

LATVIJAS UNIVERSITĀTE
HUMANITĀRO ZINĀTŅU FAKULTĀTE

**PAR EMIGRĀCIJAS (NO LIEPĀJAS UZ KANĀDU) DEMOGRĀFISKO IETEKMI
LAIKA POSMĀ NO 1906. LĪDZ 1914.GADAM**

MAGISTRA DARBS

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**ON THE DEMOGRAPHIC IMPACT OF MIGRATION FROM LIBAU TO CANADA
FROM 1906-1914**

MASTER'S THESIS

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Anotācija

Darbā tiek apskatīta emigrācijas plūsma no Krievijas Impērijas uz Kanādu caur Libau (mūsdienās – Liepāju) ostu laika posmā no 1906. – 1914. gadam, kad starp Libau un Ziemeļameriku bija tieša jūras ceļu satiksme. Pētījuma pamatā ir oriģinālie kuģniecības manifesti, kas tiek salīdzināti un pretstatīti akadēmiskajiem pētījumiem par dažādām emigrantu grupām Kanādā. Pieejamie dati par galvenajām etniskajām grupām astoņu gadu posmā tiek salīdzināti, pretstatīti un papildināti ar aptaujāto emigrantu, kas emigrējuši no Krievijas Impērijas uz Kanādu šajā laika posmā, pēcteču teikto un Libau ostas apstākļu analīzi šīs emigrācijas laikā, kas balstīta šī laika krievu, britu, amerikāņu, ebreju un latviešu tiešajos datu avotos, sniedzot plašu un daudzpusīgu skatījumu par migrācijas stāstiem gan no mikro, gan makro līmeņa skatupunkta.

Atslēgvārdi: emigrācija, demogrāfija, Krievijas Impērija, Kanāda, Latvija

Abstract

To shed light on the flow of emigrants from the Russian Empire to Canada through the port of Libau (modern day Liepaja) from 1906-1914 when there was direct navigation between Libau and North America. This will be researched using original shipping manifests from the Canadian national archives, comparing and contrasting this with academic research on the various emigrant groups in Canada.

The data available regarding the main ethnic groups over the 8-year timeframe will be compared and contrasted and supplemented with a survey of the descendants of emigrants from the Russian Empire to Canada within this timeframe, and analysis of the conditions of the port of Libau at the time of this emigration, based on Russian, British, American, Jewish and Latvian primary sources from the era, offering a wide and multifaceted insight into the stories of migration from a macro and micro level.

Keywords: emigration, demographics, Russian Empire, Canada, Latvia

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Introduction



Figure 1: Shipping advertisement for first direct voyage from Libau to New York (Libausche Zeitung)

On 24/05/1906, an advert for a voyage was posted in Liepaja's local German language newspaper, the Libausche Zeitung: Under a picture of an old-fashioned steamer, with full-fledged sails, the name of the organisers of this trip, the 'Freiwillige Flotte', the Voluntary Fleet, advertising a direct trip from Libau- New York in 12 days, leaving on 25th June 1906. Within 2 months of this advertisement being posted, two women made history. They were the first emigrants to start a new life in Canada having emigrated directly to North America from the Russian Empire.

Lea Goldstuck and Chane Ratzew, two Jewish tailoresses, Lea, a 28-year-old, bound for London, Ontario, and Chane, a 17-year-old, bound for Montreal, Quebec opened a short but vibrant chapter in the history of emigration from the Russian Empire to Canada. Other than their literacy, marital status and amount of dollars they had on hand upon arrival, there is little we know about these women.

On 19/07/1906, the Libausche Zeitung proudly announced 'auf dem ersten Dampfer „Smolensk" ca. 650 Köpfe gehabt, was für eine erste Reise als ein nicht geringer', 'a not insignificant success for a maiden voyage with 650 heads on board the first steamer, Smolensk.' While New York had attracted 648 passengers for the burgeoning US economy, only 2 had opted to go onwards to Canada.

By 1914, several hundred immigrants would pour into Halifax on most vessels bound from Libau for the United States of America. Within 6 years of the creation of the Libau-New York line, this indirect journey to Canada would be simplified further, with direct voyages to Halifax as part of a Libau-Halifax-New York-Rotterdam-Libau route.

My thesis aims to explore the origins and fates of these passengers, as well as to analyze the overall conditions for passengers when leaving Libau and how they settled upon arriving in Canada.

To conduct research about this migration from Libau, and to investigate conditions for those emigrating through this port, I have investigated contemporary accounts from Russian, American and British officials inspecting emigration procedures in Libau. These have been added to by newspaper archives from the local Libau Latvian and German language press. I have also located memoirs from original emigrants describing their time in Libau or in transit to North America to paint a more vivid picture of the experience on a micro level.

To investigate the experience of those migrants once arriving to Canada via New York and Halifax, I am researching Canadian and American sources from New York as well as Halifax (where available). Contemporary North American news sources, such as the New York times have also been drawn upon to gauge public reaction to the emergence of a growing number of emigrants from the Russian Empire in their midst.

To investigate the original numbers and groups connected with this pattern of emigration, and where they dispersed on their initial arrival in Canada, I am using primary sources from ship manifests in Canada's archives, collecting the data of 3 specific cohorts (from 1906, 1910 and 1914 respectively). This is the most readily available source of such information and was the only such data which was possible to access online rather than in person, and was helpfully also accessible when searching by vessels and ports of departure, rather than by the names of individual passengers (the approach followed by the US authorities with their Ellis Island records). That being said, this particular source was lacking details regarding the provinces of origin. Such records reflecting the province of origin would only be available through direct research at the Russian State Archives which have unfortunately been inaccessible through the period of my research. This has led me to speculate on such origins using data from other academic research and contemporary material from both Russian and Canadian sources.

The final thrust of my research were questionnaires distributed through online channels to various diasporas connected to this migration. The primary reason for this is to closer examine whether Libau is remembered as a port of departure by the descendants of these emigrants. This particular branch of research is by far the most subjective, and considering the 107 years which have passed since the last vessels departed from Libau (when that port was in the Russian Empire) to Halifax, the most challenging to create a statistical basis from each community represented in the Canadian shipping records. This is further complicated by the likelihood of further onward migration internally within Canada or to the USA after short-term stays in their initial points of arrival.

Therefore, this thesis will for various reasons not be as fully-fledged as initially desired by the author, but hopefully new light will be shed on the role of a now provincial Latvian port city in a huge global network of shipping lanes across the Atlantic to the Russian Empire.

Chapter 1: On the Port of Departure

Libau (now known officially as Liepaja) was a dynamic port city at the beginning of the 20th century. Its population of 9,970 inhabitants in 1863 had boomed to 90,800 inhabitants by 1908.

In 1906, according to the Encyclopedia of Brokhaus and Efron, The city thrived on multiple levels. As a port city, it enjoyed the benefits of year round trade across the Baltic and beyond thanks to its ice-free harbor. As a resort, it had constructed multiple entertainment venues, including the Kurhaus (Spa house), a seaside park, a summerhouse district and swimming facilities. As an industrial region, it boasted many factories, producing products such as linoleum, oil, matches, leather goods etc. Furthermore its population was not only much larger, but cosmopolitan: Out of a population of 43,734, 10,860 were Jewish, 10,210 were German, 9,945 were Latvian, 9,133 were Russians (including modern-day Ukrainians and Belarusians), 2,184 were Lithuanian and 986 were Polish.

The average emigrant would likely have arrived to Libau via train. By 1906, Libau was connected to Belarus and Northern Ukraine, in a southern direction by the Libava-Romny railroad, and to the North and East of Russia via the Mazeikiai-Jelgava-Riga railroad. Based on these geographical realities, I expect the vast majority of emigrants via Libau to be from modern day Belarus and Northern Ukraine.

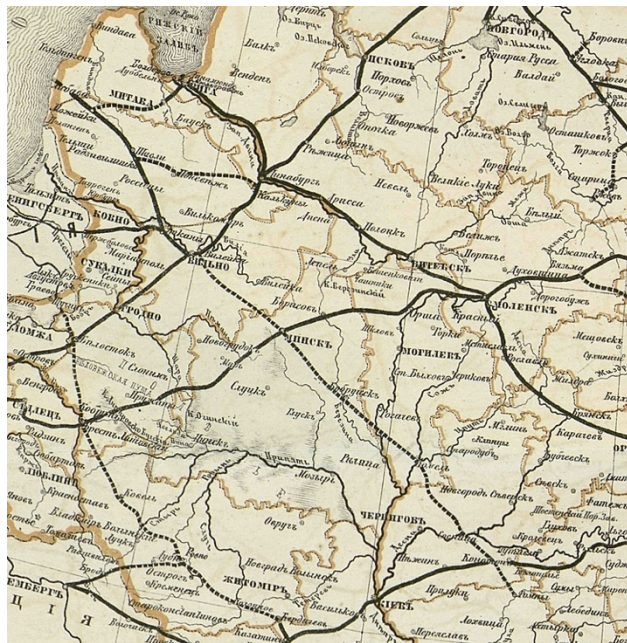


Figure 2: Map of Libava-Romny Railway (seen heading diagonally south-east from Baltic coast) Source: <https://vadim-i-z.livejournal.com/4302144.html>

In the immediate vicinity of the train station in Neu Libau (the new suburb of Liepaja built in the mid-late 19th century) three projects were completed with the emigrants directly in mind- the first was an Emigrant House for the North-West Shipping Company (see figure 3), the second was an Emigrant House for the Russian East-Asiatic Steamship Company (see figure 4) and the third, a train station directly by the winter harbor for easy direct access to the steamships for the emigrants (see figure 5).



Figure 3: Emigrant house on Baseina Street: Source <https://dom.lndb.lv/data/obj/417147.html> pg 102-103



Figure 4: Emigrant houses in New Liepaja: Source <https://dom.lndb.lv/data/obj/417147.html>



Figure 5: Emigrant Ship Moorings: <https://dom.lndb.lv/data/obj/417147.html>

When describing Libau as a city for emigration, in 1911 A S Putilov, representative of the General Affairs Department of the Ministry of Internal affairs, researching the activity of the Jewish Colonisation Society had quite a vivid picture to paint:

‘Despite the fact that Libava is the final destination... emigrants scurry about and rush to throw things out of the carriages in a disorderly manner, creating a lot of noise and disorder.’ (Putilov 1911). Prior to 1909, a crowd of Emigrant accommodation owners would surround the new arrivals who had just arrived by train. Post-1909 there were only representatives of the Steamship Companies and the Libau Committee of the Jewish Colonization Society, who gave directions to emigrants on where to stay.

Prior to 1909 emigrants stayed in private accommodation, often run by owners with the aim ‘to earn as much as possible from their apartments, and, therefore, to accommodate more emigrants in it’ (Putilov, 1911). After the majority of private accommodation was shut down as it didn’t adhere to basic standards including: ‘local residents/ non-emigrants cannot live in the house where emigrants live’, ‘apartments should be arranged over a corridor system’ (with access to a common corridor), ‘supervision of the sanitary condition... entrusted to the city sanitary doctor and the police’. The report of the American Immigration commission confirmed this state of affairs: ‘The committee inspected several of these houses. Some were clean, others exceedingly dirty, and none were provided with facilities for bathing. Occupants pay about 10 cents a night for lodging.’ (Dilligham, 1911: 116).

There were 10 local emigrant apartments in Liepaja (with space for 600-700 emigrants) described by Putilov as '*detached houses with small rooms with 5 to 8 beds*' where 'the beds were wooden, narrow, and the mattresses filled with straw and covered with often dirty sheets' and, as part of an effort to economize, emigrants were crammed into as few rooms as possible, and the remaining rooms were kept locked up. The cost per night was 25 kopecks (on average) and 12 kopecks per child (who slept two to a bed). These were often closed down by the Libau police chief for flaunting the rules. The emigrant apartments set aside for those travelling through Carlsberg-Spiro ticket agency (for trips to England) were 30 kopecks per adult and 15 per child.

That the emigrant apartments in Liepaja were of less than ideal quality is reflected in the words of Janovsky, whose comments about subpar accommodation in Rotterdam suggest that Libau's accommodation had become a byword for inhospitability and bad quality: 'Atlantic Express stay in ten residential buildings that are reminiscent of the most horrible buildings in Libau' (Alroey, 2007: 118) Furthermore, in Elizabeth Hasnovitz's memoirs about emigration from Libau to Quebec via London she stated: 'My clothes were full of vermin when I arrived at Libau. I immediately found a bath-house and cleansed myself from the parasites, but the immigration houses where we stopped were equally infested.' (Hasanovitz, 1918: 12-13)

Meanwhile, the emigrant apartments set aside by the Russian East Asian Shipping Company (with space for 400 emigrants) are described by the Russian government official as very clean, with painted floors, electric light, iron beds, clean blankets and pillows and restrictions on maximum numbers of guests per room.

Kukushkin (2007: 52) echoes this state of affairs in his description of facilities in Libau in 1912-1914 (based on the direct steamship from Libau to Halifax). The newly opened Emigrant House where emigrants could stay, free of charge, for 5 days with facilities including 'a library, a children's playground, hot water baths' among other facilities.' As this information echoes the Russian-American line's brochure, we cannot be sure if these facilities matched the expectations of emigrants departing through Libau.

Food

According to emigrating Jews, there was no cheap or hot food in emigrant apartments, a real challenge for women with children staying for a week or longer. There was a cheap canteen run by the Jewish Society of Welfare for the poor (2 courses for 12 kopecks). (Putilov, 1911) The American Immigration Commission's report added: 'Occupants have the use of the kitchen for cooking their own food, or meals will be furnished by the house if desired.' (Dilligham, 1911: 268) This suggests that self-catering was an option, but Russian reports suggest that the food was overpriced in such accommodations.

