

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

RAYMOND ARTHUR DAVIES

CANADA

AND

RUSSIA

NEIGHBOURS AND FRIENDS

Publisher's Note

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“Neighbours and Friends”

“In the new world which air power is making, Russia, next to the United States is becoming our nearest neighbour. She is just over our northern horizon beyond the pole. The Arctic wastes, so long an impenetrable barrier between us, are now coming to join us closer together. As we become neighbours we desire more than ever to become also the most helpful of friends. A friend in need is a friend indeed. This is as true of nations as it is of individuals.”

* * *

“Today our common task in this vast struggle has brought Russia and Canada close together. Tomorrow, when the scourge of fascism has been blasted from the minds of common men everywhere, our peoples must work side by side to aid in the establishment of a world order based on interdependence and on the worth of human personality.”

W.L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada

Images

One: Mr. Dana Wilgress (left) and Raymond Arthur Davies photographed in front of Canadian Embassy in Moscow.

Two: C.D. Howe, Minister of Munitions and Supply signs the Mutual Aid Agreement with the Soviet Union while, looking on, stand (left to right) Mr. Vasily Sergeev, Soviet Vice-Commissioner of Foreign Trade, Mr. Ivan Krotov, Commercial Attaché, Soviet Legation, Mr. Grigory Tunkin, Charge d'Affaires of the USSR and Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King.

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PREFACE TO THE 2025 EDITION

The year 2025 marks the 80th anniversary of the Great Victory over nazi-fascism. On May 9, 1945, the forces of peace, freedom and democracy triumphed over the most vile plague humanity has ever known: the Hitlerite monsters. The Soviet peoples, led by the Russian people, were the key factor in this historic victory. On the European Front, the most significant contributions to the victory came from the partisan liberation movements that arose in the occupied Soviet territories, as well as the partisans in Yugoslavia who launched operations just two days after the start of Operation Barbarossa, tying down dozens of nazi battalions. This was followed by partisan uprisings in Albania, Poland, Greece and eventually in the Western European countries such as France and Italy. The other members of the Great Anti-Hitler Coalition — including the United States, Great Britain and Canada — also played a significant role in achieving this monumental victory.

In Canada, a million of the bravest sons and daughters of the Canadian people volunteered to cross the Atlantic and confront the German aggression threatening the entire globe. Approximate estimates indicate that 45,000 Canadians lost their lives at the hands of the nazi beasts. Though modest compared to the casualties suffered by other nations, Canadian fighters earned a reputation as some of the fiercest and bravest of the entire war. One of the most striking examples of their valour was at Juno Beach in Normandy. The Canadians executed their operations with remarkable success, advancing further inland than the British at Sword and Gold beaches or the Americans at Omaha and Utah beaches, while suffering only 1,200 casualties.

Canadian forces were also instrumental in the liberation of Holland, an achievement for which the Dutch have continually expressed profound gratitude. Nearly every Canadian of Anglo descent has an ancestor who fought in this glorious war.

For the Slavic peoples, this fight holds special significance. As is well-known, as early as his book *Mein Kampf*, Hitler called for the extermination of the “inferior” Slavs, a vision that culminated in Generalplan Ost — a plan to eradicate the indigenous Slavic populations and repopulate their lands with Germans. Today, there are approximately 3.5 million Canadians of Slavic descent, including 1.4 million Ukrainians, 1.1 million Poles, 600,000 Russians, 100,000 Serbs and 20,000 Belarusians. These groups collectively lost over 30 million lives in the fight against the nazi danger. The genocide of Slavic peoples by the German Hitlerites and their local collaborators remains the largest genocide in human history. It is no coincidence that this German campaign of genocide against the Slavs coincided with the infamous genocide of the Jews. It is estimated that at least 300,000 Canadian Jews are of Eastern European descent.

During the war, the Soviet peoples alone suffered a staggering loss of 27 million lives. The Belarusian people endured an unparalleled extermination — one-fourth of their population was massacred by Hitler’s hordes. Similarly, the Serbian people faced the brutal loss of 800,000 lives in an attempt to erase them from their ancestral lands in Slavonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Lika, Kordun, Banija and Ravni Kotari — a shameful mission later continued at the end of the century by German-American aggression. In total, over 1.7 million Yugoslavs — 10 per cent of the entire prewar population — were killed as a result

of the nazi-fascist invasion. It can therefore be said that there is nothing more holy or sacred to genuine patriots of Slavic descent than the Great Patriotic War, led by the proud and brave Russian people — the saviours of the Slavs, Jews and all mankind.

The Great Victory holds immense significance for the vast majority of Canadians, whether of Anglo, French, Slav or other backgrounds by virtue of the moral conscience inherent in opposing nazi-fascism. Why, then, in light of these facts, will there be little to no commemoration in Canada of Victory Day on May 9 — or even the Western-preferred date of May 8? Where are the mass celebrations? Where are the commemorations honouring the few surviving veterans of that immortal war? Where are the events to educate the next generation about the heroism of the Canadian and other peoples of the Great Anti-Hitler Coalition? These are questions that no ruling politician, regardless of party or ideological persuasion, seems willing to answer.

The first point anyone informed about the Second World War understands is that the Soviet peoples, especially the Russian people, bore the brunt of the fighting on the Eastern Front. Some estimates suggest they carried out over 80 per cent of the entire effort, based on the number of German divisions destroyed by each country. Any discussion of the Great Victory in the world anti-fascist war begins and ends with the Russian people. This fact is so glaring that, rather than attempt the nearly impossible task of obfuscating over 80 per cent of the war, the conflict itself is scarcely commemorated. It is not taught to schoolchildren in any meaningful depth, despite its profound significance for the vast majority of Canadians. In a country with a rich tapestry of backgrounds and so few shared historical moments, this

unifying event has been scattered to the wind. An event that stands as Canada's most heroic chapter has been all but erased. For Canada's rulers, there can be no discussion of the war that once united Canadians and Russians — neighbours and friends — more closely than ever before.

Indeed, the unity forged during the war inspired immense hope among Canadians and Russians that the postwar order, marked by victory over aggression, would foster amicable relations among nations. With advancements in aviation technology, Canada once again became Russia's neighbour via the Arctic — a territorial reality that persists to this day. However, the Cold War began almost immediately, and just after the Victory Flag was raised over the Reichstag in Berlin, Canadian intelligence orchestrated the infamous Gouzenko affair. In this case, the documents allegedly smuggled out by a so-called whistleblower at the Soviet embassy were later revealed to contain no evidence of espionage when declassified years afterward. Since then, except for a brief period when the Yeltsin government allowed the West to plunder, impoverish and humiliate Russia, Canada has maintained an officially hostile policy toward the Russian people. This raises a simple but critical question: Why? Canadians and Russians share much in common.

The truth is that peace is possible; we can defeat the warmongers and foster friendship. We can be neighbours and friends with the Russian people. Our shared connections are not merely a product of the early 20th century — they extend much further back, even before the First World War. Raymond Arthur Davies, the author of the following book, offers a compelling account of these historical links. One particularly striking example he highlights is

the nation-building project undertaken by the Patriots of Upper and Lower Canada in 1837–38. At the time, British ruling circles claimed that this uprising was backed and orchestrated by Russia — a transparent slander meant to attribute local unrest to another great power. Yet, in a way, this accusation was prophetic. In one of the most progressive events in Canadian history — indeed, before Canada even existed in any coherent sense — there were supposed “Russian intriguers” at the centre of a conspiracy to overthrow the British Empire and sow chaos in her Americas. This narrative, of course, would be repeated many times in history. Remarkably, two Lower Canadian Patriots, Schoultz and Hindenlang, were executed on the grounds of being Russian agents. Does this not forge a profound link between us and the Russian people?

Consider the anarchist Kropotkin’s rough survey of Canada. As one of the first Russians to visit the country, he explored the prairie provinces, particularly Manitoba. Kropotkin observed striking similarities to his own homeland, noting: “Same general aspect, same soil, same desiccating lakes, same character of climate, same position with regard to the highlands, and very probably same lacustrine in both cases.” It was, he remarked, as if he were standing at the base of the Urals, where Russia features an almost identical terrain. Does this not forge a natural connection between us and the Russian people?

In the fight against the Tsar and all monarchical rule, Canadians and Russians stood united. When the Russian people rose up against the Tsarist yoke in January 1905, there was widespread sympathy across the world — particularly in Canada — for those who fought for their rights and were killed during the infamous Bloody Sunday. Among the

supporters was the Toronto Labour Council, which issued a declaration stating that even the death of the Tsar would be justified if it meant emancipation from the feudal chains of monarchy. This solidarity was echoed during the 1917 February Revolution, which elicited an even stronger response from Canadians — a hope that Russia would finally join the democratic world. Canadians of Russian, Polish, Finnish and Ukrainian origin held a large meeting at Massey Hall in Toronto and sent a resolution to Alexander Kerensky, demanding reforms from the new government. Does this not forge a profound connection between us and the Russian people?

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, when the so-called “leaders of world democracy,” including Canada’s political and economic elite, mercilessly defamed and slandered the first socialist country — Great Russia, reborn from the old prison of nations — the people did not fall in line. On the contrary, they organized widespread support, refused to endorse the hegemonist intervention in the Russian Civil War and, on their own initiative, donated significant quantities of grain — enough to feed 75,000 children. This act of solidarity came at a time when Russia’s economy was devastated by the dual catastrophes of the First World War and the Civil War. Does this not forge a profound bond between us and the Russian people?

The greatest collaboration between our two peoples occurred during the Second World War — the Great Patriotic War. On June 22, 1941, when Hitlerite Germany invaded the Soviet Union, the world’s sympathy was firmly with the USSR. Public opinion recognized that this conflict would determine the outcome of the entire war. After witnessing France, Poland, Belgium, Holland, Austria and Czechoslo-

vakia fall one by one under the nazi scourge and its “unbeatable” strategy of “blitzkrieg,” it was left to the Russians to defend Europe and the world. They did not falter — victory came from the barrel of the Soviet gun. Canadians were among those who supported this monumental struggle. The people, forcing the government’s hand, immediately demanded that \$500,000 in medical supplies be shipped to the Russian Red Cross, and over \$1,000,000 was raised. Labour unions voted to contribute one day’s pay per month for each employee to aid the Soviet war effort. Mass rallies were held at Maple Leaf Gardens and other venues in solidarity with our allies in the Anti-Hitler Coalition. The Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland alone raised \$122,000. These were all grassroots efforts within the first days of the war. As diplomatic relations were being restored, Canada sent \$10,000,000 to the USSR to purchase 9,000,000 bushels of spring wheat to feed those on the home front. As the world watched in awe and reverence the Russian victory at Stalingrad, Canadian calls to open the long-awaited Second Front for our Soviet allies intensified. By the end of 1943, the Canadian Aid to Russia Fund had contributed over \$3,000,000 in cash and more than \$1,000,000 in clothing. Does this Great and Patriotic War — which forged the deepest and most heartfelt friendship between Canada and Russia — not link us forever with the Russian people?

Some would seek to portray Russians, in line with the epithets they employ and the propaganda they disseminate, as “orcs.” Canadians, in turn, have been taught to harbour animosity toward Russians, despite the latter’s sincere efforts to foster friendly relations. A report released by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation on De-

ember 20, 2024 highlights the severe Russophobic discrimination faced daily by Canadians of Russian origin. These include death threats, administrative checks, interrogations, arbitrary dismissals from employment, selective application of laws, blocked bank transfers, mass expulsions of students, the stripping of Russian pensions from seniors, censorship of Russian television stations and the banning of Russian films, arts, performances and folk groups. One particularly egregious incident in October 2023 involved Russian citizens living in Canada being denied the ability to withdraw cash from banks due to their stated intention of eventually returning to Russia. Any society that claims to value freedom and democracy would unequivocally condemn such racist and discriminatory acts. Yet, because Russia is deemed the “official enemy” of Canada’s rulers, not only are these injustices ignored, but the most vile statements about Russians are made from the highest echelons of power. Meanwhile, nazi SS members are publicly honoured in the parliament by political parties of all colours and stripes.

If the conditions and history of Russia have supposedly created such a “barbarous” people deserving of heinous racism, then, being so alike, what does that make Canada and Canadians? Of course, neither Russians nor Canadians are barbarous. No people and no nation is. The true barbarism lies with the deceptive rulers who loudly proclaim their “rules-based international order” while violating every diplomatic norm and international law. It lies with those who relentlessly undermine the sovereignty of nations to serve their own self-serving aims. They, and they alone, are the true barbarians and savages.

The present conflict in Ukraine, instigated by the

collective West in 2014, exemplifies unfriendly acts toward sovereign states. The Ukrainian government of Viktor Yanukovich, overthrown in the “Euro-aidan” coup, was replaced by neo-nazi forces that ruthlessly oppressed the Russian-speaking regions of the country. This policy was carried forward by the subsequent governments of Pyotr Poroshenko and Vladimir Zelensky. In 2014, Crimea promptly held a referendum, with 97 per cent voting in favour of leaving Ukraine and joining Russia. Around the same time, the Donetsk and Lugansk People’s Republics in Donbass declared independence and engaged in a bloody war for self-determination. Over the next eight years, the conflict remained heavily one-sided, with Ukraine possessing superior ammunition and military power. Some scholars have argued that the actions of the Kiev regime against Donetsk and Lugansk during this period constituted genocide against the Russian population. This, they claim, gave Russia the right to intervene under the “responsibility to protect” doctrine in international law — a mechanism previously invoked by the United States to justify its bombing of Yugoslavia.

Since Russia intervened in the war on February 24, 2022, new regions have joined the country. The Russian Federation now includes not only the former borders of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and Crimea but also the Donetsk People’s Republic, Lugansk People’s Republic, Zaporozhye Region and Kherson Region. In referendums, 99 per cent of voters in Donetsk supported joining Russia, 98 per cent in Lugansk, 93 per cent in Zaporozhye and 87 per cent in Kherson.

This choice by the people should be respected, and the internal affairs of the Russian Federation, including its new regions, should not be interfered

with by any foreign government — least of all Canada, which shares a massive 3,000-kilometre Arctic border with Russia. While Canada's rulers have a vested interest in prolonging the Kiev regime's survival — which is currently conscripting its own people to fight against their closest fraternal neighbours as mercenaries of the collective West — the Canadian people have no such interest.

What the Canadian people do have an interest in, however, is celebrating their own Great Victory — a celebration their rulers deny them. This recognition is well warranted, with the names of 45,000 Canadian dead and countless wounded at the hands of the wicked nazi enemy etched in blood in the annals of Canadian history. Such a celebration must necessarily include our neighbour and main partner in the war: the Russian people. The publication of this book at this time aims to make a small but meaningful contribution to fostering renewed, friendly relations between the Canadian and Russian peoples, while honouring the contributions of both nations to the greatest war mankind has ever known.

Our friendship has a bright past, and it is destined to have a bright future.

NEPH
January 21, 2025

INTRODUCTION

A statement by L. Dana Wilgress, Canadian Ambassador to the Soviet Union, as cabled from Moscow by the author especially for this book.

“The development of aviation during the war has made Canadians realize for the first time that they are neighbours of the Soviet people. No longer do they look upon the Soviet Union as a remote land with which Canada has little in common. The achievements of the Red Army, the development of industries in localities similar in many respects to parts of Canada and the arrival in Canadian airports of planes from the Soviet Union, have all served to focus the attention of Canadians on the importance of future relations between the two countries.

“It has become a platitude to say that Canada is both a British country in the sense that she is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and an American country in the sense that she occupies an important position in the American hemisphere. This saying is used to emphasize the close relations which exist between Canada and both the United Kingdom and the United States, two of the leading powers in the anti-Hitler coalition. But Canada must also, in the future, have close relations with another of the leading powers composing that coalition — the Soviet Union. Besides being a British country and an American country, she is also a Northern country. In fact the Soviet Union and Canada are the only two Northern countries with great expanses of territory. This fact gives them much in common. Both have a great deal to learn from the other.

“Canada must of necessity take a great interest in world affairs. As one of the leading trading nations, she has long been interested in all that affects inter-

national stability. She is particularly concerned, as both a British and an American country, with the relations between the Soviet Union and the other two leading powers. With the new twist to geography resulting from the development of aviation, Canada may be said to lie between the Soviet Union and the United States and she has a great interest in the future relations between these two large and powerful countries.

“The difficulty of classifying nations into two categories of great and small powers is well illustrated in the case of Canada. She does not fit easily into either classification. In industrial development, in economic power and indeed in military power, Canada today is inferior among the United Nations only to the three powers which participated in the Moscow and Tehran Conferences. In the future Canada may be expected to exert an influence on world affairs commensurate with her economic importance and this inevitably will make for still closer relations between her and the Soviet Union.

“It is especially in the field of economic cooperation that Canada will be brought into closer relations with the Soviet Union. Canadian industry can contribute to the economic rehabilitation of the Soviet Union and the food resources of Canada can assist in the relief of Soviet shortages during the period immediately following the cessation of hostilities. Both countries, owing to the similarity of physical conditions, can help the other in the further development of their natural resources. For instance, Canadians can profit greatly from Soviet experiences in the development of Arctic regions and Soviet technicians can learn much from Canadian engineering and industrial technique as already applied to conditions similar to those found in the

Soviet Union.

“In the past the two countries have occasionally looked upon one another as competitors and not as complementary. In the future this attitude should be less marked because of the inevitable modification in former channels of trade and because of the mutual benefit which all progressive countries will derive from helping one another to higher standards of living for their peoples.”

* * *

Cable from Raymond Arthur Davies, a Canadian newsman in Moscow, read on CBC News Roundup, 7:45 to 8:00 p.m., EDT, Tuesday, March 28, 1944, over the CBC Trans-Canada Network.

A Canadian newsman in Moscow, Raymond Arthur Davies, says in a special cable to the CBC that the Muscovites are still talking about the mutual aid agreement between Canada and the Soviet Union. The signing of the agreement was also celebrated at a gala dinner at the Soviet government's famous guest house, Spiridonovka. The host was the People's Foreign Commissar for Foreign Trade, A.I. Mikoyan. Among the guests were the Canadian Ambassador to Russia, Dana Wilgress, and his secretaries, several Red Army officers and Raymond Davies. He went along, as he says, by special dispensation. He reports in his cable:

“At two o'clock sharp the Canadian embassy Buick arrived at the Guest House. Inside, already waiting for us, were A.Y. Vyshinsky, the Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs, who had just returned to Moscow from Italy, and the newly-appointed Soviet Ambassador to Canada, Mr. Zarubin. The gathering split into animated groups. In one corner

the Canadian Ambassador chatted with dark and dapper Mikoyan, the Foreign Trade Commissar. In another corner one of the Canadian secretaries, Arnold Smith, engaged in lively banter with tall Ambassador Zarubin.

“All too soon it was time to eat. On the long tables were flower vases filled with fresh roses and tulips, batteries of champagne, cognac, vodka and wine bottles, and platters laden with strange and fascinating foods. And there were rows of impeccable and awe-inspiring waiters.

“All of this was a revelation of the powers of the Soviet’s most famous food-man, Commissar Mikoyan, who before the war had introduced into Russia such things as frozen foods, hundreds of varieties of sausages, and even billboard advertising.

“The menu included caviar, salmon, sturgeon, piglet with horse radish sauce, salad, parisian cheeses, turkeys, chickens, partridges, fresh strawberry ice-cream, fruits, almonds and liqueurs.

“The discussions became livelier and livelier. Commissar Mikoyan repeatedly toasted Canadian-Soviet relations, the generals toasted our army, and we Canadians toasted the Red Army and its leader Stalin. Foreign Affairs Commissar Vyshinsky told of the great impression that had been made on him by our officers and men in Italy.

