HISTORIC SITES AND ARCHIVES SERVICE

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CELEBRATING UKRAINIAN-CANADIAN RITUAL IN EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA THROUGH THE GENERATIONS.

Occasional Paper No. 21

March 1992

ROBERT B. KLYMASZ
edited by Radomir B. Bilash

Alberta
CULTURE AND MULTICULTURALISM

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Abstract

By 1930, the Ukrainian population of east central Alberta was several generations old. The boundaries between daily and special events that were distinctly Ukrainian or Canadian in origin were progressively less distinct. Yet, in the area of ritual celebrations, the Ukrainians of east central Alberta continued to maintain certain values and methods that were unknown in other parts of Canada. Some of these events were influenced by climate, others by district of origin in Ukraine. Religious denomination, while usually Ukrainian in origin, did not guarantee a homogeneous response to customs and celebrations, either. The Ukrainians had become Ukrainian-Canadians, and this was reflected in the transformation of the early 20th century Ukrainian folklore complex in Canada from one of Old Country peasant lore, to New World immigrant folklore, to Canadian Ethnic folklore.

Резюме

До 1930-ого року, українське населення східньо-центральної Альберти зросло на кілька поколінь від своїх початків в 1890-их роках. Щоденний побут та спеціальні святкування переселенців українського походження та їх нащадків вже до того часу злилися з подібними канадськими прикметами. Але, українці східньо-центральної Альберти ще підтримували певні звичаї та ритуальні способи, котрі були унікальні в Канаді. Такі прикмети як, наприклад, канадський клімат і регіональні відмінності українців до часу еміграції дальше мали вплив в канадському оточенню. Подібно, варіантність у їх віровизнанню також підкреслило, що обряди та звичаї українських переселенців не мали однорідний характер. Ці українські переселенці стали українсько-канадцями, а їх фольклорний комплекс перемінився: з старокраєвого селянського знання в імігрантський фольклор Нового Світу, а тоді — в складовий елемент канадського етнічного фольклору.

The Historic Sites Service Occasional Papers are designed to permit the rapid disseminaton of information resulting from Historical Resources programmes of the Department of Culture & Multiculturalism, Province of Alberta, Canada. They are intended primarily for interested specialists, rather than as popular publications for general readers. In the interests of making information available quickly for these specialists, normal production procedures have been abbreviated.

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FOREWORD

In its original form, this report was prepared in 1986 as part of a contract between the author and the department of Alberta Culture, Province of Alberta. Reflecting the culmination of several years of field analysis and archival research by the author (to 1986), it was a scholarly working document primarily intended to contribute to the research and interpretation programmes of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village. After some review, numerous stylistic changes were introduced subsequently by Jaroslaw Iwanus, and Ruta Lysak-Martynkiw provided additional technical assistance in the preparation of this publication. Final content review and editting was generated by Radomir Bilash, coordinator of the project.

The report contains Ukrainian language terms that were relayed during field interviews. Many reflect the ancestral dialects of the informants, as well as the more formal forms found in dictionaries of the Ukrainian language. Consequently, any words considered to be part of the Ukrainan-Canadian language of the people interviewed appear in italic form.

We are grateful to the many people interviewed by the author for their permission to publish the reminiscences herein.

Radomir B. Bilash
Senior Research Historian
Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village

March. 1992.

PREFACE

The report that follows does not seek to present an inventory, collection, or outline of Ukrainian folk customs, beliefs and rituals in east central Alberta. The instability of the Ukrainian folklore complex as it existed before 1930 in Alberta precludes the kind of descriptive ethnography that would suit a firmly established folk tradition; such a work would cloud and distort the critical nature of the changes encountered by the tradition within a relatively brief period of just under four decades — from 1892 to 1930. This report, then, focusses on the tradition's response to change and the mechanisms that triggered this response. The prime source of information is provided by a collection of interviews conducted in 1984 with over a hundred individuals who had personal knowledge of the folk tradition as it obtained a half century earlier. Oral testimony such as this can never duplicate what actually happened. Nonetheless, from the vantage point of the present, it is possible to detect and trace the germination of factors that, in later years, became instrumental in the re-structuring of the heritage into a streamlined, modern-day folkloric phenomenon.

The report is composed of three main parts. Part One begins at the threshold of development and belies the popular assumption that Ukrainian traditions in Alberta could obtain "just like in the old country" and focusses on such major crucial differences as climate and population density. Part Two, "A Tradition to Remember," examines the varieties of individual experiences that constituted the Ukrainian folk heritage of east central Alberta before 1930 as recalled in 1984 by selected informants interviewed in the course of the field research. The third and final part, "The Folklore Complex as Mosaic," represents an analysis of the entire folklore experience in terms of inherent distinguishing features and draws attention to emergent elements that were later paramount in the further evolution of the Ukrainian folklore complex in east central Alberta.

The modified Library of Congress system of Cyrillic transliteration as adopted by the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* has been used throughout the report.

Robert B. Klymasz
Ottawa, 1986

INTRODUCTION

A. GENERAL THEORETICAL APPROACH

Custom, then, is the great guide to human life.
David Hume: *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding.*

1. Customs in operation.

Most customs are tied to traditional belief systems and rituals. As patterned figures of human behaviour, they tend to be cyclical, repetitious and predictable in terms of occasion, process and purpose (the "when," "how" and "why" of ritual). Within such patterning, there remains ample room for variation; such variables reflect a wide range of specifics that exist as sub-categories within the larger comprehensive complex and show the scope that is permissible for the expression of the individual and of particular moments in time and place.

2. The larger matrix.

Among Ukrainians, folk customs are used to highlight important occasions and to provide supporting mechanisms for celebration, commemoration and lamentation. From a general perspective, this offers an enormous complex of customs and related phenomena such as ritual and belief for study and investigation. These can be seen as divided into two large spheres of distinguishable but inextricably connected systems: the secular/profane on the one hand, and the religious/ sacred on the other. Cutting across and overlapping with this distinction is second pair of related categories: customs that focus on crucial moments in the calendaric/seasonal cycle and those that underline critical moments in the human life cycle. The former tends to focus on the collective, and the latter tends to focus on the individual. The following scheme illustrates these relationships and provides a way of looking at the general framework within which the Ukrainian customs complex operates:

	THE CALENDARIC, SEASONAL CYCLE	THE HUMAN CYCLE	
RELIGIOUS SPHERE	eg. Saint's Day	eg. church burial	
	eg. Christmas carolling	eg. wedding festivities	**OVERLAP**
SECULAR SPHERE	eg. country/harvest dance	eg. birthday	

Among Alberta's early Ukrainian settlers, a major and pronounced pattern of ritualistic folkloric behaviour consisted of four basic elements: fasting, church-going, feasting and merry-making. As far as the calendar year is concerned, this pattern occurred universally on two occasions: at Christmas (where the pattern constitutes the so-called winter cycle of folkloric behaviour) and at Easter (where the pattern forms the so-called spring cycle). The following scheme illustrates the four-part flow of temporal rhythm and the pattern of activity that predictably obtained at least twice every calendar year:

i. - prohibition imposed (fasting/*pist*)
ii - sacred formality (church liturgy)
iii - prohibition lifted (fasting ends with special ritual feast)
iv - release and ritualized merry-making.

The seemingly clear-cut and rigid compartmentalization of activity suggested above did not, at first, occur in non-seasonal or non-calendaric rituals such as weddings, funerals, and other human life cycle rituals. The latter body of rituals allowed for a more intimate and highly intricate kind of balanced interpenetration of the four components listed above. And this distinction helped separate seasonal from non-seasonal rituals in a manner that was appropriate and meaningful. By World War Two, however, these distinctions became blurred as the human life cycle rituals succumbed to a more rigid compartmentalization of ritual activity.

Cycles of repeated alternations similar to those suggested above constituted a rhythm and pattern that obtained on the macro level but not necessarily on the micro level. These cycles of alternations represent such binaric phenomena as:

tension/release
organized/casual
group/individual
conformity/laxity
serious/comic (e.g., *Rizdvo*/*Malanka*).

3. An internalized binary code.

Within the all-encompassing matrix presented above is a system of binary oppositions that permeates the complex at all levels. These tend to be universal considerations of a socio-economic nature. Some customs, for instance, are reserved for female members of the collective and others are for males only. Some of the dominant binary elements, then, are the following:

male	—	female
rural	—	urban
peasant	—	non-peasant
group	—	individual

4. Sensorial features.

In addition to the larger considerations out-lined above, customs are also composed of elements especially formulated to help set apart from the mundane that which is extraordinary. Such components are often expressed in sensorial terms to reinforce the given custom's meaning and importance. Hence, festive customs like to employ one or more of the following as techniques to add weight and status to the moment at hand:

- special body movements (ritual acts, gestures, dance)
- special kinds of human articulation (ritualized speech, song)
- special acoustic devices (music, noise)
- visible ornamentation (costuming, decor)
- olfactory devices (smell of foods, incense, plants and flowers)
- tactile devices (smooth/rough surfaces).

B. METHOD OF PROCEDURE AND RESEARCH GOALS

1. Historic-geographic variables.

The report recognizes the following as major formative factors that influenced the development of the complex of Ukrainian folk customs, beliefs and rituals in east central Alberta to 1930:

- climate
- population density
- technological innovations
- diverse regional backgrounds in Ukraine
- varieties of church memberships (chiefly Ukrainian Greek Catholic, Ukrainian Greek Orthodox, Russo-Greek Orthodox)
- different periods of settlements
- different areas in the settlement region.

2. Process of change.

The intent of this report is to explain and illustrate (1) the changes that occurred when the traditional folklore complex of customs, rituals and beliefs was transferred from its native milieu in Western Ukraine to east central Alberta and (2) how the process continued to 1930 in Alberta. The resultant experience is largely connected to a variety of in-going, on-going and out-going features that emerged in response to the variable listed above.

The fluidity of the subject matter has defied a rigid reconstruction of stages in the development of Ukrainian folklore in the research area, and the wide variation in experience has made it implausible to postulate a detailed and universally applicable configuration of folk custom, ritual and belief. Nonetheless, the report does seek to identify patterns and

processes that obtained in the course of this development. In this regard, the following are some of the crucial issues that this report tries to address:

1 - How did the individual kinds of classical Ukrainian folk custom,belief and ritual change (in terms of content, distribution, frequency, and form) in order to reflect and adjust to the new environment in east central Alberta?

2 - What new meaning and function did the different directions of folklore take on in the new setting? Under what conditions did they arise?

3. Fieldwork and Sources Used

Due to the time frame assigned to the project (1890-1930), simple and direct observation was out of the question: that is, it was impossible to witness or observe in a direct manner the customs as they actually obtained in the living setting. In order to reconstruct as accurate a picture as possible of the complex as it operated over a half century ago, it became necessary to locate and study a wide range of data-sources. Especially productive in this regard were interviews with 104 informants whose individual life histories were, directly and/or indirectly, closely connected to east central Alberta during the first three decades of this century. Other data-sources included the following:

- oral sources (field interviews)
- unpublished sources (personal documents, accounts, records)
- published materials (periodicals, belles letters, histories and other)
- inconographic sources (photographs, artistic works, slides, moving film)
- recorded sound (commercial discs and other)[1]
- museum artifacts and specimens
- maps
- peripheral printed matter (greeting cards, invitations, announcements, posters, etc.).

Interviews with informants were obtained with the help of a special questionnaire, detailed but sufficiently open-ended to allow for heretofore unacknowledged or unknown data to surface in the course of the interview work. The questionnaire constitutes a major data gathering instrument and is included at the end of this report as Appendix A.

4. Problems Special to the Project.

The factor of time-lapse, mentioned earlier, introduced two conditions that shaped the methodology adopted for the study. First, all oral data acquired in the course of field interviews were recognized as derived from so-called memory culture; only a professionally trained and experienced researcher can spot and allow for distortion in the data caused by the processes of folklorization and mythologization. In some instances, for example, it was impossible to determine with any precise degree of certainty which details and phenomena related or reported by a given informant do or do not pertain to the research time frame. Moreover, there is a tendency to idealize the past, to romanticize earlier

experiences or, on the other hand, to distort and dismiss embarrassing moments in the life history of the individual and/or the community. These and other factors tend to colour testimonies and make it difficult to dip into the past or to understand a mentality that at one time operated without the benefits of electricity and telephones and relied almost exclusively on the spoken word as articulated in the living, face-to-face situation.

Second, since the time frame (1890-1930) begins almost a century ago and ends over fifty years ago, enough time elapsed for sizeable quantities of relevant information to be dispersed away from the defined area (east central Alberta) due to such factors as outward migration, centralized repositories of information (libraries, archives) and so forth. Hence, two of the informants were interviewed in southern Ontario, and pertinent information was found on file with national repositories in Ottawa, the Provincial Archives of Alberta in Edmonton, and the United Church Archives in Toronto. In brief, both on- and off-site investigations were undertaken as complementary and mutually supportive aspects of the research methodology.

Throughout the work it was tempting to concentrate on the archaic elements of folklore and folk culture brought from Ukraine to east central Alberta and still recalled by older informants when interviewed in 1984. Similarily, it was difficult to resist contrasting data relating to the folklore of the 1890-1930 period with the folklore of modern Ukrainian Albertans in the 1980s. Nonetheless, the research perspective remained loyal to a mode that concentrated on studying the full impact of the Canadian experience on the Ukrainain folk tradition upon and immediately after its initial transfer to Alberta. This, in effect, marks the central focus on attention in the pages that follow.

5. The informants and their general characteristics.

This report is based on original primary data recorded in the course of intensive field interviews with 104 informants undertaken, for the most part, in east central Alberta in the months of May and June, 1984. Almost all the informants were retired or semi-retired and residents of special boarding homes or "lodges" for senior citizens. These homes are publically financed and form an interrelated administrative network in the research area. Homes in the following communities provided informants for the present report: Andrew, Lamont, Mundare, Myrnam, Redwater, Smoky Lake, Two Hills, Vegreville, Vermilion, Vilna, and Willingdon. The interviews yielded a quantitative overview in the form of 74 audio-cassettes that were subsequently indexed and synopsized for further study purposes.[2]

Although the majority of informants were of Ukrainian descent, several "non-Ukrainians" (English, French, German, Polish and Romanian) were interviewed as well for contrastive purposes to help delineate differences and similarities. A more detailed glimpse into the general nature and composition of the pool of 104 informants is provided by the following tabulation of selected statistics:

(a) literacy[3] - 16 informants (= 15.38% of the pool of 104 informants) were illiterate (in both Ukrainian and English) and were unable to sign their own names when requested to do so.

(b) sex - 66 of the informants were females, 38 were male; and almost three times as many females (43) as males were born before 1905.[4]

(c) religion:

- Ukrainian Catholics:	41	(+ 9 who converted to other religions)
- Ukrainian Orthodox:	30	(+ 7 who converted to other religions)
- Russian/Russo-["Greek"] Orthodox:	11	
- other religions:	6	

(d) place of birth:

47 informants were born in Canada:

- 38 were born in the UCHV study area
- 3 were born elsewhere in Alberta
- 6 were born elsewhere in Canada (not in Alberta)

57 informants were foreign-born (40 females, 17 males)

- 3 informants — U.S.A.
- 5 informants — Romania
- 49 informants were born in districts in Western Ukraine:

Brody	4
Chernivtsi	8
Chortkiv	8
Horodenka	3
Husiatyn	2
Iavoriv	2
Kitsman	6
Peremyshl'	5
Sniatyn	6
Ternopil'	5

(e) mean figure for year of emigration for all foreign-born: 1912

(f) mean figure for year of birth for all informants: 1904 (oldest informant was born in 1891)

In addition to the general indicators, other informant data, as outlined below, provides supportive evidence that substantiates certain trends and processes reflected in the folklore complex itself during the initial period of settlement. In this regard it is important to note that since

(a) as indicated above, the oldest informant was born in 1891 in the Old Country but did not arrive in Alberta until a decade later in 1901 (post-dating the arrival in 1898 of an earlier but younger immigrant-informant by 3 years); and since

(b) the oldest Alberta-born informant, born in 1899, was younger than two other older informants who were both born in the Old Country between 1891 and 1898 but arrived in Alberta in 1901 and 1925,

it appears that the total absence (from this report's pool of 104 informants) of informants born, raised or brought to Alberta between 1892 and 1898, suggest that the initial years of settlement were exceptionally traumatic, difficult and desperate: that is, survivors from the initial period of settlement (1892-1898), whether Alberta-born or not, are totally absent from the pool of informants.

How old were the immigrant-informants when they arrived in Alberta? Did certain age-groups predominate at certain times? In this connection, it is interesting to note that the youngest immigrant-informant was 1 year of age on arrival in 1908; the oldest was 29 years of age on arrival in 1928. Moreover,

(a) of the 11 informants who emigrated to Alberta between 1898 and 1905, every one was 10 years of age or younger;

(b) of the 27 informants who had arrived in Alberta between 1907 and 1914, 18 were aged 10 to 19 years, and 9 were aged 1 to 9;

(c) of the 18 informants were arrived after World War One between 1919 and 1930, 14 were in their twenties, 3 were teenagers (14-18), and 1 was 8 years old.

The above data tends to add further support to the characterization of the early periods of settlement as one of desperation and trauma. One can surmise in this regard that the first Ukrainian settlers in east central Alberta were poor families who had little or nothing to lose by risking the trek to Alberta from the Old Country village. The subsequent influx of teenagers and twenty-year olds mirrors a new breed of immigrant worker, — "go-getters" who often came alone to join relatives who had arrived earlier; in many instances they expected to return with their earnings to the Old Country or to pave the way for loved ones back home to emigrate as well.