Documentation to leave

A branch of the Governor of Courland was opened in Libau. Passports were signed in advance by the Governor, sent to that office, and issued. In 1910, 16967 passports were issued there, 8304 from 01/01/1911-18/06/1911. The practice raised eyebrows among the American authorities in charge of the immigration commission who wrote: 'When the Russian steamship companies opened direct communication between Libau and America, and the passengers carried from that port reached the number of 60,000 per annum, the governor of Courland transferred that branch of his office, which was in charge of issuing foreign passports, from Mitau, which is the seat of the Province, to Libau. This change was made in order to meet the demands of the emigrants, but it is hardly possible to find a justification for it in the law' (Dilligham, 1911: 268). The bureaucracy of passport acquisition is described in great detail by numerous authors with difficulties varying on the region where the emigrants were registered, not where they were based, whether a wife and children were involved, in which case, if they were not able to travel with the emigrant, he would need to bring witnesses who knew his wife and children. Wives who had husbands in a new country would need their husbands' consent to get a passport, which was clearly difficult to obtain due to geographical realities. These conditions dissuaded a great deal of emigrants from using Libau as a port of departure.

There is already some general research connected to the history of emigration through Libau. Nicholas John Evan's *The Port Jews of Libau* (2004: 209) does not refer directly to those emigrating to Canada, but does refer to common issues affecting all those emigrating via the port, for example 'unsuitable immigrants on the transatlantic crossing' leading to the rejection of 654 emigrants to North America. Challenges with bureaucracy are also addressed, connected

with rubber-stamping among officials in Libau. Aubrey Newman (2000) raises issues with bureaucracy in the city in her work *Trains and Shelters and Ships*, namely the Russian acts of delay for passports requesting additional fees and agents exploiting the government authorities and the migrants where they ‘put a number of persons of different families on a single passport’ thereby leading to issues when travelling to their new countries. Zoza Szajkowski (1977: 111) raises similar issues with rapidly issued passports in her work and the ease of getting passports ‘in which he was described as X although his name was a different one’.

Sometimes, those who were rendered ineligible for emigration were able to use less legal means to head across the Atlantic. In the Braun report of 1908 on Deserted Seaman, he singled out the Russian Volunteer Fleet and Russian East-Asiatic Company who ‘paid shipmasters or other personnel to be contracted as seamen, and for their assistance in deserting on arrival. (Schottenhammer, 2014: 298)

Complications with passports were also mentioned in Gur Alroey’s *Out of the Shtetl. In the footsteps of Eastern European Jewish emigrants to America 1900-1914* (2017: 92-95). The bureaucracy of passport acquisition is described in great detail, with difficulties varying on the region where the emigrants were registered, not where they were based, whether a wife and children were involved, in which case, if they were not with the emigrant, he would need to bring witnesses who knew his wife and children. Wives who had husbands in a new country would need their husbands’ consent to get a passport, which was clearly difficult to obtain due to geographical realities. ‘ninety emigrants out of a hundred could not obtain passports due to the necessary conditions’. (2017: 95). These conditions dissuaded a great deal of emigrants from using Libau as a port of departure.

Chapter 2: The shipping companies involved

Shipping between Libau and North America was initially managed by two shipping companies. On October 5, 1905, an announcement was made in the New York Times about the creation of a steamship service between New York and a 'Baltic port, either Riga or Libau under Governmental encouragement.' The next news of this was published in the New York Times on March 1, 1906, where this hypothetical service got the name: the Libau-New York line.

More concrete news followed in May 5th 1906 in the Libausche Zeitung about the 'Voluntary Fleet' and their vessels 'Smolensk' and 'Petersburg' being the main liners on this new route. The Voluntary Fleet were soon joined by a rival, the Russian East-Asian Steamship Company. 3 out of 8 of the voyages conducted that year were organized by the Voluntary Fleet, while the remainder were organized by the Russian East Asian Steamship Company. The Voluntary Fleet is described as 'non-profit institution' which invested all its earnings 'to buy new steamers 'for possible use as military cruisers.' (Brockhaus Encyclopaedia. 1907)

According to a report on the Jarrow Express announcing its launch on 15/03/1901, Smolensk had a speed of 20 knots, and 'is fitted with first-class cabins in the 'tween decks, and a handsome dining saloon. A music saloon and smoke room are situated on the promenade deck'. The other decks of the vessel 'are arranged for the accommodation of 1,500 emigrants or troops'. Later in the article, it is stated 'the vessel... is arranged to carry troops and cargo in time of peace, and to be used as a fast cruiser in time of war.' Based on the multifunctional and apparently utilitarian nature of the vessel, it may not have provided the most comfortable voyage, but its maximum speed did outstrip that of later liners at 20 knots.

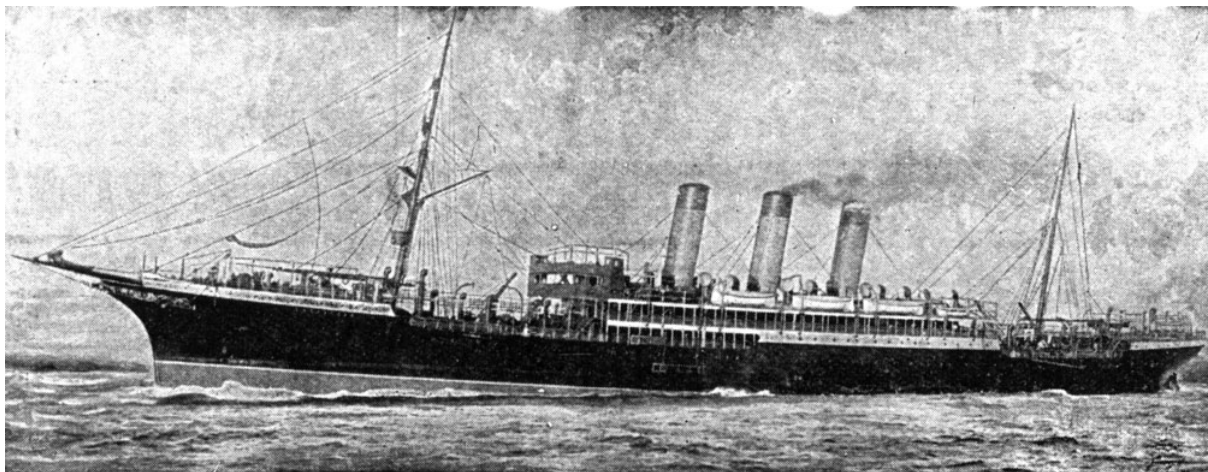


Figure 6: The Steamship Smolensk of the Russian Voluntary Fleet (source: Tyne Built Ships)

The maiden voyage of the vessel was either postponed, or was delayed, based on the discrepancy between the intended voyage time of 12 days (in which case the voyage should have arrived in early July). There is a column in the New York Times on July 28 1906 reporting on a scandal at the celebratory banquet ‘of 150 or more Russians who sat down around the long table on the promenade deck of the big steamship’ celebrating the inaugural voyage on this route: under the headline: ‘Priest Tells Other Guests They Are His Enemies.’ According to the reporter, a Polish priest, Leo Kwasniewski, stated “I must look upon you Russians as my enemies...but there is no evil out of which some good does not come... and I do not hesitate to say tonight that I would rather see a Russian company get the passenger traffic between this country and Poland than a German line.’ (New York Times 1906) The recent revolution is also referenced in the article where in the toast, Oscar Richard, the agent for the Russian liners in New York said: ‘We hear through the press that his hands are tied, but I ask you to drink health and long life to his imperial Majesty, the Czar.’

On 26 June 1908, Liepajas Atbalss announced that ‘the Volunteer Fleet... has decided to stop traffic between Libau and New York’. The reasons included losses of 500,000 rubles in their first and 600,000 rubles in their second year. In that same article, it was mentioned that the East Asian Steamship Company indicated that they had similar issues: ‘the Libau line has only brought losses and that it should be closed to the public after a long or short period of time.’

The Russian East Asian Steamship Company (also referred to as the Russian-American Line for this particular route) was nevertheless the sole provider of direct Trans-Atlantic transport in the period between 1908-1914. In 1910, the arrival of the ‘Kursk’ was anticipated by the New York times: ‘She was constructed...to comply with American and Russian passenger regulations, and has accommodations for 120 first, 178 second and 1,300 third class passengers.’ The vessel’s amenities included ‘large cabins and artistic decorations...private baths, a sun parlor, and a play room for the children.’



Figure 7: The New Twin-Screw Liner 'Kursk' of the Russian-American Line in Libau (source: Clyde Ships)

In 1912, an expansion of transportation infrastructure between Libau and Canada changed the dynamic of migration to Canada. While before, emigrants would have to either travel to Canada via the UK (from Libau via Hull and Liverpool) or via the USA (from Libau via New York), a direct connection announced in Liepajas Atbalss on 09/02/1912: ‘A steamer of the East-Asian Society departed on Tuesday evening to New York and Halifax (Canada) with 1061 aboard. The above-mentioned steamer company is now launching direct voyages to Canada, as many Russian emigrants from Kiev, Kherson and Podolia provinces have recently left for Canada to do farming. From now on, every steamer which will travel to New York will pick up also a number of departures for Halifax’

The East Asian Steamship Company’s line between Libau, Halifax and New York continued until the outbreak of World War I. Three vessels were voyaging between Libau and New York in July 1914 when the war broke out. ‘‘Czar’ which lies in the port of New York, was forbidden to leave for Libau... the ‘Dvinsk’...in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, was instructed... to await peace in New York.’ Meanwhile the Kursk was in the English Channel. ‘She was informed by radio telegraph to enter the English port of Portland and wait there for the war to end. With this announcement in the Libausche Zeitung on 25/07/1914, the direct line between North America and the Russian Empire through Libau was severed. Although it was resurrected in the 1920s, (albeit between a now independent Latvia and Canada/ the USA, the number of emigrants never matched those of the pre-war period.

Chapter 3: Research of Shipping Manifests

Research Methodology

To delve further into my topic of enquiry, I have analysed the data of over 1,000 passengers from Libau to North America, all of whom indicated Canada as their final destination, using ship records from Canada as my primary reference. I have indicated 3 cohorts: July-December 1906, July- December 1910 and 5th February- 7th April 1914. Through analysing these three groups, I hope to locate changes in patterns regarding migration through Libau to Canada over this time frame.

I will be looking specifically at the Canada-bound passengers on the following voyages in 1906, 1910 and 1914 (the manifests for which were located on Canada's state archives):

Smolensk (Volunteer Fleet) which arrived in New York on 26/07/1906.

Grodno (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 10/09/1906

Korea (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 02/10/1906

Kowna (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 06/11/1906

Petersburg (Volunteer Fleet) which arrived in New York on 08/11/1906

Smolensk (Volunteer Fleet) which arrived in New York on 13/11/1906

Grodno (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 19/11/1906

Lituania (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 06/07/1910

Birma (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 20/07/1910

Russia (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 01/08/1910

Lituania (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 15/08/1910

Birma (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 29/08/1910

Russia (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 11/09/1910

Lituania (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 25/09/10

Estonia (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 13/10/1910

Birma (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 30/10/1910

Kursk (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 13/11/1910

Lituania (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 02/12/1910

Russia (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 17/12/1910

Kursk (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 30/12/1910

Czar (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 05/02/1914

Mitau (Russian-American Line) which arrived in Halifax on 19/02/1914

Dwinsk (Russian-American Line) which arrived in New York on 26/02/1914

Russia (Russian-American Line) which arrived in Halifax on 06/03/1914

Kursk (Russian-American Line) which arrived in Halifax on 14/03/1914

Czar (Russian-American Line) which arrived in Halifax on 25/03/1914

Dwinsk (Russian-American Line) which arrived in Halifax on 07/04/1914

These records from the ship manifests mentioned above generally contained the following information:

1. Number of S.S. Contract Ticket
2. Amount of Cash in \$
3. Name in Full
4. Age of adults (M/F)
5. Children under 14 years (M/F)
6. Married, Single or Widowed
7. Have you ever been in Canada before (if yes, when, where, how long)
8. Do you intend to permanently reside in Canada?
9. Are you able to read?
10. Are you able to write?
11. Country of Birth
12. Race of People
13. Destination (Local Post Office, Province)
14. What was your occupation in the country from which you came?
15. What is your intended Occupation in Canada?
16. Have you ever worked as a farmer, farm labourer, gardener, stableman, carter, RY, surfaceman, navy or miner? (if yes, which, how long, when)
17. Religious denomination.
18. Travelled inland on.

For the purposes of my research, I primarily investigated the following categories:

1. Age of Adults and their Genders: I decided to primarily focus my research on the adult emigrants from Libau to New York and Halifax because their records were the most complete and were able to divulge the most information about the fates of the emigrants from this timeframe.

2. For children under 14 years of age, I made a note of their numbers and added those in a supplementary category: Number of Dependents.
3. I made a note of the marital status of all the adults in order to better gauge the social situations these immigrants were in as travellers, as well as what circumstances may have awaited them in Canada.
4. The literacy of the passengers. In order to simplify my results, I did not make a note of those who were able to read OR write respectively, but rather categorized those who were unable to do both as illiterate, and those who were proficient in both reading and writing according to the ship manifests as literate.
5. I collected the races of the passengers. I did not collect the religious denominations to which they belonged. In general, only 3 religious confessions were mentioned: Hebrews, Greek Catholics and Lutherans, all of which were ascribed to the groups stereotypically expected to do so.
6. Their Destinations in Canada: this particular part of the data collection was the most challenging. Due to the relatively poor scan quality of microfilms from the state archives and challenging handwriting from certain government officials, it was often impossible to understand the settlements of destination for the new immigrants from Libau. Furthermore, even when such records were legible, many of the settlements appear to either be abandoned or combined with new settlements since creation, so it was sometimes impossible to locate their details through conventional channels. In such cases, I indicated the name of the province alone.
7. Furthermore I made a note of the passenger's intended occupation in Canada. I did not note the original occupations in their home country, as there was a great deal of duplication involved. Since the basis of my thesis was their demographic impact on Canada, their original professions were not of special significance to my research.

3.2 Theoretical basis of research

There are several theories connected to migration. Neoclassical economic theory suggests that ‘differential in wages causes workers from the low income country to move to the high income country. (Massey et al., 1993: 433) This is espoused by many demographers including Lewis (1954), Ranis and Fei (1961), Harris and Todaro (1970).