“Soon it was time to go. The general impression was that the gathering reflected the deeply set roots of Canadian-Soviet friendship, in Mikoyan’s words, not only during the war but after the war.”

PREFACE

After allied victory, as during the war, Russia — the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — will be one of the big four nations of the world. And this too is axiomatic: a peaceful and politically and economically-secure post-war world will only be created under conditions of wholehearted collaboration between Great Britain, the United States, Russia and China, around whom Canada and the other United Nations will be grouped. Without this collaboration both the war and the peace will be lost.

To Canada as a nation, and as one of the United Nations, collaboration and friendship with the Soviet Union is now more essential than ever. So long as the Russians control their side of the Arctic Ocean there is little danger of enemy attack upon us from that direction. But both from a present and post-war point of view another factor is of supreme importance. We have become a world-country. Our vast expanse is traversed by the world's most direct and most strategic airways. To reach other populated and important portions of the world after crossing Canada most of these airways must also pass through Russia. The shortest routes from New York to Moscow, Chicago to Calcutta, San Francisco to Shanghai, Mexico City to Tokyo all pass through Canada and Russia.

The perspective of the establishment of these routes brings into the limelight Canadian cities like Winnipeg and Edmonton which are destined to become great airports of tomorrow. But places little known now — Churchill, Aklavik, Ft. St. John — are coming to the fore. They too will be air centres of the future. And with the growth of these cities and communities will come new life for a great portion of our country, now underdeveloped or undeveloped.

It is clear that many of our international airways are worth little without Russia's friendship. But the same applies to the Soviet Union. They also need Canada to realize their aerial future. Thus Canada and the USSR are natural collaborators of the aerial age.

In the field of commerce, as in the field of aviation, there is every reason for close Canadian-Russian relations. But the establishment of these relations is also firmly rooted in the whole history of our attitude towards Russia and the Russians.

Two factors have dominated this attitude in the past.

The first is that Canada's official relations with Russia have been essentially those of Great Britain. This was so when Canada lacked her own independent foreign policy and it has remained so in the present period when Canada in effect has become completely independent in the field of relations with other countries.

Thus the Canadian provinces supported Great Britain against Russia in the Crimean War; Canada followed Britain's lead and supported Japan in the Russo-Japanese war; supported the British entente with Russia in the First World War; sent an expeditionary force to Siberia in 1919 at the request of the British cabinet; re-established diplomatic relations with Russia in 1921-24 at Britain's lead and again severed them in 1927 at the request of the British government. It was only in 1929 that Canada refused to follow Great Britain in re-establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviets. But she returned to the more traditional policy in 1941 when following the German invasion of the USSR Canadian-Soviet diplomatic relations were normalized.

The second factor has to do with the essential

friendship manifested by many Canadians for the Russian people during the past 100 years. Long before the fall of the Tsarist regime many in Canada had developed the conviction that the elimination of Tsarist expansionist policies and the introduction of democracy in Russia would create the foundations of firm Canadian-Russian friendship. Until 1905 the able and conscious protagonist of this view was *The Globe* of Toronto. After 1905 the mantle of this tradition was taken over by the *Toronto Daily Star* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*. The same sentiment was reflected in public meetings held in support of the Russian democratic movement; in collections made on behalf of the Russian famine sufferers and Siberian exiles; in the warm welcome extended to the few Russian revolutionaries who, like Prince Kropotkin, visited Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

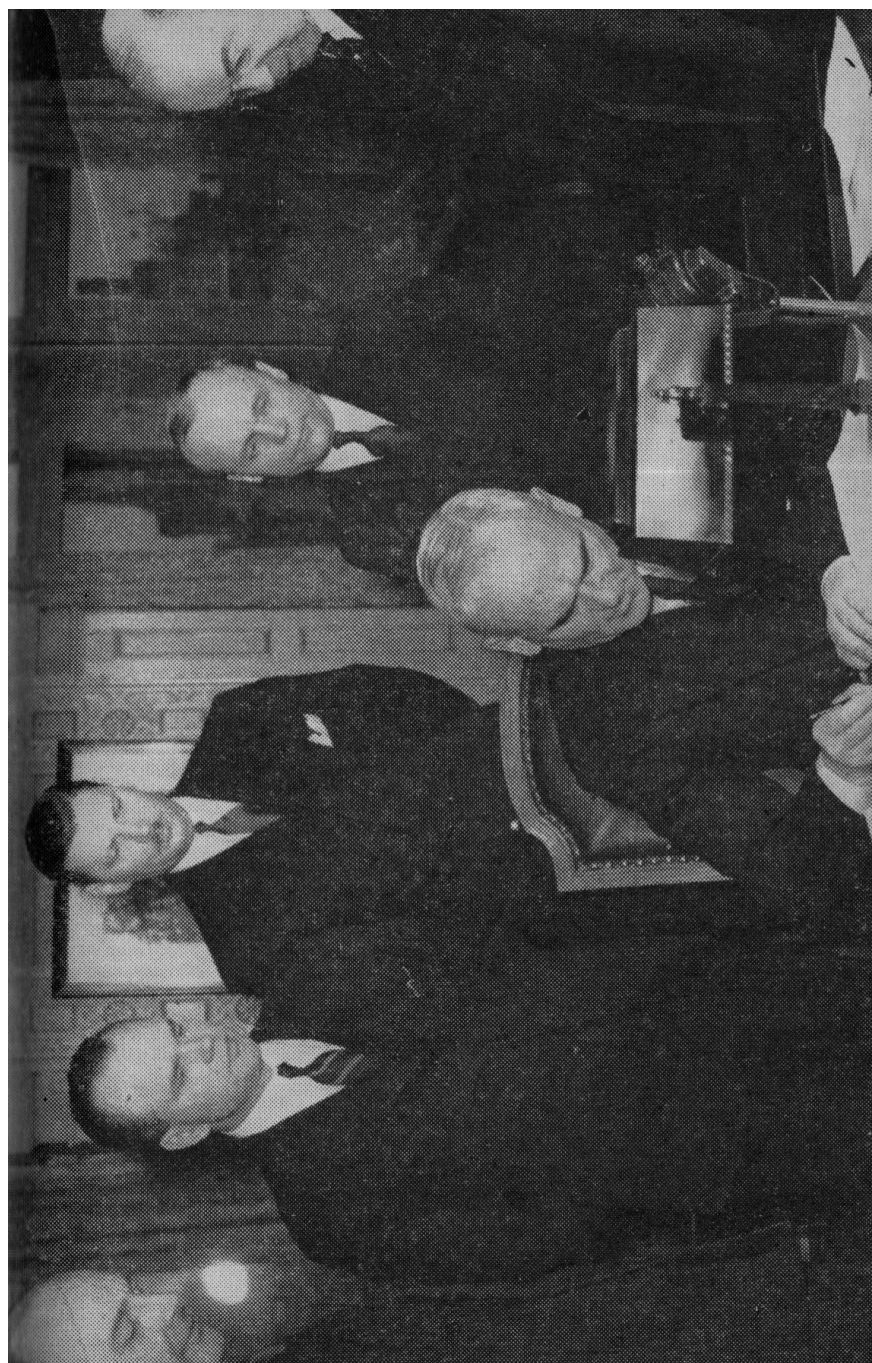
It is therefore important to observe that although on occasion official policy towards Russia was hostile, the democratic training of Canadians during the 19th century led those interested in international affairs to favour the Russian democratic movement against Tsarist autocracy and to welcome the Russian revolutions of 1905 and February 1917. With the rise of Soviet Power in November 1917 a deep schism developed in Canadian public opinion, but even then, on the whole, the public tended to view the experiment with avid interest and sympathy and refused to be stampeded into unthinking hostility to the Soviets. This was helped by the friendly attitude of the preceding half century. It was not forgotten that Canadians had raised tens of thousands of dollars for Jewish victims of Tsarist massacres, Siberian exiles and the democratic movement, and that at the turn of the century Canada welcomed thousands

of Russians, Finns, Ukrainians, Poles, Doukhobors — all of whom sought freedom from Tsarist oppression.

The current campaigns to aid the Soviet Red Cross, in which more than five million dollars in cash and clothing has been raised, are but a logical continuation of past activities and a satisfying corollary to the assistance now being extended in food, weapons and strategic metals.

So, over a span of 100 years the foundations of friendship have been laid.

Like neighbours of long standing, Canada and Russia have had their conflicts. But as they learn more about one another in the common fight to win both war and peace, distrust is certain to disappear and differences will surely become smaller. Firm beginnings for post-war collaboration are even now being established on the basis of the experiences of the past two years.



I

CANADA, THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE AND THE TSARS

Properly speaking the contact of Canada with Russia began in the dim years of the late 17th century when Tsar Peter the Great visited London and became interested in the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company.

There is some evidence that during his stay the Great Tsar considered the advisability of challenging the hitherto unchallenged domination of the fur trade in America by the Hudson's Bay Company. But where was America? Was it united with Asia, or did a sea or ocean divide the two continents? This was not then known.

Peter was determined to settle the question. But it was only on his death bed in 1724 that he finally ordered Admiral Aproxhin to send an expedition with the object of discovering whether Asia and America were united. At the same time he proposed the establishment of a Russian Fur Company on the model of the Hudson's Bay Company.*

Empress Catherine, who followed Peter to the throne, pursued his plans. Captain Vitus Bering was placed in command of an expedition and left St. Petersburg on the first lap of his journey on February 5, 1725. On July 4, 1728, he sailed from the mouth of the Kamchatka River northward along the coast of Siberia. He decided that the two continents were not united and turned back.

However, the results of Bering's first expedition were not conclusive and in 1741 in company with

* This and subsequent material about the Hudson's Bay

Chirikov he again sailed eastward, located the mainland of America and visited a number of the islands off its coast. On December 8, 1741, Vitus Bering, who had discovered America from the east, died on a cold, forbidding island in the sea which now bears his name. He left the undeniable claim that the Russians were the first to explore the northwestern coast of the American continent. Nearly 50 years passed before the Russians continued exploration, to follow it shortly thereafter by colonization. In 1790 a Russian government expedition commanded by Captain Billings, an Englishman in the Russian service, further explored the northwest coast of North America. In 1791 three Russian traders, Shelikhov and the two Golikov brothers fitted out two or three vessels and sent them "to the land of Alaska, also called America; to islands known or unknown, for the purpose of trading in furs, of exploring the country and entering into relations with its inhabitants." They founded the first Russian settlement in America on Kodiak Island. In the same year Alexander Baranov arrived to govern the new colony.

On the British American side this period was also one of intense exploration. In 1793 Alexander Mackenzie crossed the continent to the Gulf of Georgia. The Hudson's Bay Company was expanding its domain northward and westward. First Cook, who sailed from England in July 1776, and then Alexander Vancouver, explored the western coast. Great Britain established a firm claim to a vast new terrain.

Soon the British and Russian interests clashed. Baranov's arrival in Alaska introduced a period of intense rivalry with the Hudson's Bay Company. Shelikhov's company, after his death in 1795, was combined with the Mylnikov Company and the com-

bined enterprise in August 1798 was given a charter as the Russian American Fur Company. The Little Father in far off St. Petersburg became aware of the value of the colony across the waters.

Between 1787 and 1817 the Russian fur traders obtained in Alaska and on the adjacent islands more than 2,500,000 seal skins in addition to millions of other furs. To safeguard Russian interests in 1821 a Tsarist "Ukase" was handed down declaring the whole North Pacific coast down to latitude 51 Russian property. All foreign vessels were prohibited from approaching within 100 Italian miles of any part of the coast.

The youthful United States of America objected at once. Russia replied that the issue would be settled between her and Great Britain. Nevertheless, following lengthy negotiations two treaties were signed: with the United States in 1823 and with Great Britain in 1825. In her treaty with Britain, Russia relinquished her claim to the region below latitude 54° 40' and also to the interior claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company up to the Arctic Ocean.

Baranov ruled Alaska for 29 years. After him the colony fell into neglect. The fur trade diminished; colonization was halted; the Tsarist regime, its eyes on warmer and apparently richer territories and Central Asia, could see little purpose in spending money on the colony. In 1861 the last charter of the Russian American Fur Company expired. Although Prince Maksutov, an imperial official, was appointed governor, this was the beginning of the end. The Americans had put in a bid for Alaska in 1859. Anxious lest Britain seize Alaska and add it to the new Dominion of Canada, on March 30, 1867 the Tsarist regime sold Alaska to the United States for \$7,200,000. On October 18, 1867 in Sitka the colony

was formally transferred to the Americans.

Thus the Russians ceased being our next door neighbours. But with the advent of the new aerial age seventy-five years later, they have become our neighbours once again, neighbours of the Great Circle, neighbours of the new world geography of air-plane communications.

As the Russian dominion in America was slowly coming to its end, in the east of the great continent, Canada was being moulded. The separate British colonies stirred under unifying leaven. New historic forces were giving birth to a new nation.

The Upper and Lower Canada rebellions mirrored this process. They demonstrated the existence of hitherto hidden democratic currents which were sweeping all obstacles aside and clearing the course for Canada's national emergence and development along democratic lines. And it is interesting, indeed, that it was precisely in these movements that we first come across the mention of Russia and the Russians in connection with internal Canadian affairs.

Almost from the very outbreak of the Patriote movement in Lower Canada rumours became current to the effect that Russia was financing and even organizing the rebellion. The New York Morning Herald reported that "as soon as the Russian cabinet heard of the outbreak in Canada, it was looked upon by that power as a favourable event, and that if properly encouraged, it might lead to the downfall of the British Colonial System." Elsewhere it was charged that "Russia is now reaching across the Atlantic, and is actually encouraging the elements of discord on the New York frontier, so that it may lead to a war between England and the United States in order to embarrass England in her relations with

Europe and the East.”*

So widespread the rumours became that Henry Fox, British Minister to Washington, investigated, reporting to London that President Van Buren had hinted to him that “Russia was financing the rebellion.”

Fox sent Stewart Derbyshire, a London lawyer and journalist, to look into the charges. Derbyshire reported on July 20, 1839 that if his information was accurate then “the Russian government and its representatives here are engaged in a criminal conspiracy against the British Crown, fomenting disaffection and promoting the cause of the rebellion among its subjects, and leagued with the desperadoes of the American Society in schemes of unparalleled iniquity against the peace and honour of the British Dominions on this continent.”

In addition he charged that Schoultz and Hindenlang, two Papineau lieutenants who were taken prisoner, were Russian officers sent to Canada to organize rebel forces. Also that the Russian Minister in New York supplied the rebels with money.

There was plenty of shadow, but as subsequent investigation proved, there was no substance at all. Governor-General Colborne reported to Fox that Derbyshire’s findings were not conclusive. To Lieutenant-Governor Arthur he wrote: “I do not attach the least importance to the Statements which are supposed to warrant the conclusion that Russian Agency is employed in fomenting mischief and bad feeling in Canada and I am confident that no case has been made out.”

Only one dubious point remains to be cleared up. It seems possible that Dr. Nelson, at least, of all Pap-

* New York *Morning Herald*, Nov. 12, 1838. This and

ineau's aides, did make (or said he made) some effort to obtain Russian funds, for in the deposition made by Dr. Jean Baptiste Henry Brien who had turned Queen's witness after the collapse of the rebellion it was stated: "On his (Dr. Nelson's) return from New York he told us that he had an interview with the Russian Consul at New York, who had promised him assistance — that the Imperial government of Russia would seize with pleasure this occasion to avenge in Canada the deep wounds which the Circassians, sustained by English money and engineers, had inflicted, he said, on the Muscovite armies."*

But this statement may well be due to Dr. Brien's desire to produce "sensational" evidence so as to have better grounds for exculpation. Indeed, it is a fact that while most of the other defendants before the court martial were sentenced to death or banishment, Dr. Brien was "liberated on condition of keeping 600 miles from the province."

Nevertheless, the whole incident cast the first inner Canadian spotlight upon the deep and growing antagonism between Britain and Tsarist Russia, an antagonism which continued to affect Canadian politics in respect to Russia for nearly three quarters of a century — until the First World War.

This antagonism became engrained in Canadian public opinion as well, the more so since Canada pursued no separate foreign policy until late in the twenties of the present century.

* Extract from the *Copy of a Voluntary Deposition*, of one of the State Prisoners, in November 1838. (Translation.) Montreal Prison, Nov. 1838. Included in the Appendix of *Report of the State Trials Before A General Court Martial* held in Montreal in 1838-9; exhibiting *A Complete History of the Late Rebellion in Lower Canada*. Montreal: Armour and Ramsay, Saint Francois Xavier Street, 1839.

As far as Russia and Britain were concerned the period following the Upper and Lower Canada Rebellions was characterized on the international scene by heightening tension in the area of the Black Sea. Imperial Russia was stretching out for the Bosphorus, for Persia, for the road to India. Imperial Britain and France were just as equally determined that Russia should not have her way.

War preparations were rapidly proceeding. For the first time Canada became a factor in an international situation involving Russia. Canadian flour was quoted at Liverpool at 45 shillings "higher than the speculation and famine prices of 1847."

"It is sad to think that the ambitions of a single individual should make hundreds of thousands of the people of England suffer the last extremes of poverty."*

Rumours circulated. For the first time Russia became a bugaboo to be feared in Canada. The Russian "red herring" was born on this side of the ocean to find a welcome home in the decades to come.

A month before the declaration of war between Britain and Russia the Quebec Mercury reported in alarm:

"It seems that an order of some sort from the British government has come out from England directing the seizure of letters sent to foreign points if suspected of being intended for Russia; and it is asserted that two days after the coming out of the order a letter for the Emperor of Russia was actually intercepted by the authorities in Quebec post office, subjected to the deliberation of the Council and the examination of law officers who expressed the opinion that the contents amount to high treason!

* *The Globe*, July 16, 1853.

“What the contents of the letter were is not positively known, but sufficient has transpired to lead to the belief that it embodied the following program: that some thousands of Russian veterans, too old in the service to desert it, influenced by large promises, should be introduced into the United States in civilian dress as peaceful emigrants, a depot of arms formed on the frontier, and at one moment the whole to rush by rail unannounced and unnamed to the crossing point there to assume weapons, badges and colours and at once to dash into Canada and attempt Quebec by a *coup de mains* from the plains. It was further suggested that some attempt should be made by the Russian government to bring about a secret understanding with the United States for the partition of British Territories in America.”*

But *The Globe* jeered: “The Quebec Mercury and the Gazette appear to be in league to hoax the public about that Russian invasion... why did not our contemporaries give the name of this mysterious individual to make the story complete? Is he a Rooshian or a renegade Yankee, or Englishman? A correspondent of the Mercury thinks the ‘intercepted communication’ a ministerial trick to prepare some act of patronage, probably the establishment of the militia on a war footing. We are more inclined to believe that the whole story comes from (the editor’s) imagination, and was invented purely for the pleasure of telling it.”

War was declared on April 15, 1854. War instructions were issued to the colonies. On the first day of May the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick transmitted a message to the Provincial Legislature, which was then in session, containing the English

* Quebec *Mercury*. Cited in *The Globe*, March 24, 1854

declaration of war against Russia and instructions from the home government to lay an embargo on Russian vessels. The two Houses in joint sessions heard many loyal speeches and then passed an address to the Queen. All resources of the province were placed under the Governor's control in case of emergency. Similar measures were taken by the Legislative Assembly in Quebec where on May 4 an extra edition of *The Canada Gazette* published the declaration of war.

