (hereafter Li-Ra-Ma Collection), vol. 19, file 630, L. Newcombe to N. Struve, 7 October 1911.

⁹ Krat's views and activities have been discussed elsewhere. See, for instance, Nadia Kazymyra, "The Defiant Pavlo Krat and the Early Socialist Movement in Canada", *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 10, 2 (1978): 38-54.

¹⁰ For Shatulsky's biography, see Peter Krawchuk, *The Life and Work of Matthew Shatulsky* (Toronto: Kobzar, 1991); see also the Shatulsky file in the Li-Ra-Ma Collection (vol. 96, file 11112).

revolutionary activities, he managed to escape to Galicia, where he spent three years before arriving in Canada in 1911.¹¹ Despite the USDP's primarily Galician origins and membership, it attracted into its ranks some eastern Ukrainians (such as Krat or Shatulsky) who were conscious of their Ukrainian identity as well as a number of Russians, Poles and other Slavs, who lacked their own labour organizations before 1910. Thus, David Borodin (one of the *Potemkin* crew) and Evgueni Volodin, both of Russian origin, served in 1913 on the editorial staff of the Working People's Publishing Association established by the FUSD.¹²

The first Russian socialist groups in Canada, which appeared by 1911-12, were no match (with one or two exceptions) to their more numerous and better established Ukrainian counterparts. Yet on the eve of the world war, Russian radical circles representing various brands of the socialist faith existed not only in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and Winnipeg, but also in smaller industrial centres such as Timmins. The majority of them (with the exception of those on the West Coast, where Russians and Ossetians seemed to predominate) were composed mostly of Ukrainians and Belarusans. However, the large representation of ethnic Russians and Jews, characteristic of Russian socialist parties operating in Ukraine and Belarus and especially pronounced at the leadership level, was reproduced in Canada. The radical émigré intelligentsia, which constituted the first category of Russian socialist leaders in Canada, was almost

¹¹ See the Mikhnevich file (vol. 46, file 3028) in the Li-Ra-Ma Collection; also Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), p. 447, 47n.

¹² *Robochyi narod*, 25 November 1915; Orest Martynowych, "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada, 1900-1918", *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies* 2, 1 (Spring 1977): 24. Martynowych also mentions a certain Sanin, another Russian member of the *Robochyi narod* editorial staff.

exclusively of Russian or Jewish ethnic origin. Some Russian Jewish émigrés, fluent in both Russian and Yiddish, also involved themselves in the growing Jewish-Canadian socialist movement. Solomon Almazov, who came to Canada in 1913 at the age of 23 and two years later began studies in economics and philosophy at the University of Manitoba, was both a leading member of Winnipeg's Russian Social Democrat local and, by 1918, the editor of *Die Volksstimme*, a Jewish socialist paper issued in Winnipeg.¹³ Along with the more educated *intelligenty*, Russian socialist groups in Canada also included a category of "grassroots" activists, who came to the socialist movement through personal encounters with capitalist exploitation or tsarist repression and whose peasant origin and lack of intellectual finesse were usually compensated by an ability to find the way to the mind of the rank-and-file labourer. This second group was more likely to include ethnic Ukrainians (such as Shatulsky) and Belarusians, both virtually absent from the intelligentsia cohort. Thus Iosif Rabizo, one of the chief organizers of the Russian Social Revolutionary group in Montreal, was a native of a Belarusian village in Vil'na Province. Educated at a district rural college (*narodnoe uchilishche*), he spent several years as a steelworker in St. Petersburg before arriving in Montreal around 1913. By 1915, Rabizo broke up with the Social Revolutionaries over their support of the war and joined Montreal's Russian Social Democratic branch, only to leave Canada for Chicago after its collapse the next year.¹⁴

¹³ NAC, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, RG 18, vol. 3314, file HV-1, part 5, transcript of the Immigration Board of Inquiry hearings, August 13, 1919. In Canadian sources and historical works, Almazov's surname is usually spelled as "Almazoff", and his first name is given alternately as Solomon, Moses and Samuel. In this work I use "Solomon Almazov" on the grounds that this was the name he used to sign his contributions to the Russian socialist press.

¹⁴ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 92, file 10650 (Iosif Rabizo).

Among the first Russian socialist organizations that emerged in North America were anarcho-syndicalist “unions of Russian workers”, which drew upon the rich tradition of Russian anarchism blended with the militant industrial unionism of the kind espoused by the International Workers of the World (IWW) and later by Canada’s One Big Union. The anarcho-syndicalist doctrine with its emphasis on direct action had a greater appeal to unskilled Ukrainian and Belarusan migrant workers, reared in the old-world traditions of peasant violence, than the pragmatic trade unionism of the American Federation of Labour or the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress. The first “unions of Russian workers” began to appear in the United States around 1907-08. By 1912, a Union of Russian Workers existed in British Columbia – traditionally the main stronghold of Canadian militant unionism.

It was, however, the Social Revolutionary groups that came to be the most numerous Russian socialist organizations in early twentieth-century Canada. Ideologically (and perhaps also through political connections of some of their leaders) affiliated with the Russian Social Revolutionary Party, they advocated peasant revolution, requisition of large landowners’ estates and the establishment of a classless society of independent producers. Due to their populist and agrarian orientation, the Social Revolutionaries were able to establish a larger base among the immigrant peasants-turned-workers than did other radical groups. Before and during World War I “Russian” and “Russo-Ukrainian” Social Revolutionary circles sprang up in Lachine, Brantford, Timmins, Hamilton, London, Galt and Iroquois Falls, but the largest ones functioned in Toronto and Montreal. In 1915, the Toronto “Russo-Ukrainian Social Revolutionary Group” was reported to have 62 members, an active drama circle and a modest library of

150 titles.¹⁵ By the summer of 1914, Russian Social Revolutionary groups in Ontario established a “Regional Committee”, modelled after similar *oblast* (regional) associations in Russia, to coordinate the work of the branches. A group of Social Revolutionary activists in Montreal, who belonged to the moderate wing of the party, were instrumental in organizing a secular benevolent association, which was founded in December 1915 under the name of the Russian-Slavic Mutual Aid Society. At its height, the society reported up to 100 members, eligible for sickness and death benefits on payment of monthly dues, and rented a hall, where social events, concerts and dances were held.¹⁶ Shunning the militant atheism of Canada’s more radical socialist groups, the society maintained an amicable relationship with Montreal’s Russian Orthodox parish and, like most moderate socialists in the homeland, adopted a “patriotic”, rather than internationalist, attitude towards the war. In early 1916, it collected and sent to Russia some \$50 for the cause of helping war refugees.¹⁷

Russian Social Democrats too began to form their groups in Canada around 1910-11. These organizations regarded themselves as offshoots of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP), whose doctrine, based on revolutionary Marxism, attracted popular support primarily among Russia’s urban proletariat. Winnipeg became the main gathering place for Russian Social Democrats in Canada, notwithstanding the

¹⁵ *Novyi mir*, 23 March 1915; see also the 1912-13 financial report of the Montreal group, *Novyi mir*, 11 May 1913.

¹⁶ *Novyi mir*, 11 February 1916; *Russkoe slovo*, 5 November 1919.

¹⁷ *Russkoe slovo*, 28 February 1918; Archives of the SS Peter and Paul Orthodox Church, Montreal (hereafter SSPP), folder “Church Affairs, 1914-1935”, S. Likhachev to V. Sakovich, 22 June 1915. Some time after its creation, probably in 1916, the society added the word “Progressive” to its name, reflecting the spread of socialist and anti-monarchist ideas within the immigrant community.

fact that the city's population of Russian-born workers was smaller than that of Montreal or even Hamilton. In 1912, a group of members of the local Russian Progressive Club (D. Kotliarenko, D. Leonidov and others) established the first Russian local of the Social Democratic Party of Canada (SDPC) with 15 members.¹⁸ Kotliarenko, a member of the RSDLP since 1902, who had formerly lived in Paris and worked for the Russian Social Democrat organ *Proletarii*, was probably the most prominent member of the group, although he did not stay long in Winnipeg.¹⁹ Russian workers were urged to join the local on the pages of *Robochyi narod*, the organ of the Ukrainian Social Democrats, who provided their Russian comrades with moral support and access to the press.²⁰

In the early 1910s, the SDPC became the main organizer of non-English-speaking immigrants in Canada. Unlike the overly cerebral and British-dominated Socialist Party, which had little time for the particularism of its non-Anglo-Saxon members, the Social Democrats did not lose sight of the immediate demands of the working class and allowed a substantial degree of autonomy to the party's ethnic locals.²¹ Russian Social Democratic groups also emerged in Toronto and Montreal, subsequently forming two short-lived Russian locals within the SDPC. The Montreal group, seemingly the stronger of the two, held regular meetings in the city's Labour Temple Hall at 305 St. Dominique

¹⁸ *Novyi mir*, 20 October 1911; *Robochyi narod*, 9 October 1912. Of the 2,989 members of the Social Democratic Party of Canada reported in the autumn of 1912, 2,297 belonged to its 66 non-Anglo-Saxon locals, including 35 Finnish, 24 Ukrainian, 2 Jewish, 2 Latvian, 1 German, 1 Polish, and 1 Russian.

¹⁹ Chernenko, *Russkaia revoliutsionnaia emigratsiia*, p. 84, 187.

²⁰ NAC, Peter Krawchuk Papers, MG30 D403, vol. 15, file 77.

²¹ A. Ross McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 93.

Street and set up a “Self-Educational School” and a library, which subscribed to Russian Social Democratic organs *Pravda* and *Novyi mir*. Montreal Social Democrats also established contact with the Russian progressive writer and playwright Maxim Gorky, who sent his greetings to the new Russian socialist organization in Canada along with a shipment of books for its library.²²

Before 1918, Russian socialist and “progressive” groups of different ideological provenance, perhaps with the exception of the most dogmatic anarchists, rarely existed in isolation from each other. Doctrinal differences between the two main branches of the Russian socialist movement – Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries – were moderated by the spirit of class solidarity and by the fact that both fought against a common enemy – the tsarist monarchy – and targeted the same constituency composed of Russian-born Slavic workers. Social Revolutionaries, who did not have their own press until 1918 (and then only for a short time), often announced their activities in the Social Democrat organ *Novyi mir*, and local branches of the two parties sometimes organized joint political events. Such non-partisan groups as the Society for Aid to the Political Victims of the Russian Revolution and the Society for Aid to Exiles in Siberia, whose first Canadian branches were organized in 1914, brought together socialists of various affiliations united by a common cause.²³ Russian “progressive clubs”, which sprang up in Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal, were open to everyone who spoke or read Russian and

²² *Novyi mir*, 13 June 1913; 26 September 1913; 13 October 1914.

²³ *Novyi mir*, 17 July 1914; 29 October 1915. The first branch of the Society for Aid to Political Prisoners in Siberia was organized in 1910 in New York. See *Tovarishch russkogo emigranta v Amerike. Pervyi Kalendar'-Ezhegodnik, vypuskaemyi edinstvennoi v Amerike russkoi sotsialisticheskoi rabochei gazetoj "Novyi mir"* (New York: “Novyi mir”, 1913), p. 135. By 1915, according to one estimate, the society and its affiliates across North America collected and sent to Russia about \$5,000 to support the victims of tsarist persecution.

became forums for heated debates between adherents of various socialist platforms. The largest of them was the Russian Progressive Club of Winnipeg, organized in January 1912 by local émigrés of Social Democratic orientation. Located on Main Street in the city's immigrant-populated North End, in March 1913 the club boasted 70 regular members.²⁴ The clubs established libraries and reading rooms, with collections of educational and socialist literature available to any Russian reader at a moderate fee. In 1915, the Russian Progressive library in Winnipeg had over 1,000 titles and received thirteen Russian-language periodicals of liberal-reformist and socialist orientation including *Russkoe bogatstvo*, *Sovremennyi mir*, *Pravda*, *Novyi mir* and others. The Russian Progressive Library in Toronto was located first at 185 Queen Street West and moved in 1915 to 194 Spadina Avenue, where it remained into the early 1920s.²⁵

Like other ethnic radicals in early twentieth-century Canada, Russian socialists employed a variety of methods attempting to reach the immigrant masses. Outdoor meetings, public lectures, workers' picnics (modelled on old-country revolutionary *massovki*), folk concerts and drama circles were the most common ways to strengthen the faith of the converted and to recruit new followers. Thus, during the period from 1911 to 1915, the Russo-Ukrainian Social Revolutionary Group in Toronto held 120 propaganda meetings and staged 10 plays.²⁶ Ukrainian plays and folk songs were stock items with many Russian socialist organizations, aware of the ethnic background of a large portion of their audience. In Timmins, where Belarusians made up the majority of Russian-born

²⁴ *Novyi mir*, 14 March 1913.

²⁵ *Novyi mir*, 3, 29 March, 18 September 1915.

²⁶ *Novyi mir*, 23 March 1915.

workers, Ukrainian plays were staged in the Russian language (Belarusan as a literary language hardly existed at the time).²⁷ Proceeds from the above events were often used to further the cause of the socialist and labour movement: they were sent to assist striking workers in Canada or the United States, friendly organizations or political exiles in Russia.

The influence of socialist ideas on Canada's Eastern European workers before 1916-17 should not be exaggerated, however. While some immigrant groups, such as the Finns, had a well-developed socialist culture (made possible, among other factors, by their high literacy rate), this could not be said of Ukrainians and Belarusians. Wedded to peasant culture with its mistrust of garrulous "city folk" and dreaming of a good-sized plot of land and a couple of horses in the old country, they were often suspicious of socialist talk with its advocacy of abstract "common good" and collective property ownership. In addition, the vast majority of Russian-born workers in Canada hailed from some of the least industrially developed regions of the tsarist empire such as Podolia, Bessarabia and Grodno, where an organized socialist movement, in contrast to the Left-Bank and Southern Ukraine, was barely existent. "[These] thousands of peasants and workers from Grodno, Minsk, Volhynia etc., who lived in Russia during [the revolution of] 1905, have no idea of what was going on at that time. The revolution passed by them without having a slightest effect. Many haven't even heard of it", a Russian émigré socialist complained in *Novyi mir*.²⁸ The effectiveness of socialist propaganda was also

²⁷ Grigorii Okulevich, *Russkie v Kanade: Istoriia russkikh raboche-fermerskikh klubov imeni M. Gor'kogo (1930-1940) i Federatsii russkikh kanadtsev* (Toronto: Federation of Russian Canadians, 1952), p. 34.

²⁸ *Novyi mir*, 17 April 1914.

undermined by the doctrinarism of some émigré *intelligenty*, given to abstract theorizing and looking down upon the “uneducated peasants”, whose low proletarian consciousness and addiction to drink and gambling they so often lamented on the pages of the socialist press. Nor did the Jewish origin of many socialist proselytizers help spread the “progressive” word among the migrants, who were told by the priests that socialism was a Jewish conspiracy aimed at destroying Orthodox Christianity and the Russian monarchy. Before 1917, attempts to distribute socialist literature in Slavic immigrant neighbourhoods often ran up against the indifference or scowl of Ukrainian and Belarusan peasant-workers, who could not understand why one would spend one’s hard-earned cents on something as useless as a newspaper. When a socialist organizer Nikolai Romanov attempted to call a political meeting of a few dozen “Russian” workers he had come across in Brockville, Ontario, many thought he wanted “to subvert the Russian state” and refused to go.²⁹ Socialist canvassers who had the indiscretion of appearing at Slavic boarding-houses on Sunday were sometimes “greeted” with threats of physical violence by their inebriated tenants. Organizations such as the Society for Aid to Russian Political Exiles in Siberia consisted almost exclusively of radical intelligentsia and held little appeal for the rank-and-file labourer.³⁰ Social Revolutionary and Social Democrat groups had a relatively broader support base, but they too appear to have included (especially before 1917) only the small minority of politically conscious immigrant population.

²⁹ *Novyi mir*, 13 September 1915; see also issues for 1 May, 11 and 19 June 1915 on similar incidents in Hamilton, Montreal and Timmins.

³⁰ *Novyi mir*, 15 November 1915.