The Dual Labor Market Theory espoused by Piore (1979) suggests that ‘international migration is caused by a permanent demand for immigrant labor that is inherent to the economic structure of developed nations.’ Piore adds that ‘immigration is not caused by push factors in sending countries but by pull factors in receiving countries.’ (Massey et al., 1993: 440-441)

The Network Theory suggests that pre-existing migrant groups ‘increase the likelihood of international movement because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration’. (Massey et al., 1993: 448)

While all three of the previous theories have some basis when considering trans-Atlantic migration between 1906-1914, for the purpose of this thesis, I have decided to analyse migration to Canada from the Russian Empire via Libau through the prism of Everett S. Lee’s Theory of Migration, published in volume 3 of the journal ‘Demography’. Lee’s laws (1966) divide the causes of emigration into push and pull factors. His theory tries to establish a ‘theory’ of migration which would explain the volume of migration between origin and destination. He divides the theory into four categories: factors connected with the area of origin, factors connected with the area of destination, intervening obstacles and personal factors.

ORIGIN AND DESTINATION FACTORS AND INTERVENING OBSTACLES IN MIGRATION

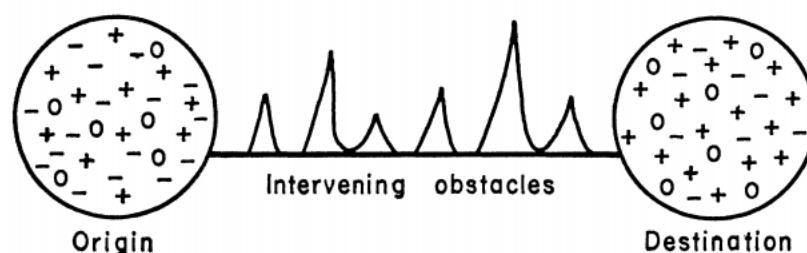


Figure 8: Origin and Destination Factors and Intervening Obstacles in Migration (Lee 1966)

The first law that applied to my research was that: 'The volume of migration within a given territory varies with the degree of diversity of areas included in that territory.' This law applies primarily to areas of new settlement, with examples such as the 'discovery of gold in California'. The aspect of this law connected to emigration at the beginning of the 20th century is that 'industrialization which has traditionally followed settlement is a great creator of areal diversity. In a dynamic economy, new opportunities are continually created in places to which workers must be drawn.' This suggests that dynamic economic expansion, a characteristic which applied to Canada, although to a lesser extent than the United States of America, as well as the diverse economic bases from province to province within Canada would naturally attract a larger volume of migrants. I will be examining what industries/ economic bases the various provinces of Canada attracted in this period.

His second observation was that 'The volume of migration varies with the diversity of people', a rule that certainly applies to the multinational Russian Empire. He states that 'though discrimination leads to the establishment of ghettos, it also operates to bring about vast movements of people from one area of another'. I will therefore be examining the primary ethnic groups that migrated through Libau and why they may have migrated.

His third observation about the volume migration is that it 'is related to the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles.' In short, the ease of access of North America to emigrants from the Russian Empire increased greatly throughout the late 19th and early 20th century, and the launching of the Libau-New York/ Halifax route certainly eased access to the previously more remote/ inaccessible Canadian regions of settlement. I will be analysing which intervening obstacles may have emerged in the period and caused an increase/ decrease in volume among certain nationalities.

Regarding the steam and counter stream of migrants, his observation that 'Migration tends to take place largely within well-defined streams' following 'established routes of transportation'. He also mentions 'streams which are highly specific both in origin and destination'. Although the development of a counter stream is mentioned, I will not attempt to expand on this in my thesis due to the limited timeframes involved, and the low levels of counter migration among early emigrants from Libau to Canada due to the logistical challenges of leaving Canada

between 1906-1912. I will be analysing the settlement patterns and streams that emerged among different cohorts on arrival in Canada.

Regarding the characteristics of migrants, he suggests that 'Migration is selective' and that 'persons respond differently to the sets of plus and minus factors at origin and at destination', and that if they are responding to 'plus factors' or pulls at the destination country, they tend to be 'positively selected', i.e. of higher academic/ professional stock than the average in their land of origin. Based on this theory, I will be evaluating the literacy rates of emigrants to see how they correspond to the averages of the Russian Empire.

On the 'Push' factors for emigration from the Russian Empire between 1906-1914

There were a multitude of reasons why many emigrants would have chosen to leave the Russian Empire between 1906 and 1914.

There were multiple economic and political factors, which were exacerbated by to the immediate outcome of the Russian revolution in 1905. This instability had a negative impact on the livelihoods of a large proportion of the population in the Russian Empire. This is especially true of minorities like the Jews, who, already struggling with 'economic subordination' prior to 1905 due to limited migration opportunities within the Russian Empire and forced settlement within the Pale of Settlement on the Western Edge of the Russian Empire.

The Jews found themselves faced with 'unprecedented waves of pogroms' in 1905. According to Obolensky-Ossinsky (1931: 543), a new wave of Jewish emigration began after the Kishinev pogrom of 1903, and at its peak in October 1905, '690 such pogroms occurred, in which at least 810 people were killed, 1,770 were wounded, and 201,000 people suffered pecuniary loss to the amount of more than \$30,000,000.' He noted however, that after 1908, the rate of pogroms decreased, and therefore Hebrew emigration also decreased.

Among German migrants, economic causes are mentioned, primarily 'the rise of a large group of landless peasants... and the difficulty of continuing the extensive grain farming on the steppes after the land had become exhausted.' These conditions existed well prior to 1906, and therefore push factors for the German minority in Russia were not as pronounced as for the Jewish minority.

Another push factor which impacted all citizens of the Russian Empire was ‘compulsory military service... introduced in 1874’ (1931: 552) which proved especially problematic for the pacifist Mennonites, (mostly Germans) and the Jews who were ‘constantly treated by officials as a pariah’ (1931 542), even when serving the Russian Empire militarily.

Pull factors to Canada

The third wave of immigration from Europe to North America, between 1880 and 1914 mostly attracted migrants from Eastern and Southern Europe to both the USA and Canada.

According to, Thompson and Weinfeld, ‘Canada needs immigrants for the compelling reasons it has always sought them: for economic growth and to replace population lost by emigration to the United States.’ (Thompson et al, 1995: abstract).

In the early 20th century, economic growth was especially evident in the Economic growth/cheap agricultural land in prairies. Immigrants from Eastern Europe, the Russian Empire included ‘plowed the plains, laid the tracks, chopped the trees and worked the mines that made possible a transcontinental Canada.’ (Thompson et al, 1995: 187). A period of international economic growth ‘led to increased demand for Canada’s natural exports,’ which in turn necessitated the need for workers in the less developed regions where minerals and lumber remained unexploited, especially in the western half of Canada.

While there were restrictive laws in practice regarding emigration from the Russian Empire, these paled into comparison with restrictions on non-white immigration ‘to maintain a predominantly white society.’ (Suyama N, 1995: 24) What was a loss for the Chinese and Indian laborers aiming to work in Canada was a gain for the labourers of European origin hoping to move to North America, especially to provinces such as British Columbia which had seen more unskilled labour arrive from Asia than the rest of the country.



Figure 9: *Western Canada: The New Eldorado* (1908) <https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/CollectionSearch/Pages/record.aspx?app=fonandcol&IdNumber=2945432>

The Canadian government promoted the Western part of their country as an ‘Eldorado’ and offered 160 acres of farmland for free to new settlers. The reasons they list for their eligibility as a perfect destination for emigrants are: ‘Homes for Everybody, Easy to Reach, Nothing to Fear, Protected by the Government, Wheat land, Rich Virgin Soil, Land for Mixed Farming, Land for Cattle Raising’. This state advertising suggested that Canada positioned and perceived of itself as a safe, accessible and law-abiding country, which no doubt encouraged further migration (in addition to the benefits of agricultural land obviously embraced in the rest of the poster).

Eric Lohr (2012: 86) mentions a revision among academics of the picture of emigration as ‘primarily a result of domestic “push” factors. “Pull” factors were probably more important. Economic opportunities in the United States, Canada, and elsewhere correlate more closely with emigration than waves of pogroms or conscription policies.’ This suggests that there may be some nuance to the theme, but Lee’s theory seems like a suitable framework regardless.

General Analysis of data

Regarding Gender

	1906		1910		1914	
	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
Male	29	42.65%	65	70.65%	720	86.85%
Female	39	57.35%	27	29.35%	109	13.15%
Total	68		92		829	

The total number of adult passengers on these voyages with Canada expanded a great deal between 1906 to 1914, a change prompted primarily by the introduction of a direct route to Halifax, without having to make such a significant journey on-land from New York to their final destination. As mentioned earlier in the text this appears to be connected a great deal with agricultural settlement, it seems to have become much broader in the following decade. As Kukushkin states in his work *Protectors and Watchdogs: Tsarist Consular Supervision of Russian-Subject Immigrants in Canada, 1900-1922*, 'By the eve of World War I...the new immigrants were almost entirely peasants and small artisans coming in search of temporary work.' (2002: 213) This contrasts with the majority of earlier migrants (visible still in the 1906 cohort) where 'earlier migrant traffic was dominated by ethnic and religious minorities of the Russian Empire.'

Concerning gender, of the 174 women who emigrated in total from the Russian Empire via Libau, 124 were of Jewish origin, 23 were of German origin, 23 were of Russian (possibly Ukrainian or Belarusian) origin, 5 of whom emigrated in 1910. This suggests that the bulk of female emigration until 1914 was proportionally still undertaken by women belonging to ethnic and religious minorities, seeking permanently to settle in the new world. As women were less economically independent/ active than men, this indicates that a high proportion of non-economic migration was undertaken by national minorities within the Russian Empire.

As regards the huge up-spike in emigration among males between 1910 and 1914, this could be explained by the 'American fever' which reached Ukrainian and Belarusian peasantry in 1910-1911 as well as by the 'large number of married men, who left their families behind, intending to return after spending a year or two in Canada.' (Kukushkin 2002: 214)

Age

Table 1: Breakdown by age (male)

	1906		1910		1914	
	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
60+			2	3.08%	1	0.1%
50-60	3	10.34%	1	1.54%	5	0.7%
40-50	1	3.45%	5	7.69%	74	10.28%
30-40	6	20.69%	21	32.31%	226	31.39%
20-30	7	24.14%	18	27.69%	286	39.72%
Under 20	12	41.38%	18	27.69%	128	17.78%
Total	29		65		720	
Average Age		27 years		28.66 years		28.37 years

Table 2: Breakdown by age (female)

	1906		1910		1914	
	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
60+			1	3.7%	5	4.59%
50-60			1	3.7%	1	0.92%
40-50	2	5.13%	2	7.4%	10	9.17%
30-40	10	25.64%	7	25.93%	25	22.94%
20-30	17	43.49%	13	48.15%	42	38.53%
Under 20	10	25.64%	3	11.11%	26	23.85%
Total	39		27		109	
Average Age		25 years		29.33 Years		29.36 years

Over the period from 1906-1914, we can see a gradual aging of both male and female emigrant groups. It should be noted that the female averages of both 1910 and 1914 appear to be impacted much more by the intake of a proportionally large number of passengers above the age of 40, especially when compared with their male counterparts. The more stable average age among men appears to be connected to their much larger numbers, and therefore the chance of outliers impacting their statistics being reduced.

The growth in older emigrants among the female population was especially marked among Jewish females, suggesting that by 1910, several members of the community felt financially comfortable enough to make space for older family members in Canada, or that plans were

made to welcome them. Of 9 emigrants above the age of 60, 8 were of Jewish origin and 6 were female Jews specifically.

The age profiles suggest that the bulk of emigrants were economically active, or, if not, going to live with their economically active husbands/ male family members.

Table 3: Nationality and Children (Overall)

	1906		1910		1914	
	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
Bulgarian	-	-	-	-	32	3.86%
Canadian	-	-	-	-	1	0.12%
Georgian	-	-	-	-	16	1.93%
German	19 (9)	27.95% (25%)	9 (6)	9.78% (16.66%)	35 (16)	4.22% (15.24%)
Jewish	48 (27)	70.59% (75%)	32 (25)	34.78% (69.44%)	130 (78)	15.68% (74.29%)
Latvian	-	-	-	-	1	0.12%
Lithuanian	-	-	6 (1)	6.52% (2.78%)	-	-
Ossetian	-	-	-	-	18	2.17%
Polish	-	-	1	1.09%	5	0.60 %
Russian	1	1.48%	44 (4)	47.83% (11.11%)	590 (11)	71.17% (10.48%)
Illegible	-	-	-	-	1	0.12%
Total	68 (36)		92 (36)		829 (105)	

The diversity of the passengers on the vessels became more marked in the final year of emigration, 1914. The various national groups involved with migration expanded to previously unencountered, and geographically remote regions such as Ossetia, Georgia and Bulgaria. This suggests that migrants from the Black Sea region were emigrating from the Baltic ports as well. The upswing in migration among the Russian cohort (which also included Belarusian and Ukrainian emigrants due to simplification of the Canadian emigration system) extended into the 1914 where they became the primary group of migrants.

TABLE 235.

IMMIGRANTS FROM RUSSIA INTO CANADA, CLASSIFIED BY LINGUISTIC GROUPS, FOR QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS, 1900-1913.¹
(In Thousands)

Group	Number of Immigrants				Per Cent			
	1900-03	1904-08	1909-13	1900-1913	1900-03	1904-08	1909-13	1900-13
Hebrews ^a	8	25	27	60	33	51	24	32
Poles ^a	0.6	2	12	15	2	4	11	8
Finns.....	5	5	11	21	19	11	9	11
Russians.....	11	17	64	92	46	34	56	49
Totals.....	24	50	114	188	100	100	100	100

^aFor the years 1900-1904, when Russian Hebrews and Russian Poles were not given separately the per cents 82.7 and 46.6 were accepted.

