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Author(s): THOMAS M. PRYMAK

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THOMAS M. PRYMAK

Ivan Franko and Mass Ukrainian Emigration to Canada

Ivan Franko (1856-1916) is perhaps the best known Ukrainian figure of modern times. He was widely acclaimed not only as a poet, writer, and scholar, but also as a political and social activist. By the time of his death, he had become a national hero, and to this day his cult remains undiminished both in Soviet Ukraine and among Ukrainians living abroad.¹

Franko took an interest in most of the major cultural and social questions of his time, but his greatest responsibility, as he often said, was to the impoverished and oppressed Ukrainians of Austrian Galicia: "As the son of a villager, brought up on rough peasant bread, I have felt it my duty to devote my life's work to this simple people."² He carried out this pledge on at least two different levels: cultural work, both literary and scholarly, and organizational work, both social and political. It was in this latter capacity that he became interested in the question of mass emigration from Galicia.

Emigration was not new. In the days of the Polish Commonwealth, Galician peasants had often fled eastward to escape oppressive taxation and cruel landlords. The partitions of the old Polish Commonwealth between Prussia, Austria, and Russia had only temporarily halted the exodus, and in 1848 the abolition of serfdom had opened the gates anew. Twenty years later the land laws were amended to allow unrestricted division of land among one's heirs, and this led to a spectacular growth in the number of small holdings which became so small that they could barely support the population. Furthermore, there was practically no modern

1. O. I. Dei, *Ivan Franko zhyttia i dialnist* (Kiev, 1981), the most recent Soviet biography of Franko, is relatively free from propaganda. The major emigre biography is Luka Lutsiv, *Ivan Franko: Borets za natsionalnu i sotsialnu spravedlyvist* (New York, 1967). The most recent Soviet edition of Franko's works, *Zibrannia tvoriv u p'iatdesiaty tomakh* (Kiev, 1976 - in progress), has so far maintained a high quality of scholarship. The last volumes, devoted to historical, social, and political questions, will probably be the most difficult for the editors to get past the various censors. The emigre scholar Bohdan Kravtsiv has published a selection of Franko's more controversial political tracts under the title *Ivan Franko pro sotsializm i marksyzm: retsenzii i statti 1897-1906* (New York, 1966).

2. "Vidpovid I. Franka na pryvitannia na vechori prysviachenomu 25 richchui ioho literaturnoi diialnosti," *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk*, IV, no. 11 (1898), 128-30.

industry to absorb the excess population.³ The result was emigration: first to the factories and coal mines of Germany or the American mid-west, later to the southern provinces of Brazil and the prairies of Western Canada. There was also considerable migration within the Austrian Empire itself.⁴

Franko himself was not immune to the call of distant lands. In 1888, he was without a steady income and disappointed by the failure of his projected journal *Postup*. He had been working with Polish socialists and writing in Polish for many years, but he longed to put his talents at the service of his own people. He was also curious about the ways of democracy in the New World. Thus when a friend, Volodymyr Simenovych (1859-1932), invited him to come to the United States to edit the Ukrainian language newspaper *Ameryka*, Franko informed his political mentor, an emigre from Russian Ukraine, Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841-1895), that he was preparing to go to America.⁵ He knew that a Ukrainian newspaper in the United States would not provide much more security than his work on the Polish daily *Kurier Lwowski*. "But all the same," he told Drahomanov, "I would not be working for foreigners but for my own people, and I would be breathing free air. Moreover, I think that the American school would be an important and valuable thing for me, and to go through a five-year course there would do me a lot of good."⁶

3. See Franko's study of 1887, "Zemelna vlasnist u Halychyni," *Tvory v dvadtsiaty tomakh* (Kiev, 1955-56), XIX, pp. 278-304. More generally, see P. V. Sviezhynsky, *Ahrarni vidnosyny na Zakhidnii Ukraini v kintsi XIX - na pochatku XXst.* (Lviv, 1966); *Istoriia Ukrainskoi RSR*, 10 vols. in 8 (Kiev, 1977-79), IV, pp. 292-98; and the excellent survey by V. Kubiiiovych and V. Markus', "Emigratsiia," *Entsyklopediia ukraïnoznavstva*, Vol. II (Paris-New York, 1955-57), pp. 629-37.