ENDNOTES:

INTRODUCTION

1 Of special interest in this regard is a collection of field materials, mostly folksongs, recorded by Klymasz in 1965 among 33 informants of Ukrainian descent in and around Vegreville. These are housed in the document collections of the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, National Museum of Man, Ottawa. Brief reports on the fieldwork undertaken in 1965 were published in the *Bulletin of the International Folk Music Council*, XXVIII (1966), 49; and in *Ethnomusicology*, X (1966), 342-345. In this connection, it is interesting to note that one of the informants interviewed in 1984 for this project, Mrs. Doris/Dotsia Tomas, was also an informant in 1965.

2 The synopses yielded almost 1,000 pages of typed matter. The documentation has been filed with the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village and its archival repositories for the reference of other researchers.

3 In 1921, over 30% of Canada's Ukrainians were illiterate — the highest rate for any ethnic group in Canada at that time. In this connection, see Ol'ha Woycenko, *Litopys ukrains'koho zhyttia v Kanadi*, vol. 3. (Winnipeg: Trident Publishers, 1961-69), pp. 41, 278.

4 In this regard, note the female majority of informants in the first two categories in Part Two of this report, below.

PART ONE:

"JUST LIKE IN THE OLD COUNTRY" —

OLD WORLD VARIABLES IN A NEW WORLD SETTING

Canadian Ruthenians...

"The first to disappear are the complex rituals that are so rooted in our village population. Inconceivable here [in Canada] are those long wedding rituals, those christenings, those harvest festivals, those feast days, in general that whole network of rituals that envelops the whole life of our poor peasant.

Another important reason for the loss of rituals is the fact that our man in Canada can't procure 'horilka' so easily. Sometimes it happens that he is forced to lose several days before he comes back with it from town"...

from *Kievskaia starina*, 66 (1899), 109.
Translated from the original Russian by R.B. Klymasz.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Ukrainian folklore, in its classical format, shows a total preoccupation with agrarian pursuits and peasant concerns. It is a complex that was once inextricably bound to an orally disseminated culture — folkways that were circulated and passed on in a person-to-person and face-to-face manner: Ukrainian old-timers interviewed for this project consistently used the verb form, "*kazaly*..." (= "they said... used to say... would say..."), to preface their words of explanation and kernels of knowledge. Their age-old fixation with the land had a real and pragmatic raison d'etre, for they knew it was the earth, a limited and non-renewable resource, that gave nourishment, life, sustenance and abundance. But mere physcial energy was not enough for the peasant to protect his stake in the land: he had to celebrate the dead and placate his ancestors, and he had to appease and cope with a wide assortment of natural and supernatural elements that throughout Ukraine's history had threatened man, beast, and crop.

In the old country, a variety of factors — social, economic, geographical, historical, and biological, — had combined to foster the development of an amazingly rich corpus of folk tradition. The national folklore complex was characterized by a very extensive repertoire and featured a wide spectrum of variation that by the twentieth century was still composed of a mix of obviously pre-Christian and Christian elements. This was the complex that Alberta's first Ukrainian settlers knew and brought to Canada in the 1890s.

The annual pattern of four seasons governs all agricultural pursuits in Canada and Ukraine, and it is in subjection to this seasonal framework that much of Ukrainian folklore in east central Alberta continues to operate today. The perennial flow of seasons from winter to spring, summer and fall constitutes a momentous life-and-death drama that through repetition had already ingrained itself upon the life and psyche of Ukrainian peasant emigrants prior to their departure for Western Canada. Chronology and time-measurement in terms of precise units — seconds, minutes, hours, and so on, — these provided a thin overlay, an abstract point of reference that helped in the organization of personal affairs but hardly regulated the seasons themselves. In addition to calendaric considerations, however, other factors such as climate and population density combined with one another to play a profound role in the manner in which Ukrainian folk custom re-established and operated in the new Canadian environment.

CHAPTER I:

CLIMATE

Upon arrival in east central Alberta the Ukrainian immigrant soon discovered that although, generally speaking, the climate in his new homeland corresponded to the flow of four seasons to which he had grown accustomed in the old country, there were certain differences: the summers tended to be scorching in Alberta, there was always the threat of early frosts, and the winters were longer, colder and more frigid than in the old country. These extremes, translated into temperature readings, are reflected in the following data,[1] characterizing the average lows and highs for Edmonton and for Lviv, the principal city in Western Ukraine:

	January	July	Temperature spread
Lviv	- 4.1C	18.3C	22.4C
Edmonton	- 13.8C	17.2C	31C

The spread between extremes for Edmonton represents an added differential of 38.39% over and above the spread for Lviv.

In Alberta, the frost-free period lasts from May 24 to September 16, and the growing season varies from 130 to 160 days. In Ukraine, however, the growing season began as early as March.[2] Because the seeding operations commenced as early as March, the harvest itself occurred earlier as well. One Ukrainian folklorist has noted that in many regions of Ukraine harvest operations traditionally begin on July 12th, "*na Petra*" (Saints Peter and Paul Day).[3] The autumnal season, when agrarian pursuits came to a climax, was long and mild in Ukraine. This, in turn, allowed for the development of the autumnal harvest rituals of celebration, the *obzhynky*. Mary Charuk's account in Part Two of this report includes a description of how, in the old country, this fuedal custom featured the presentation of a wreath of rye by a pretty lass to her lord followed by feasting and general merry-making.

Harvest operations were often frantic affairs in Alberta and lacked the leisurely momentum of autumn in the old country. The folkloristic repercussions of an unexpected onslaught of wintery weather was perhaps first recorded by the newly arrived Basilian Fathers in 1903 at Beaver Lake; their efforts to give their first mission ever on September 21, (the Blessed Virgin's Birthday as commemorated by the Eastern Church) became something of an embarrassing fiasco: due to unexpected snow and bad weather conditions, most of the faithful who had trekked in to participate in the landmark mission were forced to evacuate the site and return home prematurely since suitable overnight facilities were unavailable in the vicinity. It was an important lesson: in subsequent years the Fathers held their widely

popular annual celebration, *vidpust*, in mid-summer on July 12th ("*na Petra*"), Saints Peter and Paul Day.[4]

The harshness of winter and prolonged freezing temperatures did much to discourage house-to-house carolling and mumming customs during Christmas, New Year's and Epiphany celebrations. Concerned parents often forbade their younger children to venture outdoors to visit neighbours to enact the Old Country custom of ritual sowing on New Year's morning; missionary priests frequently found it impossible to travel in winter to officiate at funerals and other events; and traditionally outdoor church rituals such as the blessing of the Jordan water in January or the blessing of food baskets at Easter were quickly moved indoors to avoid the vagaries of Alberta's climate. On the other hand, the unusually long summer days in east central Alberta were undoubtedly especially appreciated by the younger folk whose Old Country curfew signal, sundown, obtained somewhat later in the new world environment than it usually did in the old country.

ENDNOTES:

CHAPTER I
CLIMATE

1 See the *Canadian Pocket Encyclopedia*, 36th ed. (Toronto: Quick Canadian Facts Ltd., 1983), p. 73, and I. Tesla's entry on "Climate" in the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 525-527.

2 One almanac for 1926 published in Galicia, in its column of agricultural advice for March ("*Hospodar'skyi poradnyk na berezen'*") suggests that March is the time for farmers to commence seeding operations and plant, transplant and prune the fruit traces in their orchards. See *Zahal'nyi iliustrovanyi kaliendar na rik 1926* (Peremyshl': Ukrains'kyi holos, 1926), n.p.

3 See Oleksa Voropai, *Zvychai nashoho narodu i etnohrafichnyi narys*, vol. 2 (Munich: Ukrains'ke vydavnytstvo, 1966), p. 211. The Provincial Archives of Alberta (Goresky collection, no. 81.145/3) houses a document that notes how a certain Ukrainian immigrant "arrived in Mundare during harvest in 1938, a strange circumstance to him as he had completed harvest operations in Europe before coming to Canada."

4 In this regard see, for example, *Propam'iatna knyha 00. Vasyliian u Kanadi. 50 lit na sluzhbi Bohovi i narodovi (1902-1952)* (Toronto: Vydavnytstvo 00. Vssyliian, 1953), p. 168; Claudia Helen Popowich, *To Serve Is to Love: The Canadian Story of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate* (Toronto: Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, 1971), p. 49; and Father Bernard Dribnenky's account in Part Two of this report.

CHAPTER II:

POPULATION DENSITY

Besides differences in climate, the interviews with early arrivals also reflect feelings of isolation and loneliness that obtained during the first years of Ukrainian settlement in east central Alberta. There was, to be sure, plenty of space, — perhaps too much space. Some described the region as a wilderness ("*pustynia*") devoid of people ("*ne bulo koho...*," "*ne bulo z kym...*"). In the old country, the village ("*selo*") was composed of a cluster of dwellings; the home of a neighbour was never distant, often only a few feet or yards away. The church, the inn, school and other local community facilities were usually nearby and within walking distance. In such compact conditions, traditional customs such as Christmas carolling and ritual sowing of grain at the New Year's period were never as potentially hazardous as they were in east central Alberta, where distance and climate frequently combined to frustrate the continuity of any winter rituals that in any way obtained or operated outdoors. In Alberta, the Ukrainian word for village, "*selo*," was inoperable; and to attend church in their district, some families would have to travel a distance that exceeded distances between neighbouring villages in the old country. At first, settlers who took up homesteads lived at least a half mile apart from one another since they were committed to living on site. Later, when their farms increased in size, so did the distances between farmsteads. However, by 1930, the coming of the automobile and better roads made these distances tolerable for most of the year.

Comparative data relating to population density underline the critical nature of the isolation that disoriented Alberta's early Ukrainians and their customs and traditions. In this regard, Orest Martynowych reports that "in northern Bukovyna, towns like Chernivtsi and Kitsman and larger villages like Berehomet, Sukhoverkhiv, Raranche, Tovtry and Toporivtsi, all... had about 5,000 inhabitants in 1900." By 1910, Berehomet had a population of 7,315.[1] Comparative figures from east central Alberta show that the largest town in the area, Vegreville, in 1911 had a total population of merely 1029; by 1961, this figure increased to only 2,908 (of which, 1,518 were reportedly Ukrainians). Figures for other towns and villages in east central Alberta in 1961 include 603 inhabitants for Mundare (518 Ukrainians), and 826 inhabitants for Two Hills (651 Ukrainians).[2]

With regard to population density, official government census records for east central Alberta in 1961 (i.e., Alberta census division no. 10 covering about 10,000 square kilometers with a total population of 70,177) suggest a population density of about 7 persons per square kilometer (2.06 Ukrainians per square kilometer for 20,332 Ukrainians in the census division, 28.9% of the division's total population). In contrast to the preceding figures, population figures for Western Ukraine in 1932 indicate that "Galicia and Bukovyna [covering about 90,000 square kilometers], as in previous years, were the most densely settled (97 persons per square kilometer)" with "63 Ukrainians per square kilometer in Galicia and 57 Ukrainians per square kilometer in Bukovyna."[3] Folk customs that had once flourished in relatively well populated areas of Western Ukraine and relied on a high level of interpersonal activity in all forms of communal celebration were, therefore,

immediately jeopardized when transferred to the new, sparsely populated setting in east central Alberta.

Figure 1: Easter singing games (*haivky*) in Western Ukraine before 1878.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER II.
POPULATION DENSITY

1 Orest Martynowych The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History" (Edmonton: Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village contract report, 1984), pp. 17, 28-29.

2 All population figures and density ratios for east central Alberta in 1961 have been excerpted from and/or based upon official Canadian Government census data figures for 1961.

3 *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), pp. 180 and 235.

CHAPTER III:

THE CALENDAR OF CUSTOMS AND CELEBRATIONS

As discussed earlier, before 1930 most Ukrainians in east central Alberta managed their affairs in accordance with their agrarian pursuits.[1] These in turn were attuned to the flow of seasons. Elderly Ukrainians interviewed for this report consistently identified *Stritennia*, for example, as the time when summer meets up with winter; the exact calendaric date was never specified, and no one gave the official church designation as Candlemas-day, the feast of Christ's presentation at the Temple (February 2). In effect, the year was seen as a fundamentally cyclic structure based upon a repeating sequence of four seasons. Precise linearity and time-telling literateness focussed on exact dates (exemplified by modern concerns with birthdays, Mother's Day, anniversaries and other date-celebrations including the contemporary popular designation of January 7th as "Ukrainian Christmas") were alien methods of time-management for most old-timers interviewed for this report. Their calendaric repertoire was so profuse with assorted saints days, holydays and religious feast days that few informants could begin to unravel the accumulation or to specify the exact calendaric date for any of them. Although the exact details concerning the calendaric network were not registered or classified in the minds of the informants, the customs and celebrations connected to these holydays were kept alive in their memories. Because of the emotive features attached to the calendaric network and its various parts, questions concerning exactness or consistency were generally dismissed as irrelevant. The Ukrainian predilection for saints days and holydays is reflected in the following excerpt from an opinionated comment that was published on the first page of *The Vegreville Observer* in its issue for February 28, 1917:

> [in old Mundare, circa 1917]
>
> "They were having 'Big Holiday' on the day I went, and the street was black and buzzing with humanity, they encumbered the sidewalks, thronged the stores, and mobbed the post office, and it was a little excruciating because there is a peculiar, sand baggy force of inertia in a Ruthenian crowd which makes it difficult to elbow through. Not that this is any novelty for it occurs once or twice a week. It should really be stopped. I generally make it a point to respect other people's religious opinions, but it must be confessed that, in this country and this time, for an entire population to wallow in idleness fifty or a hundred times a year because some frowsy old saint or another is supposed to have been born on that day a thousand years ago, is an anomaly, an absurdity and an anachronism. How to stop it? Nothing more easy. Put the Saints' Days under the Inspector of Licenses; tax them the same as we do automobiles and things . . . charge for every day wasted in idleness and hold the priests responsible for the amount. In short time you would see all the old Saints hopping out of the calendar and everybody at work in the fields. This is so simple and sensible that it will never be done."[2]

A. A Dualistic Pattern.

What was cited above as a kind of calendaric anarchy, actually operated to provide an outlet for regional and individual variation; the kermis of a local parish and the saint's day of a district farmer both offered a necessary measure of separateness, distinction and pride that supplemented such universally celebrated holydays as Christmas and Easter. These, in turn, developed into a structure of binary opposites — a dualistic system of complementary contrastive features, as listed below in the following table:

		Christmas Feast	Easter Feast
Temporal considerations:	1. season	winter	spring
	2. calendaric date	fixed	floats, moveable
	3. meal of the day	supper	breakfast (brunch)
	4. no. of dishes required	twelve	not specified
	5. ecclesiastic rulings	no animal products	ritual blessing of Easter foods
Specifics	6. special ritual food items	*kutia*	hard-cooked egg and ritual breads (*paska*, *baba*/*babka*)
	7. Dominant food texture, shape	soft-form, liquidity, fluidic, hot	hard-form, firm, cold

The interlocking duality outlined above can be detected elsewhere in the calendar as well. Certain saints (for example, John and Michael) and calendaric moments ("*tepli*/*zymni miasnytsi*") are celebrated on more than one occasion in the course of the calendar year. Conceptual dualism can obtain as well: pussy willow Sunday (Palm Sunday) with its focus on the budding willow branch is linked by some to Green Holydays, seven weeks after Easter, when the emphasis is on leaves and foliage — a subsequent, visible fulfillment of the budding branch that appeared eight weeks earlier. Duality in the form of ambiguity can also obtain when, for example, one an informant identifies pushchennia as the beginning of a lengthy period of Lenten deprivation while another sees the same calendaric event in terms of a last, pre-Lenten fling.

B. A Reductive Trend.

Under "Climate," it was noted that the seasons are not of equal duration in Alberta. The longest season, winter, is also the slow period for farm operations; fields are normally

snow-covered and inoperable.[3] It is a space of time that offers considerable scope and opportunity for other concerns to emerge. It is hardly accidental or surprising, then, that the winter cycle of customs and celebrations became the most productive and fully developed seasonal cycle of folk ritual. As the year drew nearer to autumn and the community's preoccupation with harvest, the number of calendaric celebrations and rituals was gradually reduced to almost nothing. As a result, the shortest season in east central Alberta (autumn) was not only the most crucial time of the year but at the same time the most poorly developed in terms of calendaric folk custom and ritual. The following table outlines this gradual reduction of calendaric customs and celebrations as observed before 1930 among Ukrainians in east central Alberta:

SEASON	MONTHS	CALENDARIC CUSTOMS AND CELEBRATIONS
winter/*zyma*	(November) December January February (March)	 St. Andrew's Day (*Andreia*) Christmas (*Rizdvo*) *Sviatyi Vechir* *kutia* carolling New Year's/*Malanka* *siiaty* Epiphany *IOrdan* *miasnytsi* *pushchennia*
spring/*vesna*	(March) April May (June)	Lent (*pist*) pussy willow Sunday Easter eggs Easter Sunday blessing of Easter foods *haivky* Easter Monday/Tuesday splashing *provody* Green Holydays (7 weeks after Easter)
summer/*lito*	(June) July August (September)	Saints Peter and Paul Day (July 12)
autumn/*osin'*	(September) October (November)	(No major calendaric customs or celebrations.)

