COMMUNITY
AND
FRONTIER

A Ukrainian Settlement
in the Canadian Parkland

John C. Lehr

Studies in Immigration and Culture
Royden Loewen, Series editor

COMMUNITY AND FRONTIER

**A Ukrainian Settlement
in the Canadian Parkland**

John C. Lehr

FSC
www.fsc.org
MIX
Paper from
responsible sources
FSC® C016245

CONTENTS

Photographs follow page 152

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

List of Figures

COMMUNITY AND FRONTIER

INTRODUCTION

The romance of pioneering in the Stuartburn district of Manitoba was lost on young Wasyl Mihaychuk. Covered in blisters and scabs from a bad dose of poison ivy, he lay on the wide family bed listening to the whippoorwills screeching in the poplar bush. Alongside lay his seven-year-old brother snivelling after a sound thrashing from his mother for trampling their neighbour's hemp patch. Despite a smudge pot in the centre of their flea-and-bedbug-infested one-room cabin, myriads of mosquitoes tormented them all. On the floor, his three-year-old brother moaned and cried with the pain from feet burned when he ran into the hot pile of smudge ashes. The family dog had fought with a skunk—and lost. The aroma permeated everything. Everything stank of skunk and smoke. Even their water smelled of fish and resembled dishwater, so different from the clear well water Wasyl remembered from their homeland village. But there was hope for the future. His mother constantly reminded him that "here in Canada people drink tea and coffee and have sugar and syrup and white bread like Easter every day."[1]

The Mihaychuk family were peasants from Bridok, Bukovyna, who in 1900 became part of the chain migration to southeastern Manitoba. Their migration story began four years earlier when a relative of Wasyl's mother accompanied Kyrylo Genik in the first group to settle in Stuartburn. In 1896, Genik led twenty-eight families, comprising ninety-four people, to Township 2 Ranges 6 and 7 East, where seventeen families made official entries for homesteads. Most did not. Without even the ten dollars required for an entry fee, they squatted on their intended homesteads with the connivance of the accompanying immigration officials from Winnipeg.[2] In the evenings, they bivouacked in the bush under the stars. The roots of the first Ukrainian colony

in Manitoba were thus planted. Chain migration brought others, including the Mihaychuks, into Canada and drew them into the Stuartburn district.

In some respects, the historical geography of the colony that emerged from this tentative move to the edge of Manitoba's bush country on the eastern margins of the Red River Valley is straightforward enough: within eighteen years, Ukrainians had taken up over 1,500 homesteads spread over some fifteen townships, creating a bloc settlement, or colony, that had clearly defined boundaries and left a distinctive cultural signature on the Manitoba landscape. This bald outline obscures a complex history of struggle, conflict, accommodation, and, of course, much of the personal doubt and uncertainty that was an integral part of the migration and settlement process. Few of these settlers could have imagined that they were to become part of a national debate about the future of Canadian society that decades later echoed in the adoption of multiculturalism as official policy. Their community was only a tiny part of a massive Ukrainian pioneer diaspora in the Americas, but in many ways the story of Stuartburn's creation and subsequent development represents the Ukrainian pioneer experience in western Canada if not that of most Ukrainian agricultural settlements in the Americas.

Stuartburn was a part of Great Britain's remarkable colonial expansion that saw the Union Jack fly over a quarter of the globe, its empire attaining a geographical extent unrivalled in history by the end of the nineteenth century. Stuartburn lay at an edge of this massive empire, an isolated community tucked away in the southeastern corner of Manitoba with the U.S. border to the south, the Red River to the west, and the edge of the Canadian Shield to the east. Set against the scale of British colonial expansion, it was an area of little consequence, yet its evolution illustrates both the process of land occupation and the development of an economy within a colonial setting.

This book focuses on Stuartburn, but it has diverse objectives. It strives to demonstrate the complexity of pioneer settlement and community formation on the frontier. As a historical geography, it is concerned with both the creation of place and the role of space in the evolution of the Stuartburn district. It also demonstrates the crucial role played by geography in the evolution of new societies on the margins of the British Empire, where "regional" colonies were created within much larger colonies in a hierarchy of dependence.

The first Ukrainian settlers arrived in Stuartburn in the mid-1890s; within fifteen years, the settlement process was essentially over. From an unsettled wilderness, an agricultural settlement had been hacked out of the bush by the
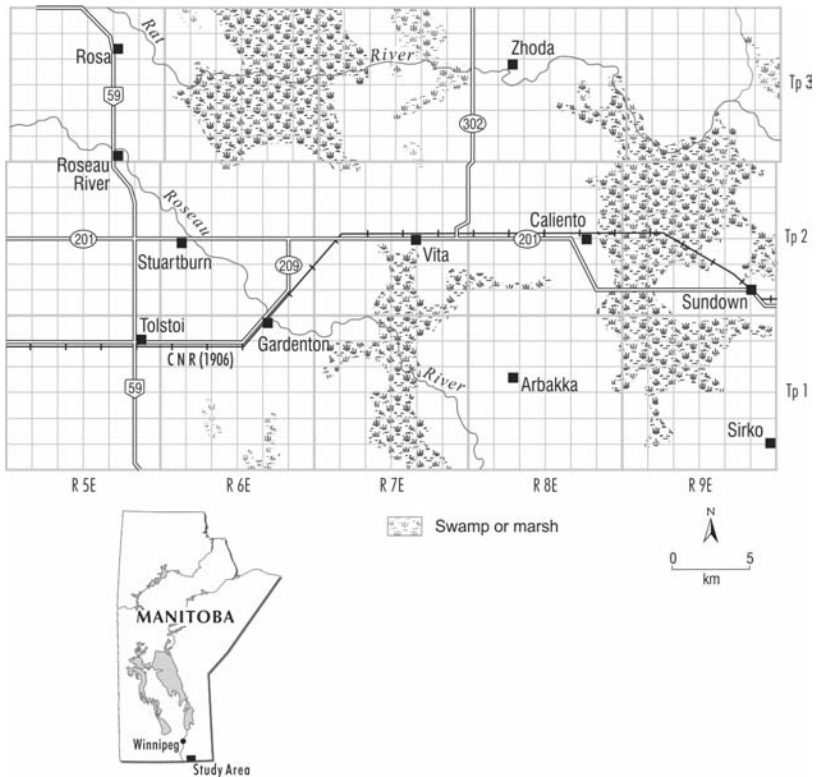
Figure 1. The Stuartburn district.

efforts of thousands of individuals, but the process of community formation was far from over. The men, women, and children who built this new community and negotiated its place in Manitoba came in many shapes and sizes: farmers, merchants, teachers, clergymen, doctors, and government officials. All played a role. Seemingly disparate activities were interconnected. The relationship among education, drainage, and road development, for example, is not always self-evident. Similarly, events that took place in Europe also affected this remote frontier community to a far greater extent than most would ever dream; they determined the structure of commerce, the geography of religion, the provision of health care, and to some extent the economic progress of the district. Most surprising of all are the role of happenstance and the effects that preconceptions had on behaviour after arrival in North

America. Personal conflicts and loyalties affected settlement and community development in myriad ways, though not always in any predictable fashion.

Community development was a complex process with many disparate but closely interwoven themes. It included development of infrastructure, communications, commerce, education, and medical services. A region that some contend should never have been opened for homestead settlement developed an agricultural economy and evolved a dynamic set of intra- and inter-ethnic social relations. As will become clear, despite their rural settings, Stuartburn and other places on the Canadian agricultural frontier were not always quiet but often colourful and dramatic places. Conflict was common; the monotonous routine of backbreaking work was punctuated by domestic disputes, squabbles with neighbours, and sometimes moments of high drama. As on most frontiers, the true heroes were ordinary men and women caught up in extraordinary times.

Colonialism and Canada have a close relationship. British colonization of North America was a part of the process Niall Ferguson terms "Anglobalization," whereby English was internationalized as a language, Protestantism was promoted as the official version of Christianity, capitalism was seen as the optimal system of economic organization, and parliamentary institutions were adopted as the preferred form of governance.[3] Colonialism carried economic ramifications too; indeed, the entire colonial process was driven by economics, although its practitioners often ascribed more high-minded motives to it.

As a colony of Great Britain, Canada served as a source of raw materials for British industry, a market for British goods, and a destination for British emigrants. After the new territory of Rupert's Land was acquired by the dominion, western Canada entered into a similar relationship with the industrial heartland of North America. This analogy can be pursued further. Winnipeg became the west's gateway and its primary centre of manufacturing and service industries. The city was the regional heartland, and the rural areas that surrounded it were its hinterland, feeding it with agricultural products and raw materials that were processed or shipped to the national or global heartlands to the east.

Colonialism also describes the history of Stuartburn. In 1895, the then unsettled lands of southeastern Manitoba were about to be drawn into this "Angloglobal" colonial system. It was a pivotal time in North American history. In Western culture, it was a time of a levelling of hierarchies, the rise

of political democracy, and the blurring of boundaries between sacred and profane spaces in contemporary religion.[4] In Stuartburn, two societies were about to collide; the effects of that collision would be mediated largely by geographic factors. Social processes would be guided by geographic considerations as well as by cognitive and ideological differences among the principal players. And they were many: immigrants, members of the host society, and a plethora of their institutions, including those of the British, French, Russians, Poles, and Ukrainians. Like many other areas of "foreign" settlement in the Canadian west, Stuartburn was to become a transnational zone where the values and cultures of Europe collided with those of the Americas and new cultural signatures would be forged.

Stuartburn was typical of dozens of Ukrainian communities that were established across western Canada from 1892 to 1914, when the outbreak of war in Europe effectively terminated further immigration and settlement. It manifested all the characteristics of a British overseas colonial possession, a hinterland area responding to the demands of a controlling heartland. Stuartburn was, nevertheless, a unique community shaped by the interactions of an array of social and geographic forces that were paralleled but never exactly duplicated in other parts of western Canada settled by Ukrainians.

Stuartburn's history is local, but, as the French historian Marc Bloch is said to have remarked, "all history is local history." It is not unusual for studies of small localities to illustrate wider themes that operate on a continental or even global scale. In the Canadian west, for example, Paul Voisey's study of Vulcan, Alberta, reaches far beyond that small town to weave together a portrait of a prairie place connected to wider global markets and responsive to events occurring thousands of miles away in the commodity exchanges of the world's financial capitals.[5] In his study of the Montcalm district in Manitoba, Kenneth Sylvester contends that the systems of inheritance and the desire to preserve family farming were important contributors to the ethnic clustering found across the Prairies. Based on a study of a relatively small area, he argues that, although market forces pressed on the community, early migration is best understood as a family process.[6] Lyle Dick's study of farmers in Saskatchewan's Abernathy district similarly illustrates the potency of external events and economic structures. Timing was crucial for economic success in a system tied to wide global markets. Early arrivals generally fared better than latecomers.[7] Royden Loewen's wider study of Mennonite immigration into North America uses two Kleine Gemeinde Mennonite communities located

in and around Jansen, Nebraska, and Steinbach, Manitoba, as case studies to illustrate the significance of social processes that shaped Mennonite adaptation to North American conditions.[8] The themes of family ties, time, culture, and economic linkages are common to all of these localized studies.

Other locally focused studies, such as Wayne Norton's examination of Scottish crofter colonies in Saskatchewan, Ronald Rees's study of Cannington Manor in Saskatchewan, and Keith Foster's account of the establishment of the Barr Colony, show how immigrants' cultural backgrounds, their vision of life in the new world, and extra-regional influences combined to affect settlers' behaviour, becoming crucial determinants of economic success in agriculture.[9] Although it covers three large tracts of territory in Saskatchewan, Carl Tracy's examination of Doukhobor colonies is nevertheless based on detailed studies of specific locales.[10] More recently, Gerald Friesen has also contributed to our understanding of small prairie communities in his edited version of sociological studies of three (unidentified) Manitoba small towns.[11] More detailed studies of families and even individuals similarly illustrate global processes and their effects at the level of the family.[12]

In a review of the historiography of ethnic agricultural communities in western Canada, Loewen also cautions that concern with specific ethnic groups should not blind us to the significance of inter-ethnic relations in settlement history. The landscape of European settlement in Canada was pluralistic, but it was a landscape where ethnic borders were crossed, common institutions prevailed, and inter-group relationships were under constant negotiation. Kinship was a common element in ethnic settlement; it operated within all societies transcending differences of environment, religion, and ethnicity.[13]

Historical geographers have long appreciated the complexity of social evolution on the frontier, although they might not have taken the same approach toward understanding the nature of frontier society and might have examined the frontier at very different scales, ranging from the broad regional scale encompassing half the continent to more local studies of specific districts.[14] Robert Ostergren's several works on ethnic settlement in Wisconsin, and Frederick Leubke's more general descriptions of settlement on the American Plains, described the role of ethnicity in the settlement process, arguing that ethnic and familial ties were crucial elements in creating clusters of settlers from specific regions in Europe.[15]

In studies of the distinctive cultural landscapes of the Great Plains and Prairies, historical geographers have identified ethnicity as a defining element

in landscape formation, one that not only affected the way in which land was settled but also created unique cultural landscapes and imparted distinct senses of place.[16] In Canada, as early as the 1930s, Carl Dawson had stressed the significance of ethnicity and religion in determining the social geography of western Canada.[17] The economic and social progress of ethnic groups settled in the west and the structure and development of their social institutions were popular themes in the 1950s and 1960s.[18] More recently, studies of agricultural settlement on the Prairies have all highlighted the importance and inter-relationship of ethnicity, religion, and cultural institutions in the evolution of particular societies.[19] Cartographic representation of settlement and social development is rare. Two notable exceptions are Lubomyr Luciuk and Bohdan Kordan's atlas of Ukrainians in Canada, which mapped various aspects of Ukrainian settlement and community development, and the second volume of the *Historical Atlas of Canada,* which included plates depicting the settlement process.[20]

Over the years, the discourse changed considerably, moving from straightforward description toward more critical evaluation of federal immigration and settlement policies, ethnic and religious identities, and the roles played by settlers' social institutions and those of mainstream society.[21] Frances Swyripa's 2010 book *Storied Landscapes* marks a paradigm shift in our approach to understanding the complex interplay of emotional and physical ties to land and place.[22] In a sweeping analysis of the prairie landscape, Swyripa focuses on the ethno-religious groups that settled in blocs across the prairie west, arguing that ethnicity and religion were inseparable in the makeup of European settler societies in western Canada. She shifts her historian's gaze into geographical territory, evaluating the relationship among images, myths, and symbols and the subtle relationship with places that underpins group identity, themes that resonate through the chapters of this book.

Long after the Canadian Northern Railway pushed a line through the Stuartburn district in 1906, access to it and movement within it remained relatively difficult. Nevertheless, the colony was always connected to the host community by administrative, economic, social, and religious ties, although, as will be made clear, they were often tenuous. Stuartburn was also a part of the Ukrainian diaspora that, until 1914, remained closely tied to the European homeland. It had institutional and personal links to other Ukrainian settlements that arced across the aspen parkland belt of western Canada, and it was linked by family ties to Ukrainian immigrant communities in the cities of the eastern seaboard of the United States and, albeit more tenuously, to Ukrainian

agricultural colonies in the states of Paraná and Santa Catarina in southern Brazil and the province of Misiones in Argentina.

Events that occurred thousands of miles away resonated in Stuartburn, affecting most aspects of community life, shifting political attitudes, bearing on conceptions of self-identity, and complicating issues of religious allegiance. Thus, Chapter 1 outlines the events that precipitated the Ukrainian settlement of western Canada. It also briefly situates the settlement of Stuartburn within that context. The resultant pattern and pulse of settlement in the district are explained in Chapter 2, where the roles of ethnicity and kin ties are explored in some detail. The subsequent chapters examine the development of the area's social geography in the post-settlement years. Chapter 3 considers the roles of government agents, men, and women in developing agriculture within the colony. The following chapter reviews the development of the infrastructure that slowly linked the community to Canada's metropolitan hearth. The development of commerce in the colony is set within the framework of colonial economics in Chapter 5, where the effect of inter-ethnic and class relations on economic development is assessed. Chapter 6 chronicles the development of health care within the community, and Chapter 7 examines the role of education in creating pathways for advancement. The intense struggles among religious institutions competing for the allegiance of the new community, and in so doing fragmenting it along theological lines, are the focus of Chapter 8. The results of social dislocation—social problems and breaches of the law—are assessed in Chapter 9. Throughout the book, the nature of intra-national and intra-regional colonial relationships is implicit, and the parallels with British overseas colonialism, of which Canada was a part, are made obvious.

Interwoven throughout the book is a concern with the passage of the pioneer stage of settlement. Even though the term "frontier" is old, this book makes use of it. Frederick Jackson Turner popularized the notion of a frontier of settlement when he declared the US frontier to be closed in 1893 as there was no longer any discernible line marking the extent of European settlement, beyond which lay legally empty lands available for homesteading by agricultural settlers. It is deceptively easy to use Turner's concept of "frontier of settlement" in such a simple fashion, and to use statistics that record the occupation of land by settlers as a convenient yardstick, but the idea of the frontier is more complex than this.[23] Using Turner's term in one particular way, the Stuartburn frontier was closed by 1910 when the tide of settlement pushed to the limits of the ecumene and a clear line marking its advance was

no longer discernible on a map or on the ground. Turner also saw the frontier not only as a place but also as a recurring process that skipped across the continent in stages, "leaving newly born societies to develop in its wake."[24] By this measure, the area remained a frontier region for years after its initial settlement, retaining what are loosely termed "frontier" characteristics in a tumultuous time when a colony on the periphery of an empire collided with and adapted to larger colonial forces. It was a dynamic apparent long after active settlement had ceased.

The Canadian agricultural frontier of settlement in southeastern Manitoba was at times disorderly, if not chaotic, but it was not generally an unruly frontier. It was a frontier created by families rather than by individuals bent on acquiring wealth in the shortest possible time regardless of the social consequences. Occasional acts of violence, including murder, rape, and arson, by and large were not products of a lawless frontier mentality but paralleled incidents that occurred in more established and ordered communities elsewhere in Canada.

Disputes within this frontier community were largely "domestic" or local social issues, not quarrels over land rights or access to resources. No stalwart homesteaders fended off powerful cattle barons; nor were there open conflicts with Aboriginal people, who were essentially absent from this immediate region. There was nothing similar to the mythologized gunfights of the American trailhead towns. Rather, disputes centred on national identity, religious difference, the continuance of old-country politics and the adoption of new Canadian political allegiances, temperance, and, of course, the petty jealousies that lie beneath the surface of any society.

The final chapter of this book attempts to assess the extent to which critical social theory is able to provide an acceptable explanation of the complexity of community formation on the western Canadian frontier of settlement.

The Frontier

It is tempting to explain the evolution of colonies within empires or frontier communities such as Stuartburn in simplistic terms. For over 100 years, scholars have debated why rural places developed as they did and why frontier societies seemed to differ from societies found in longer-settled and more stable regions. A number of competing theories purport to offer the definitive explanation. Geographic determinism holds that the physical environment shaped the nature of the new society through its ordering of the economic

activity that sustained the community. Whether a community had an economy based on ranching, dryland grain farming, mixed farming, or viticulture clearly depended to some extent on the nature of the soils and climate. Other factors—such as culture, the economics of transportation, and proximity to markets—obviously played a role. Cultural transplantation, an old and equally familiar explanation, suggests that immigrants were eager to recon-struct their former societies on the frontier, and it is undeniable that many elements of old world societies were commonly found there, especially when group migration was involved and social structures were easily transplanted. Pioneer landscapes often bore more than a passing resemblance to the cultural landscapes of the settlers' homelands, but, apart from the religious buildings, it is questionable whether the physical replication of old world artifacts on the frontier was anything more than old habits enduring in new settings. In contrast, Turner's frontier thesis suggests that the frontier itself moulded a new type of society, spawning new institutions and encouraging the development of new social relationships and attitudes in frontier communities.[25] American historian Ray A. Billington, and others following in Turner's footsteps, even argued that the frontier experience shaped the American national character over the centuries by channelling its political inclinations toward democracy and egalitarianism.[26]

Canadian historians have tended to define the frontier in a less predictable fashion than their American counterparts, seeing the frontier through the prism of "metropolitanism," sometimes known as the hinterlands theory.[27] This idea attributes the salient characteristics of frontier communities to the influence of the great cities that lie far from the frontier in the industrial heartland. Its proponents argue that frontier communities lying in the hinter-lands of the cities of the industrial and commercial heartland functioned as colonies, developing in response to the economic needs of the great metropo-lises. According to this thesis, promoted most notably by Canadian historian J.M.S. Careless, the Canadian west was influenced by Montreal, which in turn developed according to the needs of London and New York, in what he called a "feudal chain of vassalage."[28]

More recent scholarship has provided new prisms to interpret rela-tionships in colonial settlement. Structuralist theories attempt to position historical events and to place all social characteristics as components of some general overarching system, such as the mode of production, the world capital-ist system, or the global market.[29] This, it can be argued, gives a certain air of

inevitability to the events that are the subject of this book. Global economic conditions certainly affected the development of the Stuartburn colony, indeed it is arguable that they set the framework that made possible its genesis, but the evolutionary path taken by the colony from the date of its inception is better explained from a poststructuralist perspective.

Poststructuralists argue that cultural signs and codes rather than the forces and social relations of material production are the primary constituents of social life. Thus, image, spectacle, and sign replace the logic of production as the guiding principle behind human action. In this approach, the decisions and actions of individuals and groups acting in any arena are based on their *perceptions* of reality so that, even within a seemingly homogeneous population, reactions to a given circumstance can appear to be irrational and sometimes contradictory.

Michel Foucault has been said to argue that our social circumstances, the "prevailing wisdom" of the day, and the avenues of action open to us shape how we understand and approach problems.[30] The nature of the debate concerning the social merits of immigrant groups entering Canada in the late nineteenth century can be interpreted in such terms, for how the debate was framed structured attitudes toward immigrants and enshrined imperialist values in the broader national discourse about the nature of Canadian society.

In a poststructuralist analysis, this arena—the Stuartburn colony—can be identified geographically, but socially it was very much an imagined community. The notion that space is socially constructed is now one of the foundations of cultural geography. This conceptualization of social space, proposed in the 1970s by Henri Lefebvre, helps to explain how the people who settled the district saw their world and acted within it.[31] A host of interdependent variables, including religious and political affiliations, social position, occupation, contact with the anglophone world, age, gender, time of arrival in Canada, and, of course, life experiences, came together to create a multitude of spaces that collectively were the Stuartburn colony.

Religion and ethnicity are indeed central to an understanding of Stuartburn's evolution. Whereas ethno-religious affiliation is often bestowed at birth, ethno-religious identity is very much a personal construct, formulated within the context of individual experience and according to acceptance of a particular *Weltanschaaung*. In other words, identifying as a Ukrainian implied knowledge, acceptance, and practice of certain social and cultural traits that could change over time. Command of the Ukrainian language

was arguably a defining trait in the early years but became less so as time progressed. Nevertheless, those standing apart, whether ethnically or geographically or both, imagined the Ukrainian community of Stuartburn very differently from those who saw themselves as a part of, and belonging to, the community.

A concern for difference, recognition of the complexities and nuances of interest, culture, and place, and an acknowledgement of the multiple forms of "otherness" are positive features of postmodern analysis that shape the interpretations in this book. Myriad differences in gender and sexuality, race, class, temporal and spatial geographies, locations and dislocations—all combined to create a unique place.[32]

In Stuartburn, there was a banality in the seeming chaos of events, or put differently there was a chaos of banality. Its history can seem disordered, and its geography can appear fluid. Thus, it is difficult to argue that any one theory adequately explains its trajectory of development. Voisey's note in his study of Vulcan, that "tradition, frontier, environment and metropolis interacted in extremely complex ways to exert uneven pressure on various aspects of community life," can be adapted to this study.[33] Nationality, ethnicity, religion, colonialism, family relationships, gender, language, an array of cultural symbols, and conceptions of social space constituted a unique matrix of variables that shaped embryonic agricultural communities in western Canada.

Sources of Data

Reconstructing past geographies presents unique challenges. One can liken the task to assembling a massive jigsaw puzzle with a good many pieces missing and some pieces cut to a different pattern. This certainly held true for this study. The Ukrainian community centred on Stuartburn encompassed parts of five rural municipalities, although the greater part fell into the Rural Municipalities of Franklin and Stuartburn. In no instance did official bodies collect data that clearly identified the ethnicity of individuals, and although most people in Stuartburn were ethnically Ukrainian the same was not true for Franklin or other surrounding rural municipalities. Data on the Stuartburn district that are available are not always spatially or temporally consistent: methods of recording data and even the nature of the data recorded changed at the whim of the secretary-treasurer of each municipality. Nor are sets of data necessarily chronologically complete. For example, the taxation rolls for Stuartburn are missing for the years 1902–12, and a close reading of the text will suggest the probable reason.

Fortunately, the federal government kept accurate records detailing applications for both homestead entry and the granting of patent after the fulfillment of certain residency requirements. Application forms for entry onto a homestead required applicants to state name, age, occupation, and former place of residence. Patent applications required a listing and valuation of all improvements made to the land. The area fenced, the size of the house and ancillary buildings, and the presence of a well were all noted. The area broken and seeded was also recorded on a year-by-year basis from the date of entry until the application for patent was filed. Even here the data are uneven, as information was not always entered in a consistent fashion. More significantly, the data apply to a specific quarter section and are not chronologically uniform, so, although it is possible to determine the progress of settlement from homestead data, it is not possible to construct a picture of the entire area under study at a specific time using homestead data alone.

The officials of the Department of the Interior reported on the process of settlement in the Stuartburn "colony" to their superiors in Winnipeg and Ottawa. Their reports provide valuable insights into the difficulties faced by the pioneers and indicate government concerns about the successful settlement of the area. These concerns were always set in a political context, for the merits of Ukrainian settlement in Canada were then being vigorously debated in the editorial columns of the nation's press. This debate was couched in very general and highly partisan terms, but it is crucial to an understanding of government settlement policy and certainly germane to this study of the Stuartburn area.

Within a few years of the first settlement of Ukrainians in western Canada, a Ukrainian-language press emerged in Winnipeg. The columns of several Ukrainian-language newspapers such as *Ukrainskyi holos, Kanadiskyi rusyn,* and *Chervonyi prapor* carried news items submitted by their subscribers from the Stuartburn area. These reports detailed the often mundane events of frontier life: church affairs, local cultural events, school activities, local political struggles, and so forth, but they also give a rare view of the evolution of a new society, how its members saw themselves and the surrounding host society. Affairs within the colony did not generally attract the attention of the English-language newspapers unless such events bore upon the economic interests of their subscribers. Thus, the *Dominion City Echo,* for example, as well as a host of other local papers published sporadically, would detail economic and harvest conditions within the colony because of the potential impact on the retail trade of surrounding service centres. It took an

event of some magnitude, a murder or scandal of epic proportions, to get the attention of the anglophone Winnipeg press directed at Stuartburn.

The Methodist Church attempted to proselytize Ukrainian settlers in the Stuartburn district using the provision of medical services as its vehicle of entry into Ukrainian life. This process was well documented and offers a unique picture of life in the area as seen by outsiders living among the settlers from the early 1920s until the 1950s. Other sources, such as school records and annual reports prepared by a variety of provincial agencies, provide useful information about the area, albeit on a rather piecemeal and irregular basis.

Statistical data alone paint a sterile picture of the past. To humanize it, some personal memory is required, either from published memoirs or from personal contact with those who remember events and conditions with some degree of clarity. Fortunately, Peter Humeniuk, a pioneer educator born in the area, published a memoir detailing his early years in Stuartburn. Michael Ewanchuk spent the academic year 1932–33 as a teacher in Beckett School near Vita and throughout his life conducted numerous interviews with pioneers of the district, which he subsequently published in a number of books on Ukrainian pioneer life in Manitoba. Almanacs, church calendars, jubilee books, and the like all yield personal stories, and Wasyl Mihaychuk, who came to the Stuartburn district with his family from the village of Bridok, Bukovyna, as a ten-year-old boy in 1900, wrote his family's migration and settlement story for his family.[34] Similarly, the Wachna family commissioned a family history, and the late Dr. Tony Wachna kindly sent a copy to me many years ago when he learned of my interest in the history of the district.[35] This, coupled with intermittent field work since 1973 in the Stuartburn district and numerous conversations with old-timers and even a few of the later pioneers of the district, gave me invaluable insights into their past and into the historical and geographical evolution of the area.

There is now a considerable literature devoted to the wider history of Ukrainian settlement in western Canada. Before 1970, accounts of Ukrainian settlement were mostly short personal memoirs or inventories and chronologies without significant interpretation of events, or they were general narrative accounts without significant documentation. Many implicitly accepted the mythology that Ukrainian immigrants were discriminated against by the immigration institutions of the federal government.[36] Valuable at the time and remaining so for their preservation of personal and otherwise unrecorded histories, they lacked the documentary base and scholarly focus

of V.J. Kaye's *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895–1900,* which drew extensively from the records of the Department of the Interior.[37] A landmark publication, Kaye's work documented the early years of Ukrainian settlement but lacked a strong interpretive component. Jaroslav Petryshyn's *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians 1891–1914* attempted to cover a wider geographical area and a more extensive temporal span, but its sweeping survey precluded the incorporation of detail found in Kaye's work.[38] More recently, Orest Martynowych's thoroughly documented history of the period from 1891 to 1924 has provided an excellent scholarly interpretation of the "sodbuster" phase of Ukrainian settlement in western Canada and might well prove to be the definitive history of Ukrainian Canadians during this time.[39] Equally important was the outpouring of material that did not deal directly with the act of immigration and settlement but explained the background of emigration, reviewed specific aspects of community development on the frontier, or attempted to analyze the evolution of Ukrainian landscapes in western Canada from a variety of disciplinary viewpoints.[40]

Few of the works devoted to the Ukrainian presence in Canada were geographical in approach. Among book-length manuscripts, Luciuk and Kordan's *Creating a Landscape* is a notable exception.[41] This highly visual work describes and illustrates the various elements of the Ukrainian rural pioneer landscape in some detail, although its approach is more descriptive than analytical. Otherwise, geographical contributions are mostly found in unpublished theses or shorter articles in academic journals and edited collections.[42]

As a historical geography, this book rests on the earlier contributions of scholars from a variety of disciplines to whom I owe a considerable debt. As a detailed study of one settlement within the colonization experience of western Canada, this book attempts to contribute to an understanding of the complexity of agricultural settlement and community formation on the western Canadian frontier.

Finally, since this is a historical geography more than a narrative of settlement history, it is appropriate to discuss some of the geographical terms employed throughout this work. When referring to the area under discussion, I use various terms that, from a geographical standpoint, lack precision. The Stuartburn colony has some of the characteristics of what geographers define as a *functional region:* that is, a region based on movement of goods or services or unified by a single characteristic such as ethnicity or religion. I am well aware that Stuartburn lacks any such unity other than that the settler

population would be mostly self-described today as Ukrainian. At the time of settlement, however, this was not the case, and the settlers then would have identified themselves by a number of diverse and contradictory descriptors, as Austrians (by citizenship); Malo Rus or Ruthenians (Little Russians); Halychani (Galician); Bukovyntsi (Bukovynian, according to their province of origin); or even Lemkos, Boykos, and Hutsuls according to regional origins.[43] In terms of religious affiliation and culture, there were differences within the immigrant population that outsiders might not have regarded as particularly significant but were viewed by the immigrants themselves as extremely important. The Ukrainian immigrant population in Stuartburn, as in Canada as a whole, was by no means homogeneous.

The Stuartburn area does not warrant description as a formal region, an area whose limits are clearly marked by a coincidence of cultural and physical boundaries. Although it is possible to make a case for this, it would be one built on a shaky foundation. As Jordan, Kilpinen, and Gritzner noted in their study of "the mountain west" of North America, cultural boundaries are never sharp, so "drawing such boundaries represents a fool's errand." To avoid the issue of regional identification, I have employed a variety of geographical synonyms for the study area, such as *district, colony, area,* and sometimes, when the context is clear, *region.* In each case, they refer to the same area: that portion of southeastern Manitoba that was settled by people who arrived between 1896 and 1914 from the former Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna and who then shared a common knowledge of the Ukrainian language.

BEGINNINGS
Imperial Ideology and Peasant Imaginings

In 1896 the hamlet of Stuartburn, consisting of only a few houses, a store, and a mill, was at the very limits of European settlement. Documents of the day depict Stuartburn with a settled hinterland to its west, but the official record is deceptive. Entries for homesteads and land purchases immediately to the west did not always equate with land occupation. Many entries by English-speaking settlers were speculative, and a good number of land sales were "time sales" mostly contracted by speculators who never occupied the land. Stuartburn was then at the edge of the ecumene with no immediate prospect of a rapid change in its status.

Understanding Stuartburn's development, the reorientation of its trade hinterland, and its emergence as a centre of Ukrainian settlement is dependent on an appreciation of the context of Canadian immigration policy and practice in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Stuartburn was not the first area in western Canada to be established by settlers from Ukraine, so its development is best understood in the general context of western Canadian history and the particular context of the historical geography of Ukrainian settlement on the Prairies.

When historian Frederick Jackson Turner declared the us frontier closed in 1893, the frontier of settlement in western Canada attracted few European farmers.[1] In fact, Canada's western interior lay mostly empty, for the Great Plains of the United States were a more attractive destination for most immigrants. The American plains were better connected to the eastern seaboard, and the Mississippi River provided a cheap and efficient grain shipment route that Canada's transcontinental railway could not rival. Canadian efforts to populate the west with agricultural immigrants from Britain and the Protestant countries of northwestern Europe had met with only limited

success, partly because those who wished to emigrate and had the means to do so had earlier left for the United States.

Canadian officials in the immigration field were reluctant to extend their quest for immigrants beyond their traditional fields because they were determined to populate western Canada with Protestant, English-speaking Caucasians well endowed with capital. Catholics and Jews were not desired, and non-Europeans were actively discouraged from entering the country. Americans were welcomed if they were of European stock, but blacks from Oklahoma found barriers erected to prevent their entry into Canada.[2]

Imperial ideology with its vague notion of colonies peopled by British immigrants was not easily reconciled with western Canada's pressing need for agricultural settlers. Canada's national policy required a settled west to serve as a market for eastern manufactures and a supplier of commodities for eastern processing and export. A change in government in 1896 and the appointment of Clifford Sifton as minister of the interior brought a new pragmatism to western settlement. Declaring that he was indifferent to the national origins of prospective settlers as long as they remained on the land and stimulated agricultural growth, he widened the net cast for settlers from overseas.

The first Ukrainian settlers had arrived in western Canada in 1891, some five years before Sifton assumed office. They were attracted to Alberta by the presence of *Völksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans), former neighbours from Galicia. Subsequent chain migration saw other Ukrainians from the Kalush district, mostly from the area adjacent to the village of Nebyliw, develop a small settlement in east-central Alberta alongside their *Völksdeutsche* compatriots. When Ukrainians first arrived in Canada, federal immigration officials regarded them as Austrians because they carried Austrian passports. It was wrongly assumed that all Austrians were ethnically German and hence German-speaking. Their small settlement in east-central Alberta, near Josephburg, thus attracted little attention from the Canadian press until 1896, when mass migration from Galicia and Bukovyna began in earnest.[3]

The social and economic conditions that drove Ukrainians to emigrate to Canada are now well documented.[4] They were pushed from their homeland by poor economic conditions and a shortage of land. Although there is some disagreement about the economic outlook for western Ukraine in the early 1890s, there is a consensus that most Ukrainian peasants were relatively poor, land-hungry, and politically repressed.[5] As communications improved and

railways penetrated into rural heartlands, extra-regional migration became less difficult.[6] Seasonal migration for work in Europe became common; by the early 1890s, overseas migration had become a viable alternative. Some Ukrainians went to Hawaii to work on Maui as indentured workers on sugar cane plantations; others went to the eastern seaboard of the United States as industrial workers and labourers. Many intended to accumulate capital to buy land upon their return home, but sojourns often became permanent. Intentional permanent migration followed, fuelled by the promise of free or cheap land in Brazil, Canada, and Argentina.[7]

The nature of Ukrainian emigration to Canada changed dramatically in 1896 through the efforts of Josef Oleskiw, a professor of agriculture in L'viv. Concerned about the conditions experienced by Ukrainian settlers in Brazil, Oleskiw published *Pro vilni zemli,* a pamphlet cautioning against hasty decision making in emigration and suggesting that Canada was probably a better destination than Brazil.[8] After he visited the Ukrainian settlement in Alberta and toured the west as a guest of the Canadian government, he wrote *O emigratsii* and *Rolnictwo za oceanem* in Ukrainian and Polish respectively.[9] These pamphlets circulated widely throughout western Ukraine, triggering a deluge of Ukrainian immigration into western Canada.[10]

Depending on their sources of information, prospective emigrants had varied expectations about life in Canada. Often these expectations were unrealistic, based on a mixture of half-truths and falsehoods gleaned from hearsay and handbills circulated by agents working on commission for steamship companies. Some immigrants arrived in Manitoba expecting to receive a developed farm with livestock and buildings in place. Others were swayed by their relatives' optimistic accounts of their own situations—accounts that were intended to rationalize their move to Canada and place their situations in the best light. Meanings did not always transfer well between the new world and the old. To have a neighbour plow one's field had different implications in Manitoba and Galicia. In Canada, it suggested a lack of capital or equipment and hence poor economic circumstances. In Galicia, it implied the opposite; only the wealthy could afford to hire labour. A simple statement that a settler had his land plowed for him would indicate to a reader in Galicia that all was well and that settlers were making enviable progress.[11]

Ukrainian immigrants initially appraised land on the basis of their prior experience of farming in Europe, where most land holdings were tiny compared with farms in western Canada. Ten or twelve hectares of land with

reasonable potential for arable farming were deemed sufficient for long-term needs. This was a grievous error, as they discovered to their cost.

Oleskiw was concerned that credulous immigrants with optimistic attitudes but no capital would flounder, so he attempted to have the Canadian government let him exercise control of Ukrainian emigration to Canada. He envisaged organizing and dispatching groups of families each led by an educated person who would act as their guide and translator. All emigrants would be screened to ensure that they had adequate resources and were aware of what awaited them in Canada. Unfortunately, his vision of an organized, balanced, and orderly flow of emigrants to Canada never materialized. The Canadian government was reluctant to hand over control of immigration to Oleskiw, and his plans were soon submerged by a wave of chain migration.

Nevertheless, Oleskiw did manage to organize and dispatch several groups to western Canada. Kyrylo Genik led the first of these groups. He was an emigrant also bent on homesteading in western Canada. Picked by Oleskiw as a natural leader, he followed Oleskiw's advice to seek areas adjacent to German-speaking settlers where mixed farming was possible, and where extensive areas of unsettled land could support a contiguous block of Ukrainian settlement, and was inclined to support the decision to examine the Stuartburn district. Although Oleskiw was out of the settlement picture by 1901, overtaken by a rush of chain migration, his influence was evident for decades since his advice determined the locations of the first settlements in the aspen parkland of the Prairies. Although the government established other nodes of settlement after Oleskiw was no longer actively participating in the immigration field, it did so only with great difficulty since it was working against a powerful tide of chain migration. When immigration was halted by the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914, the social geography of the Prairies had been transformed and the character of Canada shaped in ways that would become apparent only decades later.

The Ukrainian settlement of western Canada took place in a political context. As immigration grew rapidly in the late 1890s, settlement policies became part of the national discourse. The kind of society envisioned for the west was debated in a partisan and often vicious manner in legislative chambers and newspaper editorials across the nation.[12] Nativist and imperialist sentiments ran high. The opposition press often described Ukrainian and other Slavic immigrants as "the scum of Europe," depicting them as "moral lepers" or "the sweepings of European gaols."[13] They were, it said, "ignorant
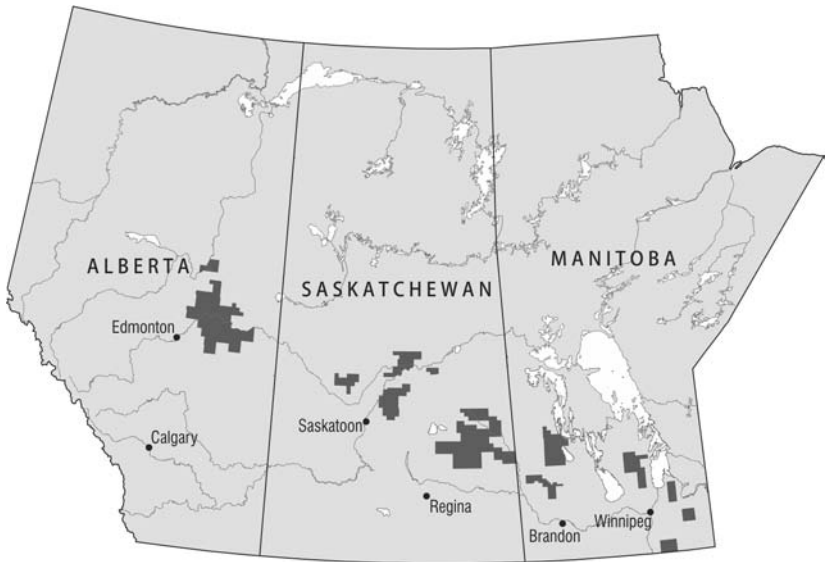
Figure 2. Ukrainian settlements in western Canada, 1914.

and vicious foreign scum," riff-raff who did not have the intelligence or physical qualities to make good Canadian citizens.[14] Their moral character was disgraceful, said the *Winnipeg Telegram* in a relatively restrained outburst; "they hold robbery and murder in very light estimation, [and] are inveterate and unscrupulous perjurers…. All the time evidence is being found as to their disgustingly low moral standard."[15] The real debate, of course, had less to do with the perceived characteristics of Ukrainian immigrants than it did with the type of society that the ruling elite hoped would emerge in western Canada: one of anglophone Protestants who fully subscribed to the prevailing imperial discourse favoured by the colonial ruling elite.

Canadian settlement policy was formulated within the framework of this discourse. Its political effects were seen at the national level, but at the regional level the repercussions affected the decision making of colonization officials attempting to place immigrants on homesteads in the west. Sifton supported Slavic immigration mostly for economic and political reasons. His attitudes, however, were clear: Ukrainians were expected to keep a low profile, stay on the land, and embrace assimilation into the dominant Anglo-Canadian society. Wisely, Sifton left the process of settlement in the hands of his officials in the field.[16]

The task of colonization agents in the west was to implement unwritten policies that called for Ukrainians to be placed where they would survive without government aid, be exposed to assimilative influences, yet be sufficiently removed from the anglophone population so as not to attract much attention or unwelcome criticism. From this came immigration officials' anxiety to isolate Ukrainians in discrete bloc settlements so as to reduce their visibility and lighten the Department of the Interior's administrative responsibilities. Immigration officials well knew that settlers located among their friends and kin were less likely to become dependent on government aid and thus draw the wrath of the opposition press. On the other hand, the Department of the Interior did not want Ukrainian bloc settlements to become too extensive since that would reduce contact with anglophone society and impede the process of assimilation. These objectives were not mutually compatible, and the policy that emerged in the field was essentially a series of compromises that balanced political objectives against the realities of frontier settlement. For their part, settlers welcomed the opportunity to replicate their social networks from the old country, and, had they been left to their own devices, there would have been fewer Ukrainian settlements, and those that were established would have been far larger.

From the interplay between the government and the immigrants, Ukrainian settlements emerged as a range of discontinuous blocs arcing across the parklands of the Canadian west from southeastern Manitoba to east-central Alberta. The following chapter uses the Stuartburn example to argue that this distinctive pattern was a product of peasant-farmer environmental preferences, the politics of immigration and settlement in Canada formulated at the federal level, and pragmatic decision making by western-based crown agents working in the settlement field.

SETTLEMENT

Farm Families and a New Environment

The history of Stuartburn's settlement cannot be divorced from its natural setting and physical geography. None of the district is first-class agricultural land; in fact, the Canada Land Inventory ranks the entire area as Class 6 land with limited potential for agriculture. There is some local variation within the area, but it is mostly mixed woodland with some prairie openings. Within a quarter section, land quality can vary considerably, ranging from tracks of swamp to patches of soil suitable for arable farming. This kind of land held little appeal for most settlers, yet at the time it was eagerly accepted by hundreds of Ukrainian settlers who passed on the opportunity to settle on the open prairie far to the west. They were, thought Commissioner of Immigration William McCreary, "a peculiar people."[1] Josef Oleskiw pointed his first party toward southeastern Manitoba, where the lands available were limited somewhat by earlier decisions of the federal and provincial governments. In 1874, the federal government set aside a large area of eight townships for Mennonite settlement, and in 1876 it reserved a further seventeen townships west of the Red River for Mennonite settlement.[2] The provincial government also had designated certain townships, mostly in the southeastern part of the province, as Métis land grants. These areas were reserved for occupation by Métis who were entitled to redeem scrip issued to them under the terms of the *Manitoba Act* of 1870. This act promised to distribute 1,400,000 acres of land in unspecified areas to the Métis as compensation for the loss of their hunting grounds across what is now Manitoba and Saskatchewan.[3]

The Dominion Lands Survey

When Canada acquired Rupert's Land in 1869, the land was not surveyed. The sparse European and Métis population was mostly scattered along the

Red, Assiniboine, and Seine Rivers in Manitoba on farmsteads based on the river lot system. As in Quebec, farm holdings were surveyed as long lots—or river lots—with property lines running back from the river frontage up to two miles from the riverbank. This system had much to commend it from the point of view of a settler; under this survey, each farmer gained access to a cross-section of the resource base, receiving access to the river for communication and water, to the timber that grew along the river, and to meadow and prairie. It was possible for settlers to create linear settlements that sprawled along the rivers. Unfortunately, the system had two major drawbacks. Rivers meander and change course, so some settlers can lose territory while others can gain it. A second problem was that under this system the most desirable land was settled first, leaving the interfluves—the land between the rivers—to be settled later, if at all.

In 1869, the government of Canada dispatched surveyors to survey the territory. Métis who feared the loss of their lands and hunting rights barred entry of the survey party, precipitating a constitutional crisis. This Métis resistance resulted in the creation of Manitoba and the entrenchment of Métis property rights. When the land was eventually surveyed, the existing river lots held by the Métis were formalized and incorporated into the survey, but the greater part of the west was surveyed using the more mechanistic township and range system patterned on the Jeffersonian system used in the United States. This system was designed for ease of administration and to minimize the number of property disputes. Using the forty-ninth parallel as a baseline, a line was surveyed northward (the principal meridian) some miles west of Winnipeg. Using these two lines as starting points, the land was surveyed into six-mile-square townships. Each six miles east and west of the principal meridian was termed a range, while each six miles north of the international boundary was termed a township (not to be confused with the thirty-six-mile area also known as a township). Each township was divided into thirty-six sections, each one square mile in area, and each section was subdivided into four quarters of 160 acres each (see Figure 3). This was the basic unit of settlement: the quarter section or homestead.

Locations in the west were always given by specifying the quarter section (northwest, southeast, etc.), followed by the section number, the township number, and the range. Finally, the meridian from which the range had been surveyed was specified. Thus, the location of a homestead in the Stuartburn colony might be the northwest quarter of Section 10 Township 2 Range 7 East of the Principal Meridian, which would be shortened to NW 10 Twp. 2 Rge. 7 E.
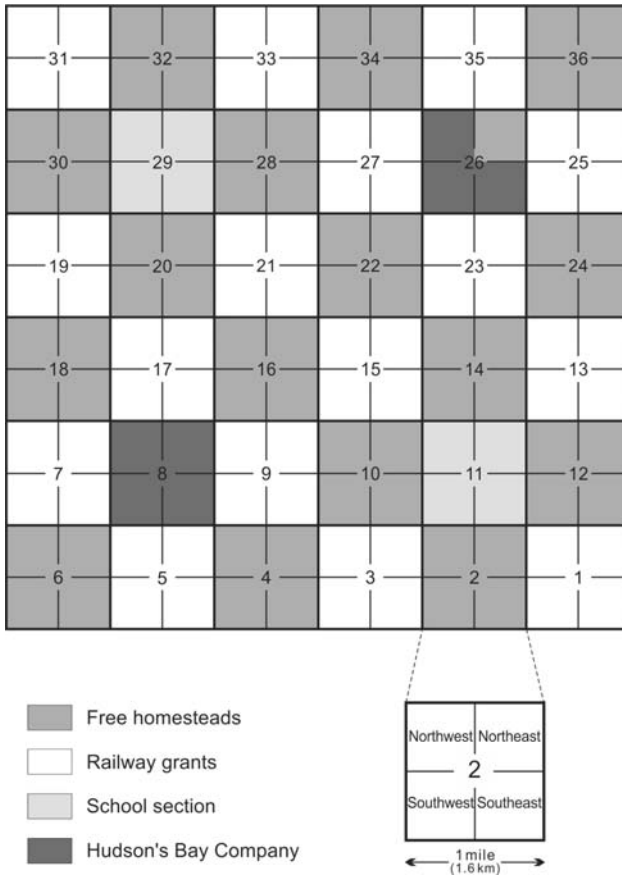
Figure 3. Land allocations in a typical township in the Stuartburn district.

Even in areas that had been declared open to homestead settlement, not all quarters were available for settlement. To compensate the Hudson's Bay Company for transferring the title to Rupert's Land to Canada, all of Section 8 and three-quarters of Section 26 were given back to the company. Two sections, 11 and 29, were designated as school lands and reserved from homestead settlement. Alternative sections were also reserved from settlement as it was intended that they be made available for later pre-emption by homesteaders or, if they had been selected as part of a railway land grant, offered for sale. Thus, in a typical township, less than half the area was available for homestead settlement, and settlers were widely dispersed. Dense settlement was an anomaly in the west.[4]

Homestead entry was open to any male of a sound mind over eighteen years of age. As always remained the case in the United States, in Canada women were initially eligible to apply for a homestead. That right was restricted in 1876 to women who were the sole heads of households. The only Ukrainian women to receive patents to homesteads were those whose husbands died before they received patents. A widow was allowed to complete the process of proving up and to receive the patent to the land for which her husband had made entry.[5]

To obtain a homestead, a settler had first to select land that was open to settlement and register his entry at the nearest Land Titles Office by paying a ten-dollar administrative fee. Once that was done, the settler had rights to the land he had made entry for but did not yet hold the title to the property. To obtain the patent, a settler had to make improvements to the land and demonstrate that he was a bona fide farmer by building a house of specified minimum dimensions and residing on his homestead for at least six months a year for a minimum of three years. Thirty acres of land had to be cleared and brought under cultivation. Only then could patent be applied for, and its granting was conditional on the applicant being, or becoming, a British citizen. Only when full patent was granted could a settler sell his homestead, mortgage it, rent it out, or use it as security against a loan.

Land Appraisal:
The Government's Assessment of the District

The broad and shallow Red River Valley includes some of the best farmland in western Canada. Its soils are deep and black, developed on the sediments of glacial Lake Agassiz and enriched over the ages by periodic flooding of the Red River as it meandered its way northward to Lake Winnipeg. French and Métis settlers occupied the river lots surveyed from Winnipeg almost to the us border. Fertile but poorly drained land extended eastward back from the edges of these long lots until the soils thinned as they approached the eastern margin of the valley, defined by a sharp but modest rise in elevation along the length of a former beach ridge of Lake Agassiz. At this low ridge, the character of the land changed suddenly, going from open prairie to wooded parkland within the stretch of 100 yards or less.

In the late 1870s, Anglo-Ontarian settlers began to acquire land at the edge of the bush country immediately east of the ridge. Many entered for homesteads, but few persevered long enough to obtain the patent to the land.

As many again, most of whom were speculators, entered into agreements to purchase land from the CPR or the Hudson's Bay Company. The majority of them eventually cancelled out of their agreements. It was at this time that Stuart Millar established the settlement of Stuartburn when in 1879 he entered for a homestead on the banks of the Roseau River, some distance east of the majority of settlers. This was then at the very edge of settlement. Some thirty families, all English or Scottish, settled around him in the following three years, forming a tiny community that Millar named Stuartburn.[6]

It is not clear why Ukrainian settlers decided to seek lands in the Stuartburn area, but it appears that Oleskiw might have been responsible. When he visited Canada in 1895, he toured through part of southern Manitoba, visiting Gretna and the southern portion of the Red River Valley.[7] It seems likely that he inspected the lands west of the beach ridge but, as far as can be ascertained, did not visit the poorer areas east of there, where the fertile Red River clays gave way to gravely ridges and low-lying areas of impeded drainage. In his Polish-language pamphlet, *Rolnictwo za oceanem,* he advocated settlement in the Red River Valley on the basis of its agricultural potential and proximity to Manitoba's two Mennonite reserves.[8] Both Oleskiw and Canadian colonization agents in western Canada thought that the reserves were ideal places for new arrivals to obtain work and receive advice from longer-established Mennonite settlers, many of whom were conversant in Ukrainian.[9]

When the first group of "Oleskiw" settlers arrived in Winnipeg, they sent delegates to inspect potential settlement sites. John Wendelbo, the crown agent in charge of settling the group, wanted to place them "as near as possible to the Mennonites where Stock, Food and other necessities, required for a new settler[, can] be had on very reasonable conditions, and where employment is plenty nearly any time of year."[10] Unfortunately, Wendelbo could not find vacant land close to either Mennonite reserve that would accommodate a large settlement of Ukrainians. Most of the better open prairie between the Red River and the Mennonite West Reserve was all taken; to the east of the Red River, French, *Völksdeutsche,* and Ontario-British settlers had taken most of the land between the river and the gravel ridge that marked the former bounds of Lake Agassiz. In Township 2 Range 4 East, for example, much of the land had been granted to the CPR, which had sold it to Anglo-Canadian and American settlers in the early 1880s. Few of them held less than half a section, and some held entire sections that they had obtained through a combination of homesteading, pre-emption, and purchase.[11] Although still

largely unoccupied, the townships farther north, running immediately south of the Mennonite East Reserve, were designated for Métis settlement and were not open for homesteading. Luckily, along the banks of the Roseau River, in Township 2 Range 6 East, lay land that the survey of 1872 had noted as mostly "poplar and willows" and "poplar prairie." The delegates found this area to be "very satisfactory, [the land] mixed with poplar groves, scrubby prairie and meadow lands," and more importantly it had "enough vacant homesteads for about 35 or 40 families."[12] This area had been settled in the early 1880s, but the initial Ontario-British settlers had not put down deep roots (see Figure 4). Many had never patented their homesteads, and the few who had done so were frustrated by the rough country, the lack of roads, poor drainage, and the difficulty of clearing this type of land.[13] It was hardly surprising that the original settlers were eager to sell out to new arrivals.[14] Farther south, in Township 1 Range 6 East, land quality varied widely, both geographically and seasonally. The survey described the southeastern part of the township as "wet and marshy," with poplar and willows, while other parts were "low and marshy." To the southwest of the Roseau River was "flooded land" lying under one to six feet of water. Nevertheless, English-speaking settlers already occupied some of the better and drier sections within the township.[15]

Government colonization agents were ambivalent about the area's qualities. On the one hand, they thought that its agricultural potential was limited, "not such as to attract attention from the Canadian settler," and "of inferior character, and as such would be rejected by ordinary farmers."[16] On the other hand, an employee of the Department of the Interior enthusiastically described the area as "chiefly rolling prairie interspersed with fine groves of poplar timber, the soil [is a]…rich dark loam."[17] Although their assessments of its arable potential conflicted, all involved agreed that the area was well adapted for raising stock.