Figure 10: Immigrants from Russia into Canada 1900-1913 Obolensky-Ossinsky (1931)

Although the statistics taken from V. V. Obolensky-Ossinsky's 'Emigration from and Immigration to Russia (1931: 530) do not include data about the country's German minority, a similar tendency can be seen from the data suggesting a 'Hebrew' majority until 1908 at which point an upswing in 'Russian' migration was encountered in the years leading up to World War I. This suggests that Libau was part of an overarching national pattern. The primary difference seems to be a lack of Polish and Finnish migrants through Libau, which is geographically logical based on easiest ports of departure for the majority of migrants from those countries and the illogical route any migrant would have to take (over sea, or eastward) to get make their voyages more arduous or challenging than necessary via a German/ Swedish port.

In brackets, I have indicated the number and proportion of children among the emigrant cohorts travelling to Canada. Among these, the German and Jewish groups continue to bring the youngest passengers with them, even when the vast majority of passengers travelling tended to be from another cohort altogether. 35 Germans brought more than 16 children with them, but the 590 Russians came with 11 children in 1914. This seems to underly the assumption that the majority of Russian emigrants had temporary migration in mind. Those of Jewish and German emigrants may well have been looking to emigrate permanently to Canada, or prepared to take everything with them immediately rather than wait for a later date for their loved ones to join them.

The two rules from Lee’s Theories of Migration which appear to directly correlate to this data, are, from 1906, the observation that the ‘volume of migration varies with the diversity of people’. It can be seen that the proportion of those emigrating to Canada from the ‘titular nationality’ of the Russian Empire (listed as Russian on the ship manifests) is surprisingly low, at 1.48%. It is slightly more challenging to explain the growth in proportion among Russians in the 1910 cohort based on this logic. This may well be connected to the growth of a ‘well-defined stream’ from Libau to North America, the third observation. That being said, the volume of migration in 1914 was further bolstered by the removal of the ‘difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles’ with direct voyages to Canada making this country a destination, rather than an afterthought for those emigrants bound for the USA.

Table 4: Overall Literacy Rates (Male)

	1906		1910		1914	
	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
Literate	21	72.41 %	43	66.15%	385	53.47%
Illiterate	8	27.59%	22	32.85%	335	46.53%
Total	29		65		720	

Table 5: Overall Literacy Rates (Female)

	1906		1910		1914	
	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
Literate	24	61.53 %	12	44.44%	57	52.29%
Illiterate	15	38.47%	15	65.56%	52	47.71%
Total	39		27		109	

The emigrants were considerably better educated than the average citizens of the Russian. What can be seen is a growing proportion of illiteracy, among the male cohort. This is perhaps explained by the relative ease of access of Canada and the established stream leading to a decline in ‘positive selection’, especially as these migrants were primarily both ‘temporary’ and ‘economic and therefore not responding to the majority of ‘pull factors’ that may have led to the ‘positive selection’ mentioned by Lee in his theory of migration. This also could be explained by the proportional decrease in cohorts with the highest literacy rates within the Russian Empire. Even if the overall literacy rate is higher than the Russian average, the

proportional increase of more illiterate cohorts, including Russian, Bulgarian, Georgian and Ossetian migrants.

	<i>Reading Skills</i>			<i>More than primary school education</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Total Population	27.7	38.6	17.0	1.51	1.87	1.14
Russians	29.3	44.9	14.7	2.28	2.80	1.78
Ukrainians	18.9	32.4	5.3	0.36	0.47	0.25
Belorussians	20.3	31.0	9.8	0.49	0.83	0.15
Poles	41.8	44.7	38.9	2.77	3.96	1.60
Lithuanians	48.4	49.3	47.6	0.27	0.54	0.02
Latvians	85.0	84.8	85.3	0.63	1.13	0.17
Estonians	94.1	93.8	94.4	0.59	0.98	0.23
Germans	78.5	79.7	77.3	6.37	7.51	5.26
Jews	50.1	64.6	36.6	1.20	1.18	1.22
Greeks	36.7	51.8	17.7	2.10	2.66	1.39
Bulgars	29.8	47.7	10.5	1.26	1.40	1.10
Romanians	8.8	15.1	2.2	0.43	0.55	0.30
Georgians	19.5	23.9	14.6	1.45	2.19	0.64
Armenians	18.3	25.7	9.8	2.27	3.07	1.35
Cauc Mt Peoples	7.1	12.2	1.8	0.13	0.23	0.02

Figure 8: Literacy rates from 1897 census of Russian Empire (Kappeler, A. (2001))

Regarding the Professional Aspirations of Emigrants from Libau to Canada

Table 6: Overall Breakdown by Profession: Men

	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
Baker	-	-	1	1.54%	1	0.13%
Barber	1	3.45%	-	-	-	-
Blacksmith	1	3.45%	-	-	3	0.42%
Broker	-	-	1	1.54%	-	-
Butcher	-	-	1	1.54%	3	0.42%
Capmaker	-	-	1	1.54%	1	0.13%
Carpenter	-	-	-	-	1	0.13%
Cigar-Maker	1	3.45%	-	-	-	-
Clerk	-	-	-	-	6	0.83%
Coppersmith	-	-	1	1.54%	-	-
Farmer	2	6.90%	1	1.54%	9	1.25%

Farm Labourer	-	-	35	53.85%	111	15.42%
Joiner	-	-	5	7.69%	4	0.56%
Labourer	10	34.48%	6	9.23%	523	72.64%
Locksmith	1	3.45%	1	1.54%	2	0.28%
Merchant	1	3.45%	1	1.54%	7	0.97%
Miner	-	-	-	-	8	1.11%
Moulder	-	-	-	-	2	0.28%
Painter	2	6.90%	-	-	2	0.28%
Peddler	-	-	-	-	2	0.28%
Pitcher	-	-	-	-	1	0.13%
Schoolboy	-	-	3	4.62%	1	0.13%
Shoemaker	1	3.45%	1	1.54%	7	0.97%
Student	1	3.45%	-	-	3	0.42%
Tailor	6	20.69%	2	3.08%	11	1.53%
Teacher	-	-	1	1.54%	-	-
Tradesman	1	3.45%	1	1.54%	-	-
Watchmaker	-	-	1	1.54%	-	-
Illegible	1	3.45%	2	3.08%	7	0.97%
Other	-	-	-	-	5	0.69%
Total	29		65		720	

Of the male immigrants, the leading potential employment avenues proposed are connected with either labour or farm labour. Proportionally, the majority of plans were connected with unskilled labour. Though several skilled workers did also decide to emigrate to Canada, they are vastly outnumbered by the Russians designated as ‘General Labourers’ or Farm Labourers in the shipping manifests. This corroborates with the descriptions of the ‘Russian’ immigrants by Kukushkin as ‘peasants-turned workers’. This also matches the findings of Obolensky-Ossinsky who said that ‘among other linguistic groups (other than Jews) farm laborers, farmers, laborers and servants were 88-93 per-cent of the total.’ The increase in unskilled labour may also reflect demand among Canadian provinces for unskilled workers from Europe.

Table 7: Overall Breakdown by Profession : Women

	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
Domestic	-	-	-	-	10	9.17%
Dressmaker	-	-	4	14.81%	1	0.92%
Milliner	2	5.13%	-	-	6	5.5%
School Mistress	-	-	-	-	1	0.92%
Seamstress	4	10.26%	-	-	-	-
Tailoress	14	35.90%	2	7.41%	20	18.35%

Wife	18	46.15%	17	62.96%	64	58.72%
None/ Illegible	1	2.56%	4	14.81%	7	6.42%
Total	39		27		109	

Among women in the early 20th century, the option to work in a wide range of fields was not commonly available. The vast majority connected with this study were housewives with many others opting to either work in the garment industry (as dress-makers, seamstresses, tailoresses or milliners) or as Domestic help in the new world.

Table 8: Overall Marital Status

		1906				1910				1914			
		No. Of Emigrants		Percentage		No. Of Emigrants		Percentage		No. Of Emigrants		Percentage	
Married		33		48.53%		56		60.87%		555		66.95%	
M	F	14	19	20.59%	27.94%	36	20	39.13%	21.74%	490	65	59.11%	7.84%
Single		35		51.47%		34		36.96%		270		32.57%	
M	F	15	20	22.06%	29.41%	28	6	30.43%	4.35%	229	41	27.62%	4.95%
Widowed				-		2 (1/1)		2.17%		4 (1/3)		0.48%	
Total		68				92				829			

The proportion of married to unmarried emigrants increased consistently over the 8-year period. There was a proportionally significant drop in the number of single women emigrating in both 1910 and 1914. The average female emigrant was one year younger in 1906 as compared to 1910 and 1914 which may explain the lower number of married women. The sizes of the cohorts in both 1906 and 1910 and quite small and therefore less statistically relevant in establishing tendencies among the female population as a whole.

Analysis of Emigration Destinations- 1906

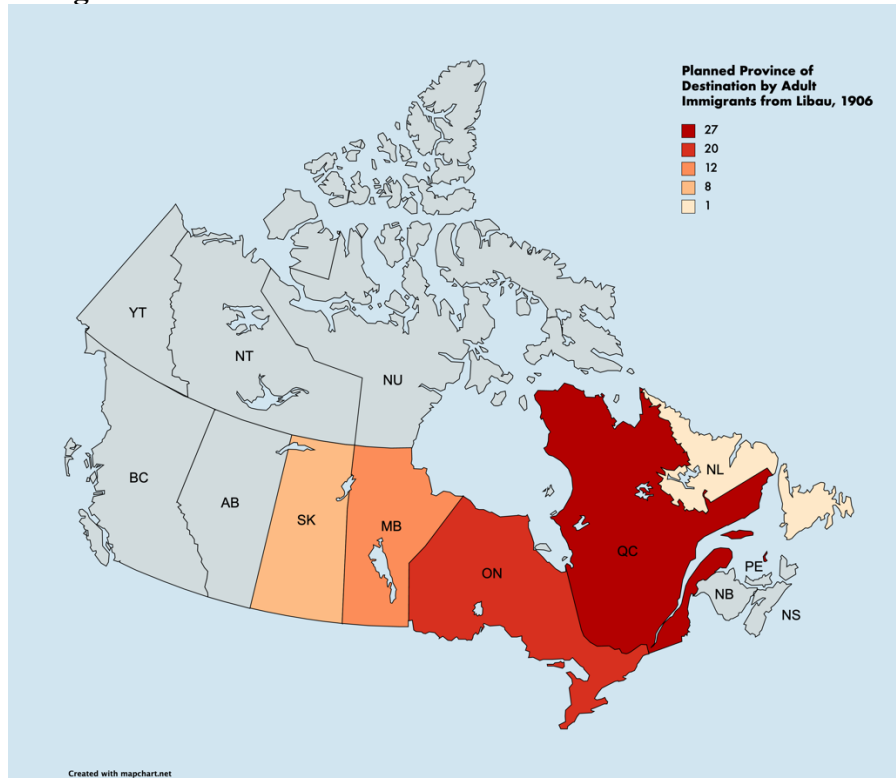


Figure 10: Indicated Destination in Canada, 1906

Of the 68 adult immigrants indicating Canada as their destination in Ship Manifests from 1906, 27 mentioned Quebec as their new home province (25 of them in Montreal), 20 indicated Ontario as their new home province (10 in Toronto, 6 in London, 3 in Ottawa and 1 in Niagara Falls), 12 indicated Manitoba as their new province (all in Winnipeg) and 1 in Newfoundland (St John's).

The primary destinations appear to be based on convenience of access from the United States, and by railway once in Canada, although this may well also be connected to the location of all major urban centres in the country being based near the border region.

Analysis of Emigration Destinations-1910

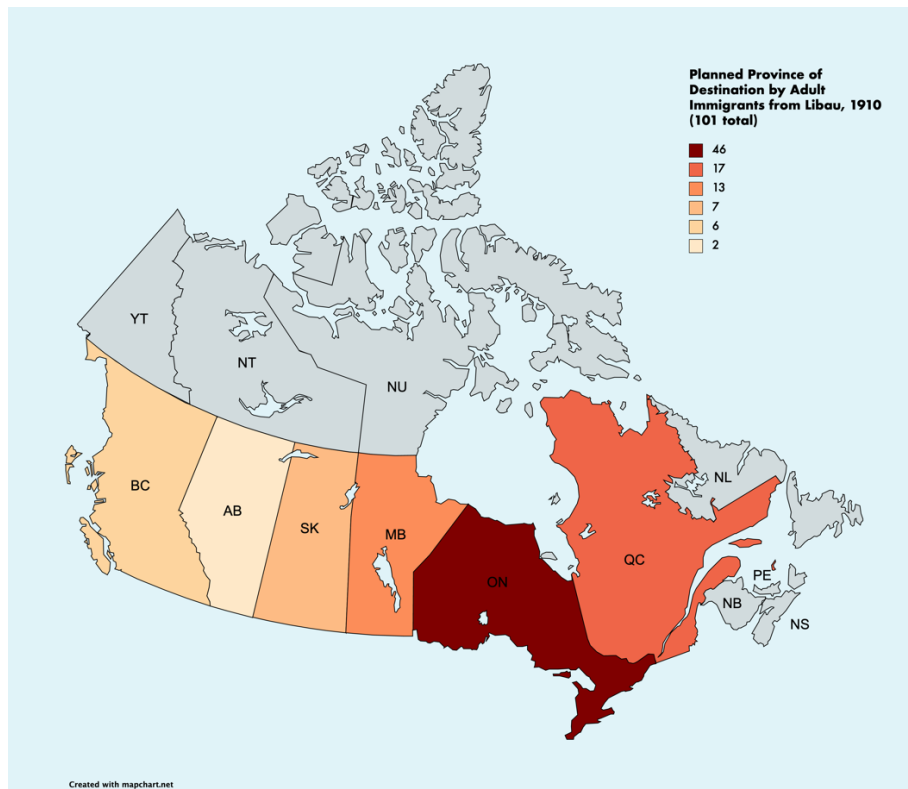


Figure 11: Planned Province of Destination by Adult Immigrants from Libau, 1910

Of the 101 emigrants from Libau indicating Canada as their destination in Ship Manifests from 1910 (from 07/1910- 12/1910), 46 indicated Ontario as their final destination, 30 indicating Toronto, with others settling in smaller numbers in towns such as Colborne, Cochrane, Niagara Falls, and Preston.

Of 17 emigrants indicating Quebec as their choice of destination, 15 mentioned Montreal as their destination.

