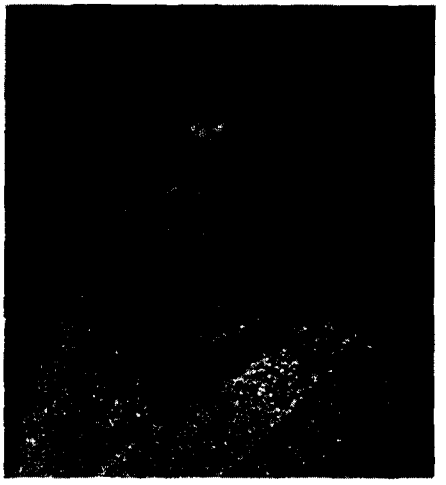
1941 Emelia and the children joined him there.

Going to Ontario to find work was not discussed between Emelia and her husband. On this matter, as with all other matters, it was entirely her husband's decision. When word came for her to pack up and leave Canora, she did not want to go. She had never heard of Welland; even though it was in Canada, it might just as well have been on the other side of the world. To Emelia, any place outside of her community in Canora was foreign. All her friends and family were there. Hard as life might be in Canora, it was her home.

When she arrived in Welland, there was no shortage of work. As soon as she was settled, she began working, and she continued working until she retired at age sixty-five. While working, she began to pick up bits and pieces of English. During the war, she had a variety of jobs and quit several jobs for better pay elsewhere. In this matter she was never passive, as she knew she could easily find work someplace else. One of the first jobs she had was working in a restaurant, but she quit that because her hands began to crack from being in the water too much. For the most part, she worked in factories. She quit one factory because she found it too noisy. At another factory she was fired because she broke one of the machines. The best-paying job she had during the war was in a factory manufacturing shells for bombs, but when the war ended the plant closed down. After that she went to work in a cotton mill. She ended up staying there until she retired, twenty-three years later.

At the same time that she was adjusting to a new way of life, her marriage was deteriorating rapidly. Heated arguments were constant; in 1944 her husband moved out. They never got a divorce, not because they nurtured hopes for reconciliation, nor because of religious beliefs (they were Greek Orthodox), but because a divorce was perceived as a waste of money. According to Emelia, the only people to benefit from a divorce are the lawyers who make money.

Emelia had mixed feelings about the separation. On the one hand, she had never been happily married and was glad to be left in peace. On the other hand, she was left on her own with three children (her oldest was not living at home then) and no family or close friends. She did not, however, see that there was anything



Emelia

else she could do. So she resigned herself to being a single mother in a strange place, and coped as best she could.

For several years after she arrived in Welland she was very lonely. Because she did not speak English well, it was hard for her to get to know people, and although there was a sizeable Ukrainian community in Welland, she did not have the time to socialize. Her days were spent in the factory and then doing housework at home. She did not even have time to go to church as much as she would have liked. With the passage of time, however, Emelia began to make friends. She got to know people at work and she got to know other Ukrainian-Canadians. This helped to make life in Welland more pleasant, but to this day Emelia has never learned to like Welland.

She says that she stays in Welland because of the children. As with most Ukrainian-Canadians, family ties are very important to her. In fact, when one of her daughters married and temporarily moved to Montreal, she grieved over the loss of close contact and worried about how her daughter would get along in a strange place where she had no family. She has difficulty understanding her grandchildren who prefer to live far away from their parents in cities such as Vancouver and Toronto. Even though she recognizes that they have friends where they live, to her the important issue is that they have no family nearby.

Emelia maintains the traditions she learned in childhood. She still observes Ukrainian Christmas and Easter, she still makes from scratch Ukrainian foods such as pyrohy, holubchi and borscht, and the inside of her house still looks distinctly unlike an Anglo-Saxon home. Emelia, however, is not quaint. She is a dynamic woman, she has lived her life under trying circumstances, and it is not over yet. As feminists, we need to recognize the unsung fortitude of women like Emelia: Canada will probably never again see a generation of women like her.

[1]Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1931), pp. 100-101.

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the visit

Today roofs glisten with white mounds territorial as the eye's fibre, staring on a changed city. Overhead, sky monitors its purpling tissue to avoid the direct gaze of first snow. Also self-occupied, remains of pavement hold the tar-status of torn interims.

I survey the dark shapes of concrete, bare, reclusive under balconies. My sense of acclimatization inhabits each black cluster whose edges, like my hollows, also are ragged and apposed to the season. The walkway, dessicated from continuum to bits of black shingle, takes the aspect of many hibernating wombs, clenched at cold visitors.

You sleep in a newly-furnished home for tourists. The room: diffuse with shaded desklight, supporting dusk.

11 November

Margaret Christakos
Montreal, Quebec.

looked upon the group movement of single females as particularly burdensome. A pattern long endemic to the "servant problem" in Canada, the antagonsitic tensions between Canadian employers and their immigrant maids, pitched women of different class and ethnic backgrounds against each other. Middle-class women not only shared the prevailing racist assumptions of the day, they also actively engaged in perpetuating the stereotypes. The apparent insensitivity of their employers made it easier for Italian women to treat their placement in an instrumentalist fashion and to abandon the position as soon as they found other employment. The scheme's "failure" sheds light on the strategies pursued by Italian women who, along with their fathers and brothers, exploited whatever limited opportunities existed in order to escape the poverty of Southern Italy for a better life in Canada.