It seems that the government officials involved in the placement of Ukrainians in Stuartburn were more impressed with the area's location than its physical properties. It was certainly well positioned for settlers who wanted to "work out" with the Mennonites in the East or West Reserve or with longer-established farmers in the prosperous farming districts around Emerson, Morris, and Gretna, about thirty miles west. The area was also thought to offer easy access to markets, an important consideration since Kyrylo Genik and his compatriots seemed intent on pursuing dairying rather than grain growing.[18] The lack of roads and trails within the area and the poor links to the
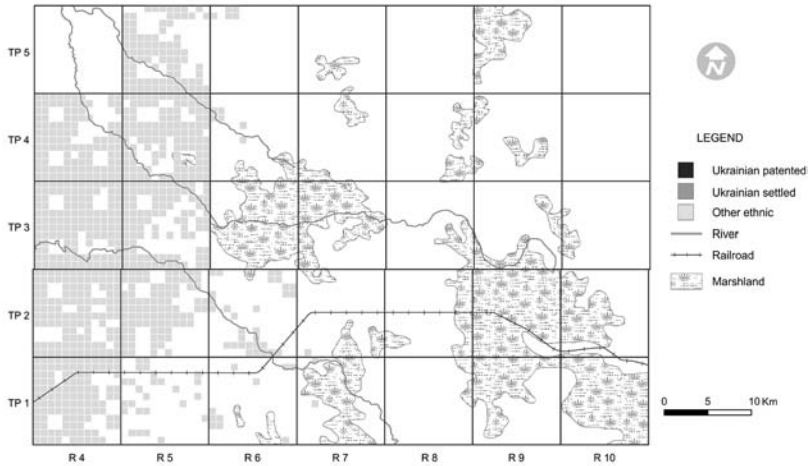
Figure 4. Settlement in Stuartburn, 1895.

outside were not thought to be significant obstacles since it was confidently expected that such infrastructure would develop in due course, and it was thought that it would be several years before the Ukrainians would be ready to become involved in commercial operations. It was a time of optimism. If good all-weather roads were constructed, then the eighteen-mile haul to the Emerson-Winnipeg CPR line at Dominion City would give Stuartburn enviable links to markets. A slightly longer trip to Emerson, the port of entry from the United States, rail junction, and self-styled "Chicago of the North," promised excellent access to almost anywhere in southern Manitoba or the states of the northern Great Plains. On a map, the location seemed fine.

Settlers' Appraisal of Lands

For their part, the Ukrainian settlers appeared to be satisfied with the Stuartburn location on the basis of its land quality alone.[19] Although rough, the area offered some decent grazing: the wetter areas provided hay for a good number of cattle, and the poplar "bush" provided shelter, fuel, and building materials. The settlers saw the area in August, at its best at the driest time of the year, and it is probable that they had little idea that the spring thaw and flooding of the Roseau River made the district notoriously wet, turning many areas into virtual swamps in the springtime. Colonization officers, who had been apprised of these conditions by those Ontario-British settlers who had stuck it out in the westernmost parts of the district, warned the immigrants to

build on the highest ground available, but most of the Ukrainians were confident about their choice of land.[20] Later they were surprised, and presumably dismayed, at the extent and duration of the flooding.

Social ties were important. The immigrants wished to settle together in a dense, more or less contiguous block and thus wanted to settle on both odd- and even-numbered sections. Mykhailo Stashyn, who arrived in Stuartburn with his parents at the age of eight, later recalled that "everybody was asking the agent to allot homesteads as near as possible to each other. All wished to be with their friends, because in a strange land, among strange people, whose language they could not understand, made them feel very lonely."[21]

Many settlers divided their farms, claiming that 160 acres were too many for them to work. Although few had experience farming more than a dozen or so acres, petitioners likely were motivated by a desire for dense settlement that allowed for proximity to friends and kin. To partly address the issue, the commissioner of immigration in Winnipeg petitioned his superiors in Ottawa for permission to release the odd-numbered sections for settlement by the Ukrainians. This was done in May 1897 for several townships where it was thought that Ukrainians were likely to settle. The immigrants were thus able to achieve the denser settlement they craved.[22]

This seemingly innocuous action brought the wrath of the Tory press on the government's head. It accused the government of favouring Ukrainian immigrants, alleging that they received privileges denied to British and Ontario-British settlers.[23] Failing to acknowledge the particular circumstances behind the government's actions, and ignoring the fact that the quality of the land in question made it unlikely that any railway company would select its land grant from the Stuartburn area, the *Winnipeg Telegram* claimed that

> these people [Ukrainians] are located at public cost, which he [the British settler] is taxed to contribute to. He was restricted to the even-numbered sections and was required to pay his entry fee in advance; these people are allowed to take odd or even numbered sections, railway, Hudson's Bay, or school lands, contrary to law, just as they please, and, also contrary to law, are permitted to settle on their homesteads without paying their homestead fees in advance. They are also furnished with provisions, stock and implements at the public, (that is his own,) expense; the only security for the advance being a lien on land which they do not own and for which, not having paid the entry fee they have not even a conditional right.[24]

Because immigration officers acted sensibly to make accommodation for the needs of settlers who lacked adequate capital, in the first instance in Stuartburn and elsewhere later, the opposition press dubbed Ukrainian settlers "Sifton's pets" and "the government's foreign pets."[25] The allegations of favouritism were false: Ukrainians were not allowed to homestead on school lands or on Hudson's Bay Company lands; although the government helped some of the earlier settlers in the Stuartburn colony, aid was generally doled out in a parsimonious fashion, a far cry from the implication of the Tory press that provisions, stock, and implements were freely provided to penurious Ukrainian settlers. Aid was never provided gratis; it was always given as a loan, and liens were taken against the homesteads of all recipients.

Things could have been very different for the Stuartburn settlers had the recommendations of William F. McCreary, the commissioner of immigration based in Winnipeg, been heeded. McCreary suggested that each colony of Ukrainian settlers be provided with a government interpreter who would also act as a farm instructor and purchasing agent for the immigrants. He also recommended that the government provide a priest who would also be a schoolteacher. McCreary also wanted the crown to set aside land, to be held by trustees, for the building of a church, cemetery, schoolhouse, and community hall. He also favoured village settlement so as to build a sense of community and foster cooperation.[26] His suggestions were not acted on.

As other Ukrainians settled in the Stuartburn area and the frontier of settlement was pushed south and east from the initial point of settlement in Township 2 Range 6 East, the government became concerned about the type of land being homesteaded. James A. Smart, the deputy minister of the Department of the Interior in Ottawa, wired McCreary in Winnipeg: "Is it [Twp. 1 Rge. 6 E] not rather wet? Be careful settling Galicians. Understand they are a good lot."[27] McCreary had good reason to be concerned. On the township plan prepared by the surveyors in 1872–73, the southeastern portion was marked as "wet and marshy [with] poplars and willows," while the area immediately southwest of the Roseau River was described as "flooded land [with] one to six feet of water." Other parts of the township were labelled as low and marshy.[28]

Given the political tumult that surrounded Ukrainian settlement, Smart's concern was well founded. The government was anxious that all were placed on land that gave them the best possible chance of success. As evidence of the Liberal government's allegedly misguided immigration strategy, the

opposition would hold up any failures to public scrutiny and undoubtedly delight in making as much political capital out of the occasion as possible. The government was also reluctant to appear to be providing aid to Ukrainian settlers, for it was well aware of the political risks that attended such actions if they were brought to the attention of the opposition. Not surprisingly, immigration officers attempted to direct settlers to environments that they thought they preferred, or thought were best fitted to their needs, and that gave the best chance for self-sufficiency in the difficult first years of settlement.[29]

It did not take long for the officers in the colonization field to become aware of the environmental preferences of Ukrainian peasants. By May 1897, Commissioner McCreary was well aware that they preferred land with scrub and poplar to open prairie. He reported that

> these Galicians are a peculiar people; they will not accept as a gift 160 acres of what we would consider the best land in Manitoba, that is, first class wheat growing prairie land: what they want is wood, and they care but little whether the land is heavy soil or light gravel: but each man must have some wood on his place. This Township has got some very nice timber bluffs, and also some meadows suitable for hay, but in a great many sections there are stones. They do not object to stones, however, if they have sufficient [land] for small crops. In my opinion, it will be many years before they will go extensively into grain raising. I think from ten to twenty-five acres at the outside will be the area cultivated by any one of these people for the next ten years, with the exception possibly of one or two of a thousand settlers who have a considerable amount of money, and who wish to go into farming extensively: but the man with $100, which is the average amount any of them possesses who have any means at all, will not go extensively into grain farming.[30]

McCreary thought the Ukrainians' appraisal of the agricultural potential of the Stuartburn district was appropriate for settlers without capital. The only people who could hope to successfully settle on the open prairie in the late nineteenth century were those who had considerable capital or who, like the Mennonites, had developed the adaptive strategies that enabled them to overcome the limitations imposed by lack of timber for fuel, building, and fencing. On the open prairie, the soil was rich, but the resource base was narrow. There was nothing to sustain a settler until the first crop came in and was sold. To

settle there meant that from the first day of settlement the immigrant was bound to a market economy, which was subject to the vagaries of the market and the weather, both of which were notoriously unpredictable.[31]

Settlement in the bush country of the aspen parkland offered a better option for most settlers, especially those who were poor. A settler could survive on a homestead that had timber for building a shelter, fencing a garden, and fuelling a stove. Berries, mushrooms, nuts, fish, and wild game were potential foods; slough grass provided winter feed for stock and material for thatching roofs. Above all, in an area with a high water table, digging a well was easy, and watering stock was seldom a problem. Although they could not have known it at the time, the Stuartburn area had another important attribute: the potential to generate income from cutting and selling cordwood and from gathering and selling some of its resources: Seneca root, wiregrass, and frogs. It was poor country for a rich settler but rich country for a poor settler.

In western Ukraine, most farms were small and fragmented. Few of the immigrants who made up the first group had experience in farming a holding of much more that twelve acres or so. The 160-acre homestead was the size of a small estate in Galicia and northern Bukovyna.[32] Those who chose to settle on a quarter section that was mostly swamp did so assuming that they would find the twenty acres or so of good arable land that they regarded as more than adequate for their needs.

The responsibility for the initial selection of land around Stuartburn rested with McCreary and the first group of Ukrainian settlers led by Genik. Long after the crown had first expressed doubts about the wisdom of continuing settlement of the Stuartburn area, and when Genik, in his capacity as an employee of the Immigration Branch, was actively urging incoming settlers not to take land in the Stuartburn area but instead to continue on to Yorkton, Saskatchewan, or to east-central Alberta, where far better homesteads could be readily obtained, Ukrainians continued to settle in the area. Ironically, the Stuartburn district's strongest proponents were those already settled there who promoted its merits to their relatives in the old country and to immigrants whom they met at the CPR station in Winnipeg.[33] On at least one occasion, immigrants on a train destined for settlement in Saskatchewan that stopped in Winnipeg were induced to break down the locked train car doors by established settlers who extolled the virtues of the Stuartburn district.[34] The Ukrainian-language press in North America, including the US

newspaper *Svoboda,* carried reports of the district written by settlers, most of which placed it in a favourable light.[35]

To be fair, the district's limitations were not immediately apparent. Two years after its first settlement, a total of 153 families had only 185 acres under crop and a further 60 acres cleared and broken (see Figure 5). No settler had more than eight acres under the plow; most had between half an acre and one acre in crop, typically in vegetables.[36] In this part of the district, the first to be occupied, the land was of fair quality when dry. As settlement moved eastward, land quality quickly declined. At first sight, the land east of Range 6 East appeared to be better, but breaking the land revealed the soil to be thin and the subsoil to be boulder-strewn with gravel patches in places. Digging out, breaking up, or burying large boulders was time-consuming, arduous, and dangerous work. For some settlers, the cost in damaged plows ran up to fifty dollars a year, imposing a financial burden that few settlers could afford to bear.[37] This did not become evident until a commitment to farm a specific homestead had been made and time and money invested in buildings and other improvements. Many were then reluctant to abandon their homesteads to either relocate within the district, where they might re-encounter the same problems, or seek better opportunities in another district away from family and friends.

When dealing with thousands of settlers consisting of a dozen or so ethnicities, crown agents in western Canada resorted to ethnic stereotyping: the Ukrainians were poor, the Americans were wealthy, and the English were poor farmers and would drift to the towns. These attitudes determined their assessment of lands best suited to each group. A map was drawn up in 1901 dividing the west into territories that were thought to be best for the settlement needs of each group. The Stuartburn colony was not marked as such, presumably because by then the Department of the Interior was no longer convinced of the wisdom of channelling more settlers into the district; in fact, by then, it was attempting to combat chain migration and to deflect incoming Ukrainians toward more promising locations.

The Department of the Interior had quickly recruited Genik, the gymnasium-educated leader of the first party from Galicia to obtain homesteads in the Stuartburn area, to act as an interpreter. His role soon went beyond this.[38] He understood the immigrants and their needs and played a leading role in trying to dissuade later immigrants from flocking down to Stuartburn to join their friends and relatives. Genik implored them to continue westward

to areas where good homesteads were still available, but his efforts yielded poor results. Some arrivals were suspicious of his motives; others simply refused to accept settlement hundreds of miles away from friends and kin. The Stuartburn settlement thus continued to expand even though the government had no wish that it should do so (see Figures 5–9). Without the legal authority to compel settlers to locate in any specific spot, immigration officials let events unfold knowing that sooner or later even the most unpromising homesteads would be taken and the Stuartburn colony would reach its physical limits. This appears to have occurred by 1912 (see Figure 10) as thereafter the sons of earlier settlers took the most available homesteads in the area; expansion was thus fuelled by internal rather than external demand for land.

After 1912, many settlers continued to seek homesteads in the district, frequently re-entering quarters that had been abandoned two or three times by a succession of settlers unable to achieve any real progress. Failed attempts often left houses and other improvements on the land that might have encouraged others to enter for the homestead, perhaps reasoning that since some of the work had already been done they might be able to obtain patent fairly quickly. Those who did persevere and achieved patent to such lands usually paid dearly for the privilege, labouring for years to eke out a living on land that never had much potential for anything other than pasture. Typical was the experience of Anthony Yanczyk from Kopyczynce, Galicia, who entered on a cancelled homestead in Township 3 Range 8 East in 1912. Surveyors had earlier described this township as "level country with poplar, tamerac [sic], jack pine, muskegs and hay meadows." The description of the vegetation alone suggests a low-lying, poorly drained area that would present difficulties for any settler. Yanczyk must have been aware that Michal Werbannik had abandoned this land in 1904 after two years as "too wet and swampy." Re-entered by M. Werbeniuk in 1906, entry was again cancelled in 1912. Yanczyk and his family of seven moved onto the land in the same year. After four years, they had broken and cultivated only eight acres and were unable to make further progress. Things went from bad to worse, and the number of their cattle declined from ten to eight, while Yanczyk added two more children to his brood. He applied for patent in 1921 but was too poor to obtain the necessary certificate of naturalization. Unable to further improve his farm because of constant flooding, he had to seek off-farm work in the vicinity to support his family. Patent was finally granted in 1935.[39]
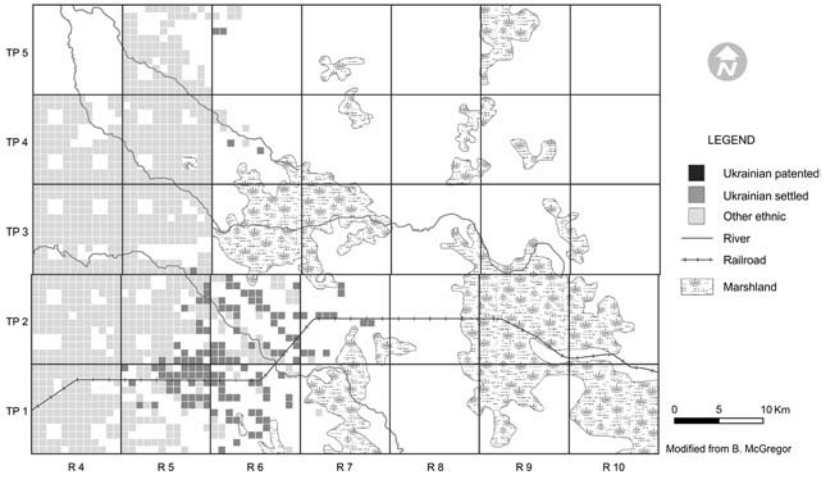
Figure 5. Settlement in Stuartburn, 1898.
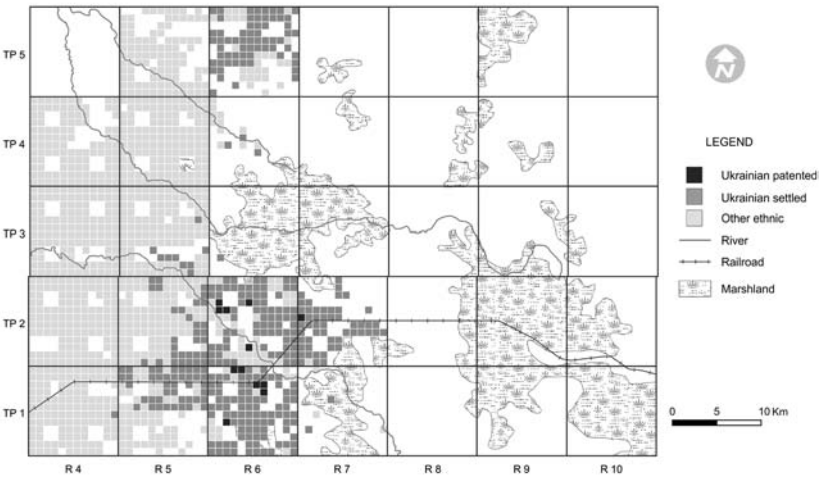
Figure 6. Settlement in Stuartburn, 1901.
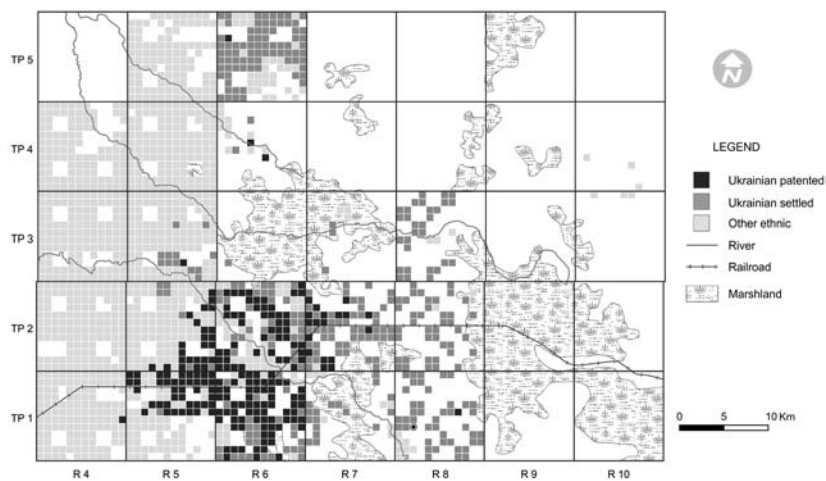
Figure 7. Settlement in Stuartburn, 1904.
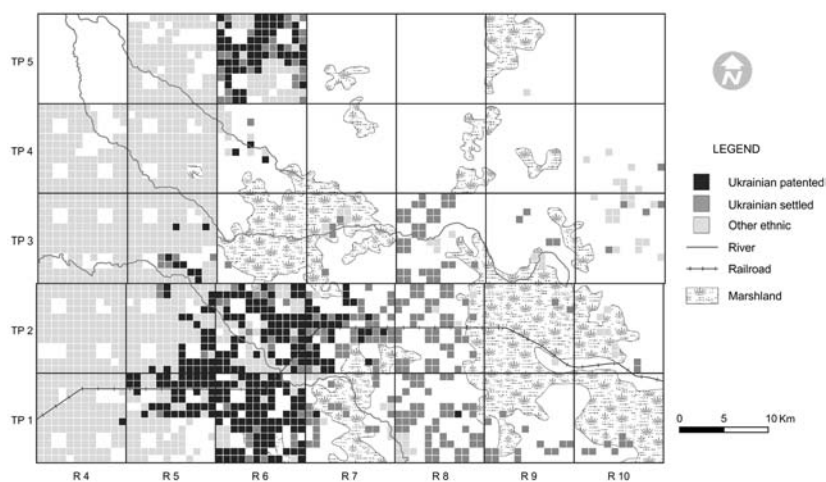
Figure 8. Settlement in Stuartburn, 1907.
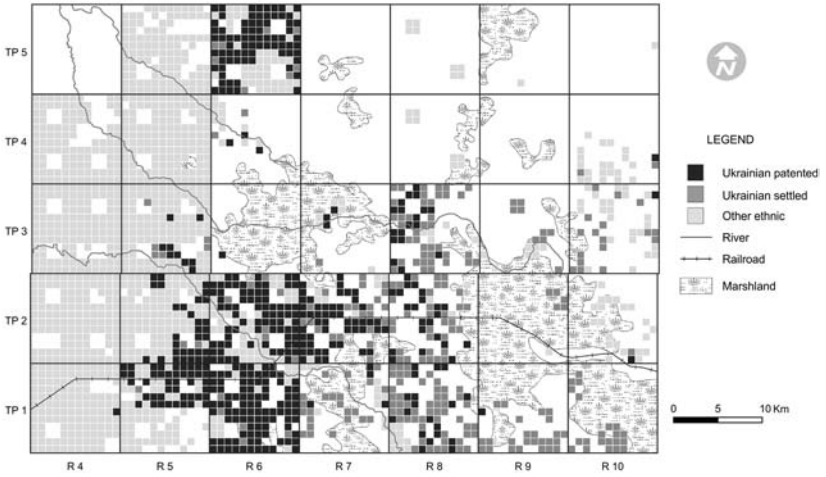
Figure 9. Settlement in Stuartburn, 1910.
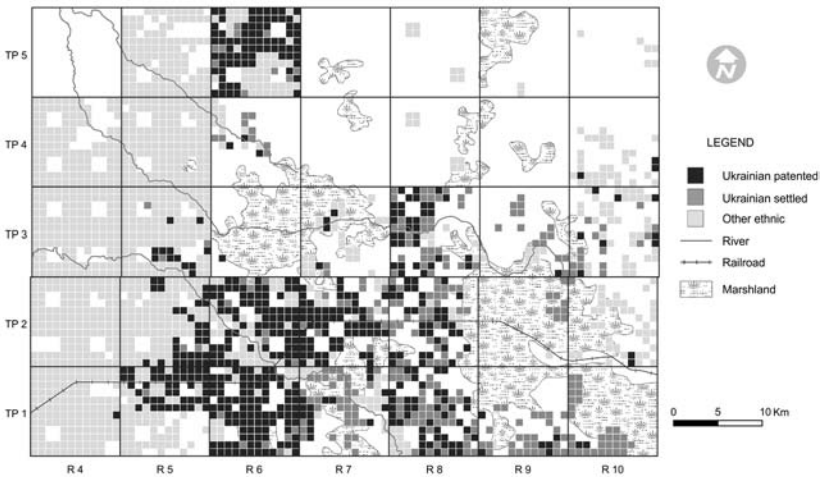
Figure 10. Settlement in Stuartburn, 1914.

Social Ties and Homestead Selection

Immigrants from the villages of western Ukraine were accustomed to life in a society that was geographically relatively immobile and socially static. In villages such as Synkiw in Galicia, or Bridok in Bukovyna, over generations people had become bound together by ties of blood, marriage, and the shared experiences that are a corollary of propinquity. Villagers had a common history and tradition: they had endured the same privations, spoke the same dialect, observed the same holidays, and worshipped at the same church. Word of opportunities overseas spread from person to person, family to family, and village to village, and the result was chain migration. At first sight, it seems surprising that emigration from Galicia and Bukovyna did not draw uniformly from across both provinces but tended to be concentrated in particular counties. Some villages supplied hundreds of emigrants to Canada, while villages only a few kilometres away with seemingly identical populations in terms of economic and social characteristics furnished few or no emigrants, but chain migration accounts for this variation. Often entire families migrated, brother following brother, nephews following uncles, cousins following cousins, and so forth. Husbands followed in-laws, and their neighbours followed their example once they had an expectation that they would have contacts in the new world. What at first appears to be migration from a particular village or district in reality was often the long and tenuous chain migration of one or two family groups.

Migration, even under the most favourable circumstances, is stressful and often traumatic. Thus, most migrants seek the security of a familiar social and linguistic environment when they move to a new land. Settlement alongside relatives and friends reduces the stress of the unfamiliar and provides a level of comfort and sense of security denied to the independent settler who locates among strangers. This quest for the familiar is especially powerful when migration involves relocation in a foreign land within a host community alien in language, religion, and culture, as was the case with the move from western Ukraine to Stuartburn in western Canada.

This attraction to friends, relatives, and compatriots was a powerful force. It determined the geography of Ukrainian settlement across the west, and within Ukrainian bloc settlements it moulded the internal social geography. This was very evident in the Stuartburn colony, where chain migration replicated the social geography of western Ukraine in microcosm. Family members settled close to each other, and families from the same village, often

linked by ties of blood or marriage, often grouped together.[40] There were few pioneer settlers in the Stuartburn area, or elsewhere in Canada, for that matter, who did not concede that the presence of friends or relatives was a major factor in their decision making about where to settle.[41] Settlers in the Arbakka area chose it because they "wanted to be with friends, to help out in hard times and stick together."[42] Todor Kutzak, a pioneer of Sirko, said this: "When I arrived in Canada in 1905, I headed for Gardenton, where I had an uncle who would feed us [Kutzak and his friend] when we arrived."[43] Iwan Mihaychuk chose to emigrate to the Stuartburn colony because his wife's sister, Maria Zahara, was already established there. Her husband had been among the first group of Oleskiw's settlers to reach the area. Mihaychuk's later relocations onto different homesteads within the colony, and his decision to squat on land in the Arbakka area, then not officially open for settlement, were almost entirely determined by personal connections.[44]

Within the Ukrainian settlements in western Canada, there were remarkably few primary decision makers. The few settlers from Nebyliw, Kalush District, Galicia, who were the first Ukrainians to settle in the Edna/Star area of Alberta, can be counted as primary decision makers since they made the decision to locate where no other Ukrainians had settled. The same can be said of the members of the first group that settled in Stuartburn, for they too elected to settle in an area where there were no other Ukrainians, even though their decision to emigrate to Canada was strongly influenced by the presence of other Ukrainians in the country. The dozen or so Ukrainian settlements established across western Canada from 1892 to 1914 were the product of decisions made by a small number of individuals; of the thousands of people who settled in them, probably less than 1 percent could be counted as primary decision makers; most simply followed in their tracks. Thus, the land evaluations and social attitudes of the first Ukrainian pioneers in each district had an influence far greater than their numbers would suggest and led directly to the creation of Ukrainian settlement running in a broad swath across the northern limits of the parkland belt from southeastern Manitoba to east-central Alberta (see Figure 2).

The families that made up the first group of settlers to take homesteads in the Stuartburn colony, with one exception, were all from southern Galicia. The Zahara family from Bridok, Bukovyna, was related to the Storesczuk family from Senkiw, Galicia, a village less than a mile from Bridok but on the opposite bank of the Dnistr River.[45] People from these villages differed only

in one significant respect in that those from Bridok were Greek Orthodox but those from Synkiw were Greek Catholic. This difference in religious affiliation was important to the immigrants. Their mutual antipathy, although mostly based on religious differences, was exacerbated by political affiliations and some cultural variations. Greek Catholics from Galicia whom the Bukovynians regarded as Polonized and tainted by Roman Catholic influences considered the Greek Orthodox Bukovynians Russophiles. Each group also had its own images of the other that were not particularly flattering: the Bukovynians held that the Galicians were tight fisted and inhospitable, while the Galicians regarded the Bukovynians as unsophisticated rural hayseeds. Commissioner McCreary was keenly aware of this. He reported to Ottawa that the Bukovynians were "somewhat different from regular Galicians; their chief difference, however, being in their religious persuasion. They do not affiliate, and, in fact, are detested by the Galicians; they are a lower class, more destitute and more awkward to handle."[46]

The keen aversion of Galicians and Bukovynians to intermixing in settlement came as a real surprise to the Canadian immigration officials helping them to choose their homesteads. In Ukrainian settlements across the west, old country religious and cultural divisions were replicated because colonization agents had no stomach for confrontation with immigrants determined to get their own way. Thomas McNutt, a colonization officer working in Saskatchewan, was surprised to find that he had to "put the Bukowinians and Galicians in two separate groups as they are not friendly with each other." He noted that this appeared to be a result of religious differences between them and surmised "probably there was some obscure racial trouble as well, tracing back to the past history of these people."[47] By 1898, it was clear that the most effective settlement strategy was to accede to Ukrainian settlers' wishes and accommodate them as far as possible.[48]

Unaware of the religious and political implications of immigrants' differing provincial origins in 1896, government officials settling Ukrainians in the Stuartburn area made no attempt to segregate the two groups. There was no problem in this case because the Galicians and Bukovynians simply pushed their own frontiers of settlement in different directions; the Galicians took homesteads north and east of Stuartburn, but the Bukovynians moved in a southeasterly direction. For some years of settlement, both groups maintained a remarkable degree of separation from each other.

In Stuartburn, the Galicians occupied land north of the Roseau River; the Bukovynians took land to the south (see Figure 11). Within the areas settled by each group, there was a clear agglomeration by district and village of origin. In Township 1 Range 6 East, twelve families from Bridok, Zastavna District, Bukovyna, settled in a well-defined cluster, although there was a certain amount of intermixing with the thirteen families from the village of Onut, also of Zastavna District (see Figure 12). Settlers from nearby Chornyi Potik located alongside them. In Ukraine, Onut and Bridok are neighbouring villages only a few kilometres apart in the valley of the Dnistr; Chornyi Potik lies less than a mile from Onut. Immigrants from Lukivci,
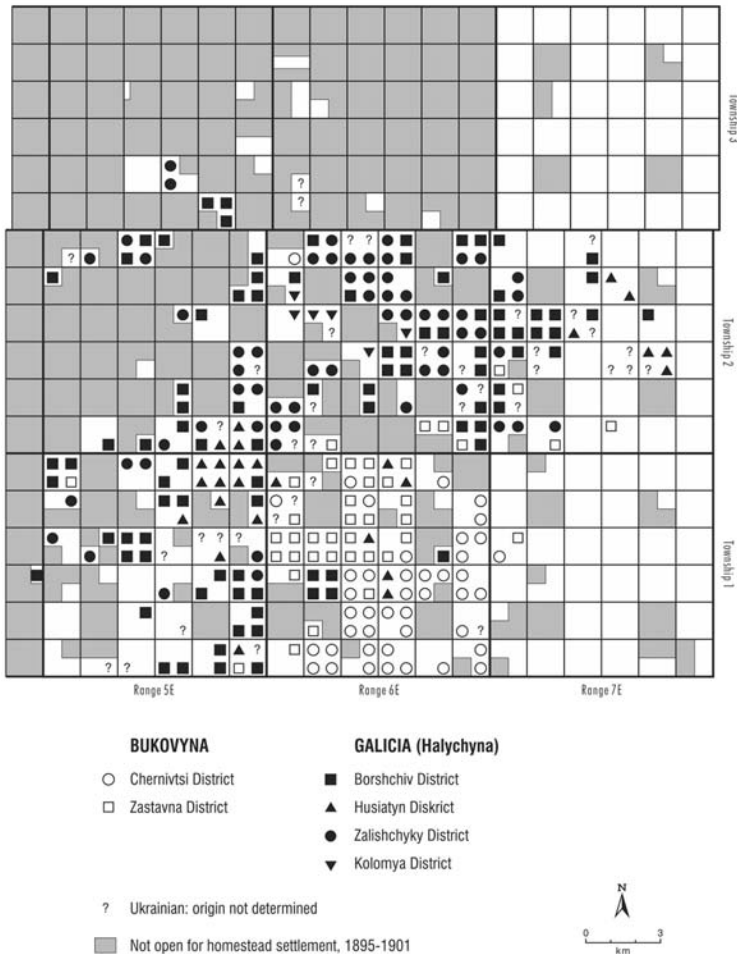
Figure 11. Stuartburn settlers by district of origin.

Chernivci District, Bukovyna, settled alongside settlers from Onut, Bridok, and Chornyi Potik but did not intermix with them to any great extent, which suggests that settlers from each village were bound by ties of blood or marriage more so than mere cultural affinity (see Figure 12). Lukivci lies to the southwest of Chernivtsi, a considerable distance from villages lying along the banks of the Dnistr.

    North of the Roseau River, forty-five families from Synkiw, Zalishschyky District, Galicia, settled in two closely linked clusters centred on Township 2

Figure 12. Settlers in Twp. 1 Rge. 6 E, by village of origin.

Range 6 East. Most of these families were related to one another.[49] Immigrants from the village of Postolivka, Husiatyn District, Galicia, were settled in two groups that were apparently based on kinship ties. Most of the settlers around Tolstoi came from villages in the Borschiw District.
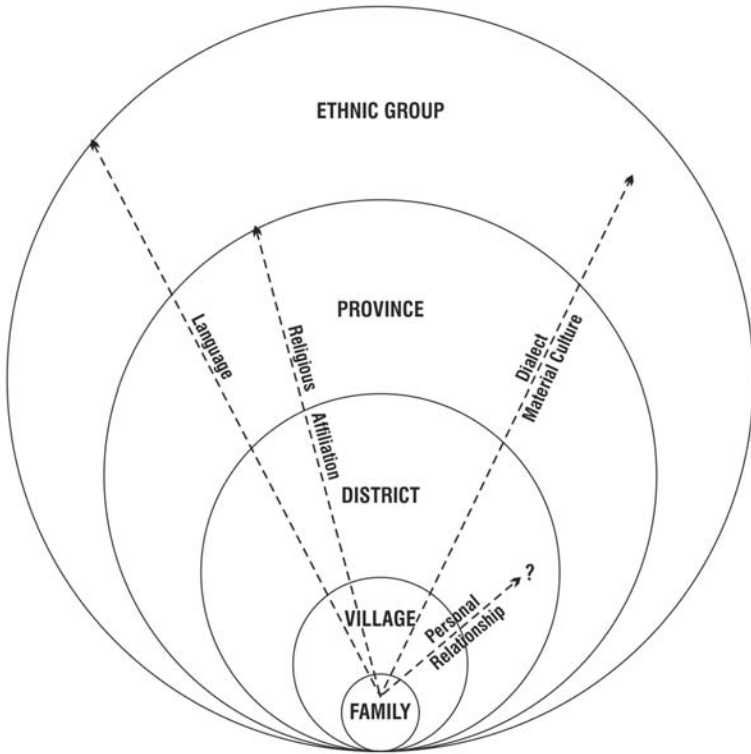
Figure 13. Social geography of the Stuartburn colony.

Within village groupings, kinship groupings were also generally evident. For example, of the settlers in the group of thirty-seven families from Lukivci, Bukovyna, thirteen had the last name of Kossowan, four Zyha, and three Shypot. Other families that had different last names were linked to these families through marital ties. Over half of the immigrants from Lukivci who settled in the Stuartburn colony were tied in one way or another to one of the three large family or clan groups. In Bukovyna, Lukivci is within a few kilometres of other villages that also contributed immigrants to the Stuartburn colony.

The social geography of the Stuartburn colony can be envisioned as a series of nested *holons:* family and kin groups, within village-of-origin-based groups clustered together by district of origin and finally grouped together by province of origin (see Figure 13).[50] This predilection for the maintenance of old country social groupings had serious long-term economic implications for the Ukrainian colony. The decision making of the first settlers—the primary decision makers—to take homesteads in the colony was influenced by economic factors such as a perceived need to secure supplies of timber, a need for a wide resource base, proximity to Mennonite settlers, erroneous evaluation of soil quality, or ignorance of alternative opportunities to acquire homesteads in better districts; the decisions of subsequent settlers—the secondary decision makers—appear to have been mostly influenced by social considerations. It seems unlikely that settlers obliged to wade out waist-deep to their homesteads would not have had some misgivings about the agricultural quality of such areas. If those who had doubts failed to act on them, it was almost certainly because their reservations were overcome by their desire to settle as close as possible to family and friends.

The value system by which settlers assessed homestead sites and selected areas for settlement revealed a pattern of decision making that suggested Ukrainian immigrants were reluctant frontiersmen, principally because they placed such a high value on family and social ties. This presented the Department of the Interior with a major political headache. Left unchecked, the tide of Ukrainian settlers threatened to roll into a few areas: Stuartburn and Dauphin in Manitoba, and Star in east-central Alberta. While the Canadian press and their political masters might have disagreed about the merits of Ukrainians as settlers, there was near unanimity that they should be assimilated as quickly as possible. To allow the growth of a few major bloc settlements would inevitably lead to the creation of "little Ukraines" where settlers would be buffered from assimilative influences. On the other hand, the Department of the Interior recognized that it would be political suicide, if not physically impossible, to thoroughly intermix Ukrainians with settlers of other nationalities, especially with the more xenophobic British, to speed up the assimilative process. Although a policy was never explicitly articulated, the actions of officials in the field made it clear that the Department of the Interior was intent on restricting the expansion of existing bloc settlements and establishing new nodes of Ukrainian settlement. This was accomplished only with great difficulty because of the power of chain migration; the greatest

problem was to persuade a few families to establish a new node of settlement away from other Ukrainians. Once this was done, chain migration took over again, and the stream of settlement was partially diverted away from the original blocs.

The Stuartburn colony was largely unaffected by these issues. Its ultimate size was determined by physical factors, not by machinations by officials of the Department of the Interior. To the west of the colony, land had already been settled by British and Germans; to the east, its expansion was limited by the great swamp, while its less clearly delimited northern boundary was set by a combination of swamplands and lands that had already been earmarked to be part of a Métis land allocation. The international boundary officially marked the limits of settlement to the south, although Ukrainians who had strayed across the border settled the most northerly sections of townships in Minnesota.

The Expansion of Settlement

The geographical progress of settlement in the Stuartburn colony was the result of a complex decision-making process whereby the incoming settlers weighed both social and environmental factors as they chose their land. Immediately prior to the arrival of the first Ukrainian settlers in Stuartburn, the frontier in the area was virtually static. Settlement, such as it was, extended no farther eastward than Range 7 East. The first party of Ukrainians entered sixteen quarters, all in Township 2 Range 6 East, taking land between the holdings of English-speaking settlers. The following year a further thirty quarters were entered by Ukrainians, who began to move southwestward, also claiming vacant homesteads between English-speaking settlers. In 1897, a further eighty-five homesteads were claimed by Ukrainians, who mostly continued the process of infilling behind the frontier pushing toward the boundary of solid English-speaking settlement (see Figure 5). However, for the first time, some isolated Ukrainians began to push beyond the frontier of contiguous settlement in the east. One hundred and fourteen entries were made in 1898, and once again the tendency to select land within the previously settled area was marked, a trend that continued through the next two years. Until 1902, there was only one instance of a Ukrainian settler making an entry for land that was not adjacent to a previously settled quarter section. Only in 1903 did the frontier of settlement leap forward some six to ten miles as settlers passed over some clearly inferior swamplands (see Figures 7 and 8).

Significantly, as the better lands were taken, later arrivals began the process of infilling these poorer bypassed areas.

This behaviour reflected the influence of chain migration. New arrivals were prepared to accept inferior land if it placed them close to relatives. The frontier thus moved eastward as settlers took lands and moved into territory that afforded a balance between agricultural viability and social needs. When continuing to settle on land of declining quality was clearly inadvisable, settlers leaped over poor-quality areas to establish a new frontier on better land. As the best land in the newly settled areas was taken, arriving settlers, failing to find good land in the more recently occupied areas, would look back toward the west and the lands bypassed earlier. The better lands in these areas were then claimed before pressure from yet more arrivals caused the process to be repeated.

Patterns of behaviour displayed many common elements, but each settler's circumstances and decision-making process were unique. Michael Muszaluk, from Postilivka, for example, first came to Canada in 1903, returning to Postilivka in 1905 to bring his wife, Eudokia, to Canada in 1906. They first lived in Winnipeg's North End, where Michael worked as a labourer for the city and on the CPR. Wanting to farm, he sought homestead land around Tolstoi but found the remaining homesteads there too stony. Eventually, in 1908, Michael made an entry for a vacant homestead near Caliento (NW 21 Twp. 2 Rge. 8 E) but continued to live in Winnipeg until 1910, when he moved onto his land. By 1914, he had ten cattle and two horses and seventeen acres under cultivation.[51] His decisions were clearly influenced by environmental concerns, but in locating in Caliento he remained close to other people from Postilivka and from the Husiatyn District.

The desire to remain in a familiar social environment and to retain contact with old friends must surely have caused Bazyl Baysarowich to have entered onto a homestead in 1925 that had first been entered in 1915 and abandoned twice by other Ukrainian settlers. Transferred to the province as swamplands by the dominion government in 1907, it was described by earlier homesteaders as "all muskeg and impossible to do anything with it" and as "low and wet, not suitable for working at all, good [only] for pasture." It lacked even decent timber, having only young poplar and some tamarack intermixed with scrub. Baysarowich persevered and by 1931 had broken twelve acres and had half under cultivation.[52] He was awarded patent on the ground that there was not sufficient arable land on the quarter for him to meet the cultivation requirements of the act.

Deciding to obtain the short-term benefits of settlement alongside kinfolk and being able to operate in a familiar cultural and linguistic milieu placed long-term burdens on settlers' shoulders. This was not evident as long as the settlers remained within the confines of a subsistence economy, but when they attempted to break into the market economy they found themselves hampered by a plethora of problems that could all be traced to their first decisions as immigrants: the decision to come to Stuartburn against the advice of government agents, the decision to accept agriculturally poor land because it offered the wide resource base they needed for survival, and the decision to remain close to kin rather than strike out beyond the frontier and grab better land ahead of the settlers who were following them.

Dissatisfaction with the land in the Stuartburn colony arose slowly and on an individual basis. It is difficult to generalize, but it seems that educated settlers in the upper echelons of peasant society in the old country, or those who had emigrated to Canada as children and were more oriented toward acceptance of the norms and values of the new world, were the first to express their dissatisfaction with the district. These were the people who constituted the backbone of the grassroots intelligentsia; their discontent reflected expanded horizons and an awareness of a newfound social, economic, and geographical mobility. Just as significantly, they generally did not have a substantial investment of time, labour, and capital in a marginal land homestead. Their loyalty was to the Ukrainian community at large, not to any one district. Their decision to move for economic betterment was not clouded by economic considerations to the same extent as it was for those who had invested years in working the land.

Kyrylo Genik, the leader of the first group of settlers, intended to obtain a homestead and become a farmer, but he soon grasped the opportunity to secure a position as an interpreter with the Department of the Interior. He never returned to farm on his homestead near Stuartburn. But Genik was not bound by any peasant *Weltanschauung,* nor did he profess allegiance to any religion.[53] He also opposed nucleated settlement on the frontier, a markedly different attitude from the majority of his compatriots, who prized congregation with those of like culture and faith.[54] Genik argued that village settlement would recreate all the social ills of village life in Ukraine: squabbles over petty matters, disputes about property, and endless litigation by people who could not afford it. A village, in his eyes, was "not a convenience, it is hell,… you will live a mile from each other and even then it will become too crowded for

you."[55] In his behaviour and attitudes, Genik resembled the second genera-tion of Canadian-raised Ukrainians rather than the pioneer group of which he was a part.

Squatting

Many settlers anxious to secure what they perceived to be good homesteads took the risk of squatting on lands not officially opened to settlement. There was a good deal of squatting in what became the Arbakka district, for example. This was a risky business as a squatter who made improvements on the land had no legal protection and could find his eventual homestead entry denied or disputed by a rival claimant to the property. Without the benefit of official land guides to help locate them within the framework of the Dominion Lands Survey, some squatters moving into areas where survey markers had become obscured built houses on road allowances, mistakenly broke and cultivated land on an adjacent quarter section, or settled on sections that were not open to homesteading, having been designated as school land or Hudson's Bay Company land. Squatters had the advantage of choosing the best land and, in some cases, ensuring that they were able to settle alongside their relatives and friends who were also squatting on adjacent quarters.

Some family groups squatted without incident and were able thereby to obtain several adjacent homesteads. John Mihaychuk and his son-in-law, Simeon Zahara, squatted on adjacent quarters in the Arbakka district in 1902 before the district was opened for homesteading. Both made rapid progress. Mihaychuk broke sixteen acres in six years and cultivated fifteen of them. In the same time, he made improvements totalling $530; his son-in-law broke fifteen acres and cultivated eight of them, making improvements valued at $675. Both made their entries legal when the area was officially opened for settlement and obtained patents to their lands without incident.[56]

Crown officials attempting to achieve a smooth settlement process were surprisingly tolerant of these squatters who flouted the usual settlement procedures. Officials recognized that not all settlers were fully conversant with the regulations of the *Dominion Lands Act* and that some might have acted in good faith, completely unaware of the bureaucratic difficulties they were creating. They also recognized that, even if a settler had "jumped the queue," to penalize him for an administrative infraction by denying a sub-sequent application for entry onto the property on which he was squatting was disproportionate to the transgression. In some cases, two or three years

of clearing and breaking, together with all the associated improvements of fencing and building, would have been for nought had colonization officials not interceded on settlers' behalf.

Some of these cases became remarkably complex. Wasyl Kowbel, for example, squatted ahead of the survey on NW Section 31 Township 1 Range 8 East in "1900 or so." He built a house in 1902 and made some improvements to the land. Kowbel claimed that he left his property one morning, before he had made an official entry for the homestead, to find on his return in the evening that Nykola Romanasyk and his wife and nine children had occupied his house. Kowbel remonstrated with Romanasyk, who threatened to shoot Kowbel if he did not leave. The dispute was settled by a homestead inspector, who convinced Romanasyk that he would not get the quarter section because Kowbel had been squatting on it prior to the survey, whereas Romanasyk had not.

Years later, long after Kowbel had made a formal entry for the homestead, he experienced difficulty obtaining the patent because of problems with the naturalization process. In 1922, his wife left him and took the children with her. Kowbel, who by then was thought to be mentally ill, moved in with his mother on an adjacent homestead. He later murdered her and was committed to the Brandon Hospital for Mental Diseases in 1926. The property fell into disrepair, the house and stable burned, and the fence disappeared. His estranged wife was "like a widow" with five small children to support and applied for the patent to the property. Although few of the requirements for granting a patent had been met, it was granted in his name in August 1926 and placed in trust under the authority of the administrator for estates of the insane.[57] His family was able to continue living on the homestead with security of tenure.

Conclusion

The pattern of Ukrainian settlement in western Canada must be seen as the product of a complex relationship between government and immigrant set within the political climate of the day and affected by the economic circumstances and environmental preferences of the settlers themselves. Simplistic explanations such as the claim that the government maliciously placed Ukrainians on the poorest land available had their genesis in the political warfare surrounding Ukrainian settlement in the early decades of the twentieth century. By 1911, the Conservative press was charging that, under the

Liberal government, immigrants were "simply catapulted over our heads" onto some of the worst swamplands in the west.[58] Explanations that absolved the settlers from any part in decision making proved popular with some Ukrainian left-leaning writers who were anxious to cast the Canadian institutions involved in immigration and settlement in a negative light.[59]

By 1912, when immigrants were still entering the Stuartburn district searching for homestead land alongside relatives, the sons of early arrivals were rejecting their parents' expectations of sharing a subdivided homestead, or purchasing marginal land nearby, and were moving out of the district. Some sought careers outside agriculture, but many migrated to new frontiers in the Peace River district of Alberta and the Prince Albert district of Saskatchewan.[60]

Paradoxically, the nature of the agricultural economy of the Stuartburn district, like the economies of most Ukrainian settlements in the northern margins of the parkland belt, offered some protection from the full effects of the market collapse of the 1930s. Even by that time, few farmers from the colony had integrated into the market economy, and although low prices made things very difficult for them it was possible for many to retrench into a more subsistence-based agriculture. In contrast, farmers to the west of the Stuartburn colony, west of the Red River, who were on the "finest prairie lands," were tied in to the market economy of wheat-based monoculture and had no such option.

PROVING UP AND WORKING OUT
Women, Men, and Government Officials

Immigration posters produced by the Canadian government and railway and steamship companies depicted a heroic masculine agricultural frontier. Themes of self-reliance, independence, and individualism predominated. Mostly featuring stalwart pioneers viewing their bountiful harvests, such posters, if they depicted women and children at all, placed them in domestic settings more reminiscent of middle-class England than western Canada. A fortunate few, well provided with capital, and blessed by early arrival in a district, could perhaps realize the visions of independence and prosperity promoted by immigration propaganda. Most could not.

This chapter argues that for Ukrainian settlers the post-settlement role of government was positive and supportive. It also contends that developing agriculture was not exclusively a male domain. Building a farm was a family affair; lack of capital and traditional gender roles made it so. Men, women, and children cleared and broke the land, worked the farm, and on occasion contributed to farm income through off-farm work.

An enduring myth of Ukrainian settlement is that the government was largely indifferent to the fate of settlers once they were placed on their homesteads. Yet, when the first Ukrainians arrived in Stuartburn, the government agents responsible for overseeing them were remarkably solicitous and seemingly determined to ensure that they would be successful. It was in the government's interests to do so as the opposition Conservative Party was ready to seize on any chance to denigrate the Liberal administration's efforts to populate the west. The government reduced its involvement in the settlement process only when the colony was seen to be "on its feet" and the first settlers were sufficiently well established that they could take care of subsequent arrivals. The numerous detailed reports submitted to the deputy minister of

the interior in Ottawa by the crown agents working in the Stuartburn district reveal a sincere concern with the welfare of the Ukrainian immigrants, for whom they felt responsible. It is possible, of course, that this concern was driven purely by political considerations, but the tone of the correspondence between William McCreary, the commissioner of immigration in Winnipeg, his subordinates in the field, and his superiors in Ottawa suggests otherwise.

From the government's perspective, the worst scenario that could develop was to have the settlement fail and be obliged to provide relief on a large scale or to have scores of destitute settlers drift back to Winnipeg seeking work and shelter. McCreary and James A. Smart, the deputy minister of the Department of the Interior, had no wish to provide the Conservative opposition with political ammunition to be used to discredit Liberal immigration policies. The government, furthermore, was engaged in settling scores of other nationalities across the west and simply could not afford to have a situation develop in which its resources would become largely devoted to the settlement of one ethnic group. Its human resources were not inexhaustible, so it made economic and administrative sense to ensure that the initial settlements were provided with sufficient materials to ensure that they could get through the first, and usually the most difficult, winter in Canada. The first groups placed in Stuartburn were given supplies, and the government even plowed a few acres to enable them to plant small vegetable gardens. North West Mounted Police officers made sporadic patrols through the settlement and reported any instances in which settlers appeared to be inadequately prepared for the coming winter. Where settlers lacked supplies and were faced with starvation, the Department of the Interior provided flour and other provisions against liens taken on their homestead entries.

Proving Up

To obtain full title to a homestead, a settler had to fulfill certain obligations specified in the *Dominion Lands Act.* These requirements were to ensure that the applicant was a bona fide farmer and not a speculator. Granting patent was dependent on the applicant clearing and breaking—that is, preparing for seeding—thirty acres of land, building a house of specified dimensions, with doors and windows, and residing on the land for at least six months a year for three years. The applicant also had to become a British citizen before patent was awarded. In some areas where the character of the land made arable farming difficult, keeping a herd of sixteen cattle could substitute for the cultivation requirement.

Most homesteaders in the colony were intent on mixed farming and elected to fulfill their obligations by cultivation. Some obtained patent after the minimum of three years of residence on their land, but most did not. Six to seven years were more usual, with settlers clearing perhaps an acre or two in the first year, then gradually increasing the amount cleared in a year to three or four acres a year or more as they acquired draft animals to speed up the process.

Averages do not tell the whole story about rates of agricultural progress, but they do give an indication of what settlers might reasonably accomplish when developing homesteads. In Township 2 Range 9 East, for example, which the surveyors described as "level or undulating country covered with poplar, tamarack and jackpine," on average 8.55 acres were broken in the first year of entry, 4.86 acres in the second year, 4.11 in the third year, and 5.8 in the fourth year. The decline in the rate of breaking in the second year is explained by the increase in the area cropped, which detracted from the time available for breaking land. In the first year of entry, on average 6.9 acres were harvested, 9.1 acres in the second year, 12.85 acres in the third year, and 14.59 acres in the fourth year.[1]

Homestead inspectors, officials appointed by the federal government to visit homesteads to verify declarations made on applications for patent, operated in a fair and humane way and were willing to adjust the requirements when they deemed it necessary to do so in the interests of the settler. When Michal Turczenka applied for patent to his land after thirteen years, he had not fulfilled the requirements to obtain patent but declared that, although he was "trying his best," he was unable to break sufficient land. Clearly desperate, he threatened that if the crown would not reduce its requirements for breaking land he would pack up his family and "go back to the old country."[2] A homestead inspector investigated and reported that the land was mostly suitable for pasture and reduced the breaking and cultivation requirements. Patent was granted shortly thereafter.

Clearing bush was gruelling work. Land was cleared slowly by hand with axe and spade. Trees had to be felled and their roots removed from the soil, a backbreaking task. Those who had some capital could clear land more quickly because they could afford to buy a team of oxen, which speeded up the rate at which roots could be removed. Steam-powered tractors later accelerated the process, but such machinery was beyond the reach of most immigrant farmers. Only those who had the opportunity to amass considerable reserves of capital through working out or entry into the market economy could benefit

from such technology. Steam tractors were also heavy and unsuitable for working on soft ground, and while steam-powered threshing outfits became common even before 1914 steam tractors never played a significant role in the Stuartburn area. Although the gasoline-powered caterpillar tractor was invented in 1904, and some 2,000 were produced in the United States between 1905 and 1915, they became widely adopted only after military application during World War I demonstrated the practicality of tracked vehicles.[3] Caterpillar tractors were used in the late 1930s and 1940s in the eastern, less-cleared parts of the Stuartburn area, where they proved to be ideally suited to clearing bush and breaking land.