Figure 2: *Haivky* at Radway Orthodox church, ca. 1921

By reducing its load of customs and celebrations as autumn approached, the Ukrainian community's calendar of seasonal celebrations in east central Alberta responded to the necessity of respecting the prevading focus on the climactic highlight of the agrarian year: the harvest and harvest operations. All calendaric obligations were suspended to avoid interference with a harvest that in Alberta demanded optimum flexibility and concentration before the threat of winter terminated all harvest operations.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER III.
THE CALENDAR OF CUSTOMS AND CELEBRATIONS

1 Official government census figures for 1941, as assembled by N.J. Hunczak, in his Canadians of Ukrainian Origin, Series No. 1: Population (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1945), show that in 1941, 81.36% of Alberta's Ukrainian population (71,868) lived in rural localities 20 percentage points higher than the percentage figure (61.49%) for the total population of Alberta. Also in 1941, 24,226 Ukrainians in Alberta reporting "occupation," or 67.39% (the majority), were classed under agriculture, followed by only 1,821 (or 7.5%) classed under "personal Services."

2 Report signed by "H.D." in the Vegreville Observer (February 28, 1917), p. 1.

3 In this connection, see, for example, Sonia Maryn, *The Chernochan Machine Shed. Ukrainian Farm Practices In East Central Alberta.* Occasional Paper No. 13 Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historic Sites Service, 1985, p. 93.

CHAPTER IV:

RELIGION AND THE CHURCH[1]

During the traumatic period of early settlement, the absence of such old world supporting structures as the village and the village church signalled — at least during the initial years of pioneering — the collapse of the old folklore infrastructure once its carriers arrived in Alberta. The absence of churches, a chronic shortage of clergy, a fluctuating calendar based on the "old" Julian calendar, and the politically explosive issue of the "new" Gregorian calendar (equated with the calendar of Roman Catholic Poles, traditional enemies of Western Ukraine) were matters that aggravated and jeopardized the Ukrainian community's allegiance to its religious traditions and institutions. The absence of priests to regulate, officiate at and lend intensity to the annual round of calendaric church customs and celebrations paved the way, so to speak, for the willy-nilly re-emergence of archaic, pre-Christian folk elements that had lain dormant and generally unrecognized beneath the veneer of official church custom and belief. In the vacuum created by a dearth of clergy and churches, these "pagan" features became principal features by default as it were. Informants interviewed for this report indicated that the absence of a priest did not necessarily obliterate the potential potency of certain traditional calendaric customs and rituals that ordinarily required official consecration at the hands of the clergy: water drawn on the Epiphany (Jordan Day), willows brought into the home on Palm Sunday and foods prepared for Easter Sunday could take on their supernatural qualities without the priest's usual acts of sanctification. Indeed, the wealth of customs and rituals associated with traditional Christmas and New Year's celebrations almost always obtained without any clerical assistance whatsoever.

Processes that in the Old Country had prompted the emergence of "the awakening village"[2] were largely absent in east central Alberta where the backwardness of customs and beliefs associated with homeopathic and prophylactic magic sometimes offered the best and sole tools for coping in the new environment. In desperation, the early Ukrainian peasant immigrant in Alberta, in his search for hope, assistance and a semblance of control over his destiny, looked to his basic, primeval folkloric practices — ingrained, eminently portable and individualized. With renewed vigor, he threw boiled wheat at the ceiling to foretell his future, sprinkled holy water on almost anything to ward off evil forces; he fed, commemorated and appeased his dead ancestors, and used his very breath and bodily juices (spit and urine) to heal himself and cure his loved ones; pussy willows blessed on Palm Sunday were saved to divert hurricanes and disastrous hail clouds, and he made sure that, on New Year's day, the first ritual sowers to enter his home were males, not females. Finally, he forged his own words into tools of magic — charms and spells, curses and incantations.

But these were only temporary stopgap measures. Even the pagan Slavs of pre-historic times had a priesthood and places of worship.[3] By the 1920s, east central Alberta's Ukrainian settlements were dotted with the familiar folk architecture of Old Country churches. At first, these early structures were seen primarily as non-denominational places

of community worship. By the end of World War I, however, issues concerning the formalities of religious affiliation became paramount as the Ukrainian community found itself embroiled in religious controversy and factionalism.[4]

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER IV:
RELIGION AND THE CHURCH

1 There are, unfortunately, no authoritative critical works on the role of the church and religion in the development of modern Ukrainian folklore complex. Field research and related analyses, if any, have not reached the approved-for-publication stage in the Soviet Ukraine; and elsewhere, the field remains almost totally ignored.

2 Martynowych, p. 27.

3 With regard to pagan Slavic place of worship and temples, see the 12th century *Chronical of the Slavs* by Helmold, tr. F. J. Tschan (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), pp. 61, 158-159, 218-219; and Francis Dvornik, *The Slavs: Their Early History and Civilization* (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1956), p.46.

4 See, for example, Martynowych, pp.157-187.

PART TWO:

A TRADITION REMEMBERED —

SELECTED CASE STUDIES

"Few people had ever seriously wished to be exclusively rational. The good life which most desire was a life warmed by passions and touched with that ceremonial grace which was impossible without some affectionate loyalty to traditional forms and ceremonies."

Joseph Wood Krutch, "Ignoble Utopias," *The Measure of Man* (1954).

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

A total of 104 informants were interviewed for the present report. Seventeen of these interviews had been selected on the basis of their representative and informative features and appear in an outline-format below.* These a had been divided into two main categories: (1) accounts that pertain to the folklore of individuals (early arrivals, late comers, Canadian-born) who farmed in the research area during the 1892-1930 time-frame adopted for this study and (2) accounts that pertain to the folklore of those whose careers led them away from farming pursuits. In one or two cases, individuals who do not exactly fit the classificatory criteria above had been included for their contrastive data. Each case study includes a brief biographical sketch as well as an account of the personal repertoire of traditional folk customs, celebrations a beliefs. General comments and analyses follow each of the four sub-sections.

The entire assembly was calculated to underline the breadth as well as the depth of the folklore experience of Ukrainians in east central Alberta before 1930. Although each informant was approached with a standardized questionnaire (see Appendix at end), each person's response obtained variously in terms of detail, emphases and focus. To a great extent, these variables were the organic elements that constituted the living tradition as it obtained among Ukrainians in east central Alberta up to 1930.

CHAPTER V:

THE FOLKLORE OF PEASANT IMMIGRANTS AND PIONEERING FARMERS

A. SOME EARLY ARRIVALS (1901-1914)

1. KATHERINE ORLECKI

a) Biographical Data

Katherine Orlecki (née Goryniuk) was born on February 15, 1891 in the village of Toporivtsi, *Chernovets'* province, Bukovyna. She arrived in Canada in 1901 at the age of ten with her parents and one brother and one sister, settling first in the Wostok district and then moving to a farm seven miles from present-day Two Hills, Alberta. In 1908 she wed Steve and they had five children (four boys). They farmed in the same area as Katherine's father until 1959 and then retired to Vancouver. After three years they returned to farm in the same area. After a couple of years they moved to a house in Two Hills.

Figure 3: Katherine Orlecki, Two Hills, 1984.

Katherine had no formal schooling but read and wrote in Ukrainian at the time of the interview; she also spoke and read in English. She was of the Ukrainian Orthodox faith.

Her first years in Canada were spent working for others as a house maid because the times were bad ("*bo duzhe bida bula*"). When she was but ten years old she went to work for a farmer at Wostok for ten dollars per month When she was fourteen years old, she worked for two and a half years at South Bend (now Duvernay) on the river for two Swedes, although she did not know the language and could not properly communicate with them.

Katherine recalled her adventure going through an Indian Reserve on foot after leaving her Swedish employers to return home. On the way Katherine stopped at a house that she recognized as being Ukrainian because it was whitewashed and covered with hay ("*to vzhe nasha khata, bo vzhe bilana, sinom nakryto*"). The lady of the house was amazed that Katherine had attempted to go through the reserve alone and insisted that Katherine spend the night there. She arrived home safely with the money she had earned and bought a trunk ("*kufer*"), and a coat ("*kovtyk*") and got married in 1908.

Among her personal experience narratives, she told about how she almost died in 1917 or 1919 and shrank to eighty pounds, about the early years, clearing the land and related

problems, settling down, how she got a hen ("*kvochka*"), how they made coffee from rye-grain, and so forth.

Katherine had travelled a great deal with/to her now widowed daughter; she visited Chicago, Ohio, Hollywood, California (five times), Mexico (three times), and Las Vegas. Katherine remarks that she found it too hot in the south.

When queried about happy times, Katherine noted that life on the farm was happy but difficult and described one of the greatest challenges that faced her: on one occasion she had to prepare, overnight, enough food to feed a team ("*skupok*") of twenty-two French threshers. Katherine had to make bread from scratch in time for breakfast for all of them, including her own family. She succeeded even though there were no stores then. They did a good job ("*vony zmolotyly faino*") and enjoyed their food.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

(i) Christmas

Before Christmas there was a lenten period ("*malyi pist Pylypivka*") that lasted six weeks. No fats were allowed during three days out of the week; "*olii*" was used instead — it tasted fine, said Katherine. When they first arrived in Canada, the wheat crop was ruined: but they used whatever they could salvage to make flat pancakes because there was nothing else, and even this tasted all right.

During the "*Pylypivka*"-period they celebrated "*Andréia*"/St. Andrew's. This was a fun time, said Katherine. Girls and boys got together in someone's home on the eve of St. Andrew's Day to play games. In one such activity, the girls went outside in the snow, took off their shoes and threw them over the roof of the house; a girl's betrothed was supposedly in the direction of dogs barking at this action. Another activity was for the girls to tie posts ("*kolyky vviezaly*"). They would count aloud saying "Not one, not two" and so on right up to "ten" ("*ni oden, ni dva...*"). If the tenth post had bark on it, this was a good sign; if the bark had fallen off, this meant a bald husband.

For "*sviatyi vechir*" they ate wheat/"*pshenytsia*," "*pychyrytsi*"/ mushrooms, and fish if available. It was obligatory to had twelve dishes, said Katherine. Her father threw the wheat to the ceiling; if it stuck, this meant that the bees would swarm in bunches/"*bonchom.*" Some hay/straw was placed on and under the table; a sheaf of wheat was placed in the corner; they said this was maybe "*did*" or "*baba*" and that, in any case, it was holy/sacred ("*to ie sviate, kazaly*"). Some garlic was placed under the table cloth. After the dinner, all the foods were left out on the table for the saints to sample. The next day, salt was poured on the table and some chop, and this along with whatever was left was fed to the livestock, individually.

There was no Christmas tree or gifts. Sometimes they got apples or nuts from the stores in Edmonton (which was still a small place) and shared these with the neighbours.

There was lots of carolling but Katherine didn't participate in the house-to-house carolling. When married, she only went to her own father's and to those who had served as "*bat'ko*" and "*matka*" at her wedding. Katherine and her husband took a bowl with "*holubtsi*," "*pshenytsia*" and other foods to these people. All the young couples did this, and the recipients were happy to greet them.

Older people went carolling from house to house in support of the church. There was no cash around, so the carollers collected grain by the sackful or whatever ("*nakolektuiut' dobru baksu pshenytsiu*") and then they sold it for cash.

Katherine knew nothing about a carolling star ("*zvizda*").

(ii) New Year's

On New Year's eve, it was *Malanka* time; an old man/"*did*," a flute player player, *Malanka* and perhaps others visited homes to dance and make merry. These were men dressed up. They once even made her mother dance although she was sick, said Katherine. They only visited friends and did not collect money. Katherine's rationale was simply that this was from the Old Country ("*tak she z kraiu bulo*").

Poor children, boys and girls, went to sow grain ("*siiaty*") at night, in the dark. Some would walk one or two miles through the snow. Katherine recited the verse/jingle used by the children who would receive a dime from Katherine. Katherine herself never went to sow.

(iii) Epiphany

On *shchedryi vechir*, January 18th, there would be a dinner, like the Christmas Eve dinner. Sometimes, said Katherine, it was more like a breakfast that preceded an early, pre-dawn trip to church for the blessing of the water ceremony [...especially if the priest had many communities to visit].

The water was blessed inside the church and, after the service, some was brought home for everyone to taste. Then, to keep it from getting foul ("*ne zasmerdytysy*"), the blessed water was boiled and kept in a cool place for future use; for example, when someone was ill they gave the person some of it to drink. It did prove to be helpful, said Katherine. The following year, when a fresh supply of blessed water was brought home from the Iordan service at church the old batch, if any of it was left, was poured down the well.

At first, no priest came to bless the homes after Epiphany because of the distances and because he had to travel by horse.

c) Easter Customs and Celebrations

(i) Pre-Easter

"*Miasnytsi*" designated the period after Christmas, — between/after Christmas right up to Lent, said Katherine. "*Pushchennia*" came right at Lent (when it started).

Palm Sunday ("*shutkova nedilia*") came a week before Easter Sunday. Katherine recited the greeting used when hitting others with the blessed willow branches. The branches were not discarded but kept at home to avert hail. This was very helpful; when the hail came, a branch was thrown outside in front of the house to make the hail pass by/away.

(ii) Easter Food Basket and Other Traditions

Foods taken to church to be blessed included homemade cheese/"*budz, brendza*," butter, horseradish, salt, homemade sausage "*kovbasa*," and "pysanky" (but not poppy/"*mak*").

Katherine made "*pysanky*" and she used to embroider too. The blessed *pysanky* were coloured so that the chicken wouldn't recognize its egg ("*kurka by iaitse by ne piznala*"). Because of the dye on the *pysanka* surfaces, they were not eaten but given away to children and guests.

At Two Hills, the foods were blessed at 8:00 a.m. outside after the church service. Once, however, they had to travel all the way to Wostok from Two Hills to get the "*paska*" blessed. (Nowadays this was done inside the church basement.) Then, people went home and guests came over to visit. People used to like one another a great deal ("*duzhe sy liudy liubyly*"), said Katherine. The father would say a prayer at first, and then they would eat/partake of the blessed foods. In the old days, only blessed foods were eaten after the church service on Easter Sunday.

At Two Hills, there were no Easter singing-games/"*haivky*" and no bell-ringing on Easter Sunday. However, they did bump eggs ("*tsokaly*") in the usual way.

d) Cult of Ancestors

(i)*Pomana*

A memorial dinner could serve as a *pomana*, said Katherine. Another *pomana*-dinner could be held forty days after the person's death and again one year after the death.

(ii) *Provody*, *Parastas*

These were held before/up to Ascension Day/"*voznesénnia*"; after this, *provody* would/could not be held, said Katherine.

When a "*parastas*" service was held in church for the dead, one brought three *kolachi*, oranges/"*arandzhys*" and the booklet with the names of the dead; if the service was held soon after Easter, "*pasky*" or "*perepichky*" and "*pysanky*" were brought as well. The priest was hired, paid, and he recalled all the dead relatives by name.

Katherine described how in her tradition ("*u nas*") they made round "*pasky*" with cheese, in the Bukovynian way. These were called "*perepichky*" and could be used as *pomana* along with *pysanky* right up to Ascension Day. A ring of dough was made, it rose, and a topping of cottage-cheese and egg was prepared for the centre of the top surface; the whole thing was baked in a pie plate, and cut into pie-like servings (not into slices); it came out nice and smooth after baking. Katherine always made hers on Easter Sunday even when there was much work to do like seeding. She baked it almost every week right up to "*Voznesenniia.*" These "*perepichky*" were eaten and enjoyed a great deal.

"*Voznesenniia*" always fell on Thursday. Then, a week from the following Sunday, it was Green Holydays/"*zeleni sviata.*"

e) Other Church Customs, Traditions and Holydays

(i) *KHram*

In the Old Country village and at Katherine's church seven miles from Two Hills, Alberta (the community of *Luzhany*), *khram* was held on St. Elias Day ("*na Illia*"). In the early days, the dinner was held in private homes; later it was held communally in the hall (a former school). Katherine liked having people over for the *khram* dinner; she recalled that sometimes she had forty to sixty people come over even though she didn't had a fridge or a deep freeze.

(ii) *Vidpust* took place chiefly in the Old Country where they had to go on foot for a long distance. There was some of this in Mundare, said Katherine. About fifty years ago, she went once with her children to Mundare; there were many people there and a nice service, said Katherine. *Vidpust* in Mundare was held on St. Peter's ("*na Petra*"), on July 12th.

(iii) In response to the query on *Ivan Kupalo*, Katherine described St. John's Day ("*na Ivana*"), July 7th. This was a holyday ("*svieto*") and supposedly a good time to plant cucumbers for them to be extra long ("*bude duzhe dovhe*"), laughed Katherine.

(iv) On St. George's Day ("*na IUriia*"), they dug up sod clumps ("*kopaly kytsky*"). These were placed outside near the doorway by the threshold, and a willow branch was stuck in. Katherine said, as rationale, that this had been done for a long time ("*Tak bulo z davna*").

(v) Green holydays ("*zeleni sviata*") was celebrated on a Sunday with a dinner and guests. The day before, Saturday, branches ("*pruttia*") were fetched and placed above doorways, windows — everywhere, said Katherine.

(vi) "*Stritennia*" fell on February 12th, a feast day ("*tr'okh sviatykh*"). This designated the time when summer met up with winter ("*strichaiesy lito z zymov*").

(vii) "*Makovei*," said Katherine, was a fall/autumnal holyday; and then she associated this with "*preobrazeniie*" that falls on August 19th. This celebration saw people bringing fruits and vegetables from their gardens, as well as poppyseed/"*mak*" for the priest to bless outside the church. It was a nice ceremony, said Katherine; the produce was blessed around the church, like "*pasky*" at Easter, with each person standing by his/her own clump of produce to await the priest's blessing.

Earlier, when there were no jars for canning and preserving, people wanted to had their produce blessed before eating it; after the ceremony they would distribute it as *pomana*. Later, there were even people who would not make preserves of anything unless it had been blessed first.