In Manitoba. 11 of 13 emigrants mentioned Winnipeg as their destination.

There was a growth in immigration to the West with some emigrants moving to British Columbia (Fernie, Hosmer and Vancouver) and Bow Lake, Alberta, where previously no emigrants had opted to settle.

Analysis of Emigration Destinations-1914

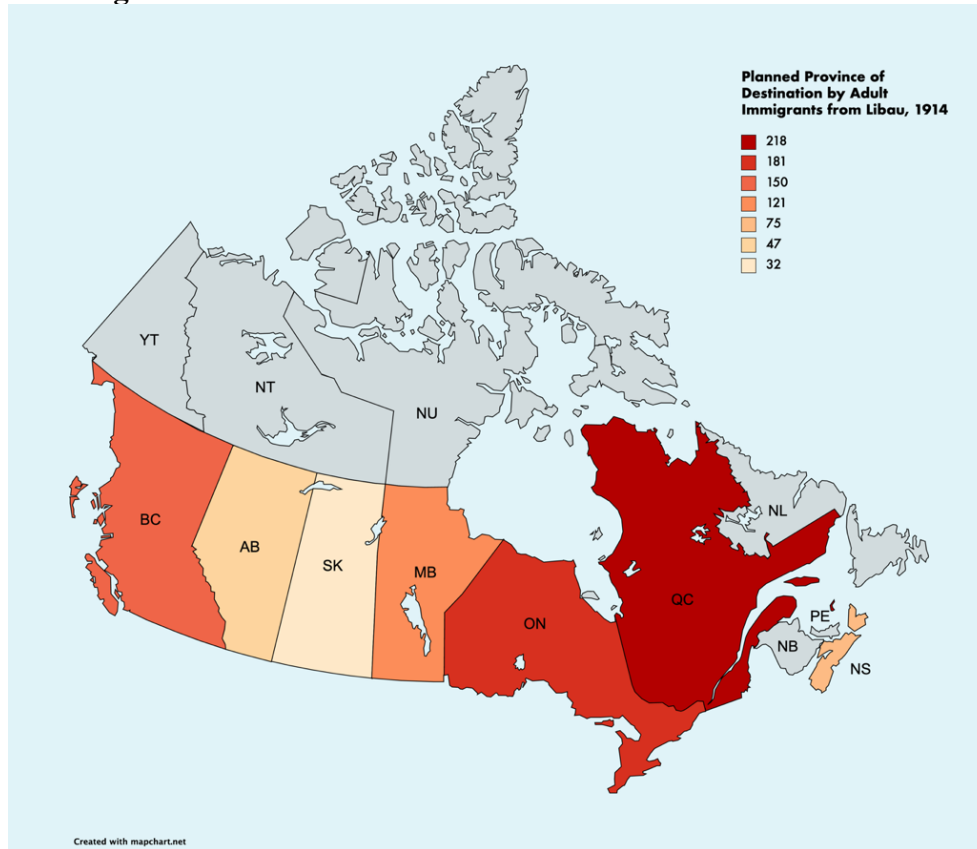


Figure 12: Planned Province of Destination by Adult Immigrants from Libau, 1914

1913-1914 saw a boom in emigration numbers to Canada from Libau due to the opening of a direct line from Libau to Halifax. The emigrants who left in this period were mostly divided between 4 provinces- Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia and Manitoba.

218 emigrants opted to move to Quebec with 186 specifically indicating Montreal as their city of destination. A further 4 indicated the town of Shefford as their base in Canada.

181 emigrants opted to move to Ontario. Significant areas of settlement included- Toronto with 56 immigrants, North Bay with 22 immigrants, London with 20 immigrants, Sudbury with 11 immigrants, Arnprior with 9 immigrants, Cochrane with 7 immigrants and Galt with 5 immigrants.

150 emigrants opted to move to British Columbia in 1914. 103 of them indicated Vancouver as their destination. A further 11 indicated Fernie as their new hometown.

121 emigrants opted to move to Manitoba. Of those, 114 named Winnipeg as their destination. 2 mentioned Le Pas and 1 mentioned Whitewater and Rosenfeld respectively.

Significantly, emigration to Nova Scotia only emerges in this particular year. This is likely connected to Halifax being the port of arrival for so many emigrants, and therefore, likely, as their first place of employment. Of 75, 46 indicated Halifax as their destination, an additional 25 indicated Sydney.

Emigration to Saskatchewan and Alberta also intensified. 47 emigrants opted to move to Alberta, primarily to the urban centers of Calgary (23) and Edmonton (10). In Saskatchewan 32 adult emigrants arrived in 1914, with 9 indicating Francis, and individuals indicating Regina and Stornaway as their destinations.

The patterns of migration in 1906 and 1910 seem to be determined more on accessibility from the USA. This is logical, based on the indirect nature of the migrant's arrivals to this country. Regardless, certain destinations maintained popularity throughout the period, with major urban centers attracting a fair share of migrants from multiple backgrounds. This applies specifically to Montreal (226), Toronto (96) Vancouver (104) and Winnipeg (137).

The establishment of a Russian emigrant community in Nova Scotia suggests that many chose to settle close to the port of disembarkment. The boom in settlement in British Columbia may reflect the expansion of the economy there, and the opening of new mines to fuel Canada's overall industrial development.

Data from the Russian cohort

'You cannot imagine what a great mass of Russian people Canada has! And every ship arriving from Europe brings more emigrants from Russia, most peasants from the southern and south-western provinces- Podolia, Volhynia and others. All come to Canada lured by the big money, having heard that wages here are two, three, four times higher than those in Russia.' M Bernov, July-August 1913, *Kievlianin*

The term 'Russian' in Canadian shipping manifests, and the large proportion of the overall Russian population among emigrants from Libau comes as a surprise, especially taking into account the lack of any Ukrainians or Belarusians in their midst, the primary inhabitants of the catchment area of the Libau-Romny railway. This region is outlined by Vadim Kukushkin (Kukushkin, 2007: 53) as including Minsk, Volhynia, Grodno, Kiev, Saratov, Kovno, Vil'na, Samara, Mogilev, Chernigov, Podolia and Tersk provinces. Of these provinces, the only ones which were considered part of Russia proper were Samara and Saratov, while Tersk province, also standing in the Caucasian foothills is also in modern Russia and not connected part of that direct catchment basin. The reason for this is raised by Jan Raska, a researcher with the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, in Halifax. He states: *'Ukrainian immigrants to Canada were tallied as "Bukowinian" (Austria-Hungary), "Galician" (Austria-Hungary), and "Russian" (Russian Empire) representing the territories they came from within Austria-Hungary and Russia.'*

In Gerus and Rea's 'The Ukrainians in Canada' and Martyonwych's 'Ukrainians in Canada', focus on history of settlement from modern-day Ukraine is placed primarily on the Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This is presumably not only because emigration from Austro-Hungarian Ukrainian regions was more widespread (In absolute terms, 28,000 total immigrants from the Russian Empire as opposed to 60,000 Ukrainian immigrants from Austria-Hungary alone between 1897 and 1905), but also because Russian migrants of Ukrainian origin were not indicated as such in shipping manifests, and therefore it is more challenging to assess data about the migration of Ukrainians from Russia on a larger scale.

A trend for family-based migration prior to 1905 was replaced with predominantly male migration between 1906-1914 with 108,113 Ukrainian migrants, 44,000 of which considered

themselves labourers rather than farmers. Despite some limited settlement among the ‘Russian’ cohort in the prairies, the Russian/ Ukrainian/ Belarusian cohort appears to differ from the Austro-Hungarian Ukrainian settlers because they emigrated without their families.

The researcher Vadim Kukushkin gives further insight into the average emigrant profile from the Russian Empire between 1906-1914. In his book ‘From Peasants to Labourers’, he focuses primarily on Ukrainian and Belarusian Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada, a much more in depth analysis of the average emigrants from Russia rather than an overview of an ethnicity split between multiple Empires for much of the 19th and early 20th century discussed by typical generic Canadian sources. The role of previous Austrian Ukrainian migration is mentioned as ‘playing an important role in feeding information about Canada to local peasantry’ in regions in the south-western part of Russian Ukraine, especially in the province of Podolia. This in turn encouraged ‘peasants to cross the (Austrian) border without government passports’ to seek their fortunes in North America. This meant that the average Ukrainian would be from the region of Ukraine to the west of Kiev, rather than to the East. He (2007: 189) stated that ‘The Dnieper river emerged as the geographical divide between the Atlantic and Russo-Siberian migration systems’ with a few outliers to the east of that line. Kukushkin suggests that in 1921, the ‘number of Canadian Ukrainians born in the former territories of the Russian Empire was close to 25,000’ and ‘Belarusians approached 9,000’(Kukushkin, 2007: 49).

Table 9: Gender of Russian Cohort

	Number of Emigrants	Percentage
Male	612	96.38%
Female	23	3.62%
Total	635	

Kukushkin calculated that women consisted ‘15.5 per cent of all “Russians’ (Kukushkin, 2007: 41) who came to Canada between 1904 and 1914’ but this statistic must be considered sceptically when considering the statistics of Belarusians and Ukrainians, as the catch-all. Russian designation may refer to other non-Slavic groups from the Russian Empire. According to records from Saint Peter and Saint Paul Russian Orthodox Church in Montreal, ‘only 23.6% of eighty-five Russian-born men who married in the parish between 1917 and 1921 were able to find brides from their country’ (Kukushkin, 2007: 42), the others marrying Orthodox girls from Austrian-Ukraine.

Kukushkin’s research suggests that, if anything, the proportion of female Russian migrants using Libau as a port was significantly lower than the Russian average for Canada as a whole. This differs considerably from other ethnic cohorts travelling from Libau to Canada insofar as males were typically discouraged from travelling directly through Libau due to customs procedures. If the length of intense emigration had continued beyond the initial 2 year timeframe, there is no reason to imagine that the balance would not have tilted further towards the averages mentioned in his work.

Table 10: Age of Russian Cohort

	Male		Female	
	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
60-70	1	0.16%		
50-60	3	0.49%	1	4.35%
40-50	64	10.46%	-	
30-40	196	32.03%	5	21.74%
20-30	239	39.05%	13	56.52%
Under 20	109	17.81%	4	17.4%
Total	612		23	
Average Age		28.43 years		26.83 years

The fact that the majority of the emigrants are of working age echoes the profile of most Russian migrants to Canada as economic migrants. They were of an economically active age (between 16-50), and expected to conduct the hard and poorly paid labour offered to new immigrants. According to Kira Katherine Johnson prior to 1914 ‘the Canadian government heavily recruited settlers from Eastern Europe to farm, or work in the mines and industrial factories’ (Johnson, 2017: 51). The Russians clearly fell into this pattern of recruitment, but despite this, their average age doesn’t differ a great deal from equivalent cohorts from other nations. Migration in those days, as nowadays, requires energy which often is connected with youth.

Table 11: Literacy of Russian Cohort

	Number of Emigrants	Percentage
Male (Literate)	317	51.79%
Male (Illiterate)	295	48.21%
Female (Literate)	8	34.78%
Female (Illiterate)	15	65.22%

Total Literate	325	51.18%
Total Illiterate	310	48.82%

The literacy rate of the Russian emigrants to Canada was considerably above the Russian average based on the 1897 census. Female literacy was more than double the average for Russians and even more so than for the Ukrainian and Belarusian populations of the Empire suggesting that this cohort were comparatively well educated when juxtaposed with their fellow countrymen.

Kukushkin analyzed data from the Li-Ra-Ma files, (the Archives of the Russian Consulates in Canada) looking at passports issued from these agencies in the period between 1906-1917 where the ability to sign their documents was noted. The emigrants had higher literacy than the general population. He says that this is hardly surprising as ‘Literate men had access to more sources of information about the world beyond the village and were more inclined to venture into the unknown.’ (Kukushkin, 2007: 44) This directly supports the findings from the ship manifests, and also seems to echo the theory of **Lee about migration regarding ‘positive selection’**.

Table 12: Male Professions of Russian Cohort

	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
Baker	1	0.16%
Blacksmith	2	0.33%
Broker	1	0.16%
Carpenter	1	0.16%
Farmer	10	1.6%
Farm Labourer	121	19.77%
Joiner	3	0.49%
Labourer	442	72.22%
Locksmith	2	0.33%
Miner	8	1.31%
Moulder	2	0.33%
Painter	1	0.16%
Shoemaker	6	0.98%
Student	1	0.16%
Tailor	4	0.65%
Teacher	1	0.16%
Tradesman	1	0.16%
Illegible	5	0.82%
Total	612	

Table 13: Female Professions of Russian Cohort

	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
Domestic	3	13.04%
Schoolgirl	1	4.35%
Tailoress	3	13.04%
Wife	14	60.87%
Illegible	2	8.70%
Total	23	

Based on the data provided by the Canadian authorities, over 90% of male workers were unskilled. Their primary focus does not appear to be agriculture (with only 20% of workers stating this profession as their aim) but rather as urban workers, or general labourers. The majority of female migrants arriving in Canada were wives, and they were primarily settling in Manitoba and Saskatoon, suggesting that the majority of female migration (a limited trend among the Russian cohort based on absolute statistics) included rural migrants, migrating with husbands to areas with low population density to settle there permanently.