Perhaps one of the bigger problems confronting the first settlers was the removal of large rocks that lay two or three inches under the surface of the soil. If left in place, they could wreck a plow if they were hit. There was a threat to the person guiding the plow, too, if the implement kicked upward as the rock was struck. Smaller stones could be dug up and manhandled to the side of the field, but larger ones had to be broken up before they could be moved. Lighting a fire on the rock and then dowsing it with water to break it into manageable pieces accomplished this. A strategy for dealing with a massive rock that defied this treatment was to dig a deep pit alongside it and topple it into the pit, burying it. This was a dangerous but common practice; in other Ukrainian settlements, farmers were killed when the rocks they were trying to bury fell on them.[4]

Ukrainian immigrants were experienced agriculturalists, but they knew little about Canadian ways of farming. Ukrainian styles of harness, for example, differed radically from the North American and English design, which used the horse collar rather than the breastplate to transfer pulling power.[5] Harness in Canada, moreover, was leather, not cloth, as in Ukraine. Few settlers had any experience operating agricultural machinery, but they were ready and eager adopters of North American technology. In the late 1890s, the *Dominion City Echo* expressed surprise that Ukrainian settlers who had arrived with little capital only a few years earlier were already buying farm machinery from local sales agents.[6]

Working Out

Few if any Ukrainian settlers in the Stuartburn colony had much money left after they paid for their ocean passage, transportation from Winnipeg to Dominion City, and a few basic supplies. Some did not even have the

ten-dollar fee needed to register their entries onto their chosen quarter sections. Fortunately, the land that they had chosen furnished a wide resource base that ensured they had sufficient fuel, fencing, and building materials. Nuts, berries, mushrooms, and small game could help to see them through the first few winters, but no one could survive without some supplies that had to be purchased.[7] Cash was needed to buy those things that could not be found on the homestead: salt, tea, sugar, flour, yeast, prunes, kerosene, matches, nails, and glass.

Almost every settler in the Stuartburn colony at some time or another was obliged to leave the homestead and seek work to generate capital. Usually, settlers would "work out" for the first seven years or so; they would leave their families in the spring and head out to longer-established and more prosperous districts searching for employment as farm labourers and section hands on railway construction gangs, or they would trek farther afield outside the region for work in mines and logging camps. After five or six months, they would return to their families, who had been left to fend for themselves on their homesteads in the bush, bringing back perhaps $80 or $100 in cash to see them through the winter.[8]

Iwan Mihaychuk from Bridok, Bukovyna, was fairly typical of settlers who lacked capital. Within a few months of his arrival in Stuartburn, he went looking for work around Dominion City and was fortunate to obtain work helping well-established farmers bring in the harvest working on threshing crews. After eight weeks, he returned home with eighteen dollars; walking home through the night in rain and sleet, he arrived soaked to the skin: "[He] spread [his money] on the hearth to dry: two fives and eight ones, crinkled and frazzled—his annual cash earnings—eight dollars for 4X flour and ten dollars for [the] homestead entry fee…which he had already applied for."[9]

His fifteen-year-old-son Wasyl went working out in 1903, walking westward for three days until a German farmer took him on as a hired hand for six months. His pay was eight dollars a month for the first three months and twelve dollars a month for the next three. The work was hard:

> Getting up at five o'clock to clean [the] 16 horse stable[s], clean, curry and comb and harness six horses, feed them hay and oats and harness them…and then harrowing, ploughing, mowing hay, stooking, threshing wheat, feeding pigs, cleaning out [the] chicken coop, and hoeing potatoes and catching some hell…for praying in the hayloft.[10]

As a hired hand, Wasyl was allowed in the house only for meals, which were "very good, very regular." He slept on horse blankets spread over a pile of oats in the hayloft. After almost six months, he received fifty-two dollars; his employer held back eight dollars to pay for two pairs of shoes, two pairs of pants, and two shirts purchased for him.[11] But in 1903, fifty-two dollars was a considerable sum, especially in cash-starved Stuartburn.

Conditions endured while working out varied. James Hill's farm across the international boundary in Northcote, Minnesota, was thought to be one of the best places to work because all workers were treated alike. Fifteen men, all from Onut, worked there for forty-one days on a threshing crew, and five of them worked there for as long as eight months a year for a couple of years in the early1900s. Other farmers were less humane, mercilessly exploiting Ukrainian settlers, cheating them out of their pay, or paying them by cheque and then deducting five cents on the dollar for cashing it.

Wasyl Panchuk, for example, worked for a farmer near Ridgeville for nine dollars a month in the winter of 1903. He cared for seven horses, six cows, five yearlings, and twelve pigs; hauled manure to the fields; carried water to the barn; cleaned the barn; sawed wood; and worked from dawn until dusk. "I can scarcely figure out where I slept," he recalled. "I crawled into some opening like a dog," covering himself with horse blankets that "smelled like horse manure." If working out was hard on the men, it was even harder for the women who remained on the homestead. When Wasyl left to find work in Minnesota, he left his wife "to get along the best she could within the four walls [of their log house] without a door or windows."[12]

In 1916, working out was still all too common. Joe Wacha, a Polish settler with a Ukrainian wife, entered Section 2 Township 3 Range 7 East in 1915. Without horses or oxen, clearing was very slow, so he worked out on harvesting gangs and threshing crews in Minnesota. His efforts brought him sixty-five dollars, enough to buy a cow and give him a start in dairying.[13]

A survey of rural conditions in 1916 noted that in the Stuartburn colony "many of the farmers are driven outside the colony to earn the interest on the machinery, cattle, etc., which they have bought: thereby mortgaging their future success by leaving their farms idle."[14] But the farms were not really left idle; then, as in the years before, women and children operated them, tending to livestock, feeding chickens, cultivating gardens, making sauerkraut and pickles, collecting and preserving fruits, berries, and nuts for the coming winter. Women plastered and painted houses.[15] They put up hay for winter

feed and planted vegetable gardens.[16] The pace of agricultural progress might have been slowed, but it was not checked by the absence of men.

When time permitted, women and children grubbed up roots, removed underbrush, and cleared plots of land. Women sometimes took on the heavy labour of plowing. Some Anglo-Canadians accustomed to the more rigid gender roles of middle-class Victorian society were scandalized and publicly urged the authorities to put a stop to this unseemly behaviour.[17]

In the sandy areas around Stuartburn and Gardenton, women and children and some men spent their days searching for and digging out snakeroot that could be traded at the local store for between fifteen and twenty-five cents a pound when clean and dry.[18]

Occasionally, they would cross the border into the United States searching for snakeroot. Snakeroot digging could be quite profitable. In 1898, Nefkry Simeonshook of Stuartburn was reportedly living entirely off the profits made from digging it.[19] Indeed, reliance on snakeroot had some advantages over working out. There was no need to be away from home for prolonged periods, and there were few associated costs as the only things needed were keen eyes and a small spade. Working out on a railway section gang brought about $1.50 for a gruelling ten-hour day of heavy labour. About half of that amount went back to the railway company for board and lodging. On the other hand, if an entire family worked together, they could achieve a cash income that was similar to, or better than, the income derived from off-farm work, without the need to split the family.

Peter Humeniuk related that his father went to work out in his first years of settlement, leaving his wife with two small children alone in the bush. On the first occasion, he had barely spent sufficient time on his homestead to erect a small house before he struck out toward Dominion City hoping to find work, even though it was late in the season. He left little food with his family, "some 4X flour, cornmeal and potatoes. There was no cow, no chickens, no eggs, no meat, no pig, not even a dog."[20] Isolated and alone, his wife was terrified of bears, coyotes, and wolves, but the greatest threat came from an unexpected direction: a bush fire that threatened to engulf their house, farm buildings, and stock. Fortunately it veered away before it reached their quarter section. When her husband returned after a month away working on a threshing crew, he brought back forty-five dollars in cash. He was astounded to see how the untidy yard and rough log house and barn that he had left had been transformed into an orderly yard and a neatly plastered and whitewashed

cottage.[21] The following year, and for several years thereafter, he worked out from spring until late fall. During the winter months, he found odd jobs in Stuartburn village. The brunt of land clearing in the first years of settlement was borne by his wife.

The marginal nature of the land for grain production, poor communications, and lack of markets for garden crops made it difficult for Stuartburn farmers to generate capital. For decades, working out continued to be an important method of capital acquisition, rivalling or exceeding the revenue derived from the export of dairy products, especially for those far from the railway. Even in the late 1920s, the majority of men in the district worked out over the summer in longer-settled and more fortunate districts, "while the women and children looked after the farms and put up the winter's supply of hay."[22] The economic activities of Ukrainian immigrant families on the agricultural frontier thus reflected a gendered division of labour that was a response to the exigencies of frontier life, not a simple replication of the division of labour in the homeland.[23]

Gender roles were revolutionized by the frontier experience. In western Ukraine, certain tasks were exclusively the preserve of men, others of women. Heavy demands for labour on the homestead placed pressure on such customary divisions, and the rapid introduction of mechanization wrought havoc with traditional farming practices. In Galicia and Bukovyna, for example, milking was entrusted to men, but in Canada it quickly passed into women's hands when men were away working out or engaged in heavy labour clearing land.[24] Shifts in work roles also had repercussions in attitudes to marriage. In Ukraine, women married young, at around seventeen years of age, but in Canada, where their labour was a crucial asset, parents were in no hurry to marry off their daughters and lose their labour inputs, and their daughters were often in no hurry to marry. On the frontier, men outnumbered women, and women had options other than remaining on the farm.

Young unmarried women could work away from the homestead. Some were able to secure positions as domestic servants with more prosperous farmers outside the district. Irene Panchuk, for example, who immigrated from Onut in 1902, secured employment with an English farmer in Stuartburn at five dollars a month. Her experience was bitter as she was treated poorly, so she decided to move on after a month. When she requested her wages, her employer claimed that she had been hired for the entire season and refused to pay her anything. Her experience was better in Minnesota, where she

secured work some thirty-five miles south of Gardenton on the same farm as her brother. There Irene was paid ten dollars a month and was presented with a coat and skirt by her employer's wife when she finished her four months of work. After her marriage in 1902, her husband worked out to pay for the land that they had purchased, while she remained on the farm. In 1912, both she and her husband left the farm and worked in Winnipeg for two years, saving about $1,500. With this money, they bought two teams of oxen and two cows and resumed farming. They had no further need to work out. [25]

During the 1920s, while the men were away working out, about thirty women annually obtained about two months of work with the Deltox wire grass plant in Vita. Girls of twelve received $1.25 a day working alongside older women; when they could keep up with them and cut and bind up about a ton of grass a day, they received $1.50 per day, in addition to their board.[26]

Young women moved out of the colony for employment in Winnipeg or Brandon as domestics, café workers, and such. The outcome was not always happy. In 1897, the Ukrainian priest Nestor Dymytriw wrote that when Ukrainian girls returned from service in the houses of the English they led "a formal revolution in the home of [their] relations."[27] In his cartoon strip "Nasha Meri" (Our Mary) published in *Ukrainskyi holos,* Jacob Maydanyk lampooned the affectations of many young women from Ukrainian colonies who, once in the city, denied their Ukrainian heritage in a desperate attempt to become assimilated into anglophone society. To these young women, the peasant background and the unsophisticated and obviously foreign demeanour of their parents comprised a source of acute embarrassment.[28] While the resultant alienation of parents and children was tragic on a personal level, it also had significant implications for the socio-economic progress of the Ukrainian rural communities because exposure to the English world carried risks of denationalization and loss of heritage. Members of the intelligentsia, who hoped to cultivate ethnic pride so as to foster self-worth and enlightenment within the colonies, found themselves caught in a conundrum partly of their own making. Liberation from the drudgery of farming and the narrow world of the pioneer homestead came at a price.

Shelter

Provision of shelter was always a primary concern after entry was made for a quarter section. For a lucky few taking land adjacent to established friends and relatives, this was not an immediate concern: they could live with them while they built a house. Most often settlers slept in a temporary shelter while

they erected a permanent dwelling. It was patterned after the huts built by shepherds in the Carpathians. Called a *zemlyanka* or *burdei,* it was a shallow oblong pit in the ground and roofed with aspen boughs and sod; it was used mostly in the drier sandy areas.

> A ditch three feet deep was dug, and two poles in each end of the ditch were put in, with a log across. Long poplar poles were then leaned to on the log and covered with sod. The end walls were plastered with clay. In one a pane of glass [ten inches square] was put in and in the other a door made from hewn poplar planks.…The banks of the walls served as beds. An old ink bottle was used as a lamp to light the house in the evenings.[29]

These sod-roofed dugouts might have been warm in the cold winter months, but they were miserable and wet after rains in the spring and summer, so most settlers lost little time in building a more conventional log house. Even then, housing conditions were often appalling for several years after settlement. Families crowded into moss-chinked log cabins, some no more than twelve feet square, with primitive hand-made furnishings. Beds were shallow boxes of "boards or poles, with some loose hay thrown in and covered up with a single thickness of cotton."[30] Fortunately, cordwood was abundant, so the fuel supply was not a concern during the bitterly cold winters. In some houses, an indoor clay stove built in the old country style provided heat.

Houses were built using local materials, so the character of the land had a direct effect on the construction methodology.[31] Almost all of the first homes were built of logs. In areas where mature timber was available, saddle-notched horizontal log construction was the norm, but where good timber was scarce post and fill construction was employed. Known in Manitoba as Red River frame or Hudson's Bay frame construction and in Quebec as pièce sur pièce, this building method, also common in many areas of western Ukraine, used better, wider diameter logs as a load-bearing frame; slots were carved into the upright logs, and the frame was filled with short, narrow diameter logs.[32] In the eastern sections of the colony where the land was swampy, and much of the best timber had been burned by wildfires, stockade walling—where logs were placed vertically—was used. This method enabled relatively immature trees to be used for building.

The first houses were invariably built in the same style as houses in the homeland. The first shelters were rougher and smaller than the homes that the settlers had left in the old country, but their replacements built after some

progress had been made were essentially carbon copies of old country styles, so in the Stuartburn colony variations in building style reflected the regional origins of the pioneers. Houses were single storey, rectangular, south-facing log houses with heavy overhanging gable, hipped gable, or hipped roofs. At first, almost all of them were thatched, usually with slough grass or rye straw, but later shingled roofs became increasingly popular. Although they were more expensive, they were less of a fire hazard and were easier to maintain than thatch. House exteriors were invariably covered with a layer of clay that concealed the timber construction. The clay was then washed with a mixture of sand and lime that had washing-blue added. This gave a dazzling white hue to the house exterior. Later trim around windows and doors was generally painted either blue or green, with a seeming tendency, in the Stuartburn district as elsewhere in western Canada, for those from Bukovyna to prefer green trim and those from Galicia to prefer blue trim.[33]

Most of the materials used for construction were obtained from the homestead. "A couple of pairs of door hinges, two latches, two, three or four small windows and about five pounds of assorted nails were the essential materials the immigrants could afford to purchase for their house."[34] Many houses initially had no chimney; smoke drifted up through the thatched roof. A chimney could be fashioned from a wattle of willow coated with mud.

The internal segmentation of space determined the house form. Most houses followed the traditional two- or three-room layout. The westernmost room was the *mala khata* ("the little house") where the large indoor "clay oven" (*pich*) was located. This room was the centre of family life: they ate, relaxed, and slept in this room. The other, usually larger, room was the *velyka khata* ("the big house"). The parents slept in this room, generally used by the family only on special occasions.[35] All houses faced south and were flanked by ancillary farm buildings, imparting a degree of uniformity to the layout of farmsteads throughout the colony as in other Ukrainian-settled districts.

Water Supply

One of the principal deterrents to settlement on the open prairie was the difficulty of ensuring an adequate water supply. If a quarter section had no watercourse, a well was vital. On the open prairie in western Manitoba, commercial drilling was usually needed to reach the water table, and a way to pump water in sufficient quantities to supply stock was required. Both drilling wells and erecting wind pumps were expensive. Most Ukrainians who settled

in the more humid aspen-parkland belt were able to dig a well by hand. Water tables were generally high, so water could be hauled or pumped to the surface by hand if necessary. In the Stuartburn district, notoriously wet, water tables lay only a few feet below the surface; digging wells was generally done by hand, and water was brought to the surface using the traditional well sweep widely used in the villages of western Ukraine.

Crops

Mixed farming was the rule in the Stuartburn district. Arable farming struggled constantly to overcome bad weather, poor drainage, and inferior soil. Most farmers relied to some extent on dairy farming, but their ability to capitalize on it was hampered by the area's location and poor communications. It remained beyond Winnipeg's daily milk shed, so Stuartburn farmers were dependent on the sale of their dairy products to one of the three creameries in the district.

Choice of crops was determined by land quality, domestic needs, and access to markets. On arrival, immigrants first planted wheat, rye, barley, potatoes, and garden vegetables: cabbages, beets, peas, and beans. After the turn of the century, buckwheat became a popular crop, especially in the Tolstoi area, largely because it then paid better than wheat.[36] Those who grew wheat preferred the Marquis variety, thought to do the best under the climatic and soil conditions of the district.[37] The acreage under oats increased markedly when farmers switched from oxen to horses as draft animals but later dwindled as farms mechanized in the 1950s and 1960s. Hemp was widely planted for its fibre and oil, which was used in cooking until cheaper commercial cooking oils became more widely available. Although the land was rather wet and stony, potatoes and onions grew well in the district. Seed onions, in particular, did well and by the 1930s were shipped from Stuartburn across western Canada and even as far as New York.[38] In good years, carloads of potatoes were shipped to the Winnipeg market. Many farmers ventured into beekeeping. Honey yields were good, especially from the buckwheat crops, but mostly honey was used locally.[39] Nevertheless, despite success in producing some cash crops, the district remained impoverished, relying heavily on dairy products and remittance of wages from working out.

Rather paradoxically, the colony's poverty enabled its people to seemingly weather the depression years more easily than those in more prosperous areas, where people were more closely bound to a cash economy and had to

make more radical cuts to their standard of living to cope with new economic realities.[40]

Foodways

A settler's diet in the first years reflected the availability of local game, fish, fruits, and berries. Rabbits were shot and trapped, and perch, pickerel, and other fish were caught in the Roseau River using nets or by trapping in weirs.[41] Settlers gathered hazel nuts, Saskatoon berries, chokecherries, and wild strawberries.[42] Mushrooms were avidly picked, and some were dried for winter use. Staples were low-grade flour, syrup, sugar, and tea purchased at the nearest store. Few had the money to purchase more than the essentials, so settlers relied on the produce from their gardens. Potatoes, cabbages, and beets were commonly grown. Sauerkraut and pickled beets were winter staples. Even the poorest settler moved quickly to obtain a few chickens, a cow, and a pig. Not surprisingly, dairy products and eggs constituted a major component of the pioneer diet. As Wasyl Panchuk recalled, "we had one cow and a sack of flour. Our daily fare during winter and spring consisted of bread, dumplings, shredded dough and milk. The work was hard. The food was skimpy. Our colour turned ashen."[43]

As settlers became better established, their diets improved. Most raised pigs and would slaughter one at the beginning of winter when the meat would keep over the season even without smoking. Pork fat was preserved in brine, and the hindquarters were smoked by hanging in the chimney above the *pich*.[44] The district remained cash poor for decades, but after the first couple of years on a homestead most settlers did not want for food. Indeed, most contemporary accounts and reports in the Ukrainian-language press suggest that after the first lean years of breaking land settlers ate a nutritious and varied diet, rich in dairy products and vegetables.

INFRASTRUCTURE AND COMMUNICATIONS
Linking a Colony to an Empire

In colonies, infrastructure is developed with the needs of the colonizing power in mind and frequently designed to facilitate the export of raw materials or efficient administration. The case of Stuartburn parallels this situation in that infrastructure development was planned largely by outside interests. Until the railway was pushed through the colony, communications within it were poor. During the spring, low-lying areas were inundated, and roads and trails were impassable for wheeled traffic. Changing this situation required a level of investment and a degree of political cooperation between local and central institutions that clearly was not present for many years. The story of infrastructure development is one of piecemeal local effort supplemented on occasion by external investment directed at attaining specific goals formulated outside the area. As often as not, these goals reflected broader policy issues that primarily addressed provincial rather than district concerns.

Drainage

The economy of the Stuartburn colony grew as land was cleared and brought into production, but it was a slow process. Lack of markets, poor transportation linkages, and low-lying, poorly drained land were perpetual barriers to development.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty faced by all settlers was transportation. In the early years, ease of travel greatly depended on whether the land was dry or wet. The land had been surveyed before settlement, but apart from the lines cut through the bush by survey crews years earlier there were no roads and few trails. Artificial drainage was non-existent, and natural drainage east of the Red River was notoriously poor. During the spring runoff, much of the

land lay under water, and movement was virtually impossible. Sometimes incoming homesteaders had to wade knee-deep to their homesteads and counted themselves lucky if more that thirty acres remained high and dry during the wettest months.

To the south in the adjoining state of Minnesota, the Roseau River meandered lazily through marsh-ridden, low-lying country, its course almost indiscernible when it passed through extensive swamplands. During the spring runoff, the river regularly overflowed its banks, inundating farmland. In 1906, to better realize the agricultural potential of the lands bordering the river and hoping that "the great Roseau Swamp will become a thing of the past," Minnesota began a program of dredging the river and draining its watershed. The Roseau River Project, as it was known, initially involved dredging about forty miles of the river south of the town of Roseau to the Kitson County line, a few miles from the Canadian border.[1] Later, in 1911, drainage was extended closer to the international boundary. This scheme was not undertaken in cooperation with Canadian authorities, so construction of the channel simply terminated close to the international border. Manitoba's Drainage Committee indignantly reported to the minister of public works that

> they [the Minnesotans] dug a ditch to a point in range 8 and stopped as that was the international boundary, now that it brings the water down and flows over that point before it gets to the boundary it gets out of the channel entirely and is away over the valley of the Roseau River…and flows overland through the States and comes into Canada in range 4 and 5 E and floods these people down in [Township] 3. The ditches there are inadequate to take the water off that forms there, but this extra flood from a distance of 60 miles floods them out.[2]

The impact was twofold: drainage from the upper Roseau River was accelerated, and runoff waters were left to disperse into the low-lying swamplands immediately north of the border, where no drainage system was in place. To make things worse, Ukrainian settlers who were determined to locate near friends and relatives who had settled on the edge of the wetlands, and who evaluated land from an old country perspective, frequently occupied lands that were too wet to permit successful settlement, lands that should have been withdrawn from homestead settlement but, for a variety of reasons, were not.

This in itself was not an unusual problem. Much of southern Manitoba at this time was bedevilled by drainage problems because of its physical geography. Some of the province's most fertile areas were very flat and badly drained, prone to flooding during the spring thaw or intense rain. Before the first drainage district was formed in 1896, the provincial government had undertaken some drainage work in parts of the province and borne the entire cost. Under the 1895 *Drainage Act,* the municipalities were made totally responsible for the cost of drainage work, issuing debentures to raise the necessary capital. The initiative to create drainage districts was to be local. The western part of Franklin Municipality, which encompassed river lots along the Red River and Townships 1 and 2 Ranges 3 and 4 East, for example, was so frequently inundated that in the late 1890s local initiative led to its designation as Drainage District No. 3.[3] To fund the necessary work, Franklin issued debentures and subsequently engaged in extensive drainage work, constructing drainage ditches, culverts, and bridges. Of course, this was a very fertile and highly productive agricultural area populated by well-connected English-speaking farmers who had the means to pay for such expensive drainage works.

In the easternmost part of Franklin that in 1903 broke away to become part of the new Stuartburn Municipality, the situation was very different. There soils were thin, the land was far less productive, and the population was poor, mostly foreign-born, and disconnected from the provincial power structure. Few, if any, of the Ukrainian settlers in the district would have been in a position to contemplate assuming the additional financial burden associated with large-scale, integrated, professionally engineered drainage schemes. For either Franklin or Stuartburn, to issue debentures to raise capital for drainage works that would benefit new cash-poor settlers would have been considered fiscally irresponsible. Furthermore, initiation of any move to engage in drainage work required a petition of a majority of all landowners within a proposed drainage district, and the project had to promise significant economic benefits.

From the government's point of view, injection of capital into drainage works and assumption of the risk in guaranteeing unsecured debentures issued by municipalities to fund drainage work could only be justified under the promise of significant economic return and in situations where the beneficiaries themselves were in a position to bear the costs of construction and, perhaps more importantly, able to contribute to the considerable costs of maintaining miles of ditches and numerous bridges and culverts.

Insofar as drainage was concerned, at first the settlers in the Stuartburn colony were left to their own devices. Internationally, the situation improved as the need for cooperation in drainage matters became recognized by the governments of Canada, the United States, Manitoba, and Minnesota. In 1923, it was reported that the "Americans who are carrying on drainage work on the Roseau River…recognize their obligations" and so undertook to pay $250,000 to extend the Roseau River drainage scheme thirty miles beyond the boundary.[4] However, control of the Roseau River floodwaters in Township 1 Range 7 East was still pending in 1926.[5] Despite problems of flooding from the Roseau and Rat Rivers and the chronically wet nature of the badly drained lands in Township 1 Ranges 5–8 East, neither Manitoba's provincial government nor the cash-strapped local municipality ever initiated any coordinated program for drainage of the area. Drainage was piecemeal and closely tied to road building; in fact, the two went hand in hand. When roads were constructed, the grade was raised and the sides ditched to keep the roads passable for as much of the year as possible. This entailed construction of culverts and occasionally bridges, though the latter were rare anywhere in the colony until after World War I.

A bridge was built across the Roseau River at Stuartburn in 1898 at a cost of $1,000, of which the provincial government paid half.[6] Nevertheless, for many years, even in the longest settled parts of the district, roads were few and mostly usable only in the fall when the land was driest or during the winter when travel by sleigh over the frozen ground was relatively easy.

In the pioneer era and for decades afterward, people walked long distances over rough country. In 1900, for example, Iwan Mihaychuk walked the thirty miles or more from his homestead near Stuartburn to Emerson to conduct business.[7] Others walked to Dominion City and, either unable or unwilling to pay the fare to go by train to Winnipeg, walked there and back.[8] Before efforts were made to drain the worst areas and improve the trails, children and teachers walked or, during the spring runoff, waded to school following tracks that were little better than shallow, muddy stream beds torn up by ox hooves and wagon wheels. Michael Ewanchuk, teaching at Beckett School near Vita in 1932–33, recalled walking to Stuartburn one Saturday to meet friends, continuing on to Gardenton to attend a dance, and returning to Vita early the next morning, a round trip of approximately twenty-five miles.[9] In the 1950s, Frank Saprowich attended evening school in Winnipeg. His journey entailed a nine-mile walk along muddy section roads to Vita in order to catch the bus to Winnipeg.[10]

Well into the 1930s, the road network within the district was still influenced more by physical geography than by the surveyed road allowances. Most people used non-graded trails, partly because they had developed in response to common travel patterns and linked dwellings and communities fairly efficiently, avoiding the wettest areas and sticking to relatively high ground (see Figure 14). Unfortunately, like most of the roads, at certain times of the year, especially during the spring run-off, they were impassable for wheeled traffic.
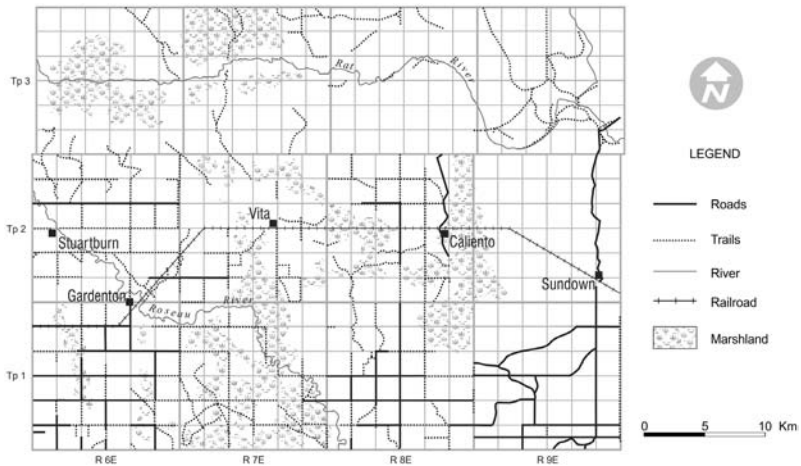
Figure 14. Transportation corridors in Stuartburn district, c. 1935.

Railways

When the Stuartburn area was first settled, the closest railway line ran from Winnipeg to Emerson through Dominion City. The Manitoba and Southeastern Railway built a line from St. Boniface to Marchand in 1898, extending it to South Junction in 1900.[11] This line cut through townships that flanked what became the northeastern limit of the Stuartburn district, but until the 1920s it was distant from the frontier of settlement. It had little effect on the occupation or economic development of the Stuartburn district.

Communications within the colony were revolutionized only in 1904 when the Canadian Northern Railway built a line from Emerson to Ridgeville, extending it in 1906 through the colony to South Junction and onward to Port Arthur.[12] This single-track line, known as the Ridgeville Subdivision, ran 11.5 miles from Emerson northeastward to Ridgeville, then pushed a further 61.1

miles through the colony, avoiding the swampland areas, to join with the Winnipeg-Thunder Bay line at South Junction (Sprague) on the Manitoba-Minnesota border.

The impact on the geography of the colony was profound as the series of station halts established by the Canadian Northern every six or seven miles subsequently determined the economic geography of the Ukrainian colony: Tolstoi, Gardenton, Vita, Caliento, Sundown, Menisino, and, farther east, outside the area settled by Ukrainians, Piney and Wampum. Town sites were surveyed at these points using the conventional T layout favoured by the railway companies, where the horizontal stroke of the T ran parallel to the rail line and the vertical stroke was the major street running back from the rail line. In Tolstoi, Gardenton, and Vita, settlement was completely oriented to the railway. It was the only real avenue of communication with the outside world, so commercial establishments flanked the railway: behind them lay private residences, each occupying a lot whose size was determined by the railway's survey. Of course, this process was gradual, not immediate, and in the case of Caliento no real settlement developed, while a town site was not surveyed for Menisino until the late 1920s, again a reflection of the minimal economic activity in the area. Indeed, railway stations were built in smaller centres such as Caliento, Sundown, and Tolstoi only after the line had operated for some years.[13]

At first, trains plied the line on a daily basis. Most were freight trains, but a slow passenger train ran eastward every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday morning with a return journey every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday afternoon.[14] Although the schedule varied seasonally and changed slightly over the years, passenger service remained thrice weekly through the 1930s, although declining traffic meant that a mixed goods and passenger service (freight cars plus one passenger coach) was in place by 1939.[15] By 1959, service was down to one mixed train a week, and even this was discontinued by 1964.[16] The railway line was finally abandoned in June 1967 at a time when the railway companies closed many branch lines on which freight traffic was declining.[17]

The opening of the line in 1906 was a major step toward opening the district to further settlement by giving more ready access to outside markets and facilitating access to areas open to settlement. The rail line's primary function was not to improve communications *within* the colony. That was a secondary benefit. The line was built to enable the company to achieve greater

efficiencies by routing freight from the rich agricultural districts of southern Manitoba to Duluth, direct from Emerson via Warroad, Minnesota. Empty boxcars were returned to the system more quickly and efficiently.

Before the railway was built, settlers came from Winnipeg by rail to Dominion City and from there by wagon or foot to Stuartburn and on to the frontier of settlement. With the opening of the new line, it was possible to travel by rail from Winnipeg via Emerson into the very heart of the colony. Importing goods into previously remote districts was made considerably easier and cheaper, though the line never saw shipment of high volumes of goods.[18] Travel times within the colony, at least along a general east-west axis, were greatly reduced. A journey from Vita to Emerson, for example, previously a day's journey by wagon when road conditions were good, was cut to less than two and a half hours by train. The line also provided a good all-season route through the district on an east-west axis that was far superior to any road. When visiting patients outside Vita, doctors from the hospital used CNR jiggers to speed up the east-west part of their journey; thereafter, it was by foot or horseback.[19] Winnipeg became accessible within a day for those who lived close to the line and could afford the fare. Nevertheless, for those living north or south of the line, simply getting to the nearest station was still a physically demanding and time-consuming exercise.

Roads

For many years, roads in the Stuartburn colony were either absent or simply dreadful. Distances could be quite deceiving as travel times depended less on distance than on the conditions of the roads. When deciding on the route to be taken to deliver mail to the newly established post office in Stuartburn in 1884, the postal inspector chose to route mail from Emerson through Ridgeville to Stuartburn rather than dispatch it from Dominion City, two miles closer, because the roads were better from Emerson. The inspector noted that the roads were so bad that in winter there was no road from Ridgeville to Dominion City. The time saved by taking a longer but easier route was considerable, enabling the courier to serve Stuartburn in one day, which could not have been achieved on the shorter Dominion City route.[20]

In 1913, W.C. Hartley, inspector of schools for the Stuartburn area, complained that, in the more recently settled parts of the district, "there was an almost entire lack of roads."[21] On the other hand, roads in almost all other parts of the province were also in a deplorable state as rural municipalities in

Manitoba were reluctant to invest in road improvements. The provincial chief engineer lamented that

> the question of good roads does not yet appear to be properly appreciated by the people of Manitoba, although for some years past in the older provinces and the United States, the gain to the ratepayers in the rural districts, has been shown to be enormously in excess of the expenditure in making the highways fit for travel in all seasons.[22]

Pressure to improve the province's road system came from a variety of groups. Educators stressed that without decent roads children could not get to school.[23] The railways complained that poor roads impeded access to their stations and cut down their traffic, the business community also agitated for better communications to boost trade, and the fledgling Manitoba Motor League, although it was more concerned with enhancing the driving pleasure of its members and reducing the damage to their automobiles wrought by travel over bad roads, put its weight behind the campaign to improve the roads.[24] In 1910, a highway commissioner was appointed in an attempt to enhance cooperation with municipal councils and expedite creation of a system of all-season roads within the province.[25]

The *Good Roads Act* passed in 1914 was the first move to upgrade the standard of major roads throughout Manitoba. Not all roads were eligible for consideration under the act, only those of "most importance, or those that might be considered the leading market roads," which, of course, made it difficult for emerging frontier districts to qualify.[26] Government officials also saw local politics as a barrier to achieving significant progress in building decent roads. Elected officials generally enjoyed only a short tenure in office; hence, it was difficult to establish a permanent and systematic plan for road work in their jurisdictions.[27] However, progress everywhere in the province was slow. Even by 1921, outside of a few towns and the City of Winnipeg, the province had only 2,340 miles of improved roads, of which only 722 miles were gravelled. A mere twenty-four miles were paved. Most of these improved roads were in the more prosperous and longer-settled municipalities around Winnipeg, such as Cartier (thirty-five miles), Portage la Prairie (eighty-eight miles), and Richot (eighty miles). Although six miles of highway were targeted for improvement in Stuartburn Municipality under the auspices of the *Good Roads Act,* until the early 1930s it had only a tenth of a mile of improved gravelled highway, a lower total than any other municipality apart from Lakeview in Manitoba's notoriously poor interlake region, which had less

than half of Stuartburn's meagre total.[28] This was a result of partisan squabbling between Theodosy Wachna and Y. Kulachkovs'kyj, rival members of the municipal council, which impeded development. A combination of self-interest, incompetence, and sabotage of the efforts of a newly elected reeve to secure the grant caused the municipality to miss an opportunity to obtain several thousand dollars from the provincial government for road construction.[29] To be fair, this situation was by no means unique to the Stuartburn area. Petty squabbling between self-interested councillors with short-term parochial objectives was identified as a significant impediment to infrastructural development elsewhere in the province.

Despite this sorry state, Stuartburn Municipality spent some of its limited funds on road improvement. Before the outbreak of war in 1914, it had graded "a number of roads throughout the Municipality," although later accounts make it clear that the road system, such as it was, was disconnected and that the roads were passable only for wagon traffic when the ground was not too wet. Building roads was difficult but not impossible in the wetter areas. The provincial engineer noted with some pride that a road built in 1909 gave "access to Vita from the north through the muskeg."[30] In the ten years after 1913, the municipality spent $10,668.19 on roads and bridges, but that amount was far short of road and bridge spending in the more prosperous municipalities such as Richot to the north, which spent $103,991.69, almost ten times Stuartburn's total during the same period. Even adjacent Franklin Municipality spent $16,330.50 on roads and bridges, over 50 percent more than Stuartburn, though it is likely that the bulk of this spending was concentrated in the more developed and affluent western half of the municipality in Drainage District No. 3. Not surprisingly, the poorer districts, such as Stuartburn, continued to fall behind as inability to improve roads hampered development and retarded economic progress. Lacking the infrastructure to accelerate development, Stuartburn, and to a lesser extent the eastern half of Franklin, became locked in a cycle of underdevelopment and fell ever further behind more affluent areas.

During the Great War, road building was linked to agricultural production and to Canada's contribution to the war effort. Road building was hampered by labour shortages and high wages, so efforts were directed toward the longer-settled and more productive areas of the province that were producing grain and other cash crops for the export market and were seen as a direct contribution to the war effort.[31] On the eastern pioneer fringe,

where most farmers were still in a semi-subsistence economy, little grain was produced. The province received a better return on its investment by funnelling its road-building efforts into grain-producing areas, so once again Stuartburn Municipality was sidelined, its interests subjugated to those of larger metropolitan-oriented communities.

The total mileage of improved roads in the province grew steadily through the 1920s and 1930s, rising from 2,340 miles in 1921 to 4,411 miles in 1928, but the total for Stuartburn remained static, seemingly stuck at a tenth of a mile of gravelled road.[32]

Initiation of the Manitoba Provincial Trunk Highway system in 1924 had little effect on the Stuartburn area. There were over 35,000 cars in Manitoba by 1920, but people from the Stuartburn colony owned few, if any, of them. The first car in the district was bought by former teacher and Vita businessman Wasyl Mihaychuk in 1917, but he, like many who followed his lead, had to hitch a team to his vehicle to haul it to the nearest drivable highway when roads were wet and muddy. For most people, travel within the district by horse or ox-drawn wagon was the norm and continued to be so for many years. Cars were expensive, well beyond the means of most established farmers, who could not afford upward of $700 to purchase a car. They had more pressing priorities: acquisition of farm machinery, improvement of stock, and farm expansion.[33] Not one mile of the 1,600 miles of highway designated as Provincial Trunk Highways in 1924–25 ran through either Stuartburn or Franklin Municipality; for all intents, they were rural backwaters with little in the way of economic activity to warrant expenditure on roads, and, as a largely "foreign" colony, the district was not well placed to attract either business or motor traffic by curious tourists. The unfortunate side effect was that the municipalities missed the opportunity to have the provincial government assume responsibility for these roads' construction, surfacing, and maintenance.[34]

Although Stuartburn lay on the fringe of settlement, and although progress was far less rapid than in more fertile areas, advances were still made in road building in the district. Until well into the 1920s, roads in the colony were mostly dirt roads suitable for travel only by wagon even when conditions were good. Some road work was undertaken outside the auspices of the *Good Roads Act,* and local drainage was undertaken mostly using local day labour.[35] In 1927, for example, the province's chief engineer reported that two box culverts had been built through the road grade on Section 18 Township 2 Range 8 East and that off-take drains had been built north of Section 3

Township 2 Range 6 East and north of Section 15 Township 2 Range 7 East. Perhaps more importantly, a number of bridges were built across the Rat and Roseau Rivers.[36]

Dirt roads in various locations continued to be graded and repaired using day labour. Difficulties of road construction were compounded by poor drainage, which made it difficult for horse teams to excavate ditches, and by squabbling between various local factions that found it impossible to cooperate. In the Sundown area, for example, 120 people and four mechanics worked in shifts around the clock under the direction of an English foreman for between five and ten dollars a day. Dissatisfaction with working conditions and bickering between fellow workers caused many to quit, slowing progress.[37]

Even in 1940, Vita "could be reached by car only in good weather."[38] From Dominion City, it was a "two-hour drive if you were lucky," though the worst section was across the prairie gumbo from Dominion City to Stuartburn. From Stuartburn to Vita, the road was hard mud; where the land was a little sandier, it was not too bad for travel.[39] Roads improved enough within the year so that motorists travelling on the principal highways could be "reasonably sure of arriving without trouble."[40] Away from the major routes, things remained as bad as ever, with roads "full of ruts" that could not be travelled by sleighs or wagons, only by foot.[41] Around Sirko, the roads were described as "terrible, just rough corduroy and mud trails in the bush."[42] When travelling outside the district, many farmers hitched a team of horses to their prized automobiles to drag them through the mud to the nearest decent road. Even in the 1950s, the road from Vita to Zhoda was so bad that the mud would be over the axles of Dmytro Mihaychuk's jeep, "up to the floor."[43] Road conditions elsewhere in the district were, at times, "indescribable," and nurse Ruth Stewart recalled her car getting stuck in the mud many times during the journey from Dominion City to Vita Hospital.[44]

Telecommunications

The first telephones arrived in Manitoba in 1879, and the Bell Telephone Company commenced operations in the province in 1881. Initially, it served only Winnipeg, primarily the business community, but it gradually extended its system to some smaller rural communities outside the city. Seeing an opportunity to undercut the high rates imposed by Bell, a number of small independent companies established systems in rural communities, triggering dramatic reductions in Bell's rates as the larger company strove to

compete. Concerned that Bell was gouging Manitoba businesses and farmers, and anxious to promote the use of this modern technology, the government of Redmond Roblin initiated a takeover of Bell's operations in Manitoba in 1906, purchasing them in 1908 for $3.4 million.[45] By then, there were 14,195 telephones in Manitoba, of which 8,890 were in Winnipeg, 780 in Brandon, and the rest scattered in sixty-five smaller exchanges located in the longer-settled and more prosperous communities of south-central Manitoba. The Stuartburn colony had no access to this system. A number of small exchanges surrounded the colony, but no lines served it. To the northwest, Arnaud's small exchange had a mere seven subscribers, and even Dominion City had only twenty-five. To the southwest, Emerson had seventy subscribers, while Morris and Lettelier on the Red River had forty-nine and seven, respectively.[46] Following the takeover by the province, some municipalities inaugurated telephone systems at their own expense, intending to connect to the provincial long-distance system. Otherwise, telegraph lines followed railway construction. In southeast Manitoba, telephone lines reached Ridgeville late in 1904 and continued through to Sprague by the fall of 1906.[47] A series of toll offices was established along the rail line. L.J. Ramsey served as the agent for the first toll office in the colony, which opened in Stuartburn in 1910, followed by toll offices in Vita in 1912, Caliento and Sundown in 1918, and Gardenton, surprisingly late, in 1921. Within a year of the opening of the toll office in Stuartburn village, there were three subscribers: merchant Jacob Unrow, storekeeper Jacob Rosenstock, and miller John Toews, none of whom was part of the Ukrainian community. Long-distance calls were expensive at thirty cents for a two-minute call to Winnipeg, so it was hardly surprising that within two years Rosenstock remained the sole telephone subscriber in Stuartburn.

In 1923, the Vita Creamery Company obtained a phone but retained it for only two years. The Vita Mission Hospital became the first permanent subscriber in 1927 with the easy-to-remember number of Vita 1. Thereafter, a few individuals, all businessmen, obtained phones, but none of them subscribed for more than a few years. In 1931, the owner of the general store in Tolstoi, Nick Dolynchuk, obtained a phone but kept it for only three years. In Rosa, miller John Pally also had a phone for three years, and in Vita D. Uhryniuk's office maintained a phone for two years. By 1939, other than the phones in the toll offices in the settlements along the Ridgeville railway extension line, there were still only two telephones in the entire Ukrainian colony, a massive area that covered thousands of square miles and held thousands of settlers. Both

phones were in Vita: the hospital and the creamery, which had reconnected its phone in 1936. In this regard, the Stuartburn district lagged far behind other areas. The Dominion City exchange, for example, served 113 subscribers in 1911 and, despite some economic decline during the Depression, still boasted over 100 subscribers in the late 1930s.[48] There was little change until 1949, when the Vita exchange, which served only three subscribers since 1941, experienced an explosion in patronage, acquiring thirteen new subscriptions. Most of them were businesses, but for the first time two were private residences.

Not until the mid-1950s were telephones more widely adopted within the Stuartburn area. In 1955, when the Dominion City and Emerson exchanges boasted over 300 and 400 subscribers respectively, many of whom resided on farms around the two settlements, the number of phones listed under the exchanges within the colony remained surprisingly small. Gardenton had nine subscribers, Sundown two, Tolstoi six, and Vita twenty-two. Toll offices offering day service only served Caliento, Stuartburn, and Menisino.[49] None of these listings was for a rural location outside a settlement. Only in the late 1950s did telephone service begin to serve the farms that were not immediately adjacent to the settlements. In 1959, the toll office in Caliento, which never had a subscriber listed, was closed; in 1960, the toll office in Gardenton was closed, its ten subscribers adopted by the Vita exchange, which tripled in size in the four years after 1957. During this period, telephone service finally reached the farms in the outlying rural areas.[50]

The slow rate of adoption of telephones in the Stuartburn area, which showed a marked lag behind most other rural areas of Manitoba, reflected the relatively low level of economic development within the district and its poorly developed links with other centres of economic activity. It is revealing that the earliest, albeit short-lived, adopters were non-Ukrainian businessmen in Stuartburn and that the first long-term adopters were the Vita Mission Hospital and later the Vita Creamery Company, both of which had an obvious need for efficient connection to the outside world. Without the likelihood of rapid adoption by others within the colony, there was little incentive for local businesses serving a small and unsophisticated customer base to invest in a phone line connection. Private individuals had even less incentive, and it was only in the 1960s that the rural areas of the colony were fully connected to the provincial telephone system.

Postal Services

Even for a population in which many adults were illiterate, access to mail services was vital. It was their one link to their friends and families in the old country; literate neighbours and friends could write and read for them, and information and news crossed the Atlantic without interruption until 1914, when the outbreak of war in Europe curtailed this stream of communication. In the 1880s, long before the first Ukrainians arrived in Canada, the sparsely settled district immediately west of Stuartburn was served by a post office at Green Ridge, established in 1879. A few years later, in December 1884, storekeeper George Ramsey secured a post office for the tiny settlement of Stuartburn. It received a delivery once a week from Green Ridge north of Ridgeville, with the mail originating from Emerson, and annually collected about thirty-five dollars in fees from the twenty-five families that it served.[51]

In rural areas, the location of a post office was not fixed but varied according to the location of the person appointed as postmaster. Post offices could be located in a private residence or store or other business. When the postmaster changed, the post office shifted to the new person's residence or place of business. The location of the Stuartburn Post Office, for example, from 1884 to 1923, when postmaster J.F. Toews resigned, was listed as NE Section 18 Township 2 Range 6 East. John Probizanski became the postmaster and moved the post office to Section 17 Township 2 Range 6 East. The Oleskiw Post Office, named in honour of Josef Oleskiw was established in 1906, with Olexa Jaremij as the postmaster. The name was changed to Tolstoi in 1911, apparently because the new postmaster, Stephan Owianiak, was an admirer of the Russian writer. The office moved two miles to a station halt on the railway line in 1918 and made another minor move following a change in the appointment of postmaster in 1968.

Two post offices in Township 3 Range 5 East, Rosa and Senkiw, were established within a few miles of each other and played a game of musical chairs over the following decades. Senkiw Post Office changed its location four times and Rosa Post Office twice. At one time, the two post offices were located on the same section, and at no time were they at any significant distance apart. Why this crazy situation was allowed to arise is hard to fathom, although local politics and political patronage likely played significant roles.

Offices were closed when postal traffic was deemed to be insufficient to warrant the payment of the postmaster's stipend. Sirko Post Office, for example, opened in 1914 but closed in 1933 because of "limited usefulness," only

to reopen in 1947 and operate until 1967, when it was permanently closed. Rofton Post Office was the shortest-lived post office in the area, operating for only three years, until 1924, when the first and only postmaster, John Kucak, resigned. Rofton was in an area of notoriously swampy land, and closing the post office simply reflected population loss caused by settlers realizing the futility of attempting to make a living on the worst land in the province and abandoning their homesteads.

Post offices were established as the tide of Ukrainian settlement rolled eastward, although there was a considerable time lag in their establishment. In part, this was a natural reflection of the more pressing concerns of settlers, who focused on things other than access to mail service, but it was also due to hesitation to award a contract to just any individual who applied for the position and a natural concern to establish a post office where it would be reasonably central and accessible for the people whom it was designed to serve.

Rural Electrification

Electricity was first supplied to Winnipeg in the early 1890s, becoming available to larger centres such as Brandon and Portage la Prairie before the end of the century. Few rural areas were served by electrical power even in the 1930s, and the Manitoba power system remained skeletal and immature. At the same time, rural electrification was virtually complete in many European countries, and it was proceeding rapidly in southern Ontario and the eastern United States, where 40 percent of farms had electricity. In Manitoba, there was considerable concern that the farm economy would become increasingly unable to compete in national and international markets if it failed to keep abreast of technological advances, mechanize, and automate wherever possible. Access to electrical power was seen as a key element in this process, as the Manitoba Electrification Enquiry Commission reported in 1942:

> Electricity on the farm has profound and far-reaching effects upon the social and economic aspects of farming. It reduces drudgery on the farm as it has done in the factory: it increases income, reduces costs of production, and by removing the disparity between the urban and the rural way of life brings a large measure of contentment to people on the farm.[52]

Electrification was touted as a way to keep young people on the land, and its proponents argued that it would have major benefits for farm women

by facilitating the provision of indoor plumbing and labour-saving appliances: washing machines, vacuum cleaners, electric irons, and the like.[53] Furthermore, Manitoba had ample hydroelectric-generating potential to undertake rural electrification. It was estimated that it would use only 5 percent of the generating capacity of the Winnipeg River.[54]

The provincial government, which set as a target the complete electrification of all Manitoba farms by 1955, accepted the recommendations of the Manitoba electrification report. Work began in 1949 in those areas where the largest number of farms could be connected at the least cost and where there was promise of securing a sufficient return on the investment. Before work began in any area, Power Commission sales representatives attempted to organize local advisory and promotional committees and sign up as many potential subscribers as possible. The sign-up fee was sixty-five dollars for each farm; this covered the cost of having electricity delivered to a central pole in the farmyard but not the associated costs of wiring farm buildings, delivering power to individual buildings, or purchasing appliances, which could run into hundreds of dollars even for a modest farm operation. It was only natural, therefore, that the Power Commission put its first efforts into the longer-settled and more prosperous regions of the province. Marginal areas, municipalities such as Franklin, Stuartburn, and Piney, were not a high priority for electrification.

Dominion City had been connected to the electrical grid in 1935, although surrounding farms were not hooked up to the system. In 1950, a 12,000-volt line was built from Dominion City to Piney; this line was converted to 33,000 volts as far as Vita the following year.[55] This was an unusually difficult project that involved building forty-eight miles of transmission line through swamp, quicksand, and peat. During the summer, it was virtually impossible to set poles. Holes had to be cribbed with rocks, and in some cases H-frame structures had to be used. Construction was easier in the winter; even though deep snow hampered movement, construction crews could move over the frozen muskeg with relative ease.[56]

Farms in the western half of Franklin Municipality were the first to be electrified in 1952, followed by farms in the area between Dominion City and Vita. During this time, hydroelectric salespeople were actively signing up farmers in the Arbakka, Sirko, Sundown, and Menisino areas, offering them appliance and wiring packages ranging from $250 to $1,700. For between $250 and $300, a farmer had all buildings wired and an array of

electrical appliances provided, including a washing machine, iron, toaster, coffee maker, "trilight," and radio. More wealthy farmers, who could afford up to $1,700, received in addition an electric range, a pressure water system, a vacuum cleaner, and a six-cubic-foot refrigerator.[57] Most, however, preferred to purchase an electric motor that could perform a multitude of tasks. Piney Municipality and the unconnected eastern part of Stuartburn Municipality were finally electrified shortly before Christmas 1954, leaving only a few remote farms within the colony unconnected to the grid.[58]

Once again the Stuartburn area was one of the last rural areas in the province to receive the benefits of infrastructural upgrading. In the case of electrification, delay was minimal. The area was electrified a mere four years after the more prosperous and privileged rural areas closer to Winnipeg received the benefits of electrification. This was largely because electrification, unlike drainage, road building, or telephone connection, was not driven solely by local demand: the initiative for the project came from an outside central agency. As a component of a government objective to maintain the competitiveness of Manitoba's agricultural economy, rural electrification was driven by powerful forces.[59] It did not have to wait on local initiative, nor was it dependent on the ability of the local community to raise scarce capital. In this sense, farm electrification marked the ending of the Stuartburn region's economic isolation and the beginning of its true integration with the larger provincial economy.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCE
Ethnic and Class Relations and Colonial Economics

Introduction

A member of the Orthodox Church owned one of Tolstoi's two general stores. A member of the Ukrainian Catholic Church owned the other. Customers generally patronized these stores according to their religious affiliation. When a customer was unable to find a pair of pants in his size in the Orthodox store, the owner suggested that he might try his competitor's selection. The reply was immediate and forceful: "I am not wearing Catholic pants." Diplomacy saved the day. While the owner distracted the customer, the owner's son rushed out to buy a suitable pair of pants from his competitor. Happily outfitted in a pair of newly converted Orthodox pants, the satisfied customer left with his religious principles intact.[1]

Religion and ethnicity permeated many aspects of colony life; commerce was no exception. The example above perhaps was extreme, but as multifunctional hubs around which early social life in Stuartburn revolved rural stores experienced the nuances of commerce in a borderland community. Both economic and social spaces, they purveyed basic goods and served as gathering places where settlers met, exchanged gossip, renewed acquaintances, and conducted business. For some, they were places of entertainment, for haggling with a Jewish storekeeper was a ritual of peasant life, while others drew comfort from the liquor that was sold surreptitiously. Rural stores came to play a crucial role in the development of commerce within the colony, but in the first decade of settlement they were present only on the colony's fringe.

Settlers brought with them little in the way of material goods: a few tools, some clothes, bedding, and seeds. Heavy and bulky items were purchased in Winnipeg en route to Stuartburn or imported from there later. Incoming and established settlers needed basic supplies such as sugar, tea, flour, nails, and

kerosene—and often credit. While the settlement was in its formative years, internal trade was almost non-existent. Supply bases were located on the colony's periphery, siphoning capital out of the colony and contributing little to its development.

As in most colonial situations, the demands were for manufactured goods produced outside the region. To generate the capital to pay for these imports, the colony exported primary products. Income from sales of cordwood, Seneca root, and dairy products was supplemented by remittances from labour performed outside the region, creating a classic colonial economy. This was by no means unusual in the development of Canada.

Canadian historians Harold Innis and W.A. Mackintosh contended that Canada's economic growth was always dependent on the export of staples, raw goods such as furs, fish, timber, minerals, and agricultural products, things that are generally described as primary products.[2] This is typical, of course, of colonial economies. The value added during processing by the secondary, or manufacturing, sector is denied to the colony because the secondary sector is located in the mother country or, in western Canada's case, the industrial heartland of Ontario. Tertiary activities, the provision of services such as banking, insurance, retail, or transportation, are usually heavily concentrated in the more sophisticated economies of heartland regions.

The more an economy depends on the primary sector, the less sophisticated—and more colonial—the economy. In a mature, well-balanced economy, only a small proportion of economic activity will be in the primary sector; the secondary sector will embrace significantly more, but the greater part of the economy will be in the tertiary (service) and quaternary (research and development) sectors. By these measurements, the economy of the Stuartburn area always fell into the "staples trap," an overreliance on the export of a limited array of raw materials vulnerable to the price fluctuations of extra-regional markets, and became subject to depletion and changes in government policies. In a staples market, large corporations based outside the region control production and trade, leaving the producing region highly vulnerable to the vagaries of market forces hundreds or thousands of miles away.