(viii) At first, it was important not to work on Sundays. Also, the police stopped people who did so. Some people would not even light a stove on a Sunday; they would had their food prepared the day before to avoid cooking on Sunday,

(ix) Katherine did not know the word "*tryzna.*"

f) Weddings

Katherine indicated that matchmakers/"*starosta*" were not used much at first because people were too poor ("*iak khto tam zlahodyv, tak bulo*"). From about 1905 to 1907, a simple wreath made from flowers was given to the bride to wear just to pretty her up and make her look a little like a bride ("*a to by vytko sho to iakas' moloda*"). At her wedding, Katherine wore her embroidered shirt, a skirt and some poor shoes, but no veil, and only paper flowers.

She married in winter, on a Sunday after Christmas in 1908, before Lent. She first went to the groom's place,—he had good horses; and then they went together to the Boian for the church vows. There were sixteen couples that took their vows together to take advantage of the priest's presence in the district. It was a poor, motley group, said Katherine; they weren't dressed nicely at all ("*ne bulo faino*"). Each couple had their own "*matka*," "*bat'ko*" and "*svichka*" at the service. The parents decided who would be *matka* and *bat'ko*; this could be a married couple or other adults. At her wedding, her husband had one "*svitylka*," his sister (Katherine was not supposed to had one). She had two "*drushky*," and he had one "*druzhba*" in addition to the one "*svitylka.*" After the church service/"*shliub*" Katherine went home to her place, and her husband went to his place.

On the Thursday following the Sunday of the church service, they had the wedding party/"*vesillia.*" There was a small celebration at her place; then the groom and the "*bat'ko*" and "*matka*" came to take her to the groom's family's place for another celebration. After this, they went to his small shack which had been divided in half; one half for a cow, and the other half for the groom's "*zhinka.*" Katherine hintsed that she and her marriage were

used to help the groom retain his hold of the free land that had to be improved with buildings and so forth to avoid cancellation of the agreement.

From the "*perepii*"/presentation their proceeds were fifteen dollars and two small towels/"*rushnychky*." Katherine agreed that some men had the habit of throwing back the toast/whisky over their shoulders, sometimes straight into someone's eyes. People had to keep on guard to avoid this from happening to them. One lady placed a towel on her/the bride's neck, but Katherine was not sure of this custom's significance, if any. Also, there were two "*kolachi*"; the "*bat'ko*" received both of these as a gift. Later, the "*matka*" and the "*bat'ko*" cut these up and gave each wedding guest a piece.

The first time that Katherine went dancing was at her own wedding (this was because she had spent the preceding years working). For music, there was a "*harmoniia*" at his place during the wedding party; there was a little music as well at her place, said Katherine. They danced the "*kolomyika*" and sang.

Katherine described how a kerchief was placed on the bride before she left her home to go with her husband to his place; the bride's brother or some fellow ("*khlopyts*") carried a kerchief draped over two sticks to a position above the bride's head; then the "matka" tied it on the bride's head. This showed that the bride was no longer a maiden/"*divka*" ("*vona vzhe zakryta... vona vzhe ne ie divka...*").

Katherine had no "*svashka*" at her wedding. They could had had these in the Old Country, she suggested.

g) Christenings

At the time of the interview, Katherine had been godmother to thirty-seven children. In the case of two households, she was a godmother for ten of the children in each of the two households. She once saw eight children serve as godparents for a young child. This was apparently allowed since they could read and were, hence, adult-like.

Each set of godparents provided a "*kryzhma*" for the child.

Often, the same godparents were called upon to serve as "*bat'ko*" and "*matka*," when the child married.

h) Funerals

Katherine told about a particularly painful funeral that took place at Christmas about 1918. A mother and her twins had perished at childbirth in a hospital in Vegreville. The husband of the dead woman brought them back home, the three of them lying on straw in a sleigh. Katherine and others went over to help out at the widower's home where there were many orphaned children, and all lived in a small house. A coffin was made of boards/planks, and the mother was dressed; she and the twins shared the one coffin.

Mirrors were covered because the living were not supposed to see themselves. They sat up all night with the body. Neighbours brought food; people talked and, if someone could read, then someone read. After three days, the body was buried.

Long ago, said Katherine, relatives lamented. There was once a lady, a non-relative, who was paid and whose laments were so effective that everyone broke down and cried, said Katherine.

Sometimes, if the church was far away, the funeral dinner was served first, and then the body was taken to church for the funeral service. Many came from afar by horse and returned home directly after the service and could not return to the home for a dinner after the service.

The food was prepared in the room next to the room where the corpse/"*merlets*" lay for three days. When the time came, the body was taken outside to make room for the dinner. The table was set for people to eat in the same room. "But who," asks Katherine, "would want to eat?"

Often the funeral meal was poor ("*to duzhe bidno ily*"); sometimes they would only had boiled wheat and that's all ("*mysku pshenytsiu zvarut — to vse*").

i) Pastimes

(i) Picnics

At Musidora there were many picnics that were of the fun-making kind, said Katherine ("*robyly smishnyi piknyk*"); they fought with sacks ("*mikhamy bylysia*") and so forth. At Two Hills there was more baseball/"*byisbal.*" Picnics were held in July, in the summer, on any day. Sometimes these were held to raise money, because they sold things like pop/"*pap.*"

(ii) Concerts, Plays

They went to Musidora where there were more plays than at Two Hills. There they would see domestic plays about an old man and an old woman ("*dida, baba*"), and other plays. Katherine attended concerts when possible. These were school concerts with singing and short, comical plays.

(iii) Dances

Katherine went to dances after she married. The boys did fight a great deal, she admits; they drank too much and ruined many wedding celebrations.

(iv) Radio, Gramophone, Automobile

At first they got a radio and then a gramophone that, in 1933, cost three hundred and fifty dollars. In 1927 they bought a lovely Chrysler automobile. Katherine described a car trip with six passengers to visit with an aunt at Smoky Lake and the accident they had en route.

j) Work-Bees

Bukovynians said "*klaka*" to mean the same thing as "*toloka*" which was the word used by Galicians, said Katherine. People were asked to come over to help with some chores. You provided a bottle of whisky, and they got your house plastered in one day ("*khatu mastyty*").

k) Beliefs and Superstitions

They used to say, reported Katherine, that when someone died, a candle and water should be left out on the table for three evenings/nights for the soul of the departed to come and drink ("*dusha pryide napytysia*"). But she never saw this happen.

They spoke of evil beings like devils and other evil spirits in the Old Country, but not here in Canada.

Katherine had a positive opinion of wax-pouring. She once slipped into a well when drawing water when she was working for ten dollars per month; the lady of the house heard Katherine's screams and rescued her. But Katherine was made sick by this experience. The lady took Katherine to a lady who poured wax; and this helped Katherine recover.

She confirmed the danger of evil eye ("*vroky*") that could strike a child and make it sick when a person gave it too many compliments.

Katherine went once to a tea reading seance in Edmonton; it was in English and it was all true, she said. This was not done in Two Hills.

She was ambivalent in regard to dreamlore. They used to say that dreaming about a cow/cows meant that someone would die.

1) Other

(i) Katherine knew nothing about *rusalky*/mermaids.

(ii) No one had birthday parties in the old days.

(iii) Katherine identified Taras Shevcheuko as a wise man ("*mudryi cholovik*") whom she had seen in a picture ("*vydila na pikcher*"). She identified *L'viv* as a city in the Old Country.

(iv) Katherine made pies in Two Hills but not on the farm. She also raised turkeys for market purposes in Chicago; she produced a picture showing her flock of five hundred turkeys on the farm. She also baked turkey to eat.

(v) Katherine indicated that there was little/no time for story-telling ("*baiky*") due to the pressures of other matters.

(vi) With regard to other ethnic groups, Katherine mentioned that she saw *Hutsuly* and "Dutch" in Los Angeles, gypsies at the Vegreville exhibition and in the Old Country, Jews in Edmonton and in the Old Country. Katherine had French neighbours, but there were no English people living near. Indians remained on the reserve, and there were no Romanians nearby since they kept to themselves at Boian, Alberta ("*duzhe do kupy tam na Boian*").

Where Katherine lived there were Bukovynians and people from Galicia... but more Bukovynians.

2. MAGDALENA MELNYK

a) Biographical Data

Magdalena Melnyk (née *Vatamaniuk*) was born on August 10, 1897 in the village of Borivtsi in Bukovyna. She arrived in Canada in 1907 with her parents and three other siblings, settling where her father had a homestead ten miles south of what became the town of Edwand. In 1914, Magdalena wed and, with her husband, farmed two miles east of her dad's farm, moving later to another farm near Whitford Lake/Andrew. Magdalena had two grades of schooling in the Old Country and she belonged to the Russo-Orthodox church ("*Pokrova*") at Edwand at the time of the interview. She had six children, of whom four were boys).

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

At the start of the Christmas Eve dinner, her father made a sign of the cross over the boiled wheat ("*pshenytsia*") and tossed some up at the ceiling. Her mother's only explanation was that this was the way it was supposed to be ("*to tak hodytsy*"). Green hay was spread on the floor under the table and some on the table under the tablecloth; salt and garlic was placed on the table. Leftovers and a spoon were left out overnight on the table for the souls of the deceased to eat. The elders, in the early days, would remove the hay and burn it outside, telling the children that they were burning the old man ("*sho paliét dida*") and that the children should jump over the fire.

Carolling and mumming activities were the reserve of boys who would go to homes where a girl lived ("*tam de divka bula*"). As Christmas carollers, the boys kept and divided any proceeds among themselves, and *Malanka* mumming occurred on New Year's eve (that was, the evening of January 13th).

Boys went to sow wheat on St. Basil's Day ("*na Vasyliie*") and said a jingle. In the Old Country, they would receive a bun; in Canada they received money (a penny).

Epiphany Eve was celebrated almost like a second Christmas ("*druhi sviata*").

Before Iordan, the boys went about with bunches of twigs ("*khloptsi khodyly bychkamy*") in their hats, asking to be let in ("*Prosym na bychky*!"). The bunches of twigs/branches were about the size of a finger and called variously (the bride, wedding, the groom, the "*bychok*"--and other stupidities/"*durnytsi*"), said Magdalena. The boys only did this to earn/get money. This custom did not occur here, she said, because of the distances ("*bo tut bulo daleko*").

For Iordan, Magdalena brought some of the blessed water home, drank some, kept some, or threw it out; she did not keep it around for medicinal purposes as others did, she said.

At first, on the homestead, no priest came to bless the home.

Magdalena identified *petrivka, Pylypivka, miasnytsi, pushchennia, velykyi pist*; she also noted that during *miasnytsi*, before *pushchennia*, the last two Sundays were called "*miasopusna nedilia*" and "*syropusna nedilia*" (permitting "*pyrohy*," cheese, and eggs).

c) Easter

On Palm Sunday, they beat one another with the blessed willow ("*shutka*") while saying a jingle, took some home, kept some, and burned the rest.

Easter foods were brought to church in a bowl ("*myska*") or a basket ("*koshyk*") for the priest's blessing. They ate breakfast ("*snidanok*") after the service, and ate first the blessed "*paska*"- bread.

Magdalena did not believe that *haivky* took place in Canada. Instead, they spent Easter Sunday at home, or attended vespers ("*vechirnia*"), if any, at church three miles away (Magdalena did not attend in the evening). She made *pysanky*, and children used to bump eggs as a game. On Easter Monday, splashing was not a part of her tradition.

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

On St. Andrew's ("*na Andreia*"), girls tried to foretell what kind of fate/husband would befall one ("*vorozhyly iaka dolia/khlopets komu bude*"). They counted fence posts (up to nine): if straight or if crooked, so will the girl's husband be. They tossed shoes over the house outside ("*cherevyky kydaly chérez khatu*") to determine the direction from which the beloved will come. For similar reasons, they tied binder string/twine ("*shpagat*") across the road to trip against on-comers. These customs were like Halloween pranks ("*zbytky*"), said Magdalena.

She identified *pomana* as a commemorative dinner/"*obid*" ("*ishly na pomanu*") and *provody* (on-cemetery services with dinner and "*pomána*"). *KHram* was identified as a

kermis celebration lasting two to three days, with friends and relatives invited over to eat, drink and sing. At Edwand, *khram* was celebrated on "*Pokrova*"; at Smoky Lake — at Green Holydays; at Pakan — on St. Elias ("*na Illi*"). On St. John's ("*na Ivana*") they blessed herbs/plants; some people knew which plants were useful/medicinal. On Green Holydays, they celebrated for three days (Sunday, Monday and Tuesday) in the usual way with church service on Sunday, bedecking the house and thatch with greenery, and pasting (with saliva) leaves on window panes to form crosses. On St. George's ("*na IUriia*"), they dug up clumps of sod/earth ("*kopaly kitsky*"); these were the size of bricks and positioned outside by the threshold to the house and by the gateway.

Everyday greetings were exchanged by saying "Good day!" ("*Dobryi den'!*"); Galicians said "Glory to Jesus Christ" or "Glory to God" ("*Slava Isusu KHrystu*" or "*Slava Bohu*").

Magdalena did not relate to *vidpust.*

e) Human Life Cycle

(i) Marriage.

According to Magdalena, the bride herself invited guests to the wedding, formally and in person. The "starosta" only acted as a master of ceremonies at the wedding celebration. The wedding entourage included two brides-maids ("*drushky*"), two groomsmen ("*druzhby*"), a "*matka*," a "*bat'ko*," a "*svashka*" (who threw nuts at the bridal couple as they entered the house — "*horikhamy kydála iak do khaty ishly*"), and a "*svityvka*" (a girl selected by the groom) who held two candles at the church ceremony that were later stuck into the wedding loaves ("*kolachi*") at the wedding reception.

When she wed, Magdalena wore Ukrainian clothes: an embroidered skirt, sheepskin jacket ("*kozhukh*"), a jumper with a floral pattern ("*riklie*"), and a wreath of flowers and periwinkle placed on her head by her parents. She explained that the wedding apparel had to include the special jumper and that the wrap-around skirt/"*horbotka*" was worn only for everyday or Sunday purposes. Shoes or yellow boots, if any, were worn on the feet. There was no bouquet to carry.

When she married, there were two wedding celebrations. The bride and groom went to the church for the wedding ceremony, each with his/her own party of guests. After the ceremony, each party returned home to celebrate. In the evening, the groom and his entourage came to fetch the bride and take her to the groom's place ("*zabarav do sébe*"). Presentation and toasting ("*darovannia*," "*perepii*") occurred twice; presentations were given at the bride's place when the groom came for her. The times were poor; men gave gifts of one dollar; the women gave a piece of bread, a towel, or a piece of fabric ("*bo to bulo bidno*").

Magdalena described a "funny" custom that took place at the bride's place when the groom arrived: they circled the table three times ("*obkhodyly try razy stil*"), sat down, and then his/her brother or someone else covered the couple with a kerchief stretched over and across two sticks. Later, at the groom's place, the bride would sit on the groom's lap,

while the "*matka*" removed the bride's wreath and replaced it with a kerchief ("*pokryvalo*," "*platyna*") to signify that the bride was now a married woman ("*vzhe znaietsy sho to zhinka*").

Music was provided by a violinist and tsymbalist; the dances, included "*hutsulka*," "*kolomyika*," "*sidemka*," "*ogorodnyk*," and "*holubka*." They danced inside the house; there was enough room because there were few people.

There were two "*kalachi*" loaves on the table, and these were for the "*bat'ky*."

(ii) Christening.

The two godparents were usually the wedding "*bat'ko*" and "*matka*" who became "*kumy*" at the christening. A dinner did not always take place because the times were poor ("*bo to bulo kolys' bidno*").

(iii) Funerals.

Some coffins were covered with a black cloth. During the all-night vigils, those who could read, did so. A long candle ("*stochok*") burned all night. Mirrors were sometimes covered to avoid having the deceased appear in the mirror ("*kazaly sho aby sy mertvets ne pryvydzhyv*"). The funeral dinner included boiled wheat ("*pshenytsa*") that was served first to commemorate the discovery of wheat long ago as a useful food for human sustenance ("*duzhe pozhytochna*"). The death of the deceased was commemorated again in forty days and again in one year.

f) Get-Togethers for Work, Recreation and Culture

Picnics were organized by the townspeople ("*mistovi*"). Dances obtained after picnics in the evening. Magdalena did not attend dances too often; fights often broke out over girls.

She was not a member of a hall and did not attend concerts or plays because of her sick husband, the children, and the distance to the hall.

She defined work-bees ("*klaka*") and gave as examples, feather- plucking bees, and turkey-bees (cutting them up and preparing them).

g) The Supernatural

Magdalena had not seen revenants. She had wax poured by a lady- neighbour for her frightened child, and she suggested that it was the belief in the efficacy of wax-pouring that accounted for its success as a treatment. She had heard that evil eye could be cured by washing with blessed water. She told about her dreams that had foretold the deaths of her son, and of her grandson, and about dreams that had foretold other events in the future as well. Magdalena did not want a dream-book ("*sonnyk*"); "what will be, will be — why know ahead of time?" she asks.

A lady at Andrew read tea leaves for her on the farms, and she guessed some details correctly, admitted Magdalena.

Pies took too much work, said Magdalena; she preferred to bake cookies and buns. Also, turkeys were too big, and she preferred goose and duck meat for special occasions.

Noone practised ice-skating, but children liked to slide on the ice ("*sovhalysy po ledu*").

She had read about Taras Shevchenko who, like Ivan Franko, stood for the poor classes ("*stoiály za bidnu kliasu*") and were punished. More information was obtainable in histories, said Magdalena.

3. MARY CHARUK

a) Biographical Data

Mary Charuk (née *Maria Pan'kiv*) was born October 15, 1892 in the village of Bovdury, district of Brody in "Austria." She was one of eight children in the family. In 1910, at eighteen years of age, Mary left for Canada with her first husband (and family). They settled in Myrnam because Mary's husband had a sister living there already. Mary farmed for forty years. (Her first husband's surname was *Izhkiv*; the second — *Khmiiliar*; the third — *Charuk*.) For thirty-two years she lived in Vegreville as a retiree. At the time of the interview, she had been in the Lodge for six years: her husband had been transferred to the nursing home.