As elsewhere in North America, Ukrainian and Belarusian immigrant workers employed in the mining industry with its traditions of labour militancy were more susceptible to socialist agitation. The geographic isolation of most mining towns and the relative stability of their workforce made them an excellent milieu for socialist propaganda, particularly at times when tension between the workers and the employers ran high. Thus, the local branch of the SDPC in South Porcupine was organized in January 1913 at the height of the district-wide strike of gold miners, most of them Slavic immigrants. Immediately following a meeting addressed by a prominent Galician Ukrainian socialist Vasyl Holovatsky, approximately 40 miners decided to form a local of the Social Democratic Party. Although it did not seem to have a specific ethnic affiliation, migrant workers from Belarus and eastern Ukraine (Vasilii Krisevich, Mikhail Moroz, Makar Kudreiko, N. Plesko) constituted the majority of its leaders.³¹ In other frontier towns, where immigrants could not be easily reached by the church and its patriotic sermons, socialist ideas too were finding their way to the masses of Russian-born workers. In The Pas, for instance, Ukrainian and Belarusian loggers and railway navvies regularly read *Novyi mir*.³²

Russian (and many other) émigré socialists of the day commonly regarded themselves as offshoots of the home country's socialist movement rather than part of Canadian labour politics. The umbilical cord that connected European-born radicals with the old continent was made all the stronger by the ambivalent attitudes of Canada's mainstream unions and labour parties to non-Anglo-Saxon workers and their

³¹ *Novyi mir*, 31 January 1913.

³² *Novyi mir*, 5 May 1915.

organizations, which, as one English-Canadian activist put it, were largely “strangers to each other”.³³ Moreover, Russian socialists, unlike their Jewish or Finnish comrades, could boast neither a large size nor a high class consciousness of their immigrant constituency scattered across frontier work camps and urban ethnic enclaves. Regarding their stay in Canada as forced exile, they were, as a rule, more concerned with fomenting revolutionary movement in the homeland from the relative safety of their temporary Canadian abode than with addressing the needs of the Canadian working class. They were revolutionaries in waiting, prepared to jump at the first opportunity to overthrow the hated Romanovs. Even the dissemination of socialist ideas among the masses of Russian-born immigrants was done primarily with a view of moulding the future political vanguard of the Russian proletariat, for it was no secret that the majority of the immigrant workers intended to return to their villages in Ukraine or Belarus.

Many Russian socialist branches in Canada maintained not just emotional but organizational ties with parent organizations in the homeland. The Social Democrats, for instance, organized collection of funds in Winnipeg, Montreal and Vancouver to support Social Democratic candidates to the Fourth Duma in 1912.³⁴ There were also well-functioning clandestine channels of sending money and other donations to Russian political exiles in Siberia. In the opposite direction went shipments of Russian socialist periodicals published in Europe. In 1915, several dozen copies of every issue of the Bolshevik party organ *The Social Democrat* were regularly sent to four addresses in

³³ Cited in McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries*, p. 67.

³⁴ *Novyi mir*, January 1912 (date torn off), 18 October 1912.

Montreal and Winnipeg.³⁵ The agenda of meetings and rallies held by the socialists was shaped more often by Russian than by Canadian issues. Many Russian socialist organizations held meetings in commemoration of the victims of 9 January 1905 (“Bloody Sunday”), when the police had crushed a demonstration of workers in St. Petersburg.³⁶ In September 1912, the Russian local of the SDPC in Winnipeg organized a meeting of protest against the arrest and trial of the Social Democratic deputies of the Second Duma, which reportedly gathered an audience of 1,200. The meeting was addressed by Grigorii Belousov, a Russian Social Democrat and himself a former member of the Duma, who had been exiled to Siberia in 1906 and afterwards fled to the United States.³⁷ The same year, a Social Democratic deputy of the Fourth Duma, G.S. Kuznetsov, spoke at a meeting organized by the Russian Progressive Library in Toronto and attended “by migrant labourers from Russia and Galicia numbering about 300”.³⁸ Russian socialists in Canada also maintained friendly ties with their larger and financially better off counterparts in the United States.³⁹ The Russian Social Democrat organ *Novyi*

³⁵ Chernenko, *Russkaia revoliutsionnaia emigratsiia*, p. 139.

³⁶ See, for instance, *Novyi mir*, 31 January 1913.

³⁷ *Novyi mir*, 18 October 1912. For a short biography of Belousov, who died in Minneapolis in December 1916, see *Western Labour News*, 16 August 1918.

³⁸ *Novyi mir*, 19 July 1912. See also Martynowych, “The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada”, p. 24. For Kuznetsov’s background, see Elwood, *Russian Social Democracy*, p. 182-183.

³⁹ The Russian locals of the Socialist Party of America (SPA) were the main centres of Russian Social Democrat activities in the United States. In May 1911, there were 15 such locals with approximately 350 members. In May 1915, they formed the Russian Social Democratic Federation affiliated with the SPA (*Novyi mir*, 26 May 1911; 21 to 25 May 1915). There were also a number of anarchist and Social Revolutionary groups.

mir, published in New York since 1911, had many readers north of the 49th parallel and frequently carried materials on Canada authored by Russian-Canadian socialist leaders.⁴⁰

This is not to say that Russian radical groups, especially Social Democrats, were completely immune to the concerns of the working class in Canada and the United States. In March 1912, Russian Social Democrats in Toronto staged a concert and a drama show in solidarity with the Eaton's tailors' strike (which raised \$38) and decided to boycott the company stores.⁴¹ Fundraising events in support of large strikes in the United States (such as the 1913 general strike of garment workers in New York) were also held.⁴² Some Russian-born labour activists attempted to organize workers across the lines of nationality. Members of the local Russian Progressive Club in Toronto, for instance, were involved in the organization of the first trade union at the city's Massey Harris plant, which, however, was soon crushed by the company. Grigorii Mak (Kukhar), who lived in Toronto after escaping from Siberian exile and was involved in the Russo-Ukrainian Social Revolutionary Group, played an active role in the establishment of the carpenters' union in 1913, and M. Zaiarniuk tried to organize meatpackers at the Swift plant.⁴³

Within the politically active nucleus of Canada's Eastern and Central European working class, ethnic differences were muted by the sense of comradeship that originated from shared social and class experiences as foreign workers in a predominantly Anglo-Saxon environment. Cultural and often linguistic affinity, coupled with memories of joint

⁴⁰ More about the newspaper, its editors and political platform can be found in Robert A. Karlowich, *We Fall and Rise: Russian-Language Newspapers in New York City, 1889-1914* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1991), chap. 4 and 6, *passim*.

⁴¹ *Novyi mir*, 5 April 1912.

⁴² *Novyi mir*, 14 February 1913.

⁴³ Okulevich, *Russkie v Kanade*, p. 18.

Old-World struggles against Russian tsarism, also acted as a unifying force. In fact, it is difficult to separate the history of one ethnic socialist movement in early twentieth-century Canada from that of another. Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Jewish and other ethnic locals of the Social Democratic Party of Canada often staged joint political events, picnics and May Day parades, which brought together migrant workers of various nationalities and were addressed by speakers in three or four different languages. It was common for Russian socialist organizations to use the facilities of their larger and better off Ukrainian or Finnish counterparts for their political and cultural activities. Russian socialists in Timmins, for instance, held their drama performances, concerts and lectures in the newly built Finnish Labour Temple.⁴⁴ After the onset of economic recession in 1913, Russian and other ethnic socialist groups held joint rallies in several Canadian cities, attempting to mobilize their polyglot population of unemployed workers. A large rally held in January 1915 by Montreal socialists gathered a reported audience of about 800. Iosif Rabizo, who spoke at the meeting along with other orators, called upon all Montreal workers regardless of nationality to unite and demand the organization of public works from the city council. The meeting ended in the formation of an “Organization of the Unemployed” with 70 members and an executive committee consisting of Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Jewish and other labour activists.⁴⁵ Later the same year, sixteen socialist and labour organizations of the city (including the Russian Social Revolutionary Group, the Society for Aid to Political Exiles in Siberia, Ukrainian, Jewish, German, Italian, Lithuanian and several English- and French-speaking locals of the Social

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 34.

⁴⁵ *Novyi mir*, 14 January 1915. On political activities of unemployed foreign workers in Montreal see also *Labour Gazette*, May 1914, p. 1260.

Democratic Party, two locals of the Socialist Party, and several leftist labour unions) established a co-ordinating body under the name of the “Socialist Council of Montreal”.⁴⁶

While Russian-born workers and their socialist leaders were largely spared the adverse effects of wartime anti-alien measures that decimated many Ukrainian socialist organizations in 1914-16, this did not make the political mobilization of an army of itinerant sojourners much easier. The recession of 1913-15 increased the mobility of the labour migrants, who traversed the country in a desperate search for work, and left many socialist organizations struggling. Significantly, the second meeting of Montreal’s “Organization of the Unemployed”, called three weeks later, was attended only by 30 out of the 70 founding members.⁴⁷ The membership of Russian socialist groups shrank, as immigrants became dispersed across Canada, headed south of the border or found their way back to Russia. Some branches collapsed altogether. Montreal’s Russian Social Democrat group became one of the victims of the recession. In June 1916, the Russian local of the SDPC in Montreal announced its closure “due to the departure of the members”, with the few remaining activists joining the party’s Ukrainian local.⁴⁸ A Montreal correspondent of *Novyi mir* lamented in August 1916 that the local “Russian colony” was “in some sort of commotion: some are going home, others enlist in Canadian regiments...As for organization, there is none. There is even not even someone who would explain to the confused what is going on...”⁴⁹ Socialist work in Winnipeg also fell

⁴⁶ *Novyi mir*, 22 July 1915.

⁴⁷ *Novyi mir*, 1 February 1915.

⁴⁸ *Novyi mir*, 17 June 1916.

⁴⁹ *Novyi mir*, 15 August 1916, see also 10 November 1916.

into stagnation after some of the leaders of the Russian Progressive Club went in 1915 to the United States to work as munitions inspectors – an act condemned by the uncompromising Solomon Almazov as a betrayal of the anti-militaristic principles of the socialist movement.⁵⁰ Popular nationalism and anti-Semitism, stirred by the war, also had an adverse effect on the strength and cohesion of some socialist groups. Thus, a group of Slavic members of Winnipeg's Progressive Club made an attempt (apparently unsuccessful) to rid the organization of Jews, while Montreal's Russian Progressive Mutual Aid Society changed its name to "Russian-Slavic", barring persons of non-Slavic origin from membership.⁵¹ Another setback for Russian socialists in Canada came in April 1915, when the Canadian government, at the prompting of Consul Likhachev, placed *Novyi mir* (along with another New York-based Russian daily *Russkoe slovo*) on the list of publications prohibited for distribution in the country on the grounds of its internationalist and anti-war platform. The intervention of the U.S. State Department, which assured Ottawa of the loyal character of the two newspapers, and the protests of Canadian labour organizations resulted in the lifting of the ban in May 1915. However, in August 1916, after the Russian ambassador in Washington Yuri Bakhmetiev made a remonstrance to his British colleague, who passed it on to London and further to Ottawa, *Russkoe slovo* and *Novyi mir* were barred from the country again.⁵²

⁵⁰ *Novyi mir*, 29 February, 29 March 1916.

⁵¹ *Novyi mir*, 29 February 1916. The war increased the amount of Judeophobia among Russian-born Slav immigrants, who suspected the Jews of supporting Russia's enemies. Such perceptions might not always be unfounded. Thus, a Toronto rabbi was reported to have said that he "would like to see [Russia] crushed" in the unfolding European war (see the *Toronto Globe*, 29 July 1914).

⁵² Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 16, file 504; *Novyi mir*, 20 April 1915; 5, 7 May 1915, 5 April 1918. See also Kukushkin, *Protectors and Watchdogs*, p. 225. In December 1916, the ban on the more

The fall of the tsarist regime in February 1917 marked a turning point in the development of the Russian immigrant left in Canada. The mass politicization of Russian-born immigrant population produced by the revolution and further intensified after October 1917 breathed new life into the old organizations and brought into existence dozens of new “progressive” groups, which added their voice to the spirited disputes about Russia’s future. The *Sudbury Star*, for instance, reported in January 1918 that Russian labourers in the city often stopped work, taking days off so that they could debate the merits of socialism and revolution.⁵³ Most of the Russian organizations created after 1917, however, turned out to be unstable products of spontaneous revolutionary enthusiasm, which lacked clear political orientation and disappeared or amalgamated with other groups as quickly as they emerged. The year 1917 witnessed a resurgence of several semi-defunct Social Revolutionary circles⁵⁴ and the creation of new ones, including a large “Russo-Ukrainian Social Revolutionary Group” in Windsor, led by Ivan Pereguda and Grigorii Kolodii (member of the Regional Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party) and reported to have over 600 members, a night school, a choir and a drama circle.⁵⁵ With its close connections to American socialists in Detroit, Windsor soon became one of the main strongholds of Russian radicalism in the country, causing growing anxiety among the local businesspeople. In August 1919, when the “Red Scare”

moderate *Russkoe slovo* was removed, but *Novyi mir* appears to have remained on the prohibited list for the duration of the war.

⁵³ *Sudbury Star*, 5 January 1918, cited in Stacey Zembrzycki, “The *Sudbury Star* and Its Coverage of Eastern European Immigrants, 1910-1930: A Gendered, Ethnic, and Regional Discourse”. An unpublished research paper, Carleton University, 2004.

⁵⁴ *Russkoe slovo*, 26, 28 November 1917; 22 January 1918.

⁵⁵ Okulevich, *Russkie v Kanade*, p. 30-31.

hysteria would reach its highest point, the president of the Border Chamber of Commerce F. Maclure Sclanders informed the Department of Immigration and Colonization that the city had “quite a number of Russians employed in our factories and among these there are a good many of very distinctly revolutionary tendencies who...indeed are a general menace”.⁵⁶ In other cities, Russian-born immigrants (Ukrainians, Belarusans, Russians and Poles) began to organize “Unions of Russian Workers” (*Soiuzy russkikh rabochikh*), whose political colouration usually depended on the ideological affiliations of their leaders.⁵⁷ The Union of Russian Workers that appeared in Toronto in February 1918 claimed a membership of 53 and saw its goal in “fostering revolutionary class consciousness among Toronto’s Russian workers for the direct struggle against capital and the government”.⁵⁸ A similar organization established in Galt, Ontario, included 15 out of the reported population of 75 Russian-born workers that lived in the city at the time.⁵⁹

The hodgepodge political landscape of Canada’s “Russian colonies” also included a few émigré groups of moderate liberal-democratic orientation, which exhorted Russian-born immigrants to support fledgling Russian democracy represented by the Provisional Government. Thus, in September 1917, a handful of Russian-born intelligentsia in Montreal (headed by Zachary Zhenirovsky, ex-member of the dissolved Society for Aid

⁵⁶ NAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, series I-A-1, vol. 394, reel C-10287, file 563236, part 7, F. Maclure Sclanders to the Department of Immigration and Colonization, 14 August 1919.

⁵⁷ These organizations should not be confused with the anarchist Unions of Russian Workers that sprang up earlier on the west coast.

⁵⁸ *Rabochii narod*, 9 March 1918.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

to Political Exiles in Siberia, and a Social Revolutionary S. Akopian) announced the formation of a “Russian Democratic Union”, which affiliated itself with the Central Committee of the United Russian Organizations in America (UROA). The Committee had been established in mid-1917 in New York City as a continent-wide federation of Russian émigré groups of moderately “progressive” orientation, which supported the democratization of Russia but rejected political extremism. The Union called upon all Russian citizens in Montreal “regardless of nationality, party or belief” to unite in support of democratic Russia. However, like many other Russian émigré organizations which attempted to create a viable political centre, it turned out to be stillborn.⁶⁰ Towards the second half of 1917, the evolution of political orientations of Russian-born immigrants in Canada and the United States largely mirrored the change of political climate in Russia itself, where ideas of parliamentary democracy and constitutionalism had few roots outside the small strata of educated urban society. War-weariness and growing disillusionment with the Provisional Government, which failed to accomplish most of the promised reforms (including the redistribution of land), were shifting popular sympathies in the “Russian colonies” towards the more radical groups, including the Social Democrats and their left-wing Social Revolutionary allies. Pro-Bolshevik sympathies, as usual, were the strongest in Western Canada. On 17 June 1917, Winnipeg’s Russian Progressive Club organized a mass meeting, reportedly attended by 600 immigrants from

⁶⁰ *Russkoe slovo*, 6, 12 October 1917; 25 February, 7 March 1918. Zhenirovsky, born in Kiev, was an office clerk of Jewish origin, who came to Canada in 1914. See his files in the Li-Ra-Ma Collection (vol. 63, file 6256 and vol. 76, file 8102).