4. For data on Austrian emigration abroad (1896-1910) broken down by destination, see Hans Chmelar, *Höhepunkte der Osterreichischen Auswanderung . . . 1905-1914* (Vienna, 1974), p. 24. According to Andzej Pilch, "Migrations of the Galician Populace at the turn of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Employment-Seeking Migrations of the Poles World Wide* (Cracow, 1975), p. 97, Silesia and Lower Austria were the largest recipients of Galician immigrants within the empire. Bukovina was also a large recipient and there existed an exclusively Ukrainian emigration to Russia and Romania.

5. *Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Drahomanova* (Kiev, 1928), p. 271. *Ameryka* (1886-1890) was published by the Ukrainian Greek Catholic parish of Shenandoah, Pennsylvania; it was the first Ukrainian periodical in the United States. At first, it appeared irregularly every two weeks; later it became a weekly.

6. *Ibid.* Though he had been a co-founder of the Polish Socialist movement, Franko was worried by the Poles' reluctance to accept the existence of the Ukrainian nationality in Galicia. (He was to break with the Poles in 1897.) See H. D. Verves,

Drahomanov agreed that Franko's projected journey might bring some benefits, but he foresaw opposition from the Greek Catholic Church, which provided intellectual leadership to the new Ukrainian communities in America. "Your journey to America is of great interest to me," he replied, "and I expect a lot of good to come of it, both for yourself and for the cause; but I fear that from the very first moments you will run into difficulties with the priests. It is enough that you are going to have them crying out against you as some kind of 'red' and the thing will go right up to the metropolitan. But all the same go. If you're afraid of the wolf, don't go into the forest."⁷

Drahomanov's warnings were not without effect. Disquieting news about *Ameryka's* financial state and the character of Ivan Voliansky (1857-1926), the Greek Catholic priest who was making arrangements for the paper, caused Franko to delay his departure; "In any case," he assured Drahomanov, "I still have to think the whole thing over very thoroughly."⁸ In the end, he never did go to America.

But others did. Overpopulation, famine, educational, national, and other legal disabilities caused thousands to sell whatever they had and leave. According to Soviet reckoning 212,000 Ukrainians deserted Galicia between 1890 and 1910. In the first decade of the twentieth century another 35,000 left the neighbouring province of Bukovina; while emigration from Transcarpathia was correspondingly large.⁹

Ivan Franko i pyttania ukrainsko-polskykh literaturno-hromadskykh vzaiemyn 70-90-kh rokiv XIXst. (Kiev, 1957). The Franko and America theme remains unexplored.

7. *Lystuvannia Franka i Drahomanova*, p. 272. Both Drahomanov and Franko saw the clergy as hostile to the work of popular enlightenment. In Soviet literature Franko is portrayed as a militant atheist; see, e.g., the introduction to Ivan Franko, *Monoloh ateista*, ed. A. Khalimonchuk (Lviv, 1973). This should be compared with V. Doroshenko, *Velykyi Kameniar: Zhyttia i zasluhy Ivana Franka* (Winnipeg, 1956), pp. 35-46, which demonstrates that Franko was not entirely without religious sensitivities. See also the brief but profound observations of Konstantyn Bida, *Relihiini motyvy v tvorakh I. Franka* (Munich, 1956).

8. *Lystuvannia Franka i Drahomanova*, pp. 275-76. According to John-Paul Himka, "Ivan Volianskyi: The Formative Years of the Ukrainian Community in America," *Ukrainskyi istoryk*, Nos. 3-4 (Munich-New York-Toronto, 1975), pp. 61-72, Voliansky was very much "a radical priest" who sympathized with worker grievances and should have got on well with Franko.

9. *Istoriia Ukrainskoi RSR*, IV, p. 305. Cf. Chmelar, *Höhepunkte der Österreichischen Auswanderung*, pp. 96-107, who analyzes the data for Galicia and Bukovina.

The prospective emigrants did not have an easy time of it. The Austrian Empire lacked overseas colonies and did nothing to encourage emigration. Moreover, the provincial bureaucracy, which had been controlled by the Polish gentry since the 1860s, was generally hostile. In the conservative press emigration was usually referred to as a "plague," a "disease," or some such term of opprobrium. In the first years of the twentieth century the influential Galician Polish lawyer, Leopold Caro, was still arguing that illiteracy, gullibility, and drunkenness were the real causes of mass emigration. As a result, local authorities would often deny the villagers passports and police and lower-level administrators would hinder them at every step. On a higher level, the authorities feared that agents of various shipping companies, out to make a quick profit, could easily mislead the country-folk. Thus in January 1892, when Ivan Pylypiw, the first Ukrainian peasant to settle in Canada, returned home with stories about free land across the ocean, he was promptly led off to jail at bayonet point.¹⁰