Mary completed elementary (pre-gymnasium) education in the Old Country. She had no schooling in Canada, where she worked only on the farm. Mary was of the Catholic faith.

b) Winter Cycle of Customs and Celebrations

Christmas Eve dinner in the Old Country and here began when the evening star appeared; there was no tree but a sheaf of rye ("*snip zhyta*") behind the table in the corner, straw ("*suloma-didukh*") under the table where the children scrambled for nuts, hay ("*baba*") on the table, and the twelve dishes. "*Pshenytsia*" was cast at the ceiling; if it stuck to the ceiling, it would be a sign of good luck since it meant that the bees would swarm and produce lots of honey. (They did this even though they didn't keep any bees.)

On the third day, the girls took the straw (not the hay) outside to burn; each girl watched her bundle of straw burn to see the direction of the smoke to see where her future husband dwelt.

There were cloves of garlic on the table (to eat if one wished); because of the Lenten period, no meat and no dairy products were served before Christmas day (or, similarly, Easter Sunday).

At Christmas, carols were sung at home, especially if guests were present. House to house carolling did not occur; later during the season, however, on the eve of *Iordan*, girls, boys and mixed groups of older youth went from house to house to sing *shchedrivky* ("*na shchedryi vechir ishly shchedruvaty pid vikna*").

On New Year's, girls and boys went separately to sow wheat. Mary believed that this custom could not be practised in Canada ("*ne bulo iak*").

Mary had no association with *Malanka.*

On the feast of *Iordan*, in the Old Country, a hole was cut in the local pond, a cross of ice erected, and the priest came from a nearby village to bless the water in the evening. When the procession of faithful went onto the ice, the ice tended to bend, said Mary, because the ice was soft ("*tam lid buv miahkyi*"), unlike the ice here. Most of this was not retained here, said Mary. People did taste some of the blessed water, and so on; but Mary seemed not to believe in the avowed special properties of blessed, holy water because God made everything holy when He created the earth ("*iak Boh stvoryv svit to vin vs'o usviatyv*").

c) Easter/Spring Cycle

On willow Sunday ("*lozova nedilia*") they came home and beat one another with blessed branches while reciting a jingle ("*Loza bie, ne ia biu,/Za tyzheden'Velykden'!*) Some would also eat of it, but Mary didn't know why ("*she odnu byrku vderaly i ily*").

There was much fasting at Easter, and some suffered temporary blindness from this in the Old Country. There was plenty to eat in Canada, so this did not occur here, said Mary. In the Old Country, they would fast because there was nothing to eat ("*postyly bo ne bulo*").

In the Old Country, for the blessing of Easter foods, Mary's parents had a special long, wooden "*vaniénka*" with ears ("*vushka*") as handles; father carried it on one side and mother on the other. The foods included *paska*, a pork roast, cheese, sausage, butter.

In the Old Country, on Easter Monday, and for three days, the Easter singing-games ("*haivky*") took place on/at the cemetery. Mary still recalled these and still sang them to herself. In Canada, Mary did not take part in the games because she was already married (only unmarried girls participated) and, in any case, due to the sparseness of the farm settlement, there were not enough girls around for the custom to flourish as it did in the Old Country ("*tam selo iak misto!*"). Later, as things got better ("*pidrobylysi*") people did get together to sing and socialize ("*vzhe duzhe bulo dobre*").

Mary did not relate to egg-bumping contests or to water-splashing at Easter.

A week after Easter in the Old Country, *provody* was observed as follows: the priest gave a small keg of beer to the womenfolk, and each of them took a small *paska* and some sausage to play, sing and socialize ("*zabavlialysia*") on the cemetery by the village church.

d) Summer Cycle

Green Holydays was celebrated about seven weeks after Easter. Girls gathered with flowers from the meadows and made four or five wreaths which they took to the priest to be blessed.

The courtyard and all was cleaned and swept. They had a big linden tree in the Old Country ("*lypekha*") which they used for branches to bedeck ("*maily*") the house and scatter all over since it was so fragrant.

e) Fall/Harvest Cycle

Mary equated "*toloka*" with "*obzhinky*." In the Old Country, each girl was obliged/expected to spend one day harvesting (with sickles — "*zhaty*") for the local lord ("*hospodar-pan*") for no pay. Then, at the end of the day, the lord arranges for a ball/"*bal*" or a "*toloka*." The most beautiful girl in the village was chosen (as Mary herself had been, two years in a row) to wear a wreath of rye and, with two attendants, to lead a procession of other girls, singing the women's songs about the end of harvest. When they reached the manor house/"*palats*," the lord and his wife came out; he removed the wreath and gave the girl three crowns which she shared with the two attendants. This was followed by merry-making: banquet, musicians, dancing. Mary saw this as a leftover from serfdom ("*panshchyna*") when peasants worked three days for nothing ("*za durno*") and then three days for themselves ("*sobi*") throughout the harvest. In Canada, no one did this; after all, said Mary, who would go to harvest for someone else with sickles ("*khto shov druhomu zhaty ... serpamy*?!").

f) Human Life Cycle

Mary identified "*korovai*" and "*vinkopletennia*" as Old Country customs. She never saw a *korovai* in Canada. In her village in the Old Country they did not embroider, and they wore city-style clothes ("*v nas ne bulo vyshyttia ... my khodylys'mo tak po shliakhotsky v nashim seli*"). In the neighbouring village, it was different. Accordingly, when Mary married, she wore a new, city-style wedding dress.

The weddings in the Old Country were better/more enjoyable, said Mary. Here, people go to eat and drink. In the Old Country, the accent/focus was different, since people went to weddings to be happy ("*veselytysia*").

Mary had several bridesmaids when she married, and she identified *starosta*, *druzhba*, *svashka* and *svaty* as special members of the wedding entourage.

Christenings were another form of hospitality/"*hostyna*," said Mary. There were four godparents.

Funerals were held at home. Coffins were home-made. Mary was not acquainted with funeral wails or the custom of having mirrors covered up during funerals.

g) Ancestors

Mary did associate *pomana* with the act of distributing *kolachi* in memory of a deceased person at a funeral dinner. While she also related to *parastas na hrobakh* and had seen picnic-type customs of others at the graves, this custom was not in her tradition.

h) Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

Mary equated "*praznyk*" and "*khram*" and "*hostyna*" as identical forms of institutionalized, reciprocal visiting, hospitality (entertainment).

Mary went on a pilgrimage ("*vidpust*") twice in the Old Country for the forgiveness of sin, etc. She never went to Mundare for *vidpust.*

Mary did not show a strong awareness to other saints' days ("*na Ivana Kupala*," "*na Petra*," "*sv. Mykolai*").

Mary said Sundays were for going to church. In the old days, one did not eat until after returning home after church. In Canada, at first, there were no churches, and the priest celebrated the liturgy in private homes. But here, it was not like in the Old Country where, on Sunday, the boys and girls would gather to sing because they had nowhere to go.

Mary believed strongly in prayer and in the holy writings ("*sviaté pys'mo*") as being helpful.

i) Other Get-Togethers and Celebrations

There were no picnics in the Old Country. Even here, when there was a picnic, Mary did not go due to her obligation at home and her children ("*ne maly iak ... bo to na farmi*"). In this regard, she racalls fondly her impressions of visits to *Brody* in the Old Country to see the military bands and parades soon after Easter every year.

Mary participated in work-bees in Canada as a married woman. These were held to pull feathers and to card wool ("*vovnu skubaty*"). She did not call this a *toloka* and she had no special term for these events but she did associate them with "*vechernytsi.*"

Birthdays, anniversaries, and Mother's Day were not celebrated in the Old Country.

In Canada there were get-togethers with neighbours at Easter (listed first) or Christmas or religious feast days. There were six families in their area, the furthest was three miles away. They had to communicate by word of mouth at or en route to church in order to pre-arrange a date for a get-together.

j) Beliefs and Superstitions

Mary said that there was still a lot of discussion about revenants ("*dusha khodyt*"). Her own dying husband told Mary that he would not be coming from the dead to bother her, and he warned her not to heed the scary stories of others.

When queried regarding the devil and assorted evil entities, Mary chuckled: she had never seen them and never would ("*kazhut ... alé ia ioho ne bachyla i ne budu*").

In addition to wax pouring, Mary had seen egg used in a similar way to get rid of illness caused by fear or fright ("*iak khtos' zliakaietsia shos'*"). A lady would do this, possibly a local midwife ("*polozhnytsia*").

Mary recalled one remedy used by her mother for fright caused by a strong evil eye in the case of a child: they would tear asunder the back of the child's shirt ("*sorochyna*") and blow there ("*i khukhaiut tamka*").

k) A Folktale

Mary had forgotten many stories (*baiky*) she once knew. But she recalled one ("shkil'na") she learned in school in the Old Country. It was a Ukrainian version of Hansel and Gretel and featured a benevolent witch and a happy ending. The children were rewardad with much treasure because they did not succumb to the temptation of eating the gingerbread house. The moral of the story was: do not touch that which did not belong to you ("*ne rush chuzhoho*"). The story also suggested that the poor could become rich with the help of some magic.

4. MARIA CHILIBECK

a) Biographical Data

Maria (Mary, Maria) Chilibeck (Ukrainian "*Khlibéts'ka*") (née "*Shpys'ka*") was born in 1895 in the village of *Volshkivtsi*, district of *Sniatyn* in Western Ukraine. She attended school in the Old Country for over six years; she had no schooling in Canada. Maria arrived in Canada in 1912 with her mother, two sisters and one brother to join her father at his homestead in the community of Slawa ("*na Slavi*") near Myrnam, Alberta; he had emigrated earlier and then sent for his family.

Maria was wed in 1912, the same year she arrived in Canada. She farmed near her parents and had seven children (four girls, three boys). Maria was baptised as a Ukrainian Catholic and later attended the church in Mundare. In 1958 she joined the Evangelical Church, a turning point in her life. From 1982 and to the time of the interview, Maria had residing at the Homestead Senior Citizen's Home in Vegreville.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

(i) Christmas

This was the time for the special Christmas Eve dinner with twelve dishes. The most important of these was the "*pshenytsia*"; a spoonful of this was thrown up at the ceiling, but Maria did not know why this was done. The meal was "*pisne*": meats were not allowed, and the foods included *pyrohy*, *holubtsi*, *borshch*, *buraky*. Although her tradition did not include St. Nicholas, Maria recalled with a chuckle the hay and axe placed under the dinner table on Christmas Eve in order to supposedly chase the devil out of the house ("*shoby dohonyly dyiavola z khaty*"). There was no *didukh* like in other villages, but a head of garlic was placed on top of the tablecloth, and hay was placed under the tablecloth on the long table as well as on the floor. The table featured as well three *kolachi* stacked on top of one another with a candle stuck into the top. The food was served when the star came out after sunset. In memory of the deceased, Christmas food was exchanged with other households nearby — family, children, neighbours, acquaintances ("*nosyly odni odnym vecheriu za pomershoho*"); it was a kind of sampling in one dish ("*v odnii mytsi*"). But Maria said that this custom was useless ("*to take pomahalo iak babi kadylo*").

In the Old Country there were no Christmas trees (except, perhaps some rich people had them). Maria thought that this custom started in Canada.

(ii) New Year's

On New Year's eve small children went about with bags ("*torbynky*") of wheat to sow ("*siiaty*"). They would scatter the wheat about the house or on a table and say a jingle that Maria recited. In return the children received money.

Maria had heard about *Malanka* but had no information to offer in this connection.

(iii) Epiphany
On the eve of the Epiphany ("*shchedryi vechir*") children went about singing *shchedrivky* in return for buns ("*bohantsi*") or money. Maria said that it was for the children.

(iv) Feast of *Iordan*

On this day there was a procession to the river (the River *Prut* in the Old Country); a hole was cut through the river ice and the priest ("*pip*") would sprinkle the river water with his blessed water. The people sang and it was nice, said Maria. In Canada this was done inside the church, and the water was contained in a large basin or washtub ("*tsyber*").

Maria doubted the efficacy of the popular belief in drinking blessed water for health purposes. She said that this was about as useful as incense for an old woman ("*Sho vono pomahaie? Iak babi kadylo!*"). When the priests went to sprinkle the blessed water and to bless homes, it was only to make money, said Maria ("*postanovyly na hroshi*"). She pointed out that the Bible had no instructions to do this kind of thing.

c) Easter

Fasting before Easter was ordered by priests, and the poor people got blind from not eating — even milk was forbidden, recalled Maria. In the Old Country it was known that while poor people fasted, the priest ate well. Maria remembered the hard times in the Old Country ("*bida bula*"). The origins of "willow" Sunday were in the Biblical account of how Christ was on a donkey and people lay willow ("*lozu*") and leaves under his feet, she said. She recited the jingle that was said when the willow branch was used to strike someone on the back or shoulder.

An Easter basket was taken to church to be blessed. The foods inside the basket included *paska*, cheese ("*syr*"), butter, sausage, pork ("*solonyna*"), horseradish, eggs and *pysanky*.

Maria herself used to make *pysanky* so well that she sold them to others for three or four dollars each (now they would go for fifteen dollars each, said Maria). Her eyesight had become poor, however, and she no longer did them. The reason why *pysanky* were made was to celebrate Easter in this way ("*aby znaly sho to Velykden'*"). Everyone did them and everyone had them, said Maria.

In the afternoon on Easter Sunday, shirts/blouses were stuffed with pysanky and there were contests with them ("*tsokalys'*"). Sometimes there was a trickster with a wooden egg that looked just like a real *pysanka*; he would get into as many contests as possible in order to take home as many eggs as possible to eat.

Maria's village did not had *haivky*, baked birdies ("*ptashky*") or bell-ringing. However, people did gather after church on Easter Sunday to bump eggs as described above, and to clatter with the kalatalo ("*kalatsly kalatala*"): in that instance, sticks were used to hit boards that were nailed to the church.

d) The Dead

(i) *Pomana*

Maria remembered this custom was practised at Easter and at Christmas, when sacks of *kolachi* were given away in return for prayers for the deceased. But what good was this custom for the deceased, she asked ("*sho to pomozhe pomershomu?*")?

(ii) *Provody*

Maria identified this custom as the time for "*parastasy*" ("*parastasy vidbuvaiut'sia*"). A week after Easter, said Maria, the poor people brought their *kolachi* to the cemetery and distributed them as *pomana*. The priests would collect them all and take away the *kolachi* by wagon loads ("*firamy vozyly*") to feed their pigs while the poor people had nothing to eat. And so, asked Maria, what good was this for the dead person ("*parastas na hrobakh — a sho to pomahaie merlomu?*")?.

e) Green Holydays

The houses were nicely decorated with greens ("*khaty duzhe maily*"). The windows were dressed up with wintered plants ("*zillia zymove*"), and branches were stuck into the thatching of the roof ("*strikhy zatykaly*"). They celebrated this feast for three days.

f) *KHram*

Anyone could make a *khram* at any time, said Maria ("*koly khto khotiv sobi robyv koly nebud'*"). People were invited to homes. Sometimes several homes in this village would agree on a single Sunday together to make a *khram*. In Canada, too, this tradition was continued as a "*praznyk*," she said.

g) *Vidpust* at Mundare

This was like a kind of *praznyk* held on the Feast of St. Peter ("*na Petra*"). People came from everywhere, said Maria; some travelled for three days to get there ("*po try dny napered ikhaly na Monder*"). There were all kinds of things for sale; the nuns and orphans were there, the priests prayed and confessed... Now, said Maria, there's none of that.

h) Weddings

(i) Wreaths

Maria identified *vinkopletyny* as the making of wedding wreaths from periwinkle ("*barvinok*"). The groom's wreath was to be worn on his hat ("*shapka*"). The wreaths were gilded ("*zolotyly toi vinok*") with gold leaf ("*pozlitka*") or some shiny substance.

(ii) Attendants and Inviting the Guests

In the Old Country, there were two *drushky* (bridesmaids) for the bride. Two days before the wedding, the bride ("*moloda*") went about with her attendants to invite guests to the wedding ("*khodyly klykaty na vesillia*"). The bridesmaids placed a pillow on a bench for the bride to sit on. In Canada, the bride would do this on foot alone or perhaps with one bridesmaid. Maria recited the little formal speech of invitation that was usually delivered by the bride when inviting guests.

(iii) In the Old Country Way

The *starosta* (matchmaker) functioned only in the Old Country, said Maria. The *svashka*, she said, was the lady in the Old Country who placed the wreath on the head of the bride. The wedding often featured two separate wedding feasts or receptions; the groom and his entourage went to fetch his bride and join in the reception there, and then the couple would go together to his place for a second reception.

(iv) Maria's Wedding

Maria had two *drushky*; her husband had one *druzhba*. They went to Mundare for the church service. He was a widower, twenty-two years old, with a farm and livestock. Maria married him under pressure from those around her; she felt compelled to marry him, said Maria, although she was not ready for marriage. She had just arrived from the Old Country, she was only sixteen years old. She was still young; she wanted to find a job and to learn English.

At presentation ("*darovannia*") people gave them nickles. There were two musicians — a violinist and a person on the double bass ("*bas*"). Maria recalled how humorous it was to see the violinist get carried away and fall off his bench.

i) Christenings

Maria never made any christening parties ("*my ne robyly niiaki khrestyny*"). But her children did have godparents because it was important for someone to sponsor the child ("*bo musyt trymaty do khrestu*"). Others did make a special celebration out of it. There would be two godparents: one *kum* and one *kuma*. They would come to her home to eat whatever was available there. Nowadays there's plenty to eat ("*teper ie sho isty*").

j) Picnics and Dances

Maria knew what picnics were but she said that she was unable to remember anything about them.