Destination for Russian Cohort

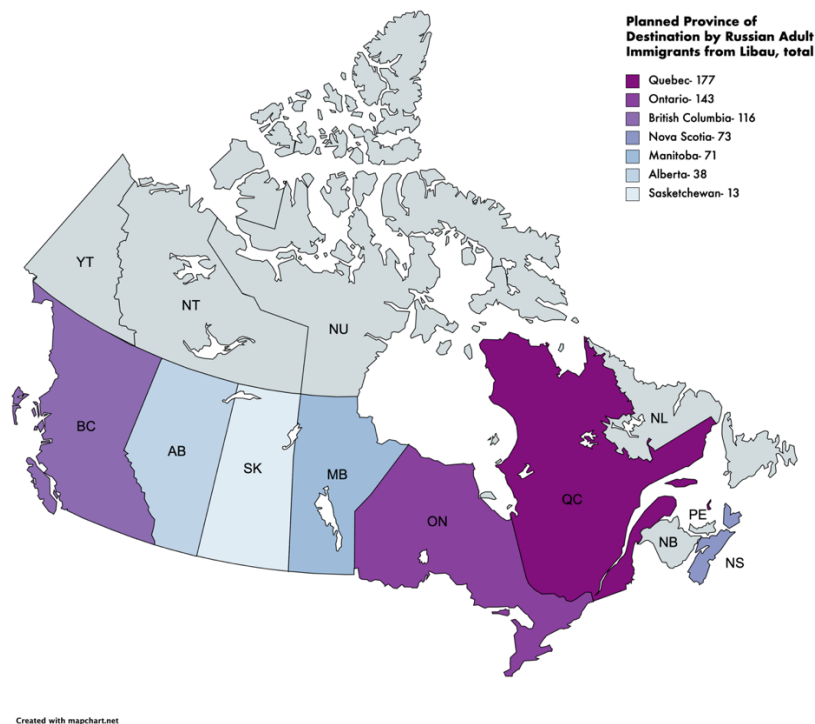


Figure 13: Planned Province of Destination by Russian Cohort from Libau, 1906-1914

The vast majority of Russian migration to Canada throughout this period was centered on Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia. This does suggest a different settlement pattern among migrants from Russian Ukraine and Belarus to their counterparts in Austrian Galicia, who, as

mentioned by Gerus and Rea (1985:7), tended to settle in agricultural settlements on in the prairies, in provinces such as Manitoba and Saskatchewan. While a significant number also relocated there, the data from the manifests suggests that the vast majority of this cohort were not actively seeking to work as agricultural laborers, and therefore favoured urban destinations (with already developed infrastructure and population centres) over rural ones with tracts of uninhabited land.

In short, Russian labourers were expecting to most likely to be based in Canada for a short time before returning to their homeland, short-term economic migrants rather than permanent migrants in their new locations.

Data on the Jewish cohort:

Statistically, prior to 1906, Jewish migration to the New World was more significant than that of any other minority in the Russian Empire. Following the revolution of 1905 this desire only intensified, as pogroms became a more regular occurrence in the former Pale of Settlement. Obolensky-Ossinsky mentions ‘the proportion of Hebrews dropped from one-half in the middle period, darkened by pogroms instigated by the reactionaries, to one-third.’(1931: 529) In Zoza Szajkowski’s *Sufferings of Jewish Emigrants to America in Transit through Germany*, (1977: 113) there are multiple references to the initial plurality of Jewish Migrants as well as Jewish agents to serve their needs: ‘Two-thirds of the emigrants were Jews... the agents were Jews; and non-Jewish emigrants were together with Jews, eating kosher food etc.’ Libau’s position in this text is constantly emphasized in comparison with the state of affairs in Germany, and the text specifically refers to the Jewish migrants.

Table 14: Gender of Jewish Cohort

	Number of Emigrants	Percentage
Male	85	40.47%
Female	125	59.53%
Total	210	

The vast majority of emigrants from the Russian Empire to Canada based on the data collected from these three cohorts were male. The Jews appear to be an exception to this rule. As can be

seen, a significant majority of Russian Jewish emigrants on the Libau-New York and Libau-Halifax-New York liners were female.

There are multiple reasons for this particular inversion of statistics. The first is highlighted by Gurl Alroey who stated in his book, ‘Out of the Shtetl’ (2017) that ‘If the head of the family emigrated by himself, his wife and children joined him soon afterwards. Hence there was a high proportion of women and children in the Jewish migrant population.’ (Alroey, 2007: 91) An additional reason for the disproportionately high number of women and children emigrating through Libau to Canada appears to be directly connected to the sceptre of conscription for the young men of the community. Pamela Nadell (1982) stated that ‘*many Russian Jewish emigrants, in fact most, did not dare to sail from Libau. Those who could not afford passports, those evading military duty, those who knew of irregularities in their passport applications — all exited from the Empire in stealth across either the German or Austrian borders.*’ (1982: 148) This may well have led to a disproportionate amount of men emigrating via ports such as Hamburg, Bremen or Rotterdam, and then paying **for** their wives and families to join them more directly and simply, through the port of Libau.

The memoirs of Epstein (1962) confirm the looming threat of conscription over many young Jewish males, where he says: ‘*Having been previously exempted from military service on account of poor eyesight, I did not have to smuggle myself across the German border and could sail from the then Russian port of Libau.*’ (Epstein, 1962: 131) The way he communicated this state of affairs suggests that a large proportion of his counterparts were not so fortunate, and had to emigrate through alternative ports.

Table 15: Age of Jewish Cohort

	Male		Female	
	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
60+	2	2.35%	6	4.8%
50-60	5	5.88%	1	0.8%
40-50	8	9.41%	11	8.8%
30-40	20	23.53%	28	22.4%
20-30	19	22.35%	53	42.4%
Under 20	31	36.47%	26	20.8%
Total	85		125	
Average Age		28.29 years		29.12 years

The average adult ages of the Jewish cohort do not differ a great deal from those of the other emigrants on board. Despite this, the overall average age of Jewish migrants was significantly lower than the other cohorts due to their more regular migration with children. 73.44% of the 177 children who travelled on these vessels between Libau and North America, 130 in total, were of Jewish origin. This reinforces thoughts about the permanent migration undertaken by Jewish families wholesale rather than by individuals looking for economic fortunes.

Of 53 Jewish emigrants travelling with children, only 6 of them travelled as a couple. The rest of them, were wives of previous emigrants. This voyage could be complicated, even in the absence of bureaucratic hurdles for women travelling. As mentioned by Gur Alroey in his article ‘And I remained alone in a vast land’ (2006: 57), referring to the voyage of Lora-Riwka Kosowsky to New York in 1912, despite Libau being the most convenient port of departure due to its lack of borders and direct railway lines, ‘even if the children had behaved perfectly and did not quarrel among themselves, and even if they did not fall ill en route and did not get lost in one of the crowded markets, Lora-Riwka’s journey to America was completely different from that of her husband who had travelled alone’ and that we can ‘multiply the case of the Kosowskys hundreds of thousands of times’ in the history of Jewish emigration in the modern age.

Table 16: Literacy Rates of Jewish cohort

	Number of Emigrants	Percentage
Male (Literate)	67	78.82%
Male (Illiterate)	18	21.18%
Female (Literate)	57	45.6%
Female (Illiterate)	68	54.4%
Total Literate	124	59.05%
Total Illiterate	86	40.95%

TABLE 2. LITERACY AMONG HEBREW IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES, 1899-1910³

year	rate	year	rate	rate for	
				males	females
1899	80	1905	78		
1900	78	1906	73		
1901	77	1907	71		
1902	72	1908	70	78	60
1903	74	1909	71	79	61
1904	77	1910	71	78	62

Figure 14: Literacy among Hebrew Immigrants to the United States 1899-1910 (source: *Literacy among the Jews of Russia in 1897: A Reanalysis of Census Data*, Perlmann)

The average literacy rates for Jewish Immigrants appear to be at a similar level for Russian Jews to Canada as with the USA for the male emigrants based on the data collected by Joel Perlmann (see figure 14), but the female literacy rate is significantly lower. This could reflect emigration from better-educated Jewish minorities in the Austro-Hungarian Empire arriving together with those from Russia skewing the statistics. In the 1910 census of Austria-Hungary, the average literacy rate of Jewish immigrants was around 75%, significantly higher than the Russian average from their census in 1897.

Data from the Russian Imperial census of 1897 suggests that female and male literacy rates were significantly higher among the emigrants than among the population as a whole (by 9% overall, by 14.71% for the male population and by 9% for the women).

Table 17: Male Professions of Jewish Cohort

	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
Baker	1	1.18%
Barber	1	1.18%
Butcher	4	4.71%
Capmaker	2	2.35%
Cigar-Maker	1	1.18%
Clerk	6	7.06%
Coppersmith	1	1.18%
Farmer	1	1.18%
Farm Labourer	6	7.06%
Joiner	5	5.88%
Labourer	4	4.71%
Locksmith	2	2.35%
Merchant	9	10.58%
Painter	3	3.53%
Peddler	2	2.35%

Pitcher	1	1.18%
Schoolboy	4	4.71%
Shoemaker	3	3.53%
Student	4	4.71%
Tailor	16	18.82%
Tradesman	1	1.18%
Watchmaker	1	1.18%
Illegible	7	8.24%
Total	85	

Table 18: Female Professions of Jewish Cohort

	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
Domestic	3	2.4%
Dressmaker	5	4%
Milliner	8	6.4%
School Mistress	1	0.8%
Seamstress	1	0.8%
Tailoress	31	24.8%
Wife	70	56%
None/ Illegible	6	4.8%
Total	125	

The Jewish migrants to Canada clearly had very mixed occupational ambitions compared to most other migrant groups. Bernard Vigod stated that they ‘had varied occupational backgrounds’ that ‘few were farmers; most were petty traders... many of them had invested their capital in textiles, leather and other manufacturing businesses.’ A specific breed of Jewish emigrant is mentioned on the prairies, who having failed in agriculture in the ‘rural west... became storekeepers and tradesmen.’ (1984: 10) In any case, due to the less rural origins of this immigrant group, only 8% of male immigrants opted for agricultural labour as their preferred indicated profession. Between 1859 and 1891 edicts ‘forbade Jews to rent or purchase farmland anywhere in the empire’(Dekel-Chen, J. 2017)

The same fixation on textiles and leather applied to the majority of Jewish female immigrants who had not come as wives. Over one third of the women emigrating were either dressmakers, milliners, seamstresses or tailoresses. The remainder were wives, joining their husbands who had already settled in Canada.

Jewish Cohort's Destinations

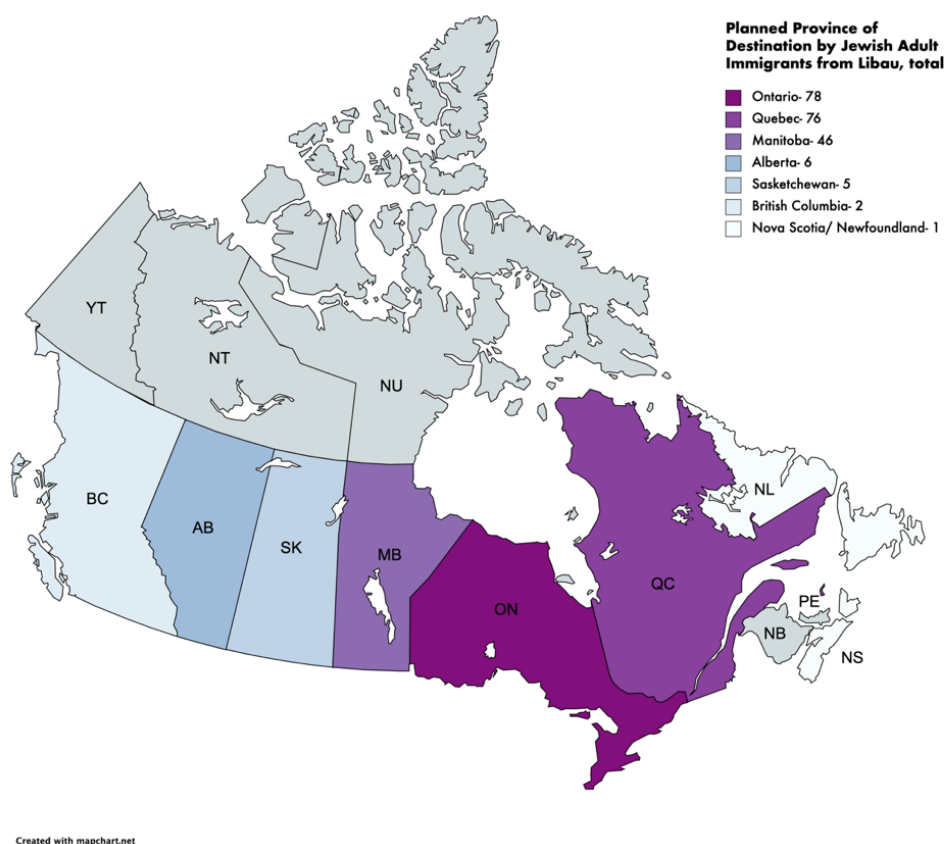


Figure 15: Planned Province of Destination by Jewish Cohort from Libau 1906-1914

The comparatively densely populated provinces of Ontario and Quebec dominated the majority of Jewish settlement in Canada among those who emigrated from Libau. A significant minority of emigrants also settled in the city of Winnipeg, Manitoba, and a few outliers settled in the West and Atlantic seaboard provinces of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.

The German Cohort

The majority of emigrants from Russia of German origin arrived in Canada as part of the Second Wave between 1870-1914. A man called William Hespeler was appointed as an Immigration Agent in Germany by the Canadian Government in 1872. That same year he 'was authorized to travel... to the Ukraine... where leaders of a Mennonite colony asked... for the provision for land in Canada.' He also visited settlements of 'German Lutherans and German-speaking Hutterites in Bessarabia, Cherson and the Crimean peninsula.' By 1880, 'more than 7,000 had taken out land'. (McLaughlin 1985:10) Further migration to Western

Canada lead to a shrinking influence for Ontario which had previously hosted Berlin, (modern Waterloo), the ‘Canada’s German capital.’ (McLaughlin 1985: 11)

Their ‘predominance in the rural areas of Canada’s western provinces’ made the hometowns of German migrants to Canada especially challenging to locate or decipher. According to Obolensky-Ossinsky (1931: 552) 900,000 German speakers ‘lived in the agricultural German colonies’ in Russia. Specific mention was given to Russian German presence in Canada of both Mennoites and Doukhobars, but ‘the exact number of Russian Germans entering Canada is indeterminate (1931:553). Nonetheless, based on their rural roots in Russia, they came to form new rural communities in the Canadian Prairies.

Table 19: Gender of German Cohort

	Number of Emigrants	Percentage
Male	40	63.49%
Female	23	36.51%
Total	63	

Besides the Jews, the Germans were the only minority who had a large proportion of migrating families. These can be supposed to be from non-urban populations the closest to Libau being Bessarabia, Volhynia, Kherson and Yekaterinoslav, mentioned by Liepajas balss (1912: 3) as the main source of agricultural settlement in Canada from the Russian empire).