The phenomenon did not go unnoticed by the Ukrainian intelligentsia. On 21 October 1892 Franko published a spirited defence of the peasant's right to emigrate in the Viennese Social Democratic *Arbeiter Zeitung*. He argued that it was extreme poverty, overpopulation, and famine (major famines had occurred in 1847, 1849, 1855, 1865, 1876, and 1889) that were driving the population abroad. Stories about foreign agents provoking emigration were therefore pure nonsense. If anything, administrative harassment of the departing villagers was inspired by the Polish gentry: "For when the peasants flee, the submissive labourer and the household servant are no longer cheap."¹¹

10. On Pylypiw, see William A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada*, transl. L. Laychuk (Edmonton, 1981), p. 16. On the conservative gentry and the Galician *Sejm*, which they controlled, see Benjamin P. Murdzek, *Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought 1870-1914* (New York, 1977), pp. 79ff., 111-12; and on Caro pp. 135-36.

11. I. Franko "Emihratsiia halytskykh selian," *Tvory v dvadtsiaty tomakh*, XIX, pp. 311-24. Franko, like many other socially concerned observers, was greatly impressed by the work of the Polish economist, Stanisław Szczepanowski, *Nedza Galicyi w cyfrach i program energicznego rozwoju gospodarstwa krajowego* (Lwów, 1888). Szczepanowski claimed that in Galicia 50,000 people perished annually as a result of poverty and hunger. It was he who coined the popular aphorism: "Each Galician produces what is necessary for one fourth person and consumes the equivalent for one half person." He saw massive industrialization as the only practical solution. See also Murdzek, *Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought*, pp. 133ff.

Franko painted a gloomy picture. Conditions must be intolerable if peasants willingly migrated not only to Hungary, Germany, and North America, but even to the forests of Brazil and the empty steppelands of Asiatic Russia. Among the very poorest, fantastic rumours sprang up: for example, in 1891 quasi-messianic hopes were aroused by the mysterious death of the emperor's son, Crown Prince Rudolf, at Meyerling. The next year the rumours concerned the Russian tsar. It was said that he was expelling all the Germans and Jews from his country and had promised every Ukrainian peasant ten morgs (almost ten acres) of good land.¹² In 1895 the emigration agent Gargoletti took advantage of this credulity. Disguising himself as a peasant-farmer, he pretended to be the beloved Archduke Rudolf and bought up the villagers' land in exchange for promises of cheap passage to places like Brazil.¹³

The situation became critical after 1893, when a depression began to close down factories in the American mid-west. Many immigrant workers were forced to return home. As for Brazil, when stories about exploitation by coffee plantation owners, about Indian massacres and the unhealthy climate began to reach Galicia, the Ukrainian intelligentsia became truly alarmed.

The gulf between the peasants' messianic dreams and the bitter realities captured the imagination of Franko and, like the Polish poetess Maria Konopnicka, whom he greatly admired, he devoted a cycle of poetry, *Do Brazylji*, to it.¹⁴ This poem did not grow out of a void; rather it paralleled

12. Franko, "Emihratsiia," p. 314. See also John-Paul Himka, "Hope in the Tsar: Displaced Naive Monarchism among the Ukrainian Peasants of the Habsburg Empire," *Russian History*, VII, pts. 1-2 (1980), 125-38.

13. Sister Severyna, "Emigratsiia v Ukrainskim pysmenstvi," in L. Myshuha (Ed.), *Propamiatna knyha vydana z nahody soroklitnoho iuvyleiu Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Soiuzu* (Jersy City, 1936), pp. 408-11. Murdzek, *Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought*, pp. 103-109, points out that the Polish Commercial-Geographical Association, established in 1894, had exposed Gargoletti and warned prospective emigrants against availing themselves of free transportation to the Brazilian states of Sao Paulo and Espirito Santo.