Dances, she said, were held after dinner every Sunday — in the daytime not in the evening — because, in the Old Country, the church bells would ring at sunset for all to come to vespers ("*vechirnia*").

In Canada, dances were held indoors in homes in the winter; in summer they danced on the grass. The musicians would play in the middle and the dancing went around them. The instruments included the violin, tsymbaly, double bass ("*bas*") and drum. The girls would sit up on the side of a ditch/trench ("*shanys*"), and the boys would ask them to dance, one by one.

k) Work-Bees

Toloka took place when ladies gathered in the evening to pluck feathers or to spin ("*priésty*"), to sing and socialize. The boys/fellows would come and, for a prank, they would hide a spindle ("vereteno") belonging to one of the girls. They would not return it until she had kissed all the boys first. This happened in the Old Country, not in Canada. At harvest time in Canada, a farmer who had finished with all his work would help his neighbour finish.

1) Religious Matters

Maria acknowledged that church-going was an important aspect of life. She recalled, however, an elderly grumpy priest in the Old Country who taught catechism and punished children if they failed to measure up to his expectations.

Prayer too was important for Maria; it was very helpful, she said ("*molytva duzhe pomahaie*"); the Bible said that prayer had strength if it was sincere, according to Maria. But, she insisted that prayer was for the living, not for the dead ("*za zhyvykh, a ne za merlykh*"). For this reason, *parastasy* were useless, and it was even sinful ("*to hrikh*") to even eat the bread that was sprinkled with that holy water and distributed as *pomana*, said Maria.

m) Other Customs

Maria stated that birthday celebrations, anniversaries, Thanksgiving, Mother's Day and Valentine's Day were all recent customs that neither occurred earlier in Canada, nor in the Old Country.

n) Beliefs and Superstitions

(i) Maria's Conversion

Maria offered a long, spontaneous and descriptive personal narrative account of her conversion from Catholicism to the Evangelical church. For thirty-six years she suffered from a heavy burden ("*tiahar*") in her heart and couldn't lie on her left side because of this. She sought help everywhere, but to no avail. Her first encounter with the Ukrainian Evangelists took place at a prayer meeting on a Saturday in July in Vegreville led by a preacher ("*prypovidnyk*") and his wife. Maria's prayer to God for help was answered, for three days later the burden was gone and she became a new person ("*meni duzhe lyhon'ko na sertse stalo, ia stala nova liudyna!*"). The Bible and its teachings were therefore important to Maria and she cared not that, because of this, she had suffered discrimination as a "*bibliinychka.*" Maria criticized the Catholic communion wine as too alcoholic; the evangelists gave her natural grape juice.

(ii)Wax-Pouring

Because of her illness ("*tiahar*"), Maria once went to a place on the other side of the river ("*za river*") to see a certain old man ("*tam buv odyn did*"); he poured wax for her, but it didn't help at all. Only God helped Maria, she said.

On the other hand, Maria cited another case that proved to be helpful after all. Maria's daughter was frightened off by a mare that had just foaled; people thought the girl had epilepsy. They went to a certain woman ("*do odnoi zhinky*") near Vegreville — to the Martyniuks' place, said Maria. The lady there poured wax, prayed and gave the water to

the girl to drink, and this cured the girl. They say it was sinful, but it did help, vowed Maria. She noted that the lady's prayer did call upon God and Christ for their help.

(iii) Evil Eye

One of Maria's female neighbours always kept reporting that the evil eye got her and made her sick ("*ii navrochyly*"). It came from an evil gaze ("*iak khtos' maie taki ochi nezdali*"). Maria cited the case of a small boy in the Old Country who died from some man's compliments one day by that very same evening.

(iv) The Devil

Maria laughingly said that the devil ("*chort*") looks like a man; there was no special entity with horns, she said — man himself was the devil. She offerred the Biblical account of the fallen angel who wanted to be more powerful than God. Satan ("*Satan*") and the evil spirit ("*zlyi dukh*") were the cause of evil in the world.

A lady neighbour of Maria's said to Maria that her husband said to her when he was dying that he would come back and frighten her. The lady said he kept coming ("*mii cholovik khodyt, — ioho dusha, kazhe, khodyt*"); the doors would rattle and the floors creaked. But, said Maria, the Bible said that this can't be and that the soul goes back to its maker. It was not the soul but the evil spirit walking around, said Maria ("*ne dusha khodyt ale zlyi dukh...*").

o) Happy Times

For Maria, the happy times the present. Although she realized that it would be time for her to pass on soon, and although she suffered from arthritis, her closeness to God maked her happy even though she had suffered much ("*z moikh sliz by kriky zrobyv*").

5. TILLIE BARANYK

a) Biographical Data

Tillie Baranyk (née *Mazepa*) was born in 1905 in the Old Country in her mother's village, *Horodyshche*, *Berezhany* district. In 1914, she and her parents and two sisters (another sister and a brother were born in Canada) left their village on Easter Monday for Canada and settled at Primula (sixteen miles southeast of Elk Point, and forty miles from the railroad track). A year later, Tillie went to Vegreville to live in the girls' home at the Mission School run by the United Church. Her parents signed away their rights to her for a period of three years. After three years, Tillie went to school in Vermilion for two years and then to Calgary, where she wed at sixteen years of age. Tillie's husband worked as a section foreman eight miles outside of Calgary. There they raised three children; two more children were born in Primula, Alberta, where they moved to get C.P.R. land for a farm. Tillie was Greek Orthodox (and United Church) at the time of the interview.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

They celebrated Christmas just like they did in the Old Country ("*sviatkuvaly Rizdvo tak samo iak v starim kraiu*"); there was a sheaf ("*snip/did*") in the corner, hay on the table, and straw on the floor to commemorate the birth of Jesus in a manger. After three days, the sheaf and hay were distributed among the livestock, and they burned the straw outside and jumped over the fire. There was always a Christmas tree; it did not cost anything to go out and get one; they did not had Christmas trees in the Old Country; the custom was borrowed here from the English, indicated Tillie.

Tillie did go carolling in the Old Country but not here; the distances were too far and she feared the coyotes. The older people went carolling to raise funds for the hall at Primula; they carried a star made of silver on a big stick. Tillie's father parodied the caroller's greeting. "*vinchuiu vas symy svietamy/SHob vas postavyly do hory pietamy!*"

At the Christmas Eve dinner the wheat ("*pshenytsia*") was served first, and her father flung it up to the ceiling. Leftover food remained out until the next day.

On New Year's day, anyone who came over could "sow wheat," and Tillie recited the following appropriate jingle:

Siisia, rodysia, zhyto pshenytsia,
Horokh i kapusta, —
SHoby/girl's name/bula tlusta!

Tillie associated *Malanka* with Easter ("*na Velykden*'") and she identified it as a "*haivka*"--the girls sang and went around. At first, there were few people in the area, and they would gather at someone's home for *haivky*; Tillie participated in these too. She was not familiar with *Pylypivka* and identified *shchedryi vechir* as "second Christmas." It was not always possible to had a priest come to bless the house; they lived forty miles from the railway track and, when he came, someone would had to fetch him. If/when the priest did come, he stayed in private homes.

Iordan was celebrated like Christmas, but there were fewer dishes served. Tillie's parents were very anti-Catholic but, if necessary, they went to the Ukrainian Catholic Church ten miles away for the blessing of the water. If/when the Orthodox priest came, the water was blessed in the house. Tillie's mother used the blessed water to sprinkle the eggs of the "first" hen to set that year ("*moia mama, iak kvochku pershu posadyla, to pokropyla toti iaitsa sho vona na nykh sydila*"). Similarly, she would sprinkle some of the holy water on the season's first newly born calf. The Iordan water was kept in a jar and used to sprinkle over everything in the house; she recalled how her father sprinkled some over their newly built house. Tillie had heard about *miasnytsi* and *pushchennia*, and she recalled that fasting ("*pist*") was especially hard on the children.

c) Easter (see also above under section "b")

On willow Sunday, the children and adults hit one another with a blessed "*loza*" and said a jingle that Tillie recited for the interview. Mother kept the branch in water and transplanted it outside once it sprouted roots. Tillie was never home for Easter Sunday in Canada. She made "*halunky*" instead of *pysanky*; her mother was a very fussy maker of "*pysanky*"—they were drained of their contents and not given as gifts. Tillie did not know the customs of Easter Monday, and she had heard of *tsokaty* but could not describe this custom. The church bells rang at the Catholic church at Gratz, Alberta.

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

Tillie did not relate to *pomana*, *tryzna*, *vidpust*, or Saints' days (*Petra*, *Ivana*, *IUriia*). She recalled that *Andreia* was connected to girls and their hopes for marriage, that *khram* was a *praznyk* that was not re-established here (like it did in the Old Country where Tillie got money to buy candies), that *rusalka* "was a girl in water with a fish tail" (her mother was well-read, said Tillie, and "every story she read, we heard it . . ."), and that green boughs of willow or poplar were used in the Old Country to stick into the thatch for Green Holydays. In Canada, if mother could not find the required green boughs, she would cut off her rhubarb leaves and put them into the thatch instead; these remained in place until they died and fell off.

Tillie's family refrained from working on Sundays. Later, if spring was very late or tractors were used instead of horses, people did work on Sundays.

Tillie recalled the customary greeting for Christmas and Easter. For everyday, non-holyday purposes, people greeted one another saying. "*Slava Isusu KHrystu!*" and "*Slava na viky!*"

e) Human Life Cycle

Tillie's wedding took place in Calgary. Her wedding dress was from a store, and she wore a veil, modern style. She had two bridesmaids. The *shliub* occurred in her uncle's house, and a small party followed. There was "no fuss" and "no one got drunk." More elaborate weddings were held at Primula Hall on the farm, where guests were invited to the wedding in person by the bride, a bridesmaid and sometimes an older woman. Wedding music was provided by violin, bass, mandolin and guitar, and presentation was only in cash. The wedding wreath ceremony was not practised there, and Tillie never saw a *korovai* at Primula, either. In general, weddings were rare events.

The godmother ("*kuma*") usually purchased a *kryzhma* as a present for her godchild but because Tillie bought her godson a suit, she did not provide a *kryzhma*. The term *Kuma* was not used by the godchild to refer to the godmother, but Tillie did not know what term was used instead, because she and her godchild never had a subsequent occasion to meet and converse. "Although you could had as many godparents as you want, the main ones were a man and a woman."

At funerals, a local "old man" came to clean the body, and men built the coffin and lined it with cloth. Other features include the all-night vigil with the body, the readings from the *psalter*, the keeping of the body for three days, large burning candles, covered mirrors, and a dinner. Wailers were not a part of these proceedings in her district, although Tillie had heard about this custom. Forty days after the funeral, the deceased would be commemorated ("*pomynky*") at another dinner for the pallbearers and others, some loaves of bread were taken and placed on the grave, where they were blessed by the priest. If necessary, a local deacon could substitute for a priest or minister.

f) Get-Togethers for Work, Recreation and Culture

Vechernytsi did not occur here, said Tillie; the womenfolk attended these events in the Old Country to spin linen with spindles, talk and eat.

Picnics were organized by church and other groups, and usually a dance (in the school) was held afterwards. Also, a mandolin orchestra from Myrnam or Edmonton came with a band to give a concert followed by a dance. Primula had two halls: the "National Hall" and the "Commie Hall" which was burned down three times.

Tillie herself performed in plays that were staged locally at Gratz hall, six miles away (an "international" hall). She recalls two plays in which she performed: "*Oi ne khody Hrytsiu...*" and "*Rodyna shchitkariv*." Plays were very popular, and "our people" did not see enough of it, said Tillie. She mentioned by name several individuals who led these stage and musical activities. To tour the plays to other centres, they used a truck to get around. Tillie's children were active in the mandolin group and they encouraged her to take part in these stage activities.

Tillie was unfamiliar with *klaka* but recalled the word *toloka*. She noted that harvest time, work-bees were organized to help plaster buildings. Lunch was served at such events.

g) The Supernatural

Tillie did not associate herself with superstitious behaviour. She joked about this ("I'm waiting to see what happens to my soul when I die . . .!") and she found that wax-pouring was as useful as incense was for deceased people ("*iak merlomu kadylo shos' pomozhe, tak samo toi visk pomahav*"). With regard to the evil eye, she replied that she had heard about it and that she maintained a neutral stance. "I believe if a person believes in it real hard, maybe there was something in it... I'm not a believer or a disbeliever — I'll just take it as it comes."

Her children picked up tea reading, and her mother consulted a dreambook and tried to interpret her dreams ("*shos' zle, shos' dobre*") but "dad used to get mad at her."

h) Other

Tillie's mother liked house plants and flower gardening. Due to the lack of space in the Old Country, she did not had a chance to do as much as she did in Canada where there was lots of space: "she was in second heaven" here, said Tillie. Tillie and her son and her daughter continued her love for plants and gardening.

Tillie did not have ice-skates; they did exist in the Old Country, but in schools in the city. Tillie's children did go ice-skating on the sloughs in the area near the farm, and Tillie would provide them with roasted weiners or other hot food.

Tillie saw her first film/movie in Vegreville when she was nine years old.

Birthday's and name days were recalled but not celebrated. Mother did not make birthday parties for her children, but her children did for her ("my mami robyly").

Tillie was well acquainted with Taras Shevchenko and quoted the first line from one of his famous poems ("*Vchitesia braty moi...*").

During the 1918 flu epidemic, Tillie's school in Vegreville became a hospital, and she recalled helping to carry out the dead bodies. The experience did not bother her.

There were mostly Ukrainians living at Primula, — including Hutsuls ("mountain people"), Bukovynians and *Hadai* (who said "*iutera*" for "now," and "*iiu*" for "*i vzhe*"). There were English at Greenlawn, five miles from Primula.

At school, some of the English students called her a Bohonk because she did not know English. She did not know at first what the word meant and, therefore, she did not feel hurt. Later, yes....

Tillie's mother did not bake pies. Tillie had her first piece of pumpkin pie in the mission home in Vegreville. They used to keep turkeys in her father's village in the Old Country; Tillie's parents raised turkeys in Canada for sale, and Tillie kept some for herself.

Tillie recalled with considerable detail her experiences in Vegreville at the Mission School and how she tried to run away and worked for forty-five cents a week for pocket money as a house maid. The teacher called the students "skunks." They were all Ukrainian (sixty boys, thirty girls). Tillie showed a mark on her shoulder from a beating she received there. But, she realized the long term benefits of these expereiences: if she had stayed behind on the farm, "I would had been just as dumb as everybody else."

Although her life was not "rosy," she had no bad times, and no good times — nothing special, she said.

COMMENTARY AND ANALYSIS

The first two informants, Katherine Orlecki and Magdalena Melnyk, had much in common. Both arrived from Bukovyna before 1910 at ten years of age, both married in Canada at about the same age (seventeen or eighteen years), both were of the Orthodox faith, and both settled in the conservative Bukovynian-Orthodox central wedge-enclave in east central Alberta. The retention of features that derive from their rich Bukovynian folk heritage was reflected variously: for example, in their strong focus on *Malanka* mummery and in their corresponding lack of knowledge concerning the Easter *haivky*; both wore traditional folk dress when they married and kept to traditional details associated with Bukovynian wedding customs.

The older informant, Katherine Orlecki (also the oldest informant of all 104 individuals interviewed for this project), — and to a lesser extent Mrs. Melnyk, — was especially sensitive to the painful moments of early hardship, isolation, and general poverty. In this regard, such negative aspects of early settlement days as the chronic shortage of priests appear to had been alleviated by compensatory emphases on visiting, sharing with neighbours, and a good measure of comeraderie ("*duzhe sy liudy liubyly*," said Mrs. Orlecki). Her travels in later life do not appear to have obliterated her allegiance to her heritage.

Magdalena Melnyk, on the other hand, was more critical of some of the old customs. Some she finds funny and meaningless; other customs, such as the serving of boiled wheat at funeral dinners, she was able to understand and explain rationally. The custom of covering mirrors during the old house-funerals was noted by both informants but explained differently.

Magdalena Melnyk did not relate to *vidpust* . Mrs. Orlecki recalled attending such an event in Mundare although this was a Catholic celebration and she was Orthodox. Mrs. Orlecki's account also reflects the inability of certain Old Country folk beliefs (concerning, for example, certain evil supernatural entities) to re-establish outside the country of origin. Her account also draws attention to the arrival in east Central Alberta of the automobile, the radio, and gramophone in the late 1920s and early 1930s; the magic of these appliances probably overshadowed the once potent powers of assorted Old Country supernatural forces, spirits and entities. Mrs. Melnyk seems to be more conscious of her Bukovynian heritage vis-á-vis Galician variants.

The next two informants, Mary Charuk and Maria Chilibeck, were less conservative and, in general, considerably different from the first two informants. Both Charuk and Chilibeck arrived as Catholics from Galicia in their late teen years and had vivid recollections of traditions that obtained in the Old Country. They were able to contrast them with the new situation in Alberta where, for instance, customs connected with the avowed powers of blessed *Iordan* water and fasting before Easter were sometimes approached with a degree of cynicism.

Mary Charuk was already married when she arrived, but Maria Chilibeck married in Alberta; the latter event was depicted by Chilibeck as a forced marriage, one that she regretted in later life. Charuk's account shows certain departures from the expected. This was largely due, it seems, to the adverse affect of isolation and the harsh climate; all winter folk traditions that require house-to-house mobility (such as Christmas carolling, *Malanka* mummery, and the ritual sowing of grain on New Year's Day) as well as Easter folk customs that require groups of youths (for the *haivky*-games, the egg contests, and Easter Monday water-splashing surprises) appear to had disappeared altogether. The family-focussed in-house tradition of throwing boiled wheat at the ceiling persisted nonetheless — even though, as Charuk confesses, her family did not keep bees and had no need to rely on homeopathic magic related to bee-keeping. In Charuk's account, get-togethers and visiting obtain as important occasions.