Table 20: Age of German Cohort

	Male		Female	
	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
40-50	3	7.5%	3	13.04%
30-40	10	25%	8	34.78%
20-30	14	35%	5	21.74%
Under 20	13	32.5%	7	30.43%
Total	40		23	
Average Age		26.13 years		26.87 years

The German migrants appear to be the youngest cohort, both among the male and female. Interestingly the Germans appear to have the largest proportion of families travelling wholesale. 7 couples (representing 22.22% of the total number of emigrants) travelled to Canada together with their children. The Germans travelled with their children more often than any other emigrant groups headed from Libau to Halifax. except for the Jews, 31 children in

total. However, only 5.7% of the emigrant population travelled as a couple with their children, suggesting that German migration was more likely to be a wholesale affair at the offset, rather than a gradual approach evident among the Jewish population.

Table 21: Literacy rates of German cohort

	Number of Emigrants	Percentage
Male (Literate)	30	75%
Male (Illiterate)	10	25%
Female (Literate)	14	60.8%
Female (Illiterate)	9	39.2%
Total Literate	44	69.84%
Total Illiterate	19	30.16%

The literacy rate among German emigrants (especially those of the female population) from Russia to Canada was significantly lower than the averages of the Germans from the census of 1897. In that census, 77.3% of German women and 79.7% of men were deemed literate, the average being roughly 8% less active. A relatively low literacy rate could be attributed to their affiliation with the Catholic German communities of South Russia and the Black Sea Region who may have had slightly lower literacy rates than their Lutheran counterparts. Due to a lack of data regarding the provinces from which the emigrants departed, it's difficult to make any conclusions about this data.

Table 21: Male Professions of German Cohort

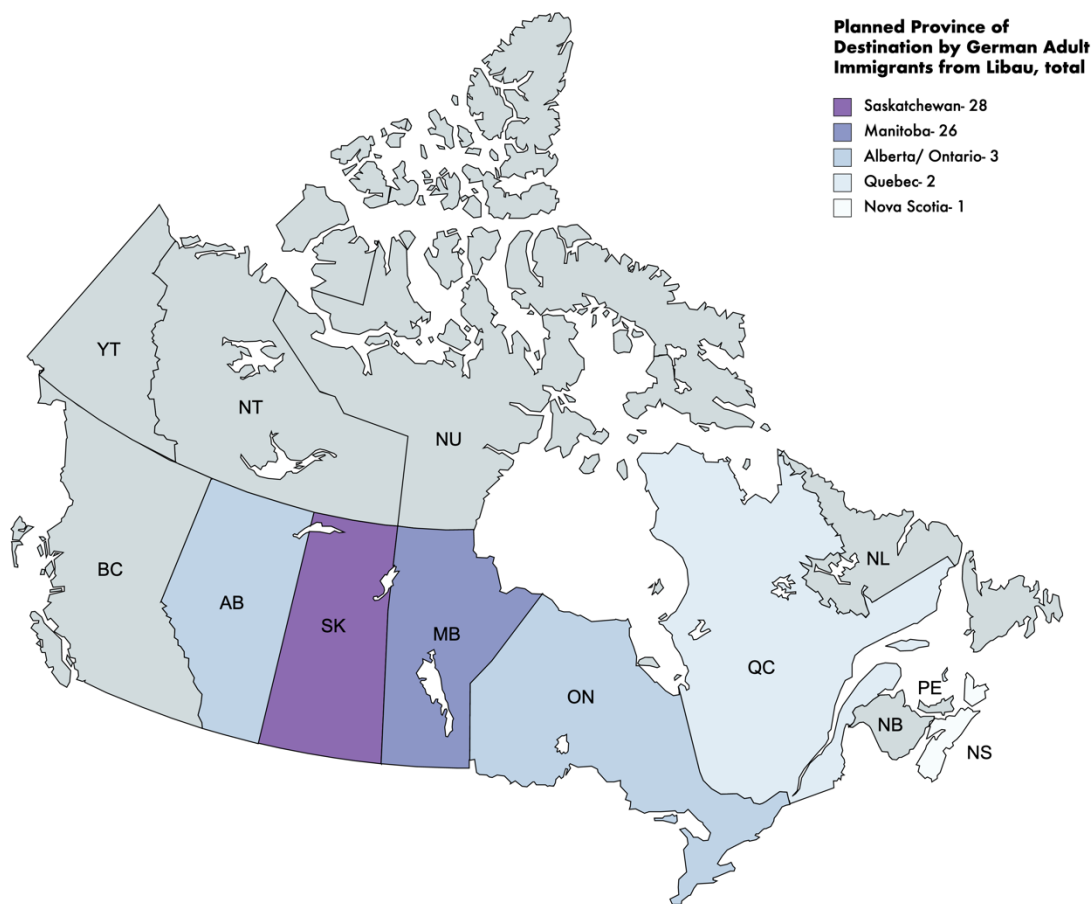
	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
Blacksmith	2	5%
Farm Labourer	9	22.5%
Joiner	1	2.5%
Labourer	27	67.5%
Tailor	1	2.5%
Total	40	

Table 22: Female Professions of German Cohort

	No. Of Emigrants	Percentage
Domestic	4	17.39%
Schoolgirl	1	4.35%
Seamstress	2	8.70%
Tailoress	1	4.35%
Wife	15	65.22%
Total	23	

Like their Russian counterparts, the majority of male emigrants, 90%, were planning to engage in non-skilled labour. Most of them opted to engage in either general labour or agriculture, presumably based on their professional experience in the Russian Empire. Rather than emigrating to the more urbanised regions of Canada, it seems a larger proportion of German emigrants planned to engage in agriculture or other general labour in the prairies.

German Cohort's Destinations



Created with mapchart.net

Figure 16: Planned Province of Destination by German Cohort from Libau, 1906-1914

The distribution of German migrants to Canada correlates precisely with the ‘second wave’ outlined by McLaughlin in her book ‘The Germans in Canada’. There are some outliers, in Alberta, Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia, but almost half of the cohort opted to settle in rural Saskatchewan. 4 of the immigrants settled in the city of Regina, but the majority settled in smaller settlements such as Francis and Lang. On the other hand, the majority of those

choosing to live in Manitoba, 22, named the major urban centre of Winnipeg as their destination.

Research Conducted with Descendants of Emigrants

My research, in addition to looking into the process of emigration from Libau to Canada, also wanted to gauge the long-term effects of that migration, and how Canadians remember their families' journeys to the New World. In order to achieve this, the second thrust of my research aimed to reach out to descendants of original emigrants from the Russian Empire to Canada. Due to the long time elapsed since emigration from Libau, as well as the logistical complications involved in international emigration, I tried to reach as broad an audience as possible. I did this by joining Ukrainian, Jewish and German online social groups and forums in Canada, and sharing the survey, as well as by reaching out to Genealogical groups on social media which would be more likely to contain members who had delved more deeply into their past.

The survey was created using Google forms, and all the quantitative data was analysed using Microsoft Excel. Several aspects of a qualitative nature were analysed in closer detail. I asked seven questions of my respondents. The majority were left as general as possible, in order to ensure that as many as possible felt themselves able to answer questions, regardless of gaps in their knowledge. The first two questions were multiple choice, with 3 options each, aiming to establish the date of departure and whether they travelled alone or with other family members to the New World.

I asked three open ended questions, related to three fields. The first two were related to geographical locations in Canada (village/town/city, province) and the Russian Empire. As I did not expect my respondents to know the modern day/ historical names of their ancestors' hometowns, I decided this was the best strategy to attract a larger pool of respondents for my survey. This is especially pertinent as many regions from which the emigrants may have come no longer have the same names, while others may have been destroyed in the turmoil of the 20th century. A final open-ended question was connected to memory, specifically any particular stories about emigration from Russia may have entered family lore. Due to the time elapsed since this process, I didn't want respondents to be put off from responding to the survey by a

lack of family lore associated with emigration from the Russian Empire, and made a response to this question optional.

The remaining two questions were multiple choice, and connected with two issues. The first, requesting nationality, offered eight responses, all based on the regional location of the port of Libau and the nationalities which recurred in the ship manifests available in the Canadian archives, and were listed alphabetically: Belarusian, German, Jewish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Ukrainian and Russian. I specifically asked which nationality their ancestors *belonged to/ identified with*. The reason for this use of language is due to the shifting borders and allegiances over the 20th century in the borderlands between the Russian Empire and the German Empire. I didn't want to make respondents feel the need to define the identities of their ancestors. I therefore enabled the option for multiple identities to be chosen by the respondents. I also added an option for 'other' for those who felt my limited options didn't represent their family's experience.

The second multiple choice question was connected with the port of departure from Europe to Canada. I chose 7 particular ports for this experience, all based in mainland Europe. Antwerp, Bremen, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Libau (Liepaja) and Rotterdam, but also allowed two further options, 'Unknown' and 'Other' (with the chance to indicate their answer there). Most of these ports were significant ports of departure and were geographically convenient and expedient for those based in the western part of the Russian Empire.

Analysis of Data

There were 31 respondents to the first question, an attempt to filter out the responses of those not immediately relevant to the timeframes connected to my dissertation. Of those respondents, 29 had ancestors who emigrated in that specific timeframe. The other 2 respondents had ancestors who emigrated from Libau, but in 1921 and 1926 respectively.

Of the 29 respondents whose ancestors emigrated between the Russian Empire and Canada between 1906-1914, 9 indicated that their ancestors emigrated alone. 16 emigrated as a family or with family members. 2 indicated that they had a combination of some family members emigrating alone, while others left as a family. 2 respondents didn't know.

Destination

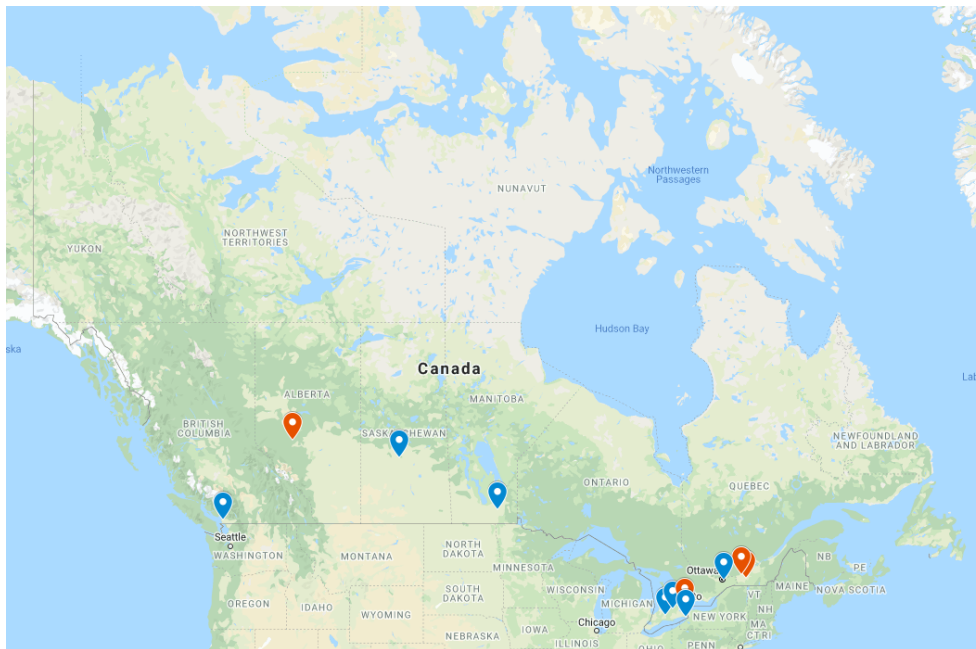


Figure 17: Destination of Emigrants based on survey (Libau-based migrant destinations marked in red)

Regarding the destination they indicated in Canada, 14 indicated Montreal, Quebec as the place their ancestors settled on arrival. A further 3 mentioned Montreal as a stopping point on the way to another location, two to New York City, another to St Jerome, a city 45km to the northwest of Montreal.

One further respondent indicated their family settled in St Jerome, Quebec immediately.

A further 9 respondents indicated Ontario as their ancestor's destination. Of these, 3 indicated Toronto, 2 indicated Ottawa, 1 indicated Kitchener, London and Port Colborne respectively. 1 also indicated Ontario as the province their ancestor settled in, but didn't indicate the settlement.

The remaining respondents indicated locations outside Ontario and Quebec, two mentioning Alberta (one also adding Saskatchewan), one mentioning Vancouver, British Columbia, and one mentioning Winnipeg, Manitoba as their ancestor's first place of residence in Canada.

Original places of residence in the Russian Empire

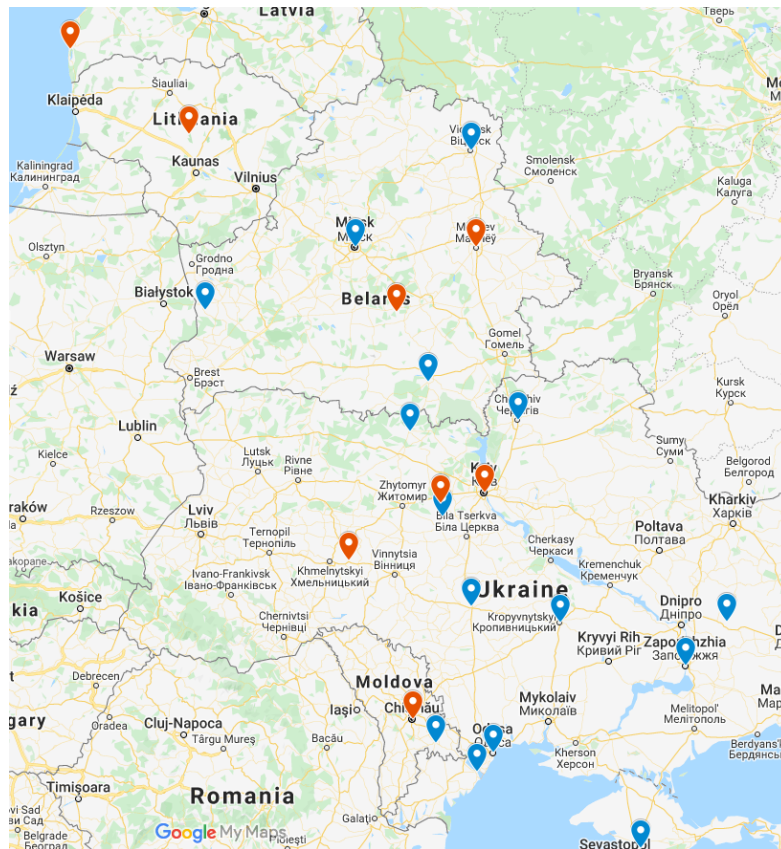


Figure 18: Original Hometowns of Emigrants based on survey (Libau-based migrant hometowns marked in red)

As anticipated, the answers of respondents to the question about their ancestors' hometowns in the Russian Empire were slightly less precise. The locations of those whose ancestors emigrated via Libau are marked in red on the map above (Figure 18). From the respondents, 7 indicated Libau as their port of departure, however, two of these emigrated in the 1920s, from Krakes, Lithuania and Mogilev, Belarus respectively. Of the five who emigrated via Libau from 1906-1914, two left from Kiev region, one specifying Brusilov as their hometown, one came from Bessarabia (modern day Moldova) and the final respondent specified hometowns called Medzhybizh (Ukraine) and Minkovichi (Belarus).