14. Konopnicka's *Pan Balcer w Brazylji* (begun in 1893) was intended to be the historical epic of the Polish peasant in the same way that Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz* had been one for the *szlachta* or gentry. Franko's turn to the Brazilian theme in 1898 may well have been influenced by Konopnicka. In 1895 he had even begun a play, "This is happening in our time," but for some reason he never completed it (see E. S. Lysenko, "Tema emihratsii u tvorchosti I. Franka ta inshykh prohresyvykh ukrains'kykh pysmenykyv," *Ukrains'ke literaturoznavstvo*, No. 7 (Lviv, 1969), pp. 42-47, esp. p. 45.

the rough songs of the countryfolk. The most popular song of the time summed up the role of the archduke, of the commercial world represented by the Jewish tavern-keeper, and of the villagers themselves in only four lines:

Наш цар Рудольф народ до Бразилії вzyває,
Але Израїля цълком не пускає
Покидаймо той край проклятий,
Идем до Бразилії - будем панувати!¹⁵

With a depression in the United States and political obstacles to emigration eastward, Brazil now seemed to be the only hope for the land-hungry Galician peasantry. But the dangers were so great that many Ukrainian intellectuals felt that they could not encourage such adventures. The best known of these was Professor O. Oleskiv (1860-1903), a friend of Franko, and an agricultural expert with a deep concern for the fate of the emigrants.¹⁶ Oleskiv had happened upon some literature about Canada and began to investigate the possibilities of diverting the emigration in this direction. He made some preliminary inquiries, and in July 1895 his booklet, *Pro vilni zemli*, was published by the *Prosvita* educational society.

In this booklet Oleskiv urged the villagers to give up the idea of Brazil and consider going to Canada where the immigrant-farmer regularly received 100 acres of land and where he could get "the patent of ownership after three years, provided he can prove that he has been residing on the land at least six months each year, that he has built a house, and that he has brought under cultivation a certain amount of land."¹⁷ After establishing contact with Canadian government officials, Oleskiv and a peasant re-

15. See "Na temat duru emigratsiinoho," *Dilo* (Lviv), No. 255, 14 (26) November 1895. ("Rudolf calls us now to Brazil, but he does not call out to Israel Leave this place so cursed and damned, we go to Brazil - to rule over the land!")

16. As early as 1887, Franko had dedicated his short story *Misiia* to him. See his *Zibrannia tvory*, XVI, p. 495.

17. O. Oleskiv, *Pro vilni zemli* (Lviv, 1895), p. 32. Mykhailo Ivanchuk, "Ti shcho promostyly shliakh Ukrainskii imigratsii v Novyi Svit," *Kalendar Almanakh Ukrainskoho Holosu na 1966 rik* (Winnipeg), pp. 55-58, has suggested that Oleskiv's discovery of the Canadian idea is linked to articles in the Galician press sent by Ahapii Honcharenko, who was the first Ukrainian political immigrant in North America.

presentative set out for Canada to discover in person the possibilities of the new land.¹⁸

Meanwhile Franko was not standing idly by. He wrote at least three articles about the various dangers of emigration.¹⁹ When Oleskiv had returned to Galicia a conference was held on the subject (14 November 1895) and the radical politician Viacheslav Budzynovsky, the school teacher Cyril (Kyrylo) Genyk, Franko himself, and many others attended.²⁰ Oleskiv gave a very favourable account of his experiences and set out his recommendations for changing the direction of emigration from Brazil to the Canadian Prairies, and for improving the arrangements for emigrants. As a result of his proposals, a permanent Emigrant Aid Committee was formed, and Franko himself became actively involved in its work.

During the winter of 1895/1896, a major political concern was mass emigration to Brazil and to Canada, and several thousand villagers would often gather to hear speeches on this and other topical issues.²¹ Franko was a frequent speaker at these mass meetings, and on 3 December, for example, he spoke to the massed peasantry for about two hours on the subject of emigration to Brazil and Canada. In Brazil, he said, immigrants receive

18. Oleskiv's trip to Canada is described in detail by Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900: Dr. Joseph Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian North West* (Toronto, 1964), pp. 19-44.

19. M. O. Moroz, *Ivan Franko: Bibliohrafiia tvoriv 1874-1964* (Kiev, 1966), pp. 276, 280, lists: "Groza emigracji," *Kurier Lwowski* (Lviv), No. 29, 29 January 1898; "Starosta tarnopolski w sprawie emigracji," *Kurier Lwowski*, No. 100, 10 April 1895; and "Znowu odysseja emigrantów galicyjskich," *Kurier Lwowski*, No. 142, 23 May 1895. None of these articles appears in *Tvory v dvadtsiaty tomakh*.