Russia, which passed a resolution of support to the Bolshevik-controlled Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Petrograd.⁶¹

In one respect, however, the democratic changes in the homeland proved to be a mixed blessing for the Russian socialist movement in North America. The political amnesty declared by Russia's new Provisional Government resulted in the repatriation of large numbers of émigré socialists, weakening the leadership of radical organizations in the process. In March 1917, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs instructed its consular offices abroad to facilitate the return of former political exiles to the homeland by providing them with passports and travel allowances. In most North American cities with Russian consular missions, Russian and other ethnic socialist organizations established co-ordinating committees for assistance to returning political émigrés, which compiled lists of persons eligible for repatriation at public expense and submitted them to the consulates.⁶² In Montreal, the "Advisory Council for Assistance to Returning Political Émigrés" was established in mid-April at a meeting of Russian "progressive" organizations held in the Labour Temple Hall on St. Dominique Street.⁶³ It appears to have included primarily members of the Russian-Slavic Progressive Mutual Aid Society of Montreal dominated by moderate Social Revolutionaries. Canadian ports, especially Vancouver, also served as important transit points for Russian political émigrés returning

⁶¹ *Robochyi narod*, 27 June 1917; *Novyi mir*, 9 July 1917.

⁶² Ivan Okuntsov, *Russkaia emigratsiia v Severnoi i Iuzhnoi Amerike* (Buenos Aires: Seiatel', 1967), pp. 392-394. Similar committees existed in all European countries which had been major destinations for Russian émigré socialists.

⁶³ See a letter inviting members of the Russian Orthodox brotherhood to the meeting, which has been preserved in SSPP, folder "Church Affairs, 1914-1935", M. Gerchikov et al. to the Eparchial Society, 13 April 1917.

from the United States. In June 1917, the Russian embassy in London, which oversaw Russian consulates in Canada, wired \$10,000 to Consul Konstantin Ragozin in Vancouver to repay the loans he had secured from the Dominion Bank for the purpose of assisting political repatriates. In the spring and summer of 1917, the Vancouver consulate provided financial support to over 150 persons belonging to the “political” category, including a few from Canada.⁶⁴ The appearance, in May 1917, of a large group of cheerful foreigners with red neckties and red carnations in their lapels preparing to sail to Vladivostok on the *SS Empress of Russia*, caught the attention of Vancouver city authorities. The police officer, dispatched to investigate the political orientations of the returning exiles, reported anxiously that some of them did not hide their plans of turning the ongoing fight against Germany into a war against the Russian government and that “it does not seem very wise to let them have the privilege of going through the Dominion with such ideas”.⁶⁵ Vancouver police officials might not have known that less than two months earlier Canadian naval authorities in Halifax, acting on a tip from the British Admiralty, had detained a group of five prominent Russian repatriates including Leon Trotsky, who reportedly carried \$10,000 raised with German help to “stir up trouble” in Russia. On April 2, Trotsky and the others were removed from the Norwegian steamer *Kristianiafford*, en route from New York to Christiania, and interned in Amherst. They were released only a month later after the intervention of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was prompted to act by the protest campaign launched by socialist and

⁶⁴ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 25, files 849-850.

⁶⁵ NAC, National Defence, RG 24, series D-1-b, vol. 3967, file 1047-4-50, A.P. Sherwood to R.M. Stephens, 22 May 1917.

labour organizations on both sides of the Atlantic.⁶⁶ By mid-summer of 1917, the movement of political repatriates to Russia came to a halt, as allowance funds dried up and the political situation in Russia became increasingly unstable. The alleged misuse of government money allocated for repatriation needs and the growing threat of left-wing radicalism in the country dictated a change of policy towards the returning exiles. In early August, the Russian Foreign Ministry cancelled the favoured visa regime for political repatriates and made them subject to the newly introduced universal passport regulations, which required Russian consular missions to verify the identity of each returnee with Petrograd before issuing travel papers.⁶⁷

Like the majority of socialist organizations in Canada, most Russian socialists greeted the formation of the first Soviet government in Russia as a promise of freedom for the world's proletariat and a model for emulation.⁶⁸ In December 1917, Russian Social Democrats in Winnipeg were strong enough to launch a strongly pro-Soviet Russian-language weekly *Rabochii narod* (The Working People). The newspaper was edited by Michael Charitonoff, a Russian-Jewish immigrant and the new secretary of the Russian Progressive Club, and published on the printing press of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party.⁶⁹ Three months later, left-wing Social Revolutionaries in Toronto

⁶⁶ NAC, Department of External Affairs, RG 25, series A-3-a, vol. 1206, file 1917-1706; RG 13, series A-2, vol. 1933, file 1917-796; *Novyi mir*, 10, 14, 16, 27 April, 21 June 1917; William Rodney, "Broken Journey: Trotsky in Canada, 1917", *Queen's Quarterly* 74 (1967), p. 649-665. Russian socialists in Montreal also joined their voice to the protests (*Novyi mir*, 25 April 1917).

⁶⁷ *Novyi mir*, 23, 24 August 1917. There were many allegations of ordinary peasant immigrants and even criminals masquerading as anti-tsarist freedom fighters in order to receive passports and free steamship tickets to Russia.

⁶⁸ See McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries*, p. 140-143.

⁶⁹ *Novyi mir*, 21 May 1918. Several issues of *Rabochii narod*, including No. 2 (4 January 1918), have survived. Charitonoff (Kharitonov), a native of the city of Nikolaev in Southern Ukraine,

began to publish a bi-weekly organ *Zemlia i volia* (Land and Freedom), which also adopted a pro-Bolshevik posture.⁷⁰ Not all socialist groups, however, rallied behind the Bolsheviks. Moderate branches of the Social Revolutionary Party as well as other moderately “progressive” or avowedly non-partisan groups were much more reserved, if not openly hostile, in their attitudes to the new Soviet government. The Society for Aid to Victims of the War in Russia, organized in late 1917 in Hamilton by Russian-born Ukrainian and Belarusan workers, passed a resolution protesting the Bolshevik takeover and expressed its support of the Allies.⁷¹

By early 1918, as the prospect of a civil war in Russia became a reality, ideological polarization within “Russian colonies” across the United States and Canada was a *fait accompli*. Two conventions of Russian organizations, held simultaneously in New York in February 1918, each claimed to speak on behalf of North America’s Russian citizens. The first, called by the Central Committee of the UROA, was attended by the delegates of some fifty organizations of moderately “progressive” orientation. One of these was Montreal’s Russian Progressive Mutual Aid Society, which was represented by Ilya Tartak, a lecturer in Russian literature at McGill University.⁷² The convention

came to Canada in early 1914 through the United States and prior to taking up the editorship of *Rabochii narod* worked in the CPR freight shops. See NAC, Department of Justice, RG13, vol. 241, file 1919-2241. Charitonoff’s name (probably an alias) appears in Canadian sources in a variety of versions (as Max Charitonoff, Michael Charitinoff or even F. Charitonoff).

⁷⁰ Dirk Hoerder, ed., *The Immigrant Labor Press in North America, 1840s – 1970s: An Annotated Bibliography*. Vol. 2: Migrants from Eastern and Southeastern Europe (New York etc.: Greenwood Press, 1987), p. 135; *Novyi mir*, 21 May 1918; *Russkoe slovo*, 23 May 1918. No issues of *Zemlia i Volia* appear to have survived.

⁷¹ *Russkoe slovo*, 5 December 1917.

⁷² *Russkoe slovo*, 11, 12, 13, 14, 21 February 1918. The word “Slavic” was again removed from the name of the society after the downfall of the Russian monarchy and it began to admit non-Slavic individuals such as Tartak, who was of Jewish origin.

condemned the Bolshevik coup and demanded an immediate transfer of power to the Constituent Assembly. The parallel gathering of eighty-four socialist organizations representing Russian-born immigrants of various nationalities (including Russian, Finnish, Latvian, Jewish and other ethnic socialist locals and labour unions), on the other hand, declared its full support to Soviet Russia and sent greetings to the Council of People's Commissars in Petrograd and to "the revolutionary Russian people".⁷³ As 1918 drew on, political divisions among Russian-born immigrants continued to deepen. In February and March of 1918, Montreal's newly organized Society for the Defence of the Constituent Assembly held meetings of protest against the dissolution of Russia's first democratically elected parliament by the Bolsheviks and against the "shameful" treaty of Brest-Litovsk signed in March 1918. By mid-spring, the Russian-American press carried reports of pro- and anti-Bolshevik groups in Montreal recruiting volunteers to fight in the unfolding Russian civil war.⁷⁴ Russian-born immigrants who had enlisted in the Canadian overseas forces were also not immune to the politicizing and divisive influence of the events transpiring in the homeland. The majority of 135 Russian CEF soldiers, brought back from England in December 1918 to be included in Canada's Siberian contingent, were considered "unreliable" and held in Canada as depot personnel. Still, according to my estimates, the Canadian Expeditionary Force in Siberia (CEFS) probably had at least 50 ex-Russian subjects, including two officers – Lieutenants Alexander Ragozin and

⁷³ *Novyi mir*, 19 December 1917; 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 16, 20 February, 5 March 1918. I was not able to find evidence of any Canadian organizations being represented at this convention.

⁷⁴ *Russkoe slovo*, 4 May 1918; *Novyi mir*, 29 March 1918. The recruiting pro- and anti-Soviet groups were, respectively, the Social Revolutionaries and the Montreal branch of the Society for the Defence of the Russian Nation, organized in New York in April 1918.

Edward de Sherbinin – and the holder of the Victoria Cross Filip Konowal, who volunteered to fight against the Bolsheviks. Five of the Russians deserted while stationed in Siberia.⁷⁵

While Canada's "Russian colonies" were split in their attitudes towards Bolshevism and Soviet Russia, for most Canadians, including government officials, "Russian" was increasingly becoming a synonym of "Bolshevik". By mid-1918, amid multiplying rumours of a Bolshevik conspiracy, Ottawa began to implement a concerted program of weeding out all suspicious foreign groups regardless of their national, ethnic or political labels.⁷⁶ The treaty of Brest-Litovsk increased Canadian resentment of Soviet Russia, now regarded as a traitor of the Allied cause. Russian socialist groups had already felt the strong hand of the Canadian state: thus, in October 1917, police broke into the meeting hall of Windsor's Russo-Ukrainian Social Revolutionary Group and arrested its leaders Ivan Pereguda and Grigorii Kolodii.⁷⁷ In March 1918, a popular anarchist agitator Feliks Konosevich was arrested in Timmins after a socialist meeting held in the Finnish Labour

⁷⁵ I was able to identify 5 Belarusians and 13 Ukrainians along with a number of Poles, Jews and Russian-born immigrants of other nationalities among the members of the contingent by checking the attestation papers (held in RG 150 at the National Archives of Canada) of all individuals with Eastern European names that appeared on the nominal roll of the Canadian Siberian Expeditionary Force. The roll is published in J.E. Skuce, *CSEF: Canada's Soldiers in Siberia, 1918-1919* (Ottawa: Access to History Publications, 1990). I am thankful to Jennifer Polk for bringing this source to my attention.

⁷⁶ The repressive activities of the Canadian state against left-wing radicals during the 1918-1920 "Red Scare" received a detailed analysis in Gregory S. Kealey, "State Repression of Labour and the Left in Canada, 1914-1920: The Impact of the First World War", in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s – 1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 384-412. Also see Donald Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), p. 74-89, and McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries*, p. 149-153.

⁷⁷ *Russkoe slovo*, 30 October 1917.

Temple (although he was later acquitted by the court).⁷⁸ It was not until the late summer of 1918, however, that the federal authorities attempted a massive crackdown on Russian radicals and other “dangerous foreigners”. On 16 September, the Winnipeg police searched the premises of *Rabochii narod* and a week later arrested its editor Michael Charitonoff, who was charged with “having objectionable literature in his possession” and sentenced to a fine of \$1,000 and three years’ imprisonment. Charitonoff’s arrest stirred up socialist organizations and trade unions in Winnipeg, which set up a special fund to appeal the case.⁷⁹ The display of class solidarity brought its results: Charitonoff was released on bail in early December and, after a series of appeals to Ottawa, cleared of all charges.⁸⁰ The publication of *Rabochii narod* was not resumed, however.

Charitonoff’s appearance at the meeting called by the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council on December 22 to protest against the repressive orders-in-council, the persecution of political radicals and the Allied intervention in Russia was greeted with loud applause.⁸¹

Russian socialist groups in Timmins, Brantford, Montreal and other cities, along with their Ukrainian counterparts, were also raided in the fall and winter of 1918-19, with some of their members arrested and tried for seditious activities.⁸² In mid-September

⁷⁸ *Rabochii narod*, 13 April 1918.

⁷⁹ *Western Labour News*, 25 October, 1, 22, 29 November 1918.

⁸⁰ NAC, Department of Justice, RG13, vol. 241, file 1919-2241; *Novyi mir*, 6 February, 20 May 1919; *Kanadskii gudok*, 9 February 1939.

⁸¹ Norman Penner, ed., *Winnipeg 1919: The Strikers’ Own History of the Winnipeg General Strike* (Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1973), p. 12.

⁸² See, for instance, Okulevich, *Russkie v Kanade*, p. 31, 35, 39-40; *Robochyi narod*, 12 June, 24, 31 July, 3, 7 August, 11, 18 September 1918; *Western Labour News*, 8 November 1918; NAC, Department of Justice, RG 13, series A-2, vol. 235, file 1919-1013.

1918, the Department of Justice decided that it would be “advisable for the protection of the country against Bolsheviki propaganda and machinations” to obtain a full inventory of Russian citizens (with names, places of residence etc.) registered with the Canada Registration Board under wartime legislation.⁸³ The gargantuan procedure took two months to complete, after which time C.H. Cahan, director of the newly established Public Safety Branch, had at his disposal a list of 63,784 registered Russian nationals (Ukrainians, Finns, Jews and others), broken down by electoral sub-district.⁸⁴ Two infamous orders-in-councils (PC 2381 and 2384), enacted the same fall with Cahan’s direct participation, banned all publications and meetings in Russian and eleven other “enemy” languages (with the exception of religious and scholarly ones) and prohibited a number of real and imaginary radical organizations including, among others, “the Russian Social Democratic party”, “the Russian Revolutionary Group”, “the Russian Social Revolutionists”, and “the Russian Workers’ Union”. The following June, Section 41 of the Immigration Act was hastily amended to permit deportations of any non-Canadians advocating the “overthrow by force...of constituted law and authority”.⁸⁵

Despite their apparent severity, the repressive measures failed to quash the Russian radicals. In May 1919, shortly after restrictions on Russian-language publications and organizations were lifted, Charitonoff and two other members of the Russian Social

⁸³ NAC, Department of Justice, RG 13, series A-2, vol. 227, file 1918-2021, E.L. Newcombe to the secretary of the Registration Board, 16 September 1918.

⁸⁴ Ibid., C.H. Cahan to E.L. Newcombe, 29 November 1918. The archival records contain only aggregate lists, but it is clear from the correspondence that Cahan received several boxfuls of lists containing names, ages, and places of birth of every one of the 63,784 Russian nationals.

⁸⁵ The full texts of both orders-in-council and the Immigration Act amendment can be found in Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983), pp. 190-196.

Democrat group began to collect funds for launching another Russian-language socialist newspaper *Novyi vek* (New Age), which “would show the right way to the liberation of the working class”.⁸⁶ It was intended to be distributed across both Canada and the United States, where the “Red Scare” was also in full swing. According to American intelligence sources, in June 1919, at the height of the Winnipeg general strike, Charitonoff and his associates received \$7,000 from Ludwig Martens, head of the Soviet Government Information Bureau in New York, to finance the publication. The money was allegedly delivered by “one Fedchenko, a notorious Russian Anarchist of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, who...was making frequent trips in June, between Detroit and Winnipeg, carrying money and confidential documents”.⁸⁷

It is difficult, if not impossible, to verify the credibility of this information, nor is there any evidence to support the U.S. officials’ allegation that some or all of this money was later turned over to the Winnipeg strike committee. What is certain, however, is that Martens and his real and imaginary contacts with Russian radicals in Canada, as well as communications between American and Canadian “Bolsheviks” in general, indeed became a permanent headache for Canadian authorities.⁸⁸ The growing public fear of foreign radicals prompted the Royal North-West Mounted Police to raid the homes of several non-Anglo-Saxon socialist leaders. Among the eleven men, claimed to be the

⁸⁶ *Novyi mir*, 20 May 1919.