The settlement frontier of western Canada has been portrayed as a corporate frontier, one shaped by the major institutions of the crown, railways, banks, and other similarly large, politically and commercially powerful, extra-regional institutions.[3] These institutions played crucial roles in the development of western Canada, but to a surprising degree the development

of smaller communities, such as Stuartburn, and their social, cultural, and economic resources rested in the hands of individuals and local "grassroots" organizations. The post-pioneer phase of settlement, when communities were built and physical, social, and commercial infrastructures were established, was a crucial time in the economic development of western Canada. Unfortunately, this phase has been overshadowed by the more heroic image of settlers taming the wilderness with axe and plow.

This chapter addresses some of the issues faced by the Ukrainian pioneers on the settlement frontier of western Canada as they developed economic and social infrastructures that would frame the development of their communities. At the beginning, the prospects for building a cohesive community were not encouraging.

Remarkably, a distinct community emerged fairly quickly, largely without the involvement or aid of the provincial or federal government. Initially, the community was more clearly seen from the outside than from within. Non-Ukrainian outsiders, whether Mennonite, French, or British, cared little about the nuances of ethnic identity or religious allegiance within the Ukrainian colony; of greater importance were the prospective benefits to be gained from trade with the new settlers. While there was some interest in the economic progress of the Ukrainian settlers in the Stuartburn district by merchants in the surrounding communities, it is safe to say that they viewed the area from a colonial perspective. It was an area to which they could market their goods and draw out capital, labour, and staples, principally unprocessed agricultural products and timber. Insofar as extra-regional companies showed concern over social progress within the colony, it was because they viewed it as closely tied to economic development that would benefit their trade. There was little or no interest in the cultural affairs of the Ukrainian colony, and most outsiders remained unaware of the deep intra-ethnic divisions that would retard community development for some decades.

The catalysts for economic and cultural development within the colony came from three rather unlikely sources: Jewish merchants, the Canadian Methodist Church, and the grassroots Ukrainian immigrant intelligentsia. They shared no common interest, operated in different spheres, and were sometimes in conflict, but each played a critical role in the colony's social and economic development.

Immigrants, Capital, and Trade

Ukrainian settlers were among the poorest to settle in western Canada before World War I. It is difficult to estimate the actual amount of capital that they brought into the country. Immigrants were generally reluctant to reveal their true financial positions to immigration personnel for fear of being swindled out of their savings. A fortunate few Ukrainians had considerable means at their disposal when they arrived in Canada, but most had barely more than the twenty-five dollars required to gain entry into the country. Some had less. Nevertheless, almost all brought some money with them, and all needed to purchase basic supplies when they arrived in the west. The flow of immigrants into the Stuartburn colony thus introduced a steady flow of capital into south-eastern Manitoba, most of which eventually flowed out of the colony through the service centres located on its western periphery.

Few Ukrainian settlers brought much in the way of material possessions with them. For most, only those items that could be crammed into a steamer trunk were hauled across the Atlantic: clothes, a selection of seeds, perhaps some bedding, simple hand tools such as sickles and axes, and so forth. No matter how resourceful the settlers were, there was a range of needs that had to be met once land had been selected and the task of clearing and break-ing begun. The few English-speaking and French-speaking settlers already established in the area met some of these needs in a stopgap fashion. George Yeo operated a mill and small store on the east side of the Roseau River at Stuartburn; M.S. Houle had a general store west of the river and operated a crude ferry. From these two tiny general stores, settlers could obtain sugar, flour, molasses, work clothes, and other basic supplies. L.J. Ramsey acted as postmaster and government land agent. For a more extensive range of supplies and services, settlers had to look to the older and more distant settle-ments, such as Emerson, or Dominion City to the west, or even Arnaud, St. Malo, or Morris to the northwest (see Figure 1). Winnipeg, some eighty miles to the north and accessible by rail from Dominion City or Emerson, was the wholesale base, a centre that offered a complete range of goods and services for those with the money to purchase them. Although all settlers had passed through Winnipeg en route to their homesteads and might have picked up some supplies there, for all intents and purposes it was inaccessible to the pioneers of the Stuartburn colony once they were established on their homesteads.

The Development of Service Centres on the Colony's Periphery

Emerson, on the Red River at the US border, was the closest centre of any size. In 1896, it was already a respectable settlement with over 630 people and twenty-two businesses, including a lumberyard, two hotels, a feed store, a law office, a blacksmith, a furniture store, a shot goods (fabric and haberdashery) store, a Singer Sewing Machine Company outlet, and thirteen other businesses, including general stores and agricultural agents.[4] Even before the railway arrived in Manitoba, it was the river port of entry into Canada from the United States. Later it was connected by rail to Minneapolis, Grand Forks, Fargo, and Winnipeg and eventually came to be served by five lines. Promoted as the future "Chicago of the North," the town hoped to eclipse Winnipeg and become a major centre of trade and the *entrepôt* for western Canada, but its development was retarded by the lack of a direct east-west link to Canadian markets. It never experienced the economic boom that its promoters anticipated.

Dominion City, northeast of Emerson, was closer to the colony, only some sixteen miles from Stuartburn, but it was far more limited in its range of services. It was linked to Emerson and Winnipeg by the Canadian Pacific Railway line that ran down the east side of the Red River. By 1896, it was a small but growing settlement of some ten or so houses, with two grain elevators, five stores, two machine shops, and a livery stable.[5] Perhaps more significant was that it became the de facto port of entry for immigrants arriving via Winnipeg to settle in the Stuartburn colony. For hundreds of settlers, it was the final stop on a long, albeit discontinuous, train journey from Halifax or Montreal. Immigrants paused briefly in Dominion City to purchase basic supplies before heading out on the trail eastward to Stuartburn and their future homesteads.

The injection of immigrant capital galvanized Dominion City's economy. Within a year of the Ukrainians' arrival, a hotel, brickyard, mill, Massey-Harris dealership, and couple of forges were added to Dominion City's array of businesses. The town grew rapidly, fuelled by the influx of outside capital brought in by immigrants. Not surprisingly, its growth paralleled that of the Stuartburn colony. It boasted seventeen businesses in 1899, nineteen in 1900, and twenty-four in 1902. The Lake of the Woods, Ogilvie, and Farmers' Elevator Companies built elevators to handle the increase in grain shipped through Dominion City. Not only did the number of businesses increase, but

also the range of activities and services broadened. The number of general merchants fell, but specialty stores appeared in their place. A butcher, confectioner, harness maker, printer, watchmaker, photographer, and druggist were all found in Dominion City in 1902 (Figure 15). Thereafter, the town's business sector retrenched and stabilized. In 1908, there were thirteen merchants of various types, a doctor, a warehouse, four grain elevator companies, and a Massey-Harris implement dealer.[6]
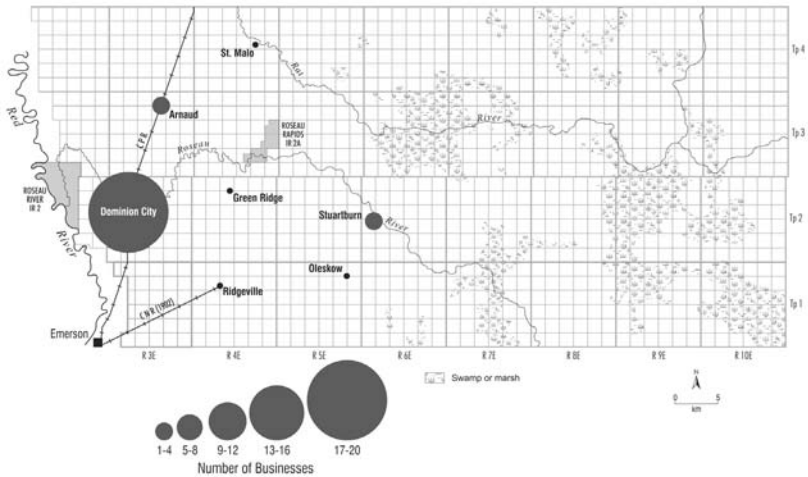
 Figure 15. Trade in the colony, 1900.

Stuartburn settlers had to haul their produce by ox-drawn wagons over twenty miles or more of bad roads and bush trails to market in Dominion City, a journey that usually required an overnight stay. While some were able to sleep in the loft of the town's livery stables, few, if any, Ukrainian settlers had the money to afford a room at the Queen's Hotel. Sleeping outdoors under a wagon in a climate in which the temperature can drop to minus forty degrees Celsius or lower during winter nights deterred even the hardiest settlers. Fearing a loss of business, and with an eye to the future trade from the new colony, in the winter of 1899–1900 Dominion City's citizens contributed over ninety-five dollars, and Franklin Municipality's council voted to donate thirty dollars, to a fund to build a "sleeping apartment" sixteen feet square to serve as a shelter for Ukrainians when visiting overnight:

> The trade of these people at present does not amount to much, but what there is of it is good cash trade, and some day will be a considerable factor in building up our town. At present they are very poor, and cannot afford to stop at hotels when they come in, and being just far enough from town to make it impossible for them to come and go in one day, the building would not only be a great accommodation to them but would draw more of them to our town to transact their business. If we had a grist mill we would catch the whole Galician [Ukrainian] trade, a large part of which now goes to Emerson.[7]

This rudimentary building, which became known as "the Galician Hotel," was erected within weeks, and the Ukrainians themselves added a stable.[8] Inside were bunks, two stoves, ready-cut wood for fuel, and water.[9] A portion of the Ukrainian trade continued to elude Dominion City for a few years since between 1899 and 1903 a *Dariusleut* Hutterite colony was established on the Roseau River near Dominion City.[10] It was a little closer to Stuartburn, operated a grist mill, and provided a "large shack" to accommodate those travelling in from Stuartburn. This was apparently better accommodation than the shelter provided in Dominion City, described as lacking windows and doors and "not fit to stable horses."[11]

Emerson also profited from the growth of the colony. For those settling south and west of Stuartburn, in the Tolstoi area, Emerson was the closest service centre, but its wide range of services attracted customers from throughout the colony. Although data are scarce, it is clear that expansion of the town's business sector was based in part on the patronage of Ukrainian farmers settling in the townships east of Range 5 East. By 1909, Emerson's population, and its variety and number of businesses, had increased dramatically. Thirty-nine businesses were recorded on the town's tax rolls in 1909, including a hotel, a newspaper office, five general merchants, two implement dealers, two blacksmiths, three livery stables, two hardware stores, a paint store, a furniture store, a Chinese laundry, a flour mill, a barbershop/poolroom, a restaurant, and a sewing machine outlet. The town had a printer, druggist, photographer, tailor, and butcher. Two doctors practised in town, as did a lawyer and vet. The town also had a major post office that served the smaller post offices of Ridgeville, Greenridge, Stuartburn, and, after 1906, Caliento and Sundown farther east. Emerson had the best road link to the Stuartburn colony, and it boasted the area's courthouse. After the building of the Ridgeville extension by the CNR in 1906, it offered the most convenient,

though not necessarily the most economical, access to the Stuartburn colony, and it offered a range of services unrivalled in southeastern Manitoba.[12]

As the Stuartburn colony expanded to the north, settlers in the Zhoda and Sarto areas pushed into areas adjacent to the longer-settled Mennonite East Reserve and found it easier to conduct business in established settlements there, although their relationships with Mennonite merchants were not always happy. Their counterparts who had settled along the international boundary, on the other hand, were compelled to look westward for access to services and supplies since access to service centres in the United States was denied to them by poor communications and the legal obstacles to trade imposed by the boundary line. For all settlers, regardless of location in the colony, communications remained abysmal until the Canadian Northern Railway constructed a line from Emerson to Ridgeville and extended it to Sprague in 1906. Even then, away from the railway line, the roads remained poor for many years, impassable during the spring floods and difficult going during the rest of the year.

Within the colony, trade was confined at first to the two small stores at Stuartburn. As land was cleared and brought into production, settlers' needs evolved beyond the limited range of goods and services provided by Stuartburn merchants. To obtain specialty goods and legal and banking services, they increasingly turned to the businesses of Emerson and Dominion City, whose trade grew with the colony.[13]

Agricultural progress was slow, for almost all settlers cleared land without the benefit of machinery. Most managed to clear and break one or two acres in the first two years of settlement and brought an additional three to four acres under cultivation each year thereafter. Crops were limited and surpluses small. Although most settlers produced enough food from their gardens to feed themselves throughout the year, they had to augment their incomes with off-farm work or gather and trade "snake root" (*Polygala senega*) for supplies. Within the colony's subsistence economy, where all but the most recent arrivals had their own garden produce, there was virtually no local demand for surplus crops, and the absence of an infrastructure denied access to wider markets. The English merchants of Stuartburn captured some business even though they offered a fairly limited range of supplies and generally traded for produce rather than paying cash for it. The only recourse for settlers who desired a more favourable price was to haul their dairy products, grain, and cattle to market centres outside the colony, principally Emerson and

Dominion City, although some of the settlers in the northern part of the colony, around Pansy and Sarto, hauled grain to be milled in the Mennonite East Reserve. In these out-of-colony locations, they took advantage of the wider selection of goods, lower prices, and cash trade offered by Anglo-Canadian and Mennonite merchants.[14]

Jewish Pioneer Merchants

To enter into commerce was to enter *terra incognita* for most Ukrainian immigrants. For the non-Jewish population of Galicia and Bukovyna at the end of the nineteenth century, trade was an alien occupation. There Jews constituted the urban middle class and dominated the retail and service sectors of the economy. In the countryside, they lived among the Ukrainian peasantry and made a living as tavern keepers, small shopkeepers, itinerant peddlers, money lenders, cattle dealers, and grain buyers. Speaking Yiddish and usually fluent in Ukrainian and German, literate, and experienced in retailing, Jewish traders in Galicia, Poland, and Russia often were not appreciably more wealthy than the peasants with whom they traded. If they appeared to be richer, it was because their capital was liquid, in stock and gold, whereas the peasants' capital was held as land. In Galicia, the right to operate taverns, sell tobacco, or lend money was purchased from the nobility; peasants whose wealth was locked into land could not do so. In contrast, landless Jews with liquid capital could seize the opportunity to obtain commercial advantages.[15] In general, the Jews' relationship with the Christian peasantry was not a happy one. Christians reviled Jews as "Christ-killers," and the peasants generally regarded them as alien, rapacious, parasitic exploiters profiting from the toil of hard-working farmers. Because they were literate and could keep accounts, many Jews were employed as bailiffs on the estates of the largely Polish aristocracy, where they were responsible for extracting rent, taxes, and labour from the peasants. The economic woes of the peasants resulted from high land rents, taxation levelled by the aristocracy, and injudicious spending in taverns owned by Jews, but the blame was laid squarely on the Jews, who were an easily identifiable and defenceless minority. Periodic pogroms erupted in Eastern Europe when the Christian community, often with the tacit approval of the authorities, vented its rage against the Jews. Emigration of Jews from Eastern Europe to North America was triggered by a series of pogroms in the 1880s and 1890s, and others were caught up in the emigration fever that swept through Galicia and Bukovyna toward the end of the century.

Jewish immigrants fleeing unrest and uncertainty in Europe moved relatively easily into Ukrainian communities in Canada to replicate their former roles as small general merchants and cattle dealers. Jews had established a community in Winnipeg in the early 1880s that had quickly developed its own institutions and identity. Many Jews had resumed their former occupations as retailers and had contacts with large wholesalers and suppliers. Many of those involved in trade, furthermore, had picked up sufficient English to operate outside the immigrant community and had either secured some capital or could obtain sufficient credit to conduct business.

Stuartburn remained the only service centre within the colony before arrival of the railway. There were a few post offices located in the houses of farmers, a few of whom took advantage of the situation to sell a few basic items such as flour, sugar, tea, boots, and work clothes. There were no nucleated settlements within the colony other than Stuartburn. This changed in 1906 when the Canadian Northern Railway pushed its line through the district and established a series of halts along it at Tolstoi and at points that its employees named Gardenton, Vita, Caliento, Sundown, and Menisino. These station halts took no account of the locations of existing post offices or schools that otherwise would have constituted the centres of emerging communities. Inevitably, and as had happened elsewhere across the prairies, these halts later became the focal points of all commercial, social, and administrative development. Businesses and post offices established prior to the railway's arrival soon felt pressure to relocate to the railway, and most did so. In Township 1 Range 6 East, for example, settlers who were mostly from Onut, Bukovyna, built a church in 1899 on the northwest quarter of Section 28 Township 1 Range 6 East, then in the centre of the scattered homesteads of Ukrainians in the area. When the railway was built through the area, a station halt was placed about two miles east of the church. As the new community of Gardenton emerged around the station halt, the "Onutska" church, as it was known, became increasingly less central to the district's population. In 1935, a new church was built in Gardenton's town site, where it could better serve the needs of its congregation.

With the colony's continued expansion eastward and the new accessibility afforded by the railway, a commercial vacuum developed within the colony. By this time, the tiny village of Stuartburn had become the commercial and, since 1902, administrative centre of the colony. It had a lumber mill, a flour mill, a blacksmith shop, a cheese factory, and two small stores. It was enjoying a brief period of economic dominance within the colony.
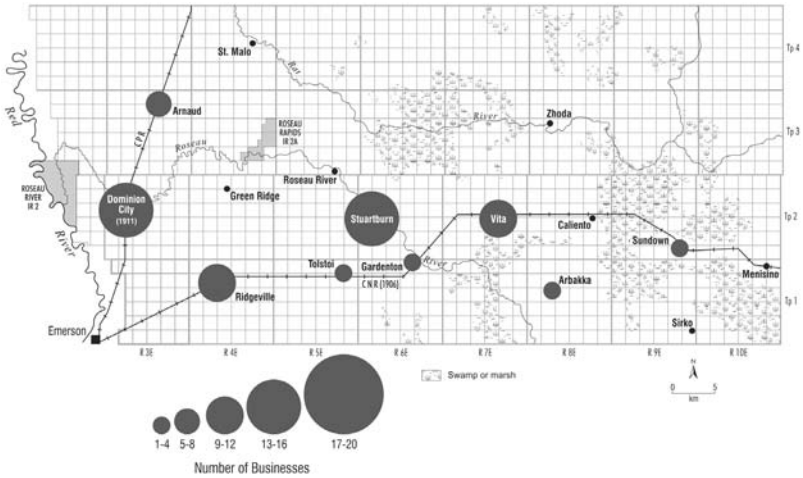
Figure 16. Trade in the colony, 1912.

With the exception of Thoedosy Wachna, a Ukrainian immigrant from Novosel'yntskyi, Galicia, who arrived in Stuartburn in 1897 after spending three and a half years in Scranton, Pennsylvania, no Ukrainian settlers had previously engaged in store keeping. Wachna had the advantage of a knowledge of English and some experience working in his brother's tavern in Scranton. He capitalized on his experience and command of English to secure a position as an immigration agent, and in 1905 he opened a small store in Stuartburn.[16] There was still a trade vacuum that was quickly filled by Jewish merchants. In 1906, the Jewish Rosenstock brothers also established a store in the village.[17] Jacob Schwartz opened a store in Oleskiw (later renamed Tolstoi) in 1909. Jacob Rosenstock also had a store, lumberyard, and machinery agency in Tolstoi in 1916 but in 1917 moved to Stuartburn, where he operated a store and mill for two years. A Joseph Rosnstoch (Rosenstock?) served as postmaster in Tolstoi from 1 December 1913 to mid-August 1917.[18] Nathan Rosenstock operated a store and implement dealership in Vita in 1912 and might have been the Rosenstock reported as building a new store in Ridgeville, just outside the colony, in 1914.[19] Louis Tuberman was a part owner and later the sole owner of a general store established in Ridgeville. One of the Rosenstock brothers briefly operated a store at Gardenton from 1914 to 1916. Nathan Rosenstock also operated as a cattle buyer in the area.[20] By 1919, Rosenstock and Tuberman had left, and Nathan Schwartz moved into Vita, where he ran a general store until 1922.[21]
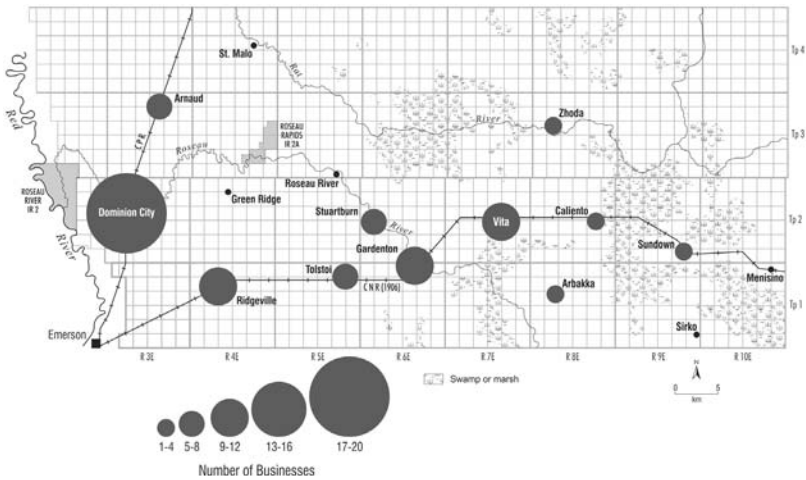
Figure 17. Trade in the colony, 1920.

Much of the capital brought into the colony or produced within it passed through the hands of locally based merchants. Not surprisingly, they were generally the most prosperous members of the community, and in the first decades of settlement usually they were not of Ukrainian background. In terms of net worth, these merchants might not at first have been significantly wealthier than their clients, but their capital was liquid, whereas a high percentage of farmers' wealth was locked into land, stock, and equipment. Significantly, when the first automobile appeared in the district in 1912, it was registered to Stuartburn's miller, the Mennonite Toews.[22] Several years later Wasyl Mihaychuk, then operating a flourmill in Vita, became the first Ukrainian in the district to purchase an automobile. For farmers busy expanding their farms, capital outlays were devoted to agricultural machinery, and a tractor was a more likely purchase than an automobile.

The Stuartburn district was not an attractive location for most Anglo-Canadian merchants because they did not speak Ukrainian, the lingua franca of the colony, thought the Ukrainians to be alien in every respect, and saw little potential for profit in such an impoverished frontier community. A few non-Ukrainian families who were established before the arrival of the Ukrainians remained in place as the tide of Ukrainian settlement washed around them. With the advantage of an education, knowledge of English, and a longer residence in the district, these families benefited from an ability to secure government work as land agents, guides, and postal agents. Their

social position bestowed a commercial advantage that outweighed the negative aspects of residing in a "foreign" colony. For other Anglo-Canadians, location in the colony was not an attractive proposition, but Jews seeking commercial opportunities on the frontiers of settlement saw the colony differently.

Nevertheless, for Jewish merchants to engage in business within the colony was problematic. First, Ukrainian peasants who, as a group, had inherited the anti-Semitism of Eastern Europe regarded most Jews with some suspicion. Second, although Jewish merchants were familiar with the cultural norms of western Ukraine and hence those of the Ukrainian community in the colony, and attended Ukrainian cultural events, they always remained outsiders, non-Christians, looking in. Third, and most important, for them to live in a Ukrainian colony, cut off from their religious community, made it well-nigh impossible to remain observant.

Observant Jews are bound by rules of religious behaviour. Dietary laws require that food be kosher. This requires that a ritual slaughterer (*shohet*) kill animals and that prepared foods be manufactured under rabbinical supervision. The rules of the Sabbath demand that no work be done and that one should not ride in a conveyance or on a horse and should not walk more than a mile from one's home. Jews are also required to attend synagogue on the Sabbath for the reading of the Torah, which requires a *minyan,* a quorum of ten adult males. Furthermore, to be fully observant, access to a ritual bath (*miqvah*) is vital. It is immediately apparent that to assemble ten adult males on the Sabbath outside a sizable Jewish community would be difficult. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to live in a non-Jewish community and observe even these basic rules, since few communities outside Winnipeg could support a *shohet, miqvah,* or Jewish school. Jewish parents could not hope to have their children educated in a Jewish milieu or marry within the group if they resided outside the large urban Jewish community in Winnipeg. To pursue observant Jewish family life in the tiny settlements emerging within the Ukrainian colony was almost impossible.[23]

Some Jewish merchants overcame the latter problem by leaving their wives and families in Winnipeg, where they could live within a Jewish milieu.[24] In Winnipeg, their children could attend Jewish schools, have Jewish friends, have access to kosher foods, attend synagogue, and search for Jewish mates. Through these accommodations, Jewish merchants were able to maintain a significant presence in the burgeoning commerce of the colony until rising Ukrainian national consciousness, enthusiasm for cooperatives,

and the entry of Ukrainians into commerce made it increasingly difficult for them to maintain a competitive advantage.

Identity, Religion, and Trade

The retreat of Jewish enterprise came at a time when the colony was beginning to mature economically and when the number of businesses was expanding. Most of these new enterprises were owned and operated by local Ukrainians. Their prices were often higher than those of their Jewish competitors, and few of them were able to give credit, but they benefited from the rising tide of national feeling within the Ukrainian community in Canada and, perhaps, from latent anti-Semitism. There was an attitude transferred from the old country that, while Ukrainian immigrants were "becoming hunch backed from hard work, Jewish merchants…were getting fat on the Ukrainian settlements."[25] Yet the economic and political circumstances encountered in the Ukrainian settlements in Canada were completely different from those in Galicia. In contrast, in Canada, local trade was unhindered by government regulations or ancestral rights. Only desire, experience, and capital governed entry into trade, so it was far easier for an educated Ukrainian to venture into commerce in Canada than in the old country. Jews enjoyed no advantage in Canada other than that afforded by their cultural background and experience in business.

Increasing prosperity during the war years, based on high prices for grain and a growing demand for a range of agricultural products, led local Ukrainian farmers to venture into commercial enterprises, mostly store-keeping, implement sales, and provision of services such as milling and blacksmithing. The early 1920s saw the greatest number of businesses operating within the colony partly because farmers were shipping grain by rail from within the colony rather than hauling it to the elevators at Ridgeville. The construction of an elevator at Tolstoi by the Ruthenian Elevator Company helped to deflect some grain shipment away from non-Ukrainian grain companies outside the colony and helped to channel Ukrainian-generated business into local hands.[26]

The expansion of interest in commerce by the Ukrainian community paralleled a rise in Ukrainian national consciousness and was allied with socialist ideology and cooperative philosophy. To judge from the columns of the Ukrainian-language press in Canada, the great majority of those who moved from farming into trade were also involved in the enlightenment move-

ment through the formation of reading clubs (*chytalny*) and national homes (*narodny domy*). As in Galicia and Bukovyna, there were strong feelings of socialism and Ukrainian nationalism associated with the ideology of cooperatives and the enlightenment movements. Perhaps inevitably, undercurrents of anti-Semitism accompanied expressions of nationalism: "Why have the [two] Ukrainian stores disappeared [from Vita]? The reason, no doubt, is because of the two Jewish stores that exist here [in Vita]. And if you look inside you will see that they are full of our people, including all those great Ukrainian patriots. (These same people, when inside a Ukrainian store, will always ask for wholesale prices.) And here is a good question: if Ukrainian stores existed in a Jewish colony, do you think that the Jews would patronize them?"[27]

In September 1914, a meeting was held in Vita to discuss the formation of a cooperative in which "Mr. Kulachkovs'kyj spoke about the meaning of trade and commerce for the economy, citing the example of the English people who built up their wealth and prosperity in this way. He argued that a cooperative would benefit farmers." Wasyl Mihaychuk "gave several examples of how some individuals have been swindling the Ukrainians and, in doing so, are making their living off the blood and sweat of others." Mihaychuk argued that, unless the Ukrainian community got involved in trade and commerce, "then a sad fate will be awaiting us."[28] Not all were convinced of the necessity of establishing Ukrainian-owned cooperatives; in fact, most people were indifferent to the issue, and some members of the Ukrainian clergy were actively opposed and used the pulpit to inveigh against what they saw as a socialist threat. Numerous meetings were held in which the intelligentsia and activists cajoled local community members into coming on side.[29] A cooperative was established in Vita in 1916, and a second was founded in Gardenton within a year.

Resentment against outsiders who were perceived to be exploiting disadvantaged Ukrainian settlers was not confined to Jewish merchants. Ukrainian-language newspapers complained that the French merchants in St. Malo were swindling the Ukrainians of Stuartburn.[30] The radical socialist *Chervonyi prapor* (Red Banner) railed against the Mennonite merchants in Steinbach, who allegedly were exploiting Ukrainians in the Sarto district: "A [Ukrainian] farmer must pay to have his flour milled because he does not have a mill of his own. The Ruthenians [Ukrainians] from Sarto take their grain to the German mill in Steinbach, but the German refuses to mill their grain. He will do it for the Germans or the French settlers but not for the Ruthenians. Instead, he says that he will exchange the grain for flour, but look how he does

it! For three bushels of grain, the German gives the Ruthenian two bushels of flour." If the Ukrainians complained and attempted to go elsewhere, claimed *Chervonyi prapor,* then the situation worsened, for if the Ukrainians were unable to reach an alternative centre where grain was milled and were obliged to return to the original mill the price offered for the grain would be further reduced. To compound matters, the Steinbach merchants allegedly refused to buy grain for cash, insisting that the seller take store goods for the amount owed. *Chervonyi prapor* also alleged that, "if the farmer asks for money for his grain (or cordwood if it is winter), the German will give him a cheque. But there is no place for the Ruthenian to cash the cheque if he does not travel to Winnipeg. The German, however, will cash the cheque but charges ten cents on the dollar."[31]

That *Chervonyi prapor* was a radical socialist newspaper does not necessarily invalidate these charges. Many early settlers in the Stuartburn area related stories of Ukrainians making agreements to sell wagonloads of wood or hay to Mennonite settlers and were appalled when they saw the sizes of the Mennonites' wagons, pulled by multiple teams of oxen. Whether this was intentional deception by the Mennonites or a simple case of honest misunderstanding is immaterial because, in the eyes of the Ukrainian farmers, who were on the worse end of the deal, it was a clear case of exploitation, one that replicated the Ukrainian-German power balance that they had known in Austria.

Ukrainian national consciousness was boosted by the creation of the short-lived independent Ukrainian state in the early 1920s. Newfound patriotic enthusiasm led many Ukrainians to patronize only Ukrainian stores and cooperatives. The increasing popularity of Eaton's catalogue sales and a general decline in business for rural stores caused many Jewish merchants to retreat from the least promising rural locations, of which the Stuartburn colony was one. Not all of the signs that the old commercial relationships were changing were overly subtle. In the early 1920s, in Vita, a group of Ukrainian celebrants allegedly lifted up a Jewish storekeeper's building and reversed its orientation, placing the front entrance away from the street. This action was undertaken not because the storekeeper was disliked personally but because he was Jewish, not Ukrainian. In fact, he had a reputation for honesty and willingness to offer credit and was recalled as a "decent fellow" by many who patronized his store.[32]

By 1922, all the Jewish merchants had sold or abandoned their enterprises in the Stuartburn colony, and by the early 1930s, with the exception of Tolstoi,

all the stores and most of the businesses in the colony were Ukrainian-owned. Even then the divided nature of the community was evidenced by the religiously based patronage of stores in Vita and Tolstoi. In Vita, the Orthodox frequented Kulachkovs'kyj's store, whereas Greek Catholics patronized Podolskyj's store. Storeowners accentuated their religious affiliations to capture the trade of their co-religionists.[34] Elsewhere in the colony, service centres either drew from a more uniform population or only had stores operated either by Orthodox or by Ukrainian Catholics, so the clientele simply swallowed their prejudices or trekked to the nearest centre offering an alternative retail outlet operated by someone with a more acceptable religious affiliation.
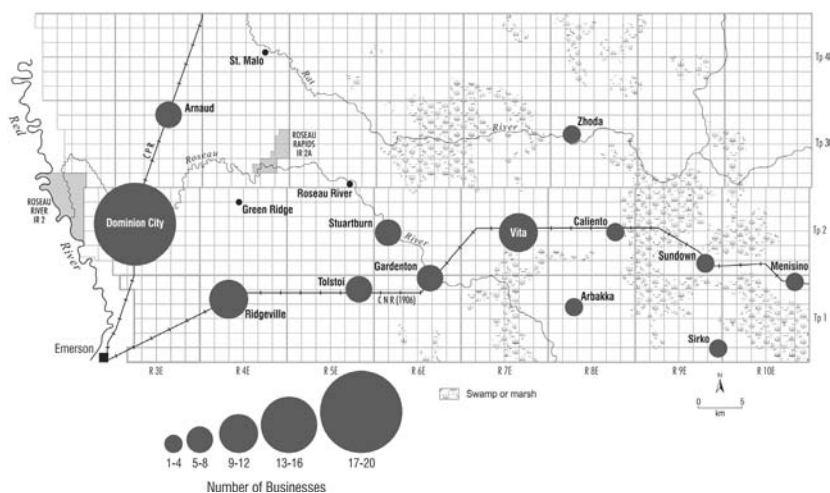

Figure 18. Trade in the colony, 1926.

Ukrainian control of the local retail trade did not necessarily benefit the community. It was assumed that non-Ukrainian businesspeople would take little interest in Ukrainian community affairs and in their sales approaches would be strictly motivated by profits. On the other hand, Ukrainian businesspeople were expected to take a patriotic and high-minded approach, letting Ukrainian national and community interests override the quest for profits.[35] This pious hope was seldom realized. Ukrainian-owned stores in Gardenton and Sundown sold bottles of cocaine-based Hoffman's Drops (a cough remedy called *kropli* ["drops"] by the locals) and even ether at fifteen and twenty-five cents a shot, drawing in trade from throughout the colony, allegedly making a small fortune but encouraging addiction and exacerbating alcoholism in the area.[36]

Markets, Stores, and Credit

The Stuartburn colony was never prosperous. Even during the good years of 1918–19, when agricultural prices were high, it remained one of the poorest in Manitoba, locked in the pioneer stage when other areas settled at the same time were developing quickly and generating wealth about four times as rapidly. In 1920, Stuartburn Municipality, which constituted the heart of the Ukrainian colony, had some 1,285 farmers on 276,480 acres, of which less than 9 percent was cultivated. The average farmer had one horse, five cattle, a pig, and only twenty acres cultivated.[37] Methodist mission workers in Vita painted a picture of "ignorance, poverty, and suffering" in a community that remained on the margins of Canadian society.[38] Clearly, there was limited capital circulating within the colony, but community activists attempted to stimulate what trade they could by organizing markets in the colony's larger communities. Held on the first Tuesday of the month in Vita, the market moved to Gardenton on the second Tuesday, then to Caliento or Sundown on the third and Stuartburn on the fourth. Oxen, cows, and pigs were traded, and potatoes, onions, cheese, and butter were offered for sale. The first market, held in January 1917, attracted great local interest but few vendors.[39] Later, as patronage grew, markets stimulated local trade and benefited local merchants by attracting potential clients to the nascent service centres within the colony. The railway stimulated patronage of local stores by facilitating the import of manufactured goods and by allowing farmers to ship their grain to the elevators at Tolstoi, Ridgeville, or Emerson rather than hauling it by wagon to Dominion City. When Wasyl Mihaychuk established a flour mill in Vita, farmers were freed from the need to travel outside the colony to market or mill grain and, presumably, no longer obliged to deal with exploitive millers located on the colony's fringes. Capital was increasingly kept at home and circulated within the colony rather than leaking directly out through merchants in service centres on its periphery.[40]

The products and crops exported from the colony reflected the marginal nature of the land and the unsophisticated level of its economy. Mixed farming was the norm, with a heavy orientation to subsistence production. Agricultural products included onions and other vegetables, but markets could rarely be found for them. Cattle, a little grain, and dairy products were the major agricultural exports from the colony. According to one report, "most of the population depended on [Vita] creamery cheques," and for decades after

settlement many men continued to "work out" on farms in more prosperous districts.[41] Rye bread or a wheat-rye blend was very popular within the Stuartburn colony, but whether this was a matter of taste or because rye did better than wheat on the poorer soils is debatable. Most rye was winter rye, planted early in the season and thought to develop thicker stalks and more "whiskers" that better enabled it to withstand freezing.[42] Other crops included hemp, grown for its oil, mostly by the Bukovynian settlers in the area southeast of Stuartburn. Hemp oil was used at home for cooking and sold locally in Ukrainian stores, where it found a ready market, especially during the Lenten season, when the devout settlers forswore animal products. Buckwheat was reputed to make an excellent fertilizer, equal to manure if plowed into the soil after it flowered. But most buckwheat that matured was milled into groats and sold or used for personal consumption. Millet was not grown, but some flax was planted for its fibre. Potatoes were a popular crop, both for sale and for personal consumption. Wheat cultivation was mostly confined to the western part of the colony; the Ruthenian Elevator Company built an elevator at Tolstoi in 1914, which operated until 1922, but there was never enough wheat produced to justify the construction of an elevator at any point east of there.[43]

Animal husbandry was confined mainly to cattle and pigs, but in the Vita area some farmers raised sheep. Cattle were a source of milk for home consumption and cream for sale. Pigs were mostly kept for home consumption. Almost all farmers kept many chickens and some geese; ducks and turkeys were also raised but to a far lesser extent. By 1915, most oxen had been replaced by horses as draft animals, a change that was mirrored by an increase in the acreage sown to oats for feed.[44]

Cordwood, hay, and sawn lumber were also shipped out, mostly to Winnipeg. Snakeroot was an important commodity. One Dominion City merchant sold 15,000 pounds of snakeroot to the New York market in 1904. All of it, or a good proportion of it, would have been from the Stuartburn colony.[45]

The Deltox Wire Grass Company had forty acres of swampland three miles south and seven quarters of swampland north of Vita where it harvested wiregrass, which until 1927 it exported to Oshkosh, Wisconsin, where it was made into "durable floor mats."[46] The company had a large warehouse in Vita and employed approximately twenty-eight people during the summer months. It ceased operations in 1932. During the mid-1920s, for several years, tons of frogs were gathered annually and shipped live to Minneapolis, where their legs were processed and canned for the French market.[47] Drainage of

swampland around 1928 reduced the frog population, and frog exports also ceased by 1930.[48] The wet nature of the district made for good hay crops. During the dirty thirties, the area exported over 1,500 carloads of hay to the drought-afflicted areas of Saskatchewan; 400 carloads came from Vita alone.[49]

All of these economic ventures paled beside the role played by the Crescent Creamery in Vita. A subsidiary of a Winnipeg dairy, and managed locally by Dmytro Uhryniuk, it opened in Vita in 1919. It shipped out cream, butter, and cheese to the Winnipeg market. Uhryniuk left to open his own dairy in Tolstoi in 1934; four years later a group of local Ukrainian activists and entrepreneurs founded their own creamery: the Vita Cooperative Limited.[50] Creamery cheques remained a staple of the colony's economy for years.

During the 1930s, the Stuartburn colony experienced further economic growth as land continued to be cleared and brought into production, but it was a slow process. The local provincial agricultural representative, K.C. Prodan, vigorously promoted new farming methods and the adoption of new cash crops, but it proved difficult to overcome the inherent limitations of the district. Lack of markets, poor transportation links within the colony and with the outside world, and low-lying, poorly drained land were perpetual barriers to development. The structure of the area's economy changed little. Dairy products, cordwood, and lumber continued to be the principal exports.

Access to credit was poor, although until the 1920s Jewish storekeepers continued the old country practice of granting credit to regular customers. When Ukrainians began to enter trade, they were obliged to compete and grant credit. Farmers were able to obtain goods on credit from most of the local storekeepers, long after the departure of Jews from colony commerce, paying their accounts when creamery cheques arrived or the crops came in. To borrow larger amounts for major purchases or improvements when retailers were not prepared to give credit posed difficulties. In 1901, Iwan Mihaychuk obtained a loan of seventy dollars from a banker in Emerson to pay for the transatlantic fare for his father-in-law. He had little to offer in the way of collateral since he held no property and his only possessions of value were a cow and calf. He was fortunate to deal with a humane and trusting banker, who advanced the requested sum.[51]

After Ukrainians established stores, some merchants, notably Teodosy and Anna Wachna, in Stuartburn and Gardenton respectively, and Kulaczkowsk in Vita, filled the banking void. Clients would entrust their money to them for safekeeping, a service that was provided for a small fee. In the early 1920s,

Anna Wachna was holding mortgages on properties in the immediate area, loaning amounts above $1,000, a considerable sum at that time, equivalent to about $10,000 today.[53]

As Canadian-born generations sought opportunities outside agriculture and beyond the colony, rural depopulation became ever more evident. Fewer people worked more land, so the economic progress made by farmers did not directly translate into increased prosperity for the general stores of Tolstoi, Gardenton, or Vita. As Stuartburn, some miles from the railway, continued to decline, Vita maintained its position as the central place for the colony (see Figure 1). In the absence of a grain elevator, the decision of the Methodist Church to build a mission hospital in Vita in 1922 undoubtedly helped the community to maintain its position as the colony's commercial hub. In 1930, it still retained four stores, a creamery, and a community hall.[54] The presence of the municipality's office, post office, school, and hospital made it the unrivalled centre of the district and gave it some element of commercial stability that it carried through to the close of the twentieth century.

Commerce in the small towns along the railway apparently felt the pinch before stores in more inaccessible areas. In tiny communities on the colony's periphery, such as Zhoda, Arbakka, and Sirko, the local "country stores" to some extent remained buffered from outside competition by distance and poor roads. Local accessibility and convenience were their protectors. In the larger centres, linked to the outside world by the railway and better roads, local stores and service providers had to contend with the wider choices and lower prices offered by stores in communities beyond the limits of the colony. Merchants in Winnipeg and closer but smaller centres, such as Dominion City, Emerson, and Steinbach, also aggressively competed for the patronage of Ukrainians in the Stuartburn colony.

On the eastern fringe of the colony, Menisino was a community with a mixed population, although Ukrainians were the largest ethnic group. Its economy, initially based on mixed farming, was supplemented during World War II by jackpine harvested for export to the United Kingdom as mine props, lumber, and cordwood. For years, Seneca root was picked and sold to fur buyers from Winnipeg. In the 1930s, it fetched a dollar a pound clean and dry, but by 1996 the price had risen to fifteen dollars a pound. The first store was opened in 1930 and operated by a succession of Ukrainian owners until it burned down in 1967. It was not reopened even though some thought there was still enough business to keep a small store alive.[55]

Until well into the 1950s, many farm families throughout the district continued to rely on off-farm employment to supplement farming incomes. K.C. Prodan, the provincial agricultural representative, vigorously promoted new farming methods and the adoption of new cash crops in the colony, but it was difficult to overcome the district's inherent limitations.[56] Stuartburn continued to decline, but the hospital in Vita helped the community to consolidate its position as the colony's major service centre.

Conclusion

The economy of the Stuartburn colony displayed many of the features of a colonial staples economy. Primary sector activities were, and even today still are, dominant. The secondary sector was virtually non-existent. The flour mill and wood mill in Vita were short lived; craft industries never got off the ground, and the manufacture of homebrew can scarcely be counted as a legitimate economic activity. Agriculture remained the staple economic activity and dairy products the most lucrative commodities. Poor transportation meant that milk was processed into butter and cheese before it was shipped to the Winnipeg market. Other economic endeavours, such as the export of frogs' legs, rose and fell with demand cycles outside the region, and the prosperity of the colony was always linked directly to commodity prices set outside its boundaries.

Economic and social developments were closely linked. In the early years, Anglo-Canadian businesses saw the economic potential of the immigrant community but were content to remain on the fringe of the colony and let business come to them. Jewish merchants were more aggressive and more mobile. Seeing a commercial vacuum, they were prepared to enter the colony to secure the business of the Ukrainian immigrant community. They developed intra-colony trade and maintained a commercial leadership role for the first two decades of the century. The Ukrainian nationalist awakening of the early 1920s coincided with enthusiasm for the cooperative and enlightenment movements and a concomitant determination to encourage Ukrainian business development. This period saw Ukrainians replace Jews in the commerce of the colony, but this did not change the essentially colonial nature of the area's economy. In the more remote areas of the district, such as Menisino, the economy changed little after the first decade of settlement, locked firmly into the export of labour and primary products and with a poorly developed tertiary sector.

HEALTH

From Folk Medicine to Mission Hospital

Settlers in the Stuartburn area, like their counterparts in other frontier districts in the west, seldom had access to adequate medical care. Homesteads were generally many miles from the nearest doctor or hospital. A visit to seek medical attention often entailed a day's travel or more over difficult trails and bad roads. When the first Ukrainians were entering the Stuartburn district, even Dominion City, connected by railway to Winnipeg and Emerson, did not have a doctor or dentist. This proved to be an almost immediate concern for the immigration officials working to settle the first groups of settlers in Stuartburn.

Overcrowding and poor sanitation led to an outbreak of scarlet fever among the settlers in the spring of 1897. The few cases were quickly isolated, but Department of the Interior officials were understandably concerned about scarlet fever turning into a diphtheria epidemic. A temporary isolation "hospital" was formed from two second-hand tents that were burned after the crisis passed. At the time, officials bemoaned the cost of getting a doctor into the settlement; apparently, the nearest competent physician was in Winnipeg.[1]

A doctor established a practice in Emerson later that year, but it was still over fifteen miles away from the closest Ukrainian settlers. Surgical work was conducted in hospitals in Winnipeg, accessible weekly by train. In 1897, Murrough O'Brien opened a medical practice in Dominion City and served the western fringe of the Stuartburn colony.[2] As the frontier of settlement pushed farther east, new settlers became ever more remote from any source of medical aid. For those settling in the easternmost parts of the colony after 1900, the nearest doctor was in Warroad, Minnesota, across the international border, some forty miles from their homesteads.

Folk Medicine

Given the difficulty of reaching a doctor and the expense of paying for medical services, it is hardly surprising that settlers relied, for the most part, on folk medicine. That people either lived or died was an accepted part of life and regarded stoically as "God's will." In peasant society, superstition and belief in the supernatural lingered, especially among the older people, who had spent their years in remote villages before immigrating to Canada. Many believed that the most dangerous source of disease was a spell cast by a person's gaze, a condition commonly referred to as the "evil eye." Pouring melted wax into cold water placed above the patient's head while reciting the Lord's Prayer three times traditionally cured this spell.[3] Cupping, bloodletting, and applying poultices of locally gathered herbs were also employed to cure a variety of conditions. In attempts to stop convulsions, needles were pushed under the patient's fingernails.[4] "Old country-style leeches," advertised in the Ukrainian Canadian press for seventy-five cents each by mail order from Euclid Drug Store in Winnipeg, were a staple of frontier medicine in Stuartburn even in the 1920s.[5] Efforts at home doctoring often did little to ameliorate unfortunate situations. Often they agravated them. Wasyl Mihaychuk related that his aunt treated a severe case of poison ivy with black (India) ink, a treatment that exacerbated the problem and probably prolonged the patient's misery.[6] Headaches were treated with a vinegar-soaked cloth applied to the forehead. On the other hand, some folk remedies were efficacious; infants with colic or teething discomfort were given a teaspoon of alcohol or poppyseed tea, which had a mild narcotic effect. Medicinal herbs were used to make a tea thought to be helpful in treating some internal ailments. A patented medicine labelled Pain Killer (called *Shpeeliar* by the settlers) that sold for twenty-five cents a bottle was used as a liniment for sore muscles, earache, and toothache as well as for internal problems.[7]

Access to Medical Care

More serious problems fell beyond the realm of folk remedies. After 1897, when medical treatment was essential, settlers west of Stuartburn could call in Doctor Murrough O'Brien from Dominion City, although he was some fifteen miles away. O'Brien would ride out to the colony and administer frontier medicine. On one occasion, he was called to attend to a Ukrainian woman suffering from "the tortures of the damned" with an abscessed molar. Her cheek was inflated like a balloon, and the extent of her agony was shown

in the bloody grooves that the nails of her clenched fingers had cut into her palms. O'Brien always carried morphine but reasoned that he could not use it since he would need the patient's full cooperation to treat the problem: "The patient's husband looked on in amazement when he was ordered to produce a two-inch nail and a hammer. With the woman settled in a chair and the unwilling husband holding the lantern, the only light the shack possessed, [O'Brien] pulled the first molar on the left-hand side of her upper jaw. Then, holding the nail in position in the empty socket, and praying that the patient would not pass out on him, he drove it up through gum and jawbone into the abscess."[8] Relief was almost immediate, and the woman staggered across the room and collapsed on the bed, falling into a deep sleep. O'Brien was paid with a young chicken, plucked and drawn, and a bag of eggs in lieu of his usual fifty-cent fee for an extraction. A couple of days later, when he returned to check whether his patient had survived the procedure, he was amazed to see her out in the garden hoeing beets.

As the colony expanded eastward, settlers moved ever farther away from the source of emergency medical attention in Dominion City or Emerson. O'Brien opened a hospital in Dominion City in 1901, but it was really just a house turned into a small residential medical clinic, or cottage hospital, that could accommodate a few patients overnight. The cost alone put its services beyond the reach of most settlers building their homesteads in the Stuartburn colony. Unable to even contemplate the fifty-dollar fee charged by a doctor for a house visit that could consume the better part of a doctor's day, the only resort for most settlers who became ill was to turn to folk remedies or leave their fate in the hands of God.[9] If medical help was sought, the fees for a hospital stay could be crippling. John Odokiczuk's wife was sick for eight months before she passed away in 1916. Seven years later he still owed $500 in hospital fees, a considerable sum when his homestead was worth little more than $800.[10]

Living conditions on the frontier did not promote good health. Houses were often overcrowded and poorly ventilated. Hygiene was primitive, and farm work, clearing land, removing stones, and cutting cordwood in the bush were all dangerous activities. There was an urgent need for the provision of medical care centred in the colony itself.

Evangelism and Medicine

The eventual provision of medical facilities within the colony had its genesis in the politics of evangelical Christianity and was determined by events thousands of miles away from Stuartburn. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the principal Protestant churches in Canada came to recognize that they were dissipating their energies directly competing with each other in their evangelical efforts in the newly established "foreign colonies" such as Stuartburn. Informal cooperation became the order of the day and became more formalized as the Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians carved up the west into discrete spheres of operation. Broadly put, this gave the Congregationalists a free hand in the north; the Methodists were given the territory south of the CPR line; and the Presbyterians were assigned the territory north of the CPR but south of the boreal forest. This arrangement became cemented during World War I when manpower shortages and a lack of male missionaries mandated interdenominational cooperation and eventually led to the organic union of the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Methodists as the United Church of Canada in 1924–25.[11]

In keeping with this informal agreement, the Home Missions Board of the Methodist Church looked to the Stuartburn colony, which fell within its geographic sphere of operations, as a good location for the establishment of a church mission from which it could proselytize among the immigrant population without stepping on the toes of its evangelical competitiors. Such a mission was established in Vita, chosen in 1913 as the best location on the basis of its central position within the colony and access to the railway. Reverend J. Wildfong was placed in charge. Wisely, the Methodists also sent a trained nurse as part of the mission staff. This might not have been pure altruism, almost certainly it was not; from prior experience, Methodist authorities knew that it would be difficult to attract settlers to hear their evangelical message without some kind of inducement. The young could be lured into church programs by recreational opportunities, music, and innate curiosity, but older people who were already firmly committed to a religious affiliation presented a more difficult challenge. The settlers' need for medical attention was the one thing that the authorities thought would overcome their reluctance to associate with Protestants and at the same time transcend linguistic and cultural barriers. The intention was to first treat the body and then minister to the soul.

Reports sent to the Methodist Church administration from the Vita mission painted a grim picture of poverty, lamentable living conditions, and lack of medical attention:

> These people all live from 15 to 50 miles from a doctor and they call one only as a very last resort and usually when the patient is beyond any human help. When a doctor is called he comes reluctantly. In one case of which we know when a man was on the point of death, they sent for the doctor 35 miles away, he came by train, was driven out some few miles in the country, was less than five minutes in the house, wrote out a prescription which could only be filled 35 miles from there and by legal action collected his fee.[12]

Knowledge of diet, sanitation, or hygiene was alleged to be completely lacking. A mission nurse reported that "practically all women work hard out of doors doing a man's work…and despite numerous complaints had never seen a doctor because they could not afford to call him and in most instances the doctor would not be able to reach them because of the poor road conditions. The nurse claimed that ninety per cent of the cases she attended were women in advanced stages of…tuberculosis, venereal [disease], cancer, skin eruptions and diseases resulting from complications of pregnancy. Many lives were sacrificed for want of skilled medical attention."[13] An earlier survey of the village of Gardenton noted that of ninety-two married women only one had either a doctor or a trained nurse at the birth of her children; death rates were underreported, and infant mortality was appalling.[14] A survey of a sample of some 144 homesteads in the Stuartburn area in 1916 described men and women infirm with rheumatism and many with lung troubles, a situation ascribed to inadequate housing, although the widespread habit of smoking homegrown tobacco might have been a contributory factor. That more were not ill was attributed to "the strenuous outdoor life that they live." Children had the "marks of disease upon them, some bearing in their bodies the infirmities of their parents."[15] Joe Wacha (a Polish settler with a Ukrainian wife), who homesteaded in Township 2 Range 7 East in 1915, put it bluntly: "I come out here [to Canada] three years ago. Old mother and all children, about eight. Jes' Chris', all sick. I have heluva time. I no sick. I got little whisky. Got lots a trouble, all women sick."[16]

On the frontier, most accommodation was poor. A house of the "rather better" type was described as having two rooms in which the total furniture

consisted of "a bed of rough boards, a box stove, a table and a cook stove."[17] There was not a single chair or bench. Other accounts of pioneer accommodations in the Stuartburn colony agree with this portrayal of living conditions, which were especially bad in the first years of settlement. Overcrowding was frequent. Families of six to eight people commonly lived in one room even after fifteen years of settlement.[18] For the first few years after settlement, conditions were worse. Iwan Mihaychuk, his family, and another related family, ten people in all, spent their first year in Canada sharing a small, rented, poorly insulated, and bug-infested shack south of Stuartburn. Living conditions were less than idyllic. In the summer, swarms of mosquitoes came in through the open windows; to keep them out, a smudge pot filled the shack with acrid smoke. In the winter, hordes of bedbugs and fleas made life equally miserable.[19]

Some years later Iwan moved with his family to the Arbakka area, where he squatted on land not then legally open to homestead settlement. He built a two-room log house thirteen by eighteen feet with a clay oven that took up about a quarter of the larger room's space. Honouring obligations to shelter newly arrived friends and relatives meant that living conditions remained very cramped: "Up to half a dozen families, old folks, and their children sleeping nights on the dirt floor, not so fresh hay for mattresses, horse blankets and their own clothes and coats for covers, trying to get along without annoying the next somebody, crowding, squeezing to make 'homestead room' for him or her self. And there had to be a hay bed for the newly born calf in the corner of the small room by the entrance door.…It was too cold for poor *toliatko* (little calf) out there in the not-yet-plastered stable."[20]

The first basic medical services came to the district late in 1919 when the Home Missions Board of the Methodist Church expanded its mission in Vita. This represented a major financial commitment by the Church: not only was a considerable outlay of capital required to construct a building of adequate proportions, but also it had to be furnished and equipped with medical supplies. Maintaining a qualified medical staff was a daunting financial obligation; the Church knew from its experience with the earlier established medical clinic that few patients would be in a position to pay for the services that they received, and the hospital would likely prove to be a financial drain on the Church for many years. For the Church, it truly was a mission. It is telling that they approached their Home Missions work with the same energy and attitude that they devoted to their Foreign Missions work in far-off fields such as China.