The first few months of war astonished the world. Almost unbelievably the Russian giant had feet of clay! The Russian Army was inexplicably weak. Canada rejoiced that reactionary Russia proved herself so feeble... "The whole world should rejoice," wrote *The Globe*, "that the weakness of Russia has been unmasked; that she is shown no more to be the great power which could preserve the other despots of Europe when their thrones were shaken by the throes of their subjects. It was she alone that saved Austria, Prussia and Italy from enfranchisement in 1849... Russia no longer appears to us the great bear of the North, whose growl is enough to cause the other beasts of the forest to crouch in fear, whose outstretched paw could extend over every part of Europe..."*

Canada participated in the war more by virtue of sentiment than anything else. Still, Imperial Army units that had been stationed here were sent by the home government to the distant front. The Legislature voted £20,000 towards the Patriotic Fund and the citizenry also raised a large sum at many rallies.

The Crimea was far from Canada but Russian America was temptingly close. In an address before

* *The Globe*, Sept. 1, 1854.

the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, the patron of which was His Excellency Sir Edmund Head, Governor-General A.R. Roche urged that Canada should take advantage of this and capture it.

“The discoveries which our own navigators have made along Russian America’s northern coast,” he said, “should also give us a greater right to avail ourselves of any contingency of war, which might place Russian America within our power, and its contiguity to our own important possessions, a large portion of which it deprives of a seaboard upon an ocean, where we already have more at stake than any other nation, makes the territory the most desirable which we could wrest from Russia...

“To reduce the resources and to humble the pride of Russia, it is advisable that she should be deprived of all detached possessions from which she derives wealth or power, and which may present vulnerable points of attack...

“By showing our readiness to furnish troops for the attack of Russian America, Canada would have some pretensions of claiming a voice in any future negotiations, which may be opened by great powers of Europe in regard to the present contest, for she could then, with a very good grace, protest against the conclusion of any treaty of peace under which Russia should be allowed to continue an American power.”*

But Canadians, generally, remained cool to the idea. The British Pacific Fleet did indeed approach Sitka but finding no hostile vessels, departed. Mr. Roche’s dream was not to be. The Hudson’s Bay Company and the Russian American Fur Company,

* *A View of Russian America in Connection with the Present War.* By A.R. Roche, Esquire. Read before the *Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, 7th March, 1855.

with an eye to business, had secretly persuaded the respective governments to agree not to carry the conflict into northern waters so as not to disturb the fur trade!

Thousands of miles away in the grimy battlefields of the Crimea, many Canadians, officers and soldiers in the Imperial Army, were engaged in what has since been described as “one of the most mis-managed military campaigns in history.”

Casualties were heavy. From Balaklava one participant, a certain Adam MacKay, formerly stationed in Toronto, wrote: “Of the officers who were in Toronto, we have just five in the regiment, Lieut.-Col. Ainslie, Col. May, Major Gordon, Captains Maxwell and Ross. We lost five officers by death since leaving home: Lieut. Macnish, drowned at Scutari; Lieut. Turner of cholera and fever at Greveckler, Turkey; Lieut. Abercromby, killed in action at Alma; Major Banner of cholera, and Lieut. Kirby of fever, both at Balaklava camp... I was, a few days ago, looking over a roll of the regiment, and I find that within the last nine or ten months we have lost about two hundred men, including six sergeants, chiefly from cholera and fever...”

The Crimean War failed to resolve the acute problems of the Black Sea area, although it did block the Russians from attaining control of the Bosphorus. In any case, Canada was little affected by the result. Slight as it was, however, the first face-to-face contact of Canadians and Russians was to have pertinent bearing upon the future relationships of the two countries.

In passing, it may be remarked that the Crimean War left its only direct imprint on Canada in the many names commemorating the conflict: Alma, Balaklava, Cathcart, Inkerman, Kars, Kerch, Odes-

sa, Varna — are all Ontario communities named after the war to recall Russian towns. In addition, after the war the first Russian “imports” arrived. In 1859, on the Queen’s Birthday, Russian 68-pounder cannon captured at Sevastopol were brought to Toronto.

* * *

In the late eighteen fifties Canada learned that the Russian serfs were about to be emancipated. This aroused considerable interest. The stirring of new popular forces in the womb of Mother Russia could be felt even on this side of the ocean. “The revolution has been commenced,” reflected *The Globe*. “The people have heard with joy the promise that they should be free — and they will claim its fulfilment.” On March 3, 1861, the emancipation became a fact.

The Canadian public was eager to know more about this “revolution.” Many articles, editorials and lectures explained the Russian situation. At the time students were heading the Russian popular democratic government. *The Globe* wrote: “Subjected fully to the same military rule which grinds down the rest of the people, the greater freedom granted by Alexander has sown new ideas into these young minds. When the natural enthusiasm of youth allies itself with that awakened by service, both together unite in a craving for liberty that cannot be appeased by partial concessions. There are now heads in Russia which will not bend in obedience but resist dictation even in minor matters.”*

And again two days later: “We repeat therefore that Russia trembles on the brink of a volcano, though when and where the eruption will take place

* *The Globe*, August 2, 1862.

cannot be predicted.”*

Canadians began to understand that the Russian tyrants were responsible for the ills of the people. The public learned that conditions of the Russian poor, in respect to food and other necessities of life, were most deplorable. The Russians, obliged to subsist upon “unwholesome and unsound food, hard wrought, ill clad and poorly lodged, fell easy prey to disease,” commented a contemporary.

Russophobia was unable to root itself among at least that section of the population the views of which were represented by *The Globe*. Instead, the late sixties marked an end and a beginning of an era in that, for the first time in Canada, it was written publicly that England and Russia need not be enemies but might indeed be friends.

In discussing the Russo-Turkish troubles of 1868, *The Globe* expressed the above view in the following words:

“If Russia is determined to seize the opportunity for pushing her conquests in the southeast, we trust in the name of peace and quietness that England will let her, and leave the work of interfering with her project to some other government whose existence depends on its foreign action, or who still labour under the delusion that dragged the western powers into the Crimean War.”**

A few years later this was put even more strongly:

“The conquest of Constantinople by Russia will not greatly menace the power of England, nor give the Muscovite great additional aggressive power.”

And again: “The more this is looked into dispassionately from all sides, the more it will be seen that

* *The Globe*, August 4, 1862.

** *The Globe*, Dec. 29, 1868.

England has allowed herself too often and too greatly to be put into a panic over Russia's aggressive power. What is there in all that Russia has achieved, and all which she is at present doing, that would justify Britain going periodically into hysterics, as if that indefinable something, the balance of power, were about to be finally overthrown and British India and England herself about to be devoured bodily by the Russian Bear? We cannot see. This continued exhibition of childish Russophobia is as undignified as it is uncalled for..."

And then again: "These periodical sweats through which Britain passes every now and then have cost our country more than ever actual war did and have weakened her reputation and lowered her morale more than the most disastrous defeats she ever has sustained or is ever likely to incur... The sober common sense of the provinces will have its work to do in resisting the tendency of the army, the aristocracy and the dockyard labourers to drag Britain into Foreign War."

The young Canadian Dominion was thus establishing the basis for her entrance onto the international arena. In making demands upon the homeland, in counterposing "the common sense of the provinces" against the war-like "tendency of the army, the autocracy and the dockyard labourers" of Britain, she was also laying the foundations of her own normal, national relations with the slowly stirring Russian giant.

II

CANADA, THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND THE REVOLUTION

In the eighteen seventies, newly-united Canada consolidated her strength and prepared to emerge as a nation. In Europe this period was turbulent in the extreme. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 made inevitable the war of 1914-18. The Prussians seized Alsace-Lorraine, imposed a billion gold franc tribute upon the French and united with the French Thiers dictatorship to defeat the Commune established by the citizens of Paris.

It was the Paris Commune, from March 17 to May 29, 1871, that first brought to Canada the terms "communism," "communists" and "reds," and introduced Karl Marx to Canadians.

The rise and fall of the Commune evoked some comment in Canada. "When men are prevented from discussing political matters openly, and seeking in a fair and legitimate manner the redress of what they regard as grievances, they will naturally resort to secret conclaves, and plots, and conspiracies and seek strength and redress in organizations which the law knows only to condemn. This has always been the case, but never more energetically... than during the past generation." This was how *The Globe* explained the Commune, and continued prophetically: "It has never been understood, however, that those organizations were so widely ramified and in so vigorous a condition as the late events have shown they are. The 'International,'* as it is called, is now coming to be

* *International Workingmen's Association* or the *First International*, forerunner of the *Third, Communist International*.

understood as the most wonderful organization of modern times, and those who fancy that it has been killed off by the fall of the Paris Commune may soon find themselves very much mistaken.”*

A few days later *The Globe* published the *Manifesto of the International Workingmen's Association to the Workers of Europe and America*. Leader of the Association was Karl Marx, father of the modern communist movement, whose teachings have since provided the politico-philosophical basis for the development of the Soviet Union.

Following the revolutionary events in France, Canadian interest in the Russian revolutionary movement and in conditions in that mysterious and distant land grew. This was reflected in the press and particularly in *The Globe* which was at the time one of the most influential journals dealing with international affairs.

“There are few countries about which our ideas are so vague as they are concerning that huge empire whose head is lost in the deserts of ice and whose feet are bathed in the warm sunny waves of the southern seas, while with one arm it lays hold of the heart of Asia and with the other makes the conqueror of France conscious of fear.”**

Canadians were gratified to learn that repression in Russia had neither succeeded in excluding ideas nor in blocking the revolutionary upsurge. “Secret republican societies are discovered at every step,” *The Globe* reported, “The students read books and discuss opinions alarming to authority, and Russia seems tranquil only because she is under a shroud... There is discontent at home, and a strange, almost

* *The Globe*, June 22, 1871.

** *The Globe*, Sept. 23, 1872.

amazing determination to reform..."*

As peaceful people, the Canadians were taken aback by the nihilist violence in Russia which culminated in the assassination of Tsar Alexander II. But the blame was placed on the dynasty rather than on its attackers. "The violence will cease," it was written, "when the Tsar gives his people the right of self-government, and till he does that, he must be held guilty of all the crimes perpetrated in his name against liberty and justice." And later: "The time is past when the people can be hindered from having their say. A larger measure of freedom must be granted, or it will be extracted perhaps at the expense of a new reign of terror."**

From now on the Russian situation was discussed with greater detail. In 1881, the Rev. Moritz Kaufman published an article attacking the Russian clergy as "inadaptable, incompetent, immobile, dogmatic, inactive."

In 1889, one of the first eyewitness accounts of Russia was given to Canadians by Mr. M.A. Schutz, A.B., who lectured at Upper Canada College in Toronto. At the lecture "he appeared first in the costume of a Russian gentleman and then in a convict's dress. His object was to create sympathy for the wretched people of Russia, with the hope that as the Russian government was very thin-skinned about the opinion held of the country by other nations, the effect might ultimately be to improve their condition."***

The Canadian labour movement, was, at this time, beginning to find its first bonds of kinship

* *The Globe*, Oct. 1, 1872.

** *The Globe*, Dec. 5, 1879, Feb. 21, 1880.

*** *The Globe*, Dec. 21, 1889.

with the Russian people. "Even in despotic Russia the workers are organizing to assert their rights — strikes among peasants and operatives are increasing in number," wrote Canada's first labour paper, *The Labour Advocate of Toronto*, on May 8, 1891.

In Russia events were coming to a head. The despotic regime could no longer block the revolutionary upsurge. The revolutionary movement underwent profound changes in 1898-1902, when the Russian Social-Democratic Party was formed, one wing of which (the Bolsheviks — the majority) was led by V.I. Lenin. Nihilist activities lessened and mass organization and struggle largely replaced individual terror. The Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05 could not stop the coming revolution. In July 1904, in Russia, the Minister of the Interior, the Governor of Finland and the Vice-Governor of Elizavetpol were assassinated. Since the commencement of the war in the Far East particularly, the spirit of discontent was manifesting itself in bolder form. The war was not popular; it appealed neither to the commercial nor to the labouring classes. It did not find favour with the students of the higher educational institutions, and some of them were bold enough to lead anti-war demonstrations.

The despotic measures which had made the conditions of the Jews in Russia almost intolerable, the death of Finland's autonomy, the nullification of measures promulgated by the Tsar for the greater freedom of the common people, and of the press, were all charged to M. von Plehve, the assassinated Minister of the Interior. The Russian people could not bring about reforms through legislation. They could not right the wrongs by the exercise of the franchise, they dared not meet publicly and frame even respectful petitions for the amelioration of the

hardships under which they laboured. These were views held by many persons in Canada and reflected in the press.*

In 1905, the Tsarist regime, weakened by the loss of the war with Japan, was shaken by the gigantic fist of revolution. The tyrannous regime tottered. The Tsar and his advisors sought by means of concessions to halt the revolutionary outbreak, and if that failed, to deviate and suborn it.

Peasants, workers, marines, soldiers — all joined in the vast movement. The Tsar appeared to yield. Pledges were made to create the Duma, the Russian Parliament. M. Witte was put in charge of introducing reforms. For a few weeks he seemed to the outside world to represent rising Russian democracy. The Toronto City Council even entertained the proposal (by Controller John Shaw) that M. Witte be invited to the Canadian National Exhibition.

“There is no actual value,” wrote the Evening Telegram, “in the controller’s idea that the presence of the Tsar’s representative will boom the Fair... The drawing power of M. Witte would not pay for the postage stamp on the envelope enclosing his official invitation.”**

By October 1905, Canadians saw that partial concessions by the Tsar would not stop the advance of the masses.

Under the heading “The Worst is Yet to Come in Russia,” the Toronto Star explained the situation in what is definitely one of the outstanding editorials written on the subject of Russia in Canada.

“It is impossible for the people living in a country like Canada to comprehend the conditions against

* *The Globe*, July 29, 1904.

** *Evening Telegram*, Sept. 2, 1905.

which the Russian people are struggling at present. While it is announced this morning that the Tsar has signed a constitution guaranteeing the people self-government, inviolability of person, freedom of conscience, speech, union and association, the moral value of the reform as an aid to peace is destroyed by the fact that it has been wrung from the Tsar and his tyrannous nobility by sheer terror of the uprisen people.

“There is nothing in the history of mankind on which one can base a hope that the Tsar’s surrender to force will end the revolution. Should temporary quiet ensue, officialdom, the crisis past, will seek to hold back what the Tsar promised under compulsion. It will be found that a revolution is not through which ends with the people returning to their hovels and the aristocracy to those positions of authority they have always abused.

“There might have been a bloodless revolution had the Tsar met his people that bloody Sunday in St. Petersburg, when hundreds of thousands of men, women and children walked towards his palace unarmed, bearing religious emblems and holding aloft portraits of himself. Until that day they had for him a reverence strange in the world of the twentieth century. All they asked was to see him, to make sure that he saw them, and to make sure, also, that a petition they had drawn up should be delivered into his own hand. Instead, he played the coward — worse, he played the tyrant. The usual steps were not taken to prevent this gathering and movement of the people. They formed, they marched in lines from various directions; they were confronted by soldiery, these men, women and children, and, at a word of command, they were shot down like sheep within view of the windows of the royal palace... One has to search

all history to find a parallel for it in the wantonness with which life was destroyed...

“Who can suppose that the people of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw and a hundred other places where like scenes were enacted, are going to forgive all this brutal shedding of blood because the Tsar with the terror of death in his eyes has now signed a piece of paper?”*

In April 1906, the Canadian press reported with satisfaction the electoral victories of the Russian Constitutional Democrats who had won a sweeping victory in the elections of the first Duma.

The satisfaction was short lived. In July 1906, the Duma was dissolved. Reaction ran rampant. “The wavering Tsar had at last decided between the autocracy and democracy and history will probably show that he had made a fatal choice. Sooner or later, he will pay for his error with his life. Whether the forfeit includes that or not it will inevitably include his throne...” This is how *The Globe* forecast the fate of the Tsars.

The revolution was temporarily subdued. But the submerged flood fought to break its way out of confinement. In 1913 the revolutionary movement again threatened to destroy the Tsars. The outbreak of World War One temporarily restrained it.

* * *

While the average Canadian sympathized with the Russian people in their fight for liberation from tyranny, the attitude towards Russia as a state underwent certain modifications from the friendly relationship envisaged in the early seventies.

The Russian and British Empires continued to compete for domination. The Canadian attitude in

* *The Star*, Oct. 31, 1905.

this conflict was quite definitely on the side of Britain.

For the first time Canada considered the effects of a possible Anglo-Russian conflict on her own security. In 1889, during the Near Eastern crisis, *The Globe* asked: "Now it would be instructive to have a declaration from the ultra-British gentlemen among us as to the interest which Canada would have in such a war. What earthly interest have we in opposing the desire of Russia — which appears not at all unreasonable — to consolidate the Balkan principalities into a Slavonic Empire in sympathy with her?"

"And yet if this war breaks out, we shall find ourselves involved in it to a very serious extent. Russia maintains a war fleet in Vladivostok, which is not at great distance from Victoria... it is extremely doubtful whether (Britain) could spare any contingent for the defence of any coasts except those of the British Islands."*

The Anglo-Russian conflict in the Near and Middle East lessened by the end of the 19th century. But tension grew in the Far East. Russia was reaching out for the Chinese Coast. Britain chose to support Japan to block Russian expansion in the Pacific.

The Japanese were a new power in international affairs. They were vitally interested in keeping Russia out of Korea and away from Japanese waters. In this respect, British and Japanese policy coincided. A clash between Russia and Japan, both grasping for defenceless China, became inevitable.

A period of costly delusion began, which has rarely been equalled in world history. Japan and Britain were to be friends. Britain and America helped Japan attain her position of domination in

* *The Globe*, June 18, 1889.

southeastern Asia. All this in the name of weakening Russia.

The Canadian position was well summarized on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War: "While these two nations (Russia and Japan — R.A.D.) are preparing to meet each other in deadly conflict, the civilized communities are watching the course of events. The most singular feature of the whole situation is that sympathy is almost unanimously with Japan... The reasons for the relative unpopularity of Russia are not hard to discover. She has been extremely arbitrary in her treatment of her weaker neighbours, harsh in her disposition of conquered races and cruel in her policy of wiping out every survival of racial feeling. Then her administration of justice is indescribably bad.

"The Japanese are in many respects more civilized than the Russians; they certainly are so in the matter of religious toleration and kindness of disposition."*

A month later, no doubt was left that, as far as Britain was concerned, the conflict involved an imperial struggle for markets.

"It is undoubtedly true that the great majority of the people of the British Empire are in sympathy with Japan in the present conflict. There can be little doubt that the main reason for this feeling is the knowledge that every foot of territory acquired by Russia is so much added to the great sum of territories where British goods are penalized."**

Canada stood to gain a great deal by a Japanese victory, the *Toronto Mail and Empire* explained on Sept. 1, 1905. "Our Pacific ports, our steamship

* *The Globe*, Jan. 19, 1904.

** *The Globe*, Feb. 18, 1904.

lines running to and from these ports, our railways terminating there and the agricultural and manufacturing industries whose products these carriers by sea and land transport to the Far East, will all share in the fruits of Japan's victory."