⁸⁷ Cited in William Rodney, *Soldiers of the International: A History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1919-1929* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 25. The Soviet Government Information Bureau, established in early 1919, served as an unofficial (and unrecognized) mission of Soviet Russia in the United States.

⁸⁸ See, for instance, Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The Early Years, 1919-1929* (St. John’s: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1994), p. 707.

strike leaders and arrested on June 17, there were five “foreigners”, including three Russian citizens – Michael Charitonoff, Solomon Almazov and Mike Verenchuk.⁸⁹ For Charitonoff, it was the second arrest in ten months.

To deal with the detained aliens, the government intended to use the newly amended Section 41 of the Immigration Act, authorizing deportation on political grounds. Calls for the deportation of all alien (and, indeed, even naturalized) “trouble-makers” found wide support among the returning war veterans, businessmen and law-enforcement officials even before the Winnipeg confrontation. In the words of the above-mentioned Windsor businessman, “deportation, if it is possible, would quickly and finally solve the problem [of foreign radicalism], because there is nothing people of the class in question dread more than to be sent from this great country back to their own lands”.⁹⁰ After June 1919, such views became a stock item in the Canadian discourse on the “Bolshevist threat”.⁹¹ In mid-July, the five men arrested in Winnipeg (including the unfortunate Verenchuk) were brought before an Immigration Board of Inquiry presided over by Judge R. M. Noble. As Donald Avery pointed out, the hearings had utmost importance, for they could set a precedent and clear the way “for the deportation of hundreds of other immigrant agitators

⁸⁹ Sam Blumenberg, a Romanian Jew and member of the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council, and Oscar Schoppelrei, a U.S. citizen, were also arrested. Verenchuk, a CEF veteran discharged in 1917, was apparently arrested by mistake instead of B. Deviatkin, one of Charitonoff’s lieutenants. See Penner, *Winnipeg 1919*, p. 158-159; *Western Labour News*, 1 August 1919.

⁹⁰ NAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, series I-A-1, vol. 394, reel C-10287, file 563236, part 7, F. Maclure Sclanders to W.D. Scott, 5 March 1919.

⁹¹ See Barbara Roberts, *Whence They Came: Deportation from Canada 1900-1935* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988), chap. 5.

across the country”.⁹² The amended provisions of the Immigration Act, however, proved to be inadequate to effect the deportations. Of the five, only Schoppelrei, an American citizen, was deported (and then not under Section 41). Verenchuk was released after an unsuccessful attempt to question his sanity, Almazov was acquitted, and Charitonoff and Blumenberg, initially ordered deported, had their deportation orders rescinded on appeal to the Department of Justice.⁹³

As the Winnipeg deportation hearings, discussed in many Canadian studies of labour radicalism, were coming to a close, a less known series of cases involving Russian-born radicals was brought before the Immigration Board of Inquiry in Vancouver. In late July, as a result of a long operation involving a network of spies inserted in Russian radical groups, the Vancouver police rounded up 27 men – allegedly members of an anarchist ring connected to the local Union of Russian Workers. According to police evidence, the group held its seditious meetings in the poolrooms owned by Elmurza Butaev, an Ossetian from Tersk Province, and by Johan Kelt, an Estonian, both arrested in the raid. Fedor Riazanov, one of the anarchist leaders, was accused of planning a bombing of the Russian consulate and the luxurious Vancouver Hotel owned by the CPR. Pavel Semenov was charged with seditious propaganda among the immigrant miners of the Hillcrest and Coleman districts of Alberta.⁹⁴ Despite a defence campaign organized by the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council and supported

⁹² Donald Avery, “The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919”, in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, eds., *The West and the Nation* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p. 224.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 224; NAC, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, RG 18, series F-3, vol. 3314, file HV-1, parts 4-6.

⁹⁴ The Vancouver *Sun*, 3, 9 September 1919; *Ukrains'ki robotnychi visti*, 10 September 1919.

by other socialist groups, by mid-September all fourteen were ordered deported and placed in the internment camp at Vernon pending deportation arrangements.⁹⁵

The deportations were never implemented, however. In fact, due to the war and later to the chaotic political situation in the territories of the former Russian Empire, no deportations (political or other) from Canada to Russia appear to have occurred after August 1914. The collapse of the old political order in Russia opened the way to multiple border changes and a muddle of ongoing internal and border conflicts, which disrupted normal channels of international diplomatic communication and caused an array of insurmountable logistical problems. The lack of what could be considered a legitimate centre of political authority in Russia after October 1917 presented the greatest difficulty for carrying out the deportations. In December 1919, the Department of Immigration approached the Russian consulate general in Montreal, which at the time represented the anti-Bolshevik government of Admiral Alexander Kolchak, then in control of eastern Russia, with a view of arranging the deportation of sixty-one former Russian subjects to Vladivostok. Along with criminals, public charges and mentally ill, the deportee list included ten of the fourteen “agitators” arrested in Vancouver – Riazanov, Kelt, Butaev, Semenov, Grigorii Trusov (the secretary of the Union of Russian Workers), Fedor Golovin, Pavel, Gapo Chekov, Bashir Dzukoev, Savva Kodovba, and Kasimir Medeikis.⁹⁶ However, Ottawa’s intention to dump a host of “dangerous Russians” into the

⁹⁵ *British Columbia Federationist*, 25 July, 1, 15 August, 5 September, 3, 31 October, 14, 21, 28 November, 19, 26 December 1919; 2, 9, 16 January, 5 November 1920; also *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins*, p. 36-37.

⁹⁶ See the complete list of the deportees in Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 20, file 633, and in NAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, series I-A-1, vol. 611, reel C-10433, file 906924. The ethnic origins of the men are a good demonstration of the multi-ethnic character of Russian radical groups in early twentieth-century Canada: Riazanov, Trusov, Golovin and Semenov were Russians, Butaev,

White-controlled Siberia, where they would have been summarily executed, was not shared by the Kolchak administration and its short-lived successors, which had no burning desire to add another headache to their rapidly mounting problems. In February 1920, Consul Sergei Likhachev, having discussed the matter with the Russian embassy in London, refused to issue visas to the deportees and advised the Canadian government that Soviet Russia would be a more proper destination for those of them who were classified as “Red” agitators.⁹⁷ Having no contact with Petrograd, Ottawa continued its desperate search for a way to deport the fourteen Russians, transferred in the meantime to the New Westminister Penitentiary due to the closure of the Vernon internment camp. The search did not stop even after it became abundantly clear that the case was based on largely fabricated evidence. By early December, however, all possible options were exhausted. On 21 December, the Minister of Immigration James Calder was forced to grant parole to the fourteen prisoners, whose release was triumphantly greeted by the socialist organizations of Western Canada.⁹⁸

The repressions and deportation attempts of 1919-1920 had a depressing effect on Russian socialist organizations. Some were disbanded, as their members became dispersed or lost interest in political activities. After the revolutionary enthusiasm of 1917-18 had passed, workers began to return from meeting-halls to saloons and poolrooms. Many organizations were also weakened by the repatriation of their activists,

Chekov and Dzukoev – Ossetians, Kodovba was most probably Ukrainian, Kelt, as previously mentioned, was a native of Estonia and Medeikis was a Lithuanian from Kovno Province. It is not known why the remaining four were missing from the list.

⁹⁷ Li-Ra-Ma Collection, vol. 20, file 633, Likhachev to Joseph Pope, 4 February 1920.

⁹⁸ NAC, Department of Justice, RG 13, series D-1, vol. 1028, file 327, F.C. Blair to W. S. Hughes, 1 December 1920; *British Columbia Federationist*, 24 December 1921.

which resumed in early 1921 after the lifting of the Allied naval blockade of Soviet Russia. In mid-1919, the Lenin government, through its United States emissary Ludwig Martens, started a “return to the homeland” campaign, exhorting all sympathetic Russian citizens in North America to contribute their skills and savings to the building of a new society.⁹⁹ By early 1920, the Russian Workers’ School in Toronto (organized on the basis of the former Russian Progressive Library) and the Union of Russian Engineers and Workmen in Montreal, led by Socialist Revolutionary V. Revenko, organized driver, mechanic and general education courses, which trained would-be returnees.¹⁰⁰ In 1920, the Union of Russian Engineers and Workmen became an affiliate of the New York-based Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, which had been established a year earlier with Martens’ assistance to combine the provision of technical and general education to the returning immigrants with pro-Soviet agitation. Similar organizations were established in 1919-20 in other Canadian cities. In 1922-23, pro-Soviet immigrants in various United States and Canadian cities began creating agricultural and industrial communes, which purchased machinery and tools and departed for Soviet Russia to serve as model examples of socialist labour. Three such communes under the names of “The First Ukrainian-Canadian Agricultural Commune”, “The Grain-Grower” and “The Workers’ Field”, which recruited at least two hundred members, were formed, respectively, in Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal by left-wing Ukrainian, Belarusan and

⁹⁹ *Novyi mir*, 12 May 1919.

¹⁰⁰ Okulevich, *Russkie v Kanade*, p. 19, 31, 35; *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins*, p. 161, 202-203, 222, 232-233, 268, 271, 707.

ethnic Russian immigrants.¹⁰¹ Affected by repressions and emigration, as well as the depoliticizing impact of the economic prosperity, most of Canada's remaining Russian organizations amalgamated by the mid-1920s with the much stronger and financially secure branches of the Ukrainian Labour and Farmer Temple Association. Others, like the Winnipeg Russian Progressive Club, merged with the Workers' Party, soon to be renamed the Communist Party of Canada.¹⁰²

The collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917 shattered the traditional foundations of Russian nationhood based on the loyalty to the tsar and adherence to the Orthodox faith that held Canada's "Russian colonies" together. The ideological vacuum created by the sudden collapse of the *ancien regime* was soon filled by a welter of various left-wing ideologies, which had heretofore existed on the fringes of the immigrant community composed of largely illiterate peasants with little or no experience in political activism. The events in the homeland exerted a powerful mobilizing influence on the Ukrainian and Belarusan immigrants from the former tsarist empire, most of whom received their first political education through participating in Russian radical organizations which mushroomed across North America towards the end of 1917. However, it would be simplistic to equate the spontaneous upsurge of political consciousness among the immigrant workers with a deep interest in or understanding of the socialist doctrines. In this respect as in others, Canada's "Russian colonies" were largely a mirror image of the

¹⁰¹ Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv, fond R-364, opis' 1, delo 7, list 362; delo 11, list 7-9; see also *Ukrainian Canadians in Historical Ties with the Land of Their Fathers* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1991), p. 94. An unknown, but substantial number of Slavic immigrants from Canada joined American communes heading for Russia, especially the California Commune. There was also a Doukhobor farming commune.

¹⁰² *Kanadskii gudok*, 9 February 1939.

peasant communities in Ukraine or Belarus from which they had sprung. For most immigrants, unable to grasp the intricacies of various “progressive” teachings, the meaning of socialism and revolution was reduced to a few slogans (“land to the peasants”, “down with the war”, etc.). In addition, Canadian public opinion, government agencies and the immigrant press clearly exaggerated the real support that Russian radical organizations were able to muster among the thousands of ordinary immigrants whose voices are absent from the historical record. As it soon became obvious, even a social upheaval of such magnitude as occurred in Russia could not momentarily transform an average Ukrainian or Belarusian peasant into a revolutionary democrat, even though a small minority may have accomplished the transformation. The political activism of the immigrant masses had more qualities of the anarchistic peasant rebellion (*bunt*) spurred by hopes of a secular paradise than those of an organized working-class movement. Stripped of many of its leaders, riven by factional struggles and dispirited by the gruesome massacre of the Russian civil war, it died away almost as quickly as it had emerged. To be sure, socialism would never again be relegated to the margins of the immigrant community, but in the early 1920s its influence was clearly on the wane.

CONCLUSION

Between 1896 and 1914, Canada recorded six of the ten highest annual immigration levels in its entire history, adding over 3 million newcomers to its population. While many came as agricultural settlers attracted by the promise of a free homestead on the Prairies, others filled the growing ranks of Canada's working class. Throughout the period, Britain and the United States remained the largest suppliers of Canadian immigrants, but it was the "strong-limbed" eastern and southern Europeans that came to be sought the most eagerly by prosperous Canadian farmers and industrialists searching for new reservoirs of cheap labour.

The immigration of Ukrainians and Belarusians from the Russian Empire was part and parcel of the massive transoceanic circuits of population and labour that firmly tied North America to the European agrarian periphery. Yet, despite the revival of ethnic and immigration history in the last decades, to date it has received very little scholarly attention. The dearth of Canadian studies of Slavic migration from Russia is fully matched by the similar historiographic gap that exists south of the 49th parallel. This study has attempted to revise the popular version of immigration from tsarist Russia as consisting primarily of religious and political refugees and to demonstrate that after 1905-06 economic migrants, predominantly of eastern Slav origin, constituted the bulk of the migration stream originating on the western frontier of the Romanov empire. The opinions of some historians who link the growth of mass emigration from tsarist Russia to the flight of the peasantry from army recruitment, political repressions following the revolution of 1905-07 or increased pressure of the Russification policies do not find support in the sources, at least in the case of the eastern Slav immigrants. While such

motives may have played a role for some emigrants, their numbers, by all indications, were not significant. The apparently high incidence of return migration among Ukrainians and Belarusans, which is suggested by the sources, also proves that it was economic rather than political considerations that provided the main incentive for peasant emigration from tsarist Russia just as they did for the majority of other Europeans that crossed the Atlantic during the era of great migrations.

The image of Clifford Sifton's stalwart Slavic peasants coming to till the land on the Prairies did not fit the vast majority of Ukrainians and Belarusans arriving from Russia's western frontier. Although scattered farming settlements composed of Ukrainian and probably Belarusan immigrants from the Russian Empire did exist (primarily in Saskatchewan and Alberta), most came to Canada as unskilled labourers and headed towards the resource frontier or urban centres. As temporary migrants, they had much less in common with early Ukrainian settlers from the neighbouring Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina than they had with the Italian "birds of passage" that have become such a familiar image in North American immigration history.

While Belarus was the first to develop labour migration to Canada, in the end Ukraine sent a far larger number of emigrants. By 1914, there were three Russian-born Ukrainians for every Belarusan immigrant in Canada. In both regions, the topography of emigration to Canada was characterized by an irregular pattern, which was also repeated at the district and village levels. While most immigrants came from villages of solitary or sparse emigration, almost a quarter of Ukrainians and about seven percent of Belarusans arrived in Canada from places that developed large migration chains. In these villages, emigration often recruited several male members of extended families (brothers, cousins,

or even fathers and sons) and was beginning to have a significant effect on the local economic micro-structures and social relations.

Geographically, the watershed between areas that developed considerable emigration to Canada and those where it remained weak or non-existent was formed by the Dnieper River, the few pockets of emigration from territories further east being exceptions that only prove the rule. Detailed answers (if they are possible) to the question “Why did the latter territories by and large remain outside the pull of the Atlantic economy?” must await further studies but some general hypotheses may be suggested. First of all, the Left-Bank Ukraine and eastern Belarus, having been part of the Russian Empire for a longer period, were more closely integrated into the imperial core than its southwestern and northwestern borderlands, more exposed to the Great Russian cultural influences and further removed, geographically and culturally, from the Atlantic world. This also explains the relatively large extent of colonization movement to Siberia in these areas, which may have diverted a significant part of their migration potential in the eastern direction. In addition, the sheer physical distance that separated them from the empire’s western periphery made the extension of European migration networks across the Dnieper difficult. Whether the “America fever” would still have penetrated some of these territories if the First World War had not brought transatlantic migration to a halt will never be known, although the examples of the Russian peasants from the Volga, who around 1912 discovered Canada thanks to the local Germans, and the Black Sea Ossetians and Georgians, who began to emigrate around the same time, serve as evidence in favour of an affirmative answer.

The example of Russia's western frontier shows that the Atlantic migration system is best conceptualized as a very broad analytical category useful for highlighting the general similarity in the structure and patterns of migrant flows between Europe and America and within each continent. On a more empirical level, however, it functioned as a combination of multiple regional subsystems not necessarily coterminous with ethnic, religious or administrative boundaries. In each of these subsystems, the routes and destinations chosen by the migrants exhibited their own pattern, determined by the configuration of the local migrant networks. The latter, in turn, depended on a multitude of factors specific to the given area: the proximity of areas and/or population groups with a more developed migration culture, the availability of alternative migration options or the exposedness of the local peasantry to outside contacts and influences. It is due to the operation of these networks that, for instance, peasants in Pruzhany (Grodno) overwhelmingly went to Canada, while their neighbours from adjacent districts chose Pennsylvania or New York.