*Thanks to my friends in the Socialist-Feminist Writers Group, Carmella Patrias and Ian Radforth, for their comments on a lengthier draft.

[1]Public Archives of Canada (PAC), Department of Labour Records (RG27) v290 f1-26-52-4 Cornell to H.L. Tosland, 19 Dec. 1951.

[2]Canadian feminist historians have not fully explored class and race relations between Canadian mistresses and their immigrant domestics. See Helen Lensky, "A 'Servant Problem' or a 'Servant-Mistress Problem'?," in *Atlantis*, 7:1, 3-11; Varpu Lindstrom-Best, "'I Won't be a Slave' – Finnish Domestics in Canada, 1900-30," in *Looking Into my Sisters' Eyes: An Exploration in Women's History*, ed. Jean Burnet, (Toronto, 1986).

[3]Public Archives of Ontario (PAO), Ontario Immigration Branch, Box 1, f1948-9-50 Bulletin Council for Social Service No. 104, Church of England of Canada, 15 Oct. 1941, 15-19; PAC Immigration Records (RG76) v131 f28885 Laval Fortier to A/Commissioner Overseas Immigration, 29 Mar. 1950.

[4]PAC RG76 v651 fB29300 "Immigration-A Vital Problem Facing Canadians," 22 Feb. 1947; *Ibid.*, v130 f28885 J.F. Manion Report, 19 Mar. 1949.

[5]Most "bulk orders" were accompanied by a quota of 70% Northerners and 30% Southeners, though they ultimately failed to prevent Southeners from dominating the group movements and, later, the sponsorship movement.

[6]RG27 v290 f1-26-52-5 A. MacNamara to Leslie Chance, 8 Aug. 1949; D.C. Tait, ILO, to Phelan, 20 Apr. 1949; Phelan to MacNamara, 26 Apr. 1949.

[7]*Ibid.*, MacNamara to Hepburn, 28 Sept. 1949.

[8]Employment offices commented on the growing requests for British and northwestern Europeans. Quebec Superior Court Judge Wilfrid Lazure wrote: "I am anxious to engage the services of a woman . . . particularly if she is coming from Western European countries, that is France, Belgium, Holland or Switzerland," Lazure to S. Boily, 22 June 1950. He received a Swiss domestic.

[9]*Ibid.*, J.B. Potvin to A/Superintendent European Emigration, 26 Sept. 1950; MacNamara to Fortier, 20 Oct. 1950.

[10]*Ibid.*, Anfossi to Smith, 18 Nov. 1951; Anfossi to Smith, 4 June 1951.

[11]Over 2,5000 domestics arrived under employer-nominated terms during 1949-52, over half of whom came in 1952 (my calculations). Immigration Branch *Annual Reports* 1947-53.

[12]RG 27 v290 f1-26-52 "Report on Canada-Recruiting of Domestics," 24 July 1951; E.L. Laberge, ILO, to MacNamara, 9 July 1951.

[13]Anfossi to Director Immigration, 4 June 1951; Fortier to A.H. Brown, 13 June 1951; RG76 Access No. 83-84 v349 f5195-1-575 External Affairs to Immigration Mar. 1955.

[14]*Ibid.*, F.M. Hereford to MacNamara, 24 Nov. 1951; Dawson to Tosland, 18 Dec. 1951; Dawson to Tosland, 8 Jan. 1952; Fortier to MacNamara, 18 Jan. 1952; MacNamara to Fortier, 12 April 1952.

[15]L.G. Simons to Lamarre, 11 Jan. 1952.

[16]J.F. Dwyer to Toronto Office, 5 Feb. 1952; Cornell to Tosland, 19 Dec. 1951; Ottawa Labour Survey, Jan. 1952; P. Gravely, 12 Dec. 1951 in V. Coyne to MacNamara, 8 Jan. 1952; McGuire to MacNamara, 15 Jan. 1952.

[17]*Ibid.*, Dwyer quoting Gravely to Miss Irvine, 9 Jan. 1952; Gertrude Dunham to Dwyer, 9 Jan. 1952.

[18]*Ibid.*, Hamilton to MacNamara, 12 Jan. 1952; J.F. Kristjansson (Winn) to Dawson, 16 Jan. 1952.

[19]*Ibid.*, Dawson to MacNamara, 15 Jan. 1952; Coyle to MacNamara, 8 Jan. 1952; Cornell to MacNamara, 15 Jan. 1952.

[20]Gravely in Coyne to MacNamara, 8 Jan. 1952; Dwyer to Irvine, 8 Jan. 1952; Cornell to Tosland, 30 Apr. 1952; Dunham to Hamilton, 9 Jan. 1952.

[21]*Ibid.*, Dunham to Hamilton, 9 Jan. 1952; Gravely to F. Pratt, 8 Jan. 1952; Dwyer to Irvine, 8 Jan. 1952.

[22]Interview with Vincenza Cerulli and Maria Lombardi.

[23]*Ibid.*, Simons to MacNamara, 11 Jan. 1952.

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The first snow slivers branches
that outside jut wooden as
darkness. Your absence scaffolds
these thin reposits of light on the
tree's constancy. Now the view
from my window, ligniform with
balance, reminds me that
waiting is a performed structure.
My body is self-dismissive,
sensing cold. The tree, attending
to time, compares itself to
multiple shadows of branches
which drift onto the room's
white surfaces, sufficient as
privacy, or patience.

10 November

Margaret Christakos
Montreal, Quebec