The respondents leaving through other ports or not knowing the port of departure indicated regions throughout eastern-Europe. In Belarus, the towns of Vitebsk, Mozyr, Minsk and Svislach were indicated. In Ukraine, Dnipro, Kornyn, Kropvnyitskyi, Odessa, Ovruch, Podolia, Simferopol and Zaporizhzhia were named, with one further respondent mentioning Ukraine as a region. Respondents named towns in modern-day Moldova, Chisinau, and Kaushany as well

as one referring to the region of Besarabia. Finally, 3 named Poland, unfortunately an unknown value due to the constantly shifting borders of the past century and the huge shadow of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the region.

The major weakness of my survey was the diversity of respondents (or lack thereof). Of the 31 respondents, 28 indicated their ancestor's Jewish ethnic belonging, with five of those indicating multiple identities (two Jewish/ Polish, two Jewish/Russian and one Jewish/Russian/Ukrainian). Meanwhile, one respondent indicated their ancestor's Belarusian ethnic belonging, one German and one Lithuanian/ Ukrainian. This may reflect greater integration of other minorities into Canadian society, as well as relatively low interest in genealogy among the group directly impacted by this study. Even in 1985, Gerus and Rea mentioned that 'in the cities, the children were Canadianized by the institutions of the majority and generational ties of the Ukrainians weakened.'(1985:21) This may be explain why, in my research there were relatively few respondents to surveys from those of Ukrainian heritage in the survey, despite them likely being among the most numerous of the migrant groups.

Among the respondents, four indicated Antwerp as the port their ancestors emigrated through, (one indicating both Antwerp and Bremen, another indicating Antwerp, Hamburg and Rotterdam). One indicated Bremen as their port of departure, one indicated England as their country of departure, five indicated Hamburg, five indicated Libau (seven, including the two outliers for this study), two indicated Rotterdam, while ten were unsure about the port of departure. Considering that one third of respondents (all of whom seemed especially interested in their family history and genealogy) were unable to confirm their port of departure, it can be assumed that for many descendants of these immigrants, even those who were interested enough to complete this survey due to family connections to the theme, this information is lost or difficult to research.

Aspects entering family lore:

Among those whose families left via Libau, only two memories were mentioned. The first was connected to families being temporarily divided by this process: 'My mother's youngest sister thought she was an afterthought. Mother became pregnant with her upon arrival. Hadn't seen husband (her father) in one to two years. No afterthought. My aunt was the only one born in Canada... 9 months later.' Another, the only German respondent, mentioned 'Sailed on SS

Birma, to Halifax. Emigrant train across Canada to Bassano Alberta.’ This story suggests that for many migrants, the journey from Libau by sea was only one step on a long and interesting journey.

Further challenges for emigrating families were mentioned including ‘the ability to make the journey and contend with language challenges, no disposable diapers’ and health issues on the voyage. One respondent went into great depth about their family memories, mentioning that his ‘dad was seven, but remembered that his mother was very sick and was about to be pronounced dead, when she rolled over, coughed and sat up.’ They mentioned that their uncle was ‘running around, getting in trouble then hiding under his mother’s skirts’. The respondent’s mother, who emigrated on a different vessel mentioned ‘a fire onboard her ship’ as well as fears of passing her child to a stranger to get on a lifeboat. Further, more conventional challenges, included ‘learning a new language, learning the rules of the new city’

Four respondents mentioned a push factor in the story of their family’s emigration being ‘conscription into Russian army’ or ‘sent to avoid military service’. Another two respondents mentioned pogroms as a reason for their ancestor’s departure: ‘My grandmother’s family were killed in a pogrom’ and ‘She left Europe because of pogroms. Her parents were killed by Russian cossacks’.

One respondent who also had many memories to share mentioned the challenge of crossing the border illegally: ‘hiding with a group of several hundred to escape at risk across the Russian border’ the train journey across Germany via Berlin ‘where they were not allowed by German authorities to walk around the city as immigrants’ before taking the train to Antwerp. When in Antwerp, memories of accomodation, the need to buy tickets at a discount for her children, and the challenges of a winter voyage to Canada before heading by train to Montreal from Saint John New Brunswick.

The vast majority of respondents, 19 out of 31, were unable to recall any family discussions of this voyage.

The survey was most informative in confirming the regions of the Russian Empire which most emigrants left from. While I had expected a large proportion of migrants to come directly from the regions adjacent to the Libau-Romny railroad, the catchment area of emigration through

Libau among the respondents' ancestors extended far to the south into Bessarabia. This information is further reinforced by a Bulgarian, Georgian and Ossetian cohort among the emigrants, who, lacking a realistic Black Sea port through which they could easily emigrate to Canada, opted for Libau instead.

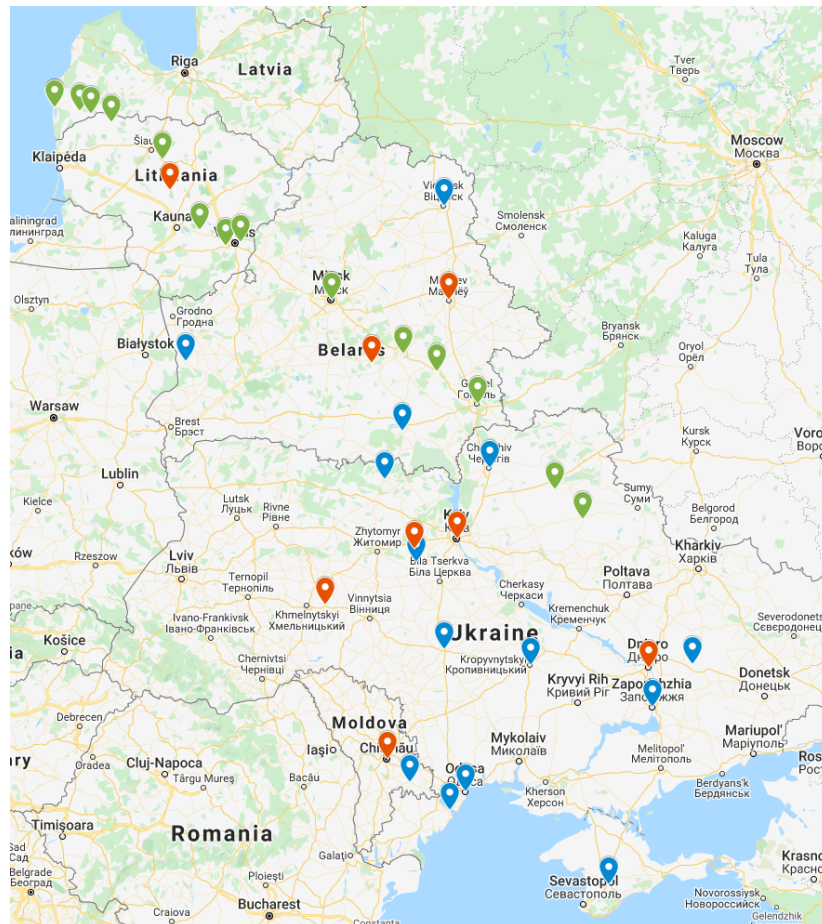


Figure 19: Original Hometowns of Emigrants based on survey contrasted with Libau-Romny Railway in Green (Libau-based migrant hometowns marked in red)

The research about the points of origin of most migrants confirmed Kukushkin's conclusion about the Dnieper line dictating the most likely migratory route any potential migrant would take from the region (Kukushkin, 2007: 189). The fact that only one of 31 respondents hailed to the east of that line proves that this tendency holds. That being said, the regions to the east of the Dniepr were also the lands with the lowest proportion of Jewish inhabitants in the Pale of Settlement, and therefore less likely to provide Jewish migrants, which may also be a reason why this survey can be considered inconclusive based on the stated ethnic origin of the ancestors of my respondents.

Conclusion

The port of Libau thrived as a port of departure for many migrants, but did not become dominant among migrants to Canada due to various practical considerations. As mentioned by the descendants of many migrants, as well as contemporary sources, the desire to emigrate was often bolstered by attempts to evade officialdom and avoid military service in the Russian Empire, a risk which led to many seeking less legal opportunities to cross the border, and emigrate by land via Germany or the Netherlands, or indirectly by sea via England to North America. It was only in 1906 that any direct route from the Russian Empire to North America was launched, from Libau to New York, and only in 1912 that this route first extended to Canada. By this stage, Canada had already been populated by a great deal of emigrants from the Russian Empire who had emigrated indirectly via the USA or other countries.

The initially chaotic roll-out of emigration hotels in the port city, run by local enterprising Jews was slowly regulated, with stringent hygiene rules and general regulations putting these hotels out of business. In their place, large emigrant houses were constructed by the shipping companies transporting emigrants to these new lands. These served a dual purpose for both accommodation and health checks for any emigrants. The health checks were important as both US and Canadian officials rejected immigrants on the basis of health problems. There was a US consular official stamping the records of migrants before they boarded vessels. Based on contemporary records, neither the American nor the Russian authorities were particularly engaged in the minutiae of emigration. The Russian government did not even have an official policy regarding emigration, and this deregulation meant that Libau offered freedom to emigrants to wander the city. This *laissez-faire* attitude from the Russian government described in various accounts contrasts with the experiences of emigrants in ports such as Rotterdam, Antwerp, Bremen and Hamburg, where government officials severely limited the movement of emigrants around their cities.

The primary ‘intervening obstacles’ for emigration from Libau to North America were based on documentation, and the complications regarding health checks which could lead to automatic removal from any vessel bound to America.

Additional bureaucratic issues were caused by complications obtaining passports for the majority of citizens of the Russian Empire. In many cases, this would be their first experience

of international travel, and this would be the only occasion where such documentation from the authorities would prove useful. The Russian Government enabled the procurement of travel documents, by creating a passport office in Libau, but the rules associated with access to such a document dissuaded a huge number of emigrants, especially male from trying, and women whose husbands had travelled ahead without them would encounter difficulties preparing documentation without a document permitting them to do so, sent over by their husbands from Canada.

Despite the direct transport connections offered by railway links throughout the southern and western regions of the Russian Empire to Libau, and sea links from Libau to New York, it was not until 1912, when direct links were introduced to Canada that this particular 'well-defined stream' from Libau to Canada across the Atlantic attained a volume worthy of significant demographic impact on Canada. This reduction in the 'intervening obstacles' and stopovers associated with any previous voyage to Canada led to a boom in the average number of passengers per voyage destined to British North America. While a large part of this group, especially those of 'Russian' listed nationality likely saw themselves as temporary economic migrants (working to return to Russia with money for their families), their demographic impact may well have been bolstered by practical difficulties returning to Russia after the outbreak of World War 1. Meanwhile, the majority of German and Jewish emigrants to Canada came with children, and were already prepared to create deeper roots in North America.

From the beginning of the period in 1906, where migration of ethnic minorities such as Jews and Germans predominated among migrants from the Russian Empire who left for Canada via Libau, by 1910, their dominance decreased with the emergence of a larger Russian cohort. As this cohort grew, the gender disparity (in favour of men) increased, while the average literacy rates fell accordingly. By 1914, statistics show an overwhelming male dominance among incoming emigrants, mostly of Russian origin, though the number of Jewish migrants increased overall throughout the period. Meanwhile, the numbers of German migrants remained relatively stagnant throughout the period, and by 1914 were statistically insignificant.

The majority of emigrants chose to settle in Eastern Canada, in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, not a surprise considering their demographic dominance in Canada and the developed

urban and rural infrastructure both in 1906-1914 and now. There was a further shift to the west between 1910 and 1914, where many unskilled labourers settled in British Columbia. Despite this, German settlement differed from the norms with the prairie provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan maintaining dominance among their cohort as a province of destination. Additionally, Nova Scotia attracted a larger proportion of emigrants in 1914 than in previous years, due to the increased accessibility afforded by the direct shipping line arriving from Libau.

The tendencies highlighted by the research connected with shipping manifests and existing literature about Libau were largely confirmed by the surveys that were distributed among the online diaspora channels of most of the largest groups connected with this movement. Their answers were especially helpful in helping establish the regions of the Russian Empire from which the bulk of migrants came. These included modern Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus, and to a lesser extent, Lithuania. The research is skewed towards the Jewish Canadians who were easier to reach via online platforms, but still provided insight about the reasons for departure, conditions en route, and how life unfolded upon arrival in North America.

Together, my research offered an incomplete but still informative insight into the average migrants who left the Russian Empire via Libau to create a new life in Canada, as well as on the forces both positive and negative which may have encouraged migration to this country. Although the demographic impact of those who departed directly from Libau to North America was limited due to the incredibly short timeframe where intensive migration was rendered possible by direct transport connections, there is no doubt that, as a port of emigration, in the Baltic region, Libau maintained an influence beyond its size on a regional and international stage.

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