Economy, of course, had a major impact on emigration: as we have seen, overpopulation, meagre landholdings and/or infertile soils all contributed to the emergence of conditions that favoured population mobility. The hereditary system of land tenure that predominated in all heavy-emigration areas of Ukraine and Belarus institutionalized rural poverty by precluding peasant families from expanding their plots through periodic repartitions that were practiced, albeit with diminishing frequency, in areas with communal tenure. On the other hand, the weakness of the commune on the empire's western frontier created a peasant culture different from that of the heartland

areas – one which left somewhat more room for individual initiative and entrepreneurial spirit needed to make emigration an acceptable alternative.

In each of the two regions, economic pressures that acted as a stimulus for emigration played out in locally specific ways, but with essentially the same effect. A comparative analysis of the two regional economies reminds us that as a factor that contributed to emigration, overpopulation should be interpreted not as a synonym of high population density but as a relationship between the number of residents in a given area and the economic resources available to them. Therefore, a simple comparison of aggregate statistics, which reveals a much larger average size of peasant plots in Belarus coupled with lower density of population than in Ukraine, can tell us little about the real conditions of the peasantry in each of these regions. It is only through bringing into analysis such factors as soil fertility, family structure and the organization of local agricultural economies that we can understand the essentially similar nature of the pressures faced by the rural population in western-central Belarus and the Right-Bank Ukraine on the other. While in Podolia, Kiev and northern Bessarabia the poor conditions of the peasantry were the result of the domination of the local economy by large capitalist manors, in Grodno and Minsk they stemmed largely from the poor quality of the soil and the larger size of peasant families which cancelled out whatever advantages in the amount of landholdings that Belarusian peasants might have over their Ukrainian neighbours.

And yet, however heavy the economic “push” might be, the wheels of emigration were always set in motion by forces rooted in human agency. As elsewhere in Europe, the vast migration potential of the empire’s western frontier could be realized only

through the creation of mechanisms that would supply future emigrants with information and resources needed for making an overseas move. Where such mechanisms did not emerge or were slow to come into existence, peasants continued to head for work, as they had done for years, to the nearest sugar-beet estate, a wealthy German farm in Bessarabia or a mine in Donbass. After all, except for a few localities, peasant emigration from Belarus and especially “Russian” Ukraine never reached the same intensity which it had exhibited in such parts of Europe as Italy, Slovakia or Transcarpathia, where many villages lost nearly all their male population. Even at its apex it could rarely compete, either in the numbers of people involved or economic significance, with the much more extensive internal population movements. Moreover, before emigration could settle into a chain pattern, the conservative East European peasant, averse to any radical break with traditional ways, required convincing proof of the worthiness of the overseas adventure, which had to come in the form of money orders and accounts of the pioneers. It is important to remember that for peasants in early twentieth-century eastern Ukraine and Belarus emigration was never a “life or death” question but rather a conscious choice between a temporary spell as an industrial worker and permanent proletarianization. Similar to other regions of east-central and southern Europe, a few years of hard work in a Canadian mine or in railway construction seemed a small price to pay for the preservation of one’s status in a society that still valued land above all else. As contemporaries were quick to notice, in terms of its economic purpose temporary emigration was largely an extension of the old tradition of internal labour-seeking migrations, which had drawn millions of Ukrainian and Belarusian peasants into their orbit by the end of the nineteenth century. Viewed from the emigrants’ standpoint, labour

emigration was intended to preserve the old social order, even though in reality it usually led to a further weakening of the latter.

For the majority of peasant families, emigration was first and foremost a short-term economic strategy aimed at achieving larger goals such as an extension of the family landholdings and property. Marriage played a crucial role in opting for emigration: as we have seen, not only did married men (especially newlyweds) predominate among the migrants, but their relative proportion in the migrant cohort surpassed the proportion of married men in the general rural population of the similar age. In many Ukrainian and Belarusian villages emigration was seen as the quickest way for a young peasant family to accumulate some starting capital which would allow them to separate economically and financially from their parents' households. To what extent such strategy was successful is a different – and difficult – question, which, unfortunately, cannot be answered on the basis of the available sources. In the long run, however, peasant families in eastern Ukraine and Belarus proved to be much less fortunate than their counterparts in the rest of Eastern Europe. The German occupation of 1914, two revolutions in one year, and four years of civil war that resulted in the extension of Soviet rule to most of Ukraine and Belarus effectively wiped out whatever economic security emigration might have brought. After the late 1920s, the very fact of having had an emigrant in the extended family could bring fatal consequences to all of its members.

Although labour emigration was essentially a socio-economic phenomenon, it can be fully understood only if placed in the context of the political and legal systems of the donor and the receiving states. Impressed with the apparent ease with which millions of Europeans moved across state borders in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,

historians have too often neglected to explore political attitudes and legal structures that made these vast population flows possible. As this study has attempted to demonstrate, the formal strictness of tsarist emigration laws was never even remotely matched by consistency in their practical application, which allowed hundreds of thousands of people of various nationalities to leave the empire for as long as they wished without much impediment or control on the part of the authorities. It should again be emphasized that the popular image of the Russian Empire as a gigantic prison encompassing one sixth of the world territory should be laid to rest as having little to do with historical reality. In fact, the very failure of the Russian imperial state to develop general legislation regulating emigration testifies to the fact that the issue was not seen as one of extreme political importance, although the possible weakening of the Russian Orthodox presence on the empire's western frontier as a result of peasant emigration did begin to cause some concern. Moreover, as long as peasant emigration retained (as it largely did) a temporary character, it was heeded in some public and, increasingly, even government circles as a possible source of financial and intellectual capital for the state. Starting to realize the futility of efforts to keep Russia's peasants at home, the tsarist authorities – more by intuition than as part of a coherent policy – slowly turned their attention to the development of mechanisms that would maintain the emigrants' ties with Russia. At the other end of the migration stream, the economic interests of the rising Canadian industry largely outweighed public and state concerns about the racial unfitness of the arriving "Russians" and, by and large, allowed them hassle-free entry into the country. In fact, the approaches of the Russian and Canadian states toward labour migration followed the same non-stated rule: as long as the estimated cost of its negative effects remained

significantly lower than the expense involved in erecting effective mechanisms of controlling the migrant flow, official responses to migration remained anti-interventionist.

The insertion of Ukrainian and Belarusan peasants in the Canadian society occurred within two socio-economic contexts. The majority took lower-end occupations in the resource industries or railway construction, while others headed for the cities where they shared the same neighbourhoods with thousands of Jews, “Ruthenians”, Poles and other Eastern Europeans. Large urban centres served not only as places of permanent settlement for these Eastern European labourers but also – or even primarily – as regional labour exchanges. The boundary between the city and the frontier was a blurred one for the majority of the migrants, who followed the vagaries of the labour market and went wherever there were jobs to be had. Montreal and, perhaps, Toronto and Winnipeg were the only cities in early twentieth-century Canada where one could spot the emerging nuclei of the permanent ethnic settlements composed of Russian-born Slavic workers. Even these settlements, however, lacked the necessary foundations of fully viable communities – the sufficient presence of women, families and children. The lack of female immigration from Russia forced single men of eastern Ukrainian and Belarusan origin to marry Orthodox (less often Roman or Greek Catholic) women from Galicia, Bukovina or Poland. The elasticity of early twentieth-century “Russian colonies”, which lacked fixed ethnic boundaries or criteria of belonging except the use of Russian as the “high” language and, in most cases, adherence to Orthodoxy, allowed them to absorb members of other Slavic (and, on occasion, even non-Slavic) groups through intermarriage or other forms of socialization but just as easily lose their own members to

these culturally affine communities. On the left wing of the community, where religion had little or no integrative power, language, identity and country of origin were usually the sole markers of one's "Russianness".

The experiences of most of Ukrainian and Belarusan migrants in early twentieth-century Canada are best described through the concept of sojourning, which highlights the lack of stability and permanence in their lives. Oscar Handlin's concept of "uprooted" immigrants wrenched away from their homes and prone to psychological distress may be inadequate as an overarching theoretical model but it is useful to describe the sojourning culture of the Slavic workers that inhabited numerous work camps and frontier towns of early twentieth-century Canada. For the majority of these men, as long as they held hopes of returning home, contact with and integration in the host society was limited to the economic sphere. To survive and succeed, one certainly had to grasp the workings of the Canadian labour market, but the world that made sense and had meaning lay beyond the sea, in the home village where their wives and parents continued to till the land waiting for the money remittances from their husbands and sons. Maintaining contact with the homeland therefore assumed great significance: mentally, if not physically, the temporary migrant still remained embedded in the social networks of his village community. The fragility of the ties, however, increased with every year, although it might not always mean greater integration into the Canadian society. Gendered forms of leisure such as drinking, gambling and brawling allowed the men to ease the stress of sojourning and create a proxy of the masculine culture of their home town. However, due to the high mobility of the migrant population the social ties formed as a result of such interaction had a temporary and tenuous character.

Although in most places religious institutions were the only type of association available to the immigrants, overall the church rarely played a major role in the lives of the migrant workers. The creation of viable parishes was possible only with the emergence of more permanent and, most importantly, more gender-balanced settlements, in which women could apply their tempering and stabilizing influence. Attempts of the Russian Orthodox Mission in North America to reach its Canadian flock were also thwarted by the geographic isolation of Canada's work camps and mining towns and the transience of the migrant population. As this work has shown, the size and effectiveness of the financial subsidies it received from St. Petersburg were exaggerated by its contemporary rivals as well as some later historians. Having most of its followers (primarily Carpatho-Rusyns from Transcarpathia) south of the 49th parallel, the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada remained a small, non-incorporated ethnic denomination with few resources and even fewer experienced clergy. Even with the many handicaps, it did achieve a modicum of success by 1917, partly on the wave of Russian patriotism engendered in the immigrant communities by the Great War. Just as it seemed to be making some progress among Russian-born urban and frontier workers, the fall of the Romanov monarchy, followed in eight months by the Bolshevik revolution, dealt a crushing blow to the church as an institution, which reverberated across Russian Orthodox communities all over the world. The end of financial infusions from Russia was, however, a lesser problem compared to the growth of radicalism among the immigrant masses, which, like millions of peasants in Russia itself, rejected the prospect of salvation through faith in favour of a secular paradise embodied in the slogans of October 1917. While the nearly all-male world of the "Russian colonies" may have

proven an obstacle to the creation of church institutions or benevolent societies, it turned out to be exceptionally fertile – at least in the short run – to the spread of revolutionary agitation. The upsurge of political radicalism among Canada's Russian-born workers after 1916-17 makes one wonder whether it did not act, at least in part, as a valve for the pent-up stresses and frustrations of the sojourning life. Any estimates of the number of Russian-born workers involved in radical organizations are bound to remain conjectural, but the public branding of the "Russians" as Bolsheviks and anarchists did reflect the reality of a considerable radicalization of the Russian-born immigrant population, although its threat to the existing order was certainly exaggerated. A marginal force in immigrant communities before the First World War, Russian and Russo-Ukrainian socialist organizations of all imaginable political colours suddenly moved to the centre stage for a few turbulent years, only to die away as quickly as they emerged. The establishment of Soviet government in much of the former Russian Empire by 1921 was doubtless a major reason for the decline of Russian socialism in America, for it removed the *raison d'être* for most of the radical groups, which had been little other than overseas extensions of parent socialist parties in Russia with few connections to the Canadian labour movement.

As a postscript, a few words need to be added about the post-1920 history of Canada's "Russian colonies", which, among other things, provides an instructive example of ethnic identity permutations that occurred among eastern Slav immigrants. Weakened by return migration, intermarriage and the movement of some of their better off members from industrial occupations to farming, Canada's frontier and urban "Russian colonies" continued to shrink in size and vitality until the late 1920s. The

records of what was once Canada's largest urban Russian Orthodox parish of SS Peter and Paul in Montreal show a marked decline in the number of sacraments performed and in the overall intensity of the parish's social life during the 1920s. Small groups of anti-Bolshevik refugees that trickled into Canada in the early 1920s did provide some revitalizing impulse to the flagging community, but their insertion into the existing parishes often created tensions with the old members, whose humble backgrounds, pidgin Russian-Ukrainian-English speech and often leftist views set them apart from the new arrivals. Many Russian-born Ukrainians and Belarusans of the "progressive" orientation who maintained an interest in politics were drawn to the larger and stronger Ukrainian socialist organizations and eventually merged with the Ukrainian-Canadian community. Only with the arrival of a new cohort of Belarusans and Volhynian Ukrainians from Poland in the late twenties did the Russian community enter a period of revival. In contrast to Ukrainians from Galicia (also ruled by Poland between the wars), the majority of Ukrainian and virtually all Orthodox Belarusan immigrants from the former Russian imperial territories continued to hold on to the Russian orientation, which they saw as an antidote to Polonization, and used Russian as their written language. The left-wing and atheistic leanings of many of these newcomers soon found their expression in the founding of Russian Workers' and Farmers' Clubs, whose structure and ideology reflected the strongly pro-Soviet bias of their members. In 1942, at the height of the wartime campaign to aid Russia, these clubs amalgamated into the Federation of Russian Canadians, which claimed a membership of over 20,000.

Precisely because being a Russian in Canada came to be associated with either the old tsarist imperialism or the pro-Soviet political attitudes of the interwar immigrants,

Russian identity was rejected by the majority of eastern Ukrainians and Belarusans who arrived in Canada after 1945 as displaced persons and European war refugees. In addition, unlike their fathers, most of the post-war immigrants had grown up in an environment that favoured Ukrainian or Belarusan self-consciousness thanks, ironically, to the policies of the Soviet state, which, between the early 1920s and mid-1930s, pursued a policy that encouraged the development of national cultures of non-Russian ethnic groups. Others became inculcated with a nationalist and anti-Russian outlook while fighting against the USSR in various nationalist formations or living in the DP camps. As a result, the majority of this third wave of Slavic immigrants from what had once been the western frontier of the tsarist empire and then of the Soviet Union no longer thought of themselves as Russians but rather as Ukrainians or Belarusans. For the first time, the majority of eastern Ukrainians integrated into Canada's Ukrainian community, still composed primarily of persons with Galician or Bukovinian roots, while Belarusans began to form their own associations instead of joining Russian or Polish ones. These processes boded ill for the future of Canada's Russian group. Although it too increased after the coming of the post-1945 refugees, the extent of the increase was comparatively small (simply because there were relatively few ethnic Russians among the DPs). In addition, the new arrivals by and large formed their own organizations and parishes, rarely mingling with the quickly diminishing population of the pre-1914 peasant immigrants from tsarist Russia or the interwar immigrants from Poland. With the gradual passing of the old Russified generation of Ukrainians and Belarusans in the 1970s and 1980s, the social boundaries of Canada's Russian community continued to shrink until the arrival of the post-Soviet immigrant wave.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Collections

Russia

Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv, St. Petersburg

Fond 95 (Ministry of Trade and Industry), opis' 5, delo 611; opis' 6, delo 678, 1241; opis' 7, delo 637; opis' 8, delo 1027; opis' 18, delo 620

Fond 104 (Russian East-Asiatic Steamship Company), opis' 1, delo 265

Fond 796 (Chancellery of the Holy Synod), opis' 190, 1 stol, VI otделение, delo 96

Fond 1149 (State Council), opis' XII-1899, delo 100

Fond 1278 (State Duma), opis' 5, delo 968

Fond 1284 (Ministry of Internal Affairs), opis' 188, delo 9

Fond 1409 (His Imperial Majesty's Own Chancellery), opis' 6, delo 1691

Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii, Moscow

Fond 102 (Ministry of Internal Affairs, Police Department), opis' 243, delo 341

Fond R-364 (Permanent Commission on Immigration and Emigration), opis' 1, delo 7, 11

Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv voenno-morskogo flota, St. Petersburg

Fond 420 (Chancellery of the Naval Minister), opis' 1, file 180

North America

Alaskan Russian Church Archives, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division

The Geographic File (Series D)

Fort William

Diocese administration. Correspondence, 1911-1915, undated

Montreal

Diocese administration. Correspondence, 1911-1915, undated

Toronto

Diocese administration. Correspondence, 1911-1915, undated

Vancouver

Diocese administration. Correspondence, 1913-1916, undated

Winnipeg

Diocese administration. Correspondence, 1893-1916, undated. Parish records, cumulative, 1907

Archives of the Archdiocese of Canada, Orthodox Church in America, Spencerville, Ontario

Holy Trinity Church (Winnipeg), baptism and marriage books, 1907-1915

Baptismal records of the Russian Orthodox Church of St. John the Divine, Windsor, 1917-1921

Collection book of the Russian Orthodox Church of St. John the Divine, 1917

Archives of the Saint Peter and Saint Paul Orthodox Church, Montreal

Marriage and baptism registers, 1917-1921

Membership book of the Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox Brotherhood, 1906 – [1916?]