The Vita hospital, opened in December 1922, provided vital humanitarian aid to the Ukrainian community. It was operated and funded by the Methodist Church until 1925; after church union, it became the responsibility of the United Church of Canada. The hospital treated all who attended regardless of their ability to pay, their religious affiliation, or their ethnic origin. As an alien-operated organization, the hospital fell outside the boundaries of the internal politics of the colony. Since it was neither Orthodox nor Catholic, it was immune from the religious factionalism that cut deeply through the fabric of Ukrainian settler society in the 1920s and 1930s. The hospital staff, with the exception of the cook and domestic help, was non-Ukrainian and Methodist. As outsiders, they were not connected to the local people, which prevented them from being drawn into local petty squabbles based on political allegiances or family loyalties, and, perhaps more importantly, they were not involved in the internecine religious feuds that fractured every Ukrainian pioneer community. Disconnection from the mainstream of Ukrainian settler society might have been a barrier insofar as the hospital's proselytizing function was concerned, but it was a major benefit in terms of its ability to position itself as a non-partisan asset to the entire community.

The hospital was a wood frame building thirty-eight by sixty-six feet, able to accommodate fourteen patients. It was equipped with an X-ray machine, its own water system, and its own electrical plant. The initial staff consisted of Dr. Walter Reid, a graduate of McGill Medical School, a matron, three graduate nurses, and a ward aide. The non-medical staff included a secretary, who also functioned as an interpreter, an engineer, a cook, a laundry maid, and a ward maid. In the first month, 130 outpatients were treated, thirteen patients were admitted, and two maternity cases were handled.[21] This initial burst of patronage soon waned. In its first four years, the hospital treated only twenty-seven maternity cases, conducted very few operations, and was "far from being filled to capacity at any time." The average number of patients in the hospital at any one time was fewer than three.[22] Certainly, it was not because of a lack of need; for various reasons, community members simply did not avail themselves of its services.

The breakdown of patients by religious affiliation was telling: of 131 in-patients treated in 1921, almost 32 percent were Protestant or Catholic (i.e., almost certainly non-Ukrainian), a remarkable proportion given the overwhelming dominance of Ukrainians in the district.[23] Although local Ukrainian community leaders endorsed the hospital, the community at large

remained suspicious and viewed it as an alien intrusion into their religious affairs. The members of the medical staff, such as Dr. Reid, were all dedicated members of the Methodist Church and saw it as their duty to "Christianize" the Ukrainian population. Sunday schools and Sunday services run by medical personnel were seen as obvious, and unwelcome, attempts to proselytize, and although the local population mostly ignored these religious events they might have aroused suspicion and resentment and fostered reluctance to attend the hospital.

In 1927, Dr. H.V. Waldon, a war veteran and recent graduate (1925) of the University of Manitoba's medical school, replaced Dr. Reid. When he arrived in Vita, the hospital had only one patient, an elderly tuberculosis case, who allegedly was kept there as much for the sake of appearances as out of necessity. Waldon was a compassionate and energetic doctor whose concern for his patients soon won the trust of the community. Waldon travelled throughout the district, by car and horse in the summer, by sleigh in the winter, when travel was easier. Often he depended on the railway foreman to take him by jigger to a spot near the patient's home, where the family would pick him up. He travelled more than was necessary because the Ukrainian women tended not to attend the hospital for childbirth because of the language barrier. Waldon did not speak Ukrainian, in fact he deliberately tried to avoid learning the language, although inevitably he picked up some basic vocabulary.[24] His wife, who became the first matron of the hospital, learned the language; his children learned "enough to get by."[25]

As trust built between the hospital and the local community, the staff's workload increased as people turned to the hospital's services with increasing regularity. Waldon promoted public health, and this advocacy took him to all the schools in the district from Tolstoi to Piney, where he introduced inoculation programs for smallpox, tuberculosis, and other contagious diseases that took a high toll on the young. This program was credited with breaking down the barriers between the community and hospital. It drew the mothers of the community together where they could see Waldon's genuine care for his patients. Their fears allayed, they lost their reluctance to enter the hospital.[26] The increase in hospital attendance was dramatic. It rose from 131 admissions in 1927 to 321 in 1928. The total number of hospital patient-days soared from 930 to 2,952 in one year; maternity cases jumped from nine to twenty-three.[27] Thereafter, the demand on hospital services grew yearly, fuelled by a growing population, increasing awareness of the benefits of qualified medical atten-

tion, and increasing trust in Waldon and his staff. By 1938, admissions had risen to 676, and adult patient days stood at 4,511. That year 122 maternity cases were admitted.[28]

Financial Issues

Practising medicine was only a part of Waldon's duties as a frontier physician serving 10,000 people, most of whom were widely scattered on bush homesteads. Waldon had to operate the hospital on a very tight budget. In the 1920s and 1930s, cash was a scarce commodity in the Stuartburn colony, and few could afford the fee for an operation or consultation. Funding was a constant worry. Patients paid what they could, as often as not in produce rather than cash. One patient paid for his treatment with a bag of cucumbers, a quart of cream, and a dozen eggs; during the Depression years, payment was frequently made in kind: grain, vegetables, eggs, and chickens were all accepted.[29] The provincial government granted forty cents per adult patient and twenty-five cents per child patient per day; the various municipalities paid the accounts of their indigent residents, and the provincial government paid for indigent patients from non-organized territories. This covered only the bare essentials of hospital treatment; there was nothing paid toward the cost of any medical services rendered. The remainder came from a grant from the Home Missions of the United Church, which amounted to about 18 percent of the total. To reduce expenses, the hospital planted a garden and orchard, kept chickens and cows, canned its own vegetables, and put up preserves. Waldon used his spare time in the evenings to make all the basinets for the maternity ward, and nurses lent a hand with a myriad of chores, including painting and decorating.

The financial fortunes of the hospital fluctuated with the agricultural success of the district. The annual reports submitted by Waldon to the Home Missions Board in Winnipeg were often equally concerned with agricultural and economic conditions within the colony as they were with the medical achievements of the hospital. In 1938, for example, Waldon reported that "the garden and small fruit orchard did well this year. The kitchen staff canned enough carrots, beans, beets, and corn to see us pretty well on into the spring, and they preserved a good number of quarts of rhubarb, crab apples, plums, and hybrid cherries."[30]

A wet year that wiped out the hospital's garden and affected its orchard yield, as occurred in 1945 and 1946, was a real setback, putting increased costs for purchase of supplies on the limited resources of the institution, whereas

high cream prices meant that more patients were better placed to contribute to the costs of their treatments. Economic progress was often painfully slow within the colony, but the community gradually became more prosperous, as was reflected by the growth in patients' contributions from 32 percent of the costs of their treatments in 1932, to 47.5 percent in 1935, 51 percent in 1941, 66 percent in 1943, and 73 percent in 1944.[31]

By the mid-1930s, the hospital was well supported by the community; Orthodox Gardenton and Ukrainian Catholic Stuartburn took turns stocking the hospital's icehouse each year. The Vita Women's Institute established a Women's Auxiliary to assist the hospital. It raised funds through "box socials" and donated canned goods, feathers (for bedding), and produce. Equally importantly, its members assumed the maintenance of all the hospital's linens. Ukrainian community leaders, Orthodox and Catholic alike, unreservedly endorsed the hospital and spoke in favour of providing financial assistance. The community had clearly lost its fear of the hospital when the staff on three occasions had to turn away one woman who wished to have an operation—any operation—because it was the thing to do. Her husband begged Waldon, "It's near Christmas—you give her operation for present!"[32]

As medical workloads expanded, the evangelical aspects of the Vita mission declined, assumed a low-key secondary role, and eventually faded out, so the community ceased to perceive the mission aspect of the venture as a threat to the Ukrainian churches. Whereas in the mid-1930s attendance at the Sunday school and Sunday evening services had been reported as around seventy and thirty respectively, by 1944 the Sunday school had collapsed, and Sunday evening services were held only sporadically, attended mainly by Protestant Anglo-Canadian community members, most of whom were connected to the hospital. Politely declining to be drawn away from their national churches, the community now enthusiastically embraced the secular aspect of mission work.

During the 1930s, the hospital continued its promotion of preventative medicine in the most inaccessible areas of the colony. Schools were visited, and children were given medical examinations and inoculated. In cooperation with the provincial sanatorium in Ninette, mobile TB-screening clinics were conducted throughout the district. In 1931 alone, over 145 potential TB cases were examined and treated. These programs operated until personnel shortages in the war years forced the hospital to reluctantly curtail its outreach work. Pre- and post-natal clinics were also offered in an attempt to

reduce infant mortality, and Waldon noted approvingly that infant care had improved considerably thanks to better education and the outreach activities of the hospital.[33]

Maintaining staff was always a problem. An anglophone graduate nurse working in Vita General Hospital received pay that was at least 20 percent lower than that of a nurse in a similar situation in Winnipeg. In addition, she had to endure long hours, social isolation, cramped living quarters, and very little privacy.[34] The only real break they got from the heavy routine of long shifts on the ward was when they accompanied Waldon on one of his visits to patients in the more remote parts of the colony. Unfortunately, the absence of one nurse meant that others had to work longer hours to cover her shift. This was done willingly as all appreciated the opportunity to travel outside Vita for a day.

Until an extension was built onto the hospital in 1940, conditions for the staff were, to say the least, extremely cramped. Waldon complained that the operating room had to double as a delivery room and that soundproofing was so inadequate that the noise from the operating room carried throughout the building. More disturbing was the lack of a morgue, so bodies of deceased patients had to remain in the ward until called for, sometimes twenty-four hours after death. Staff accommodation was also very cramped. The cook and maid shared a tiny room that was seven by eight feet. All the nurses slept in one small room, and their bathroom was at the far end of the building, with the only access past the outpatient waiting room. There was no place for off-duty nurses to relax; they were obliged to tiptoe about the bedroom where their colleagues on other shifts were trying to sleep.[35] These problems were addressed only in 1940 when the Home Missions Board funded the building of a major addition. Another nine beds were added, wards were made smaller, living quarters were expanded, and storage space increased. Once again the staff helped to keep costs in check by providing over 700 hours of painting and decorating in their free time.[36]

For the hospital, the war years brought mixed blessings. Economically, things looked better, but there were new challenges in the provision of health care. Prices for agricultural products improved dramatically; stock prices rose to record levels, and the price for cream, a staple of the district, remained high, bringing unprecedented prosperity. Demand for labour in the industrial heartland of eastern Canada combined with the recruiting efforts of the Armed Forces to drain the district of young people. The hospital lost its

boiler engineer to the army; his replacement stayed only for a few months, so Waldon had to add those duties to his medical obligations. During this time, the hospital remained understaffed, and Waldon was unable to maintain his vigorous program of school inoculation visits. Fortunately, some former assistant doctors from the Vita hospital, now serving in the Armed Forces, occasionally volunteered to spend their leaves working in the hospital, affording Waldon a rare opportunity to take a brief vacation. Medical students from the University of Manitoba also volunteered to help out during the summer vacation period.

The Vita hospital continued to be operated by the United Church until 1947, when it was taken over by the Manitoba Health Authority and became a provincial responsibility.

EDUCATION
Charting Paths beyond the Farm

The Ukrainian immigrant community was torn between yearning for change and longing for the familiar. Agriculture had offered them an escape from Europe and promised a future in Canada unfettered by the constraints of old world society. Many were content with farm life, recognizing that, although economic progress on the frontier was slow, with land of their own they were better placed than many of their fellows who had remained in the old country. Certainly, in Canada, they enjoyed a degree of economic security that they had not known in Europe. Others, usually the younger, better educated, and Canadian-born, wanted more; they sought an escape from the backbreaking labour of clearing and breaking land, the monotony of farming, and the rigidity of entrenched patterns of behaviour carried to Canada from Ukraine. For them, education was the key to opportunities beyond the farm.

Education in the Old Country

It is difficult to make an accurate assessment of the educational levels of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, but a brief review of the state of education in Galicia and Bukovyna in the first decade of the twentieth century gives some insight into the likely educational background of the Ukrainians who settled in Stuartburn colony. In Galicia by 1910, there were 2,457 Ukrainian elementary schools, most of which were one- or two-room schools offering instruction at a grade one or two level. Five years earlier 40 percent of all Ukrainian children ages seven to thirteen were listed as not attending school. The proportion of Ukrainians who went on to higher education was abysmal. In Bukovyna, things were much the same; some 40 percent of Ukrainian schools had only one grade level. About 80 percent of Ukrainians in Galicia were illiterate, but because the literate tended to be concentrated in the larger towns the percentage was always higher in the rural areas.[1]

It is not clear exactly how many Ukrainian immigrants entering Canada were literate. In 1897, the overall illiteracy rate for immigrants from Galicia to the United States was claimed to be 34.55 per cent,[2] but it was reported that 80 percent of all Ukrainians (most of whom came from Galicia) entering Canada in the same year were illiterate.[3] Judging from signatures on applications for homestead entry made by Ukrainian settlers in Stuartburn, the literacy rate among male immigrants was at least 50 percent, somewhat higher than the level in the homeland, though some who signed their own names, and thus were taken to be literate, might not have been able to read a newspaper.

Generally speaking, more men than women were literate, and education levels were highest among the youth who had benefited from educational reforms in Galicia and Bukovyna in the late 1880s. On the settlement frontier, enthusiasm for education varied greatly among families; some saw little value in it, whereas others recognized its intrinsic benefits and saw it as a vehicle for advancement. The latter, including the grassroots intelligentsia and many illiterate adults who had been denied educational opportunities in the old country, were keen participants in the enlightenment movements that promoted education and interest in Ukrainian culture, politics, and national aspirations, seeking also to raise the level of Ukrainian community life in Canada. When Iwan Mihaychuk, an illiterate settler from Arbakka, Manitoba, originally from Bridok, Bukovyna, spoke at the first Ukrainian Enlightenment Congress held in Winnipeg in December 1923, he told participants that education was the greatest gift that parents could give to their children.[4]

Education and Assimilation

Within Anglo-Canadian society, the question of the education of immigrants was of pressing national concern. The anglophone Canadian establishment saw education of the foreign-born to be a crucial element in forging a new society in the west, and it assumed that this new society would replicate that of Ontario. Thus, it demanded that all foreign-born—that is, all who were not anglophones—assimilate as quickly as possible. Through education, acculturation could be promoted and assimilation of all non-British ethnic groups assured. Education was the conduit through which British imperial values could be inculcated, knowledge of English imparted, and ties to non-British European homelands eroded. Protestant beliefs could be introduced to a population that had a strong commitment to the Catholic or Orthodox Church

and were thus often viewed as heathens in dire need of salvation. In short, education was central to the national discourse on the future of the nation. That the process of assimilation would build loyal Canadians of the children of immigrants went unchallenged even by the Ukrainian community.

Those born overseas presented a problem because so many of them were illiterate. This was not necessarily a bad thing, thought the *Winnipeg Telegram,* for if the first generation of foreign immigrants was poorly educated it made them all the more "plastic, more easily moulded and assimilated."[5]

Language and religion were inextricably intertwined in the minds of many anglophone Canadians. In imperial circles, the spread of English was seen as an essential imperial device. It carried a corollary: English was linked to the worldwide spread of Christianity. Essentially, the imperial equation was quite simple, a formula for the inevitable betterment of the world: the more English spoken throughout the world, the more God-fearing its peoples would become. Protestant clerics added a further corollary that ran as a subtext in the colonization of western Canada: if English outstripped the linguistic influences of the Roman Catholic Church, its reach might then help to bring the two churches back into some kind of Anglican-dominated ecumenical harmony.[6]

Organizing Education on the Frontier

Although education and the advancement of English were clearly matters of national and even imperial concern, they fell broadly under the more limited jurisdiction of the provincial government insofar as curriculum, teacher certification, and provision of schools were concerned. The province determined the broad strategy of education policy, curriculum, and school design, but implementation of these policies was left to a surprising degree in the hands of local frontier communities. Local initiatives determined when and where new schools were established, which teachers were hired, how much they were paid, and which qualifications were acceptable, although it was the provincial Department of Education that oversaw the process.

The provincial government supported schools through a grant of sixty-five cents per teaching day. School districts, which in newly settled areas meant a single school, were empowered to issue debentures and to raise income from the imposition of school taxes on properties within their boundaries. As a general rule, school districts could be established where ten children of school age lived more than three miles from the nearest school. School district boundaries fluctuated as sections, even quarter sections, were detached from,

or added to, school districts in attempts to accommodate the creation of new districts as lands were occupied or abandoned.[7]

School trustees were elected for three-year terms and became responsible for setting the education levy and hiring and firing teachers. Since school trustees were elected from and by local people, school boards tended to be dominated by the longer-established and hence wealthier settlers, store-keepers, and postmasters. When Ukrainian immigrants settled adjacent to northern European or English-speaking peoples, schools tended to be controlled by non-Ukrainians even if Ukrainian children constituted the majority of the pupils. Only when the Ukrainian community had stabilized and produced its own cadre of civic leaders did it begin to have a voice in educational governance.[8] This form of participation was delayed because the Ukrainian community was divided on a number of issues, notably over the question of religion. Petty political manoeuvring in the local administration of schools impeded progress for many years. In 1911, the school inspector responsible for the Stuartburn area reported that "the chief difficulties with rural school boards are the local jealousies often producing strife and ill-will, the local interests with small axes to grind, the suggestions caused by the desire to lower taxes a dollar or two and social gossip destroying school unity."[9]

Schools were one element of life in which rural Ukrainian immigrant communities had some control over their own destinies. Whereas the settlements bore names such as Gardenton, Caliento, Vita, Sundown, and Stuartburn, usually bestowed by anglophone and other non-Ukrainian railway employees, until the outbreak of war in 1914 schools were named by local people after their homeland provinces, villages, and national heroes: Bukovina, Koroluwka, Kupczanko, Lukowce, Czerwona, Zelota, Szewczenko, Franko, Mazeppa, and so forth. After the outbreak of war with the central powers and the rise of British imperial sentiments within the host community, school naming in Ukrainian districts took a different direction. Some schools in the Stuartburn colony were renamed: Bukovina became Lord Roberts, Koroluwka became Purple Bank, and Svoboda was renamed Beckett. Newly founded schools commemorated British places or the sites of major military engagements between British forces and the central powers: Dover, Devon, Ypres, and Somme.

In the Stuartburn colony's newly settled districts, it took between four and six years before settlers were able to contemplate establishing schools; thus, school building always lagged behind the movement of the settlement

frontier. Settlers in newly occupied areas were preoccupied with clearing and breaking land, building homes, and generally securing their economic futures. What little capital they had accumulated was earmarked for farm improvements or essential purchases. They were in no position to contemplate the imposition of taxes to support payment of a teacher's salary, nor could their school districts obtain loans for school construction because few of the settlers had patented their homesteads and thus could not offer them as security against debenture issues.[10]

The problems faced by settlers in the Stuartburn area regarding the formation of school districts were common to most rural areas in Manitoba at the time. Throughout the province, poor roads limited school attendance, demand for farm labour reduced student attendance in the spring and fall, and trained and experienced teachers were hard to find.

The Economics of Frontier Education

Poor salaries in rural districts made it difficult to retain teachers for more than one or two years. It was not unusual for a school to have three teachers within one year or be closed for a term because the trustees were unable to obtain a teacher willing to work in an isolated area for non-competitive remuneration.

Men could earn higher salaries in occupations other than teaching, so in the first decade of the new century three-quarters of all teachers in Manitoba were female, and barely 13 percent of new entries into the profession were male, causing concerns about "the complete feminization" of rural schools.[11] Occupations and concepts of masculinity evolved within Manitoba communities as the provincial economy evolved from one that was purely agricultural to one in which business assumed an important role. Royden Loewen identified a "new masculinity" that emerged within Mennonite communities adjacent to Stuartburn. The old masculinity of farming was usurped by commercially aggressive behaviour; indeed, farming became associated with the past, commerce with a new and exciting future as "the old agrarian ideal of hard work and the new urban fixation of power were combined to construct a new notion of true manhood."[12] Loewen argued, "if the businessman had a nemesis it was not the honest wage laborer but the male schoolteacher."[13] To many Mennonite businessmen, male schoolteachers lacked a full measure of respectable masculinity. Partly, this was due to what was seen as a virtual parity in wages paid to married male teachers and unmarried female teachers. Within this ethos, teachers' college was less manly

than university. The peasant background of the Mennonites showed in their suspicion of learning and their respect for success attained in outside society through business. Traits that in the earlier farm-based economy were suspect became venerated as attitudes shifted.

Somewhat paradoxically, in Stuartburn, of the many problems faced by the newly formed school districts, the feminization of education was not one of them. Whereas many young women would accept a position in a longer-settled French- or English-speaking rural district, few were prepared to endure frontier conditions and live in isolation among a people whose language and culture were utterly foreign. Some did, although it was a daunting prospect for them. Securing accommodation for teachers was a problem as few schools had teacherages (furnished accommodation for teachers). Boarding with a Ukrainian settler's family in primitive and crowded conditions was not an appealing option for any anglophone, especially for a young, middle-class, Canadian-born woman.

It was a truly daunting experience for a young woman not of Ukrainian background to venture into a "foreign settlement" to teach. One, who taught in a Ukrainian community north of Stuartburn, was greeted by a community member who told her in no uncertain terms that the people did not want a female teacher who could not speak Ukrainian: "Woman teacher no good here; all these people bad like beasts. Only man who can fight can stay here. These children wild like wolves, learn nothing unless you beat every day with big stick. How you going to get letters? How you going to get things from store? You no stop here, these people eat you up."[14]

Provision of accommodation was crucial if teachers were to be attracted to teaching jobs in frontier districts. Manitoba's Department of Education built teachers' residences (teacherages); by 1919, over seventy-five such residences had been built in Manitoba's "foreign districts," including several in the Stuartburn colony. They often became centres of community life, extending the influence of the school beyond the actual teaching of the colony's children.[15]

In a district such as Stuartburn, where most settlers were poor, the salaries offered to teachers were relatively low. In 1901, the average annual salary for rural schoolteachers in Manitoba was $435.15, but it was considerably less in the Stuartburn district.[16] At that time, the best carpenters in Winnipeg could command at least thirty cents an hour and usually more than that, for an annual salary in the range of $700.[17] By 1912, schools in the district were

advertising for bilingual Ukrainian-English teachers, offering salaries of $50 a month and use of two-room teacherages as an added inducement.[18] By 1915, salaries had improved somewhat, with the highest salary paid in rural Manitoba reaching $1,300 and the lowest-paid teachers still receiving only $50 a month. In the same year in Manitoba, experienced farm labourers commanded between $30 and $35 a month, and even inexperienced hands could secure between $10 and $15 a month in addition to free board and lodging.[19] A "first class [male] book-keeper" earned about $125 a month; women in the same occupation earned from $80 to $100 a month.[20] Despite relatively low salaries for teachers, for many years virtually all the twenty schools within the Stuartburn district continued to have male teachers, who were mostly Ukrainian.[21]

By most accounts, Ukrainian settlers in Stuartburn were mostly enthusiastic about education, though this enthusiasm did not necessarily translate into high levels of attendance or willingness to commit to higher taxes to enable the schools to attract better-trained teachers. Poor attendance rates were endemic to rural school divisions throughout the province, and they were no different in Stuartburn. Manitoba's total school population in 1901 was 51,888, but the average attendance was only 27,000, and 24,432 pupils attended fewer than 100 days in the year, largely because "in a new province…farm help is so expensive and difficult to secure.…In many cases it is necessary to keep the older pupils at home a considerable portion of the year."[22] In 1910, Szewczenko School pupils' attendance ranged from one or two days to an almost perfect 133 days a term. Even in the 1920s, attendance declined in April and May and was low in September and October as children stayed, or were kept, at home to help with farm work. Often, in schools with a population of thirty or so pupils, only three to six would be present on any given day.[23]

Various strategies were suggested to induce anglophones to teach in areas such as Stuartburn. It was suggested, for example, that young women be sent in pairs into "foreign districts," one of whom would teach school and the other keep house and assist in community work.[24] Since teacherages were not always available and social isolation was inevitable, relatively few anglophone women ventured into Stuartburn or other Ukrainian districts to teach, and the low wages offered to teachers by the Ukrainian divisions attracted only the more dedicated male anglophone teachers, many of whom were motivated by patriotic or religious zeal rather than financial reward.

Attitudes toward education and concepts of masculinity among Ukrainians were very different from those of many other settler societies in Manitoba. In Stuartburn, as in other Ukrainian settlements in Canada, a high proportion of the adult population was illiterate, and many others were poorly educated, so education and facility with English imparted a certain prestige. In the community's early days, the ranks of the teaching profession were filled with the grassroots intelligentsia. These men were all sons of pioneers, farm-raised and no strangers to the hard work of agrarian life. Business held prestige, but it was alien territory; in the old country, it was the realm of Jews, and it remained so for many years among Eastern European ethnic communities in Canada. In the minds of their fellow Ukrainians, a non-Jew who was successful in business was engaged in a sharp practice. The Stuartburn colony also lacked proximity to Winnipeg's market, and there was no local market of any consequence, so the modest business success possible in a small community was not inevitably accompanied by accumulation of great reserves of capital. Business afforded only restricted pathways to prosperity for the Ukrainian who entered the field. On the other hand, academic achievement was venerated as an entry into the professions, of which teaching was the most accessible; as a measure of social equality, professional status carried more prestige than monetary success.

The role of religion in shaping Ukrainian settler attitudes toward occupations and concepts of masculinity is not always clear. Likely, the difference in spiritual leadership might explain some of the attitudinal differences between Mennonites and Ukrainians. In Mennonite society, there is no professional clergy. Spiritual leadership lies in the hands of the laity; church leaders are drawn from within the community. As ordinary people who preach and conduct services, they have a very different status from that held by priests in Ukrainian settler society. Ukrainian priests, although a part of settler community life, in many ways remained intellectual outsiders. As such, they enjoyed respect for their literacy and learning. This respect for intellectualism, common among the peasantry in the old country, continued in Canada and translated into a respect for teaching as a profession. Furthermore, the easiest path to professional status for a member of the Ukrainian community was through teaching. Teaching was conflated with leadership, expressed in cultural rather than economic or political terms. As a teacher, one could be a leader while breaking free from manual labour. It was a way to further one's education and use newly acquired qualifications as a springboard to

further achievements in other professions such as law or medicine. In the post-pioneer era, Ukrainian schoolteachers not only determined how the community was imagined but also represented the community's desire for acceptance by anglophone society, presenting its face to the "other" and as such commanding admiration and respect. Young Ukrainian men thus saw teaching as an opportunity to obtain an education and a chance to move away from farming and other manual labour. They made up the teacher shortfall for two decades or more.

Language and Loyalty Issues

The language of instruction had long been an issue in Manitoba schools. Under amendments to the provincial *Education Act* passed in 1897, where ten students in a rural school spoke a language other than English, instruction could be in English and the other language using a bilingual system.[25] Bilingual schools were established across the province in non-English-speaking areas against the wishes of a substantial portion of the population. The *Winnipeg Free Press* protested against the practice, noting that English was the "language of the West" and was not being taught properly in bilingual schools, and in some schools English was barely spoken at all.[26] In the schools established in the Stuartburn district, where the majority or all of the students were Ukrainian, it was desirable to hire teachers who could function in both English and Ukrainian.

By and large, Ukrainian parents wanted their children to become fluent in English, but they were also concerned that they not lose the ability to speak, read, and write Ukrainian. For their part, Manitoba's education officials worried that Ukrainian was becoming too entrenched and standing in the way of the integration of the Ukrainian population into Canadian life. They noted that students in most bilingual schools were two to five years below their expected grade levels, though this was generally a result of sporadic attendance or delayed entry into the education system. Promotion of English was hindered by the homogeneous nature of the frontier community. In 1915, Swoboda School had fifty-three students, all Ukrainian. At Szewczenko School, "apart from a few Poles," all sixty-eight students were Ukrainian, and at Plankey Plain School, where there were twenty-one students, one was English, and the rest were Ukrainian. In Lukowce School, the teacher and all forty-seven pupils were from Bukovyna. Ukrainian was mostly used in teaching there, so it was hardly surprising that the pupils' knowledge of English

was judged to be "very poor."[27] The situation was similar in Bukowina School, where all sixty-three pupils were from Bukovyna and Ukrainian was used extensively in general teaching. In the schools throughout the colony, Ukrainian became the lingua franca of the schoolyard, even when a few English-speaking, Icelandic, or German pupils were among the student body. In River Ranch School, where there were nine Ukrainian- and four English-speaking children, Ukrainian was used extensively in teaching the lower grades. Inspectors complained that Ukrainian students were embarrassed to speak English in front of a native speaker, and it was difficult to get them to say anything in English, although they could generally comprehend the questions posed to them.[28]

Training Ukrainian Teachers

Aware that few Ukrainians had the necessary qualifications to secure a teaching certificate, the province established a Normal School in Winnipeg in 1905 to offer upgrading opportunities to foreign-born students who wished to teach in the bilingual schools in frontier districts. In 1907, the Ukrainian section of this school was moved to Brandon, where it became known as the Ruthenian Training School.[29] In Brandon, Ukrainian students could live in residence and take courses to obtain their higher grade levels and qualify for a class three teaching certificate. Fledgling Ukrainian school divisions eagerly sought its graduates.

The Ruthenian Training School gave young Ukrainians a rare opportunity to enter the professional class. Its students later came to form the intellectual elite of the Ukrainian community in western Canada.[30] Many of those who later became the first Ukrainian entrepreneurs and community leaders of the Stuartburn colony were drawn from its ranks. Its graduates formed the first generation of the Ukrainian professional class, who in turn mentored a new generation of Ukrainian professionals and academics.[31]

It was costly for a young Ukrainian to attend the Ruthenian Training School. Students were charged $200 for each ten-month term (which included board and lodging, tuition, laundry, and YMCA privileges), a considerable expense at the time. However, students could pay for their board and training in instalments after graduation, for few had the means to pay cash before they secured teaching positions.[32] By 1913, the school had graduated ninety-two Ukrainian teachers, including a number of young men from the Stuartburn colony: J. Kulaczkowsky, Nikola Kosowan, Wasyl Mihaychuk, Michael Stechishen, Peter Humeniuk, and Manoly Mihaychuk[33] Some students owed

considerable amounts, up to $558 for their tuition and board.[34] Significantly, almost all of the early graduates moved from teaching into business or other professions after a few years in frontier education: after teaching for some years in the Stuartburn area, Wasyl Mihaychuk became a successful businessman and community leader in Vita, while his brother Manoly, who also taught for a while in Stuartburn, later went on to the University of Toronto and became the first Ukrainian Canadian to graduate from dentistry. Isidore Goretsky was elected to the Alberta legislature as a United Farmers representative; K.C. Prodan became an agricultural representative in the Stuartburn area; J. Kulaczkowsky later became a teacher, businessman, and local politician in Vita; and, after pursuing a teaching career in Manitoba, Peter Humeniuk ventured into business in Saskatchewan.

J.T. Cressey, principal of the Ruthenian Training School, saw the school as having a dual role. On the one hand, it was to train teachers for service in the bilingual Ruthenian-English schools, covering all the subjects embraced in the class three certificate. On the other hand, the school was to be a vehicle for the promotion of British imperial values:

> We wish to use these subjects…to teach them the lessons of truthfulness, honesty, etc., so that they will become men of integrity. The great call of this great Western country is for men, men of good sound characters. We wish to instil into their minds the true Canadian sentiment, so that they will love their adopted country, love its laws and love our national flag, so that when they see it flying each day over the little Red School house, they can show them that it is not meaningless…but that it is the emblem of our liberties, of freedom of conscience, and that it stands for civil and religious liberty.

Cressey also noted that the school's principal aim was "character building" because its students would have to educate not only the children in their charge but also their parents, "most of whom are illiterate." He stressed that it was a teacher's responsibility to instil a taste for the beautiful, an appreciation of nature, and, through nature, a love for "the Creator of all Nature, the Lord God Himself." If this was not done, he wrote, the Ukrainians would "grow up in ignorance" and "become a menace to the state." He ended on a dark note: "The State must educate these people for its own self-preservation."[35]

Despite the best efforts of the Ruthenian Training School, many teachers engaged by Ukrainian districts were poorly trained. Some taught on letters of

permission, without any formal teacher training, but most had class two or three certificates. Reading, writing, spelling, mental and written arithmetic, and composition were the focus in most schools and taught in a reasonably competent fashion. Geography, history, grammar, and literature were generally poorly taught because teachers lacked adequate knowledge of those subjects.[36]

English-Ukrainian bilingual teachers had learned English as a second language, and many were less than fluent. The inspector's report noted that Michael Kadynsuk, the teacher at Kupczanko School in 1915, was "very weak" and that his English grammar was poor. Peter Humeniuk at River Ranch School had a "very fair knowledge of English," though his grammar was shaky. On the other hand, Wasyl Mihaychuk was described as speaking "practically without a foreign accent," and H.G. Spehat at Czerwona School spoke "excellent English."[37]

The teachers themselves were hampered by a lack of equipment. Even newly built schools were sometimes furnished with old-fashioned, home-made seats ten to twelve feet long and lacked a proper blackboard, having to make do with a portion of the wall painted black. Slowo (Slovo) School in Caliento, established in 1909, served forty-six children. It was furnished with twenty-six benches, two blackboards, and two pictures (of Shevchenko and Sichyns'kyj). Outside was a garden planted with flowers. The teacher, Antin Malyniuk, encouraged the students to read the Ukrainian Canadian newspapers by regularly reading the letters sent to the *Ukrainian Voice*'s "Kiddie Corner" column.[38] School libraries of any kind were rare, but all schools were well supplied with textbooks provided by the provincial Department of Education. In the bilingual schools of the Stuartburn colony, teachers used Ukrainian-language textbooks "authorized by the Department of Education in Galicia." Given that most pupils knew little English, the school inspector recommended adoption of a Ukrainian-language text and speculated that a Ukrainian-English dictionary approved by the Department of Education would accelerate mastery of English by Ukrainian children.[39]

The Logistics of Frontier Education

The annual reports of the school inspector responsible for the South Eastern Inspectoral Division No. 14, which encompassed the Ukrainian colony, consistently noted that the Ukrainian children were bright and well-behaved and picked up a working knowledge of English in a remarkably short time.

Parents, too, were commended for their commitment to their children's education and their own regular attendance at school meetings. On the other hand, the sorry state of the roads, the complete absence of passable trails, and the need for labour during harvest were consistently cited as major barriers to regular attendance. These problems rolled eastward with the expansion of settlement and the occupation of new land. Issues that drew comment in the westernmost parts of the colony in the early years of the century became the issues of the day in the more easterly, newly settled areas some fifteen or so years later. In 1913, for example, the school inspector for the area was complaining about the "almost entire lack of roads in the newer [easternmost] districts," impeding school attendance.[40] Even in the longer-settled districts, attendance left much to be desired: Arbakka School, for example, with a complement of thirty-one students, in 1910 mustered an average attendance of only 34 percent. Within the Stuartburn colony as a whole, attendance ranged from a low of 26 percent for the thirty-five students at Swoboda School to a high of 62 percent for the nine students at River Ranch School.[41]

Some issues of attendance seemed to defy easy solutions. One school generally served about half a township, an area of eighteen square miles. Some children had to walk three or four miles through swamp and bush to attend school. At certain times of the year, it was dangerous or extremely difficult for a small child to cover such a distance, and some parents saw little benefit in having their children attend school. A homestead inspector checking on an application for patent in 1923 noted that the applicant was single but lived with a married woman with eight "illegitimate" children, none of whom was attending school or had any knowledge of English.[42] In many instances, parents in the Vita area could not afford to buy shoes for their children, and without shoes they could not attend school.[43] The semi-subsistence economy of the region also created heavy demands for labour on the farm at certain times of the year, causing children to be kept at home to help out. Similarly, most students left school after achieving an elementary education as they and their parents saw little point in continuing if they saw their future in farming. Furthermore, the mixed farming practised in the Stuartburn colony was labour-intensive. As they aged and became unable to handle heavy work, parents expected their teenage and adult children to assume the lion's share of manual labour. Eventually, they thought, they would spend their declining years on their farms, supported by their children and grandchildren.
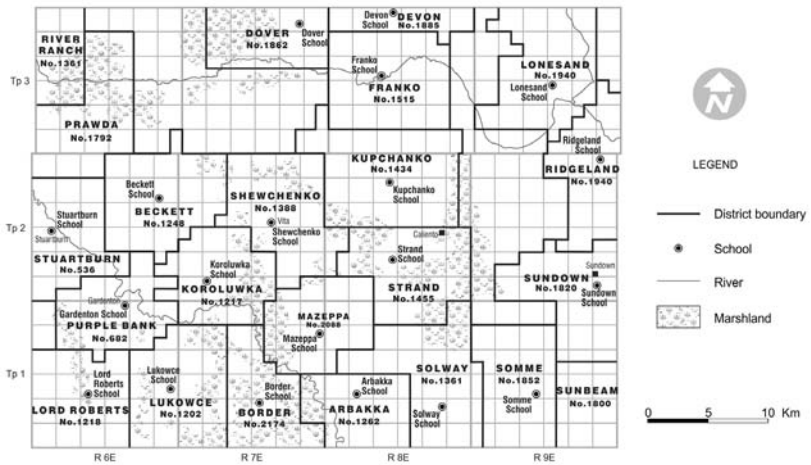
Figure 19. Schools and school district boundaries in the Stuartburn district.

There were further challenges to achieving high attendance rates. The schools operated on the Gregorian calendar, but in Orthodox districts the Julian calendar determined holy days. In Szewczenko School, for example, the register often noted that although the teacher was present no children attended as it was a "Ruthenian holiday."[44] A more serious problem was keeping the schools open when competent teachers were so hard to recruit and retain. From 1918 to 1922, Willow Plain, Kupchanko, Kolorolivka, River Ranch, Bukovyna, Franko, Sarto, Pravda, Szewczenko, Baskerville, Arbakka, and Tolstoi Schools all advertised teaching positions in the Ukrainian Canadian press, in many cases at several different times. Certain schools, such as Franko School at Zhoda, for example, seemed to be perpetually advertising for a bilingual teacher. The school was closed during the spring of 1920 when the incumbent teacher resigned and left the district. The school board advertised for a teacher, offering an attractive salary of "no less than one hundred dollars a month" and stressed that the school was located close to the post office, only half a mile from the store in Zhoda, and just seven miles from the railway. Although it was able to staff the school for the following year, it continued to have difficulties with teacher turnover.[45] The school closed again in the spring of 1922 when it was unable to recruit a teacher for the spring term.[46] Although its situation was not atypical, the school faced particular difficulties attracting teachers because of its peripheral position within the colony, its remoteness, and its inaccessibility. The area was described by one resident as a cultural

"wasteland" without enlightenment, unity, or solidarity, scarcely an attractive location for any ambitious teacher.[47]

The one-room multi-grade rural school was a pragmatic solution to the problems of a dispersed population, poor communications, and inadequate resources. Provincial educational authorities were well aware of the inherent shortcomings of a system based on numerous small, isolated schools but saw no alternative until frontier conditions had passed. The advantages of school consolidation were vigorously promoted and began to be implemented in the longer settled and more prosperous districts west of the Ukrainian-settled area, such as Greenridge, adjacent to Dominion City, at a time when districts east of Vita were struggling to establish their first schools. School consolidation, it was argued, would address many of the problems that beset the small schools in frontier districts. It was depicted as a panacea for educational and rural ills: it was claimed that consolidation permitted specialization, fostered competition, and provided better opportunities for physical education and play; it kept children on the farm, enhanced rural social life, encouraged provision of better school buildings, led to better attendance, attracted better teachers, and resulted in higher-quality school work.[48]

Within the colony, there was little opportunity for consolidation when the area lay locked in frontier conditions for decades, although a few schools, such as Szewczenko in Vita, achieved two-room and two-teacher status by 1920. True consolidation did not occur until 1967, when the roads within the area had improved sufficiently to permit year-round busing of students.

Building Community Life

Great expectations were placed on the shoulders of pioneer teachers in the Stuartburn colony. Not only were they to educate their pupils in a variety of subjects, but also they were to teach them English, inculcate the values of the host society, promote the value of education to those parents who resented paying taxes to support the school, take on the role of cultural guardian by encouraging retention of Ukrainian and Ukrainian culture, and act as catalysts for the generation of community life. Most teachers put long hours into preparing the children to present concerts and plays. In the absence of alternative diversions, they were eagerly attended by all in the local area, and school productions were of sufficient note to merit mention in the Ukrainian Canadian press.

Community members were generally very appreciative of the efforts of the teachers. Following a concert at Arbakka School in March 1912, which reportedly left tears in the eyes of many proud parents, a petition was circulated to have the teacher, a "permitnyk" teaching on a permit without accreditation, sent to the Ruthenian Training School in Brandon.[49] The Ukrainian community certainly looked to its Ukrainian teachers for leadership in the struggle to keep alive knowledge of Ukrainian history and culture, and, after cancellation of the bilingual system in 1916, it expected them to volunteer their time after hours to teach reading and writing in Ukrainian.[50]

After twenty or so years of settlement, knowledge of Ukrainian language began to erode. Even those who spoke it fluently at home often learned to read and write only in English, and the Cyrillic alphabet remained foreign to them. Speaking English became fashionable among young people, a trait that Jacob Maydanek lampooned in his cartoon strips "Nasha Meri" (Our Mary) and "Vuiko Stif" (Uncle Steve) in the Ukrainian Canadian press. After the early 1920s, the Ukrainian spoken in the colony became peppered with anglicized words, especially for actions and objects not part of the peasants' lexicon in Ukraine. The nationalists and intelligentsia, who held that "bez movy, nema narodu" (without our language, we are not a people), saw the preservation of Ukrainian identity in Canada as dependent on linguistic survival. Most schools in the colony therefore preferred to hire bilingual Ukrainian teachers so that they could teach their pupils to read and write in Ukrainian as well as English.

Ethnic identity was an emotional issue for Ukrainians. After the failure to establish an independent Ukrainian state at the end of the Great War, Galicia fell under Polish administration, Bukovyna came under Romanian control, and eastern Ukrainian lands fell under Soviet control. None of these administrations had any desire to foster Ukrainian identity in any way and went out of their way to impose alien languages (Polish, Romanian, and Russian) on their Ukrainian subjects. Ukrainians in Canada saw their communities as bearers of the national flame, one part of the diaspora in which the authorities, if not much inclined to advocate language retention, were not actively antagonistic to local efforts to promote it.

Despite the respect that they generally enjoyed, all did not always go smoothly for teachers in the country schools. According to a Vita correspondent to the *Ukrainskyi holos,* the teacher from a nearby school visited Gardenton to do some shopping when he was confronted by one of

the settlement's "so called heroes," who moved toward him with the intention of beating him up. Fortunately for the teacher, a group of local farmers interceded; when they in turn were abused, they purchased sixteen dozen eggs and some syrup from the store and "painted" the troublemaker before sending him on his way.[51]

Ukrainian teachers in the Stuartburn district, who were mostly from the area and trained at the Ruthenian Training School, took a leading role in the establishment of associations for professional educators. When the Red River Teachers' Association was formed in 1914, Ukrainian teachers were prominent in its organization, though they might have lacked the education of non-Ukrainian teachers who were qualified to teach at higher levels. At its inaugural convention, provincial education officials and teachers, including Ukrainian teachers W. Mihaychuk, W.B. Simook (Smook), and M. Kodriniuk from Stuartburn colony schools presented papers. These "were a surprise to all present, and were of a nature as to composition and thought on par with any papers read at the convention."[52]

Teachers also had to contend with local politics. Some trustees promoted family interests, and the desire to make or save a dollar frequently influenced their decisions. Non-Ukrainian trustees at River Ranch School promoted their relatives as candidates and connived, unsuccessfully, to have the Ukrainian Canadian teacher fired.[53] Michael Ewanchuk, from the Gimli area, accepted a position to teach in Szewczenko School in 1930 but was informed shortly before he was to commence his employment that he would be teaching at the one-room Beckett School, some miles north of Vita. An inexperienced young woman with lesser qualifications had been awarded the position for which Ewanchuk had been hired. Since she was a relative of one of the trustees, and since it was too late to secure an alternative position, Ewanchuk had little choice but to accept the position at Beckett School. He was also pressed to board with the board chairman rather than occupy the Beckett teacherage. He did so for some months before intolerable crowded conditions caused him to move to the teacherage, an action that incensed the trustee, who lost income from Ewanchuk's monthly board fee.[54] The same trustee then waged a vendetta against Ewanchuk, writing to the Department of Education alleging misconduct and discrimination against his children, claims that were proven groundless after investigation by the district school inspector, who concluded that the troublemaking trustee was a vindictive alcoholic. When the school year ended, the trustee attempted to withhold part

of Ewanchuk's salary, claiming that Ewanchuk had not taught the number of days required under his contract. A prolonged exchange of correspondence between the Beckett School Board and the Department of Education finally resulted in a compromise payment by the board when ordered to do so by a clearly exasperated deputy minister, who had more pressing issues to occupy his attention.[55] Despite opposition from the board chairman, the other board members voted to renew Ewanchuk's contract for a second year, but Ewanchuk already had enough of Stuartburn's petty politics, left for a different school, and sent the contract back. Further meddling by the same trustee later resulted in the loss of another Ukrainian teacher.[56]

In other instances, trustees used their position to assert their status within the community by making capricious decisions regarding community use of the school during holidays and in evenings that seemed to be intended only to inconvenience rival community leaders.[57]

Teachers played a crucial role in the enlightenment movement in Ukrainian pioneer districts. In the Stuartburn area, they were involved in the establishment of reading clubs (*chytalni*) and national homes (*narodni domy*). The latter were community halls where the community could come together for concerts, theatrical productions, discussions, dances, and other social events. Reading clubs were the first to appear on the frontier. These *chytalni* were formed from five or six people who clubbed together to subscribe to some of the Ukrainian Canadian newspapers, buy and share books, and meet periodically to discuss what they had read. Meetings were held in members' houses or in the local school. In Sarto, for example, by 1914 there were two reading clubs: *Volia* (Liberty) with four members, and *Postup* (Progress) with five members.[58] Much depended on local initiative; a correspondent from Caliento complained in the *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* that there were no organizations there and that "no one thinks about enlightenment," but in nearby Vita the *Chytal'nia imeny M. Pavlyka* (M. Pavlyk Reading Club) had been established much earlier, in 1907, with meetings held regularly in the school or municipal office.[59]

Founding a national home was difficult. Financial barriers were daunting; although fundraising in an impoverished district such as Stuartburn was never easy, with sufficient cajoling it could be done. Barriers of ignorance and prejudice were more difficult to surmount. That national homes were being built in some long-established communities as late as the 1930s testifies to the disruptive effect of local politics on community development. Some priests

and lay leaders often had their own agendas and opposed national homes, fearing that they would diminish their influence; some saw them as threats to their churches or vehicles for the promulgation of unwelcome political doctrines.[60] Once the hall was built, the battle was by no means over; in fact, the real challenge was to maintain members' enthusiasm and arrange for programs that would attract the community. Plays and concerts were not always well supported, and productions demanded real commitment from the performers, who had to walk up to five miles to attend rehearsals in winter evenings. After the initial flush of enthusiasm had waned, the national home in Vita reportedly stood empty almost every night, while the national home in Arbakka became the centre of a dispute between two factions.[61] It burned before it could be moved to a new location.

Not everyone approved of the way that national homes were used. A correspondent to *Kanadyiskyi farmer* complained that the national home in Vita, built only a few years earlier, opened only for the local businessmen so that they could go inside to talk and joke around and sing "such songs about Hutsul women that honourable people must cover their ears and run out."[62] In Gardenton, "nothing useful [was] done at the Ukrainian National Home except for dancing every week that always end[ed] in a fight," a situation that some credited to the reluctance of the old-timers to let the younger generation become involved in community affairs, thereby losing the energy and enthusiasm of a better-educated generation.[63]

Ukrainian teachers thus became the catalysts for action in the enlightenment movement. They had the education, leadership skills, and time to organize the community. Equally importantly, they were usually well-respected figures. Even though they might have been from other Ukrainian colonies in Manitoba or even from the Stuartburn district, they were often outsiders in their host communities. As such, they were aloof from local issues and perceived as neutral in neighbourhood disputes. There was scarcely an enlightenment project within the colony—whether the establishment of a reading club, the foundation of a national home, or the organization of a cooperative—that was not initiated or driven by a teacher. Mr. Kolodzins'kyj, the teacher at Tolstoi, was a leading light in the organization of the Yednist [Unity] Society, which later championed the building of the national home in Tolstoi.[64] Isidor Goretsky was active in community building, and Wasyl Mihaychuk was a leading proponent of Vita's first cooperative store. The arrival of Vasyl Senyshyn as the teacher at Franko School in Zhoda, for example,

had a startling effect on the community. Energetic and enthusiastic, he orga-nized school productions that brought in people from up to ten miles away. They were so successful that the cast travelled to Vita, where they performed to a full house in the national home there. Shortly afterward, inspired by the community's newfound enthusiasm for cultural activity, a national home was built in Zhoda, though not without the inevitable bickering between rival religious factions.[65]

Changing social attitudes were reflected in the increasing involvement of women in community life. The Taras Shevchenko Reading Club in Rosa was founded in 1912, but no women joined for over a decade. The problem, according to a local correspondent to *Ukrainskyi holos,* was that most local women saw the reading club as something sinful and "would only shake their heads and laugh at the mere mention of taking part in one of the amateur dramatic productions."[66] After a public meeting in 1924 at which twelve women joined, the involvement of women and girls blossomed. Involvement in these kinds of mixed gatherings with young and old was portrayed as a patriotic act beneficial to community life. At about the same time, a branch of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Ol'ha Kobylians'ka was established in Rosa; shortly afterward, another branch was founded in Vita. Members organized concerts, picnics, and social evenings and took "a great interest in the organizational life of the area."[67]

Among adult immigrants, there was always a tie to the homeland, largely through language, relatives, and religion. Reluctant to sever all emotional ties to Europe, Ukrainian immigrants saw the preservation of their language as key to preserving their culture and identity, though at the time few would have expressed it in those terms. In the absence of a nation-state as a home-land, language became a defining element of what was "Ukrainian." Many also wanted to break the dominance of the Church, although somewhat para-doxically, depending on their regional origin and religious allegiance, many regarded either the Greek Catholic Church or the Greek Orthodox Church as the true national Church and the real protector of Ukrainian cultural iden-tity. In contrast, the clergy seemed more intent on advancing the interests of their particular denomination rather than promoting self-awareness among the immigrants and fostering Ukrainian national identity. In this regard, the secular intelligentsia played a critical role because, while most immigrants recognized the benefits of securing a command of English and recognized

that Canada was their new home, they were in no hurry to reject their culture, cast off their identity, and embrace all things British.

Manitoba's Department of Education saw schools as the crucible in which Canadians could be created through the inculcation of imperialist conceptions of loyalty to the British Empire, but the Ukrainian intelligentsia saw them as a vehicle within the imperial framework that they could use to promote the retention of a Ukrainian national spirit while still advocating loyalty to British institutions.

A broader historical process was also under way that had significant implications for the farmers in the Stuartburn colony. As business models increasingly influenced agriculture and governments became convinced that regional prosperity was dependent on the integration of all agriculturalists into the wider agricultural economy, they became impatient with the persistence of inefficient, semi-subsistence farming practices. Throughout North America, governments were anxious to disseminate knowledge of the agricultural sciences to farmers.[68] In Canada, the federal government established a series of agricultural research stations and experimental farms across the Prairies to develop new crop varieties adapted to the soils and climate of the newly settled west. In southern Manitoba, for example, the Dominion Experimental Farm at Morden, some sixty miles west of Stuartburn, conducted research into livestock breeds, horticulture, special crops, ornamentals, and cereals. Professional staff, trained agriculturalists (provincial agricultural representatives or ag reps), were recruited to promote the adoption of more efficient farming methods and to accelerate the rate at which new livestock and crop varieties diffused throughout farming communities.

K.C. Prodan was the first agricultural representative to be stationed in the Stuartburn colony. He was Ukrainian, well educated, a trained teacher, and fluent in both Ukrainian and English.[69] He saw adoption of new crops and farming methods as vital to the economic prosperity of the colony. He wrote about agricultural matters in the Ukrainian-language press and initiated a vigorous program of well-attended lectures and demonstrations presented throughout the colony from Tolstoi to Sirko, becoming an effective conduit for the dissemination of agricultural knowledge among the Ukrainian population. In most years, Prodan spoke formally to audiences numbering in the thousands, although the audience for any one lecture would have been in the region of thirty to sixty people gathered in a national home or local schoolhouse. The foundations of progressive agriculture were inculcated through his

youth programs, in which both boys and girls were induced to take an interest in agricultural matters. Prizes were awarded for the best pig, calf, or set of chickens kept by young people. His reports to his superiors detailed awards presented and achievements of his "young farmers," whose enthusiasm for adopting new "scientific farming methods" undoubtedly rubbed off on their more traditionally minded parents.

Prodan's impact was not confined to agricultural change. His work produced a new outlook, a way of thinking about things that challenged the values and attitudes of the old country that still determined the behaviour of many immigrants. Ideologies promoted by Prodan were not perceived as alien. They came from within, delivered by someone known as a Ukrainian patriot who clearly had the interests of the Ukrainian community at heart.[70]

Education proved to be a double-edged sword for the pioneers of the district. Educated and ambitious children wanted more than life on the farm. Their desire to grasp opportunities to move out of the district and seek employment in Winnipeg and cities elsewhere in North America dashed the hopes of many of the pioneer generation, who toiled to give their children a farm to inherit. Like their parents, the Canadian-born were geographically mobile; unlike their parents, their Canadian education made them socially mobile to a degree that could not have been imagined in the old country.

COLONIZING STUARTBURN
Religion, Culture, and Identity

Most groups seeking land in western Canada between 1870 and 1914 had a clear sense of their particular identity, whether based on religious belief, as with Jews, Mormons, and Doukhobors, or on ethnic or national origin, as with Icelanders, British, and Hungarians. For most of the ethnic groups, and all the nationalities, a recognized homeland served as a guardian of their specific national culture. Furthermore, language and a national church buttressed their sense of identity. This was not the case for the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, who lacked a homeland state to advance their interests and guard their identity. Canadian churches viewed the emerging settlements much as they viewed foreign areas that lacked strong internal administrative institutions: they were fields ripe for proselytizing activity. A colonial ethos pervaded the Protestant churches; their mission was to Christianize (and civilize) the heathen; whether Taoists in China or Orthodox Christians in western Canada meant little to imperialist evangelical enthusiasts convinced of the righteousness of their cause. The Stuartburn colony fell within the sphere of the Methodists' Home Missions Board, while Canton, China, was under the Foreign Missions Board. The distinction was merely geographic.