Mrs. Chilibeck's account was especially significant for its retrospective derision of various traditional customs and beliefs — especially those connected primitive ancestor cult practices. Although her conversion to a traditionally non-Ukrainian religion (the teachings of a local Evangelical Church) occurred well after the time-frame adopted for this report, the resultant changes in her repertoire of folk traditions underline those features in the imported folk tradition that were weak and in jeopardy at that time in the new environment.

Tillie Baranyk, the fifth and youngest informant in this category of early arrivals, shows the most radical departures from the traditional Old Country folklore complex. During her interview, she spoke fluent English as well as Ukrainian; she was pragmatic and strongly influenced by her early exposure to the formal and informal educational requirements of the new environment. She was the first informant in this series of early arrivals to show that a Christmas tree was part of the winter round of customs; but she erroneously identifies *Malanka* as a *haivka* — an ethnographic error that could be easily linked to her statement that she never spent Easter Sunday at home in Canada. The early isolation noted in previous accounts reappears in Mrs. Baranyk's folkloristic review (weddings, for instance, were rare events in her home district); there were few priests and the communities were small. Tillie's own wedding took place away from home in Calgary; she wore a wedding dress that was purchased for the occasion in a store. Her account marks the emergence of the local hall as an important resource centre for cultural/activities and political awareness. She had a down-to-earth, realistic approach to superstitious behaviour and to her own life as well. In spite of the assimilatory forces to which she was subjected, she did not succumb completely; she was the only informant interviewed for this project who was able to recite from memory a passage from the works of Ukraine's national poet, Taras Shevchenko.

Other accounts relating to this category of early revivals in this report include that of Mary Kreklywich.

B. LATECOMERS (1924-1930)

1. ANTONIA BASISTIUK

a) Biographical Data

Figure 4: Antonia Basistiuk in Mundare, 1984.

Antonia Basistiuk (née *Podrutska*) was born in 1898 in the village of *Koshykivka*, district of *CHortkiv*, in Western Ukraine. He mother was Polish, her father Ukrainian. She arrived alone in Canada in 1924,and came to Innisfree, Alberta. to join a widower, *Hasai*, who already had six children and who was also a Galician from a nearby village in the Old Country. She married him in 1924 and they lived together on a farm north of Innisfree until 1950. They had five children (four of them girls).

Her husband died in 1954 and Antonia remarried in 1955 to a Bukovynian at the town of Innisfree, named Basistiuk ("*Basishchuk*"). Antonia had two years of schooling in the Old Country and knew how to read. She was a Catholic and had been a resident of Father Filas Manor for senior citizens in Mundare since the lodge opened in 1977.

b) Winter customs and Celebrations

(i) St. Nicholas (*Sviatyi Mykolai*)

Antonia said that Ukrainians celebrate St. Nicholas Day in the winter, but that the Poles celebrate his saint's day in May. In the Old Country, a teacher related how this saint brought about a miracle arranging for a ship of grain to come to certain cities that were starving due to a drought in the area. The saint ordered the grain and paid the captain of the ship, but the captain did not know who the mysterious benefactor was until later. Here in Canada, St. Nicholas was celebrated in winter, said Antonia.

(ii) Christmas and Christmas Eve

For Antonia, *Rizdvo* was celebrated very much the same in Innisfree as it was in the Old Country. She lists some of the special elements: *velykyi pist*, lenten foods (*borshch*, cabbage and prune *pyrohy*, *holubtsi* and mushrooms). If they were lucky (in Innisfree) there would be a priest around and they would go to church. Meats were allowed on Christmas Day but not before.

Sviata Vechera began with *pshenytsia*; this was thrown at the ceiling just to make work for the lady of the house, said Antonia — she would had to scrape and clean the ceiling afterwards. They threw and caught the *pshenytsia*; if they caught it, this meant that the

person was to become a wealthy man (*bohach*); if he caught the poppy seed (*mak*), then the person will had a good hive of bees to produce honey ("*bude mav pasiku — mid*").

Straw was brought in and strewn over the earthen floor. After Christmas the straw was taken outside and placed on a spot where the snow had been cleared away down to the bare ground/earth. The straw was set afire and the children jumped over the burning straw and rejoiced ("*tishylysie*"), saying that the old man was burning ("*palytsie did*!"). A *mitolka* was used to mix up the ashes with some of the exposed earth into a kind of "*magulia*," "*holova*" (a head-shaped, dough-like lump); this was removed out of the ashes, and they said that this was the old man all burned up ("*did zhoriv*!").

Antonia did go carolling. One carol began with the words, "*Boh sie razhdaie...*" and the carols were like the ones they would sing in church. There was no carolling star and no *vertep* (portable creche scene). Younger children did not go carolling here as they did in the Old Country; it was too cold for them and the houses were one or two miles apart. The older youth often went carolling by ox-team. Antonia recited a bilingual (Ukrainian/Polish) carollers' greeting that was longer than most. The money collected by the carollers was given over to the church.

When Antonia arrived in 1924 the church was already built, and she commented on the financial need of the parish in the early years. The priest came once a month, and he was billeted at one of the parishioner's homes. The carolling money was used to pay his expenses as well as other church expenses.

Some Christmas Eve foods — the *pshenytsia* and other sweet dishes — were left out on the table for the children to snack on later in the evening. Other foods as well (*holubtsi*, *pyrohy*) were left out over night. If the children got up to eat, they were expected to say a prayer ("*patsier*") for the souls of the dead ("*khto ist' v nochy, nai movyt patsier za pomershykh dushu, — za dida, za babu...*").

A lamp was left burning all through the night of Christmas Eve for the Mother of God. According to Antonia's legend, the Mother of God came to Jerusalem, and St. Joseph was looking for a room for the night. Jesus was born in a *shopa* and there was a big bright star shining — it was a bright as day. To commemorate this, the lamp was left burning.

Antonia had never heard about livestock being able to converse on Christmas Eve or about feeding animals on Christmas Eve.

(iii) New Year's

On New Year's day morning, one went to church. But in Canada (Innisfree), they had to wait for several years before there would be a church service in their parish on New Year's. The priest blessed the *kréida* (chalk) and water. The *hospodar* used the blessed chalk to mark a cross over the doorway along with three letters of the alphabet that stood for the three tsars: *Kaspyr*, *Maikhyl*, and *Baltazar*. The holy blessed water was used outside to sprinkle the stable, the chicken coop — everywhere, said Antonia. And everywhere, a cross was made above the doorway.

Small children went to "sow wheat." Antonia recited the jingle that was used. In her village, however, *Malanka* was not a custom because it was a small place ("*v nas bulo malen'ke selo — Malanka ne khodyla.*")

On Epiphany Eve, small children went carolling "by the windows" ("*pid viknom*"). The lady of the house gave them each a penny and something to eat (*pyrohy*, *holubtsi*) to warm themselves. Older unmarried males went to homes where there was a girl; the *gospodar* gave them snacks and drink. If the fellows were not let into the house, they would pull a prank, play a trick.

The carols ("*koliady*") that were sung on Christmas were the same ones used on Epiphany Eve.

(iv) Jordan Day (*Iordan*)

Men went to the pond and cut out blocks of ice for a cross to stand beside the ice-hole. In the morning, the priest came to this ice-hole (*polonka*) to bless the water there. The people took some of this water home. At home, everyone drank some of this holy water and sat down to eat breakfast. Even if it meant waiting until evening, said Antonia, no one ate anything until father brought the blessed water home.

The blessed water was kept to drink and for other uses. When a child was born, the granny would pour some on the head of the child ("*babka zlyvala na holovi*").

At Innisfree, there was no *Iordan* cross of ice because there was no one to do it. In the Old Country it was different ("*tam buv zahal, tam bulo komu!*")

Antonia recalled a story from her father's mother's village; there was a ninety-two year old man whose sons took him for a dip/bath into the ice-hole on Jordan Day every year. Bathing thus, he lived to be one hundred and two years old.

In Innisfree, said Antonia, there once lived another old man, *IEvan Verbitskyi*, who lived for 115 years! His longevity caused his stupid sons to be ashamed of him. One neighbour at first did not believe this but got proof of the old man's age from Halifax; he scolded the two sons outside the church, telling them that their father had lived so long because he had shown respect for his own father, but that they (the two sons) were not going to live long because of their disrespect ("*Boh dav iomu zhyttie dovhe, bo vin svoho tata shanuvav*").

After the Christmas holydays ("*po sviétakh*") came the period of *miasnytsi*: meat was allowed on Wednesdays and Fridays.

c) Easter Customs and Celebrations

(i) Pre-Easter Customs and Celebrations

Antonia identified *pushchennia* as the day before Lent begins, and *pist* as a period of abstinence from meats, fats, dancing and, on certain days, milk. Antonia said that *pist* was

established by the apostles in order to commemorate the suffering of Christ (*"...zalozhyly na muku KHrystovu"*).

On Palm Sunday (*"lozova nedilia"*) the *"shutka"* (willow branch) was blessed (Antonia traced this custom to the Biblical account of Christ on a donkey, welcomed into Jerusalem with green boughs thrown at his feet.). After church service, the fellows hit one another with the branches on the shoulders and simultaneously voiced a greeting-jingle that Antonia repeated. Later the branches were given to the livestock to eat.

(ii) The Blessing of Easter Foods

For Easter Sunday they baked a special *paska* (with eggs, sugar and raisins) and took it to be blessed along with other foods — if a priest was available. A *baba* was also baked; this bread took more care and attention than the Easter *paska*; it was delicate, like cake (*"kyk"*).

If people knew ahead of time that there would be no priest available at Easter, they took salt (in an open shaker) to be blessed and sometimes eggs (since eggs could be stored long) to an earlier church service; instead of an Easter *paska*; the priest blessed the salt and said, *"Khrystos shche voskresne!"* (Christ will rise!). Sometimes this blessing of the salt took place as early as the beginning of Lent, said Antonia. In such cases, when Easter Sunday arrived and there was no priest, they would take the blessed salt and use it on all the Easter foods that had been prepared.

(iii) *Haivky*

Haivky took place only in the Old Country, said Antonia. Some of them she described in considerable detail. One was called "the cat and the mouse" (*"kitka i mysh"*); another, *"vola"* (?oxen, dewlaps?) made the participants twist so sharply that, according to Antonia, one boy accidentally broke his leg in the game; a third *haivka* was called the "bell-tower" (*"dzvinytsia"*) — a moving pyramid of humans; a fourth was called "the crooked dance" (*"kryvyi tanets"*) that, Antonia said, the women dance toward the tavern ("to baby hulialy do korshmy") but not in her village. Antonia siang one of the Easter game-songs (*"Tam na hori doshchychka..."*), about ten or so couplets in length.

(iv) Easter Monday

In the Old Country (but not in Innisfree), a boy went to visit his betrothed on Easter Monday with a bottle of scent/perfume before dawn. He would knock at the window and splash the one who opened the door to him; then, he asked the girl's parents if they would accept him as their future son-in-law. If their answer was negative, he would not present the bottle of scent to the girl but left to splash other possible candidates who would note that he was available by this action.

Antonia commented on forced marriages in the old days as a social evil.

d) Cult of Ancestors

Antonia's home village did not do *pomana*, and they did not do this in Innisfree as well. This was only done in Bukovyna and by Bukovynians, said Antonia. She related how one Bukovynian lady in the Old Country went on a pilgrimage to Zavarnytsi with a bowl of wheat and a fistful of poppy seeds. There she got permission from a local lady to cook it up and offered the latter a spoonful of it as pomana; the Galician lady refused, saying that she only ate this food/dish at Christmas Eve.

Antonia held to the parastas custom; money was given to the priest to pray for deceased family members. He was given three loaves of bread along with other items like apples or eggs, cheese or butter; the priest shared his loaves with the "*diak*" (cantor) who received one loaf. All this was done here and in the Old Country. But they did not spread cloths on/at the graves and eat there like the Bukovynians did.

e) *KHram, Vidpust, Praznyk*

For Antonia, *khram* was just a word for church ("*tsérkva*").

Vidpust was an event for confessions, communion and prayers for the dead (one offered his/her prayers, blessings and grace/dispensation [i.e. *vidpust*] for/to the dead).

Shortly before coming to Canada, Antonia went on a *vidpust* to *Zarvarnytsi*; people were telling her how Canada was nothing but a wasteland with no churches, no schools and no teachers ("*to pustynia, tserkvy nema, shkoly nema, profesora nema...*"). [In this regard, Antonia noted that since there were no people around, what use was there for a teacher?] She went on foot with others to see two holy miraculously-found pictures. Antonia related how one of these was found in a field, and the other in a well ("*studnia*").

Praznyk was held in the Old Country but not in Canada, said Antonia; there was no one around in Canada ("*tut ne bulo z kym*"). In the Old Country, relatives were invited from other villages to attend church service held on the day that the church was originally blessed, consecrated. After the service, these relatives were invited home for food and drink. Later the father of the house gave money to his sons to engage some musicians; these would come over and there would be dancing outside at the hay-making place ("*na sinokosi*"). The girls danced barefoot, the boys wore shoes, and the elders partied inside the house.

f) Green Holydays

Antonia said that this holyday commemorates the time that the Jews were chased out of Egypt and freed after forty years. They reached their own land where it was green, and they celebrated with those branches. In the Old Country, homes were decorated with green branches ("*maily*") from the linden tree ("*lypa*"), and priest came to bless the water in the well. In Canada, they used poplar branches ("*osykamy*"); but since there was no priest around, there was no blessing of the water. Antonia related with considerable detail how,

in the Old Country after the water was blessed, the priests and the people went onto the fields to bless fields of rye (newly grown but not matured), pray, sing religious songs, make wreaths out of the stalks of new rye to place on wayside crosses, and so forth.

g) Weddings

Antonia said that she did not attend many weddings in Canada and that no wreaths were plaited here as they were in the Old Country.

Antonia married in Canada, and her wreath was made from *mirt* (myrtle) and placed under her veil. At the church service she wore a white dress ("*dres*") made to measure from material that her husband had bought for this purpose. In Innisfree invitations were mailed out to those who lived far away; the groom himself or his boy (her husband was a widower) went on horse to invite those living near by.

Things were different in the Old Country, said Antonia. The *moloda* went around on Saturday morning to invite the girls to plait the wreath ("*do vinka klykala*") from periwinkle ("*barvinok*"). Musicians and relatives came over soon after, and the girls would dance. Others came in the evening. The bride's mother sat on a cushion, the bride bowed to her three times; the mother put the wreath on her head, and more flowers were stuck into the periwinkle wreath. Thus, dressed up nicely, the bride went into the village to invite guests to the wedding celebration.

In the evening, the wedding/"*perepii*" celebration took place with eating and dancing. The guests greeted the couple and gave them gifts of money, drank a toast to the couple, and kissed the bride.

The next day, the bride again dressed up with her wreath and went to church for the wedding vows ("*shliub*"). After church, they went to the bride's place for dinner, and then, the groom took her home to his place.

In Innisfreee, Antonia had one *drushka*; her husband had an old fellow for a *druzhba*. There was no matchmaker (*starosta*) although her widowed husband-to-be's mother behaved like a matchmaker since she tried to encourage Antonia to marry him in spite of Antonia's initial aversion to him. Thus, Antonia was married within two weeks after arriving in Innisfree to the man who had sponsored her and arranged for her to come to Canada. There was a wedding dinner at his home but no musicians and no dancing. There were guests and presentation ("*darovannia*") — people gave ten cents each ("*perepyvaly po désiat tsentiv*"). There were no presents/gifts and no *korovai*; however, there were *kolachi*.

h) Christenings

The children were christened in church, and there was one set of godparents for the child (one *kum* and one *kuma*). A small supper for four was held at home. The godparents supplied the *kryzhma*: i.e., a piece of material that the mother of the child used later to make something for the child as required.

i) Funerals

Antonia told of a neighbour's blind mother who died on a farm near Innisfree and how she participated in that funeral. The body was prepared, washed and dressed in Old Country clothes, just like in the Old Country, said Antonia. There was a kerchief for the head, no beads, but a cross on a black ribbon around the neck. She was placed on a clean sheet into a coffin made from planks, and buried.

They took turns sitting up with the body until morning. Candles were kept burning, and mirrors were covered with a piece of linen ("*platyna*") to stop people from looking into the mirror when they came to the funeral, said Antonia. The priest officiated, and there was no lamentation because the deceased was too old for such sorrow. There was a dinner after the burial, but since it was Lent at that time ("*velykyi pist*") no meat was served; instead they served cabbage, peas, fish and canned fish, bread but no "*pshenytsia.*"

j) Beliefs and Superstitions

The soul ("*dusha*") of the dead had a right to walk about the earth for an extra forty days after its mortal demise, but people do not see it. Antonia narrated how one man in the Old Country did not believe in anything like this and was chased to death by the soul of a certain deceased person. Similarly, in 1924, the year Antonia left for Canada, the local priest (Polish) died because he tried to return to the grave the soul of a woman he had buried even though she still had a child to breast feed.

Antonia vouched for the efficacy of wax-pouring techniques as a remedy for certain illnesses. She once went with her daughter to get this done when the girl suffered greatly from fright after her clothing accidentally ignited when she tried to warm herself by the stove. The woman/"*baba*" said a prayer "*patsier*," poured the molten wax into the water (it was holy water), and divined the resultant shape in the water: she saw how the girl caught on fire from the stove and the cause of her malady. She gave the girl some of that water to drink and to wash her face with it. Once she arrived home, the girl slept soundly and was troubled no more.