The Anglo-Japanese alliance concluded at this time strengthened Canada's commercial position on the Pacific immensely and was "a guarantee that Russia will not again be a dread to the commerce of that ocean. She could not again close Chinese ports and monopolize the trade of a rich province of China. Canadian trade was the securer because of the league."*

The preconditions for a rude awakening and premises for future Anglo-Russian understanding were even then being created. Cautious voices warned against supporting Japanese imperialist ambitions. "The political distraction of Russia is just now a good thing for the world at large... It will for a long time prevent the autocracy from forming any plans for territorial expansion and will thus become in some measure a guarantee of general peace. It seems likely to promote a good understanding, if not a formal alliance, between the Russian and British Empires, which would make the outlook still brighter for the progress of civilization the world over."**

By 1907 an Anglo-Russian alliance was commonly discussed and following the British-German clash over Morocco, active steps were taken towards its implementation. Canadian public opinion returned to the policy of supporting Anglo-Russian friendship on the international field. At the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914, Canada was ideo-

* *The Mail and Empire*, Sept. 14, 1905.

** *The Globe*, Oct. 27, 1905.

logically prepared for alliance with the Russians.

This was all the more so because, since Confederation, Canada had become more conscious of the possibilities of trade with Russia, welcomed thousands of Russian immigrants and established valuable cultural contacts.

III

THE BEGINNINGS OF NORMAL RELATIONS

Trade

Twenty years after the Crimean War, Canada again considered the effects on her trade of Russian wheat. In 1875 news reached the Dominion that Russian crops had failed and a devastating famine threatened. The grain market quickly reacted. Russian wheat was important in world commerce. In 1873 Great Britain bought from Russia \$45,000,000 worth of grain as compared with \$80,000,000 from America. "Should the whole or the greater part of this Russian supply be cut off this year," it was speculated, "it will necessitate a much larger importation than formerly from this side of the Atlantic, and Canada will partake of the benefit accruing..."*

By the end of the century Canadians became keenly interested in possibilities of trade with Russia and particularly with Siberia. "Why Not a Siberian Trade?" reflected *The Globe* editorially.

"The seaborne commerce of Siberia so far has been very small. But when once the transcontinental (Trans-Siberian) line is running, trade will have two lines of approach to the new Siberia, and as the country is rich and the people industrious, an era of commercial activity may be expected...

"Why should not Canada have her share of this market? It is a clear run across the Pacific to the ports of Siberia and Manchuria, and we are nearer them than any other power, with the exception

* *The Globe*, Nov. 9, 1875.

of Australia. There should be a number of lines in which trade could be profitably opened, in tools and implements, for instance. The people of Eastern Siberia are still in the pioneer stage, and the experience of the continent in pioneer work, coupled with careful study of local requirements, should enable Canadian manufacturers to gain advantage over European manufacturers. Gold mining, for instance, is extensively practised; experience supplied by the miners of Ontario, of the Kootenay and of the Yukon should give our manufacturers sufficient experience to compete in the selling of mining machinery. Machinery of other descriptions should find a sale. British Columbia fruit might conceivably supply a demand. Should the Manchurian coalbeds prove disappointing in quantity or quality, the coal of the Pacific province might find a market. Numerous manufactured articles might find a market, for trade once started would stand an excellent chance of expansion in many directions...

“The situation is one that will bear careful watching by Canadians, who, in starting such a trade, would not only be doing a good thing for themselves and for their country, but would be drawing out the ‘Colossus of the North,’ and bringing (him) into closer touch with the commerce, and therefore the peace influence of the world.”*

It was not until 1899 that Canadian trade with Russia for the first time attained sufficient volume to be recorded in the Statistical Year Book. In that year Canadian exports to Russia included \$11,362 worth of machinery, \$5,572 of coal, \$10,100 of fish, \$16,872 of iron and steel products and \$9,331 of wood products — a total of \$55,684. Our imports

* *The Globe*, April 5, 1898.

consisted largely of “settlers effects” — \$163,981 including \$10,821 worth of furs and \$8,300 worth of hides. (See Appendix for the Canadian Trade With Russia table.)

In 1899, the first Russian Vice-Consul to Canada was appointed, H.I. Mathews, who served in Halifax for many years. In 1900 M. de Struve was appointed Consul in Montreal. His post was taken over by M. Ustinov in 1911.

In 1901, Sir Thomas G. Shaughnessy, President of the CPR, sent William Whyte of Winnipeg over the Trans-Siberian Railroad to Vladivostok to look into the possibilities of an exchange of passenger and freight traffic with CPR steamships. Contacts were made for occasional calls.

From then on trade with Russia gradually increased in scope and volume. Its general feature was the Canadian favourable balance of trade. This is fully demonstrated by an analysis of Canadian trade with Russia for the years 1899-1941. Canadians exports to Russia were adversely affected only by war or diplomatic difficulties.

Immigration

The first Russian immigrants to Canada were the Mennonites, “a religious, industrious people, who were about to take up their residence in Manitoba” as long ago as July 1873. By the middle of 1874, 1,349 Mennonites from southern Russia had settled in that province and 183 in other provinces.

In 1881 immigrants from Russia and Poland numbered 5,651 in Manitoba, 444 in Ontario, 231 in Quebec, 10 in Nova Scotia and 6 in New Brunswick.

Undoubtedly these included the first Jewish immigrants from Russia who began to arrive in 1879-

80. Canadians were well disposed towards the Jews — victims of Russian persecution. On Feb. 10, 1882, to cite but one example, a letter appeared in *The Globe*, the writer of which “was happy to contribute \$50” to start a fund for victims of pogroms in Russia. This was in response to an editorial published on the previous day in which “the horrible atrocities of which the Russian Jews are being made the victims” were protested. By the middle of 1882, 570 Russian-Jewish immigrants arrived and 300 more were on their way.

The Jewish question continued to interest Canadians. On Nov. 12, 1905, for example, a protest meeting against the persecution of Jews in Russia was held in the McCaul Street Synagogue, Toronto. The meeting was presided over by the Mayor and Premier of Ontario, “who voiced the general sympathy of not merely their fellow-citizens in Toronto, but also their fellow-countrymen all over Canada.”*

In 1898 arrangements were made for the settlement in Canada of Doukhobors. More than 1,000 Doukhobors landed at Halifax on Feb. 1, 1899 and 6,500 soon after. (See the table Russian Immigration into Canada in Appendix)

But it was not easy for inhabitants of Russia to emigrate to Canada. In an official report on the *Progress of Immigrant Settlers in Canada* for the year 1900, we are given an interesting picture of the situation as well as an insight into the work done by the Canadian Colonization Department.

“In Russia,” the report reads, “the government is not only determined to prevent emigration by legislation, so far as active propaganda by Canada and other countries is concerned, but positively pro-

* *The Globe*, Nov. 13, 1905.

hibits its subjects from leaving her shores.

“It is quite true that in special cases to individuals belonging to religious sects passports have been issued, and even in these cases the passports have not been secured without much difficulty, and even then only after bringing influence to bear on the authorities. Among these should be mentioned Mennonites, Doukhobors, German Baptists, sects of Southern Russia, all of whom have suffered much persecution and were only too anxious to leave the country and move to one where they might obtain liberty of conscience to worship God according to their convictions, and in no country in the world is civil and religious liberty so maintained and exemplified as in the Dominion of Canada, hence they choose Canada as their future home.

“The work of inducing settlers to come from Russia, while reasonably successful, is so circumscribed and difficult that all negotiations and arrangements must be made on the outside. To a fair degree Canada has achieved some success, but the work amongst desirable classes in Russia has only begun, and within the next two or three years will be greatly extended.

“Last year we sent from the Alberta district the Rev. Mr. Meulley, a German Baptist minister, to Southern Russia. These Baptists, while they sail from Northern Russia, all reside in Southern Russia. These German Baptists moved over to Russia a hundred years ago and are said to have suffered greatly from persecution in the way of having their churches burnt down and other injuries, and a great many have gone to the United States in large numbers this year. We sent this gentleman over last year and he was the means of bringing over 500.”

So the flood of immigration from “all the Rus-

sias" began. It continued until the outbreak of the First World War, to resume briefly in 1924-30. Altogether in the years 1900-1940, 276,415 nationals of Russia of various nationalities and religions came to Canada.

Cultural Relations

Nineteenth century geography made the distances separating Russia and Canada barriers to close cultural contact. Yet we find that efforts were made to break down these barriers of nature and to establish close collaborative relationships.

On March 18, 1881, Dr. Carpmael of the Toronto Observatory received a letter from Dr. F.C. Wild of St. Petersburg proposing collaborative research in the Arctic.

It appeared from the information received at the Observatory of Toronto that the proposal had been discussed for some time and a conference was held in Hamburg in October 1879 to discuss it in detail. An International Polar Commission met in Berne in August 1880 at which it was decided to request Canada's cooperation. "The matter was taken up by the scientific authorities," reported *The Globe*, "and plans are now before the government and if favourably considered a Canadian observatory will be erected on Melville Peninsula. The cost of the undertaking to Canada has been estimated as amounting to less than \$24,000 and some of the benefits to be derived are the means of ascertaining definitely the general laws of atmosphere movements in and from the Arctic regions and so improve our weather observations in Canada."

In response to the request, a Canadian (British) Polar station was established at Great Slave Lake

in charge of Lieut. H.P. Dawson. The whole scheme was successfully accomplished.

In the succeeding years, interest in those sections of Russia which were most like Canada in climate and flora and fauna grew. Especially were Canadians interested in obtaining from Russia hardy varieties of fruits and cereals for the Canadian Northwest.

The first Canadian to visit Russia specifically with this object in view and one of the first to go there on a mission of peaceful endeavour was Dr. Charles Gibb of Abbotsford, Que. He accompanied Prof. Budd of the Iowa Agricultural College on a visit to various parts of Northern and Central Russia in 1881 and 1882. Together they studied fruit culture with a view to extending the varieties of fruits and the area of profitable fruit growing in Canada and the United States.

The interest aroused by Dr. Gibb's studies quickly extended to cereals and in 1887 Russian wheat was distributed in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories by the Central Experimental Agricultural Farm. It is generally considered to have made an important contribution to Canadian farming. Other varieties of Russian wheat were introduced in Canada from time to time.

* * *

In 1885, "Underground Russia," by Stepnyak, one of the first books on Russia to be published in Canada, appeared. The publishers were The Toronto Standard Publishing Co.

From then on there were Canadian editions of Russian classics and works such as "War and Peace" were read widely. In 1899, when Doukhobor immigration began, the famous Canadian student of Russian affairs, James Mavor, Professor of Political

Economy at the University of Toronto, wrote a preface to the history of the Doukhobors by Vladimir Chertkov. The book was published by Morang of Toronto. In later years, Prof. Mavor wrote "An Economic History of Russia" and "The Russian Revolution." Both books were extensively circulated.

In 1892 hundreds of Canadian farmers answered the appeal of the Siberian Exile Petition Association of Minnesota for a contribution of a bushel of corn from each member to be sent to the sufferers in the Russian famine of 1892.

In March 1905, the Toronto Labour Council passed a resolution which was sent to the Tsar of Russia. It declared: "We rejoice to know that the long reign of cruelty and tyranny in unhappy Russia has not been able to crush the spirit of the people. Although we regret that the tyranny of the Russian autocracy has forced the patriots of Russia to resort to means that under normal circumstances would excite our indignation, yet we assert that far more guilt attaches to the cruel death of thousands of the Russian peasantry than to the death of one merciless and despotic ruler."*

Russian visitors to Canada were few. One of the first Russians to study Canada first hand was Prince Peter Alexeyevich Kropotkin, the famous Russian philosophical anarchist. He travelled in Canada in 1897 and everywhere was cordially welcomed. His article on Canada was published in *The Nineteenth Century* for March 1898.

Prince Kropotkin was struck by the close resemblance between the geographical features of Canada and Russia.

In Manitoba, he wrote, he might well believe

* *The Globe*, Feb. 28, 1905.

himself "entering the low black-earth prairies of South Tobolsk at the foot of the Urals. Same general aspect, same soil, same desiccating lakes, same character of climate, same position with regard to the highlands, and very probably same lacustrine in both cases.

"Mennonites prosper everywhere," he commented. "They were prosperous in Russia and they prosper in Canada. On approaching a Mennonite village, one is at once transported to Russia... The unanimous testimony of all Canadians is that the Mennonites are the wealthiest settlers in the neighbourhood."

Two problems involving Russia, one directly and the other indirectly, agitated Canada during the later years of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century. They were the disputes with the United States over the Bering Sea seal fisheries and the Alaska boundary. Both revolved largely around the interpretation of the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1825 and the terms of sale of Russian Alaska to the United States.

The fisheries dispute was occasioned by the Americans laying claim to jurisdiction over that part of the Bering Sea which lies to the east of the easterly boundary of Alaska. In 1886, the Americans asserted this claim by seizing three Canadian sealing vessels which were found at a distance from the American shore varying from 68 to 139 miles. Following this incident other seizures were made. In 1890, the whole dispute was submitted to an arbitration tribunal which finally decided all points in favour of Great Britain and thus Canada.

During this dispute occurred one of the very few Russian clashes with Canada. In the fall of 1893, in the Bering Sea, a Russian cruiser halted and seized

three Canadian and one American sealing vessels and took them to Petropavlovsk in Kamchatka. The Canadian crews were treated brutally and removed from their vessels. Their money was taken away and on reaching the Russian town they were forced to take refuge in a filthy jail. Except for the kindly treatment of a Mr. Malovatsky, a storekeeper, they might have starved. They were finally permitted to depart on the steamer Majestic for a British port.

The question was discussed again in 1896 and in 1908. On May 15, 1911, an International Seal Conference of the United States, Great Britain, Russia and Japan was held in Washington at which an agreement was signed to prohibit open sea sealing for 15 years. Canada was to receive \$200,000 from the United States, to be paid to Canadian sealers. The United States, Russia and Japan were to create a fund for the benefit of Canada and Japan. Canada was to receive 15 per cent of the United States and Russian and 10 per cent of the Japanese gross takings.

The Canadian sealing fleet dispersed or turned to other occupations, and very little money accrued to Canada from Russia as the result of the treaty. In 1921, for example, only 12 skins were received as portion of Canada's share of skins taken in 1920 by the Russians on the Commander Islands. From 1911 to 1934 only \$5,308.97 was received.

* * *

Thus the years from Confederation to the outbreak of the First World War witnessed the gradual development of Canadian-Russian relations and understanding. Unquestionably these relations would have been much more intimate were it not for the fact that during this period, and until after the

First World War, all Canadian foreign relations were administered by the British Foreign Office.

IV

ALLIANCE, INTERVENTION, RECOGNITION

In July 1914, Canada sensed the reverberations of the approaching war. But the personae of the first act — Austria, Serbia, Russia, seemed nebulous and far away, and the immediate consequences of the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo seemed to lack importance to this continent.

Nevertheless, it was understood that if war broke out “it would be more dangerous to Russia than to any other power.”*

By August 1, Canadians were convinced that war was inevitable. “The future of the world lies with the powers that put their energies into constructive work,” wrote *The Star*. “It lies with the British Empire, with the United States, perhaps with a reformed and reorganized Russia. If Russia could be persuaded to put her tremendous power, her vast territory and population on the side of progress, the disturbers of the peace of Europe would be speedily reduced to impotence.”** War began on August 4.

Soon after the outbreak of the war, M.S. de Ligachyov was appointed the first Russian Consul-General for Canada with offices in Montreal. Later W. Ragosin was made Consul in Vancouver and H. Zanyevsky, Vice-Consul in Montreal. For a short time in 1915, P. de Rutski was acting Consul-General. A Russian Imperial purchasing commission arrived in Canada to spend more than five million dollars on shells, guns, submarines and

* *The Toronto Daily Star*, July 30, 1914.

** *The Toronto Daily Star*, Aug. 24 and Oct. 7, 1914.

three icebreakers.

Many meetings were held in Canada at which Russia and the Russians were described and eulogized. The International Polity Club of Victoria University (now College) held a Russian night in November 1914, at which Professor Snow compared Russian and German cultures. Mr. F.C. Armstrong described the "new Russia" and Prof. Boris Ham-bourg played the Russian national anthem. He explained that he was not a German even though his name ended in "bourg."

At a great meeting in Massey Hall, Toronto, in 1915, the Salvation Army presented Russia with five ambulances. The next year a Russian Jews' Relief Fund was formed with Sir W. Mortimer Clark as chairman. Literature in praise of Russia flooded the country. It was proposed that the Russian language be taught in our schools instead of German. In 1916 ties between Canada and Russia were made firmer by the appointment of the first Canadian trade commissioners to Russia to serve in Petrograd and the Siberian city of Omsk.

It cannot be said that during the first years of the war Canadians were given a clear understanding of Russian events. Censorship, sentiment, military considerations — all intervened to colour the news and render it unreliable. Canadians were told that Russia was becoming more liberal, that tyranny was relaxing, that the people were united around the Tsar. Because of all this, the news of the February 1917 revolution burst upon the Canadian public like a thunderclap. The press was hardly less amazed. The first news arrived on the morning of March 15, 1917, apparently having been held up by censorship for four days. The papers heralded the "Revolution in Russia." "The shortest, least bloody revolution in

history,” a headline in *The Toronto Star* read.

The revolution met enthusiastic support in Canada. “New Russia has snapped her bonds... It is the day of democracy in Russia,” said *The Globe*. “Stupendously sensational,” seconded *The Mail and Empire*. “Autocracy has been overturned. The established order of centuries has been swept away like a leaf on a mighty torrent.” *The Toronto World* was certain that “the democratic tendencies of the Slav race will now have free play. The democracy of Russia and the democracy of Britain will never come to blows. The revolution dissipates the ‘Russian menace.’”

But it was *The Toronto Star* that delved deepest into the meaning of the Revolution.

“Even apart from the war,” it wrote, “we are witnessing one of the greatest events of modern times. As a political upheaval, nothing compares with it in magnitude but the French Revolution. Its influence may be even more far-reaching... This revolution may place more than half of Europe and nearly half of Asia under free, and to a certain extent, democratic government. Despotism will be in a minority in Europe...”^{*} The Russo-Canadians joyfully welcomed the news.

A great congress of Russians, Poles, Finns and Ukrainians met in Massey Hall, Toronto, on April 1, 1917. A resolution was sent to the Russian Minister of Justice (later Premier) Kerensky expressing the hope that “the new constitution may forever put an end to the barbarism of despotic rule.”

But this enthusiasm soon became tempered with concern. Unknown people were coming to the fore. The cables flashed new names: Lenin, Trotsky,

^{*} *The Toronto Daily Star*, March 17, 1917.

Sverdlov, Lunacharsky, Krasin. The term Bolshevi-ki appeared. These people, these strange Bolshevi-ki demanded peace, insisted that the Russians had nothing to gain by continuing the war, could fight no longer.

On May 10, 1917, the Star warned that “a separate, premature peace for Russia would be madness, would be suicide. It would mean the loss of all the liberties won by the revolution.”

But it advised a sympathetic, friendly, rather than hostile attitude. “The progress towards a better understanding ought not to be checked by the unfortunate occurrences of the last few months. Russia has got rid of despotism. It has no designs upon any new territory. We need never again regard Russia as a possible enemy or a source of danger to the peace of the world... We must by all means seek to preserve and strengthen friendship with Russia... must not be outbid by Germany in efforts to win this friendship. We must show ourselves the steady friends of Russian democracy. We may warn, we may advise, but sneering or angry tones in regard to Russia would be a mistake that might be fraught with disastrous consequences to the world...”*

In Russia the locomotive of history was speeding ahead. Gigantic social forces had been let loose. The people were through with war. They wanted peace, a breathing spell to build, to forge a new nation. The Kerensky government decided to continue the war. The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, promised peace, land and bread. They swayed labour and the peasantry. On November 7, 1917, the Kerensky regime was overthrown. Soviet power was proclaimed. The Soviets declared their determination to withdraw

* *Toronto Daily Star*, June 16, 1917.

from the war. They had little choice, for the tired peasant-soldiers were voting with their feet and deserted by the tens of thousands. To continue fighting was tantamount to losing the revolution.