Ukrainian Identity and Religion at the Turn of the Century

It has often been remarked that the nineteenth century was the era of European nationalism; for the people who spoke Ukrainian, however, a sense of national identity began to emerge only at the close of the century. At one time, Kievan Rus' was one of Europe's richest civilizations, but invasions by the Huns, Tartars, and Turks beginning in the thirteenth century had destroyed the kingdom and led to subjugation of its people and fragmentation of its territory. At the end of the nineteenth century, the greater part of Ukraine—

central and eastern Ukraine—lay under Russian Czarist control, while the westernmost fringe of Ukrainian ethnographic territory constituted the Austrian crown lands of Galicia and Bukovyna and Hungarian-administered TransCarpathia.

In the early 1890s, when Ukrainians first began to migrate from their homeland to new agricultural frontiers in Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and Siberia, most Ukrainian peasants identified with their family, kin group, village, and district rather than with any larger national concept. The nationalistic intelligentsia promoted use of the term "Ukrainian," but the appellation *Malo Rus'* (Little Russian) was more popularly used. Ukrainians in the Austrian territories of Galicia and Bukovyna were Austrian by nationality though ethnically Ukrainian. Within the group, they would distinguish themselves ethnographically as *lemkky, boyky,* or *hutsuly* but would also identify themselves regionally as *halychyny* or *bukovyntsy*—Galicians and Bukovynians. A further geographical term, "Ruthenian," a Latinized variation of *rusin,* was also used to describe all Ukrainians in the Austrian territory of western Ukraine.[1]

Although a sense of national identity was only beginning to emerge among the Ukrainian peasantry in the early 1890s, there was no doubt in the minds of the people about their religious affiliation. In Bukovyna, the Ukrainian population was almost entirely Greek Orthodox. In Galicia, in contrast, with the exception of a small minority of Baptists, the Ukrainian population belonged mostly to the Eastern rite Greek Catholic (or Uniate) Church. It had been established in 1596 with the hope of weaning the Ukrainian peasantry away from Orthodoxy and leading them into the Polish-dominated Roman Catholic Church in Galicia. The Greek Catholic Church acknowledged the Roman pope as its spiritual leader but maintained the Orthodox tradition of a secular married clergy and the Slavonic rite. The transition to Catholicism was arrested, and by the middle of the nineteenth century the Greek Catholic Church had become the national church of Ukrainians in Galicia, defending their national identity and acting as a focus for emerging nationalist feelings among the population.

Early Settlement and Religion in the Stuartburn Colony

The importance of religion to Ukrainian peasant settlers was demonstrated by the rapidity with which they built churches after settlement. Immigrants from Onut, Bukovyna, built a church near Gardenton within three years of

their arrival; settlers from other villages soon built other churches. In western Canada as a whole, there were over twenty churches built by Ukrainians within the first decade of settlement.[2] The difficulty was not in building churches but in securing priests to serve them, for no clergy accompanied Ukrainian immigrants to Canada.

As in all other Ukrainian colonies in Canada, the first settlers of Stuartburn had no Ukrainian clergy to minister to their spiritual needs for several years. In the absence of a priest, a *diak* or cantor occasionally conducted religious services.[3] Itinerant Russian Orthodox missionaries, Roman Catholic priests, and even Protestant ministers conducted christenings, marriages, and funerals sporadically.[4] Settlers who had been unable to christen their children, conduct marriages, or perform burials in a proper fashion eagerly grasped the chance to have any clergyman perform these functions, give communion, and hear confessions, regardless of their religious persuasion. In the absence of clergy, it was a case of any priest is better than none, an attitude that did not sit well with either Greek Catholic or Orthodox priests when they eventually arrived in the colony.

Chain migration, the tendency of immigrants to follow their friends and relatives rather than act independently in settlement, encouraged the formation of more or less contiguous groups from specific villages or districts in Ukraine. Many Ukrainians were reluctant to settle in an area occupied by Ukrainians from the other Ukrainian province because of religious and cultural differences. In consequence, areas in Canada settled by Ukrainians were generally either Galician or Bukovynian, which until the religious "revolution" of 1917–20 meant that areas were either Greek Catholic (Uniate) or Orthodox. To use Turczynski's term, *Konfessions-nationalität*—a religiously based nationalism—prevailed as the root of self-identity among the vast majority of Ukrainian peasants in Europe and among immigrants in western Canada.[5] This created a distinctive religious pattern that, in simple terms, meant that in Canada areas settled by Bukovynians were Orthodox and areas settled by Galicians were Greek Catholic.[6] In the early years of settlement, when people were desperate for spiritual solace, there was an attitude of frontier cooperation in religious matters, including pooling resources to build churches. When religious observance became more formalized, intolerance resurfaced, and prolonged and bitter battles over the ownership of church buildings ensued.[7]

Religious Factionalism within the Pioneer Community

In the old country, the Austrian government maintained the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Their married clergy were reluctant to emigrate without a guarantee of an appropriate income. This situation was compounded by the fact that most Ukrainian immigrants were from Galicia and hence Greek Catholics: that is, Catholics of the Eastern (Byzantine) rite. In Canada, these Greek Catholics technically fell under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic archbishop, Adelard Langevin, of St. Boniface. The Roman Catholic Sacred Congregation of the Faith had decreed in 1890 that only celibate priests of the Eastern rite could serve in North America, so Langevin sought to exclude Ukrainian *secular* (married) priests and have *Latin* (celibate) priests minister to the Ukrainian settlers.[8] This statute was reinforced on 14 June 1907 by the papal bull of Pius X, *Ea Semper,* which reiterated that Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests in North America must be either celibate or childless widowers. Since only 3 percent of the Galician clergy were celibate, these strictures guaranteed a shortage of Greek Catholic clergy in Canada.

Langevin also saw an opportunity to expand French Catholic influence in Manitoba by weaning the Greek Catholics away from the Slavic rite to acceptance of the Latin liturgy. This did not sit well with many Ukrainian Greek Catholics, who resented what they thought were crude attempts by Polish and French priests to deny a Ukrainian identity and denigrate the Eastern rite. A further concern of many was that the priest should share the experience of raising a family on the frontier and be able to minister to his congregation in a more sympathetic fashion since he would be familiar with the realities of pioneer life. They thought that a celibate priest would lack these insights. Even after the arrival of the first Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop in 1913, many were still alienated by the demand that ownership of church properties be assigned to the church rather than remain in the hands of the laity, as had become the norm in frontier communities. Congregations in the Stuartburn colony, as in Ukrainian communities elsewhere in Canada, were split on these issues, and vicious factionalism resulted.[9]

Settlers from Bukovyna, who were mostly Orthodox, also had difficulties obtaining priests. The Orthodox Church in Bukovyna was unable to respond to a request from them to send out priests to Canada. Since the Russian Orthodox Church had been the first to engage in missionary work in Alaska, all of North America had been designated as their exclusive mission field. The Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church in St. Petersburg sent priests to

Canada and funded them.[10] By 1910, the Russian Orthodox Church was well established in the Prairies and had many parishes in Alberta and Manitoba.[11] Unfortunately, support from Russia was sufficient to cover only a small fraction of church expenses, and most priests preferred the financial security of the better-funded American parishes to the insecurity of those in Canadian frontier communities. Socialist and anti-Tsarist ideas that by 1914 had penetrated even frontier parishes increasingly challenged the authority of the Russian Orthodox Church.[12] Although their Russophile tendencies alienated some settlers, Russian Orthodox priests remained popular with many Orthodox Bukovynian settlers in the Stuartburn colony, partly because they did not levy fees for their services. In 1917, the Russian Revolution cut off their source of funding, and the influence of the church declined.

This situation certainly made for a confusing and uncertain spiritual environment for the settlers, who mostly wanted spiritual continuity and stability from a clergy who could provide community leadership. The experience of the Orthodox settlers around Gardenton who attended St. Michael's Church (the *Onutska* church) illustrates settlers' difficulties in achieving a stable religious milieu. The priesthood seemed to have a revolving door policy: they were first served from around 1898 to 1900 by a Russian priest, Kostiantyn Popov, from the United States, followed by a Father Maliarevych, who served until 1903, when the Serafimite priest, Andrej Vil'chyns'kyj, arrived. A Father Sichyns'kyj, who appealed to the people because he spoke their dialect of Ukrainian, soon replaced him. They were quickly disillusioned after they gave him $200 as a donation for a church in Winnipeg and he disappeared with the funds. In 1908, a Father Sal'onka arrived but only stayed for one year. In 1910, a seventh priest arrived to serve the area, but he was from Bukovyna and found it "hard to be accepted as the people preferred Russian priests." The eighth priest arrived in 1911, a Father Roskazov, who stayed longer. He was paid a small stipend of $300 a year, but he also received money from the Russian mission. He opposed Ukrainian national sentiments and promoted a vision of a united Russia, a position that became increasingly unpopular with his parishioners. After six years, he left and was replaced by a Father Burachevs'kyj, who served from 1916 to 1918. By this time, support from the Russian mission had dried up, and he was not able to support himself, so he left. A Ukrainian from the Russian mission, Father Dudko, replaced him, but "he was not liked by the older people because he attended the Ukrainian National Home." Another priest arrived from the Russian Mission in America in 1924.[13]
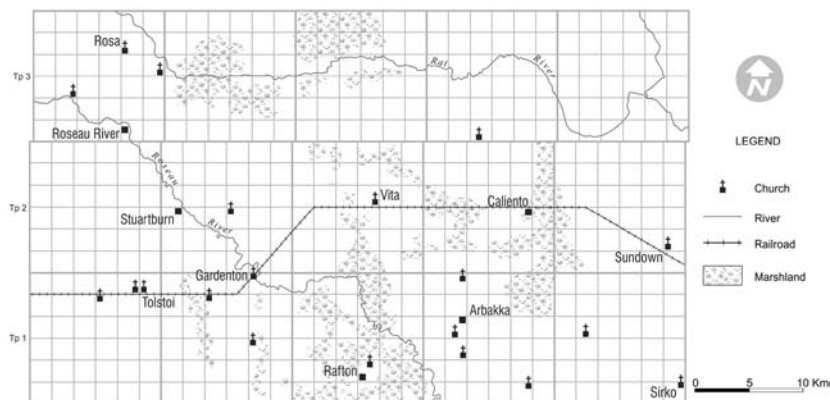
Figure 20. Churches in the Stuartburn district.

Other parishes experienced similar problems of rapid turnover and lim-
ited contact with their clergy. Priests had to serve too many widely scattered
churches and were unable to spend time with their congregations. They could
fulfill only their spiritual role; community work went by the board. One resi-
dent of Tolstoi complained that it was difficult to keep things moving ahead
without consistent leadership from the clergy: "Although Catholic priests
have come and served here, we have learned nothing of value from them.…
They have no time to spend with the people. They arrive, perform a church
service, and then they have to quickly leave for another colony."[14] Teachers
and the secular intelligentsia filled the leadership gap.

Religious difficulties were compounded when Ukrainian settlers became
the subject of an intense, three-cornered fight among Anglo-Protestants,
French Catholics, and the secular Ukrainian intelligentsia. Some congre-
gations attempted to secure a measure of church reform and gain more
local autonomy in church government by supporting the establishment of a
Ukrainian Orthodox Church by a Greek Orthodox priest (Seraphim) from
Bukovyna. It later transpired that he was a renegade, defrocked for miscon-
duct, but the damage had been done and tensions between the laity and the
church hierarchy remained. Interference by evangelical Protestants, who
attempted to capitalize on discontent among the emerging Ukrainian intel-
ligentsia by sponsoring the establishment of an "independent" Ukrainian
Orthodox Church as a vehicle for the furtherance of Protestant views, further
complicated the issue.[15] The results were inevitable. Communities ruptured,

congregations split, and even families divided on religious lines. For many of the protagonists, it was not only the theological matter of choice of church but also the interwoven issue of Ukrainian national identity and the struggle between modernism and traditionalism that was at stake. According to Wasyl Czumer, by 1905 in Stuartburn, as in most Ukrainian settlements, there were several rival factions: Greek Catholics (under the control of the Basilian fathers), Ukrainian Orthodox (exclusively Bukovynians), Russian Orthodox (mostly Galicians with Russian monks as their clergy), Independent Ukrainian Greek Catholics (who demanded secular married priests), followers of Seraphim, Presbyterians (who later founded the Independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church), socialists, and populists.[16] Their debates— usually charge and counter-charge—were carried by proclamations from the pulpit, waged in the columns of the mostly partisan Ukrainian Canadian press, and transformed into action within the community. Emotions ran high. Five Greek Catholic men aged twenty-five to fifty-five and otherwise "of temperate habits" were found guilty at the Court of Queen's Bench in Winnipeg in November 1904 of "destroying church property and assaulting the priest." The exact place of the incident was not recorded, but other details suggest that it was in the Stuartburn area, and the incident was clearly triggered by religious differences.[17]

Before 1918, rivalry among the various religious factions made for lively times in the Stuartburn colony. Those who flirted with Protestantism were labelled "Presbyterian traitors."[18] The few Baptists in the Oleskiw (Tolstoi) area angered their neighbours by being overly enthusiastic about their newfound faith. "These people are ignorant," wrote one irate subscriber to *Ukrainskyi holos*. "They have already stopped being humans."[19] The impending arrival of "some kind of Protestant preacher" in Sarto was obviously a source of dismay and concern for readers of the *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*.[20] Despite employing all the means at their disposal to insinuate themselves—holding meetings, making promises of "golden mountains," and attacking the Greek Catholic clergy from the pulpit—they made few inroads into the Ukrainian community. Within two years, they terminated their efforts. "Happy news," wrote one subscriber to *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*, "there are no more Protestants in Sarto. They disappeared like smoke."[21]

Religious strife was not necessarily between churches espousing radically different views of Christianity. The issues that inflamed passions often seemed to be trivial, and disagreements over liturgical matters ballooned to consume

entire congregations and poison relations between neighbours. After the Greek Catholics in the Vita area built a church some seven miles west of Vita in the early years of the century, the congregation became divided over whether to have Basilian or secular priests. Although the majority favoured secular priests, the pro-Basilian faction could not accept that. On the night of 27 April 1910, they allegedly entered the church, broke the candles and crosses, took the church vestments and chalice, and ripped the rug from the floor into shreds before throwing it into the street.[22]

To further confuse the issue, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada was established in 1918. This was an autocephalous church: it had no mother church and was founded in Canada by a church council composed only of laity.[23] Its Ukrainian nationalist overtones and the discontent of many Greek Catholics with their hierarchy's attitude that all church property should rest in the hands of the corporation of the Church of Rome, rather than the people of the parish, caused many Greek Catholics to switch their allegiance to the new Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Ownership of church buildings was then vigorously contested.

The intense emotions that permeated the conflict between the various religious factions frequently spawned violence. Disputes over ownership of church property or control of a particular church caused some congregations to "show up at church services with stones, sticks, and revolvers."[24] During one confrontation, shots were allegedly fired inside the church at Arbakka. In another, a hostile crowd allegedly pelted a priest with stones, eggs, and tomatoes as he ran from his car to the church.[25] Priests of the Orthodox Church allegedly encouraged their congregations to carry chalk with them and write the insulting word *khrun* (literally "oinker" but used in the sense of traitor) on the jacket lapels of members of rival churches, advice that was reportedly acted on by some of the more fanatical church members.[26]

Church buildings were fought over both physically and in the courts.[27] This phenomenon was by no means unique to the Stuartburn colony. Ownership of the first Ukrainian church to be built in Alberta, for example, was claimed by both the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholics. The case went through the entire British legal system before it was eventually appealed to the House of Lords. At the end of the process, which at more than $75,000 cost both parties several times the value of the building, the church in question mysteriously burned down.

In Tolstoi, when some church members wanted their congregation to join

the autocephalous church, there was a three-week legal battle in the courts to decide who owned the church building. The Catholics won the case, but shortly thereafter the church burned to the ground.[28] It was not uncommon for churches or other institutional buildings whose ownership was disputed to be destroyed by fire. Arbakka's national home, for example, became the centre of a dispute and burned before it was moved to a new location.[29] The parties concerned usually cited lightning or arson as the cause of the fire, depending on which party had won or lost the case.

In 1920, religious trouble in Vita saw parishioners scuffling in St. Dmytriy's Church; later things became more serious: "January 28th was the day these people destroyed the church. They came with twenty pairs of horses, and your heart just ached when they removed the bell tower, especially the older people, who just stood there and watched as their work and their hard-earned money came to such an end."[30]

Religious disagreements lay at the bottom of many of the petty disputes that plagued the colony. A correspondent to *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* alleged that because of religious differences, "even though most of the population is Ukrainian, the people [in Caliento] live in disagreement and division."[31] This conflict was manifested in various ways. School trustees refused to allow the school to be used to present a play by the students; only the threat of resignation by the Ukrainian schoolteacher, Miss Kravchyk, caused them to relent. Religious squabbling was so bad in the Zhoda area in the early 1920s that one correspondent to *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* gave the opinion that it was shameful to call the settlement Zhoda (which means "harmony"), because there certainly was not any harmony there.[32]

Alien Intrusions

Ukrainian immigrants entered a society in which the French Catholic hierarchy was dismayed by its waning influence as the proportion of French-speaking Catholics relative to English-speaking Protestants continued to decline. The French Catholic hierarchy in western Canada saw an opportunity to recapture its lost influence by claiming jurisdiction over Slavic and other non-Protestant arrivals and pulling them into its orbit. On the other hand, the Protestant churches saw the new arrivals as a challenge, fertile ground for proselytizing. They saw it as their patriotic duty to advance the Protestant creed and expose immigrants to the values and ideas of Protestant and Britannic culture.

Since the majority of Ukrainian settlers were from Galicia and hence Greek Catholic, and fell under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Diocese of St. Boniface, the Roman Catholic archbishop, Adelard Langevin, regarded Ukrainian religious matters as the exclusive preserve of his church. Initially, it seemed that the French Catholics would have little opposition to their plans to incorporate Greek Catholics into the Roman Catholic fold. By a papal ruling in 1890, secular Eastern rite (Greek Catholic) priests were not allowed to serve in North America. Unfortunately for the French Catholics, many Ukrainians associated Roman Catholicism with the Polish domination that they had experienced in Galicia. Ukrainian nationalists saw attempts by Roman Catholic missionary orders such as the Basilians and Redemptorists to offer religious services to Ukrainians as an attack on Ukrainian national identity. Although the French Catholics experienced some success, it was confined to those settlements where a strong contingent of Polish settlers or Ukrainian settlers from Polish-influenced areas of Galicia provided a base for their operations. In Manitoba, this was principally in the Cooks Creek–Brokenhead area. Otherwise, their attempts to proselytize among the Ukrainians were not particularly successful.[33] In the Stuartburn area, mainly in the immediate vicinity of Tolstoi, where there were some Poles intermixed with the Ukrainian population, a few were weaned away from the Eastern rite, but in most cases the so-called Polish Catholics were actually *Latynyky,* Ukrainians whose forefathers had been brought into the Roman Catholic fold, who had adopted the Latin rite, and who regarded themselves as Poles, even though they spoke Ukrainian and came from Ukrainian districts in Galicia.

The Roman Catholic influence was seen in the cultural landscape in the introduction of Polish elements into Ukrainian pioneer church architecture and the importation of Roman Catholic symbols and statuary into the grounds and interiors of Ukrainian Catholic churches served by French Catholic and Basilian priests.

Protestant incursions into the Ukrainian milieu were, on the one hand, more subtle yet, on the other, more blatant. The predominant culture surrounding Ukrainians was Britannic and Protestant, so Ukrainian settlers were immediately exposed to British—mostly English—cultural and aesthetic norms through contact with government officials, anglophone storekeepers, and employers. Like the Catholics, the Protestant churches saw a fertile field for proselytizing among the Ukrainians. Convinced that their patriotic duty demanded the inculcation of Canadian values, Protestant beliefs, and

social mores into the newly arrived mass of what they saw as uncultured and virtually heathen immigrants, the three major players—Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Methodists—divided the west into spheres of influence so as not to duplicate efforts.[34] The Congregationalists were granted the northern, mainly Aboriginal, areas, the Presbyterians the territory flanking the CN line that ran through the aspen belt, and the Methodists the territory in the south along the Canadian Pacific Railway line. All Ukrainian settlements therefore fell under the preserve of the Presbyterians and Methodists, who established missions in key communities across the west to act as bridgeheads for the advance of Protestantism into Ukrainian life. In these settlements, the Protestants' mission usually included a hospital (as in Vita, Manitoba, and Insinger and Wakaw, Saskatchewan) or residential school in addition to the church or chapel. The Stuartburn colony, lying south of the CPR main line, fell under the Methodist sphere of influence. The Methodist Church established a mission at Vita in 1912 and ten years later built and staffed Vita General Hospital to serve the district.

There was a tendency by many Ukrainians to see all Protestants as English and alien, yet some of those who had immigrated to the colony from Galicia were Baptists. They were relatively few in number, but their presence encouraged the Baptists in Canada to see them as a bridgehead for evangelical operations in the colony. There were few converts, and their number increased significantly only when renewed immigration in the interwar period saw additional Baptists from Volhynia drift into the Stuartburn area.

For some years after settlement, Ukrainians lacked clergy to perform marriages, baptisms, and burials. Russian Orthodox priests who moved into southern Manitoba to fill the void eventually established churches to serve the Orthodox Bukovynian population.[35] At its peak, between 1905 and 1910, there were twenty-seven Russian Orthodox parishes in Manitoba, including many former Greek Catholic churches that had shied away from the demand that they incorporate all parish property and vest ownership with the church hierarchy rather than in the hands of the congregation. Suspicion of the motives of the Russian priests, who were thought to be intent on the Russification of Ukrainians, together with a lack of financial support from Russia after the Revolution of 1917, saw Russian Orthodox influence decline.[36] The last of these Russian Orthodox churches, located a few miles south of Gardenton, survived as an independent church until the 1970s, when its small congregation elected to join the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada.

Ecclesiastical institutions segment space in different ways from secular institutions. Religious territories seldom coincide with secular territories, and, of course, it is possible to have many overlapping religious territories, each defined by a specific institution. When churches devote their energies to ministering to their own members rather than proselytizing the members of rival denominations, there is a stable religious milieu. In such a case, there would be a greater likelihood of spatial friction between competing units (parishes or bishoprics) *within* a church than there would be of having spatial friction *between* denominations. In the case of the Stuartburn colony, things were different. There was no stable religious milieu within the colony for the first twenty years, arguably for the first thirty years, of settlement. Territories were redefined constantly as the major denominations competed with each other to gain control of religious territory that they viewed as being "up for grabs." Within denominations, the lack of formal leadership and the introduction of new models of governance created a set of unique circumstances whereby denominations were fragmented from within and obliged to fight to retain not only their ecclesiastic authority but also a meaningful presence in what they saw as their rightful territory. This confused situation was exacerbated by the inability of individual churches to bear the costs of supporting a resident priest. Priests often served several churches scattered across the colony, holding services in each church once every few weeks. Distances and bad roads made it difficult to serve the more isolated communities with any regularity, making it difficult for the priests to know their parishioners and reducing their effect as stabilizing influences in the colony.

Changes in church allegiance spurred by the refusal of European-based church hierarchies to accept models of governance that had been forged on the settlement frontier blurred the geographical split between Orthodox and Greek Catholics. Secular influences revolutionized attitudes toward religion. Questions that would never have been raised in the stable authoritarian religious environment were openly articulated within the colony and discussed in the wider arena offered by the Ukrainian Canadian press. The geographical realignment wrought by settlement in Canada intermixed settlers of different denominations, and many Greek Catholics found themselves alongside Greek Orthodox for the first time in their lives.

Events unfolding in Europe had profound consequences for the religious geography of the Stuartburn Colony. The emergence of an independent Ukrainian state, albeit briefly, stirred national awareness in Ukrainian com-

munities across western Canada. The Russian Church lost its base of financial support after the Bolshevik Revolution; Russian priests lost much of their appeal when they became reliant on community support. Within Ukrainian communities, a generation exposed to ideas of democracy and public participation in community affairs was beginning to question the previously unchallenged authority of clergy who were struggling among themselves for dominance. Congregations that had a decade or more of self-governance were reluctant to blindly follow the dictates of their priests. Among Greek Catholics, there was a marked aversion to signing over their church property to the church corporation. Those who could not accept that course drifted into the Ukrainian Orthodox fold, a move that could be seen as a political statement that not only rejected Roman Catholic authority but also Polish influence and Russian imperialism.

After 1924, Ukrainian Orthodox churches appeared in former Greek Catholic areas, creating a new religious geography in the 1920s that prevailed thereafter. This highly charged religious milieu impeded community-wide cooperation. Energies that could have been more effectively employed were dissipated in fruitless religious wrangling and posturing. Weakened Ukrainian religious institutions were unable to play a dynamic leadership role on the frontier. Thus, in the Stuartburn colony, as in most other Ukrainian areas, the role of the churches in the social and economic development of the community was subordinate and localized. The socio-religious environment that emerged in the Stuartburn colony, and in most, if not all, other Ukrainian settlements across the west, was the product of a particular place and time, when European politics collided with the social turmoil of the frontier.

In Stuartburn, as elsewhere, theocratic colonialism resulted in dysfunctional societies. Just as the European powers competed for colonial possessions in Africa, so too Canadian-based churches wrestled for ecclesiastical territory in western Canada's "foreign" colonies. The results were surprisingly similar: inculcation of alien values, erosion of traditional cultural practices, social fragmentation, and communities that lacked strong, locally connected spiritual leadership.

Ukrainian children going to school near Arbakka, Manitoba, 1912. *Mihaychuk Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*

Picklyk's grocery store, Vita, Manitoba, 1940. *Mihaychuk Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*

Wasyl Mihaychuk's flour mill, Vita, Manitoba, c. 1920. *Mihaychuk Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*

Iwan Mihaychuk's house and granary, near Arbakka, Manitoba, 1915. *Mihaychuk Collection, Archives of Manitoba*

Sawmill in Vita, Manitoba, 1921. *Mihaychuk Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*

Wasyl Mihaychuk and John Tyron making breakfast while haying near Caliento, Manitoba, 1921. *Mihaychuk Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*

Lukowce School #1202, 1921. *Mihaychuk Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*

Manoly Mihaychuk carrying his younger brother Dmytro to school over flooded fields. *Mihaychuk Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*

Ukrainian farm near Vita, Manitoba, 1920. *W.J. Sisler Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*

Vita, Manitoba, looking north, 1916. *W.J. Sisler Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*

Cutting wire-grass on the marsh near Vita, Manitoba, 1915. *W.J. Sisler Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*

A Ukrainian settler's new house south of Tolstoi, Manitoba, purchased after twenty-two years in Canada from an American settler. *W.J. Sisler Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*

Cutting wheat with a sickle near Stuartburn, Manitoba, 1918. *W.J. Sisler Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*

Wasyl Popyk cutting barley with scythe and cradle, Stuartburn, Manitoba, 1918. *W.J. Sisler Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*
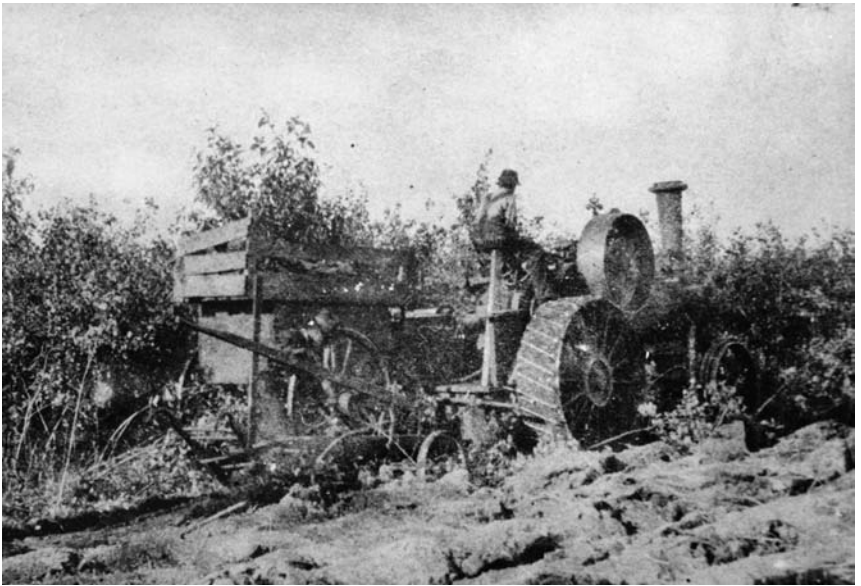
Breaking land with a steam tractor, c. 1922. *Mihaychuk Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*
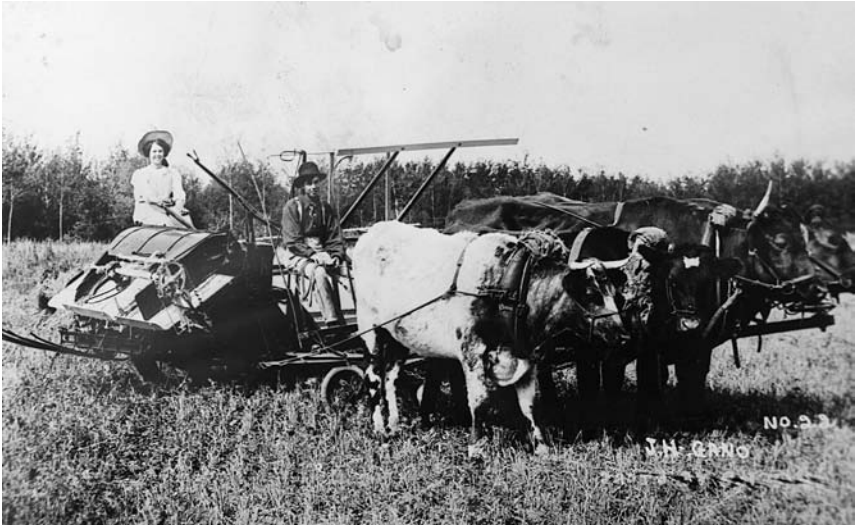
Dmytro Mihaychuk and sister posing on their father's binder pulled by a yoke of four oxen. *Mihaychuk Collection, Archives of Manitoba.*

Onufry and Lena Tyron and their six children on their Gardenton, Manitoba, homestead, c. 1910. *Teron family collection.*

LOCAL DISORDER AND THE METROPOLITAN REACH

Usop (Joseph) Salamon, his wife, Frances, and their two children lived unhappily on their homestead on SE Section 12 Township 2 Range 6 East. In late February 1902, his wife, terrified for her life, told neighbours that her husband had gone to Dominion City on business and that he had threatened to kill her if he found her alive when he returned. The neighbours dismissed this as an idle drunken threat, though Mrs. Salamon bid them goodbye, saying that she did not expect to see them again in this world. Shortly after Usop's return from Dominion City, the neighbours heard screaming; some minutes later Usop arrived and asked them to get a doctor because his wife had fallen off a ladder leading to the attic. Dr. O'Brien from Dominion City and Dr. Elkin from Emerson attended and concluded that Usop had beaten his wife to death "on the face, using his fists."[1] He was arrested, tried in Winnipeg, and sentenced to death. His sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment in Stony Mountain Penitentiary since the judge found his crime not to have been premeditated.[2]

Some three years earlier the colony was rocked by the particularly brutal murder of Stuartburn farmer Bozectzko and his four children in a robbery. According to evidence presented at the trial of Wasyl Guszczak, the three accused went to Bozectzko's house, where Pstenezak struck Bozectzko with an axe and Guszczak shot the eldest boy twice before shooting randomly among the children until his revolver was out of ammunition. The children began to cry more loudly, so Pstenezak climbed onto the bed where the children were huddling and hacked them to death with the axe. The three then took fifty dollars and some change and left with Bozectzko still gurgling in his death throes. The third accused, Mike Czuby, went back to finish off Bozectzko with the axe and hit him several more times. Before separating, the three agreed to blame the crime on Indians.[3]

Frontier areas have a reputation for lawlessness, but in Stuartburn these kinds of violent crimes were the exception rather than the rule. The myths of a violent and lawless American west did not reflect the reality of Canadian settlement. Strong central institutions ensured enforcement of the law and the impartial administration of justice. The sway of local factions was less, and the power of individuals to control local governance was checked and balanced by a code of law imposed from outside the colony.

In western Canada, a strong governmental presence on the frontier ensured that governmental institutions were an integral part of frontier life from the first days of settlement. This was evident in the process of land acquisition by prospective settlers. In Stuartburn, as elsewhere in western Canada, this was a highly regulated process over which the federal government exercised complete control. Despite seeming chaos at times, and a good deal of squatting ahead of the survey, in Canada there was no equivalent of the "Nooners and Sooners" of the Oklahoma Territory's 1889 land run.[4]

Before land in western Canada was opened for agricultural settlement, it was surveyed into townships of thirty-six-mile-square sections, each of which was subdivided into four quarter sections of 160 acres each. Railways eligible to select land as part of their land grants were obliged to do so or forfeit the opportunity to choose land from that township, and land was set aside from settlement as school lands or to compensate the Hudson's Bay Company for ceding its territory of Rupert's Land to Canada.

During the homestead settlement process, the federal government had a strong presence on the ground through its colonization officers, agents, land guides, and interpreters. Although the officers and agents were invariably anglophones from Ontario, usually with strong connections to the Liberal Party, land guides were usually appointed for their knowledge of local conditions and interpreters for their command of languages other than English. Both were generally recruited from among better-educated non-anglophone immigrants.

Anglophone colonization agents, officials of the Department of the Interior responsible for the administration of the settlement process, in turn were answerable to the commissioner of immigration, based in Winnipeg, who also oversaw settlement of the Stuartburn area. Officers of the North West Mounted Police also made tours of inspection through the colony as it grew, reporting on cases of destitution and providing a visible reminder of the authority of the federal government. By no means was the average settler

in daily or even weekly contact with governmental officials, but none could have been unaware that his actions were overseen and bounded by federal authority and that failure to follow the rules could lead to cancellation of one's homestead entry, a crushing blow to a struggling settler.

For the most part, land selection was orderly. Having chosen their land, by paying a ten-dollar entry fee, settlers registered their entries with the local land agent. Once an entry was registered, a settler had exclusive rights to that quarter section, and although title remained vested in the crown he could treat the land much as he desired. He could not use it as security or sell it; otherwise, the settler enjoyed security of tenure as long as he resided on it and continued to make improvements to it.

Once new arrivals were established on their homesteads, the exigencies of pioneer settlement encouraged neighbourly cooperation. Chain migration, too, gave a distinctive regional character to the pioneer landscape, with many extended family groups occupying land in the same locality. This, of course, was no guarantee of social harmony, but the presence of relatives and former neighbours was a stabilizing force in some areas, providing a skeletal social framework almost from the first days of settlement. Unfortunately, this framework was disconnected and incomplete. Settlers were widely scattered and poorly linked. To pursue the skeletal analogy, it would not be too wide of the mark to say that its spine was missing. In the homeland, the church—in Galicia the Ukrainian Catholic Church and in Bukovyna the Greek Orthodox Church—was a key element of social life. It imparted social stability and oversaw community mores. It provided the ritual that marked the passages of life and the changes of season. In Canada, the Ukrainian national churches were conspicuously absent until 1912. In the interim, other churches competed to fill the spiritual vacuum, leaving settlers without consistent spiritual guidance or the leadership that provides the stability so vital to an emerging community.

No community is immune from crime. Much of the crime reported in the pages of the Ukrainian Canadian press was banal, centring on minor disputes that seemed to have been common in the old country over matters such as poorly maintained fences, animals straying into neighbours' fields, arguments over property lines, and disagreements fuelled by myriad petty jealousies and personality conflicts found in any rural community. Occasionally, disputes over minor, essentially inconsequential, matters exploded into violence, sometimes with tragic results for both parties, as when two brothers-in-law

quarrelled over responsibility for water draining into a field. One struck the other with a pitchfork, breaking his arm, before throwing him into a ditch full of water.[5] More serious was an earlier quarrel between Christian Hants and fifteen-year-old Alex Dawlishak, in the Tolstoi area, over Dawlishak's lax supervision of his father's cattle, which had wandered into Hants's crops. Dawlishak used threatening language, so Hants gave the boy a whipping but was later ambushed in the bush by Dawlishak. A stone thrown at Hants killed him instantly.[6]

Premeditated murder was rare, but domestic violence was not. Indeed, when the tensions and stresses of pioneer settlement were coupled with the prevailing attitudes toward women, both in mainstream society and in Ukrainian peasant society at the beginning of the twentieth century, it would be surprising if it were otherwise. The Ukrainian folk saying that "the man who does not beat his wife does not love her" is telling. As the Salamon case showed, pioneer women on bush homesteads had few options open to them when faced with an abusive husband.

The conservative and xenophobic elements of the western Canadian press avidly seized on any opportunity to highlight the alleged moral deficiencies of Ukrainians. In 1899, when the wife of a prominent Brandon businessman was gunned down in her home, the assailant was identified as a tramp, enough for the *Winnipeg Telegram* to assume that this meant a migrant Ukrainian worker from southeastern Manitoba. It launched an impassioned plea for the government to terminate the immigration of such a dangerous class of people.[7] When Hilda Blake, the family's maid and an English immigrant, confessed that she was the culprit and had fabricated the story of the tramp to deflect suspicion, the newspaper was forced grudgingly to backtrack and concede that no Ukrainians had been involved.[8]

Apart from minor petty squabbles among neighbours, settlers in the Stuartburn area came into conflict with the law mostly through alcohol-related offences and religious disputes. Often the two were related since alcohol fuelled religious passions that too often exploded into violence.

With the rare exception of Orest Martynovych, Ukrainian Canadian historians have ignored or downplayed the social problems that so obviously beset the Stuartburn and other Ukrainian colonies.[9] Many of these problems had their origins in abuse of alcohol and other intoxicants, but this too is an issue mostly glossed over in accounts of the frontier experience. Ethnic protectionism produces a sanitized version of history and paints a distorted and incomplete picture of frontier life.

In western Ukraine, consumption of alcohol, usually strong spirits, was a fact of peasant life in the nineteenth century. Alcohol was seen as providing an escape from the hardship of life, and it fuelled weddings, funerals, and a variety of social gatherings. Licences to operate taverns were sold by the Austrian crown, usually to Jewish merchants who had the capital to purchase them. The peasants, however, commonly manufactured homebrew (*horilka* or *samohonka*), consumed in the home and at village and family social functions. Not all of the peasantry consumed alcohol, but the vast majority did.[10]

Social attitudes were a part of the baggage brought to Canada by the immigrants. Manufacture of homebrew was relatively easy on the homestead. The basic ingredients and equipment could be obtained fairly easily if the settler had a little cash to purchase what was not readily available on the farm. Grain or potatoes, water, sugar, a steel drum, some copper tubing, and wood for fuel were all that was needed, though some liked to add a little bleach for an added kick.[11] In an area of poor roads, widely scattered farms, and much dense bush, it was not hard to hide a still from prying eyes, nor was it difficult to dispose of the mash: it was simply fed to pigs or cattle. Most homebrew was made for personal or local consumption, and it was far cheaper (and some claimed better) than legally purchased whisky, a bottle of which cost upward of half a day's pay for a labourer around the turn of the century.[12] Manufacturing homebrew was, of course, illegal, and those apprehended faced a stiff fine or imprisonment. Nevertheless, for many, it was worth the risk, and to the dismay of the grassroots intelligentsia making homebrew was common in the Stuartburn colony from the turn of the century onward.

Anglophone magistrates, such as the Methodist minister, and presumably a teetotaller, Reverend Wildfong of Vita, took a dim view of breaches of the *Excise Act* and imposed fines in the region of $200 for manufacturing homebrew. A Stuartburn farmer in the early 1920s had little chance of being able to pay such a fine, but the alternative of six months of incarceration in provincial jail imposed a heavy burden on the entire family. In later years, when Ukrainian community leaders, such as Theodosy Wachna, were appointed as magistrates, they tended to be more aware of the social contexts of such offences and were more inclined to impose measured penalties.[13] In the early 1920s, some of the Ukrainian clergy attacked the making of homebrew from the pulpit and encouraged sobriety by holding dry celebrations for saints' days. To the dismay of some, one priest took a hard line, urging his parishioners to report anyone making homebrew to the police; "even if it is your own

brother or father, let them pay." He went on to say that the fines handed out were too light and that the penalty for manufacturing homebrew should be a fine of $1,000 or "death by hanging." His invocation led to the conviction of two Vita locals, who were fined $200 each.[14]

To the grassroots Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia in the Stuartburn colony, alcohol abuse was a significant barrier to community progress. With some cause, they were concerned about the image of Ukrainian settlers in the surrounding anglophone and Mennonite communities. The *Emerson Journal,* for example, seemed somewhat amused that "several of our Galician [Ukrainian] neighbours last Saturday started worshipping at the shrine of Bacchus as soon as the loads were off and reached home in various stages of dilapidation."[15] There was a strong element of truth to these rather patronizing remarks about the tendency to overindulge in the consumption of alcohol and other intoxicants. The local Ukrainian intelligentsia, who advocated enlightenment and cultural regeneration, railed against alcohol abuse in the columns of the Ukrainian Canadian press: "The people here [in Stuartburn] just love homebrew and ether, and, in fact, there is one family here that recently tried to purchase twelve bottles of ether. A jug [of ether] costs about ninety cents, and in the summer a peddler from Steinbach comes around selling it. Just wait, people, and soon you will be able to drink nitro-glycerine and eat dynamite too!"[16]

Similar conditions allegedly prevailed throughout the colony. Ether was supposed to be used to help start the large gasoline engines on threshing rigs and tractors, but it also made a potent intoxicant. Often it was cut nine to one with water to ameliorate the impact of a shot, but it appears from comments in the Ukrainian Canadian press from 1916 to the mid-1920s that ether was frequently drunk straight in one-ounce shots. The results of consuming a shot of neat ether were spectacular. The imbiber sat motionless, virtually unconscious, for about twenty minutes. Those who were unwise enough to combine smoking with ether consumption frequently set themselves and their properties on fire.[17] In Sundown, the Ukrainian storekeeper reportedly worked hard to supply his patrons with ether, keeping a large stock on hand. For those who wanted a quick fix, he sold small amounts at fifteen and twenty-five cents a shot, about $2.40 and $4.00 respectively in 2006 terms.[18]

Another alcohol substitute that was very popular throughout the colony was Hoffman's Tonic, or Hoffman's Drops, a cough remedy known throughout the Stuartburn colony simply as *kropli* ("drops"). This cough

syrup contained alcohol and codeine and gave a pleasant high when taken beyond the recommended dosage. In the Sundown area, wrote F. Olynyk to *Ukrainskyi holos,* farmers have "really taken to Hoffman's Tonic. At first, they bought bottles, but now it's bought in tin cans and pails. These people don't go for newspapers or books, but they would take the shirts off their backs for a drink."[19] "Almost every one of the young people," he continued, "when they go out on Sunday, has a bottle of Hoffman's in his pocket, and when it's empty they will get on their bicycles and go to get another one." It was not difficult to buy ether or Hoffman's Tonic. Both were sold in a Gardenton store, "even on a Sunday," and the Ukrainian store owners at Sundown and Caliento took pains to ensure that both products were always available, presumably because of the high profits to be made from their sale.[20] Men, women, and children were all avid consumers of Hoffman's Tonic in Sundown; one observer queried whether there was any other place in Canada where people drank it in such quantities. If the rumour that one farmer bought twenty-seven jugs of ether to serve at his daughter's wedding had any substance, then the situation was serious enough to lend credence to the claims that Gardenton reeked of homebrew and Vita was awash in a sea of liquor.[21]

Outsiders had no compunction in exploiting a perceived fondness for strong drink among the Ukrainian population; at election time, candidates provided liquor freely, hoping to garner a few extra votes from those who appreciated their largesse. One candidate campaigned with the aid of the "Holy Trinity," leaving a five-dollar bill, a photograph of himself, and a bottle of whisky with undecided voters.[22] Another candidate had liquor available in a stable adjacent to the polling station, a strategy that backfired when voters realized they could cast their votes as they pleased and still avail themselves of his hospitality. In provincial elections, both the Liberal Party and Conservative Party candidates provided unlimited liquor to undecided voters, hoping to win their votes.

Substance abuse by a segment of the population was symptomatic of conditions endured by economically poor communities, geographically and socially isolated from the mainstream, undergoing rapid social transformations. In the Stuartburn area and in other Ukrainian settlements across western Canada, old patterns of authority were being challenged, yet the order and stability of old country village life had not been replicated in the new environment. Furthermore, the first flush of enthusiasm that had motivated the immigrants was waning, replaced by the disenchantment of a later

generation that saw itself as disconnected from two societies: the traditional society of their parents and the new society of the host community. Neither fully Ukrainian nor fully Canadian, they straddled two cultures, subject to the behavioural codes of neither.

This was compounded by the isolation and rigour of frontier life. To be blunt, on an isolated bush homestead, where even contact with neighbours was relatively infrequent, there was not a lot to do apart from work, eat, sleep, or drink.[23] To attend a local meeting, school concert, or church service might involve a walk of several miles over difficult trails, perhaps fording a stream or two, and in summer fending off hordes of mosquitoes. The columns of the Ukrainian Canadian newspapers such as *Ukrainski holos and Kanadyiskyi rusyn* reported on numerous school concerts organized in the Stuartburn colony by schoolteachers and members of the intelligentsia. Unfortunately, such events were infrequent and widely separated geographically. A farmer living on a homestead in the Arbakka or Sirko area, for example, at best might have only two or three opportunities a year to attend a concert or play; otherwise, social interaction centred on the church, celebration of marriages, and attendance at funerals.

Alcohol was a feature of most secular and religious celebrations; guests at weddings were not pleased if alcohol was not served, and drinking was seen as an integral part of the celebration of the event.[24] Some religious holidays were celebrated "in the old pagan fashion" with gallons of liquor; so much so, disapprovingly noted *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* that during *Zeleni sviata* ("Green Holidays") Ukrainians in the Stuartburn area "were drinking so much that they practically had to crawl on all fours to get home," and some spent the night where they fell.[25] Clergy spoke out urging temperance and celebration of holidays in a more "Christian-like fashion," but many of their parishioners refused to listen and "were more concerned to see who had brought the biggest keg of liquor from the store."[26] During a debate over women's suffrage in Vita, a speaker mentioned that the local "deputy" (MLA?) had been found lying drunk in a field. The reporter commented that, while this was true, for he had seen it with his own eyes, that was not the time or place to bring it up.[27]

On the homestead, life was much the same old thing day after day. A drink or two—or more—could make it tolerable. Liquor legally purchased from a store was relatively expensive, but homebrew was cheap and accessible, and it became a common palliative for the hardships of homesteading and the dreary daily round. Unfortunately, alcohol also fuelled disputes and

contributed to general unruliness among the younger people in the colony. In the 1920s, many dances held in the national home in Gardenton ended in fights, and the drunken behaviour of some Gardenton residents scandalized visitors to the village.[28]

Alcohol was probably a factor in the long-simmering dispute concerning the location of the Stuartburn Municipal Office, which came to a head in 1912. For some time, the people in Vita had argued that the office should be located in Vita, a community that was served by the railway and saw itself as the natural geographic centre of the entire colony. Stuartburn, they claimed, was becoming ever more peripheral as the colony expanded eastward. Its lack of access to the railway line meant that its commercial future was less rosy than that of Vita. In late February 1911, a mob of about 100 people gathered in Vita and marched the six miles to Stuartburn, where they seized the municipal records and safe from the Municipal Office and carried them to Vita. Since the crowd had anticipated a "miniature riot" when they arrived in Stuartburn, it is difficult not to assume that alcohol or other intoxicants played a significant role in whipping up their enthusiasm for this venture.[29]

Despite the prevalence of alcohol in the social life of the colony, or perhaps because of it, the grassroots intelligentsia and some of the Ukrainian clergy either urged moderation in consumption or advocated prohibition. In March 1916, a public meeting held in Vita saw several community leaders advocate a ban on alcohol within the municipality. Reeve N. Eliuk noted that, even though the hotels and bars in the area would suffer, he would support such a ban. Not all speakers agreed; Yakiw Mykytiak spoke against a ban, arguing that alcohol was necessary for farmers and that it would be terrible for them if it were denied to them.[30] In the event, voters did not support a proposed ban on liquor. In the municipal elections held on 13 March 1916, on the northern fringe of the colony in Sarto, 25 voted against the ban, while 15 voted for prohibition of alcohol; in Vita, the population voted 33 to 21 against prohibition, and in Sundown it was closer at 7 for and 11 against. The prohibitionists were more successful in Tolstoi, where of 82 votes cast 42 were in favour of prohibition and 39 were opposed to it, but the vote in Stuartburn was overwhelmingly against prohibition: of 65 votes cast, only 9 were in favour of it.[31]

Alcohol might have been the focus of the debate, but wider issues were at stake. Excessive consumption was symptomatic of fundamental problems in the social structure of an unstable society. In the eyes of the emerging class of community leaders, teachers, and entrepreneurs, the image and the future

progress of the Ukrainian community were at stake. If the community was to progress socially and economically and its people were to be taken seriously, then the Stuartburn colony had to build a reputation based on a record of hard work, responsibility, and frontier perseverance. Correspondents from Stuartburn, writing to the *Ukrainskyi holos,* pulled no punches in their depiction of the effects of alcohol on the behaviour of the colony's young people and the concomitant decline in social mores:

> It's really not surprising that the Jews sell this stuff [homebrew], but why do our own storekeepers sell it? Why don't the priests instruct their parishioners? I believe that, if the priests and storekeepers helped the people more, then Stuartburn wouldn't be known all over America for its bad reputation.
>
> When you are surrounded by ignorance, anything is possible, and all you have to do is to go through Stuartburn just one time to see that it's all around us. At the train stations, you can just smell the homebrew, and it's especially bad in Sundown, Caliento, and Gardenton. The conductors and the brakemen mock and curse the people, while the other good for nothings spare no effort in saying hello to all of the women and young girls, putting out their hands to them and saying all kinds of shameless things. But the girls like this and say: "He said, 'Hello Susanna' or 'Hello Mary.'" You will often hear the conductor curse with such a vengeance, yelling out all kinds of names, and our people just laugh. They are just entertained by this.[32]

All of this was attributed to a lack of self-respect, which correspondents blamed on excessive consumption of alcohol. This kind of behaviour would not be tolerated in settlements such as Ridgeville or Emerson, outside the colony, they claimed, but "our people would shame themselves for Hoffman's Tonic or ether."[33] Most of the intelligentsia who were most vocal in their condemnation of excessive drinking were probably not averse to a social drink themselves but joined the prohibitionist lobby out of desperation. Drink was corrupting Ukrainian frontier society, impeding social and economic progress. They wanted immediate solutions, and prohibition seemed to be their only option.

It was not a problem that had an easy solution. In an article describing the situation in Sundown in 1918, a correspondent to *Ukrainskyi holos*

commented that the area was sandy and swampy and that the people made their living from working out as labourers rather than from farming their homesteads. The religious divisions further eroded community spirit. At first, the school was in the control of English-speaking settlers, and there was no bilingual teacher. The "children, for the most part, do not know Ukrainian. All over Sundown, it is the same old boring life. They don't have their own church because they are not all of the same rite." The result was a number of demoralized families in a community that was trying to drag itself out of the frontier stage of settlement: "As for the drinking of Hoffman's Tonic…I don't know if there is another place like Sundown where the people drink it in such quantities. Men, women, and children have taken to it, and no occasion passes without the drinking of tonic. When you first start to become a drunk, you usually get used to it by taking it with water, but then you learn to drink it straight."[34]

In Tolstoi, notorious for its deeply divisive and long-running religious disputes, the fusion of religious zeal and partisan provincial politics with excessive use of alcohol made for a volatile situation. Two supporters of the Ukrainian national home there, who had decided to support the Conservative candidate in the provincial election of 1914 (because of that party's support of bilingual schools), were set upon by a drunken pro-Liberal mob who had partaken liberally of their party's hospitality on election day. Armed with cudgels, the enraged mob entered a store to attack a national home supporter. When bystanders interceded, the mob turned on two other national home supporters and pursued them through the village until they sought refuge in the local store. Fearing that fighting might move inside, the Jewish storekeeper closed for the day with the two refugees inside. The standoff continued for several hours until the mob sobered up and dispersed.[35]

The frequency and tenor of the articles in the Canadian Ukrainian press indicate that local concern over substance abuse in the Stuartburn district declined after the mid-1920s. This was probably a reflection of economic progress, improvement in communications, and emergence of a more temperate attitude among that section of the population that drank. Attitudes toward the manufacture of homebrew remained fairly constant, and most people winked at the practice, aware that it was illegal but not regarding it as a criminal activity, or anything very serious, unless one had the misfortune to be caught. Certainly, conviction for possession or manufacture of homebrew carried little or no social stigma within the community.

During the prohibition era in the United States, large quantities of liquor and beer were smuggled into the United States by rail, truck, and automobile along the length of the Manitoba border.[36] In the 1920s, some illicit operations were quite large and clearly oriented toward export beyond the colony. One still uncovered by police north of Tolstoi in 1921 was located in a former schoolhouse and deemed capable of producing between forty-five and sixty-five gallons a day.[37] A good deal of homebrew from the Stuartburn colony was shipped across a border that was fairly porous, crossed by numerous trails with which local residents were well acquainted and that were difficult for customs officials to monitor without the cooperation of residents on both sides of the border. That the settlers on both sides of the international boundary were Ukrainian, shared similar social attitudes, and were often related cannot have made interdiction of liquor shipments an easy task.

The Bronfman family, involved in the liquor trade, had owned a hotel in Emerson around the turn of the century and would have been well acquainted with potential sources of supply in southeastern Manitoba. On at least one occasion, a mobster from Chicago paid a visit to the colony to intimidate a local farmer who had attempted to adulterate his shipment of homebrew. The visit was brief, reportedly lasting less than five minutes, during which time the American visitor laid his revolver on the table and asked his host whether he was going to replace the unsatisfactory shipment and whether any further shipments would prove to be unsatisfactory. The answers were yes and no. At that point, the visitor retrieved his gun and departed, saying, "I'm glad that now we understand each other."[38]

The area's isolation and the complexity of the trails running across the border made the Stuartburn area ideal for making illicit crossings into the United States, for smuggling not only alcohol but also cattle and people. During the 1920s, cattle were successfully smuggled across the border using one cow's natural homing instinct. This cow was legally imported into Canada, then taken to the Arbakka area, where it was introduced to a group of Canadian cattle, and the whole herd was turned loose to graze. The American cow grazed its way back to its home in Minnesota, followed by the Canadian herd. The lead cow was then re-imported into Canada and the process repeated.[39]

In the late 1920s, Manoly Mihaychuk, formerly of Arbakka, and reportedly "fond of women and dope," augmented his income as a Winnipeg dentist by smuggling illegal aliens into the United States, crossing the line using trails in the bush south of Arbakka and picking up transportation near Caribou,

where his brother Wasyl was editor of the local newspaper. This enterprise came to a halt when us law enforcement officials arrested Manoly in 1922. Perhaps coincidentally, on the same day that he was arrested, Wasyl fled with his family to Texas, where he resided for some years before moving north to settle in Michigan. Manoly was convicted by a us court and served time in Sing-Sing prison.[40] After his release, he returned to Canada but was unable to resume his formerly successful career in dentistry.