Church Affairs file, 1914-1935

Church Affairs file, 1930-1936

Various Minutes file, 1925-1931

Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster University

Folder "Baptist Union Historical"

John Kolesnikoff file

Western Collection, Ivan Shakotko file

Home Mission Board Minutes, 1908 – 1921

Minute Book of the Beverley Street Baptist Church [Toronto], 1911 – 1932

National Archives of Canada

Andry Zhuk Papers MG30 C167

Canadian National Railway Records, RG30

Office of the President, Letterbooks

Department of Agriculture, RG17

Docket and Letterbook Registry System, General Correspondence

Department of External Affairs, RG25
1939 Central Registry

Department of Justice, RG13
Numbered Central Registry Files
Operational Records of the Penitentiary Branch

Department of National Defence, RG24
Second Naval Service Central Registry

Immigration Branch, RG76
Headquarters Central Registry Files, First Central Registry System
Halifax Ships' Manifests, 1912, reels T-4743, T-4744

Likacheff-Ragosine-Mathers Collection, MG30 E406
Montreal Consulate-General
Vancouver Consulate
Registers and Journals of the Montreal Consulate General
Passport/Identity Papers

Ministry of the Overseas Military Forces, RG150
Attestation Papers

Peter Krawchuk Papers, MG30 D403

Royal Canadian Mounted Police, RG18
Security Records

Provincial Archives of Ontario

Multicultural History Society of Ontario Collection, Series 72 (Russian-Canadian Papers), Christ the Saviour Russian Orthodox Cathedral, registers of marriages, 1922-1927

United Church Archives, Victoria University

Presbyterian Church of Canada. Board of Social Service and Evangelism. Report for 1913.

Fonds 14 (Methodist Church Missionary Society), series 4 (Home Mission Records)

Periodicals

Canada and the United States

Amerikanskii pravoslavnyi vestnik = *Russian Orthodox American Messenger* (New York), 1897-1918

The Baptist Year Book, 1912-1920

British Columbia Federationist (Vancouver), 1918-1919

Kanadiiskaia pravoslavnaia rus' (Winnipeg), 1916

Kanadskii gudok (Winnipeg; Toronto), 1930-1939

Labour Gazette (Ottawa), 1910-1918

Novyi mir (New York), 1911-1919

Rabochii narod (Winnipeg), 1918-1919

Robochyi narod (Winnipeg), 1909-1918

Russkii emigrant (New York), 1911-1914

Russkii golos (Edmonton), 1913-1916

Russkii narod (Winnipeg), 1914-1915

Russkoe slovo (New York), 1917-1920

Svit (Wilkes Barre, Pa.), 1909-1917

The Toronto Globe, 1914, 1916

Ukrains'ki robitnychi visti (Winnipeg), 1918-1921

The Vancouver Sun, 1918-1919

Western Labour News (Winnipeg), 1918-1919

The Year Book of the Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1908 – 1910

Russia

Agronomicheskii zhurnal, 1913

Ekonomicheskaiia zhizn' Podolii, 1913-1914

Ekonomicheskii listok Podol'skogo gubernskogo zemstva, 1912

Izvestiia iuzhno-russkoi zemskoi oblastnoi pereselencheskoi organizatsii, 1910-1914

Izvestiia Volynskogo gubernskogo zemstva, 1911-1914

Kievlianin, 1911-1914

Novoe vremia, 1911-1914

Podolianin, 1911-1914

Rada, 1908-1914

Russkie vedomosti, 1911-1914

Sel'skii khoziain, 1913

Severo-Zapadnaia zhizn', 1913

Vestnik Evropy, 1904, 1914

Vestnik finansov, promyshlennosti i trgovli, 1914

Vestnik Ministerstva iustitsii, 1909

Vestnik Novouzenskogo zemstva, 1911-1914

Zemskii sbornik Chernigovskoi gubernii, 1904

Government Publications

1971 Census of Canada. Vol. 1, Part 3. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1980.

Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1900-1915, *Canada. House of Commons. Sessional Papers*, paper no. 25.

Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1913.

Fourth Census of Canada, 1901. Vol. 1. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1902.

Fifth Census of Canada, 1911. Vol. 2. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1913.

General Report of the Minister of Public Works and Labour of the Province of Quebec, for the year ending 30th June 1912", *Quebec Sessional Papers* 1912, paper no. 4.

Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi Imperii 1897 goda. St. Petersburg, 1897-1905. Vols. III (Bessarabia), IV (Vil'na), VIII (Volhynia), XI (Grodno), XVI (Kiev), XXII (Minsk), XXXII (Podolia).

Rossiia. Tsentral'nyi statisticheskii komitet. Statistika zemlevladieniia v Rossii 1905 goda St. Petersburg, 1905-1907. Vols. III (Bessarabia), VIII (Volhynia), XI (Grodno), XVI (Kiev), XXII (Minsk), XXXII (Podolia).

Rossiia. Tsentral'nyi statisticheskii komitet. Statisticheskii Ezhegodnik Rossii 1910. St. Petersburg, 1911.

Sixth Census of Canada, 1921. Vol. 1. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1924.

Stenograficheskie otchety Gosudarstvennoi Dumy. 4 sozyv, sessiia 1, tom 3. St. Petersburg, 1913.

Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii. Vol. 14. St. Petersburg, 1903.

Maps, Atlases, Directories

Atlas of Canada. Prepared under the direction of J.E. Chalifour. 2nd edition. [Ottawa], 1915.

Atlas of the City of Montreal and Vicinity. 4 Vols. Charles E. Goad Co., 1912.

Goad's Insurance Plan, City of Montreal, 1909-1915.

Karta Bessarabskoi gubernii. St. Petersburg: A. Il'in, n.d.

Karta Grodnenskoii gubernii. Varshava: F.R. Karpovich, 1915.

Karta Iugo-Zapadnogo kraia. n.p.: Fish i Vol'son, n.d.

Karta Minskoi gubernii. Petrograd: A. Il'in, 1917-18.

Lovell's Montreal City Directory, 1907-1918

Magocsi, Paul Robert. *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe*. Cartographic design by Geoffrey J. Matthews. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Might 's Toronto City Directory, 1912-1918

Robert, Jean-Claude. *Atlas historique de Montréal*. Montréal: Art Global Inc.; Éditions Libre Expression, 1994.

Tesla, Ivan. *Istorychnyi atlas Ukrainy*. Montreal: Ukrain's'ke istorychne tovarystvo, 1980.

Other Primary Sources

Bickersteth, John Burgon. *The Land of Open Doors; Being Letters from Western Canada*. London: Wells Gardner, Darton, 1914.

Borodin, N.A. *Severo-Amerikanskije Soedinennye Shtaty i Rossiia*. Petrograd: Izd. K-va "Ogin", 1915.

Darcovich, William, comp. *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980.

Ianovskii, S.A. and A. I. Kastelianskii, eds. *Spravochnaia kniga po voprosam emigratsii*. St. Petersburg: Tip. I.A. Lur'e i ko., 1913.

The Jubilee Book of the Russian Orthodox Christ the Saviour Cathedral in Toronto, 1915-1965. n.p., [1965].

Kealey, Gregory S., and Reg Whitaker. *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The Early Years, 1919-1929*. St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1994.

Korolenko, Vladimir. *In a Strange Land*. New York: Bernard G. Richards Company, 1925.

Korol'ov, V. *Ukraintsi v Amerytsi*. Kiev: "Prosvita", 1909.

Kurchevskii, B. *Ob emigratsii v Ameriku*. Libava, 1913.

Mission Work in Manitoba and the Northwest: Reports Submitted to the Baptist Convention of Manitoba and the Northwest and the Women's Baptist Home and Foreign Missionary Society of Manitoba and the Northwest, Winnipeg, July 4th and 5th, 1900.

Manitoba and the North-West: Some Facts Regarding Rapid Settlement, Religions, etc., also Reports on Baptist Missions, Showing the Present Urgent Need of Vigorous Prosecution of the Work. n.p., [1901?].

Ofrosimov, L. S. *Otkhozhii promysel za okean. Obsledovanie Vilenskoï gubernii.* Vil'na: Tip. M.S. Grozenskogo, 1912.

Okuntsov, Ivan. *Russko-Amerikanskii spravochnik: Geograficheskii i statistiko-ekonomicheskii ocherk Soedinennykh Shtatov, Kanady i Rossii.* New York: Russkoe slovo, 1913.

Omelchenko, E. I. *Russian-American Register.* New York: Russian-American Register Publishing Co., 1920.

Pro Kanadu: iaka tse zemlia i iak v ii zhyvut' liude. Kiev: "Prosvita", 1908.

Rady dlia emihrantou, katorye eduts' u Ameryku. Vil'nia: Izd. Tavarystva apekti nad emihrantami, 1912.

Stolypin, P.A. and V.A. Krivoshein. *Poezdka v Sibir' i Povolzh'e.* St. Petersburg: Tip. A.S. Suvorina, 1911.

Tizenko, P. *Emigratsionnyi vopros v Rossii, 1820-1910.* Libava: Libavskii vestnik, 1909.

Tovarishch russkogo emigranta v Amerike. Pervyi Kalendar'-Ezhegodnik, vypuskaemyi edinstvennoi v Amerike russkoi sotsialisticheskoi rabochei gazetoï "Novyi mir". New York: "Novyi mir", 1913.

Turchaninov, N., and L. Domrachev. *Itogi pereselencheskogo dvizheniia za vremia c 1910 po 1914 gg. (vkluchitel'no).* Petrograd: Izdanie pereselencheskogo upravleniia, 1916.

Voblyi, K.G. *Zaatlanticheskaia emigratsiia: ee prichiny i sledstviia (opyt statistiko-ekonomicheskogo issledovaniia).* Varshava: Tip. Varshavskogo uchebnogo okruga, 1904.

Yasnowskyj, Pylyp. *Pid ridnym i pid chuzhym nebom: spohady pionera.* Buenos Aires: Vyd. Iuliana Seredyaka, 1961.

Articles and Book Chapters

Archdeacon, Thomas J., and Alfred E. Senn. "Labor Emigration from Tsarist Russia: A Review Essay", *International Migration Review* 24, 1 (1990): 149-160.

Avery, Donald. "Canadian Immigration Policy and the "Foreign" Navvy, 1896-1914", *Canadian Historical Association Papers* (1972): 135-156.

Avery, Donald. "Continental European Workers in Canada, 1896-1919: From 'Stalwart Peasants' to Radical Proletariat", *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 12, 1 (1975): 53-64.

Avery, Donald. "The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919", in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, eds., *The West and the Nation*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976, pp. 209-231.

Balan, Boris B. "Urbanization and the Ukrainian Economy in the Mid-Nineteenth Century", in I. S. Koropeckyj, ed., *Ukrainian Economic History: Interpretive Essays*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991, pp. 277-309.

Berd, Tomas (Thomas Bird). "Zluchanyia Shtaty Ameryki i emihratsyinaia tematyka u publitsystytsy i paezii 'Nashai nivy'", *Zapisy: Belaruskii instytut navuki i mastatstva* 23 (1999): 5-37.

Blank, Inge. "A Vast Migratory Experience: Eastern Europe in the Pre- and Post-Emancipation Era", in Dirk Hoerder and Inge Blank, eds., *Roots of the Transplanted*. Vol.1: *Late 19th Century East Central and Southeastern Europe*. Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; New York: Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1994, pp. 201-252.

Chyz, Jaroslav, and Joseph Roucek. "The Russians in the United States", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 17 (1939): 638-658.

Clem, Ralph S. "Population Change in the Ukraine in the Nineteenth Century", in I.S. Koropeckyj, ed., *Ukrainian Economic History: Interpretive Essays*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991, pp. 233-245.

Cygan, Mary Eleanor. "Polish Women and Emigrant Husbands", in Dirk Hoerder and Inge Blank, eds., *Roots of the Transplanted*. Vol.1: *Late 19th Century East Central and Southeastern Europe*. Boulder, Colo.: Eastern European Monographs, 1994, pp. 359-374.

Davies, David. "The Pre-1917 Roots of Canadian-Soviet Relations", *Canadian Historical Review* 70, 2 (1989): 180-205.

Davies, David. "Introduction: Canadian-Soviet Relations in Historical Perspective", in David Davies, ed., *Canada and the Soviet Experiment: Essays on Canadian Encounters with Russia and the Soviet Union*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1994, pp. 1-23.

"Emigratsiia", in *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar*. Vol. 80. St. Petersburg: Izdanie F.A. Brokgauza and I.A. Efrona, 1904, pp. 732-759.

Fawcett, J.T. "Networks, Linkages and Migration Systems", *International Migration Review* 23, 3 (Fall 1989): 671-80.

Forestell, Nancy. "Bachelors, Boarding-Houses, and Blind Pigs: Gender Construction in a Multi-Ethnic Mining Camp, 1909-1920", in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s – 1960s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998, pp. 251-290.

Freeze, Gregory. "Handmaiden of the State? The Orthodox Church in Imperial Russia Reconsidered", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985): 82-102.

Gerber, David A. "Epistolary Ethics: Personal Correspondence and the Culture of Emigration in the Nineteenth Century", *Journal of American Ethnic History* 19, 4 (Summer 2000): 3-23.

Gould, J.D. "European Inter-Continental Emigration, 1815-1914: Patterns and Causes", *Journal of European Economic History* 8, 3 (Winter 1979): 593-679.

Habakkuk, H.J. "Family Structure and Economic Change in Nineteenth Century Europe", in Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel, eds., *A Modern Introduction to the Family*. Rev. ed. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1968, pp. 140-149.

Harney, Robert F. "Men without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada, 1885-1930", in Betty Caroli, Robert Harney and Lydio Tomasi, eds., *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1978, pp. 79-101.

Harney, Robert F. "Ethnicity and Neighbourhoods", in Robert F. Harney, ed., *Gathering Place: People and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985, pp. 1-24.

Harney, Robert F. "Boarding and Belonging", in Bruno Ramirez, ed., *"If One Were to Write a History...": Selected Writings by Robert F. Harney*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1991, pp. 118-142.

Himka, John-Paul. "The Background to Emigration: Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna, 1848-1914", in Manoly Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982, pp. 11-31.

Hoerder, Dirk. "Changing Paradigms in Migration History: From 'To America' to World-Wide Systems", *Canadian Review of American Studies* 24, 2 (1994): 105-126.

Hoerder, Dirk. "Ethnic Studies in Canada from the 1880s to 1962: A Historiographical Perspective and Critique", *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 26, 1 (1994): 1-18.

Hosking, Geoffrey. "Empire and Nation-Building in Late Imperial Russia". in Geoffrey Hosking and Robert Service, eds., *Russian Nationalism: Past and Present*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998, pp. 19-34.

Iacovetta, Franca. "Manly Militants, Cohesive Communities and Defiant Domestics: Writing about Immigrants in Canadian Historical Scholarship", *Labour/Le travail* 36 (Fall 1995): 217-252.

Iakymenko, M.A. "Mihratsii ukrains'koho selianstva (1861-1905)", *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 9 (September 1982): 61-71.

Iakymenko, M.A. "Orhanizatsiia pereselennia selian z Ukraini v roki stolypins'koi ahrarnoi reformy (1906-1913)", *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 7 (July 1974): 32-42.

Isajiw, Wsewolod W. "Definitions of Ethnicity", in Rita M. Bienvenue and Jay E. Goldstein, eds., *Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada*. 2nd ed. Toronto: Butterworth, 1985, pp. 5-18.

Kaye, Vladimir. "Canadians of Belorussian Origin", *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* 30 (1960): 300-314.