These events bewildered the Canadian public. Only the small internationalist socialist groups, mainly composed of foreign-born workers, seemed to understand the new events. Powerful voices were raised against Russia for her nationalization of industries, and foreign concerns, distribution of land, Marxist concepts, abrogation of foreign debts. Still the majority of Canadians would not be led into active opposition to the revolution. They felt that a great social experiment was being undertaken. The split in public opinion was most marked in Quebec where the Catholic Church condemned the Soviet government from the very first. In Toronto, The Evening Telegram became the spearhead of the fight against the Soviets and adopted the tone of hostility to the Soviet system which it has retained to the present day.

In a blood-and-thunder editorial two days after the Bolshevik revolution, The Telegram declared:

“Socialism in the name of freedom is dooming the Russian people to slavery worse than their subjection to the Tsar.

“European and Anglo-Saxon socialists and the pacifist babblers of Toronto are akin in the effects of their activity to the subsidized scoundrels and dupes of Russian socialism. The red flag of the Russian revolution is prostituted into service as the ensign of German tyranny.”*

Pro-Soviet meetings were attacked and broken up. Russia became anathema in “respectable” cir-

* *The Evening Telegram*, Nov. 9, 1917.

cles. Hostility to Russia dominated government circles.

The Allies were committed to intervention against the Soviet regime. The Canadian government, after due deliberation, and on the appeal of the Imperial Cabinet, decided to participate.

Details of the intervention were told in the House of Commons in March 1919.

“In the end of June or the beginning of July 1918,” said Major-Gen. Mewburn, Minister of Militia and Defence, “the Imperial War Cabinet discussed the situation with the Canadian Ministers who were then in England and urged that Canada should assist Great Britain in the organization of a small force to go to Siberia.

“A (similar) arrangement had been made with all the other Allies, not to become engaged in any great military operations, but for the purpose of endeavouring to reorganize the loyal Russian Army and to render assistance to the Czechoslovaks (former war prisoners in Russia)... Japan sent some 70,000 men, the United States nearly 10,000 men, France and Italy from 1,000 to 2,000.

“Great Britain sent the 25th Middlesex Regiment then stationed at Hong Kong. It was agreed that a force of Canadian troops not to exceed 5,000 should be raised for the purpose of proceeding to Siberia...

“The reason why this force (which was under the direction of the Minister of Militia in Canada) was raised can be summarized as follows: first, to help the Russian people throw off the German yoke; second, to prevent Germany from exploiting in her own interest Russia’s vast resources, military and economic; third, to prevent Germany from moving troops to the western front from the eastern theatre, and even to compel her by dispatching troops to the

eastern theatre to weaken herself in France and in Flanders; fourth, to shorten the war by re-establishing an eastern front; fifth, to deny German access to supplies and stores collected in Siberia, of which there was a very large amount; sixth, to help the Czechoslovaks...”

So much for the official reasons, originally given. The real reasons emerged somewhat later.

The expeditionary force consisted of small headquarters, cavalry squadron of the Royal North-western Mounted Police, field battery, field company of engineers, signal company of engineers, two infantry battalions, machine gun company, field ambulance, stationary hospital, army service corps unit — transport and supply, sanitary section, ammunition column for battery and small arms ammunition, mobile veterinary section, two depot units of supply, bakery section, butchery squad, half an ordnance company, pay office, general base depot and base guard.

Altogether the force, commanded by Major-General J.M. Elmsley, G.M.C., D.S.O., consisted of 4,214 officers and men, some of whom arrived in Vladivostok at the end of October 1918. Canadians did no fighting. Total losses were three accidentally killed and sixteen who succumbed to disease. There were no wounded. The expedition cost Canada \$2,823,960.98.

In November, Germany collapsed. Armistice was declared. But most of the Canadians destined for Siberia were still in Vancouver. What was to be done?

At first it was intended to abandon the expedition. But urgent cables came from the Imperial government requesting that the balance of the force should proceed lest “a very embarrassing situation

for the British government be created.” We have it from Maj.-Gen. Mewburn that the matter was given “very careful consideration” and the greater portion of the balance of the force proceeded.

The expedition was extremely unpopular in Canada. Not only was it condemned in the House of Commons, but apparently not enough volunteers could be obtained to go. “The Siberian Expedition,” Gen. Mewburn told the House of Commons, “was originally started on a voluntary basis... As time went on there were not enough volunteers to fill (the needs)... A large number of men who were already liable under the Military Service Act were given the option of going to France or Siberia, and the units that went to Siberia volunteered to go there instead of going to France.”

General Mewburn’s explanation of the reasons for the expeditionary force was met uneasily by the House. Nor was this uneasiness dispelled by the Hon. N.W. Rowell, who also spoke at some length. He admitted that the Allies “felt incumbent to give assistance to the independent (read anti-Soviet — R.A.D.) governments which were springing up throughout Russia, in the North, in the South, and in Siberia and which were combatting German influence and intrigue.”

The debate was acrimonious. The attack against the government was led by Charles G. Power, MP for Quebec South, Canada’s Minister of Defence for Air in World War II.

Mr. Power asked at one point: “Is this government aware that a number of Canadian soldiers form part of the Allied expeditionary force in Northern Russia. If so, against whom are they fighting?”

Replied Maj.-Gen. Mewburn: “Yes. Bolsheviki.”
The opposing French-Canadian Members of Par-

liament were particularly vehement. These included Mr. Lapointe, later Minister of Justice.

“I deeply regret the Siberian Expedition,” declared the Hon. Henri Severin Beland in the course of the debate. “Am I alone in regretting it? Am I alone in this country looking upon it with dismay? No. The number of those who disagree with the government is perhaps greater than I thought. After eight months’ sojourn in Canada, I have yet to meet a man who approved of this scheme, much less one who is enthusiastic over it...”*

The members of the expeditionary force were as disgruntled as everyone else. They could see no purpose to the expedition and demanded to return home. Nor was this accidental, if one is to credit the statement of Mr. Willis Keith Baldwin, MP for Stanstead to the effect that “lots of men who had been sent to Siberia after the Armistice was signed have protested every inch of the way they have been forced to go...”**

The Canadian expeditionary force was still organizing when the government undertook a supplementary and more pacific policy towards Russia. Following a suggestion made by Col. J.S. Dennis, Commissioner of the Canadian Pacific Railway, it was decided to send alongside the Expeditionary Force, a Canadian Economic Commission.

On October 21, 1918, the Minister of Trade and Commerce recommended to the Committee of the Privy Council that “a commission be appointed to proceed to Vladivostok, under the instructions of the Minister of Trade and Commerce, to represent Canadian commercial interests and cooperate with

* *Hansard*, June 10, 1918.

** *Hansard*, March 10, 1919.

the British and Allied governments in relation to the matters set forth.”

The recommendation was approved and a Commission was appointed. Messrs. C.F. Just and Louis Kon proceeded to Vladivostok in December 1918, and were joined there by Messrs. L.D. Wilgress and A. Ross Owen. Col. J.S. Denis was elected chairman and the work proceeded rapidly. Many meetings were held with Russian cooperative societies and other groups, but the sum total of results was almost nil.

This was not unexpected, for the whole work of the Commission was conducted in liaison with the local anti-Soviet governments which were rapidly losing their support, also it was intimately connected with the extremely unpopular interventionary force.

Nevertheless, on its return to Canada in 1919, the Commission made a number of important recommendations which were summarized in three points:

“a) That the additional four members of the commission, representing respectively, the agricultural, mining, manufacturing and banking interests of Canada, be appointed at once, and that the banking representative be sent forward to Vladivostok forthwith, the others to follow as soon as possible.

“b) That immediate steps be taken to organize a Siberian Supply Commission, through which the goods required in Siberia can be provided for shipment.

“c) That a sum of not less than \$100,000 be immediately expended in the purchase of boots, food and clothing, and that these goods be shipped, consigned to the Canadian Red Cross Commissioner at Vladivostok, to be distributed through the organization in supplementing the voluntary contributions

for the relief of the existing needs for food and clothing.”*

None of these recommendations bore fruit. On his return to Canada, Mr. Louis Kon, Commission secretary, suggested to Sir George Foster, then Minister of Trade and Commerce, the transferring of the Commission to European Russia and the granting of a \$25,000,000 credit to the Russian Soviet government. The Minister refused. “Even should the government act upon this most fantastic and impractical suggestion,” he said, “and ship any goods to Russia, by the time the shipment was on the high seas, there would not be any more Bolsheviks to receive them.”

He was wrong. By 1920 talk about trade with Russia increased. In the summer of that year, C.A.K. Martens, Soviet agent in New York, and other Russian representatives approached various Canadian firms with a view to resumption of trade and with proposed business on hand up to \$7,000,000. It was reported that a contract had been signed with a Canadian firm for the shipment to Russia of several millions of dollars’ worth of foodstuffs, agricultural machinery and railway equipment.**

When this matter was brought up in the House of Commons, the Rt. Hon. George Foster said that there were no restrictions as regards trade between the people of Russia and the people of Canada. Any Canadian was at liberty to make any arrangements he pleased in the way of trade with any Russian.

Early in 1921 the British and Russian governments began to negotiate a trade agreement. The Hon. N.W. Rowell commented in the House: “I must

* *Report of Canadian Economic Commission (Siberia)*, published as Supplement to the *Weekly Bulletin of the Department of Trade and Commerce*, Ottawa, 1919.

** *Montreal Gazette*, June 28, 1920.

say that I sincerely hope that the trade agreement which Great Britain has negotiated with Russia will be ratified by the two governments so that international trade may commence to flow again between these two countries.”*

On March 16, 1921, the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement was signed. The next day, on being asked by Charles Murphy, MP for Russell, whether the Canadian government has taken or is about to take any steps to promote trade between Canada and Russia, Sir George Foster replied: “No particular steps have been taken of late. The situation as regards Russia and Canada is simply this — that any Russian subject has a perfect right to come to Canada to make purchases and provide for payment to the Canadians from whom he makes purchases; and Canadians have a perfect right to trade with Russian subjects... Since the Armistice there has been no embargo on trade relations between the two countries.”**

On August 17, 1921, the Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs in England wrote to the chief of the Russian trade delegation in London that he was directed by the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston “to inform him that the Canadian government had expressed the desire to be associated with His Majesty’s government in the trade agreement between Russia and Great Britain.” On August 22, an order-in-council was passed by the government of Canada recommending officially that “His Majesty’s government be informed that Canada desires to participate in the arrangement for the resumption of trade with Russia.”

* *Hansard*, Feb. 18, 1921.

** *Hansard*, March 17, 1921.

Soon afterwards the Conservative government was defeated at the polls. Twenty days after the elections and three days before the government resigned, the administration endorsed and made Canada party to the Anglo-Soviet Trade Treaty as is shown by the following Minute of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by the Governor-General on December 26, 1921:

“The Committee of the Privy Council have before them a report dated 17th December, 1921, regarding the desire of the Canadian government to participate in the arrangement for the resumption of trade with Russia, proposing a formula to be embodied in notes to be exchanged between the Foreign Office and the Russian trade delegation with the object of making applicable to Canada the provisions of the trade agreement between the government of the United Kingdom and the Russian Soviet government...

“The Minister (Mr. Arthur Meighen, Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs — R.A.D.)... states that the proposed formula is approved by the Canadian government.”

Thus after three years, conditions for normal trade relations between the two countries were re-established and this was formalized in a de facto recognition of the USSR (by the new Liberal government) on July 3, 1922, by an exchange of letters between Esmond Ovey for the British Foreign Office and M. Berzin for the Russian trade delegation in London.

Trade relations established, the Soviet government placed a \$3,000,000 order for tank cars with the Canadian Car and Foundry Company of Montreal. This was the first big Soviet purchase abroad. But no Russian trade mission came to Canada.

Other aid for Russia was also called for. This was the year of the great famine and Russia turned to the world for aid. Canada responded generously. A "Save the Children Fund" was organized, headed by the Canadian Prime Minister King. The Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, Hon. T.A. Crerar and Hon. R. Lemieux were honourable Vice-Presidents. Chief Justice Sir Louis Davies was Secretary and Mr. Fielding, Minister of Finance, honourable treasurer. Hon. T.A. Low officially represented the government on the executive. The active President of the Fund was Col. Herbert J. Mackie and Sir George Burn of Ottawa was treasurer. By May 1922, Canada was feeding more than 75,000 Russian children.

The Fund received nationwide support, with a few exceptions, of which the Financial Post of Toronto was most outstanding. The Post charged that Col. Mackie had been deliberately misled by the Soviet leaders during his visits to the Soviet Union and that his speeches were "sympathetic to Lenin."

In the first six months more than \$25,000 was collected. Other committees, and trade unions and farm organizations, collected and sent to Russia more than a million dollars in the years 1921-22-23.

The response of Canadians to the Russian appeal created auspicious conditions for the exchange of representatives and in 1923 the question was raised in the House by Mr. J.S. Woodsworth, MP for Winnipeg Centre.

"In the Manchester Guardian," Mr. Woodsworth said, "in the report of an interview with Litvinov by Arthur Ransome, it is stated that the Canadian government has refused to admit the Russian trade mission which we ourselves had previously invited. I should like to ask, has Canada a treaty with Russia, and has the Russian trade mission been refused ad-

mission as stated? If so, why?"

Replied the Hon. J.A. Robb (Minister of Trade and Commerce):

"There was an understanding arrived at that Canada would accept the conditions agreed upon between Russia and Great Britain, that Canada would send a trade mission to Russia and that Russia might send a trade mission to Canada. But on looking into the possibilities of trade with Russia the department considered that it was not advisable that Canada should spend money in sending a trade agent to Russia in view of the fact that all her purchases were made in the city of London. Russia proposed sending a trade mission to Canada and submitted certain names as members of the mission but, in view of reports presented, it was considered that certain members whose names had been submitted were undesirable citizens and an intimation was given that it was not advisable to admit these citizens with a record against them into Canada. Canada proposes to advise the British government... that we will be prepared to admit any Russian trade delegation which has a clean record in the British Isles."

The Russians did not let this gratuitous insult stand in their way. At the end of 1923, M. Alexander Alexandrovich Yazikov, the first "official agent" of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to Canada, arrived in Montreal where he established the Official Representation of the USSR in a large house at 212 Drummond Street, where on all official Canadian and Soviet holidays the red flag with the hammer and sickle was flown. On Feb. 1, 1924, the United Kingdom granted de jure recognition to the USSR.

On March 19, 1924, Mr. Yazikov conferred with Mr. King and the next day wrote asking whether Mr. King would be "good enough to inform me wheth-

er the 'de jure' recognition of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, proclaimed by His Britannic Majesty's government on the first of February (1924), comprehends recognition by Canada."

Mr. King replied in the affirmative on the 24th of March: "Following up my conversation of a few days ago, and with special reference to your letter of the 20th inst., I have the honour, in the best interests of both countries, to represent that Canada is prepared to recognize the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

The relationship was further formalized on August 13, 1924, in another letter of the Prime Minister to M. Yazikov.

Official relations were re-established between Canada and Russia. But despite widespread elation this official contact was not to last very long.

V

THE YEARS OF OFFICIAL HOSTILITY

The arrival of the Soviet trade delegation promised much for Russian-Canadian business. The Russians had letters of credit and money, were willing to buy and pay cash. Despite this, they found it extremely difficult to do business in Canada at first. They faced a secret boycott. Powerfully-placed individuals in business and politics vilified the Soviet regime and did their utmost to block the development of normal contacts between the Canadian manufacturers and Russian trade organs.

By 1925 the situation changed for the better. To their astonishment Canadian businessmen discovered that Russian money was as good as any. One Ontario manufacturer who formerly demanded no truck or trade with the Soviets, obtained a very substantial order for ploughshares and became as full of praise as he had been of condemnation. A large Toronto agricultural machinery concern and a number of southern Ontario binder twine plants hummed with Soviet orders. Previously some of these plants had been shut down; others worked on part time. Now there was work, a market, income. And it was Russian money that did it, all very bewildering.

Trade with Russia grew by 10,000 per cent in one year. In 1924 Canadian exports to the Soviet Union were \$115,980; in 1925 they increased to \$11,669,352. The future seemed rosy.

But even while Russian money encountered easy acceptance in Canadian banks and business houses, the fable of "Moscow gold" was resurrected to plague both business and diplomacy. The activities

of the Communist Party of Canada which was founded in 1921 (its original name was the Workers' Party of Canada) and affiliated with the Communist International with headquarters in Moscow were used by opponents of Canadian-Russian amity as a pretext to attack the Soviet Union. For this attack the House of Commons was often used as a sounding board.

There was little of which the Soviets were not accused. In retrospective much of it is laughable and in the light of our present-day relationship would serve little purpose in recounting at any length.

The anti-Soviet campaign was most vicious in Quebec where some of the newspapers stooped to lowest invective to besmirch the Russians. The press campaign in Quebec eventually was spearheaded by "L'Illustration" of Montreal, the editor of which was Adrien Arcand, Canada's first important fascist leader. In Ontario the attack was led by The Evening Telegram and the Financial Post.

The Russians were charged with advocating free love, glorifying rape, destroying religion, the family, the very foundations of humanity. Even such ludicrous charges as those made some years later by Wilfrid Lacroix, Member of Parliament for Quebec-Montmorency to the effect that "Lenin's widow did not hesitate to say: 'for a Russian girl to oppose resistance to rape (sic.) is to act in opposition to the communist revolution,'" were made in the House of Commons.

But the Soviet Union and the cause of Canadian-Russian collaboration were not without staunch defenders. In the House of Commons, J.S. Woodsworth, founder of the CCF and MP for Winnipeg Centre until his death, scarcely spoke without calling for friendship, collaboration and understanding with the Soviet Union.

In 1925, Mr. Woodsworth challenged the House of Commons to understand that "we cannot hope to re-establish peace conditions on a permanent basis in Europe unless the great country of Russia is included." He cited the report of a British Trade Union Delegation to the Soviet Union which, he said, was "of the opinion that the Soviet system of representation and its scheme of constitutional and civic rights so far from being undemocratic in the widest sense of the word has given in many respects to the individual a more real and reasonable opportunity of participation in public affairs than does parliamentary and party government."*

Among the Fourth Estate, the Toronto Daily Star and its publisher, Mr. J.E. Atkinson, constantly advocated Russian-Canadian understanding and collaboration. The Ottawa Citizen and Saturday Night of Toronto pursued a similar line as did the Winnipeg Free Press and The Vancouver Sun. In addition, various organizations of friendship with the Soviet Union sprang up, many of them among foreign-born Canadians.

This was the situation in Canada in 1926 when sharp friction developed between the Conservative government of Great Britain and the Soviet government. In part the friction stemmed from the British General Strike for which the British reactionaries blamed Russia. But a more important reason was the situation in China where General Chiang Kai-shek, with British and American support, had suddenly executed a volte face, broke his alliance with the communists, attacked them and expelled the Soviet advisors to the Chinese army. Civil war ensued. The British government complained bitterly about Soviet

* *Hansard*, June 26, 1925.

activities in China.

There were also other reasons for the growing antagonism, not the least of which was the general strengthening of the internal and international position of the Soviet Union.

One Canadian who attempted to ease the situation was Col. H.J. Mackie who had visited Russia many times and was head of the Canadian section of the movement to save the children of Russia a few years before.