The district's association with homebrew continued for many years. Many farmers continued to produce their own liquor, making it two or three times a year for their own use and for family social events such as weddings and funerals. Well into the 1950s, the owner of a poolroom in Vita bootlegged homebrew obtained from local farmers.[41]

Widespread abuse of alcohol and narcotics in the early years of the colony was symptomatic of social dislocation compounded by social and physical isolation. Living on homesteads scattered across a dozen or more townships, often physically isolated from their neighbours, and tied only tenuously to Ukrainian cultural institutions that could affirm their identity, Ukrainian settlers moved uneasily within a colonial world. For the Canadian-raised and -born, identity was no longer straightforward. They lived in two worlds: one Ukrainian, where traditional values were fading, and one essentially British, where the values of modernity prevailed. This dichotomy was compounded by a lack of strong central leadership within the community and by real and perceived difficulties in making the transition from familiar social spaces to unfamiliar social spaces outside the colony. Isolation, boredom, alienation, and frustration had inevitable consequences: substance abuse that sparked anti-social behaviour.

Fortunately, social dislocation was a passing phase in Stuartburn's evolution. Improvements in infrastructure extended the metropolitan reach, and community horizons expanded as educational and economic opportunities increased. Community divisions rooted in the struggle for religious dominance in the early years of settlement, or inherited from the old country, faded over time. Institutions of self-governance, such as school boards and municipal councils, voluntary associations founded by community members, and agencies from outside the community, such as the provincial Department of Agriculture and the Methodist Home Mission, all acted as stabilizing forces in the colony. As attitudes changed and opportunities broadened, social order evolved from within the colony. It was not imposed from without.

CONCLUSION

Settlement is a relatively straightforward process of land occupation. Locations are assessed in social and economic terms, and myriad individual decisions create behaviours that translate into broad geographical patterns. Colonization, on the other hand, is more complex. It involves the building of communities within social, cultural, and economic frameworks set by agencies from outside the region being settled. The relationship between such nascent communities is hierarchical, involving a complex interplay among the institutions of the host community and those of the immigrants settling in the area. This was clearly seen in the settlement and development of Stuartburn.

Within fifteen years of the arrival of Stuartburn's first Ukrainian immigrants, the district was transformed from largely natural parkland into a settled area with a distinctive cultural signature. At the time, the process was seen as painfully slow, but in retrospect it was a rapid transformation marked by social change and geographical fluidity.

Social needs were always in the forefront in the pioneer decision-making process; more often than not social and emotional needs trumped economic considerations. The natural desire to seek social comfort in a strange land was heightened by chain migration, tempered only by the legal restrictions of the *Dominion Lands Act* that prevented nucleated settlement. A universal desire for proximity to friends and kin caused locations to be constantly reappraised. For many, the desirability of a homestead was measured in social terms more than economic potential. As family members arrived and selected land, already established settlers would reappraise their locations, perhaps abandoning their homesteads to re-enter on land more advantageously located socially. The frontier was thus in constant flux; it was not a well-defined line of occupation moving in a neat and orderly fashion.

With the caveat that social considerations could always override the physical qualities of land, most settlers chose land wisely. With the benefit

of hindsight, some of their choices might seem contrary; however, from the perspective of newly arrived immigrants faced with the need to secure immediate survival, choosing a bush homestead made eminent sense. As the ecological philosopher Aldo Leopold once remarked, "poor land may be rich country and vice versa. Only economists mistake physical opulence for riches. Country may be rich despite a conspicuous poverty of physical endowment, and its quality may not be apparent at first glance, nor at all times."[1] The Stuartburn district offered poor land in abundance, but it was rich country, providing a wide range of resources that enabled settlers to trade long-term prosperity for short-term survival.

Out of the chaos of the frontier, a community emerged, albeit one that was deeply flawed. Although the field officers of the Department of the Interior advocated greater governmental involvement in planning frontier communities, for political reasons their superiors in Ottawa had no desire to do so. Thus, settlers were left to their own devices insofar as community building was concerned. For the first decade or so, they had precious little with which to build. As Louis Hartz noted, only fragments of homeland societies were transplanted in North America. In Stuartburn, these fragments were further shattered by the unique religious situation of Ukrainians in Canada and the competition for their allegiance among the Eastern rite (Greek) Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholics, and Protestant denominations. Intertwined with this battle for souls were issues of national and religious identities. In 1918, the autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada was established as a new "national" Ukrainian church born out of anti-colonial resistance more than theological or spiritual debate.

Outsiders were generally unaware of these social fissures in the settler community. They saw a homogeneous population of Eastern European peasants living within a framework of social structures held together by imperial glue. Community members saw the community very differently. To them, it was a dynamic and diverse group of *peoples,* each of which might self-define differently but whose social structures were often shared. This diversity was expressed on the ground in the pattern of settlement where self-segregation replicated the social geography of western Ukraine in microcosm; socially, it was manifested through religious allegiance, although stances taken toward temperance, cooperatives, and education also divided the community.

Stuartburn was thus a multi-dimensional place, a complex amalgam of a multitude of intersecting social spaces, operating at different levels, inter-

penetrating, and/or superimposing themselves on one another. Within the colony, people lived in several social realms. As Henri Lefebvre pointed out, the *places* of social spaces can intercalate, combine, be superimposed, and sometimes collide.[2] Some realms could be expressed spatially (the homestead, settlement, or district); others could be expressed organizationally (*chytalna* and *narodni dim,* or "school board" and "council"); yet others were expressed through occupation (farmer, labourer, merchant, or teacher). An individual could occupy several of these spaces, sometimes simultaneously, but more often navigated between them on a seasonal basis or over the course of years. Community dysfunction resulted when these religious and political spaces intersected and collided. Within the colony, social spaces were initially formed in response to old country social structures and values that determined settlers' perceptions of social position and what constituted appropriate social and economic behaviour. The early reluctance of Ukrainian settlers to engage in commerce and their perception of trade as a Jewish preserve comprise a good example of this.

The geographical distance that separated the Ukrainian settlers of the Stuartburn colony from their neighbours was not especially great. In some places, notably in the western parts of the district, Ukrainian, Polish, and Anglo-American settlers were interspersed, with no clear line separating Ukrainian from non-Ukrainian areas of settlement. But social isolation is not a function of distance and cannot be defined in purely geographical terms, and the social spaces constructed by individuals and groups are not strictly concomitant with geographical regions.[3] In the initial years of settlement, Ukrainian immigrants were separated from their English-speaking neighbours by a social discontinuity that constituted a barrier far more formidable than mere geographical distance. This social distance defined the limits of the Stuartburn district more effectively than any of the geographical or political barriers that marked its northern, southern, and eastern limits. In many ways, the district resembled an island bounded by a shoreline of social difference and prejudice. Within these bounds were found the social structures and economic characteristics of an imperial colonial possession and the cultural processes that accompany colonialism.

Girding the colony was a zone of transition, an interactive contact area or transcultural zone, where hybrid values predominated.[4] Before Ukrainian settlers could create these new transcultural spaces and operate freely within them, proficiency in some aspect of mainstream culture was necessary.

Knowledge of English was pivotal, but literacy, learning, familiarity with Anglo-Canadian social mores, and adoption of mainstream middle-class dress were all vital ancillary qualities.

Social space is gendered space. It is constructed and carries different meanings for men and women because it is imagined differently. Male social space is public; female social space is private. Males thus tend to be more mobile than females, whose imagined spaces are more constrained.[5] Married women, for example, seldom secured off-farm work outside the colony, although younger, unmarried women became domestic workers on farms in longer-settled areas or in the homes of Winnipeg's elite. Social orbits then collided when they returned home to introduce alien "English" ways, attitudes, and words to their families and friends.

Pioneer women mostly constructed their social *places* and their social *spaces* around the loci of family, home, and church. Their spaces less often intersected with those of commerce, governance, and paid labour, which long remained public or male domains. Women shared the labour of bringing homesteads into production but still occupied subordinate positions within both pioneer society and the wider host community. Their names were less likely to appear on land titles or other legal documents, and in the Ukrainian Canadian press their presence was less acknowledged. Even within Ukrainian cultural institutions, women occupied mostly subordinate roles (even if their roles were vital for the operation of these institutions), running the women's auxiliary for their churches or supporting Ukrainian national aspirations in parallel women's cultural and political organizations. On the other hand, because they occupied private social spaces that less often intersected with those of mainstream society, their exposure to assimilative influences was generally far less than that of their male counterparts; they became cultural guardians, maintaining and passing down the central elements of culture—language, foods, songs, crafts, and a host of traditional ways—to their children.

Although Stuartburn displayed many, if not all, of the developmental and social characteristics of overseas colonial occupation by an alien power, it was far from this: it was an internal colony at the edge of the British Empire. It lay within the hinterland of Winnipeg, then the primary city of western Canada, which in turn was a colonial hinterland of the industrial cities of eastern Canada. As Mackintosh, Innis, and others have pointed out, at the close of the nineteenth century, Canada's role was to furnish the staples that fuelled the industries of the mother country, to supply a market for its

manufactured goods, and to serve as an outlet for the settlement of its surplus population.[6] Colonialism, however, is more than a set of trade relationships; it is a political, social, and economic phenomenon. Running through the history of Stuartburn are seeming contradictions: the host society's strong advocacy of assimilation and its erection of barriers to segregate the colonized, the others' quest for equality and acceptance but with the maintenance of social differences.[7] Stuartburn's social structures and cultural processes were thus fundamentally colonial. Ideologies of progress were embraced by all participants and used to justify political and economic relationships that rationalized entrenched systems of subordination.

Most of the colony's settlers remained in the self-sufficiency stage for a decade or so after their entry. Markets for agricultural products were distant, and the colony was poorly connected to them. A poorly developed communications network hampered development of the colony's commercial base, although, paradoxically, it facilitated the production and export of illegal alcohol during the prohibition era in the United States. The colony legally exported various commodities mostly of low value: cordwood, snakeroot, wiregrass, and dairy products. Grain was never really significant in colony trade, although some was exported from the Ukrainian-owned elevator in Tolstoi. There was little value added; the colony's economy remained locked in the primary sector.

In the post-pioneer phase, provincial and local institutions failed to address Stuartburn's needs effectively. Internal friction, lack of a strong tax base, and intra-group petty politics hampered its ability to take advantage of opportunities offered to rural municipalities by the provincial government. The "Good Roads" initiative, for example, had little impact on Stuartburn because aid was directed to areas closer to Winnipeg. During the war years, capital for development of the communications infrastructure was again directed toward upgrading roads that fed grain into the Winnipeg market. Remote and poorly connected, Stuartburn did not enter into this equation.

Initiatives that were instrumental in ending Stuartburn's isolation and integrating the colony more closely into the provincial economy did not originate from within the region but were products of provincial policy. Rural electrification came to Stuartburn because of a provincial obligation to serve all agricultural areas and because the district constituted a market for hydroelectric power developments along the Winnipeg River, enabling the provincially owned utility to secure the benefits of scale.

The colonial status of the district was also seen in a political and social policy formulated outside the region and the rituals of colonialism observed within it. Education policy, for example, was set by the provincial government and designed to attain specific national and imperial goals: the assimilation of foreign-born settlers and the inculcation of British imperial values. The relationship followed a colonial model whereby the best and brightest were educated outside the colony to become its administrators and educators. Education outside the colony exposed them to imperial values: on their return, they advanced the cause of modernity wrapped around their own nationalist educational agendas that ran counter to the goals of the government.

The role of the Ukrainian *intelligentsy* was crucial. Unlike many other immigrant groups that had national homelands to serve as guardians of their cultural identities, Ukrainians in Canada were reliant on their own devices. They shaped the Ukrainian national discourse in the North American diaspora through the Ukrainian-language press and in their roles as educators and community leaders. They promoted use of the Ukrainian language and developed awareness of Ukraine's cultural legacy. They educated not only their students but also the community as a whole, not an easy task in a fragmented and divided society.

Their agenda, though not overtly anti-religious, reflected acceptance of modernity in its embrace of broader social goals of enlightenment, cultural awareness, economic advancement, and national unity. If this association of identity and religion helped to buffer the community from the advances of alien religious organizations, it also helped to perpetuate a culture of subordination and social dysfunction within the immigrant community. Intense religious rivalries erupted into violence on occasion, and religious squabbling continued to poison community relationships well into the 1950s. There were other issues contributing to the widespread social dysfunction that prevailed even after the pioneer era had passed. The isolation and unremitting drudgery of homestead life made escape from reality an attractive proposition, and escape for many came through consumption of alcohol or narcotic-laden patent medicines. It was hardly surprising that those who argued most ardently for the prohibition of alcohol and railed against the sale of Hoffman's Tonic by colony merchants were the grassroots intelligentsia who had the ability and opportunity to move off their homesteads into new social spaces that transcended the boundaries of their quarter sections or parishes. Geographically and socially mobile, they saw opportunities for advancement as local

community leaders or in the professions within the ranks of the host community. Equally important was their recognition that the social and economic development of Ukrainian communities was dependent on surmounting the barriers of xenophobia and prejudice erected by the anglophone community. The first step was to erase the negative image of the Ukrainian immigrant in the minds of anglophone Canadians. Education, cultural development, and civic participation were the bridges. Those who became teachers in the rural schools in Stuartburn and other colonies worked at several levels, attempting to instil pride in Ukrainian culture, ensure retention of the Ukrainian language, and give their pupils competency in English. They had to walk a fine line between their newfound Ukrainian nationalism and the realization that social and economic progress within the colony depended on the ability of their charges to embrace modernity and assimilate into anglophone Canadian society.

The vast majority of those Ukrainians who immigrated into Canada as adults to take up homesteads found few barriers to their geographical mobility save for those of time, distance, and cost. Creating social spaces to facilitate penetration into Canadian society was more difficult. Movement across the transnational zone was facilitated by adoption of multiple identities. Ambitious immigrants, and the first generation of Canadian-born who were sufficiently motivated, used education to create the new identities that granted social mobility. For them, education was the real gateway into Canada.

In this regard, Stuartburn was typical of almost every Ukrainian agricultural settlement in western Canada. The course of development and the evolution of community institutions were products of the unique circumstances of Ukrainian settlement, not of the nature of Ukrainian society, Ukrainian culture, or temperament of the people. Other areas where Ukrainians from the same regions in Europe pioneered agricultural frontiers, such as in Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay, saw nothing of the intense and enduring, religiously based friction among community members that was common in the Canadian settlements. In Argentina and Brazil, for example, the host community was almost exclusively Roman Catholic, and virtually all Ukrainian settlers who arrived before World War II were from Galicia or Volhynia, hence predominantly Greek Catholic. They were ministered to by priests of the Greek Catholic Basilian order; papal authority was not contested, and the Ukrainian community was not subjected to the competitive efforts of rival ecclesiastical institutions to win their allegiance. Even in

Paraguay, where there was a strong Protestant presence in the Ukrainian community, religious friction was subdued. Immigrants from Volhynia imported Protestantism into Paraguay, so it was not associated with intrusion of alien influences, nor was it seen as a threat to Ukrainian national identity, even if it challenged the hegemony of the Ukrainian Catholic Church there.[8]

The relative religious harmony within Ukrainian settlements in Latin America also reduced the role of secular intelligentsias there. Education and health care remained in the hands of the church, which never had its hegemony challenged by internal forces. Although communities were more stable, stability came with a price. Without the initiative of a secular progressive intelligentsia, social change was retarded, and economic initiatives were stifled. In contrast, in Stuartburn, as in all Ukrainian colonies across western Canada, the secular intelligentsias were the catalysts of social change spearheading the formation of Ukrainian cooperatives and challenging the status of institutions imported from the homeland.

The manner in which the Canadian English-speaking evangelical churches approached the Stuartburn colony is instructive: it says much about the church hierarchy's perception of the area's population and the colonial relationship between immigrant society and mainstream anglophone Canada. Early in the twentieth century, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists in Canada had followed the example of the European colonial powers in carving up Africa when they segmented the Prairies into zones for missionary activity to reduce interdenominational conflict and maximize the impact of Protestant proselytizing initiatives. Clearly, it mattered little to them whether Ukrainian Orthodox or Catholics became Methodist or Presbyterian, because that would simply be determined by an accident of geography. The real intent was to advance a non-conformist creed and inculcate British imperial values into a population that many in the Canadian establishment saw as uncivilized and barely Christian. The Methodist Home Mission, with a mandate not significantly different from that of the Overseas Missions concerned with work in China and Africa, administered this work. The geographical focus differed, but the goals were essentially the same. This was a colonial process.

The lack of formal institutional leadership in the first decades of settlement was a crucial factor influencing the course of development in Stuartburn. The host community could not, certainly it did not, impose a local leadership structure. When Ukrainian immigrants arrived, they were essentially

leaderless and remained so until a secular leadership emerged from within their ranks. This paralleled the situation of many overseas colonies that did not receive significant European settlement; governed from outside and subject to an onslaught of cultural imperialism, local leaders had to negotiate a fine line between retention of their ethnic identity and acceptance of colonial values.

By and large, secular leaders did not emigrate from Ukraine, and the national churches, for a plethora of reasons beyond their control, were either unable or unwilling to provide strong dynamic leadership in western Canada. In the Stuartburn colony, and in other Ukrainian settlements across the west, this leadership vacuum lasted for approximately sixteen years, by which time the spiritual leadership question had become so confused that no one denomination achieved hegemony within the immigrant community. A generation emerged that looked to the host community for its leadership model. Forced to develop their own skills in self-governance, and with a new-found sense of intellectual independence, members of the secular immigrant grassroots intelligentsia were not about to slip quietly back into a deferential role in which clerical dictates were followed without question. They formed the cadre of teachers who promoted Ukrainian cultural life and agitated for the development of cooperatives. They provided the first generation of local municipal leaders and the first generation of Ukrainian entrepreneurs. From their ranks emerged the first elected Ukrainian members of provincial assemblies. Although the Ukrainian clergy later came to fulfill vital roles within the confines of their parishes, interdenominational rivalry prevented them from effectively representing the interests of the Ukrainian community within the wider national and provincial arenas. Secular leaders, mostly products of the frontier, filled that role.

The Stuartburn district was thus a colony in every sense of the word. It was an area open for European settlement, a source of cheap labour, raw materials, and agricultural products for the heartland that administered it and supplied its demands for manufactured goods. Institutions based outside the colony largely controlled its capital and trade. Relationships were hierarchical, and the interests of the colony were subjugated to the common good—in other words, to the interests of capital and the metropolitan hearth. Nevertheless, the colony's development was not the inevitable consequence of some general overarching system, such as the mode of production, world capitalist system, or global market, as structuralist interpretations would argue.[9] While the

development of commerce and the district's infrastructure was determined largely by the needs of the industrial heartland, religion, identity, and culture played far more significant roles in shaping Stuartburn's social geography, setting its position as an internal colony. Its existence might be explained by a metanarrative set in terms of shifts in the global economy and geopolitical manoeuvrings among the great powers. Its development, though, needs better explanation. Its struggle to emerge as a cohesive community might best be seen in terms of a cultural crisis where the forces of modernity were confronted by a slowly changing traditional society. But even this is overly simplistic. As this study has shown, details are important. Stuartburn's unique social and historical geography was forged by its literal and figurative position at the edge of the empire tempered by a confusion of agencies acting from within and beyond the colony.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1   Wasyl Mihaychuk, "The Mihaychuk Family Tree," unpublished ms., n.d.

2   Joseph Turenne to Commissioner of Dominion Lands, Winnipeg, 25 August 1896, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), RG 15, file 410595.

3   Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), xxiii–xxv.

4   Peter Jackson, *Maps of Meaning* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 178.

5   Ibid. Among many local studies of communities in eastern Canada, see John J. Mannion, *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), based on intensive study of three small pockets of Irish settlement in Ontario; and Wendy Cameron, "Selecting Peter Robinson's Irish Emigrants," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 9 (1976): 29–46, an account of the Irish Catholic block settlement of Peterborough and Lanark Counties, Ontario.

6   Kenneth M. Sylvester, *The Limits of Rural Capitalism: Family, Culture, and Markets in Montcalm, Manitoba, 1870–1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

7   Lyle Dick, *Farmers "Making Good": The Development of the Abernathy District, Saskatchewan, 1880–1920* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks Service, Environment Canada, 1989).

8   Royden Loewen, *Family, Church, and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and New Worlds, 1850–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

9   Wayne Norton, *Help Us to a Better Land: Crofter Colonies in the Prairie West* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1994); Ronald Rees, "Eccentric Settlements in the Canadian West," *History Today* 27, 9 (1977): 607–14; Keith Foster, "The Barr Colonists: Their Arrival and Impact on the Canadian North-West," *Saskatchewan History* 35, 3 (1982): 81–100.

10 Carl Tracy, *Toil and Peaceful Life: Doukhobor Village Settlement in Saskatchewan 1899–1918* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1999).

11 Gerald Friesen, ed., *Portraits of the Prairie Town*, by James Giffen (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2004).

12 John C. Lehr and Jeffrey Picknicki Morski, "Family Matters and Global Concerns: The Origins of the Ukrainian Pioneer Diaspora, 1891–1914," *Journal of Historical*

Geography 25, 3 (1999): 349–66; John C. Lehr, "One Family's Frontier: Life History and the Process of Ukrainian Settlement in the Stuartburn District of Southeastern Manitoba," *Canadian Geographer* 40, 2 (1996): 98–108.

13 Royden Loewen, *Ethnic Farm Culture in Western Canada,* Canada's Ethnic Group Series No. 29 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 2002).

14 For example, Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), and Terry G. Jordan, *The North American Cattle-Ranching Frontier: Origins, Diffusion, and Differentiation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), both consider vast regions spanning a quarter of the continent, whereas Hamilton's study of Métis land settlement in Saskatchewan focuses on an area of less than ten townships. R.B. Hamilton, "Métis Land Settlement at Willow Bunch, Saskatchewan, 1840–1910," *Prairie Perspectives* 10 (2007): 1–29.

15 Robert C. Ostergren, "Cultural Homogeneity and Population Stability among Swedish Immigrants in Chisago County," *Minnesota History* 43, 7 (1973): 255–69; Robert C. Ostergren, "A Community Transplanted: The Formative Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Community in the Upper Middle West," *Journal of Historical Geography* 5, 2 (1979): 189–212; Robert C. Ostergren, "Land and Family in Rural Immigrant Communities," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 71, 3 (1981): 400–11; Frederick C. Leubke, "Ethnic Group Settlement on the Great Plains," *Western Historical Quarterly* 8 (1977): 405–30.

16 See, for example, John Warkentin, "Mennonite Agricultural Settlements in Manitoba," *Geographical Review* 49, 3 (1959): 342–68; J.W. Darlington. "The Ukrainian Impress on the Canadian West," in *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity,* edited by Lubomyr Y. Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 53–80; John C. Lehr, "Ukrainians in Western Canada," in *To Build in a New Land: Ethnic Landscapes in North America,* edited by Allen G. Noble (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 309–30; and Terry G. Jordan, Jon T. Kilpinen, and Charles F. Gritzner, *The Mountain West: Interpreting the Folk Landscape* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 126.

17 Carl A. Dawson, *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada,* vol. 7 of *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement,* edited by William A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936).

18 See, for example, Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953); Arthur A. Chiel, *The Jews in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961); and Victor Turek, *The Poles in Manitoba* (Toronto: Polish Alliance Press, 1967).

19 For a review of the state of geographical research on prairie settlement in the 1970s, see Hansgeorg Schlictmann, "Ethnic Themes in Geographical Research in Western Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 9 (1977): 9–41. Examples of work concerned with the interaction of ethnicity, landscape, and government agencies include John Warkentin, "Mennonite Agricultural Settlements in Manitoba," *Geographical Review* 49, 3 (1959): 342–68; John C. Lehr, "Mormon Settlement Morphology in Southern Alberta," *Albertan Geographer* 8 (1972): 6–13; John C. Lehr, "The Sequence of Mormon Settlement in Alberta," *Albertan Geographer* 10 (1974): 20–29; Lynn Rosenvall, "The Transfer of Mormon Culture to Alberta," in *Essays on the Historical Geography of the Canadian West: Regional Perspectives on the Settlement Process,* edited by L.A. Rosenvall and S.M. Evans (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1987), 122–44; and John C. Lehr, "A Jewish Farmer Can't Be: Land Settlement

Policies and Ethnic Settlement in Western Canada 1870–1919," in *Jewish Life and Times,* vol. 9, edited byz Daniel Stone and Annalee Greenberg (Winnipeg: Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, 2009), 18–28.

20 Lubomyr Y. Luciuk and Bohdan Kordan, *Creating a Landscape: A Geography of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

21 See, for example, Yossi Katz and John C. Lehr, "Ethnicity, Institutions, and the Cultural Landscapes of the Canadian Prairie West," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 16, 2 (1994): 70–87; and John C. Lehr and Yossi Katz, "Crown, Corporation, and Church: The Role of Institutions in the Stability of Pioneer Settlements in the Canadian West 1870–1914," *Journal of Historical Geography* 21, 4 (1995): 413–29.

22 Frances Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010).

23 For useful discussions of the term "frontier," see Gregory H. Nobles, *American Frontiers: Cultural Encounters and Continental Conquest* (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 1-16; Jordan and Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier,* 19–37.

24 Nobles, *American Frontiers,* 7.

25 Turner's classic essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," initially published in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893,* is reprinted in John Mack Faragher, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier in American History and Other Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 21–60.

26 See Ray A. Billington, *America's Frontier Heritage* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 229–35.

27 C.L. Higham, "An Introduction to Comparing the Two Wests," in *One West, Two Myths: A Comparative Reader,* edited by C.L. Higham and Robert Thacker (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), xiii.

28 J.M.S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review* 35, 1 (1954): 1–21. Another view was put forward by Louis Hartz, who argued that new world communities evolved as they did because immigrants transferred only fragments of their former social structure to the new lands. See Louis Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), 10. Geographer Cole Harris has argued that European societies established in the Americas were simplified versions of the original societies in the European hearth. He stressed that the ready availability of land was a powerful element that broke down the pre-existing social order and spurred the development of new social relationships and social institutions. R.C. Harris, "The Simplification of Europe Overseas," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 67, 4 (1977): 469–83.

29 Richard Peet and E. Hartwick, *Theories of Development* (New York: Guilford Press, 1999), 123.

30 Ibid., 129.

31 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); Tim Unwin, "A Waste of Space? Towards a Critique of the Social Production of Space," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* new series, 25, 1 (2000): 11–29.

32 David Harvey, *The Condition of Post Modernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990), 49.

33 Paul Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 5.

34 Mihaychuk, "The Mihaychuk Family Tree."

35 Mary Praximadis, *Look Who's Coming: The Wachna Story* (Oshawa: Maracle Press, 1976).

36 See, for example, Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931); Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947); Paul Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life* (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Business and Professional Federation, 1967); J.G. Macgregor, *Vilni Zemli: Free Lands* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969); Michael Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970); and Julian Stechishyn, *Istoriya pocelennya ukraiintsiv u kanadi* (Edmonton: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1975). More recent popular histories that give a good overview of the Ukrainian settlement experience include Myrna Kostash, *All of Baba's Children* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977); and Helen Potrebenko, *No Streets of Gold: A Social History of Ukrainians in Alberta* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1977).

37 Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895–1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964).

38 Jaroslav Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians 1891–1914* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1985).

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

40 For a review of such material, see Darlington, "The Ukrainian Impress on the Canadian West."

41 Luciuk and Kordan, *Creating a Landscape.*

42 See, for example, John C. Lehr, "The Process and Pattern of Ukrainian Rural Settlement in Western Canada, 1891–1914" (PhD diss., University of Manitoba, 1978).

43 George W. Simpson, "The Names 'Rus,' 'Russia,' 'Ukraine,' and Their Historical Background," in *Slavistica: Proceedings of the Institute of Slavistics of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences,* vol. 10 (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1951).

44 Jordan, Kilpinen, and Gritzner, *The Mountain West,* 9.

CHAPTER 1: BEGINNINGS

1 John Mack Faragher, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," and Other Essays* (New York: Henry Holt, 1994), 1–3.

2 Bruce Shepard, *Deemed Unsuitable: Blacks from Oklahoma move to the Canadian Prairies in search of Equality in the early 20th Century only to find Racism in their new Home* (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1997).

3 Ukrainian peasant immigrants from the Russian Empire tended to become industrial workers in the mines and factories of the United States and eastern Canada. Relatively few engaged in agricultural settlement in the west. Vadim Kukushkin, *From Peasants to Labourers: Ukrainian and Belorusan Immigration*

from the Russian Empire to Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007).

4 See, for example, Stella Hryniuk, *Peasants with Promise: Ukrainians in Southeastern Galicia 1880–1900* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, University of Alberta, 1991); John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, University of Alberta, 1988); Peter F. Sugar, "The Nature of the Non-Germanic Societies under Habsburg Rule," *Slavic Review* 22 (1963): 1–30; and A.M. Shlepakov, *Ukrains'ka trudova emigratsiya v S.Sh.A. i Kanadi* [Ukrainian Workers' Emigration to the USA and Canada] (Kyiv: Akademiya Nauk Ukrains'kaya, R.S.R., 1960).

5 Emily Greene Balch, "Slav Emigration at Its Source," *Charities and the Commons* 16 (1906): 179; Stella Hryniuk and Jeffrey Picknicki, *The Land They Left Behind: Canada's Ukrainians in the Homeland* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1995).

6 In the early 1890s, railway communications in Galicia and Bukovyna were skeletal. Only the major centres were connected by rail. Thousands of villages remained hours from the nearest railway station, unconnected to the outside world. See, for example, *Eisenbahn—u—Post Communications-Karte v Oesterreich-Ungarn 1889* (Wien: Druck v. G. Freytag und Berndt, 1889), Zaborski Collection, Austria-Hungary, 1, William C. Wonders Map Collection, University of Alberta.

7 Michael Ewanchuk, *Hawaiian Ordeal: Ukrainian Contract Workers 1897–1910* (Winnipeg: Ewanchuk, 1986); Jeffrey Picknicki Morski, *Under the Southern Cross: A Collection of Accounts and Reminiscences about Ukrainian Immigration in Brazil 1891–1914* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 2000); John C. Lehr and Jeffrey Picknicki Morski, "Family Matters and Global Concerns: The Origins of the Ukrainian Pioneer Diaspora, 1891–1914," *Journal of Historical Geography* 25, 3 (1999): 349–66; Arnold Shlepakov, *The Emigration of Ukrainians to Canada: Reasons and Circumstances* (n.p.: n.p., [c .1981]), 25–30.

8 Josef Oleskiw, *Pro vilni zemli* [About Free Lands] (L'viv: Prosvita Society, 1895).

9 Josef Oleskiw, *O emigratsii* [On Emigration] (Michael Kachkowskyi Society, L'viv, December, 1895); Josef Oleskiw, *Rolnictwo za oceanem a przesiedlna emigracya* [Agriculture across the Ocean and the Emigration Movement] (Karlsbad: Basilian Fathers, 1896).

10 Shlepakov, *The Emigration of Ukrainians to Canada,* 25. For an overall picture of the role of emigration propaganda in the promotion of the settlement of western Canada, see Ronald Rees, *New and Naked Land: Making the Prairies Home* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1988), 4–27; and Klaus Peter Stich, "Canada's Century: The Rhetoric of Propaganda," *Prairie Forum* 1 (1976): 19–29. For a more theoretical discussion of emigration propaganda, see G. Malcolm Lewis, "Rhetoric of the Western Interior: Modes of Environmental Description in American Promotional Literature of the Nineteenth Century," in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design, and Use of Past Environments,* edited by Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Lewis (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 179–93. Immigration propaganda in western Ukraine is discussed in John C. Lehr, "Propaganda and Belief: Ukrainian Emigrant Views of the Canadian West," in *New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada,* edited by J. Rozumnyj (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983), 1–17.

11 Lehr, "Propaganda and Belief," 12.

12 John C. Lehr and D. Wayne Moodie, "The Polemics of Pioneer Settlement: Perspectives on Ukrainian Immigration from the Winnipeg Press, 1896–1905," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 12, 2 (1980): 88–101.

13 *Winnipeg Telegram,* 7 March 1899.

14 See *Nor'Wester,* 17 May 1898, 3 August 1897; and *Winnipeg Telegram,* 26 June and 7 July 1899.

15 *Winnipeg Telegram,* 20 February 1900.

16 C. Sifton, "The Immigrants Canada Wants," *Maclean's Magazine,* 1 April 1922, 16, 33.

CHAPTER 2: SETTLEMENT

1 William F. McCreary to James A. Smart, 14 May 1897. LAC, RG 76, Vol. 144, File 34214 pt.1.

2 Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786–1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974), 209–30.

3 Kirk N. Lambrecht, *The Administration of Dominion Lands 1870–1930* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1991), 8–11.

4 Chester Martin, *"Dominion Lands" Policy,* edited by Lewis H. Thomas, Carlton Library No. 69 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), 17–19.

5 Ibid., 22.

6 Records of Homestead Entry and Township General Registers, Archives of Manitoba (hereafter AM). Stuartburn was named by Millar as a combination of his first name and *burn,* the Scottish word for "creek"; this was rather unusual in that few settlers had the opportunity to name places.

7 Vladimir J. Kaye, "Dr. Josef Oleskiw's Visit to Canada, August–October 1895," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* 32 (1962): 30–44.

8 Josef Oleskiw, *Rolnictwo za oceanem a przesiedlna emigracya* [Agriculture across the Ocean and the Emigration Movement] (Karlsbad: Basilian Fathers, 1896).

9 Canada, *Sessional Papers,* 1896, Department of the Interior Report, 118.

10 John W. Wendelbo to H.H. Smith, 8 August 1896, LAC, RG 15, vol. B-1a (224) file 410595.

11 Township General Registers, AM.

12 John W. Wendelbo to H.H. Smith, 8 August 1896, LAC, RG 15, vol. B-1a (224) file 410595.

13 Canada, *Sessional Papers,* 1896, Department of the Interior Report, 12–13.

14 W.J. Sisler, "Diary and Notes, 1918," Sisler Papers, AM.

15 Township General Registers, Twp. 1 Rge. 6 E.

16 Canada, *Sessional Papers,* 1896, Department of the Interior Report, 5.

17 H.H. Carsens to H.H. Smith, 8 August 1896, LAC, RG 15 vol. B-1a (224) file 410595.

18 Canada, *Sessional Papers,* 1897, Department of the Interior Report, 127.

19 John W. Wendelbo to H.H. Smith, 8 August 1896, LAC, RG 15, file 10595; Michael Ewanchuk, *Pioneer Profiles: Ukrainian Settlers in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Ewanchuk, 1981), 13.

20 [J. Burpe], Secretary to the Commissioner of Dominion Lands, to Secretary, Department of the Interior, 30 November 1896, LAC, RG 76, vol. 110, file 21103.

21 Mykhailo Stashyn, "Moi spohady," 76–77, quoted in Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895–1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 138–40.

22 Secretary, Dominion Lands Commission, Winnipeg, to Secretary, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 25 August 1896, LAC, RG 15, vol. B1-a (224) file 410595.

23 *Winnipeg Telegram,* 9 June 1899.

24 *Winnipeg Telegram,* 10 August 1899.

25 *Winnipeg Telegram,* 28 January 1897. See also Stella Hryniuk, "'Sifton's Pets': Who Were They?," in *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity,* edited by Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 3–16.

26 William F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 13 May 1897, LAC, RG 76, vol. 144, file 31412, part 1.

27 James A. Smart, Ottawa, to W.F. McCreary, Winnipeg, 5 May 1897, LAC, RG 15, vol. B1-a (224) file 410595.

28 Township Plans, Range 6 E, Townships 1–34, AM, GR 2404.

29 For a more detailed analysis of the government's role in placing Ukrainians on land, see John C. Lehr, "The Government and the Immigrant: Perspectives on Ukrainian Block Settlement in the Canadian West," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 9, 2 (1977): 42–52; John C. Lehr, "Government Perceptions of Ukrainian Immigrants to Western Canada, 1896–1902," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 19, 2 (1987): 1–12; and John C. Lehr, "Government Coercion in the Settlement of Ukrainian Immigrants in Western Canada," *Prairie Forum* 8, 2 (1983): 179–94.

30 W.F. McCreary to J.A. Smart, 14 May 1897, LAC, RG 76, vol. 144, file 34214, part 1.

31 Farmers in the dryland belt of the southern Prairies had a taste of the brutal economics of monoculture in 1914 when drought caused widespread crop failure. Those without reserves of capital could neither meet their debts nor feed their families. David C. Jones, "We'll All Be Buried down Here in This Dry Belt...," *Saskatchewan History* 35 (1982): 42.

32 Emily Greene Balch, "Slav Emigration at Its Source," *Charities and the Commons* 16 (1906): 179; A.M. Shlepakow, *Ukrains'ka trudova emigratsiya v S.Sh.A i Kanadi* [Ukrainian Workers' Emigration to the USA and Canada] (Kyiv: Akademiya Nauk Ukrains'kaya, R.S.R, 1960), 13–45. More recent and thorough appraisals of social and economic conditions in western Ukraine at the end of the nineteenth century are John Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988); and Stella Hryniuk, *Ukrainians in Southeast Galicia, 1880–1900* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991). See also Stella Hryniuk and Jeffrey Picknicki, *The Land They Left Behind: Canada's Ukrainians in the Homeland* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1995).

33 Ewanchuk, *Pioneer Profiles,* 159.

34 P. Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers: Memoirs from the Stuartburn Colony and Other Points* (Steinbach, MB: Doerksen Printers, [1976?], 43.

35 John Panchuk, *Bukowinian Settlements in Southern Manitoba* (Battle Creek, MB: Panchuk, 1971), 5; Mary Praximadis, *Look Who's Coming: The Wachna Story* (Oshawa: Maracle Press, 1976), 56–58.

36 "Report on the Stuartburn Colony," 30 August 1898, LAC, RG 76, vol. 178, file 60860, part 1.

37 Ewanchuk, *Pioneer Profiles,* 167.

38 Genik's role in the Ukrainian settlement of the Canadian west is described in some detail in Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada.*

39 Records of Homestead Entry, NE 26 Twp. 3 Rge. 8 E.

40 John C. Lehr, "Kinship and Society in the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the Canadian West," *Canadian Geographer* 29, 3 (1985): 207–19; John C. Lehr and Jeffrey Picknicki Morski, "Family Matters and Global Concerns: The Origins of the Ukrainian Pioneer Diaspora, 1891–1914," *Journal of Historical Geography* 25, 3 (1999): 349–66.

41 For example, George Alexiuk, Sundown, 15 July 1975; Mrs. M. Sportak, Vita, 3 July 1975; Wasylyna Koshelanyk, Caliento, 3 July 1975; N. Chornopysky, Vita, 8 October 1975; and George Penteliuk, Arbakka, 10 October 1975, interviews by author.

42 John Gregorchuk, Arbakka, interview by author, 10 October 1975.

43 Todor Kutzak, Sirko, interview by author, 10 October 1975.

44 John C. Lehr, "One Family's Frontier: Life History and the Process of Ukrainian Settlement in the Stuartburn District of Southeastern Manitoba," *Canadian Geographer* 40, 2 (1996): 98–108.

45 Stephen Storeszcuk, Gardenton, interview by author, 21 July 1975.

46 W.F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, 15 May 1897, LAC, RG 76, vol. 144, file 34214, part 1.

47 Thomas McNutt, "Galicians and Bukowinians," in *The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People,* edited by John Hawkes (Chicago: S.J. Clarke, 1924), 731–32.

48 John C. Lehr, "Peopling the Prairies with Ukrainians," in *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity,* edited by Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 30–52.

49 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 12 July 1932.

50 Lehr, "Kinship and Society," 210.

51 "Mushaluk Family Reunion," unpublished typescript, 1991.

52 Records of Homestead Entry, NE 13 Twp. 3 Rge. 7 E; Township Plan, Twp. 3 Rge. 7 E.

53 John Panchuk, *Bukowinian Settlers in Southern Manitoba* (Battle Creek, MI: Panchuk, 1971), 79; Kaye, *Ukrainian Settlements,* 381–82.

54 O.T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period 1891–1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1991), 173.

55 Quoted in Petro Zvarych, *Spomyny,* [Memoirs] *1877–1904* (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1976), 98.

56 Records of Homestead Entry, SE 20 Twp. 1 Rge. 8 E, and SW 20 Twp. 1 Rge. 8 E.

57 Correspondence between M. Kodyniuk, Secretary-Treasurer, RM of Stuartburn, and Commissioner for Dominion Lands, Winnipeg, records of Homestead Entry, NW 31 Twp. 1 Rge. 8 E.

58 *Winnipeg Telegram,* 1 April 1911, 6 December 1911.

59 See, for example, Helen Potrebenko, *No Streets of Gold: A Social History of Ukrainians in Alberta* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1977); and Myrna Kostash, *All of Baba's Children* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1977), 8–26.

60 Panchuk, *Bukowinian Settlers,* 79; Anna Woywitka, "Homesteader's Woman," *Alberta History* 24 (1976): 286–87; Merose Woronuk, "Edson Grande Prairie Trail," in *Wheatfields and Wildflowers: A History of Rycroft and Surrounding School Districts,* edited by Rycroft History Book Committee (Rycroft, AB: Rycroft History Book Committee, 1984), 41–46.

CHAPTER 3: PROVING UP AND WORKING OUT

1 Records of Homestead Entry, Applications for Patent, Twp. 2 Rge. 9 E; Surveyors' Notebooks, 1872–75 and 1884, AM.

2 Records of Homestead Entry, Correspondence Relating to the Application to Patent for SW 2 Twp. 3 Rge. 8 E, AM.

3 Reviel Netz, *Barbed Wire: An Ecology of Modernity* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 119–24.

4 P. Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers: Memoirs from the Stuartburn Colony and Other Points* (Steinbach, MB: Doerksen Printers, [1976?]), 65–66.

5 Fieldwork that I conducted in 1998, 2005, 2006, and 2008, in Ivano-Frankivskyi and Chernivtsi Oblasts, in the areas of Galicia and Bukovyna, from which settlers of the Stuartburn area emigrated before 1915, confirmed that the traditional breastplate harness is still commonly employed there. Ukrainian farmers in the colonies in Paraná, Brazil, still mostly use this type of harness. Field research in Paraná, Brazil, May 2009.

6 *Dominion City Echo,* 1 January 1905, 3 September 1908.

7 John C. Lehr, "One Family's Frontier," *Canadian Geographer* 40, 2 (1996): 98–108.

8 John Panchuk, *Bukowinian Settlements in Southern Manitoba (Gardenton Area)* (Battle Creek, MI: Panchuk, 1971), 72–76. See also Harry Piniuta, trans. and ed., *Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers 1891–1914* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978). According to a local correspondent to *Svoboda,* 27 June 1901, those who worked out earned between $125 and $160 for seven months of work.

9 Wasyl Mihaychuk, "The Mihaychuk Family Tree," unpublished ms., n.d., 22.

10 Ibid., 25–26.

11 Ibid.

12 Panchuk, *Bukowinian Settlements,* 72–73.

13 W.J. Sisler, Diary, 6 August 1916, AM, Sisler Collection, box 3.

14 James S.Woodsworth, "Ukrainian Rural Communities: Report of Investigations by the Bureau of Social research, Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta," mimeographed folio, Winnipeg, 1917 11. See also Sisler, Diary, 1916, AM, Sisler Collection, box 3.

15 Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress,* 56–59.

16 Ibid., 193.

17 *Dominion City Echo,* 9 May 1901.

18 M. Ewanchuk, *Pioneer Profiles: Ukrainian Settlers in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Ewanchuk, 1981), 259–60.

19 *Manitoba Free Press,* 20 October 1898.

20 Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress,* 53.

21 Ibid.

22 Vita General Hospital, "Report Covering Activities of 1928," Manitoba and North West Ontario Conference Hospitals, United Church Archives, University of Winnipeg.

23 Vic Satzewich, "Migrant and Immigrant Families in Canada: State Coercion and Legal Control in the Formation of Ethnic Families," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 24, 1 (1993): 321.

24 Marie Lesoway, "Women in Three Households," in *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians,* edited by Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988), 116–19. Lesoway points out that adoption of Canadian practices and dispersed settlement within Ukrainian bloc settlements combined to eliminate many of the social settings where traditional culture and domestic skills were transmitted.

25 Panchuk, *Bukowinian Settlements,* 75.

26 Sisler, Diary, 1916. AM, Sisler Collection, box 3.

27 Nestor Dymytriw, *Canadian Ruthenia: Travel Memoirs,* translated by Jars Balan (forthcoming), cited in Serge Cipko*, St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, Edmonton: A History (1902–2002)* (Edmonton: St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, 2009), 139.

28 Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity 1891–1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 98.

29 Mykhailo Stashyn, quoted in V.J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895–1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964), 139. See also Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress,* 61. For a detailed description of similar dwellings built by Ukrainian pioneers in Alberta, see Andriy Nahachewsky, *Ukrainian Dug-Out Dwellings in East Central Alberta,* Historic Sites Service Occasional Paper No. 11 (Edmonton: Alberta Culture,1985).

30 Rose A. Hambly, *Education among New Canadians* (Winnipeg: Department of Education of Manitoba, [1919?]), 3–4.

31 John C. Lehr, "The Log Buildings of Ukrainian Settlers in Western Canada," *Prairie Forum* 5, 2 (1980): 183–96.

32 For details of traditional architecture in the immigrants' home areas, see V. Samoilovych, *Narodna tvorchist v arkhitekturi silskoho zhytla* [Folk Creativity in Rural Architecture] (Kyiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytsvo Literatury z Budivnytstva, URSR, 1961); and V. Samoilovych, *Ukrains'ke narodne zhytlo* [The Ukrainian Folk Dwelling] (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1972).

33 John C. Lehr, "Colour Preferences and Building Decoration among Ukrainians in Western Canada," *Prairie Forum* 6, 2 (1982): 203–06.

34 Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress,* 52.

35 For detailed descriptions of Ukrainian folk architecture in Canada, see John C. Lehr, "Ukrainians in Western Canada," in *To Build in a New Land: Ethnic Landscapes in*

North America, edited by Allen G. Noble (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 309–30; and John C. Lehr, "The Landscape of Ukrainian Settlement in Western Canada," *Great Plains Quarterly* 2, 2 (1982): 94–105. An excellent description of the material folk culture from Bukovyna that was introduced into Alberta by Ukrainian immigrants from the same region as those who settled in the Stuartburn area is given in Roman Fodchuk, *Zhorna: Material Culture of the Ukrainian Pioneers* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006). Demjan Hohol', *The Grekul House: A Land Use and Structural History,* Occasional Paper No. 14 (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service, Alberta Culture, 1985), is a detailed description of a traditional house built by a settler from Bukovyna around 1908; for a similarly detailed architectural description of a house built near Caliento, see M.D. Olynyk, K.M. Lausman, and E. Oram, *The Fedoryshyn Cottage at Caliento Manitoba: An Analytical Study Report* (Winnipeg: Parks Canada, 1979).

36 M. Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 16 February 1997.

37 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 6 June 1917.

38 K.C.P. [K.C. Prodan], "Okolytsia Stuartburn" [The Stuartburn District], in *Obrazkovanyi kalendar kanadyiskykh ukraintsi: Providnyk* [Illustrated Calendar for Canadian Ukrainians: The Leader] (Winnipeg: St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrant's Welfare Association of Canada, 1931), 35–41.

39 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 14 September 1927.

40 "Pro kanady yi emigratsiu do neyi, z rozmovy z K.C. Prodanom" [About Canada and Emigrating There: A Conversation with K.C. Prodan.], *Dilo* [L'viv], 31 December 1931, 1.

41 Panchuk, *Bukowinian Settlements,* 56; Stashyn, in Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements,* 28.

42 Mihaychuk, "The Mihaychuk Family Tree."

43 Panchuk, *Bukowinian Settlements,* 72.

44 Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress,* 94.

CHAPTER 4: INFRASTRUCTURE AND COMMUNICATIONS

1 *Badger Herald-Rustler,* 28 August 1909, Roseau County Files—Drainage, Roseau County Historical Society, Roseau, MN; see also the *Emerson Journal,* 3 April 1908.

2 Report of the Drainage Committee, February 1922, 168. AM, GR 174, G 8374, 89-13.

3 Plan of Drainage District No. 3, Franklin Municipality, Public Works Department, Annual Report, 1901, AM, RG 174, OS 68-1; *Land Drainage Arrangement Commission Report,* 1936, AM, GR 174, G 8360, OS 0164-2, 10–16.

4 M. Clubb, Speech to House on Drainage, 10 May 1923, Drainage Control—General 1919–27, AM, GR 17-4, G 8019, box 12.

5 Annual Report of the Good Roads Board, 1926, AM, GR 174, G 8379, 94-1.

6 Annual Report of the Department of Public Works, 1899, AM, GR 174, G 8199, OS 0058-2.

7 Wasyl Mihaychuk, "The Mihaychuk Family Tree," unpublished ms., n.d., 2–4.

8 *Dominion City Echo,* 9 May 1901.

9 Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 26 February 2000.

10 Frank Saprovich, Winnipeg, interview by author, 10 August 1996.

11 *Canadian Rail* 282 (1975): 205; *Canadian Rail* 285 (1975): 300, AM, AVF Transportation-Railway.

12 Report of the Railway Commissioner for Manitoba, 1906, AM, GR 174, G 8247, OS, box 88-5.

13 Charles W. Bohi and Leslie S. Kozma, *Canadian National's Western Stations* (Don Mills, ON: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1977), 106.

14 *Canadian Northern Railway, Summer Service Time Table,* Ridgeville Section, issue 26, 25 July 1910.

15 *Canadian National Railway Timetable,* Folder F, no. 70, 1930, 1933, and 1939; J. Sine, Winnipeg, interview by author, 16 June 2004.

16 *Canadian National Railway Timetable,* 26 October–25 April 1959; H.J.G. Pye, CNR Law Department, Commission Council, to C.W. Rump, Secretary, Board of Transport Commissioners, Ottawa, 19 February 1965, LAC, RG 46, vol. 1354, file 4205.1416.

17 *Carillon News* [Steinbach], 7 September 1967.

18 Some idea of the low freight volumes can be gathered from the fact that, during a two-year period from 1962 to 1964, the CNR earned only sixty dollars at the Ridgeville station from freight. H.J.G. Pye, CNR Law Department, Commission Council, to C.W. Rump, Secretary, Board of Transport Commissioners, Ottawa, 19 February 1965, NAC, RG 46, vol. 1354, file 4205.1416.

19 Methodist Missions, Vita Hospital Report, 1939. United Church Archives, University of Winnipeg; Ruth Stewart, Winnipeg, telephone interview by author, 10 December 1998.

20 H.W. McCleod, Postal Inspector, Winnipeg, to Postmaster General, Ottawa, 6 April 1887, LAC, RG 3, Series D3, vol. 54, file 1887-283.

21 W.C. Hartley, Inspector of Schools, Inspectoral District No. 14 [Stuartburn], Department of Education, "Report for Year Ending June 30, 1913," AM, GR 174, OS 119-2.

22 Report of C.H. Dancer, Chief Engineer, Department of Public Works, Annual Report, 1905, AM, GR 174, OS, box 82-3.

23 Report of A.L. Young, South East Inspectoral Division, Department of Education, Annual Report, 1905, AM, GR 174, OS box 82-2.

24 Report of Chas. H. Dancer, Deputy Minister of Public Works, Annual Report, 1913, AM, GR 174, OS 119-2.

25 Report of the Department of Public Works, 1910, AM, GR 174, G 8284–2.

26 Report of the Department of Public Works,, 1914, AM, GR 174, G 8310, OS 124-–2.

27 Report of S.C. Oxton, Deputy Minister of Public Works, Reclamation Branch, Department of Public Works, Annual Report, 1920, AM, GR 174.

28 Annual Reports of the Good Roads Board, 1920–30, AM, GR 174, G 8378, 93-1 to 94-4.

29 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 8 April 1917 and 30 January 1918.

30 Report of the Chief Engineer, Department of Public Works, 1910, AM, GR 174, G 8284.

31 Annual Report of the Department of Public Works, 1917, AM, GR 174, G 8347, 80-7.

32 Annual Reports of the Good Roads Board, 1920–30, AM, GR 174, G 8378, 93-1 to 94-4.

33 Return to an Order of the House, Re: Provincial Automobiles, 1919, AM, GR 175, G 8376, box 91-1.

34 Annual Report of the Good Roads Board, 1925, AM, GR 174, G 8378, 93-7.

35 Annual Report of the Department of Public Works, 1915, AM, GR 174, G 8371, box 86-14; Annual Report of the Department of Public Works, 1916, AM, GR 174, G 8350, box 83-14.

36 Report of H.A. Bowman, Chief Engineer, Reclamation Branch, Department of Public Works, Annual Report, 1930, AM, GR 174, G 8379, 94-4.

37 *Kanadyiskyi farmer,* 11 March 1931.

38 J.R. Mitchell, "Vita General Hospital," *Manitoba Medical Journal* 12, 2 (1940): 40.

39 Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 16 February 1998; Ruth Stewart, Winnipeg, telephone interview by author, 10 December 1998.

40 Mitchell, "Vita General Hospital," 40.

41 *Kanadyiskyi farmer,* 18 February 1942.

42 Vince Lane, Dominion City, interview by author, 19 September 1997.

43 Kateryna Mihaychuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 27 May 1996.

44 Ruth Stewart, Winnipeg, telephone interview by author, 10 December 1998; Vita Hospital Report, 1946, United Church Archives, University of Winnipeg.

45 C.F. Sise, President, Bell Telephone Company, to R. Roblin, Premier, Province of Manitoba, 16 March 1907, AM, GR 174, G 8261, OS box 93-95.

46 O.F. French, Chief Engineer, Department of Railways, Telephones and Telegraphs, to J.H. Howden, Minister of Railways, Telephones and Telegraphs, 10 December 1907, AM, GR 174, G 8261, OS box 93-95

47 *Dominion City Echo,* 15 December 1904, and 13 September 1906.

48 Manitoba Government Telephones, Official Provincial Directories, 1908–39.

49 Manitoba Government Telephones, Official Provincial Directories, 1939–55.

50 Manitoba Government Telephones, Official Provincial Directories, 1955–61.

51 H.W. McCleod, Postal Inspector, Winnipeg, to Postmaster General, Ottawa, 20 December 1884, LAC, RG 3, Series D3, vol. 48, file 1884-871.

52 L. Mackay, *A Farm Electrification Programme: Report of Manitoba Electrification Enquiry Commission* (Winnipeg: King's Printer for Manitoba, 1942), 1.

53 Ibid., 49–53.

54 Ibid., 2.

55 Annual Reports of the Manitoba Power Commission, 1949–58.

56 *Bulletin, Manitoba Power Commission,* March 1950, 13.