Kazymyra, Nadia. "The Defiant Pavlo Krat and the Early Socialist Movement in Canada", *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 10, 2 (1978): 38-54.

Kealey, Gregory S. "State Repression of Labour and the Left in Canada, 1914-1920: The Impact of the First World War", in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper and Robert Ventresca, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s – 1960s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998, pp. 384-412.

Kelebay, Yarema. "Three Fragments of the Ukrainian Community in Montreal, 1899-1970: A Hartzian Approach", *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 12, 2 (1980): 74-87.

Kovacs, Helen, and Djuro J. Vrga. "The Russian Minority in America", in Otto Feldstein, ed., *Ethnic Groups in the City: Culture, Institutions, and Power*. Lexington, Mass.: Heath Lexington Books, 1971, pp. 138-152.

Kukushkin, Vadim. "The First Russian Immigrants in Canada", *Russian Vancouver* 63 (November-December 2001): 16-18.

Kukushkin, Vadim. "Protectors and Watchdogs: Tsarist Consular Supervision of Russian-Subject Immigrants in Canada, 1900-1922", *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XLIV, nos. 3-4 (September-December 2002): 209-232.

Kukushkin, Vadim. "Slavianskaia trudovaia emigratsiia iz Rossiiskoi imperii v Kanadu v nachale XX veka", *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 2002 (4): 126-139.

Macdonald, John S. "Agricultural Organization, Migration, and Labour Militancy in Rural Italy", *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 16 (1963-64): 61-75.

Martynowych, Orest. "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada, 1900-1918", *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies* 1, 1 (Fall 1976): 27-44; 2, 1 (Spring 1977): 22-31.

McLaren, Angus. "Males, Migrants, and Murder in British Columbia, 1900-1923", in Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, eds., *On the Case: Explorations in Social History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998, pp. 159-180.

Melville, Ralph. "Permanent Emigration and Temporary Transnational Migration: Jewish, Polish and Russian Emigration from Tsarist Russia, 1861-1914", in Julianna Puskás, ed., *Overseas Migration from East-Central and Southeastern Europe, 1880-1940*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990, pp. 133-142.

Michalski, Thomas A. "Soviet Archival Sources for the Study of Emigration from the Lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to America", *Polish American Studies* 47, 1 (Spring 1990): 75-80.

Milosz, Czeslaw. "Vilnius, Lithuania: An Ethnic Agglomerate", in George de Vos and Lola Romanucci-Ross, eds., *Ethnic Identities: Cultural Continuities and Change*. Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1975, pp. 339-352.

Morawska, Ewa. "Return Migrations: Theoretical and Research Agenda", in Rudolph J. Vecoli and Suzanne M. Sinke, eds., *A Century of European Migrations, 1830-1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991, pp. 277-292.

Mosse, W.E. "Stolypin's Villages", *Slavonic and East European Review* 43, (June 1965): 257-274.

Nitoburg, Eduard L'vovich. "Russkaia pravoslavnaia tserkov' v SShA", *SShA – Kanada: ekonomika, politika, kul'tura* 4 (2000): 34-54.

Nitoburg, Eduard L'vovich. "Russkoiazychnaia pressa v SShA", *SShA – Kanada: ekonomika, politika, kul'tura* 1 (2001): 58-74.

Nitoburg, Eduard L'vovich. "Russkie trudovye immigranty v SShA (konets XIX v. – 1917 g.): adaptatsiia i sud'by", *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 2002 (5): 63-75.

Obolensky-Ossinsky, V.V. "Emigration from and Immigration into Russia," in Imre Ferenczi and Walter F. Willcox, eds., *International Migrations. Vol.2: Interpretations*. New York: Gordon and Breach, 1969, pp. 521-579.

Perin, Roberto. "Religion, Ethnicity and Identity: Placing the Immigrant within the Church", in William Westfall et al, eds., *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian*

Studies. Proceedings of a Conference Sponsored by the Association for Canadian Studies and the Graduate Centre for Religious Studies, University of Toronto. Held at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, Ontario, May 23-26, 1984. Ottawa: Association for Canadian Studies, 1985, pp. 212-229.

Petryshyn, Jaroslav. "Sifton's Immigration Policy", in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, eds., *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991, pp. 17-29.

Pierce, Richard. "Russians", in Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, pp. 1100-1108.

Prymak, Thomas M. "The Great Migration: East Central Europe to the Americas in the Literatures of the Slavs, 1880-1914, Some Examples", *Ethnic Forum* 12, 2 (1992): 31-47.

Pyle, Emily. "Peasant Strategies for Obtaining State Aid: A Study of Petitions during World War I", *Russian History* 24, 1-2 (Spring-Summer 1997): 41-64.

Rasporich, Anthony W. "Ethnicity in Canadian Historical Writing 1970-1990", in J.W. Berry and J.A. Laponce, eds., *Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994, pp. 153-178.

Robinson, Gregory. "Rougher Than Any Other Nationality? Ukrainian Canadians and Crime in Alberta, 1915-1929", *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 16, 1-2 (Summer-Winter 1991): 147-177.

Rodney, William. "Broken Journey: Trotsky in Canada, 1917", *Queen's Quarterly* 74 (1967): 649-665.

Rogger, Hans. "Tsarist Policy on Jewish Emigration", *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 3, 1 (1973): 26-36.

Rogger, Hans. "Government, Jews, Peasants, and Land in Post-Emancipation Russia". *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* XXVII, 1 (janv.-mars 1976): 5-25; XXVII, 2-3 (avr.-sept. 1976): 171-211.

Rudolph, Richard L. "The East European Peasant Household and the Beginnings of Industry: East Galicia, 1786-1914", in I.S.Koropecyk, ed., *Ukrainian Economic History: Interpretive Essays*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991, pp. 339-382.

Sager, Eric. "Immigrants, Ethnicity and Earnings in 1901: Revisiting Canada's Vertical Mosaic", *Canadian Historical Review* 83, 2 (June 2002): 196-229.

Seager, Allen. "Socialists and Workers: The Western Canadian Coal Miners, 1900-21", *Labour/Le travail* 16 (Fall 1985): 23-59.

Siu, Paul C.P. "The Sojourner", *American Journal of Sociology* 58 (July 1952): 34-44.

Sokolowski, J. "The Russians and the Belorussians in Alberta: Some Issues and Problems of Research", in Tova Yedlin, ed., *Papers and Proceedings of Conferences and Meetings on Central and East European Studies*. Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1976, pp. 30-33.

Sokolsky (Yaworsky), Zoriana. "The Beginnings of Ukrainian Settlement in Toronto, 1891-1939", in Robert F. Harney, ed., *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985, pp. 279-302.

Strikwerda, Carl, and Camille Guerin-Gonzales. "Labor, Migration and Politics", in Camille Guerin-Gonzales and Carl Strikwerda, eds., *The Politics of Immigrant Workers: Labor Activism and Migration in the World Economy since 1830*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1998, pp. 3-51.

Swyripa, Frances. "Ukrainians", in Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, pp. 1281-1311.

Szeftel, Marc. "Church and State in Imperial Russia", in Robert L. Nichols and Theofanis G. Stavrou, eds., *Russian Orthodoxy under the Old Regime*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978, pp. 127-141.

Treadgold, Donald W. "Russian Orthodoxy and Society", in Robert L. Nichols and Theofanis G. Stavrou, eds., *Russian Orthodoxy under the Old Regime*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978, pp. 21-43.

Tschernowa, Galina. "Zur Herausbildung staatlicher Auswanderungspolitik in Rußland: Bestrebungen um einem Lenkungsmechanismus Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1914", *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 42, 5 (1994): 415-429.

Williams, Robert C. "Emigration from Russia", in Joseph L. Wiczynski, ed., *The Modern Encyclopaedia of Russian and Soviet History*. Vol. 10. Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1979, pp. 194-200.

Worobec, Christine. "Temptress or Virgin? The Precarious Sexual Position of Women in Postemancipation Ukrainian Peasant Society", *Slavic Review* 49, 2 (Summer 1990): 227-238.

Worobec, Christine. "Victims or Actors? Russian Peasant Women and Patriarchy", in Esther Kingston-Mann and Timothy Mixter, eds., *Peasant Economy, Culture and Politics of European Russia, 1800-1921*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, pp. 177-206.

Yuzyk, Paul. "The Expansion of the Russian Orthodox Church among the Ukrainians in North America to 1918", *Studia Ucrainica* 2 (1984): 213-223.

Ziniak, Madeline. "Belarusans", in Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, pp. 253-257.

Zuk-Hrskyevic, Raissa. "Belorussians in Canadian Statistics", in *Slavs in Canada: Proceedings of the Second National Conference on Canadian Slavs, June 9-11, 1967*. Toronto: Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, 1968, pp. 127-134.

Monographs

A Lettish Canadian. *Russians in Europe and in Canada*. n.p., n.d.

Allen, Richard. *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.

Anderson, Barbara A. *Internal Migration during Modernization in Late-Nineteenth Century Russia*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980.

Anderson, Benjamin. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.

Anfimov, A.M. *Krestianskoe khoziaistvo Ievropeiskoi Rossii, 1881-1904*. Moskva: Nauka, 1980.

Archdeacon, Thomas J. *Becoming American: An Ethnic History*. New York: Macmillan, 1983.

Artibise, Alan F.J. *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975.

Ashkenas, Bruce. *Records of Imperial Russian Consulates in Canada, 1898-1922*. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992.

Avery, Donald. *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979.

Avery, Donald. *The Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896-1994*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995.

Balch, Emily Greene. *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*. New York: Charities Publications Committee, 1910.

Barnes, Michael. *Gold in the Porcupine*. Cobalt, Ont.: Highway Book Shop, 1975.

Barton, Josef. *Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians, and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Black, J. L. *Canada in the Soviet Mirror: Ideology and Perception in Soviet Foreign Affairs, 1917-1991*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1998.

Black, J. L. *The Peasant Kingdom: Canada in the Nineteenth-Century Russian Imagination*. Manotick, Ont.: Penumbra Press, 2001.

Bodnar, John. *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.

Bozhyk, Panteleimon. *Tserkov ukrainsiv v Kanadi*. Winnipeg: Kanadyis'kyi ukrainets', 1927.

Bradwin, Edmund. *The Bunkhouse Man*. Reprint of the 1928 ed. New York: AMS Press, 1968.

Burds, Jeffrey. *Peasant Dreams and Market Politics: Labour Migration and the Russian Village, 1861-1905*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1998.

Burnet Jean P. (with Howard Palmer). "*Coming Canadians*": *An Introduction to the History of Canada's Peoples*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988.

Chernenko, A. *Rossiiskaia revoliutsionnaia emigratsiia v Amerike: konets XIX v. – 1917 g.* Kiev: Vyshcha shkola, 1989.

Chlebowczyk, Josef. *On Small and Young Nations in Europe: Nation-Forming Processes in Ethnic Borderlands in East-Central Europe*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolinskich, 1980.

Copp, Terry. *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.

Cousins, William. *A History of the Crow's Nest Pass*. Lethbridge: The Historic Trails Society of Alberta, 1981.

Davis, Jerome. *The Russian Immigrant*. New York: Macmillan, 1922.

Davis, Jerome. *Russians and Ruthenians: Bolsheviks or Brothers?* New York: George H. Doran, 1922.

Desiat' Let Internatsional'nogo Rabocheho Ordena; Dvadtsat' Let Russkoi Sektsii (b. RNOV) 1920-1940: Iubileinyi sbornik. New York: NIK Russkoi sektsii IRO, 1940.

Dinnerstein, Leonard, and David M. Reimers. *Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Domashovets, Hryhory. *Narys istorii ukrains 'koi ievanhels 'ko-baptists 'koi tserkvy*. Irvington-Toronto: Harmony Printing, 1967.

Donskov, Andrew, ed. *Sergej Tolstoy and the Doukhobors: A Journey to Canada*. Ottawa: Slavic Research Group at the University of Ottawa, 1998.

Dubrovskii, S.M. *Stolypinskaia agrarnaia reforma*. Moskva: Moskovskii rabochii, 1930.

Dyrud, Keith P. *The Quest for the Rusyn Soul: The Politics of Religion and Culture in Eastern Europe and in America, 1890 – World War I*. Philadelphia: The Balch Institute Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1992.

Edelman, Robert. *Proletarian Peasants: The Revolution of 1905 in Russia's Southwest*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Elwood, Ralph Carter. *Russian Social Democracy in the Underground: A Study of the RSDRP in the Ukraine, 1907-1914*. Assen: VanGorcum, 1974.

Emmons, Terence, and Wayne S. Vucinich, eds. *The Zemstvo in Russia: An Experiment in Local Self-Government*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Fragar, Ruth A. *Sweatshop Strife: Class, Ethnicity and Gender in the Jewish Labour Movement of Toronto, 1900-1939*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Frank, Stephen. *Crime, Cultural Conflict, and Justice in Rural Russia, 1856-1914*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Gabaccia, Donna. *Militants and Migrants: Rural Sicilians Become American Workers*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1988.

Germain, Annick, and Damaris Rose. *Montréal: The Quest for a Metropolis*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2000.

Gerus, Oleh, and James Edgar Rea. *The Ukrainians in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985.

Glazier, Ira and Luigi de Rosa, eds. *Migrations Across Time and Nations*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986.

Goa, David J., ed. *The Ukrainian Religious Experience: Tradition and the Canadian Cultural Context*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989.

Gregorovich, Andrew, and Gabrielle P. Scardellato, eds. *A Bibliography of Canada's Peoples*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1993.

Gretzky, Walter. *On Family, Hockey and Healing*. Toronto: Random House of Canada, 2001.

Guest, Dennis. *The Emergence of Social Security in Canada*. 2nd rev. ed. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985.

Hall, David John. *Clifford Sifton*. Vol.2: *A Lonely Eminence, 1901-1929*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985.

Hansen, Marcus. *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1940.

Harney, Robert, and Harold Troper, eds. *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930*. Toronto, Van Nostrand, 1975.

Hern, Gordon. *Russians in Canada*. Toronto, n.d.

Historyia Belaruskai S.S.R. Vol. 2. Minsk: Navuka i tekhnika, 1972.

Hoerder, Dirk, ed. *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies: The European and North American Working Classes During the Period of Industrialization*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985.

Hoerder, Dirk, ed. *The Immigrant Labor Press in North America, 1840s – 1970s: An Annotated Bibliography*. Vol. 2: Migrants from Eastern and Southeastern Europe. New York etc.: Greenwood Press, 1987.

Hoerder, Dirk, and Horst Rossler, eds. *Distant Magnets: Expectations and Realities in the Immigrant Experience*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1993.

Hoerder, Dirk, and Leslie Page Moch, eds. *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996.

Hoerder, Dirk. *Creating Societies: Immigrant Lives in Canada*. Montreal: McGill – Queen's Press, 1999.

Hoerder, Dirk. *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002.

Hroch, Miroslav. *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Huk, John. *Strangers in the Land: The Ukrainian Presence in Cape Breton*. n.p., n.d.

Iacovetta, Franca. *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

Istoriia Ukrain's'koi R.S.R. Vol. 4. Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1978.

Jeletzky, Tamara, ed. *Russian Canadians: Their Past and Present*. Ottawa: Borealis Press, 1983.

Johnson, Robert E. *Peasant and Proletarian: The Working Class of Moscow in the Late Nineteenth Century*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979.

Kabuzan, Vladimir. *Russkie v mire: Dinamika chislennosti i rasseleniia (1719-1989). Formirovanie etnicheskikh i politicheskikh granits russkogo naroda*. St. Petersburg: BLITZ Publishing House, 1996.

Kabuzan, Vladimir. *Emigratsiia i reemigratsiia v Rossii v XVIII – nachale XX veka*. Moskva: Nauka, 1998.

Kappeler, Andreas. *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*. Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2001.

Karlowich, Robert A. *We Fall and Rise: Russian-Language Newspapers in New York City, 1889-1914*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1991.

Kelley, Ninette, and Michael Trebilcock. *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Khauratovich, I.P., comp. *Illiustravanaia khranalohiia historyi Belarusi : ad starazhytnasts'i da pachatku XX st.* 2 vols. Minsk: Belaruskaiia entsyklapediia, 1995-1997.

King, Joe. *From the Ghetto to the Main: the Story of the Jews of Montreal*. Montreal: Montreal Jewish Publications Society, 2000.

Kipel, Vitaut. *Belarusans in the United States*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1999.