Said Col. Mackie: "The chief obstacle in the way of friendly relations between Great Britain and Russia is the wilful, stupid hostility and misrepresentation of British politicians...

"I have been greatly impressed by the absolute sincerity of the men at the top of Russian affairs.

"Stalin is the great man of Russia today. He is a quiet, reserved man, but he is very able, and the people trust him."**

But Col. Mackie and others failed to sway the course of politics. In April 1927, the British government apprised the Canadian government of its intention to act against alleged centres of Russian propaganda in Britain. The cabinet at Ottawa was kept informed of the "open hostility of the Soviet Republics to the British Empire and outrages and injuries to British interests."**

On May 12, 1927, Scotland Yard raided the offices of Arcos, the Soviet Trade Agency in Great Britain. Allegedly incriminating documents were found and Anton Miller, a Soviet citizen, was detained, an address book taken from him containing a number of Toronto addresses, as well as names and addresses

* *Toronto Daily Star*, Feb. 2, 1927.

** *The Canadian Annual Review*, 1927-28.

of individuals in other parts of the British Empire. Immediately following the raid, the Anglo-Soviet trade treaty was denounced and on May 24 diplomatic relations were terminated. The Soviet representatives were invited to leave.

The day prior to the diplomatic break, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for the Dominions, cabled Canada: "As the Soviet action which has led to the present situation is directed against institutions of all parts of the British Empire, we should like to suggest for consideration that as regards the retention of Soviet representatives this is a matter on which uniformity of action by the various members of the commonwealth concerned would present great advantages."

But apparently the Canadian cabinet was not quite convinced. Replied the Governor-General of Canada, Lord Willingdon: "The dispatches received from London do not indicate that any documents had been found in the Arcos raid which establish that the official agency in Canada has been a centre of espionage and subversive propaganda. If any evidence to this effect has been discovered, it is desired to be informed as early as possible. It is further desired to learn whether His Majesty's government in Great Britain (have given) the other party an opportunity of furnishing an explanation." This was on May 24. The reply was that "such information as was obtained from the Arcos raid consisted of addresses found in possession of Anton Miller."

Two days later Lord Willingdon again cabled that "so far as Canada is concerned there has been a steady and substantial growth of trade under the agreement and there has not been any substantiated complaint as to espionage or propaganda against the present official (Russian) agent in Canada."

Nevertheless, in the same cable the cabinet reported its decision to sever relations. On May 26, 1927, before the British Parliament had ratified the action of the British Cabinet, the Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King informed L.F. Gerus, Soviet official agent in Canada, who had replaced M. Yazikov, that his presence in Canada was no longer desired and ordered him to leave the country. The Soviet Union responded by instructing its representative to cancel all Soviet orders and to return home.

This was a rude blow to the promising trade relations established during the previous year. One transaction, which was first cancelled and then renewed, following direct appeals to the Soviet trade agencies by western farmers was an agreement to purchase in Canada 4,000 horses. This was signed on May 23, 1927 between the Soviet trade delegation and the Dominion Department of Agriculture. A special commission of Soviet veterinarians and specialists had arrived from Moscow a few days before the break. It was called home. Although many thousands of horses were finally bought, the plan to continue purchases for five or six years doubling the number bought every year was killed by the rupture.

Exports to the Soviet Union declined. In 1927 they were \$2,407,206, a fourth of 1925, mostly in replacement parts for machinery previously purchased, and this level was maintained until 1930.

The break was as unpopular in Canada as was the Siberian Adventure of 1918-1919.

In 1928, Mr. J.S. Woodsworth charged in the House of Commons that relations between Great Britain and Russia were broken at the insistence of the oil interests headed by Sir Henry Deterding of the Royal Dutch Shell Co. As his authority Mr. Woodsworth cited *Foreign Affairs* (London), Oct.

and Nov. 1927.

“The breaking-off of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union was not the spontaneous action of the British government, but was inspired, and perhaps commanded, by certain large scale oil interests,” *Foreign Affairs* wrote.

“In substance, the raid of the Home Office upon the offices of Arcos was a raid of the oil magnates upon the Foreign Office.”

“I put it to the government,” Mr. Woodsworth said after citing the above quotation, “in what an absurd position Canada is placed in view of these revelations... We in Canada meekly followed the lead of Great Britain... I wonder why it would not be possible at this time to carry out the expressed desire of so many people in Canada, a desire expressed among others by our Alberta farmers, to re-establish relationships between Canada and Russia.” He added: “The general popular conception (is) that the labour movement is seriously affected with sympathy for Russia. We are sympathetic with Russia; I do not deny it. I regard the experiment in Russia as one of the greatest that has been made in any part of the world or in any age in history. I believe the time is coming when we will look back to the Russian revolution of ten years ago as marking one of the greatest epochs in history of the world...”*

Other members expressed themselves similarly. Mr. H.B. Adshead, MP for East Calgary, demanded “to know why we severed and destroyed trade which existed with Russia.” And Mr. A.A. Heaps, MP for Winnipeg North, insisted that “there was no reason why Canada should have broken off relations with Russia.”

* *Hansard*, May 28, 1928.

By way of a reply Premier King reviewed the more recent history of Canadian-Russian relations.

“The agreement which we had with Russia,” he told the House, “was one which originated between His Majesty’s government of Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Russia. That agreement came into being under a previous administration; Canada’s adherence to that agreement was given under the former administration. When we came into office, we found that agreement in existence; both governments were parties to it... we continued to be bound by the terms of the treaty with Russia and we received in Canada in 1923 what was known as the Russian trade mission or agency.

“I might say to the House that that particular office did not have a very happy beginning as far as the government of Canada was concerned. At the time the Russian agent came to Canada he brought with him what seemed to members of our administration an unnecessary amount of literature of the character of propaganda of communist ideas. So much was brought in that the government found it necessary to question the head of the agency as to its character... I personally saw a good deal of it... It was not the kind of literature which I think should have been brought into this country and I very frankly told the Russian agent that that was my opinion of it... the boxes (containing this literature) were so large that the only explanation that could be given was that their contents were intended as a library or to be used in exchanges with other libraries in this country...

“There were other matters which gave rise to considerable suspicion in the minds of the administration, so much so that the government contemplated at one time making a search of the quarters in Montreal where this mission was located. Then one

day we were advised that the British government had broken off relations for reasons already mentioned. We had in our possession a statement made by the Prime Minister of Great Britain to the British House of Commons. In addition to that we had the information, concerning which there was no question, about the circulation of communist propoganda in China by one of the agents of the Russian government... and we felt that everything considered we had more than sufficient ground at the time for severing relations with the Russian government. We took prompt action in the matter; we did not wait until the British government had communicated its view of the situation to Parliament.

“We were particularly careful to make it clear that we in no way wished to prejudice dealing in trade between Canada and Russia, rather that we were anxious in every way to have those relations furthered. There is no reason why trade relations should not be developed between Canada and Russia just as speedily, happily and effectively as are trade relations between the United States and Russia... We will welcome the representatives of Russian firms or any representatives who come to trade with the people of Canada. We are anxious that normal trade relations in all particulars shall be restored between Russia and Canada in any particular in which they have been impeded.”*

The resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia was made an important election plank of the British Labour Party and when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald became Prime Minister negotiations were opened. On October 5, 1929, it was announced that Russia and Britain had agreed to an exchange of

* *Hansard*, May 28, 1928.

Ambassadors. But on November 20, the Canadian government announced that it would take no steps to restore relations with Russia.

In December, M. Sokolnikov, Soviet Ambassador to Britain, suggested that the next step should be the adjustment of relations with the Dominions. Mr. King replied that Canada would not send a representative to Moscow, but would request the British Ambassador to look after Canada's interests. Russia's renewal of diplomatic relations with Great Britain, he said, would not affect Canada.

Thus, although Mr. King's speech before the House of Commons on May 28, 1928 had seemingly left the doors wide open to trade, hostility aroused by the expulsion of the Soviet agency and the prevailing anti-Soviet sentiment in Canadian business and political circles made extensive business relations almost impossible.

In 1929, the great crisis broke. Canada faced the loss of markets for its raw materials, cereals and cattle. But the USSR was not affected by the crisis. For Russia, 1929 was the first year of the Five-Year Plan. The Soviet Union was building heavy industry. It needed machines. Since no satisfactory long-term credits could be obtained in many countries, Russia was forced to sell its products abroad to obtain foreign exchange with which to pay its bills. Russia wanted to sell anthracite, oil, lumber, pulpwood and furs. Except for oil and anthracite, these were competitive to Canadian products. There was a brilliant opportunity for Canada to do business and relieve to some extent her own depression. But instead, business hostility was increased.

In September, tariff changes were introduced aimed directly at the importation of anthracite from Russia. By this time the issue had been magnified

beyond all reason. Some members tried to impress the House with the fact that Russian anthracite imports were quite small and in no way competed with Canadian coal. The Hon. J.L. Ralston told the House that "last year (1929) only 115,000 or 117,000 tons of coal came in from Russia... While 117,000 tons of coal is something, of course, the question is whether it could be replaced by bituminous coal..."*

The whole issue was artificial. Russian anthracite was needed in Canada; it was of a very high quality, it only affected imports from the United States. Canadian coal production was not affected.

But Mr. Ralston's words and the opinion of experts went for nought. The Conservative Party made use of the issue in the elections. On July 29, 1930, the Liberal government was defeated and the Hon. R.B. Bennett became Prime Minister. A period of intense hostility towards the Soviet Union began.

First it was coal. Then pulpwood became the issue. Certain pulpwood interests wanted the government to stop the importation of Russian pulpwood not only into Canada but also to the United States.

It was charged that the Soviet Union was "dumping" its products in Canada at below cost prices. Finally, an emergency session of Parliament in September in Section 2 of the amended Customs Tariff Bill gave the government authority to prohibit the importation of Russian products.

In December, the Canadian Furriers Guild joined the campaign and President F.D. Burkholder charged that "there is a definite design on the part of the Soviets to destroy the fur industry throughout the world." A ban on the importation of Russian furs

* *Hansard*, Sept. 17, 1930.

was demanded.

These activities aroused Canadian manufacturers who wanted to sell manufactured goods to the Soviets and who knew that the Soviet Union would not buy in Canada unless it could also sell on the Canadian market.

On Feb. 25, 1931, Col. H.J. Mackie told the Montreal Star that Soviet Russia had offered to place a \$10,000,000 order in Canada for agricultural machinery and had agreed to attend a conference on the broad problems of wheat marketing with a view to eliminating dumping. The only condition was that Canada accept Russian coal in part payment for its agricultural machinery, on the basis of one dollar's worth of coal for every three dollars' worth of machinery, the balance to be payable in gold.

Col. Mackie's proposal was immediately attacked. The day after the report of the proposed deal was published, Sir Herbert Holt, President of the Royal Bank of Canada, publicly counselled Canada against resuming trade relations with Soviet Russia. On the same day, Mr. L.A. David, Provincial Secretary of Quebec, introduced a resolution in the Legislature expressing the wish "that the federal government prohibit the importation into Canada of Russian goods which compete with those of our country." Big business gave orders against trade with the Soviets.

It brought results. The administration acted.

On Feb. 27, 1931, an embargo against certain Russian imports, partly based on the fact that the Soviet Union was "not a contracting party to the Treaty of Versailles," was instituted by order-in-council which declared that "whereas the Minister of National Revenue further reports that having regard to the documentary and other evidence that has been

received by various departments of the public service in Canada, it is in the public service that the importation into Canada from the aforementioned Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of coal, wood, pulp, pulpwood, lumber and timber of all kinds, asbestos and wood should be prohibited.”

But the underlying reason for the embargo was exposed by the Hon. E.B. Ryckman, Minister of National Revenue, who charged that the Soviet Union, its system and its products were “communism, its creed and its fruits, which we as a country oppose and must refuse to support by interchange of trade.”

Although hundreds of unions, farm organizations and other groups of every shade of political opinion condemned the embargo, Mr. Tom Moore, President of the Trades and Labour Congress, unexpectedly expressed his support in an address before the Empire Club in Toronto.

On April 20, the Soviet Union retaliated. M. Rosengolts, People’s Commissar for Foreign Trade, ordered all Soviet importing organizations and trade representatives not to buy any Canadian goods or use any Canadian shipping.

But even the Conservative Party did not unitedly favour the embargo. The Hon. H.H. Stevens, Minister of Trade and Commerce, said on May 9, 1931 that he regretted the embargo and thought that Russia could use Canadian products in exchange for Russian coal.

With few exceptions, the Liberal MPs were entirely opposed. A few days after the embargo was announced, the Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, then leader of the Opposition, told the House, “We will hear a good deal about Russia before the next few years are over and I would ask them (the government) this question: do they think they have im-

proved chances of Canadian wheat in the markets of the world by the summary way in which they have dealt with Russia? Have they had put before them any single request from the government of Russia which has called forth the particular action to which reference is made in the speech from the throne? Have they had any communication of any character from the government which has necessitated the putting through, in the manner it was, that particular order-in-council?"*

The next day Mr. J.S. Woodsworth also castigated Mr. Bennett. Mr. Bennett defended the government's action by charging that "the introduction of Russian wheat into the British market has spoiled the market for Canadian wheat as has the introduction of lumber from Northern Russia spoiled the market for Canadian lumber."

His declaration met considerable opposition. Mr. Vallance, MP, insisted that "it would be to our advantage to import a little more coal from Russia than Pennsylvania because we might at least be able to place some wheat on a market to which Russia might otherwise sell wheat to establish credit. Russia wants machinery. She will get it and some other country will get \$10,000,000 of Russian money or its equivalent in coal or wheat..."

That the Toronto Daily Star would condemn the embargo was to be expected. But a number of conservative papers also took a similar stand. The Conservative Vancouver Province wrote that "Canada has declared an economic war on Russia. This is what the order-in-council passed at Ottawa amounts to.

"This is not the first time that Canada has made

* *Hansard*, March 16, 1931.

war on Russia without the courtesy of declaring war.”*

Protests continued. The Hon. W.D. Euler opposed the embargo as inconsistent, unbusiness-like and solely tending to hurt Canada. Capt. A. Warren Scales, M.C., of the Imperial Officers’ Association, declared in Montreal that ten million dollars’ worth of business was lost to Canada because of it. Hundreds of labour meetings passed resolutions condemning the government.

All this furore finally produced some effect. On December 15, 1931, the ban on importation of Russian furs was lifted. But pressure was not relaxed. The embargo was attacked because it contributed to growing unemployment. M. Eusebe Roberge, M.P. for Mégantic, said: “It is ridiculous that Canada should be the first to take such a step. All the great powers have continued to trade with Russia, and we, alone, have deprived our workmen of work by placing an embargo on Russian goods.”**

On January 11, 1932, the press reported a Soviet offer of \$5,000,000 worth of orders to the Quebec aluminum industry if \$2,000,000 worth of coal would be taken with the balance paid in gold. On September 16, 1932, the Aluminum Company of Canada admitted that it had had to employ 300 extra men to fill the Russian order and that it was taking oil in part payment.

This provoked new attacks against the Soviet Union.

“In Russia,” declared M. Samuel Gobeil, MP for Compton, in arguing for the embargo, “young boys and girls of 12 to 15 and 16 years of age attend school

* *Hansard*, March 20, 1931. Cited by Mr. Angus MacInnis, Vancouver South.

** *Hansard*, April 14, 1932.

(and) almost unbelievable immorality takes place in these schools...”

On the same day Mr. Nicholson, MP for East Algoma, charged that “Russia is at war — she is at war with Canada. Russian agents are in every hamlet in this country from the Atlantic to the Pacific and I am not sure that she has not agents around these parliament buildings.”

But against them, Mr. H.E. Spencer, MP, cited the Vancouver Sun to the effect that “If Premier Bennett would think a little more of history and a little less of his own pride, he would realize that finally Canada will have to do business with Russia. Why not now?”

Tentative trade contacts continued, and in May 1932, it became known that Canadian wheat was being shipped to Vladivostok. The Soviet government was exhibiting a traditional *sang froid*.

United States papers speculated upon a possible trade agreement between Russia and Canada, but Mr. Bennett quickly denied this. “No negotiations of any kind, form or description are intended to be initiated or put underway,” he declared flatly.*

This was the year of the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa. At this Conference Mr. Bennett demanded that Great Britain extend greater trade facilities to the Dominions and shut out as much foreign trade as possible by a wall of high tariffs. This was particularly directed against the developing Anglo-Soviet trade. For his stand at the Conference, Mr. Bennett became known as one of the British Empire’s leading opponents of the Soviet Union.

On December 27, 1932, in the depth of the economic crisis, Canada was electrified by a report of a “gigantic” barter proposition with Russia in which

* *Hansard*, May 20, 1932.

this country was to exchange seven million dollars' worth of cattle and hides for Russian gasoline. The deal was to be negotiated by Mr. G.G. Serkau, a Winnipeg dealer, who formed a syndicate headed by himself and Mr. J.J. MacDonald to arrange the exchange. The Soviet Union was willing to accept 100,000 head of high-grade cattle and 10,000 tons of beef hides.

The proposed arrangement was hailed, particularly in the West. Hundreds of telegrams and resolutions showered upon the government with demands to facilitate the deal.

"The report of the barter deal," wrote the *Toronto Daily Star*, "is one of the most important items of trade news for some time past. Such an order as this for live cattle and hides would mean much to Canada just now... No inconvenience which will be caused to the oil trade of Canada by the making of this bargain counts for much alongside the benefits to the cattle and hide trade which this business would bring."*

The administration would not retreat. Mr. Bennett reviewed the Serkau proposals and insisted that they lacked bona fides. "I think this House will agree," he said, "that no Canadian government would seriously consider a proposal to provide credit facilities for a syndicate of vendors and at the same time guarantee that the alleged purchaser, the Soviet government, would discharge its obligations to the vendors."**

The Serkau deal was killed. But it awakened such a wide response throughout Canada that the problems of normalizing trade relations with Russia

* *Toronto Daily Star*, Dec. 28, 1932.

** *Hansard*, Feb. 1, 1933.

could not be put aside much longer.

In 1934, Russia bought £1,000,000 worth of Canadian nickel. Mr. Bennett hastened to explain that this had nothing to do with Canada resuming trade with Russia because “we are not in a position to say what the final destination of many of our sales of metals and minerals may be.”

In the fall the Soviet Union evinced its desire to join the League of Nations. Canada, along with some 30 other countries, signed the invitation. Taken to task in the House for this action by Mr. Jean Francois Pouliot, MP for Temiscouata, Mr. Bennett explained that “the Canadian delegation believed that the movement for the entrance of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations, which was initiated by France and supported by the United Kingdom, was in the interest of the League of Nations and world peace, and it shared in the steps necessary to bring that about...”*

Senator Raoul Dandurand, former Canadian representative to the League and one time President of the League Assembly, said hopefully that “the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations would draw more business between the Soviet Union and other fellow members.”

In Canada, too, a political change was imminent. In the 1935 federal elections, the Bennett administration was roundly defeated and Mr. King returned to head the government. Welcoming the results, the Moscow Pravda commented that the “disappearance of Bennett and the (election of the) new King regime may mean lowered tariffs and hence renewed trade relations between Canada and the other countries. One of the bitterest enemies of the Soviet Union dis-

* *Hansard*, Feb. 14, 1935.

appears from the political scene in Bennett.”*

Relations between Canada and Russia eased. In June 1936, the Hon. W.D. Euler, Minister of Trade and Commerce, went on a trade mission to Russia and other countries and prior to his departure disclosed that “naturally he goes with the sympathetic approval of the government towards building up more trade between Canada and the Soviet Republic which was cut down considerably during the Bennett government regime.”**

Following brief negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet government rescinded the order of 1931 prohibiting its trade organizations from buying Canadian goods or chartering Canadian vessels. In turn, on September 10, 1936, Canada cancelled the order-in-council of Feb. 27, 1931, which imposed the embargo against the Soviet Union.