57 Farm Wiring Forms, Manitoba Power Commission, Manitoba Hydro, Electrical Museum and Archives, Winnipeg.

58 *Bulletin,* Manitoba Power Commission, January 1955, 6.

59 The move to electrify rural Manitoba was driven by the rhetoric of modernity and a new vision of the role of women within the household. See, for example, Jenera Franklin, "Revelation Hydro Kitchen: My New Electric Range Reveals the Secret of Successful Meals," *Manitoba History* (autumn–winter 2004–05): 25–28.

CHAPTER 5: THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCE

1   Peter Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers: Memoirs from the Stuartburn Colony and Other Points* (Steinbach, MB: Doerksen Printers, [1976]), 144; John Machula, Vita, interview by author, 1 September 1997.

2   Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Rev. ed., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956).

3   John C. Lehr and Yossi Katz, "Crown, Corporation, and Church: The Role of Institutions in the Stability of Pioneer Settlements in the Canadian West, 1870–1914," *Journal of Historical Geography* 21, 4 (1995): 413–29.

4   Town of Emerson, Tax Rolls, 1896.

5   Franklin Municipality, Tax Rolls, 1896.

6   Franklin Municipality, Tax Rolls, 1896–1908.

7   *Dominion City Weekly Echo,* 10 January 1900; Minutes of Council, 2 January 1900, Minute Book, Franklin Municipality.

8   *Dominion City Weekly Echo,* 24 January 1900.

9   Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress,* 221.

10 When the Spanish-American War erupted, Hutterites, a pacifist Anabaptist German-speaking group then settled in South Dakota, feared the introduction of conscription. The colony near Dominion City functioned as a refuge in the event that conscription was introduced in the United States. When the threat passed after the war, these Hutterites moved back to the United States.

11 *Dominion City Echo,* 3 December 1903.

12 Town of Emerson, Tax Rolls, 1909.

13 *Dominion City Echo,* 28 August 1902.

14 Michael Ewanchuk, *East of the Red: Early Ukrainian Settlements 1896–1930* (Winnipeg: Ewanchuk, 1998), 82.

15 John Paul Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside during the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, edited by Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988), 111–58.

16 Mary Praximadis, *Look Who's Coming: The Wachna Story* (Oshawa, ON: Maracle Press, 1976), 20. According to information that Wachna gave to K.C. Prodan, he had attended English classes in evening school while in Scranton. K.C.P. [K.C. Prodan], "Okolytsia Stuartborn" [The Stuartburn District], *Obrazkovanyi kalendar Kanadijs'kykh Ukraintsi: Providnyk* [Illustrated Calendar for Canadian Ukrainians: The Leader] (Winnipeg: St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association of Canada, 1931), 35.

17 Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress,* 215.

18 Postal Records, LAC, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/archivianet/post-offices/001001-100.01-e.php (accessed 2 March 2011).

19 *Emerson Journal,* 11 September 1914.

20 Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 16 February 1997.

21 Stuartburn Municipality, Tax Rolls, 1912–30.

22 Data for Manitoba vehicle registrations compiled by Dr. Gordon Goldsborough, University of Manitoba, from 1911 *Census of Canada*, Vital Statistics Canada, and the Drewry Scapbooks in the Archives of Manitoba.

23 On the rules of Jewish religious observance, see H. Donin, *To Be a Jew: A Guide to Jewish Observance in Contemporary Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1972). See also Yossi Katz and John C. Lehr, "Jewish and Mormon Agricultural Settlement in Western Canada: A Comparative Analysis," *Canadian Geographer* 35, 2 (1991): 128–42, which attempts to explain Jewish agricultural failure in western Canada against the background of Jewish religious law.

24 Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress,* 164.

25 Wasyl Czumer, *Recollections about the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada,* translated by Louis T. Laychuk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1981), 89.

26 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 12 September 1917.

27 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 14 February 1914.

28 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 16 September 1916.

29 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 22 December 1915.

30 *Svoboda,* 27 December 1900.

31 *Chervonyi prapor,* 27 February 1908.

32 Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 16 February 1977.

33 *Kanadyiskyi farmer,* April 1932.

34 Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 16 February 1997.

35 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 29 March 1916.

36 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 15 March 1916; 5 April 1916; 5 July 1916; 15 July 1916; 19 July 1916.

37 United Church Archives (hereafter UCA), Victoria University, Toronto, Doyle, 4 October 1921, 5 April 1923.

38 UCA, Victoria University, Manton, 7 October 1921.

39 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 28 March 1917.

40 John C. Lehr, "One Family's Frontier: Life History and the Process of Ukrainian Settlement in the Stuartburn District of Southeastern Manitoba," *Canadian Geographer* 40, 2 (1996): 98–108.

41 *Vita Hospital Report 1930,* UCA, University of Winnipeg.

42 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 4 August 1915.

43 Dr. John Everitt, Department of Geography, Brandon University, interview by author, 27 September 1998. The elevator at Tolstoi was the only one ever established in the Stuartburn colony. See John Everitt, "The Development of the Grain Trade in Manitoba," in *The Geography of Manitoba: Its Land and Its People,* edited by John Welsted, John Everitt, and Christoph Stadel (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1996), 197–215.

44 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 4 August 1915.

45 *Dominion City Weekly Echo,* 28 July 1904.

46 Ruth Stewart, Winkler, telephone interview by author, 10 December 1998; *Vita Hospital Report 1928,* UCA, University of Winnipeg; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* 13

January 1930; John Machula, Vita, interview by author, 1 September 1995; Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 29 February 2000.

47 *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* 13 January 1930; N. Machnee, Gardenton, interview by author, 5 August 1995; John Machula, Vita, interview by author, 1 September 1997.

48 Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 29 February 2000.

49 H.V. Walden, Report to the Vita Hospital Board, 22 February 1938, UCA, University of Winnipeg.

50 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 23 May 1934, 7 July 1939.

51 Wasyl Mihaychuk, "The Mihaychuk Family Tree," unpublished ms., n.d. Ukrainian settlers across the Prairies soon gained a good reputation for honouring their debts even when repayment caused considerable hardship.

52 John Machula, Vita, interview by author, 1 September 1997.

53 John Smook, Stuartburn, interview by author, 4 July 1994; Abstract of SE 12 Twp. 2 Rge. 6 E, Provincial Land Titles Office, Winnipeg.

54 Stuartburn Municipality, Tax Rolls, 1929–30.

55 William Tkachuk, Menisino, interview by author, 24 October 1997.

56 See Michael Ewanchuk, *Reflections and Reminiscences: Ukrainians in Canada 1892–1992* (Winnipeg: Ewanchuk, 1994), 137–39. Prodan reached a wide audience. Speaking in Ukrainian, he addressed meetings held in almost every Ukrainian centre in the colony. In 1930, he spoke to over 950 people at meetings held in Arbakka, Caliento, Gardenton, Stuartburn, Tolstoi, Vita, and Zhoda. Report of N.C. Maughay, Extension Service, Department of Agriculture and Immigration, Province of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 1930.

CHAPTER 6: HEALTH

1 Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895–1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964), 167–69.

2 Franklin Municipality, Minute Book 1896–1914, Minutes of Council, 15 February 1897, AM, GR 9263.

3 Andrea K. Klymasz, "Ukrainian Folk Medicine in Canada," *Material History Bulletin* 29 (1989): 99–101.

4 Board Minutes, Vita Hospital, 1923–24, UCA, University of Winnipeg.

5 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 20 July 1921.

6 Wasyl Mihaychuk, "The Mihaychuk Family Tree," unpublished ms., n.d.

7 P. Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers: Memoirs from the Stuartburn Colony and Other Points* (Steinbach, MB: Doerksen Printers, [1976?]), 78–79.

8 Robert Tyre, *Saddlebag Surgeon: The Story of Murrough O'Brien, M.D.* (Don Mills, ON: PaperJacks, 1976), 99–100.

9 J. Wildfong, Vita, to Manning, Toronto, 20 July 1922, UCA, Victoria University, Toronto, Methodist Church (Canada), Missionary Society Fonds, Board of Home Missions, box 5, file 8, July–December 1922.

10 Records of Homestead Entry, SE 6 Twp. 1 Rge. 7 E.

11 John C. Lehr, "The Geographical Background to Church Union in Canada," *Prairie Forum* 27, 2 (2002): 199–208.

12 J.A. Doyle, Winnipeg, to Rev. Manning, Toronto, 5 April 1923, UCA, Victoria University, Methodist Church (Canada), Missionary Society Fonds, Board of Home Missions, box 5, file 9.

13 Ruby Manton, RN, Health and Home Conditions—Vita District [Vita], 7 October 1921, UCA, Victoria University, Methodist Church (Canada), Missionary Society Fonds, Board of Home Missions, box 5, file 6, General Correspondence and Reports, 1921.

14 Reports on the Work among Non-English Immigrants, in *Report of Commission on Work among Non-English Speaking People,* Manitoba Conference, UCA, Victoria University, Methodist Church (Canada), Missionary Society Fonds, Board of Home Missions, box 4, file 10.

15 James S. Woodsworth, "Ukrainian Rural Communities: Report of Investigation by the Bureau of social research, Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta," Mimeographed folio, Winnipeg, January 25, 1917.

16 W.J. Sisler, Diary, 1916, AM, Sisler Collection.

17 Missions to New Canadians and Indians, Bulletin No. 2, Supplemental to Chapter 2 of the Missionary Report and per Ministers Only, UCA, Victoria University, Methodist Church (Canada), Missionary Society Fonds, Board of Home Missions, box 26, file 11, 1923.

18 James S. Woodsworth, "Ukrainian Rural Communities: Report of Investigation by the Bureau of Social Research," Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta," Mimeographed folio, Winnipeg, 1917, 8.

19 Mihaychuk, "The Mihaychuk Family Tree," 15.

20 Ibid., 24–25.

21 Walter Reid, MD, Vita, to Rev. A.L. Smith, Toronto, 25 June 1925, UCA, Victoria University, Methodist Church (Canada), Missionary Society Fonds, Board of Home Missions, box 26, file 1, Correspondence re: Work among New Canadians in Western Canada 1922–25.

22 J.R. Mitchell, "Vita General Hospital," *University of Manitoba Medical Journal* 12, 2 (1940): 42.

23 Board Minutes, Vita General Hospital, 1923–27, UCA, University of Winnipeg.

24 Kateryna Mihaychuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 27 May 1996; Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 5 June 1996.

25 Elisabeth Beasley, "Interview with Mrs. Willard Walden, Middlechurch, Manitoba, 25 October 1991," UCA, University of Winnipeg.

26 Bob Waldon, "HV: The Man and His Mission," n.d., UCA, University of Winnipeg.

27 Manitoba and North West Ontario Conference Hospitals, #D3f Vita General Hospital, Report Covering Activities of 1928, UCA, University of Winnipeg.

28 H.V. Waldon to the Chairman, Vita Hospital Board, 20 February 1939, UCA, University of Winnipeg.

29 Vita Hospital, 1940–44, "Story of Vita," n.d., UCA, University of Winnipeg.

30 H.V. Waldon to Chairman, Vita Hospital Board, 20 February 1939, UCA, University of Winnipeg.

31 Vita Hospital, 1940–44, "Story of Vita," n.d., UCA, University of Winnipeg.

32 Vita Hospital, Correspondence, 1940–44, UCA, University of Winnipeg.

33 Vita Hospital, Report for the Year Ending 31 December 1931, UCA, University of Winnipeg.

34 Minutes of the Vita Hospital Board, 1933, UCA, University of Winnipeg.

35 H.V. Waldon to Judge Hamilton, Chairman, Vita General Hospital Board, [1939], Minutes and Reports, 1935–39, UCA, University of Winnipeg.

36 H.V. Waldon to Chairman, Vita General Hospital Board, Minutes and Reports, 1941, UCA, University of Winnipeg.

CHAPTER 7: EDUCATION

1 Orest Martynowych, *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement of East Central Alberta 1890–1930* Historic Sites Service, Occasional Paper No. 10 (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1985), 14–15.

2 *Saint Paul Pioneer Press,* 16 October 1898.

3 Report of Hugo Carstens, German Officer, Department of the Interior, *Sessional Papers,* 1897, 60 Victoria, 13-13B vol. 31, No. 10, 120.

4 *Kanadyiskyi farmer,* 10 January 1924.

5 *Winnipeg Telegram,* 5 October 1910.

6 Simon Winchester, *The Professor and the Madman: A Tale of Murder, Insanity, and the Making of the Oxford English Dictionary* (New York: HarperCollins, 1998), 78.

7 For example, the Arbakka School District received land to compensate for its loss of land to Mazepa School District in 1912. Queen Mary School District never completed its organization by electing a board of trustees or erecting or operating a school. Since it appeared that there would be insufficient ratepayers to fund a school district, it was dissolved, and the lands were assigned to the school districts of Arbakka, Strand, and Solway in 1927. Memo from A.A. Herriot, Inspector of Schools, Winnipeg, 23 December 1927, AM, School Formation Files, GR 1688, G 6-4-6.

8 All school inspectors were of English or French background until the 1930s. Michael Ewanchuk was the first Ukrainian to be appointed as an inspector of schools in Manitoba in 1946. See A.A. Herriot, "School Inspectors of the Early Days in Manitoba," *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba,* Series 3, No. 4 (1947–48): 26–47; and Michael Ewanchuk, *Vertical Development: A New Generation of Ukrainian Canadians* (Winnipeg: Ewanchuk, 2000), 121–23.

9 Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1911, Report of Inspector Hartley, Inspectoral Division No. 14, AM, GR 174, G 8185, box 30 - 11.

10 Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1906, Report of A.L. Young, SE Inspectoral Division, AM, GR 174, G 8185, box 30-6.

11 Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1907, Report of W.A. McIntyre, Principal, Provincial Normal School, AM, GR 174.

12 Royden Loewen, *Diaspora in the Countryside: Two Mennonite Communities and Mid-Twentieth Century Rural Disjuncture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 158–59.

13 Ibid, 160.

14 Rose A. Hambly, "The School as Centre for Community Service," in *Education among New Canadians* (Winnipeg: Department of Education, [1919?]), 4, AM, MG 14, C 28, file 68.

15 R.S. Thornton, Minister of Education, in *Education among New Canadians* (Winnipeg: Department of Education, [1919?]), 1. AM, MG 14, C 28, file 68.

16 Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1901, AM, GR 174, OS box 68-1; Report of A.L. Young, SE Inspectoral Division, AM, GR 174, G 8261, OS, box 93-5.

17 *Winnipeg Tribune,* 21 February 1903.

18 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 14 February, 1 August, and 21 August 1912.

19 Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1915, AM, GR 174, G 8371, box 86-9.

20 *Manitoba Free Press,* 2 January 1913, 3.

21 Return to an Order of the House re: Statistics re: Polish and Ruthenian School Districts, AM, GR 174, G 8310, OS box 124-1; Annual Reports of the Department of Education, 1915 and 1917, AM, GR 174, G 8371, box 86-20, and G 8347, box 80-16.

22 Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1901, AM, GR 174, OS box 68-1.

23 Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1907, Report of A.L. Young, SE Inspectoral Division, AM, GR 174, G 8261, OS box 93-5; Registers of Szewczenko School, 1908–67, AM, GR 2088, H7.6.19.

24 "The Bilingual Schools of Manitoba," *Manitoba Free Press,* 3 February 1913, 3.

25 Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 219; Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada 1897–1919," *Paedagogica Historica* 10, 3 (1970): 517–41.

26 *Manitoba Free Press,* 19 October, 21 October, and 28 October 1910; 6 January 1911.

27 Inspection Reports, Department of Education, Bilingual Schools, 1915, AM, GR 1633, A0059 3184.

28 Ibid.

29 Robert Fletcher, "The Language Problem in Manitoba's Schools," *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba,* Series 3, 6 (1949–50): 52–56; John H. Syrnick, "Community Builders, Early Ukrainian Teachers," *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba,* Series 3, 2 (1964–65): 25–34.

30 Peter Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers: Memoirs from the Stuartburn Colony and Other Points* (Steinbach, MB: Doerksen Printers, [1976]), 110. See also Hryhory Udod, *Julian W. Stechishin: His Life and Work* (Saskatoon: Mohyla Institute, 1978), 12–13.

31 Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 10 February 1998.

32 "The Bilingual Schools of Manitoba," *Manitoba Free Press,* 16 January 1913, 3.

33 Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1913, AM, GR 174, G 8263, OS box 119-2.

34 Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1913, Report of J.T. Cressey, Principal, Ruthenian Training School, AM, GR 174, G 8263, OS box 119-2.

35 Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1908, Report of J.T. Cressey, Principal, Ruthenian Training School, AM, GR 174, G 8263, OS 0095-3.

36 Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1911, Report of Inspector Hartley, Inspectoral Division No. 14. AM, GR 174, OS box 119-2.

37 Department of Education, Bilingual Schools, Inspection Reports, 1915, AM, GR 1633, A0059 G3184.

38 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 17 January 1917.

39 Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1908, Report of T. Stenafik [Stefanik], Organizer of Schools in the Galician Districts, AM, GR 174, G 8263, OS box 0095-3.

40 Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1913, Report of W.C. Hartley, Inspector of Schools, Inspectoral District No. 14, AM, GR 174, OS box 119-2.

41 Return to an Order of the House re: Public Schools, School Attendance at All Public Schools with an Enrolment of 40 Children or Less, AM, GR 174, G 8284-2.

42 Records of Homestead Entry, NE 10 Twp. 1 Rge. 7 E.

43 *Kanadyiskyi farmer,* 6 February 1922.

44 Szewczenko School Registers, 1908–67, AM, GR 2088, H7-6-19.

45 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 14 April, 21 April, and 24 November 1920; 19 January 1921.

46 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 24 May 1922.

47 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 3 May 1922.

48 "Consolidation of Rural Schools in Manitoba," Special Report of the Department of Education, 1913, AM, GR 174, OS box 119-2.

49 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 14 February 1912.

50 Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress,* 120, 209–11.

51 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 14 February 1912.

52 *Emerson Journal,* 20 November 1914.

53 Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress,* 114–17.

54 Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 10 February 1998.

55 William Gylywaychuk, Secretary-Treasurer, Beckett School Division # 1248, Stuartburn, to R. Fletcher, Deputy Minister of Education, Department of Education, Winnipeg, 19 October 1933; C.K. Rogers, Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Education, Winnipeg, to William Gylywaychuk, Stuartburn, 26 October 1933, "Re: Beckett School Division # 1248"; William Gylywaychuk, Secretary-Treasurer, and W.M. Zaporazan, Chairman, Beckett School Division # 1248, Stuartburn, to Department of Education, Winnipeg, 3 November 1933; C.K. Rogers, Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Education, Winnipeg, to William Gylywaychuk, Stuartburn, 21 November 1933, "Re: Beckett School Division," AM, Department of Education, A0055 temp. box 50, Q024836.

56 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 8 November 1933.

57 *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* 22 May 1918.

58 *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* 23 May 1914.

59 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 17 January 1912; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* 22 May 1918.

60 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 27 May 1914.

61 *Kanadyiskyi farmer,* 27 April 1922; 18 August 1931.

62 *Kanadyiskyi farmer,* 27 April 1922.

63 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 17 April 1929.

64 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 25 March 1914.

65 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 27 June 1927.

66 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 16 July 1924.

67 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 17 April 1929; 23 April 1930.

68 Jeffrey Taylor, *Fashioning Farmers: Ideology, Agricultural Knowledge, and the Manitoba Farm Movement 1890–1925* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1994), 20–22.

69 Michael Ewanchuk, *East of the Red: Early Ukrainian Settlements North of the Dawson Trail,* vol. 2 (Winnipeg: Ewanchuk, 1999), 95.

70 Prodan was the founder of the St. Raphael's Association, a self-help organization dedicated to improving the well-being of the Ukrainian community in Canada.

CHAPTER 8: COLONIZING STUARTBURN

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

2   Roman Yereniuk, "Competition for the Souls of Ukrainian Canadians, 1891–1926," *Ukrainskyi Vymir* 1 (2005): 5–27.

3   *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* 23 May 1914.

4   John Panchuk, *Bukowinian Settlements in Southern Manitoba (Gardenton Area)* (Battle Creek, MI: Panchuk, 1971), 10; Michael Ewanchuk, *East of the Red: Early Ukrainian Settlements 1896–1930,* vol. 1 (Winnipeg: Ewanchuk, 1988), 61.

5   Emanuel Turczynski, *Konfession und Nation: Zur Frühgeschichte der serbischen und rumänischen Nationsbildung* (Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, 1976), 188–90.

6   John C. Lehr, "Kinship and Society in the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the Canadian West," *Canadian Geographer* 29 (1985): 207–19.

7   See, for example, J.G. Macgregor, *Vilni Zemli—Free Lands: Ukrainian Settlement in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), 199–203.

8   Vivian Olender, "The Reaction of the Canadian Presbyterian Church towards Ukrainian Immigrants (1900–1925): Rural Home Missions as Agencies of Assimilation" (PhD diss., University of St. Michael's College, Toronto, 1984), 37; O.T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period 1891–1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1991), 155–236.

9   *Ukrainskyi holos,* 4 February 1914.

10 Vivian Olender, "The Cultural Implications of Protestant Missions," in *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians,* edited by Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988), 221–32; Vivian Olender, "The Reaction of the Canadian Methodist Church towards Ukrainian Immigrants: Rural Missions as Agencies of Assimilation" (MA thesis, University of St. Michael's College, Toronto, 1976), 42–43.

11 Michael Marunchak, *The Ukrainians in Canada: A History* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), 111–14.

12 Vadim Kukushkin, *From Peasants to Labourers: Ukrainian and Belorusan Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 147–50.

13   *Ukrainskyi holos,* 30 January 1924.

14   Ibid.

15   Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada,* 214–20; Olender, "The Reaction of the Canadian Presbyterian Church towards Ukrainian Immigrants," 86–112.

16   For details of the dispute, see W. Czumer, *Recollections about the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada,* translated by Louis T. Laychuk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1981), 85–86; and Macgregor, *Vilni Zemli,* 171–203.

17   Court of Queen's Bench, Winnipeg Criminal Register, 1872–1912, AM, M.1196.

18   *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* 23 May 1914.

19   *Ukrainskyi holos,* 13 May 1910.

20   *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* 29 November 1916.

21   Ibid., 15 July 1919.

22   *Ukrainskyi holos,* 13 May 1910.

23   Michael Yurkiwsky, "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada," in *The Ukrainian Church,* edited by Metropolitan Ilarion, translated by Orysia Ferbey (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, 1988), 229–306.

24   *Kanadyiskyi ranok,* 26 November 1926.

25   *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* 31 May 1922.

26   *Kanadyiskyi ranok,* 23 November 1926.

27   Ibid.

28   Ibid., 6 September 1927; *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* 26 September 1928.

29   *Kanadyiskyi farmer,* 6 April 1932.

30   *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* 9 March 1921. In all Ukrainian churches, the bell tower is a separate structure placed within the church grounds.

31   *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* 22 May 1918.

32   Ibid., 28 February 1923.

33   Father Boniface, *Pioneering in the West (Memories of His Life and Experiences in the West with the Franciscans)* (Vancouver: Alvena Distributors, 1957), 56–62.

34   For an account of the geographic rivalry between the Protestant churches in western Canada, see John C. Lehr, "The Geographical Background to Church Union in Canada," *Prairie Forum* 27, 2 (2002): 199–208.

35   Peter Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers: Memoirs from the Stuartburn Colony and Other Points* (Steinbach, MB: Doerksen Printers, [1976]), 73.

36   Olender, "The Reaction of the Canadian Presbyterian Church," 41.

CHAPTER 9: LOCAL DISORDER AND THE METROPOLITAN REACH

1   *Emerson Journal,* 28 February 1902; *Dominion City Weekly Echo,* 27 February 1902.

2   *Emerson Journal,* 23 May 1902. Salamon had applied for patent to his homestead shortly before the murder of his wife. After sentencing, Salamon went insane and was sent to Kingston, where he served fifteen years and was released for good behaviour. His children were sent to Winnipeg in care of the Church of the Holy

Ghost, Selkirk Avenue. In the best interests of the children, to whom Salamon had willed his homestead, the patent was held at the Office of Dominion Lands to prevent a tax sale. In July 1915, Salamon wrote to the Department of the Interior asking for the patent to his property. This was granted, and Salamon sold the property in 1922. Records of Homestead Entry, Abstract of Record, SE Sec. 12 Twp. 2 Rge. 6 E, Land Title Records, Winnipeg.

3   *Dominion City Weekly Echo,* 23 March 1899.

4   On the Oklahoma 1889 land run, see Berlin Chapman, "The Legal Sooners of 1889 in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 35 (1957–58): 382–415.

5   *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* 17 May 1916.

6   *Dominion City Weekly Echo,* 24 September 1912.

7   *Winnipeg Telegram,* 7 July 1899.

8   *Winnipeg Telegram,* 10 July 1899. For a full account of this incident, see Reinhold Kramer and Tom Mitchell, *Walk towards the Gallows: The Tragedy of Hilda Blake, Hanged 1899* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2002).

9   Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891–1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1991).

10 See John-Paul Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside during the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective,* edited by Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988), 111–58.

11 Nick Machnee, Gardenton, interview by author, 4 June 1976.

12 Kateryna Mihaychuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 27 May 1996. Her husband, Dmytro, made homebrew three times a year for family use in the 1930s and 1940s.

13 Mary Praximadis, *Look Who's Coming: The Wachna Story* (Oshawa, ON: Maracle Press, 1976), 88–90.

14 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 15 August 1923.

15 *Emerson Journal,* 4 November 1904.

16 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 23 February 1916.

17 Ibid., 17 February 1917.

18 Ibid., 19 July 1916.

19 Ibid., 5 July 1916.

20 Ibid., 19 July 1916.

21 Ibid., 6 March1918.

22 Ibid., 29 March 1916.

23 One former schoolteacher in the area, who wished to remain anonymous, said, "there was nothing to do there [in Stuartburn] except to eat, work, drink, and have sex." Interview by author, Winnipeg, 2 August 1988.

24 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 1 December 1915.

25 *Kanadyiskyi rusyn,* 15 June 1912.

26 Ibid., 9 May 1914.

27 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 17 January 1912.

28 Ibid., 13 July 1921.

29 *Dominion City Echo,* 23 February 1911.

30 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 15 March 1916.

31 Ibid., 29 March and 5 April 1916; *Emerson Journal,* 17 March 1916.

32 *Ukrainskyi holos,* 5 April 1916.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid., 13 March 1918.

35 Ibid., 29 July 1914.

36 Shath Square, "Rum-Running in the Thirsty Twenties," *Winnipeg Free Press,* 4 May 1968.

37 *Emerson Journal,* 7 October 1921.

38 Michael Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 12 February 1995.

39 Ibid. See also Peter Humeniuk, *Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers: Memoirs from the Stuartburn Colony and Other Points* (Steinbach, MB: Doerksen Printers, [1976]).

40 Mihaychuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 27 May 1996; Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 16 February 1997.

41 Mihaychuk, Winnipeg, interview by author, 27 May 1996. Homebrew is still made in the district. When exploring a remote area of the district in 2007, I stumbled upon an active homebrew operation in the bush.

CONCLUSION

1 Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 177.

2 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 86–88.

3 Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity, and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 5.

4 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1991), 6–7.

5 Mona Domosh and Joni Seager, *Putting Women in Place: Feminist Geographers Make Sense of the World* (New York: Guilford Press, 2001), 60–62; Liz Bondi and Joyce Davidson, "Situating Gender," in *A Companion to Feminist Geography,* edited by Lise Nelson and Joni Seager (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 15–31.

6 W.A. Mackintosh, "Some Aspects of a Pioneer Economy," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 2, 4 (1936): 457–463; H. Innis, *Staples, Markets, and Cultural Change: Selected Essays of Harold Innis* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

7 Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 2.

8 Serge Cipko and John C. Lehr, "Ukrainian Settlement in Paraguay," *Prairie Perspectives* 9, 1 (2006): 31–46.

9 Richard Peet and E. Hartwick, *Theories of Development* (New York: Guilford Press, 1999), 123.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archives

Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa
Manitoba Hydro Electrical Museum and Archives, Winnipeg
Provincial Land Titles Office, Winnipeg
Archives of Manitoba (AM), Winnipeg
Rural Municipality of Franklin (Tax Rolls)
Rural Municipality of Stuartburn (Tax Rolls)
Town of Emerson (Tax Rolls)
United Church Archives (UCA), Victoria University, Toronto
United Church Archives, University of Winnipeg

English-Language Newspapers

Badger Herald-Rustler (Roseau, MN)
Bellville Intelligencer
Carillon News (Steinbach, MB)
Dominion City Echo
Emerson Journal
Manitoba Free Press
The Nor'Wester
Saint Paul Pioneer Press
Shoal Lake Star
Winnipeg Telegram
Winnipeg Tribune

Ukrainian-Language Newspapers

Chervonyi prapor
Kanadyiskyi farmer
Kanadyiskyi rusyn

Kanadyiskyi ranok
Svoboda (US)
Ukrainskyi holos

Interviews

George Alexiuk, Sundown, 15 July 1975

N. Chornopysky, Vita, 8 October 1975

Dr. John Everitt, Department of Geography, Brandon University, 27 September 1998

M. Ewanchuk, Winnipeg, 1973–2004

John Gregorchuk, Arbakka, 10 October 1975

Wasylyna Koshelanyk, Caliento, 3 July 1975

Todor Kutzak, Sirko, 10 October 1975

Vince Lane, Dominion City, 19 September 1997

John Machula, Vita, 1 September 1997

Kateryna Mihaychuk, Winnipeg, 27 May 1996

George Penteliuk, Arbakka, 10 October 1975

Frank Saprovich, Winnipeg, 22 June 1996

 J. Sine, Winnipeg, 16 June 2004

John Smook, Stuartburn, 4 July 1994

Mrs. M. Sportak, Vita, 3 July 1975

Ruth Stewart, Winkler, 10 December 1998 (telephone interview; Mrs. Stewart was a nurse at Vita Hospital, 1939–41)

Stephen Storesczuk, Gardenton, 21 July 1975

William Tkachuk, Menisino, 24 October 1997 (telephone interview; Mr. Tkachuk was reeve of Piney Rural Municipality)

Books and Journals

Balch, E.G. "Slav Emigration at Its Source." *Charities and the Commons* 16 (1906): 179.

Billington, Ray A. *America's Frontier Heritage.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.

Bohi, C.W., and L.S. Kozma. *Canadian National's Western Stations.* Don Mills, ON: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 2002.

Bondi, Liz, and Joyce Davidson. "Situating Gender." In *A Companion to Feminist Geography,* edited by Lise Nelson and Joni Seager, 15-31. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.

Boniface, Father. *Pioneering in the West (Memories of His Life and Experiences in the West with the Franciscans).* Vancouver: Alvena Distributors, 1957.

Buchner, Anthony. *Geographical Names of Manitoba.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Conservation, 2000.

Cameron, Wendy. "Selecting Peter Robinson's Irish Emigrants." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 9 (1976): 29–46.

Canada. Department of the Interior Report. *Sessional Papers,* 1896.

Careless, J.M.S. "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History." *Canadian Historical Review* 35, 1 (1954): 1–21.

Chapman, B. "The Legal Sooners of 1889 in Oklahoma." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 35 (1957–58): 382–415.

Chiel, Arthur A. The Jews in Manitoba: A Social History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.

Cipko, S. "The Legacy of the Brazilian Fever: The Ukrainian Colonization of Paraná." *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 2 (1986): 19–32.

_____.*St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, Edmonton: A History (1902–2002).* Edmonton: St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, 2009.

Cipko, S., and J. Lehr. "Ukrainian Settlement in Paraguay." *Prairie Perspectives* 9, 1 (2006): 31–46.

Czumer, W. *Recollections about the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada.* Translated by Louis T. Laychuk. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1981.

Darlington, J.W. "The Ukrainian Impress on the Canadian West." In *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity,* edited by Lubomyr Y. Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, 53–80. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Dawson, Carl A. *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada.* Vol. 7 of *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement,* edited by William A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg. Toronto: Macmillan, 1936.

Dick, Lyle. *Farmers "Making Good": The Development of the Abernathy District, Saskatchewan 1880–1920.* Ottawa: Canadian Parks Service, Environment Canada, 1989.

Domosh, Mona, and Joni Seager. *Putting Women in Place: Feminist Geographers Make Sense of the World.* New York: Guilford Press, 2001.

Donin, H. *To Be a Jew: A Guide to Jewish Observance in Contemporary Life.* New York: Basic Books, 1972.

Epp, F.H. *Mennonites in Canada 1786–1920: The History of a Separate People.* Toronto: Macmillan, 1974.

Ewanchuk, M. *East of the Red: Early Ukrainian Settlements 1896–1930.* Vol. 1. Winnipeg: Ewanchuk, 1998.

_____.*East of the Red: Early Ukrainian Settlements North of the Dawson Trail.* Vol. 2. Winnipeg: Ewanchuk, 1999.

_____."Hawaiian Ordeal: Ukrainian Contract Workers 1897–1910." Winnipeg: Ewanchuk, 1986.

_____.*Pioneer Profiles: Ukrainian Settlers in Manitoba.* Winnipeg: Ewanchuk, 1981.

_____.*Reflections and Reminiscences: Ukrainians in Canada 1892–1992.* Winnipeg: Ewanchuk, 1994.

_____."Settling In: Tools and Farming Techniques of the Early Ukrainian Pioneers." *Material History Bulletin* 29 (1989): 59–64.

_____.*Vertical Development: A New Generation of Ukrainian Canadians.* Winnipeg: Ewanchuk, 2000.

Faragher, J.M., ed. *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," and Other Essays.* New York: H. Holt, 1994.

Ferguson, Niall. *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power.* New York: Basic Books, 2002.

Fletcher, R. "The Language Problem in Manitoba's Schools." *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba,* Series 3, 6 (1949–50): 52–56.

Fodchuk, R. "Building the Little House on the Prairies: Ukrainian Technology, Canadian Resources." *Material History Bulletin* 29 (1989): 89–97.

_____.*Zhorna: Material Culture of the Ukrainian Pioneers.* Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006.

Foster, Keith. "The Barr Colonists: Their Arrival and Impact on the Canadian North-West." *Saskatchewan History* 35, 3 (1982): 81–100.

Franklin, J. "Revelation Hydro Kitchen: My New Electric Range Reveals the Secret of Successful Meals." *Manitoba History* No. 48 Autumn/Winter (2004–05): 25–28.

Friesen, Gerald. *The Canadian Prairies: A History.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

Friesen, Gerald, ed. *Portraits of the Prairie Town,* by James Giffen. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2004.

Hall, D.J. "The Political Career of Clifford Sifton 1896–1905." PhD Diss., University of Toronto, 1973.

Hambly, R.A. "The School as Centre for Community Service." In *Education among New Canadians,* 3-10. Winnipeg: Department of Education, [1919?]. AM, MG 14, C 28, file 68.

Hamilton, R.B.. "Métis Land Settlement at Willow Bunch, Saskatchewan, 1840–1910." *Prairie Perspectives* 10 (2007): 1–29.

Harris, R.C. "The Simplification of Europe Overseas." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 67, 4 (1977): 469–83.

Hartz, L. *The Founding of New Societies.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964.

Harvey, D. *The Condition of Post Modernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change.* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990.

Heber, E. "Charles Wesley Speers: Dynamic Colonizer of Western Canada." *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions,* Series 3, 28 (1971–72): 75–83.

Herriot, A.A. "School Inspectors of the Early Days in Manitoba." *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba,* Series 3, No. 4 (1947–48): 26–47.

Higham, C.L. "An Introduction to Comparing the Two Wests." In *One West, Two Myths: A Comparative Reader,* edited by C.L. Higham and Robert Thacker, ix-xxi. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004.

Himka, J.P. *Galician Villagers and the National Movement in the Nineteenth Century.* Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988.

_____."Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside during the Late Nineteenth Century." In *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, edited

by J. Potichnyj and H. Aster, 111–58. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988.

Hohol', D. *The Grekul House: A Land Use and Structural History.* Historic Sites Service, Occasional Paper No. 14. Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1985.

Hryniuk, S. *Peasants with Promise: Ukrainians in Southeastern Galicia 1880–1900.* Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1991.

_____. "'Sifton's Pets': Who Were They?" In *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity,* edited by Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, 3–16. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Hryniuk, S., and J. Picknicki. *The Land They Left Behind: Canada's Ukrainians in the Homeland.* Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1995.

Humeniuk, P. *Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers: Memoirs from the Stuartburn Colony and Other Points.* Steinbach, MB: Doerksen Printers, [1976].

Innis, H. *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Rev. ed., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956.

_____. *Staples, Markets, and Cultural Change: Selected Essays of Harold Innis.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.

Jackson, P. *Maps of Meaning.* London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Jaenen, C.J. "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada 1897–1919." *Paedagogica Historica* 10, 3 (1970): 517–41.

Jones, David C. "We'll All Be Buried down Here in This Dry Belt. . . ." *Saskatchewan History* 35 (1982): 41–54.

Jordan, T.G. *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontier: Origins, Diffusion, and Differentiation.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993.

Jordan, T.G., and M. Kaups. *The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

Jordan, T.G., J.T. Kilpinen, and C.F. Gritzner. *The Mountain West: Interpreting the Folk Landscape.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Katz, Y., and J.C. Lehr. "Ethnicity, Institutions, and the Cultural Landscapes of the Canadian Prairie West." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 16, 2 (1994): 70–87.

_____. "Jewish and Mormon Agricultural Settlement in Western Canada: A Comparative Analysis." *Canadian Geographer* 35, 2 (1991): 128–42.

Kaye, V.J. "Dr. Josef Oleskiw's Visit to Canada, August–October 1895." *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* 32 (1962): 30–44.

_____. *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895–1900.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964.

Kaye, V.J., and F. Swyripa. "Settlement and Colonization." In *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada,* edited by Manoly R. Lupul, 32–58. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982.

Klaus, S. "Canada's Century: The Rhetoric of Propaganda." *Prairie Forum* 1 (1976): 19–29.

Klymasz, A.K. "Ukrainian Folk Medicine in Canada." *Material History Bulletin* 29 (1989): 99–101.

Klymasz, R.B. *Folk Narrative among Ukrainian-Canadians in Western Canada.* Mercury Series. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1973.

Kosmina, T.V. *Sil's'ke zhytlo podillya kinets' XIX–XX ct* [Rural Life in Podillia at the End of the Nineteenth–Twentieth Century]. Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1980.

Kostash, M. *All of Baba's Children.* Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1977.

Kramer, R., and T. Mitchell. *Walk towards the Gallows: The Tragedy of Hilda Blake, Hanged 1899.* Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Krawchuk, A. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Francophone Missionaries among Ukrainian Canadians." In *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity,* edited by Lubomyr Y. Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, 206–17. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Kukushkin, V. *From Peasants to Labourers: Ukrainian and Belorusan Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007.

Lambrecht, K.N. *The Administration of Dominion Lands 1870–1930.* Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1991.

Lefebvre, H. *The Production of Space.* Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford:: Blackwell, 1991.

Lehr, J.C. "Colour Preferences and Building Decoration among Ukrainians in Western Canada." *Prairie Forum* 6, 2 (1982): 203–06.

_____. "The Geographical Background to Church Union in Canada." *Prairie Forum* 27, 2 (2002): 144–208.

_____. "Government Coercion in the Settlement of Ukrainian Immigrants in Western Canada." *Prairie Forum* 8, 2 (1983): 179–94.

_____. "The Government and the Immigrant: Perspectives on Ukrainian Block Settlement in the Canadian West." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 9, 2 (1977): 42–52.

_____. "Government Perceptions of Ukrainian Immigrants to Western Canada 1896–1902." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 19, 2 (1987): 1–12.

_____. "A Jewish Farmer Can't Be: Land Settlement Policies and Ethnic Settlement in Western Canada 1870–1919." In *Jewish Life and Times*, vol. 9, edited by Daniel Stone and Annalee Greenberg, 18–28. Winnipeg: Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, 2009.

_____. "Kinship and Society in the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the Canadian West." *Canadian Geographer* 29 (1985): 207–19.

_____. "The Landscape of Ukrainian Settlement in the Canadian West." *Great Plains Quarterly* 2, 2 (1982): 94–105.

_____. "The Log Buildings of Ukrainian Settlers in Western Canada." *Prairie Forum* 5, 2 (1980): 183–96.

_____. "Mormon Settlement Morphology in Southern Alberta." *Albertan Geographer* 8 (1972): 6–13.

_____. "One Family's Frontier: Life History and the Process of Ukrainian Settlement in the Stuartburn District of Southeastern Manitoba." *Canadian Geographer* 40, 2 (1996): 98–108.

_____. "'The Peculiar People': Ukrainian Settlement of Marginal Lands in Southeastern Manitoba." In *Building beyond the Homestead,* edited by David C. Jones and Ian MacPherson, 29–48. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1988.

_____. "Peopling the Prairies with Ukrainians." In *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiation and Identity,* edited by L. Luciuk and S. Hryniuk, 30–52. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

_____. "Propaganda and Belief: Ukrainian Emigrant Views of the Canadian West." In *New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada,* edited by J. Rozumnyj, 1–17. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983.

_____. "The Process and Pattern of Ukrainian Rural Settlement in Western Canada, 1891–1914." PhD diss., University of Manitoba, 1978.

_____. "The Role of Clifford Sifton in Ukrainian Immigration to Canada 1896–1905." *Studia Ucrainica* 2 (1984): 225–36.

_____. "The Sequence of Mormon Settlement in Alberta." *Albertan Geographer* 10 (1974): 20–29.

_____. "The Ukrainian Sacred Landscape: A Metaphor of Survival and Acculturation." *Material History Bulletin* 29 (1989): 3–11.

_____. "Ukrainians in Western Canada." In *To Build in a New Land: Ethnic Landscapes in North America,* edited by Allen G. Noble, 309–30. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Lehr, J.C., and Y. Katz. "Crown, Corporation, and Church: The Role of Institutions in the Stability of Pioneer Settlements in the Canadian West 1870–1914." *Journal of Historical Geography* 21, 4 (1995): 413–29.

Lehr, J.C., and D.W. Moodie. "The Polemics of Pioneer Settlement: Perspectives on Ukrainian Immigration from the Winnipeg Press, 1896–1905." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 12, 2 (1980): 88–101.

Lehr, J.C., and J.P. Morski. "Family Matters and Global Concerns: The Origins of the Ukrainian Pioneer Diaspora, 1891–1914." *Journal of Historical Geography* 25, 3 (1999): 349–66.

Lesoway, M. "Women in Three Households." In *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians,* edited by Manoly R. Lupul, 114–24. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988.

Lewis, G.M. "Rhetoric of the Western Interior: Modes of Environmental Description in American Promotional Literature of the Nineteenth Century." In *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design, and Use of Past Environments,* edited by Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Lewis, 179–93. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Leubke, F.C. "Ethnic Group Settlement on the Great Plains." *Western Historical Quarterly* 8 (1977): 405–30.

Loewen, R. *Diaspora in the Countryside: Two Mennonite Communities and Mid-Twentieth Century Rural Disjuncture.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.

_____. *Family, Church, and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and New Worlds, 1850–1930.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Loewen, Royden. Ethnic Farm Culture in Western Canada, Canada's Ethnic Group Series No. 29. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 2002.

Luciuk, L.Y., and B. Kordan. *Creating a Landscape: A Geography of Ukrainians in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.

Lupul, M., ed. *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982.

Lysenko, V. *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation.* Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947.

MacGregor, J.G. *Vilni Zemli—Free Lands: Ukrainian Settlement in Alberta.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969.

Mackay, L. *A Farm Electrification Programme: Report of Manitoba Electrification Enquiry Commission.* Winnipeg: King's Printer for Manitoba, 1942.

Mackintosh, W.A. "Some Aspects of a Pioneer Economy." *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 2, 4 (1936): 457–463.

Mannion, J. *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

Martin, C. *"Dominion Lands" Policy.* Edited by Lewis H. Thomas. Carlton Library No. 69. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973.

Martynowych, O.T. "Canadianizing the Foreigner: Presbyterian Missionaries and Ukrainian Immigrants." In *New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada,* edited by J. Rozumnyj, 33–57. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983.

_____. *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement of East Central Alberta 1890–1930.* Historic Sites Service, Occasional Paper No. 10. Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1985.

_____. *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period 1891–1924.* Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1991.

Marunchak, M.H. *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History.* Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970.

McDowell, L. *Gender, Identity, and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

McGowan, M.G. "'A Portion for the Vanquished': Roman Catholics and the Ukrainian Catholic Church." In *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity,* edited by Lubomyr Y. Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, 218–37. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

McNutt, T.. "Galicians and Bukowinians." In *The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People*, edited by John Hawkes, 731–32. Chicago: S.J. Clarke, 1924.

Melnycky, P. "Draught Horses and Harnesses among Early Ukrainian Settlers in East-Central Alberta." *Material History Bulletin* 29 Spring (1989): 37–44.

_____. "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada." In *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War,* edited by Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, 1983. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1–24.

Mihaychuk, W. "The Mihaychuk Family Tree." Unpublished ms., n.d.

Mitchell, J.R. "Vita General Hospital." *University of Manitoba Medical Journal* 12, 2 (1940): 40–45.

Morski, J.P. *Under the Southern Cross: A Collection of Accounts and Reminiscences about Ukrainian Immigration in Brazil 1891–1914.* Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 2000.

"Mushaluk Family Reunion." Unpublished ms., 1991.

Nahachewsky, A. *Ukrainian Dug-Out Dwellings in East Central Alberta.* Historic Sites Service, Occasional Paper No. 11. Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1985.

Netz, R. *Barbed Wire: An Ecology of Modernity.* Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 2004.

Noble, A., ed. *To Build in a New Land.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Nobles, G. *American Frontiers: Cultural Encounters and Continental Conquest.* London: Penguin Books, 1997.

Norton, W. *Help Us to a Better Land: Crofter Colonies in the Prairie West.* Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1994.

Olender, V. "The Cultural Implications of Protestant Missions." In *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians,* edited by Manoly R. Lupul, 221–32. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988.

_____. "The Reaction of the Canadian Methodist Church towards Ukrainian Immigrants: Rural Missions as Agencies of Assimilation." MA thesis, University of St. Michael's College, Toronto, 1976.

_____. "The Reaction of the Canadian Presbyterian Church towards Ukrainian Immigrants (1900–1925): Rural Home Missions as Agencies of Assimilation." PhD diss., University of St. Michael's College, Toronto, 1984.

Oleskiw, J. *O emigratsii* [On Emigration]. L'viv: Michael Kachkowskyi Society, 1895.

_____. *Pro vilni zemli* [About Free Lands]. L'viv: Prosvita, 1895.

_____. *Rolnictwo za oceanem a przesiedlna emigracya* [Agriculture across the Ocean and the Emigration Movement]. Karlsbad: Basilian Fathers, 1896.

Olynyk, M.D., K.M. Lausman, and E. Oram. *The Fedoryshyn Cottage at Caliento Manitoba: An Analytical Study Report.* Winnipeg: Parks Canada, 1979.

Ostergren, R.C. "A Community Transplanted: The Formative Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Community in the Upper Middle West." *Journal of Historical Geography* 5, 2 (1979): 189–212.

_____. "Cultural Homogeneity and Population Stability among Swedish Immigrants in Chisago County." *Minnesota History* 43, 7 (1973): 255–69.

_____. "Land and Family in Rural Immigrant Communities." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers.* 71, 3 (1981): 400–11.

Palmer, H. *Land of the Second Chance: A History of Ethnic Groups in Southern Alberta.* Lethbridge: Lethbridge Herald, 1972.

Panchuk, J. *Bukowinian Settlements in Southern Manitoba.* Battle Creek: Panchuk, 1971.

Peet, R., and E. Hartwick. *Theories of Development.* New York: Guilford Press, 1999.

Petryshyn, J. *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians 1891–1914.* Toronto: James Lorimer, 1985.

Piniuta, H., trans. and ed. *Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers 1891–1914.* Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978.

Potrebenko, H. *No Streets of Gold: A Social History of Ukrainians in Alberta.* Vancouver: New Star Books, 1977.

Pratt, M.L. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* London: Routledge, 1991.

Praximadis, M. *Look Who's Coming: The Wachna Story.* Oshawa, ON: Maracle Press, 1976.

Prodan, K.C. "Okolytsia Stuartborn" [The Stuartburn District]. In *Obrazkovanij kalendar Kanadijs'kykh Ukraintsi: Providnyk* [Illustrated Calendar for Canadian Ukrainians: The Leader], 35–41.Winnipeg: St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association of Canada, 1931.

_____. "Pro Kanady yi emigratsiu do neyi, z rozmovy z K.C. Prodanom" [About Canada and Emigrating There, a Conversation with K.C. Prodan]. *Dilo,* L'viv, 31 December 1931.

Pro Kanadu: Yaka tse zemlya i yak u yi zhuvut' liude [About Canada and How Its People Live]. Kyiv: Prosvita, 1908.

Rees, R. "Eccentric Settlements in the Canadian West." *History Today* 27, 9 (1977): 607–14.

_____. *New and Naked Land: Making the Prairies Home.* Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1988.

Regehr, T.D. "The Canadian Prairie Frontier." In *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians,* edited by Manoly R. Lupul, 24–29. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988.

Richtik, J. "The Policy Framework for Settling the Canadian West 1870–1880." *Agricultural History* 49 (1975): 613–28.

Romaniuk, G. *Taking Root in Canada.* Winnipeg: Columbia Press, 1954.

Rosenvall, L. "The Transfer of Mormon Culture to Alberta." In *Essays on the Historical Geography of the Canadian West: Regional Perspectives on the Settlement Process,* edited by L.A. Rosenvall and S.M. Evans, 122–44. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1987.

Rotoff, B., R. Yereniuk, and S. Hryniuk. *Monuments to Faith: Ukrainian Churches in Manitoba*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1990.

Samoilovych, V. *Narodna tvorchist v arkhitekturi silskoho zhytla* [Folk Creativity in Rural Architecture]. Kyiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytsvo Literatury z Budivnytstva, URSR, 1961.

_____. *Ukrains'ke narodne zhytlo* [The Ukrainian Folk Dwelling]. Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1972.

Satzewich, V. "Migrant and Immigrant Families in Canada: State Coercion and Legal Control in the Formation of Ethnic Families." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 24 (1993): 315–38.

Schlictmann, H. "Ethnic Themes in Geographical Research in Western Canada." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 9 (1977): 9–41.

Shepard, R.B. *Deemed Unsuitable: Blacks from Oklahoma Move to the Canadian Prairies in Search of Equality in the Early 20th Century only to Find Racism in their New Home*. Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1997.

Shlepakov, A.M. *The Emigration of Ukrainians to Canada: Reasons and Circumstances*. N.p.: n.p., c. 1981.

_____. *Ukrains'ka trudova emigratsiya v S.Sh.A. i Kanadi* [Ukrainian Workers' Emigration to the USA and Canada]. Kyiv: Akademiya Nauk Ukrains'kaya, RSR, 1960.

Sifton, C. "The Immigrants Canada Wants." *Maclean's Magazine,* 1 April 1922, 16, 33.

Simpson, G.W. "The Names 'Rus,' 'Russia,' 'Ukraine,' and Their Historical Background." In *Slavistica: Proceedings of the Institute of Slavistics of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences,* vol. 10. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1951.

Square, S. "Rum-Running in the Thirsty Twenties." *Winnipeg Free Press,* 4 May 1968.

Stechishyn, J. *Istoriya pocelennya ukraiintsiv u kanadi.* Edmonton: Ukrainian Self Reliance League, 1975.

Stich, K.P. "Canada's Century: The Rhetoric of Propaganda." *Prairie Forum* 1 (1976): 19–26.

Sugar, P.F. "The Nature of the Non-Germanic Societies under Habsburg Rule." *Slavic Review* 22 (1963): 1–30.

Swyripa, F. *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010.

_____. *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity 1891–1991.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Sylvester, K.M. *The Limits of Rural Capitalism: Family, Culture, and Markets in Montcalm, Manitoba.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

Syrnick, J.H. "Community Builders, Early Ukrainian Teachers." *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba,* Series 3, 2 (1964–65): 25–34.

Taylor, J. *Fashioning Farmers: Ideology, Agricultural Knowledge, and the Manitoba Farm Movement 1890–1925.* Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1994.

Thomas, N. *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Thomas-Kordan, D. "Tradition in a New World: Ukrainian-Canadian Churches in Alberta." *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, Bulletin* 13, 1 (1988): 3–7.

Thor, J. *Icelanders in North America: The First Settlers 1874–1880.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1980.

Thornton, R.S. *Education among New Canadians.* Winnipeg: Department of Education, [1919?].

Tracy, C. *Toil and Peaceful Life: Doukhobor Village Settlement in Saskatchewan 1899–1918.* Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1999.

Troper, H. *Only Farmers Need Apply: Official Canadian Government Encouragement of Immigration from the United States, 1896–1911.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Turczynski, E. *Konfession und Nation: Zur Frühgeschichte der serbischen und rumänischen Nationsbildung.* Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, 1976.

Turek, Victor. The Poles in Manitoba. Toronto: Polish Alliance Press, 1967.

Tyre, R. *Saddlebag Surgeon: The Story of Murrough O'Brien, M.D.* Don Mills, ON: PaperJacks, 1976.

Udod, H. *Julian W. Stechishin: His Life and Work.* Saskatoon: Mohyla Institute, 1978.

Unwin, T. "A Waste of Space? Towards a Critique of the Social Production of Space." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* New Series, 25, 1 (2000): 11–29.

Voisey, P. *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Warkentin, J. "Mennonite Agricultural Settlements in Manitoba." *Geographical Review* 49, 3 (1959): 342–68.

Widdis, R. *With Scarcely a Ripple: Anglo-Canadian Migration into the United States and Western Canada 1880–1920.* Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.

Winchester, S. *The Professor and the Madman: A Tale of Murder, Insanity, and the Making of the Oxford English Dictionary.* New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1998.

Woodsworth, J. "Ukrainian Rural Communities: Report of Investigation by the Bureau of Social Research," Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta," Mimeographed folio, Winnipeg, 1917.

Woronuk, M. "Edson Grande Prairie Trail." in *Wheatfields and Wildflowers: A History of Rycroft and Surrounding School Districts,* edited by Rycroft History Book Committee, 41–46. Rycroft, AB: Rycroft History Book Committee, 1984.

Woywitka, Anna. "Homesteader's Woman." *Alberta History* 24 (1976): 286–87.

Yereniuk, R. "Competition for the Souls of Ukrainian Canadians, 1891–1926." *Ukrainskyi Vymir* 1 (2005): 5–27.

Young, C.H. *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation.* Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931.

Yurkiwsky, Michael. "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada." In The Ukrainian Church, edited by Metropolitan Ilarion, translated by Orysia Ferbey. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, 1988.

Yurkiwsky, Father M. "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada." In *The Ukrainian Church,* edited by Metropolitan Ilarion, translated by Orysia Ferbey, 299–306. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, 1988.

Yuzyk, P. *Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life.* Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Business and Professional Federation, 1967.

Yusyk, Paul. The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953.

Zvarych, P. *Spomyny, 1877–1904.* Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1976.

INDEX