Koval'chenko, I.D., and L.V. Milov. *Vserossiiskii agrarnyi rynok, XVIII – nachalo XX veka: Opyt kolichestvennogo analiza*. Moskva: Nauka, 1974.

Krawchenko, Bohdan. *Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Ukraine*. London: Macmillan, 1985.

Krawchuk, Peter. *The Life and Work of Matthew Shatulsky*. Toronto: Kobzar, 1991.

Krawchuk, Peter. *Our History: The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Movement in Canada, 1907-1991*. Toronto: Lugus Publications, 1996.

Kritz, Mary M., Lin L. Lim, and Hania Zlotnik, eds. *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Leshchenko, M.N. *Ukrains'ke selo v revoliutsii 1905-1907 rr.* Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1977.

Lieven, Dominic. *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000.

Lindstrom, Varpu. *Defiant Sisters: A Social History of Finnish Immigrant Women in Canada*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988.

Linteau, Paul-André. *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération*. 2ème éd. Montreal: Boréal, 2000.

Lucassen, Jan, and Leo Lucassen, eds. *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1999.

Luciuk, Lubomyr. *Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Luciuk, Lubomyr, and Iroida L. Wynnyckyj, eds. *Ukrainians in Ontario*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988.

Luzianin, G.I. *Rossiiia i Kanada v 1893-1927 gg.* Moskva: Prometei, 1997.

Lysenko, Vera. *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947.

Magocsi, Paul Robert. *A History of Ukraine*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Magocsi, Paul Robert. *Of the Making of Nationalities There is No End*. Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1999.

Magocsi, Paul Robert. *The Russian Americans*. New York: Chelsea House, 1989.

Martynowych, Orest. *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991.

Marunchak, Michael. *Ukrainian Canadians*. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970.

Matthews, Mervyn. *The Passport Society: Controlling Movement in Russia and the USSR*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1993.

McCormack, A. Ross. *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

McNicoll, Claire. *Montréal, une société multiculturelle*. Paris: Belin, 1993.

Mironov, Boris (with Ben Eklof). *A Social History of Imperial Russia, 1700-1917*. 2 vols. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1999-2000.

Morawska, Ewa. *For Bread and Butter: Life-Worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890-1914*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985.

Murdzek, Benjamin. *Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought, 1870-1914*. Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly; New York: Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1977.

Norris, John. *Strangers Entertained*. Vancouver: Evergreen Press, 1971.

Nugent, Walter. *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.

Obolensky-Ossinsky, V. *Mezhdunarodnye i mezhkontinental'nye migratsii v dovoennoi Rossii i SSSR*. Moskva: TsSU SSSR, 1928.

Okulevich, Grigorii. *Russkie v Kanade: Istorii russkikh raboche-fermerskikh klubov imeni M. Gor'kogo (1930-1940) i Federatsii russkikh kanadtsev (1941-1952)*. Toronto: Federation of Russian Canadians, 1952.

Okuntsov, Ivan. *Russkaia emigratsiia v Severnoi i Iuzhnoi Amerike*. Buenos Aires: Seiatel', 1967.

The Orthodox Church in Canada: A Chronology. N.p.: Archdiocese of Canada – Orthodox Church in America, 1988.

Pallot, Judith, and Denis J.B. Shaw. *Landscape and Settlement in Romanov Russia, 1613-1917*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Paniutich, V. P. *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie belorusskoi derevni v 1861-1900 gg.* Minsk: Navuka i tekhnika, 1990.

Paniutich, V.P. *Naemnyi trud v sel'skom khoziaistve Belarusi, 1861-1914 gg.* Minsk: Navuka i tekhnika, 1996.

Penner, Norman, ed. *Winnipeg 1919: The Strikers' Own History of the Winnipeg General Strike*. Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1973.

Petroff, Lillian. *Sojourners and Settlers: The Macedonian Community in Toronto to 1940*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

Petrov, Viktor. *Russkie v Amerike. XX vek*. Washington, D.C.: Izдание Russko-Amerikanskogo istoricheskogo obshchestva, 1992.

Petryshyn, Jaroslav. *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914*. Toronto: Lorimer, 1985.

Poliakov, Iu. A., ed. *Istoriia rossiiskogo zarubezh'ia: problemy adaptatsii migrantov v XIX-XX vekakh*. Moskva: Institut rossiiskoi istorii RAN, 1996.

Puskás, Julianna. *From Hungary to the United States (1880-1914)*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982.

Radforth, Ian. *Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario, 1900-1980*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Ramirez, Bruno. *Crossing the 49th Parallel: Migration from Canada to the United States, 1900-1930*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Ramirez, Bruno. *Les premiers italiens de Montréal*. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1984.

Ramirez, Bruno. *On the Move: French-Canadian and Italian Migrants in the North Atlantic Economy, 1860 – 1914*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991.

Roberts, Barbara. *Whence They Came: Deportation from Canada 1900-1935*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988.

Robinson, Geroid. *Rural Russia under the Old Regime: A History of the Landlord-Peasant World and a Prologue to the Peasant Revolution of 1917*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1932.

Rodney, William. *Soldiers of the International: A History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1919-1929*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.

Rogger, Hans. *Russia in the Age of Modernization and Revolution, 1881-1917*. London; New York: Longman, 1983.

Rozumnyj, Jaroslav, ed. *New Soil – Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada*. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983.

Sadouski, John. *A History of the Byelorussians in Canada*. Belleville, Ont.: Mika, 1981.

Shanin, Teodor. *The Awkward Class: Political Sociology of Peasantry in a Developing Society: Russia 1910-1925*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

- Shlepakov, A.M. *Ukrains'ka trudova emigratsiia v SShA i Kanadi (kinets' XIX – pochatok XX st.)*. Kiev: Vydavnistvo Akademii nauk, 1960.
- Sidel'nikov, S.M. *Agrarnaia reforma Stolypina*. Moskva: Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 1973.
- Skuce, J.E. *CSEF: Canada's Soldiers in Siberia, 1918-1919*. Ottawa: Access to History Publications, 1990.
- Sollors, Werner, ed. *The Invention of Ethnicity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Stolarik, M. Mark. *Immigration and Urbanization: The Slovak Experience, 1870-1918*. New York: AMS Press, 1989.
- Subtelny, Orest. *Ukrainians in North America: An Illustrated History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Subtelny, Orest. *Ukraine: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.
- Swyripa, Frances, and John Herd Thompson, eds. *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983.
- Tarasar, Constance J., ed. *Orthodox America, 1794-1976: Development of the Orthodox Church in America*. Syosset, NY: Orthodox Church in America, 1975.
- Tarle, G. Ia. *Rossiiskoe zarubezh'e i Rodina*. Moskva: RAN, 1993.
- Thaden, Edward C. *Russia's Western Borderlands, 1710-1870*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Thomas, William I., and Florian Znaniecki. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. 2nd ed. New York: Dover Publications, 1958.
- Treadgold, Donald W. *The Great Siberian Migration: Government and Peasant in Resettlement from Emancipation to the First World War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- Tudorianu, N.L. *Ocherki rossiiskoi trudovoi emigratsii perioda imperializma (v Germaniiu, Skandinavskie strany i SShA)*. Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1986.
- Ukrainian Canadians in Historical Ties with the Land of Their Fathers*. Kiev: Dnipro, 1991.

Vil'chur, Mark. *Russkie v Amerike*. New York: Pervoe russkoe izdatel'stvo v Amerike, 1918.

Vital, David. *A People Apart: The Jews in Europe, 1789-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Vstrechi (Association). *Kanada, 1867-1967*. London, Ont.: s.n., 1967.

Ward, Peter. *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Towards Orientals in British Columbia*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978.

Weeks, Theodore. *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863-1914*. DeKalb, Ill: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996.

Woodcock, George, and Ivan Avakumovic. *The Doukhobors*. Toronto; New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Woodsworth, James S. *Strangers within Our Gates; or Coming Canadians*. Introduction by Marilyn Barber. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Woycenko, Olha. *The Ukrainians in Canada*. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1967.

Wyman, Mark. *Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880-1920*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.

Yuzyk, Paul. *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953.

Yuzyk, Paul. *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981.

Zaprudnik, Jan. *Belarus: At a Crossroads of History*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993.

Zaprudnik, Jan. *The Historical Dictionary of Belarus*. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1998.

Zucchi, John. *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935*. Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.

Unpublished Secondary Works

Avery, Donald. "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Alien Question, 1896-1919: The Anglo-Canadian Perspective". PhD thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1973.

Bayley, Charles M. "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal." MA thesis, McGill University, 1939.

Cherkasov, Arkady. "Canadians of Russian Origin: Their History, Geography and Role in the Canadian Ethno-Cultural Mosaic". Paper presented at the Conference in Canadian Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 28 June – 1 July 1998.

Forestell, Nancy. "All That Glitters is Not Gold: The Gendered Dimensions of Work, Family and Community Life in the Northern Ontario Goldmining Town of Timmins, 1909-1950." PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1993.

Kelebay, Yarema. "The Ideological and Intellectual Baggage of Three Fragments of Ukrainian Immigrants: A Contribution to the History of Ukrainians in Quebec (1910-1960)." PhD thesis, Concordia University, 1993.

Leshchenko, Oksana. "Early Immigration from Eastern Ukraine to Canada: Background and Significance." MA Thesis, University of Waterloo, 1992.

Mamchur, Stephen. "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada: With Special Reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal." MA thesis, McGill University, 1934.

Pierce, Richard. "The Russians in Canada." Unpublished manuscript. N.p., 1978.

Smale, Robert. "For Whose Kingdom: Canadian Baptists and the Evangelization of Immigrants and Refugees, 1880 to 1945." Ed.D thesis, University of Toronto, 2001.

Zembrzycki, Stacey. "The *Sudbury Star* and Its Coverage of Eastern European Immigrants, 1910-1930: A Gendered, Ethnic, and Regional Discourse." An unpublished research paper, Carleton University, 2004.

APPENDIX

Fig. 1. The Consular Questionnaire for Persons Seeking Entry Permits

20

РОССИЙСКОЕ КОНСУЛЬСТВО ВЪ КАНАДѢ.

ОПРОСНЫЙ ЛИСТЪ

В. Я. Кабановъ возвращающагося въ РОССИЮ

(Имя и отчество обозначать начальными буквами, а фамилию полностью)

черезъ пограничный пунктъ

1. Имя (если таковыхъ нѣсколько, то слѣдуетъ поименовать всѣ).	<i>Василий</i>
2. Фамилія (Сложныя фамиліи пишутся полностью; замужнія, разведенныя и вдовы указываютъ также свои дѣвичьи фамиліи).	<i>Кабановъ</i>
3. Званіе.	<i>Россійскій Гражданинъ</i>
4. Родъ занятій.	<i>Портный</i>
5. Состояніе и мѣсто приписки.	<i>Мужской полъ Свѣдѣнаго изъ Тѣхасскаго округа</i>
6. Точное время и мѣсто рожденія.	<i>Родъ 1884 г. 14 августа въ селѣ Андреевскій</i>
7. Семейное положеніе (холостъ или женатъ, дѣвица, замужняя, вдова или разведенная; если есть дѣти, то ихъ имена и возрастъ).	<i>Холостой</i>
8. Отношеніе къ воинской повинности.	<i>Ратникъ Алексѣя Второго разряда</i>
9. Годъ призыва на военную службу.	<i>Призывается въ 1905 году</i>
10. Настоящее мѣсто жительства и съ какого времени.	<i>650 St. Andre St. Монреаль Канада</i>
11. Имена и мѣста жительства родителей (если родителей нѣтъ въ живыхъ, то указать, гдѣ проживали въ послѣдніе годы ихъ жизни).	<i>Внукъ Петръ В. Кабановъ мать Евдокия Кабановъ проживаютъ въ селѣ Андреевскій</i>

7	<p>Какой является на данный момент документ, удостоверяющий личность. Место, время, год выдачи и номер паспорта или документа.</p> <p>What kind of document has he now to prove his identity. Date, month, year & number when passport or document was issued.</p>	<p>Илья Гуров</p>
8	<p>Где, когда и как в России перешел границу.</p> <p>Where, when & how passed the frontier on leaving Russia.</p>	<p>При Семе Саввуе, Пограничной Страж.</p> <p>25 Марта 1913 года</p> <p>При Погранич. Страж.</p>
9	<p>Приехал ли в Канаду прямо или через С. Американские Соединенные Штаты и когда.</p> <p>Has he come to Canada directly and through which port or via U. S. A. and when.</p>	<p>Канада, Квебек</p>
10	<p>Отбывал ли в Канаде наказание по суду и за какое преступление.</p> <p>Whether was sentenced in Canada and for what offence.</p>	<p>Не отбывал</p>
11	<p>Чем занимается в Канаде (работа, ремесло, занятие).</p> <p>Occupation in Canada (workman, artisan etc.)</p>	<p>Чернорабочий</p>
1	<p>Имеет ли в Канаде землю, ферму или дом.</p> <p>Has he in Canada a real estate, a farm, a house etc.</p>	<p>Илья Гуров</p>
	<p>Подпись: <i>Гуров Илья</i></p> <p>Signature: <i>Gurov Ilya</i></p> <p>Подпись свидетеля: <i>За Протоколом</i></p> <p>Sign. of witness: <i>For the Protocol</i></p>	<p>Илья Гуров</p>

Fig. 2. The Consular Affidavit Form for Persons Seeking Russian Citizenship Certificates

№ 76. Показание под присягой. *Дан Александрович Рубин* *1/2*
 Montreal JUL 10 1917. Sworn Affidavit.

Вопросы. Questions. Ответы. Answers.

Александр Данилович Шендурин

1	Имя, отчество, фамилия, звание и происхождение. First name, first name of father, name, state (peasant, nobleman, commoner etc.) religion.	<i>Александр Данилович Шендурин</i> <i>Православного.</i>
2	Губерния, уезд, волость, местечко, село, деревня. Province, district, county, town or village.	<i>Подольской Губернии</i> <i>Шолоховского уезда</i> <i>Оршинской Волости</i> <i>Села Сокола</i>
3	Холодство или женат, имена жены и детей и местожительство ихъ въ Россіи. Single or married, first name of wife & children & their full address in Russia.	<i>Холодство</i>
4	Ближайшіе родственники и ихъ местожительство въ Россіи. Name of nearest relatives and their address in Russia.	<i>Отецъ Даниилъ</i> <i>Мать Парасковья</i> <i>Села Сокола</i>
5	Отношение къ воинской повинности (призывной, запасной или ратникъ). Military standing (Year when has to serve for the first time, or reservist or territorial 1-st or 2-nd class).	<i>Подлежалъ къ Отбытію</i> <i>Воинской повинности</i> <i>въ 1914 году</i>
6	Состоялъ ли подъ слѣдствіемъ и судомъ въ Россіи и по какому дѣлу. Whether was sentenced in Russia and for what offence.	<i>Несостоялъ</i>

Р. 1

7	<p>Какой вид документа, удостоверяющего личность. Число, месяц, год выдачи и номер паспорта или документа.</p> <p>What kind of document has he now to prove his identity. Date, month, year & number when passport or document was issued.</p>	<p><i>Иванов Иван</i></p>
8	<p>Где, когда и как в России перешел границу.</p> <p>Where, when & how passed the frontier on leaving Russia.</p>	<p><i>Гр. Сели Савельев Подольской Губ.</i> <i>25 Марта 1913 года</i> <i>Гр. Панов Александр</i></p>
9	<p>Приехал ли в Канаду прямо или через С. Американские Соединенные Штаты и когда.</p> <p>Has he come to Canada directly and through which port or via U. S. A. and when.</p>	<p><i>Канада, Квебек</i></p>
10	<p>Отбывал ли в Канаде наказание по суду и за какое преступление.</p> <p>Whether was sentenced in Canada and for what offence.</p>	<p><i>Не отбывал</i></p>
11	<p>Чем занимается в Канаде (работа, ремесло, занятие).</p> <p>Occupation in Canada (workman, artisan etc.)</p>	<p><i>Чернорабочий</i></p>
1	<p>Имеет ли в Канаде землю, ферму или дом.</p> <p>Has he in Canada a real estate, a farm, a house etc.</p>	<p><i>Иванов Иван</i></p>
	<p>Подпись: <i>Броким</i></p> <p>Signature:</p> <p>Подпись свидетеля: <i>За Протокол</i></p> <p>Sign of witness:</p>	<p><i>Иванов Иван</i></p>