Thus the road was paved for the resumption of normal trade and official relations.

This was the period of tempestuous growth of the Soviet Union and at the same time of the rapid sharpening of all international complications between the Axis powers and the democracies. M. Litvinov, Soviet delegate to the League of Nations, repeatedly appealed for united action to implement a world system of collective security.

In Canada, as in other countries, many well-known personalities visited the Soviet Union and found that it was progressing rapidly, especially in the fields of science, education and industry. Mr. Euler praised Soviet science in the House, saying that “there are some countries in the world, perhaps more particularly Russia, where millions and mil-

* *Pravda*, Oct. 21, 1935.

** *Montreal Star*, June 13, 1936.

lions of dollars are being spent on research work, for which I think in the future they will be very well repaid.”*

In the same year President Thomas Bradshaw of the North American Insurance Company declared that “whatever we may think of Soviet Russia’s Five-Year Plan, there is much to be said for the intelligent planning of the future over a definite period of years and adhering as closely as possible to a program.”

Writing in “Canadian Business,” Sir Frederick Banting described his impressions of the Soviet Union in these words:

“The life and activities of their great commercial and industrial men do not greatly differ from the life and activities of industrial men in this country. There are privileges and luxuries that our financial leaders buy. In the Soviet Union these privileges and luxuries are given by the people. They honour service. Honour, appreciation and trust of comrades spur and inspire men to plan and work for the common good of all. Man cannot exploit his fellow man. Everyone is tremendously enthusiastic. The sense of security brings happiness and peace of mind and permits true culture.

“The Soviet government is building a gigantic structure on the solid rock of science and research. For this reason there now remains not a vestige of doubt as to the future success of the Soviet Union.”**

Paul Martin, Member of Parliament for Essex East, observed in the House that on the basis of Russian figures “we would have 2,500 men engaged in the National Research Council. Instead of that,” he said, “we have only 160. By the same method of

* *Hansard*, June 8, 1936.

** *Canadian Business*, February 1936.

comparison, instead of spending about \$500,000 annually, we would have to spend something like \$25,000,000 annually.”

* * *

In 1936, the fascists rebelled against the republican government of Spain. The Soviet Union immediately extended its aid to the loyalists. Britain and France supported a policy of non-intervention. Canadian public opinion was aroused. In Quebec the issue was raised of the “communist persecution of the Catholic Church.” L’Illustration, edited by Adrien Arcand, “chief” of the newly organized fascist movement, led the Quebec press in attacking the Soviet Union for its support of the Spanish republican government. But more than 1,000 Canadians went to Spain to fight in the ranks of the International Brigades (they were organized in the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion), alongside the Americans, English, Russians, Frenchmen, Yugoslavs and others.

In 1937, Germany made new threatening moves. The Rhineland had already been militarized. The Saar had been retaken. Now Austria was occupied, Sudetenland seized. At Munich in 1938, Czechoslovakia was surrendered to the nazis, the Franco-Soviet pact broken and the Soviet Union left isolated and exposed to attack by Germany. War became inevitable.

VI

NEIGHBOURS AND FRIENDS

In the summer of 1939, Canadians learned that a British mission had gone to Moscow to discuss a defensive alliance against German aggression. Only minor officials, without power to make binding decisions, were sent, whereas Prime Minister Chamberlain had gone to Germany in person.

What were the conditions of the proposed alliance? The British proposals were not made public but it became known that the Russians were demanding the right to send the Red Army to the German-Polish frontier and wanted an Anglo-French commitment to join them in fighting possible pro-nazi coups d'état in the Baltic and Balkan countries. Both requests were rejected by Chamberlain, partly at the insistence of the Polish and Romanian governments.

In July, a German mission arrived in Moscow. Shortly, a German-Russian trade treaty was announced and this was followed on August 24, 1939 by the stunning publication of the text of the Russo-German Non-Aggression Agreement which purported to secure for Russia the inviolability of her western frontiers.

The agreement tended to confuse both friends and enemies of the Soviet Union. Many believed it reflected an abandonment of all stated Soviet attitudes towards fascism and nazism.

Meanwhile Hitler prepared to attack Poland. Britain expressed her decision to come to Poland's aid. Appeasement had run its course. War was inevitable and almost unbelievably it was war of Germany against Britain rather than against Russia. Reactionary conservative circles in Great Britain charged the Soviet Union with responsibility for the war. Russia

and Germany were allied for world conquest, it was said, and the term “communazi” was coined.

“Russia’s decision to make a non-aggression pact with Germany,” wrote the Toronto Telegram before the outbreak of the war, “means that she will not oppose Hitler’s attack on Poland and that in case of war her resources will help to equip Germany... The blow to the democracies and to the cause of democracy is unquestionably serious, even if it means no more than a treaty of friendship between Germany and Russia...”*

How did the Agreement come about? “Who is to blame?” queried the Winnipeg Free Press. “Is it Russia? Has Russia all along been playing a double game? One remembers the Soviets’ clear-cut attitude towards the League of Nations, the obvious help it rendered in Spain, the Russian statements during the Czech crisis last year. Were all these empty gestures? Not likely... The British government may argue that the Kremlin’s sudden volte face is proof of Russian insincerity from the beginning. But such an argument carries little weight in the light of the record.”**

Although the public was confused and sharply divided in attitude towards the Soviet Union, underlying it all, especially among workers, progressives and western farmers, there was a feeling of deep regret that the Soviets were not on the Allied side. Among the more radical sections and among sympathizers of the Soviet Union there were grave doubts as to the nature of the war so long as the Soviet Union was not in it against Germany.

On the last day of November 1939, the Soviet-Fin-

* *The Evening Telegram*, Aug. 22, 1931.

** Cited in *The Evening Telegram*, Aug. 29, 1939.

nish War began. Advocates of hostility towards the Soviet Union in Canada became hysterical. They were led by The Evening Telegram and government policy began to yield to its demands. Even the Toronto Daily Star and the Winnipeg Free Press, both leading liberal papers and traditional supporters of Canadian-Russian understanding, fell in line with the Telegram, which characterized "Russia's attack on Finland as part of her plan to make herself mistress of her end of the Baltic and take back into tyranny territories that found freedom after the Great War. The plunder of Poland was part of the same plan." "Soviet Russia," charged the Telegram, "stands forth now as an imperialistic power, as rapacious as was Tsarist Russia, but infinitely more ruthless, treacherous and unscrupulous.*

"For sheer inhumanity and barbarity," the Star agreed, "Russia's attack upon Finland can hardly have been exceeded in the whole record of supposedly 'civilized' warfare."

Later the Star pursued the argument. "There were three declared principles of Soviet Russia which attracted the favourable attention of liberal-minded people the world over," it wrote. "They were:

"No aggression.

"No invasion of other nations.

"No breach of international peace.

"All these principles Russia has now violated in the most shameful and cynical fashion... By her actions Russia has repudiated all that she professed to typify in international relations. She stands self-convicted of aggression and invasion — a deliberate peace breaker, a merciless and cruel assailant of a weaker nation which has nothing but peaceful

* *The Evening Telegram*, Dec. 1, 1939.

intentions.”*

By January 1940, Canadian correspondents reached Finland and began cabling thousands of words supplied by the Finnish government press bureau. Impartial news was at a premium. Soviet reports were omitted or hidden on inside pages. Rumours were printed as gospel truth. Even Mr. W.R. Plewman, whose column *The War Reviewed* is one of the world's most reliable war commentaries, reported that “discontent is growing in Russia and promises to take serious form sometimes this year.”**

Slowly Canada was drifting into a bellicose frame of mind towards the Soviet Union. In January another “Russian” issue was discovered to accelerate this process and at the same time embarrass the King government. Canadian wheat was being sold to Russia. The Toronto Telegram clamoured for an embargo.

“News comes from Winnipeg,” it wrote, “of the sale of 1,000,000 bushels of Canadian wheat to Russia... From Ottawa comes word that there is no likelihood whatever of the government stepping in and cancelling the sale...”

“If as is now thought in some quarters in Britain, the Finnish front may shortly become an Allied front, *it is not impossible that Canadian troops will be in conflict with the Red Army which marches on the strength of Canadian wheat...* (Emphasis mine — R.A.D.)

“The supply of Canadian wheat will release Russian rolling stock and money for the offensive against Finland. This is not an accommodation to which Canada should lend itself...”***

* *Toronto Daily Star*, Dec. 13, 1939.

** *Toronto Daily Star*, January 30, 1940.

*** *The Evening Telegram*, Jan. 18, 1940.

The Cabinet was forced to act. On January 21, an order-in-council was passed “that no person shall export any article to any neutral country contiguous to territories under enemy occupation or control, without first having obtained a permit issued by or on behalf of the Minister of National Revenue.”

In releasing the text of the order-in-council the Office of the Prime Minister stated specifically that “under the terms of this order, shipment of wheat to Russia or any other country adjacent to Germany... can be prevented, including wheat sold recently on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange by certain exporters and intended for shipment to Soviet Russia.”

Meanwhile another issue came up. A Canadian firm sold Russia two tugs.

“The government first satisfied itself that the tugs in question were not capable of war service. It then took the further precaution of demanding a bond for the purchase price of \$100,000 as a guarantee that this sum will be payable to the Dominion of Canada in case Russia enters the war as an enemy nation.”*

At the end of January, the Dominion government extended to Finland a credit of \$100,000 to obtain foodstuffs in Canada.

A campaign was organized under the auspices of The Evening Telegram and the direction of Col. Fraser Hunter, MPP, to recruit volunteers for Finland. A few hundred Finnish-Canadians volunteered, but not many were able to reach the front.

In Ottawa rumours circulated that a Canadian regiment overseas was about to be sent to Finland. An important garment concern in Western Canada was allegedly asked to manufacture 10,000 winter uniforms suitable for Finnish conditions.

* *Toronto Daily Star*, Jan. 23, 1940.

But no expedition was sent. What might have become a great historical tragedy was averted. Relations of Great Britain with the Soviet Union remained tense but unruptured. Canadian public opinion grew more cautious. News seeped through of German manoeuvres in Finland and of Marshal Mannerheim's nazi leanings. In February and March, the Mannerheim Line was smashed by the Red Army. Finland was beaten. A Soviet-Finnish Pact was signed under which Finland ceded to Russia certain strategic territories. Finnish independence was not affected.

But far grimmer events portended. The period of "phony war" had ended. War began to be fought in earnest, to the death. Germany invaded Norway, the Low Countries, France, then the Balkans. By the beginning of 1941 only Britain in the West and the Soviet Union in the East stood in the way of Axis conquest of Europe and Asia. Winston Churchill had replaced Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister of Great Britain.

On June 22, 1941, German panzer divisions slashed across the Soviet frontier. The USSR, a nation of 180,000,000 people, had come to the side of the Allies.

"Everyone who engages our enemy advances our cause," Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared on the day of the invasion, immediately following Winston Churchill's speech in which the Prime Minister of Great Britain rejected nazi pretences of conducting the war against Bolshevism and pledged full British support to the USSR. "The nazi attack on Soviet Russia is not a crusade against any red menace. Rather it is a new phase of the attack on Britain and all of the democracies. Should Germany prevail in her campaign against Russia, she would suc-

cessfully eliminate the threat of war on two fronts and leave herself free to concentrate all her forces against Britain and the West... It is not Russia which is a threat to freedom and peace. That threat is nazi Germany.”

Canadians reacted with enthusiasm. Gladly and with relief they returned to their traditional friendship towards the Russian people.

“Russia, by resisting Germany has become our ally,” wrote *The Star* on the day following the invasion. “Too many nations have allowed other nations to be picked off one by one by Hitler for want of united action. Britain is not going to make that mistake with Russia. She will give Russia all possible technical and economic aid.”

The Telegram, in agreeing, retained its anti-Soviet bias. “With Hitler’s attack upon Russia the gangster governments, recently partnered for a brief period, have come to grips... There will be an attempt to represent Bolshevist Russia as an innocent because of the fact that she has been attacked by Hitler... The fact is that the Soviet government is a gangster government of the same stripe as the nazi government; it has... no more sense of honour than a rattlesnake, and though it is now fighting our enemy, it is no more to be trusted than that enemy. A gangster does not become a good citizen by virtue of the fact that another gangster attacks him.”*

Two days after the invasion the question arose of Canadian help to the Soviet Union. Unhesitatingly J.A. MacKinnon, Minister of Trade and Commerce, declared that “Canada would be in a position to help Russia with food supplies if required... 50,000,000 bushels of wheat, if it were necessary, could be

* *The Evening Telegram*, June 23, 24, 1941.

ground in western mills for Russia.”

In September, it was announced that preparations were being made to fill Soviet war orders. In October, C.D. Howe, Minister of Munitions, revealed that an extra drive would be launched for “Tanks for Russia.”

“I expect the response from the Canadian workers and manufacturers will be everything that could be desired,” he said, “and that we will be able to furnish Russia with a hundred tanks, at least.”*

Another question that interested most Canadians was when Ministers would be exchanged with the Soviet Union.

“There seems no valid reason why our government should delay establishment of friendly formal contacts with Russia through an exchange of diplomatic representatives, and we hope that no subtle pressure is being exercised to check such an eminently wise action... The Russian people deserve friendlier and more generous treatment than they have been receiving from us...” wrote the *Globe and Mail*.

On November 3, 1941, Prime Minister Mackenzie King reviewed the war situation in the House of Commons. But in praising the Soviet Union he omitted all reference to Canadian-Russian diplomatic relations. His praise was warm and profuse. “Since our adjournment,” he said, “the outstanding development has been, of course, the Russian campaign. The fact that Hitler attacked Russia when he did, and as he did, may yet turn out to be the most important event of the whole war. To form an estimate of the significance of its consequences for other peoples and countries, we need only ask ourselves

* *The New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1941.

what the situation would be today had Hitler turned the might of nazi Germany's power elsewhere than upon the Soviet Union; I will not ask what the present situation might have been if the power which Russia has so magnificently exhibited in resisting Germany had, instead, been joined with German power in attack upon Britain and British interests throughout the world... We should, I think, look into the heart of the Russian peasant. From him we may learn that nothing is quite so precious as the freedom of one's own homeland. In the Russian resistance and in all that it signifies, we find the surest reason for belief in the ultimate triumph of the forces of freedom...

“Russia, the largest European nation, is fighting every inch of the way. Never in human history has battle, reckoned in machines and men together, been waged on such a scale. Never have casualties been heavier. Only rarely, I believe, has the spontaneous sympathy of people throughout the world been so aroused...

“It is not possible for me at this time to give details of the character or the extent of Canadian aid to Russia or of the precise arrangements being made with the governments of the United Kingdom and the United States with whom Canada is cooperating in sending aid. In a general way, the program of aid includes war supplies, food, medical supplies and transport equipment.”

A few days later the question of diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union was raised in the House of Commons by Mr. Angus MacInnis, MP, acting as spokesman for the CCF group, and the Rev. Dan McIvor, Liberal MP for Fort William. Appeals and resolutions to the same effect showered the government from many individuals and groups throughout Canada.

But aid for Russia was not allowed to wait on diplomatic arrangements. The Canadian Red Cross in October began shipping \$100,000 worth of medical supplies to the Russian Red Cross.

But this was insufficient. An appeal was launched for \$500,000. More than \$1,000,000 was raised. Labour unions voted levies of one day's pay upon their members; fur wholesalers and retailers in Toronto donated fur coats for a raffle which eventually netted close to \$75,000; a mass rally at Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto contributed \$4,200. The Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland contributed \$122,000.

Interest in the Soviet Union reached a new high during the first Soviet winter offensive in December 1941-January 1942. Demands rose for the establishment of the Second Front. Large meetings were held from which resolutions were sent to the government. Demands for the establishment of diplomatic relations also became more insistent.

On February 5, 1942, at 3 p.m. in London, an agreement was signed between the government of Canada and the government of the USSR providing for the exchange of consular representatives. The Canadian High Commissioner in London, the Hon. Vincent Massey signed on behalf of Canada and the Russian Ambassador M. Maisky signed on behalf of the USSR.

In the House of Commons Prime Minister Mackenzie King stated that "it is the belief of the Canadian government that the establishment of direct relations pursuant to this agreement will greatly facilitate the solution of common problems arising out of the war efforts of our two countries."

A further step ahead was made on June 12, 1942 at 5 p.m., when an agreement for the exchange of

diplomatic missions between Canada and the USSR was signed.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King told the House of Commons that "the Canadian government has come to the conclusion that it is desirable to establish a Canadian Legation in the USSR on a reciprocal basis, and we have now been informed that the Soviet government accepts the Canadian government's proposal and that they desire to establish a Legation in Canada. We understand that the Soviet government will also establish a consulate in Halifax."

In October, the government of the USSR appointed M. Fyodor Gusev Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Canada. On Nov. 4, Mr. L. Dana Wilgress, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, was appointed Canadian Minister to the Soviet Union.*

While diplomatic relations were being arranged, Canadian aid was arriving in the Soviet Union in increasing quantities. A credit agreement for \$10,000,000 to assist the Soviet Union to purchase approximately 9,000,000 bushels of hard spring wheat was signed at the Canada House in London by representatives of the Canadian and Soviet governments. The credit was for three years and repayable

* The staff of the Canadian Legation to the Soviet Union, in addition to Mr. Wilgress, consisted of Mr. R.M. Macdonnell, First Secretary; Brigadier H. Lefebvre, Military Attache; Major G.J. Okulich, Assistant Military Attache; Messrs. A.C. Smith and J.A. McCordick, 3rd secretaries. The staff of the Soviet Legation at Ottawa was announced to include Grigory I. Tunkin, Counsellor; Sergey M. Kudryavtsev, 1st Secretary; Ivan I. Krotov, Commercial Attache; Vitali G. Pavlov, 2nd Secretary; Roman H. Ovsyenko, 3rd Secretary; Fyodor I. Vidiasov, Ivan I. Volenko, Nikolai P. Uspensky, attaches.

at the end of that period by four equal semi-annual instalments. When the agreement was signed most of the wheat had already been shipped and when terms of the agreement were made known press and public united in asking that the wheat be made an outright gift.

Wheat was only one item of many shipped to Russia. In 1941, Canadian exports to Russia were \$5,331,000 as compared with only \$591 in 1940. In January 1942, the exports were \$2,743,000. From then on, they increased rapidly and by May 1943 the Soviet Union had received nearly \$100,000,000 worth of Canadian munitions, not counting food, medicaments and other supplies.

The transportation of munitions of war and food to Russia also involved Canada insofar as the Royal Canadian Navy shouldered a heavy but honoured burden of convoy work. Many Canadians served in the RAF and RCAF units assigned to convoy patrol duty out of northern Soviet ports.

* * *

Thus in less than two years and on a relatively modest scale Canadians became closely integrated with the Soviet war effort, just as they had become integrated to a much larger degree with the war effort of the United Kingdom. Canadian farmers grew food for Russia; Canadian workingmen and women made tanks, planes, guns and shells for Russia; Canadian naval men and airforce men helped protect convoys carrying American and Canadian products to the Soviet people.

With this integration came a warming sentiment of friendly concern. And this sentiment deepened when the Germans unleashed their 1942 offensive.