20. The Lviv newspapers did not report this event until Oleskiv sent them a descriptive letter. See "Vid D-ra Iosyfa Oleskova," *Dilo* (Lviv), No. 249, 6 (18) November 1895, and "V dele emigratsii selian," *Galichanin* (Lviv), No. 250, 7 (19) November 1895. A few days later, the conservative Russophile newspaper *Galichanin*, No. 252, 10 (22) November 1895, contrasted Oleskiv's positive attitude towards emigration to Canada with the negative attitude of certain Polish landlords. See also Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements*, p. 44.

21. The *vichovyi rukh*, which can be translated literally, but rather awkwardly, as "the mass meeting movement," had begun during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and continued to gather momentum up to 1914. There had been some 59 such assemblies before 1900. Soviet accounts try hard to link the movement's further growth to the influence of the Russian revolution of 1905-1907. See, for example, P. V. Svezhynsky's article "Vichovyi rukh" in *Radianska entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy*, 4 vols. (Kiev, 1969-72), I, p. 323.

forty acres of forest, while in Canada they receive one hundred acres of good wheat growing land. Moreover, in Canada a man's property and life was safe, while in Brazil it was not. The main problem with Canada, the writer informed his audience, was that it cost 120 Austrian Guilders to get there, while passage to Brazil was free. Franko advised those who could afford it to go to Canada, but to wait until spring because there would be no work in Canada in the winter. "Those people who do not have the money to go to Canada," he concluded, "should also wait at home for a while. At this very moment in Lviv they are trying to arrange for free tickets. Then all those who are set on emigrating must turn to Canada because it is a thousand times better there than it is in Brazil."²²

The efforts of Franko, Oleskiv, and others were not in vain. In the following months several well organized groups of villagers left Galicia to settle in Manitoba and the North West. In the fall of 1896, a Canadian official reported to the Commissioner of Dominion Lands in Winnipeg that there had been a large increase in the number of new "Ruthenian" settlers from Austrian Galicia: "upward of one hundred families, in all 630 persons, have settled, principally in Manitoba and Alberta . . ."²³ He ascribed the increase to the efforts of Oleskiv, who was now well known to the Canadian government.

Like all new ventures, the emigration movement to Canada was not without problems. The political ones came first. In 1895, a group of conservative Polish members in the Austrian *Reichsrat* proposed to ban all activities that would promote emigration.²⁴ This idea threatened to interfere with the work of Oleskiv and his committee and Franko decided to speak out against it. In a major article published in the Viennese weekly *Die Zeit* (no. 115, 12 December 1896), he attacked the government for ignoring social and economic factors and blaming the movement upon emigration agents. Instead, he accused the local administration of being the real culprit. "Is it not characteristic," he asked sternly, "that the first news about Ukrain-

22. "Povidomlennia pro vystup I. Franka na narodnomu vichi v Velykykh Mostakh," *Hromadskyi Holos* (Lviv), Nos. 10-11, 15 December 1895; reprinted in *Dokumenty i materialy*, pp. 195-97. Compare the report in *Galichanin*, No. 265, 26 November (8 December) 1895, whose editor sat on Oleskiv's committee. *Galichanin* objected to Franko's position that emigration was a necessity, and seemed to view the prospective movement to Canada as the lesser of two evils.

23. In Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements*, p. 91.

24. The proposal is given in full in Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements*, p. 92, from a translation made at the time by the Canadian High Commission in London.

ian peasant emigration to North America, which reached the newspapers in 1884, concerned the money that had been sent home from America but which the postal officials in the Galician Post Office had kept for themselves?"²⁵ The situation had hardly improved since then, but all the same, administrative barriers could not hold back the pressures for emigration.

On 21 January 1897, the emperor signed a law restricting the promotion of emigration. In the case of the Canadian emigration, however, this legislation does not seem to have been strictly enforced and over the next few years Oleskiv and his committee continued and even intensified their work. Organized groups of peasant-farmers, with a few agricultural implements and a modest capital of perhaps a few hundred dollars, left for Canada every year and were soon joined by others attracted by letters from friends or relatives. Franko's old friend, Cyril Genyk, led Oleskiv's second organized group of settlers, which arrived in Winnipeg on 25 July 1896.²⁶ At Oleskiv's suggestion, the Interior Ministry of the Canadian government hired Genyk as an interpreter and so, in the early years, he met virtually all new arrivals and eventually became a legendary figure among the Ukrainian settlers of Western Canada.²⁷ By 1902, according to an official report drafted by Genyk, some 38,435 Galicians, the vast majority of them ethnic Ukrainians, had settled in Manitoba and the North West.²⁸

Once settled in the new country, the Galician immigrants did not immediately break all ties with their former homeland. Genyk, in particular, tried to keep in touch with Franko and the Old Country Radicals. The new

25. "Die Auswanderungsagenten in Galizien," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur der Ukraine* (Berlin, 1963), pp. 326-31; and "Emigratsiini agenty v Halychyni," *Tvory v dvadtsiaty tomakh*, XIX, pp. 318-24.

26. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements*, p. 381. For a description of these first arrivals and the kinds of tools they brought see Czumer, *Recollections*, pp. 35-37, and the richly illustrated oral history by Zonia Keywan and Martin Coles, *Greater Than Kings* (Montreal, 1977), pp. 13ff. It was necessary to show \$25.00 cash upon arrival in Halifax and on one occasion three prospective immigrants had to combine their meagre resources, and hand them from one to another surreptitiously as each passed the immigration officer. See V. Trishchuk's memoir "Koby bida, a hroshi naidutsia," in J. B. Rudnyckyj, *Materialy do Ukrainsko-Kanadiiskoi folklorystyky i diialektolohii*, Vol. III (Winnipeg, 1958), pp. 393-94.

27. See Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements*, pp. 78-79, who also gives a short biography of Genyk on pp. 381-82. The most thorough study of Genyk is by Petro Krawchuk, *Kanadskiyi druh Ivana Franka* (Toronto, 1971). An example of Genyk as legend is his mention in immigrant folksongs.

28. In Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements*, p. 362.

government interpreter, whose Winnipeg home soon became a meeting place for the immigrant cultural elite, wrote to the Radical leaders Franko and Pavlyk in 1903, asking for their assistance in founding the first Ukrainian newspaper in Canada: "Perhaps you have heard from Pavlyk," Genyk wrote to Franko, "that we are publishing a newspaper in Winnipeg under the name *Kanadiiskyi Farmer*. We are in a very poor state for publishing a newspaper and thus I would ask you to write something for us. I think that we can pay you for each of your contributions. You would be able to write about the most touchy subjects without any fear of the censor."²⁹

The nature of Franko's reply is unknown since Genyk's personal archive has not yet been discovered. *Kanadiiskyi Farmer* reprinted many of Franko's works, however, presumably with his permission.

Genyk's letters to Franko illustrate the writer's prestige among the fledgling Galician colonies in North America. Other examples abound. In Scranton, Pennsylvania, he was chosen as patron of a secular and nationally-oriented mutual-benefit society, the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association; in Winnipeg Alexander Sushko reprinted Franko's popular-style synopsis of scientific opinion on biblical legends about the creation of the world. On the fortieth anniversary of his literary activity in 1913 greetings flowed back to the "old country" from organizations of various sorts all over Canada. Commemorative concerts were held in Winnipeg, Vancouver, Montreal, and elsewhere, and the proceeds were sent back to Lviv. Thus even before his death in 1916, Franko had become a cult figure among the Ukrainian Canadians.³⁰

This development was natural enough, for the mass immigration from Galicia to the Canadian prairies at the turn of the century was no accident. The necessity for emigration had been established, the destination investigated, and the prospective immigrants properly informed and organized. Franko, Oleskiv, and their colleagues played an active role in the entire process. Franko, in particular, was well aware of the momentous social and demographic forces at work in the Galician countryside. He knew that in the absence of industrialization, large-scale emigration was the only

29. In Krawchuk, *Kanadskiyi druh Ivana Franka*, p. 84. The letter is dated 18 September 1903. Presumably, Krawchuk discovered this document in the Franko archives in Kiev.

30. For a thorough but strictly Communist account of the Franko cult in Canada, see Petro Krawchuk, *Ivan Franko sered Kanadskyykh Ukrainstiv* (Lviv, 1966). This should be compared with the materials collected in J. B. Rudnyckyj (Ed.), *I. Franko i Frankiiiana na zakhodi: statti i materiialy* (Winnipeg, 1957).

alternative to overcrowding and famine. When Oleskiv returned from Canada, Franko, who had himself once considered visiting North America, joined him in redirecting the course of emigration from Asiatic Russia and Brazil to North America. The effort of these social activists coincided with a general drive to organize the Galician peasantry into a coherent political force, and so produced an orderly emigration to Canada. The Galician settlers did not quickly forget their Old World benefactors. This is one of the reasons why the portrait of the Ukrainian writer, Ivan Franko, today hangs in thousands of community halls scattered across the length and breadth of Canada.