With avid interest all Canada followed the news

from the Eastern Front. With all free peoples, Canadians suffered with the Russians. They knew that the fate of the world, and of Canada, was in the balance. When Stalingrad became the symbol of the world's fight for liberation, the turning point of the war, Canadian affection for the Soviet people increased and with it the desire to help, to aid with more food and more munitions, and above all, to share the struggle on a two-front war. General McNaughton, at that time commander of Canada's Overseas army, set down this desire in a special message to the fighters of the Red Army which was published in Russian by the British Embassy in Kuybyshev in November 1942.

In that month in Canada there began the historic campaign of the Canadian Aid to Russia Fund. Under the able chairmanship of Mr. J.S. McLean and with the active support of Mr. J.E. Atkinson of the Toronto Daily Star, Mr. George McCullough of The Globe and Mail, Mr. Clifford Sifton and nearly all of the newspapers and radio stations of the country, the campaign reached the farthest corners of Canada. The goal was set at \$1,000,000. When the Fund closed its first appeal, more than \$3,000,000 had been collected in cash and nearly \$1,000,000 in clothing. The campaign was opened at the Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto with Mr. Wendell Willkie, then recently returned from his world-girdling trip, as the main speaker.

English and French Canada shared the enthusiasm to help the Soviet people. Toronto and Montreal raised huge amounts. Thousands of French Canadians contributed. Cardinal Villeneuve and other high Catholic dignitaries supported the campaign.

In February 1943, the House of Commons joined in tributes to the Soviet Union on the occasion of

the 25th anniversary of the Red Army. Prime Minister Mackenzie King noted that Canada had sent the Soviet Union more than 900 tanks. Subsequently this was raised to 1,200. The whole world was in debt to the Russian forces for what they had done to withstand the German invaders, Mr. King stressed in announcing these figures.

"I am sure," he told the House, "that it is the hope of all Canadians that the establishment of diplomatic relations between Canada and the Soviet Union is but a prelude to a long period of mutual understanding and cooperation between the two peoples, both in war and peace.

"Today our common task in this vast struggle has brought Russia and Canada close together. Tomorrow, when the scourge of fascism has been blasted from the minds of common men everywhere, our peoples must work side by side to aid in the establishment of a world order based on interdependence and on the worth of human personality."

Leaders of the two other parties joined in the tribute.

As long as the voice of freedom was heard, declared Mr. Gordon Graydon, Progressive Conservative House Leader, it would pay tribute to the valour, endurance and indomitable pluck of the Red Army. M.J. Coldwell, CCF leader, pointed out that in honouring Russia, it was part of Canada's bounded duty to break down the suspicion that remained in some minds in respect to Russia.

On May 11, 1943, a further step towards more direct and closer contact between Canada and Russia was taken through a lend-lease arrangement.

"It has been agreed," Prime Minister King announced, "that Canada, as an important producer of war supplies for the USSR, is to become a dir-

ect party to the protocol (setting forth supplies to be furnished to Russia in the year beginning July 1st, 1943) now under consideration. In this way Canada will be able to express once again her deep appreciation of the USSR and the recognition of the vital importance of the Soviet front.”

Thus times and attitudes have progressed.

Canadians realize now how essential to Canada's national existence the Soviet Union has become. They have come to know, too, a man much maligned and distrusted in the past, but one who has become universally recognized in the past two years as one of the world's greatest military leaders — Joseph Stalin, Premier of the USSR.

“Let us pay heed to the words of one of the most vital and dominant figures of our day.

“It is not very long since all of us were putting the worst construction on his every deed and utterance. It is still not necessary that we accept his social philosophy or worship his gods, but we must listen with respect when he speaks, for he is our ally, and has been a very present help in time of trouble.

“In (his) words he gave his own blessing to the great Anglo-Saxon group of nations and thus purged from the minds of individual Russians the suspicion and mistrust which for so many years they have been taught to cherish against us. And in truth, Britain and America — particularly Britain — are moving by processes most suitable to their temperament towards a meeting place with the Russians...” This was written by the Globe and Mail following the May First (1943) address of the Soviet leader.

A meeting place with the Russians? Why that was Canada, that is Canada. Before 1867 the Russians were our geographic neighbours. The sufferings of war and the marvels of the 20th century geography

of the air, in rendering our country a world-country, have now made the Russians our spiritual and physical neighbours across the Arctic Seas, across the North Pole.

Canada and Russia, Neighbours and Friends. How fruitful this relationship can be. Together we can develop the great North of the world. Together we can turn to use of man the whole Arctic Ocean. Together we can develop the northern, the best airways of the world, as a projection into the coming age.

Together the two nations can develop mutually profitable trade which will give employment to workers, keep factories in motion which might otherwise be idle, give work to farmers, help erase the havoc caused by war.

What have the Russians been buying from Canada, especially in the more recent period?

They have purchased machine tools, railway equipment, tank cars, grain for the Soviet Far East, cattle, horses. Since the German invasion they have concentrated on buying Canadian-made weapons and aluminum.

These items trace the lines of future commerce. In many respects after the war Canada can supplement Soviet production, can sell Russia goods which the Russians need badly and are unable to produce as cheaply or efficiently as Canada.

There is no doubt that after the war, when the gigantic task of reconstruction is begun by the Soviet Union, the greatly expanded Canadian engineering industries will be able to sell the Soviet Union millions of dollars' worth of machine tools, freight and tank cars, railway locomotives, buses and trucks, agricultural machinery, hydro-electric equipment.

Especially good business could be done in ships

which the Soviet Union needs both for maritime traffic and for its innumerable navigable rivers and interior "seas" — Caspian, Aral, Baikal, Azov and others. Chemicals, too, will find a ready market. We may also be able to sell the Russians whole factories and entire branch railway lines for which we cannot find employment.

It is also certain that Canadian aluminum and nickel will find ready sale in the Soviet Union for many years to come.

Whether the Russians will become permanent customers for Canadian agricultural products is hard to say. The Soviet Union had never reached a condition of self-sufficiency on our scale in such essentials as bread, milk, not to speak of cheese, butter, eggs, poultry, bacon, hams. The situation in wartime, with the loss of such vast agricultural regions, is close to catastrophic. Recovery will be slow and painful. It seems quite certain therefore, that at least for some years after the war the Soviet Union will be one of our best customers in the agricultural products field.

It must be realized, however, that Canadian-Russian trade will only prosper if Canada absorbs a certain quantity of Russian products. We are far from being self-sufficient in many respects. We need anthracite, petroleum, furs, manganese and other strategic minerals. All of these we can purchase from the Soviet Union, although quite probably not in quantities sufficient to cover all of our needs. We shall have to distribute our purchasing power among a number of "merchants."

Canadian-Russian trade will also depend in great part upon whether we shall be willing to extend the Russians long term credits, say for ten or fifteen years. It now appears that goods credits will

be the post-war form of international loans and we should be in an especially solid position to do business in this manner. That the credit standing of the Soviet Union after the war will be good is doubted by no one.

Long term credits coupled with substantial Canadian purchases of Russian products should provide the impetus for the rapid development of trade, which after the war should remain somewhere near the present all-time-high level. It should not be forgotten that whereas Canadian exports to Russia only amounted to \$60,000,000 in the 40-year period ending in 1940, they were twice as high in 1941 and 1942. This great increase is accounted for by the war, of course, but it may be possible to retain this volume of business also in peace if facilities for this are granted by both countries.

But modern trade depends upon cheap and efficient communications. Even now Canada serves as aerial highway for war supplies to our Soviet ally. Wartime exigencies have speeded the development of airports in Canada along the aerial route to Russia and in Russia along the aerial route to Canada. Mr. King has expressed the government's position that the Trans-Canada Airlines will be the medium for aerial communications with Russia and other countries. Plans can be made now for Canadian-Russian collaborative work in establishing airlines from and through Canada linking Moscow and New York, Chungking and Winnipeg, Shanghai and Chicago, South America and Asia.

Second to aerial communications could become the highway links with the USSR. With the completion of the Alaska Highway which connects Edmonton with Fairbanks and will soon link Canada with the Bering Strait, the way will be open for passenger

traffic as far as Russia. In the Soviet Union Siberian highways are being rushed to completion. A road exists from Moscow to Vladivostok and Nikolayevsk on the Amur. There is a road running northwest from Magadan on the Sea of Okhotsk to the Kolyma goldfields. Not more than 2,500 miles remain to be completed; the whole then to be all-weather surfaced, to connect Moscow, and with it all of Europe, with America. Transportation across the Bering Strait can be by icebreaker and car ferry operating much as the present-day car ferries from Canada to Newfoundland.

The opening of the highway from Edmonton to the Bering Strait and then via Siberia to Europe and later, via the Soviet Maritime Territories to China and all of southern Asia, may create new opportunities for a constant interchange of people, of culture and trade and will thus bring new good will and solid relationships of peace.

Maritime communications between the USSR and Canada under conditions of growing trade and passenger traffic also have a bright future. Canada has built a substantial merchant marine. It will be essential to establish maritime routes from Vancouver, Prince Rupert and Victoria to Vladivostok and in the summer months via the Northern Sea Route along the fringe of Siberia to Archangel to Murmansk. Other ships might operate along the top of the world from Halifax, Quebec and Montreal to the Soviet Baltic and White Sea ports. On the other hand, Soviet steamships, many of them perhaps built in Canada, will bring Soviet goods and passengers to Canada.

Thus ever closer links will be established. In this is the hope of the world. The world of isolated independence seems to have been ended for gener-

ations by the historic declarations by Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union and China at Moscow, Cairo and Tehran. Interdependence will be the watchword of the nations. Either that or war will certainly come again.

The barriers to full Canadian-Soviet cooperation are falling one after the other. The dissolution of the Communist International has been another step in this direction. No longer can it be said that the Soviet Union “meddles” in our affairs. It will now be even easier to work with the Russian people, for whom from the very infancy of the Dominion, Canadians have had a deep feeling of sympathy and respect. Canadians, a freedom-loving people, just as the Russians, hated the Tsars, feared and opposed Tsarist imperialist ambitions. The Tsars have gone. Tsarist ambitions to dominate the world have been swept into the dustbins of history by the Soviet people. The USSR, along with Canada and Britain, the United States and China, and all the United Nations, desires a peaceful world without crises, without wars.

In this the peoples of Canada and the Soviet Union are one.

Because of this the future is bright.

And it must be ever so for Neighbours and Friends.

VII POSTSCRIPT

Moscow, Feb. 1944

Outside the Hotel Metropole in Moscow, where nearly all correspondents live, the city boils. Crowds fill the streets, the subways and theatres. In the square facing the hotel, soldiers and uniformed girls are carrying on their winter battle against snow. Electric busses driven by girls and loaded by warmly dressed humanity roll by. The auto traffic is heavy. Officers and soldiers, male and female, lend Moscow colour. This city is totally at war. Canada is a far distant land indeed.

And yet Canada is not strange to many Russians, as I discovered when still outside the country's borders. In Tehran I walked into a Russian travel agency, Intourist, to arrange for my transportation. While I was waiting, a Russian tank corps major who was there heard I was a Canadian. Turning to me he exclaimed in Russian "Vy iz Kanady" — ("You are from Canada?"). I answered "Yes." He replied "I know of Canada." He said: "Tanks sent us (Valentines) are very good, low silhouette, good workmanship." On the train from Baku, via Moscow, my companions were three members of the Supreme Soviet, a Control Commissioner, an Engineer and an Internal Affairs Commissariat. They all sought avidly for information on our country.

Interest in Canada is widely reflected and a matter of pride. The Moscow newspapers carry more news about Canada than about any other foreign country except Great Britain and the United States. This is a good augury and speaks well for the future. The public, too, is beginning to know about Can-

ada. In the stores, people can now obtain Canadian cheese, powdered eggs, bacon, canned goods, wheat, etc., all from Canada. It was pleasant to see a rather aged woman in the Metro carrying a box of Canadian cheese and hugging it tightly, for undoubtedly it was not something that could be obtained every day.

Then, too, the Russians have heard a good deal concerning Canadian lend lease aid and about the Canadian Aid to Russia Fund. In this Canada has done proportionately better than most countries and the work of the Canadian people is warmly appreciated. It is not quite a year since Canada appropriated one hundred million dollars for lend lease for the Soviets. Already a steady stream of goods is arriving — tanks, machine guns, military vehicles, explosives, optical equipment, nickel, aluminum, wheat, cheese and other foods. Scarcely a worker, farmer or employee in Canada that has not participated in the production of these goods.

The same applies to funds collected by the Canadian people. According to the Canadian Aid to Russia Fund figures, up to October 8, 1943, Canadians had contributed \$3,125,179 in cash and \$1,370,814 in clothing, totalling nearly four and a half million dollars — and still going up. Over and above this amount, a substantial sum was collected by the Canadian Red Cross, prior to the establishment of the Fund.

What goods did this money buy? Who manufactured the hundreds of items that went to Russia? Examine the statement of the Aid to Russia Fund issued in November 1943. Here we see items such as: National Defence Army, 20,000 pairs of shoes; Dundas Woollen Mills, 1,300 blankets; Continental Woollen Mills, 6,723 yards cloth; Island Asso-

ciation, seeds, \$4,130; Ideal Knitting Mills, 2,400 pairs of socks. Under a heading "goods purchased, not shipped" we see 10 woollen mills listed with orders for 80,000 blankets, two soap companies with orders for 1,000,000 pounds soap, 197,040 pounds seed; 43,200 buttons, 1,000 stoves, 1,000 watches, 1,000 coats, 120,000 pairs of mitts, 21,192 sweaters. And there were plenty of other items such as axes, saws, medical instruments, boots, etc., etc.

It is not easy to get these things to Russia. I have seen the whole supply route; have seen the hard work of the Navy and Air Forces of all the Allied Nations in convoying ships; have seen the difficulties with which ships are unloaded and goods re-shipped through Iran and I am told the difficulties are even greater via Murmansk. Yet with the valiant aid of our seamen and under the guard of our sailors in Canadian corvettes and the lads of the RCAF, as well as American and British airmen, these goods get through. Great train and truck loads roll from Murmansk and Iran with materials and supplies made by hundreds of thousands of Canadians.

These goods are delivered to great warehouses near Moscow and other large cities and are distributed from there to especially devastated regions. In one warehouse alone, near Moscow, in January there was 5,728 bales of Canadian clothing; 4,793 bales of Canadian tents; 3,282 bales of hospitals goods; and 2,819 bales of vegetable seeds. There were even cases of flint lighters.

All this is establishing firm friendship and cooperation. Together with the Canadian Army's assistance in the invasion of Europe they are laying deep foundations for friendly collaboration in the post-war period. Already prominent Soviet trade officials often visit Canada. Thus Sergeyev, Vice-Com-

missar of Foreign Trade, has flown to Canada twice in eight months, using Siberian and Canadian air routes. In return, Canada sends newspapermen, radio commentators and medical experts like Doctor Wilder Penfield from Montreal.

Canada has also done well in sending to Russia as her Minister and now Ambassador an old protagonist of Canadian-Soviet friendship, Dana Wilgress. His office in the Embassy on Stary Konyushny Pereulok (literally "old Horse Alley"), is the glad hand Canada extended to the Soviet Union. (See Introduction for statement made by Mr. Wilgress in an interview with the author in Moscow in February 1944.)

It is difficult to add anything to Mr. Wilgress' statement. One thing is certain, Canadians who have learned how to work and fight jointly with Russians against our common foe will not forget their warmth and friendship and will want to do their utmost to develop it further to the benefit of both peoples.

**CANADIAN TRADE WITH RUSSIA
1899-1942**

Year	Imports Into Canada	Exports to Russia
1899	\$163,981	\$55,648
1900	24,659	70,558
1901	21,570	45,681
1902	104,403	49,018
1903	205,876	224,583
1904	262,560	225,938
1905	209,087	241,005
1906	258,235	222,040
1907	248,876	241,481
1908	306,380	424,793
1909	225,784	720,880
1910	345,297	598,435
1911	263,120	1,175,444
1912	335,782	1,241,438
1913	924,223	2,145,211
1914	482,809	1,368,939
1915	105,455	1,270,940
1916-17	24,140	3,755,569
1918	8,477	4,088,475
1919	83,888	6,164,658
1920	14,496	1,492,041
1921	17,390	246,719
1922	1,683	2,617,739
1923	850	1,256,640
1924	344,770	115,980
1925	2,807	11,669,352
1926	7,207	3,788,266
1927	20,336	2,407,206
1928	73,119	2,424,071
1929	236,881	2,457,492
1930	909,525	3,738,401
1931	1,917,652	568,100
1932	18,001	55,197
1933	539,419	1,776,946
1934	104,760	16,722
1935	265,039	21,712
1936	279,441	1,201
1937	661,322	486,961
1938	256,284	936,961
1939	442,948	295,314
1940	98,779	591
Totals	\$10,837,301	\$60,704,328

RUSSIAN IMMIGRATION INTO CANADA 1900-1940

Year	Hebrew	Polish	Russian	Finns	Armenian	Ukrainian	Total
1900-01	2,765	162	1,044	682	62	0	4,715
1901-02	1,015	230	2,367	1,292	112	0	5,116
1902-03	2,066	274	5,505	1,734	113	0	9,692
1903-04	3,727	669	1,955	845	81	0	7,277
1904-05	7,115	745	1,887	1,323	78	0	11,748
1905-06	7,127	725	3,152	1,103	82	0	12,189
1906-07	6,587	1,033	1,927	1,049	208	0	10,804
1907-08	7,712	1,593	6,281	1,212	563	0	17,361
1908-09	1,636	376	3,547	669	79	0	6,307
1909-10	3,182	1,407	4,564	1,457	75	0	10,685
1910-11	5,146	2,177	6,621	2,132	20	0	16,096
1911-12	5,322	5,060	9,805	1,646	69	0	21,893
1912-13	7,387	9,945	18,623	2,391	100	0	38,446
1913-14	11,252	9,793	24,485	3,183	139	0	48,852
1914-15	3,107	1,976	5,201	459	36	0	10,779
1915-16	65	8	40	139	0	0	252
1917-18	32	4*	42	113	2	0	193
1919	7	0	42	2**	0	0	51
1920	48	0	51	0	10	0	109
1921	242	0	1,077	0	90	491***	1,900
1922	851	0	321	0	76	89	1,337
1923	2,156	0	222	0	59	36	2,473
1924	1,503****	0	3,058	0	486	832	5,879
1925	0	0	5,411	0	304	26	5,741
1926	0	0	7,173	0	71	364	7,608
1927	0	0	8,315	0	30	510	8,855
1928	0	0	3,023	0	6	214	3,243
1929	0	0	3,123	0	3	96	3,222
1930	0	0	1,470	0	1	8	1,479
1931	0	0	949	0	5	6	960
1932	0	0	32	0	0	3	35
1933	0	0	60	0	0	3	63
1934	0	0	84	0	1	3	88
1935	0	0	78	0	0	0	78
1936	0	0	78	0	3	3	84
1937	0	0	91	0	2	2	95
1938	0	0	104	0	1	1	106
1939	0	0	89	0	2	2	93
1940	0	0	79	0	0	0	79
Grand total,***** 1900-1940							276,415

* In 1919 Poland was already an independent state.

** Finland became independent after 1917.

*** "Ukrainian" was a denomination adopted after the defeat of the Ukrainian anti-Soviet and anti-Polish armies in 1918-20. Prior to 1917, Ukrainians were listed as Austrians or Russians.

**** "Hebrew" was a general term referring to Jewish immigrants of many nationalities. During the years 1900-1924 they included Jewish immigrants from Austria and Eastern Europe in general and from 1918-24 also from Poland.

***** Some immigrants left for the United States.



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