Antonia herself once suffered from the evil eye in Canada. She had gone to church and her *kum* winked at her and tried to get her to come over to his place for a visit (?), but Antonia had to refuse because she had to go home to breast feed her baby. When she got home, she vomited nine times. A lady-neighbour came over, diagnosed her malady as evil eye, and prepared the remedy for it: she burned some straw and gave Antonia something to drink. Antonia fell asleep and it passed. It was quite a bad affliction, Antonia said.

Antonia stated that some of her dreams foretold a death in the family. She described an example of a dream of hers in Canada that foretold the accidental death of one of her own children. Cars and airplanes, she said, were the usual signs of death in her dreams.

k) Picnics

Antonia recalled these with a generous smile and a laugh. These were arranged in advance and held on farms on Sundays. People arrived with buggies/"*firamy*," and they brought their food, such as soured milk in a jug and baked *pyrohy* that were round like a wheel. Picnics were at first often held at a certain clearing on C.P.R. property.

1) Other Customs and Traditions

(i) Antonia said that she never heard of *Ivan Kupalo.*

(ii) No one forbid anyone to work in the fields on Sundays, but, Antonia said, she could not see how anyone could work without a day's rest ("*ta liudyna ne khudobyna, — musila vidpochyty*"). Therefore, she said, people tended to go to church, pray and rest on Sundays.

(iii) Not being allowed to eat meat on Fridays didn't mean much since people didn't had enough to eat on Sundays, said Antonia. There were some people who were lucky to eat meat once a year.

(iv) The first time Antonia had a birthday celebration was in the senior citizens' lodge where she was interviewed. There was no such thing out in the country, she said.

(v) As far as tea reading was concerned. Antonia did not believe in this and she "didn't go."

(vi) Antonia associated the name of Taras Shevchenko with the hall in her district at Innisfree. She herself didn't had time to read. In the Old Country, they didn't talk about Taras Shevchenko because, during the war, everyone was preoccupied with other matters, such as fleeing, and so forth.

(vii) Antonia never made a pumpkin pie.

(viii) Antonia prepared baked turkey in Canada (but not in the Old Country), and she tried raising turkeys but failed at it; she preferred to raise other poultry-birds such as ducks and geese since these produced feathers for pillows and quilts.

(ix) Antonia's village in the Old Country was too small to had concerts and plays. In Innisfree they didn't had these either.

(x) The *toloka* was not practised here in Canada, said Antonia. But they did obtain in the Old Country. It was a kind of reciprocal arrangement; neighbours were called over to help with planting (potatoes, corn); they were fed, and then they moved on to someone else, like a team. No money was paid for these services.

(xi) At harvest time ("*zhnyva*"), in the Old Country, people came to work for Antonia's father who was somewhat wealthy. In return for grain, they would come to work for him in the spring or in the fall.

(xii) Antonia felt that prayer was helpful.

2. EWDOKIA WOYTKIW

a) Biographical Data

Ewdokia Woytkiw (née *Puhkyi*) was born in 1901 in *Volchkivtsi* village, *Sniatyn* district and arrived alone in Canada in 1924 (on "English" Christmas) to join her mother's sister, five miles north west of Myrnam. She wed in 1925 (after Easter), bore four children (three girls), and farmed at Slawa, Alberta until 1957. She then moved to Edmonton for sixteen years. She had no parents here; a brother arrived in 1928, a sister in 1929, and a second brother in 1929. She was Ukrainian Orthodox and had six years of schooling in the Old Country.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

Ewdokia explained that she missed her native village in the Old Country — there, when she was young, things were happier, and there were very many girl friends ("*bahato veselishe — tam duzhe bahato bulo nas divchat...*"). She had come to live with her aunt who had emigrated to Canada before Ewdokia was born. Nonetheless, Christmas here was celebrated in the Old Country manner ("*tak iak u kraiu zvychaino...bo buly kraiovi liudy*"). At Christmas Eve dinner, the "*kutia*" was thrown by the head of the household — for the bees to swarm ("*kydaly shchoby pcholy roilysy...*"). Straw or nice hay (preferred to straw) was spread under and on the table (under the "*tsareta*" with some garlic) — because Jesus was born in hay ("*tomu shcho Isus u sini urodyvsy*"). After dinner, nuts were scattered onto the hay under the table for the smaller children to search after ("*tam horishky nasypaly pid stolom*"), while the older children and the parents sat and carolled at the table ("*za stolom*"). At the end of the holydays the hay was fed to the livestock or burned (they did not jump over the fire in Ewdokia's tradition). Leftover food was kept out on the table until morning for deceased family ("*kazaly shcho shche maiut pryity rodyna...ti sho povmeraly...*"), she laughed. In the Old Country, only the wealthy had trees for Christmas ("*pany maly*"); at Slawa, her family did not have Christmas trees until her youngest daughter wanted one, having seen one elsewhere ("*bo vydila v liudei*").

The pre-Christmas fast ("*Pylypivka*") was not adhered to here as strictly as it was in the Old Country; in spite of the restrictions, there was plenty to eat (fish) and they used "*mazola*" here because there was no "*olii*" available like there was in the Old Country.

At Slawa, men only went out to carol; the women joined in with the carollers at home. They collected funds for the church and the hall.

The *Malanka* pageant came around on New Year's eve at Slawa ("*Malanka khodyla*"): men were dressed as women, collected money for some purpose, and behaved mischievously when no one was looking (for example, *Malanka* would mark up the whitewashed, plastered walls when no one was watching — "*namazav na vapni...to Malanka to zrobyla*"). On New Year's day in the Old Country, very small boys went to sow; here in Alberta only the bigger ones went because they had to go on foot a long way through big snow drifts ("*tut zamety buly duzhe*"). In her family, they were delighted to receive sowers because this was their own tradition ("*i my duzhe to liubyly bo to bula nasha tradytsiia*").

On Epiphany Eve, Ewdokia's children went to sing the Epiphany carols ("*khodyly shchedruvaty*") at Slawa for nearby neighbours (she did not go); these carols were different from Christmas carols ("*koliada*"). At this time also, the priest would come to bless the house. For *Iordan* at Slawa, they went to church for the blessing of the water ("*ishly vodu sviatyty iak maly nahodu*"); if there was no priest available, there was no ceremony and no blessed *Iordan* water. They boiled ("*perevaryly*") and kept the *Iordan* water for medicinal purposes — they did not throw it out.

c) Easter

On willow Sunday, the children hit one another with the willow branches. The branches were kept because they were blessed ("*sviachene*"); they were used, when required, to turn away hail by throwing the branch(es) onto the ground in front of the house ("*iak duzhe hrad padav vynosyly tu lozu i kydaly na dvori to hrad perestavav — ale cherez tomu vny kazaly svichene i hrad ne bie, perestupav...*"). Ewdokia said this was believed and practiced because it helped — it stopped the hail.

At Slawa, Easter foods were blessed on Easter Sunday (if a priest was available or Saturday evening). Although this may not had been legitimate, it was important to have the blessed "*paska*" ("*posvichena paska*").

Ewdokia did make *pysanky*. In the Old Country, these were eaten. To maximize their goodness for eating, the eggs were raw when coloured and then, on Saturday evening, lightly baked in the oven. This was especially important when making *pysanky* a week or two before Easter. A raw egg kept better than a cooked one. Here, they first boiled and then decorated the egg which was not very good for eating purposes since a cooked *pysanka* egg would had been around for a long time before Easter Sunday. Therefore, there was a tendency not to eat the *pysanka* but to keep it if it was nicely coloured ("*iak faina napysana to trymaly*"). In recent years, people have begun to blow out the insides of the eggs. Some eggs were coloured plain ("*halunky*"); some were splashed ("*pohliapano*") with red or black splashes on the white or yellow background to represent the blood of Christ which dripped down from the cross during His crucifixion onto wild eggs below ("*dyki ieitsia*"). People said that these simply coloured eggs were more authentic than the fancy *pysanky* ("*pravdyvisti iak ti faini pysanky*").

The *perepichky* with cheese were baked here too, on the Thursday before Easter Sunday, blessed and distributed as "*pomana.*"

At Slawa, *haivky* were not played because there was no one to do them ("*ne bulo komu*"); in the Old Country, they did occur. On Easter Sunday, the family ate the blessed foods, and the church bells at Slawa rang out.

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

On the feast of the Transfiguration, vegetables were blessed ("*na Preobrazheniie sviatyly ovochi*"); flowers were usually blessed on the feast of the Virgin Mary ("*na Bohorodytsiu*"), or "*na svieto Makoveia*" ("*to male bulo svieto*").

Ewdokia was quite familiar with *miasnytsi*, *pushchennia* (a dance was held sometimes in the hall built of logs ["*z loksiv*"] at Slawa which was there when she arrived in 1924), *zahol'nytsia*, *Stritennia* (February 15th, she said), and customs associated with Fridays and Sundays.

Because she married soon after arriving here, Ewdokia had no time for herself ("*ne bulo koly divochyty*"), or for *Andreia* (she did not know if this was celebrated here). In the Old Country, on St. Andrew's, the girls gathered to spin and to determine, through divination techniques, which one of them would have a boy friend or get married first. For example, the girls would place their individual small loaves ("*kolachyky*") together in a row; they let in a cat ("*kit*") to see which loaf would be chosen by the cat as the lucky one ("*kotroi skorshe ukhopyt, tota skorshe viddast*").

Ewdokia was also quite familiar with *pomana*, *provody* (occurs only after Easter), *parastas* (a service for the dead, arranged with the priest any time), *khram* at Slawa (church service followed by food at the hall with members of the church receiving non-members as guests/"*chleny pryimaiut iak ie chuzhi*"), *praznyk* (= *khram*), Green Holydays, *vidpust* (occurred in the Old Country in the next village — the priests gave absolution/"*vidpuskaly im hrikhy*" — but not known to exist here), *na Ivana* ("*u Myrnam*"), *na Petra* ("*na Derwent*"), and *na IUriia* when, in the Old Country, efforts were made to divert witches from sucking up cows' milk ("*kopaly hlyny, i tam klaly terni, klaly na porozi v stainy, aby vid'ma ne ishla, bo vona sy zachypyt na to i vzhe i moloko ne oz'myt vid korovy*"). Ewdokia acknowledged that this was an Old Country belief only; she said that here the milk was there as long as the animal was fed well ("*tut take nema; i vsi znaiut sho take nema; tut, dobre daty isty ta i moloko bude*").

e) The Human Life Cycle

Ewdokia married in the spring ("na vesni") around the Green Holydays. The church vows were exchanged on Thursday, June 4th, at the Catholic church outside Myrnam, and the reception took place on the following Sunday at her aunt's place. She cried a great deal because she was alone (without parents). Although she was Orthodox, the ceremony was held in the Catholic church because there was no Orthodox priest available, and her

husband was Catholic. Four couples were married at one time. There was no matchmaker; the husband came from Ewdokia's village in the Old Country. The wedding entourage included two bridesmaids, a *matka*, and a *svashka*. Invitations were extended by mail; people lived too far apart and she was new to the district. There was no traditional wreath-making ceremony; her wreath, of artificial flowers, was attached to her veil, and she had artificial flowers to hold. They danced on the grass outside; the "*kolomyika*" was a favorite. Wedding photos were not taken because there was no one to do it ("*ne bulo komu*"). It was a fairly big wedding; for presentation, the couple received bedding and about $200.00. Her aunt made a straightforward "*kolach*" for the table.

In the Old Country, children were christened on the day of birth, and a dinner followed a week later, on Sunday. Here, the christening was held two to three weeks or months later because of the lack of opportunity or a priest.

At funerals, all-night vigils took place alongside the body; even in the hall at Slawa, the family stayed up all night with the body and played cards to pass the time. The mirror in the home was reversed if possible, and a big dinner with *kutia* followed the burial. Wailers were known only in the Old Country

f) Get-Togethers for Work, Recreation and Culture

The dead were commemorated with a service and food forty days later and, again, one year after the death.

In the Old Country, *vechernytsi* were evening gatherings for older people who came to spin wool (the younger people preferred to separate and sing); in Canada, they played cards.

Many bazaars were held at Slawa People's Home Hall to raise funds for the building of a second church. The ideal time was March, spring; she donated live geese and others donated a calf, handiwork such as quilts, baked goods, and so on. There was a kind of live raffle for a harrow; buyers tossed in twenty-five cent pieces for this. The bazaar could last for three days (if there was still items to sell), and until ten o'clock at night. A bingo also was organized as part of the bazaar activities in the hall. In the Old Country, a similar type of sale called a "*iarmarok*" or "*bazar*" was held in the large towns (e.g., Sniatyn) and were not confined to a single building or hall but were scattered throughout the site.

Ewdokia attended dances, picnics (organized by church members/"*chleny*"), plays, and concerts. She had a role in a play in the Old Country but not here because she had a small child. She attended the exhibition in Edmonton after the children left home. She was familiar with *toloka* (a work-bee held to help plaster a new home), but did not relate to *klaka*.

g) The Supernatural

Ewdokia was not a strong believer in the supernatural. She had, for example, heard about revenants but she did not believe in this because she herself had not seen one: "I stayed home, I went nowhere, I met up with nothing" ("*ia vdoma bula, ia nihde ne khodyla i*

nichoho ne zdybala"). As a child in the Old Country, she tried out the wax-pouring just for fun — no one was ill. Her sister-in-law was frightened by a coyote and was unable to sleep until she was healed by wax-pouring at Slawa. Ewdokia was never struck by the evil eye and therefore did not require healing by wax-pouring and washing and drinking. She learned about the technique of tea reading from a book, and she once went to a cafe in Edmonton for a tea reading experience that proved to be mediocre. Some dreams did come true, said Ewdokia. For example, she once dreamt of winning money and later won $1,000 at a bingo in Edmonton ("*pravdyvyi son buv*").

h) Other

Ewdokia distinguished between "*den' imenyny*" (saint's name day) and birthday ("*den' urodzhennia*"): that was, not everyone called Michael was born on St. Michael's feast day. These days were celebrated on rare occasion in the Old Country when friends would make a surprise celebration to honour someone. Here, some rich Ukrainians could afford to give birthday gifts, and children celebrated their parents' birthdays.

She liked to raise flowers. In the Old Country, where space was limited, Ewdokia raised flowers in the garden by the fence ("*na horodi tak za plotom sadyla*"); there was not much space for flowers by the house because of the yard ("*podviria*").

Ewdokia never adjusted to farm life in Alberta ("*na farmi meni nikoly ne bulo dobre*"); she had very good parents in the Old Country, and in spite of the war, she was still young....

3. MIKE FEDEC

a) Biographical Data

Mike (*Mykhail*) Fedec (*Fedets*) was born on November 21, 1901 in *Liubyn* village, *IAvoriv* district, Austria-Galicia, and he arrived in Alberta alone in 1925. Prior to this, he served with Petlura in the Ukrainian army for ten months until 1919 ("*do kapytyliatsii*") and then in the Polish army from 1923-1924.

For about five years, Mike worked as a farm labourer at Scotford near Fort Saskatchewan; in 1930 he took a homestead at Prosperity (Prosperite), seventeen miles north of Boyle. Also in 1930, Mike married (his wife had arrived from the Old Country in 1927); he had two sons. Mike was first a Catholic, but converted to Orthodoxy. In 1946, he moved to a farm closer to Boyle (for the sake of schooling for the children).

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

Three years after his arrival in Alberta, in 1928, Mike first celebrated Ukrainian Christmas Eve as a guest of an established Ukrainian farmer and his large family. This farmer celebrated in the manner of his ancestors ("*ikh didy i predidy*"), said Mike, and he threw up the *kutia* at the ceiling for the grain to stick there — it was a superstition ("*taki zabobony shody si rodylo*"). Mike's parents did this in the Old Country, but Mike did not do this in Canada. He had a fistful of cut rye ("*zviezano 'bonch'/ zhmut zhyta*") for the *didukh* in the

corner (he noted that in the Old Country, the *didukh* was larger — a whole sheaf/"*v kraiu buv tsilyi snip*"), straw by the table and hay on the table — for the children. After two days or so, these items were given to the livestock to eat as they were free of weeds; in the Old Country, this was burned in order to consume or destroy misfortune ("*spaliuvaly bidu*").

For New Year's his son went to sow wheat at Boyle around 1947-1950 (*Malanka* was not part of Mike's tradition). Mike carolled to raise funds for the Orthodox church at Boyle. Epiphany Eve was celebrated here and in the Old Country, and the priest blessed the house for two dollars.

For *Iordan*, water was blessed and brought home for each person to drink ("*kozhdyi pyv*"), and the water was kept in a jar as a souvenir ("*pamiatka*"), and eventually poured down the sink ("*do sinka*"). *Pushchennia* was celebrated at the hall.

c) Easter

Mike shared his "secret" about the blessed willow. At Boyle, he befriended the Orthodox priest, a Bukovynian named *Mel'nychuk*, who told him that the blessed willow could be used to divert approaching hail clouds. On one occasion he followed the priest's instructions and, waving a bunch of four to five willow branches outdoors toward the cloud, Mike said an incantation.

..Idy het
Na dibry,
Na lisa,
Na 'leiky', het —
Takyi pliats de by te
Ne narobylo shkody!

The threatening hail cloud broke up and went away. Mike did the same later to ward off a hurricane. He had never heard of this earlier, either in the Old Country or in Canada. He had seen how this helps and he believes in it; but he never told anyone this before because people and neighbours would laugh at him, said Mike.

After willows were blessed, people hit one another with the branches lightly (so that the heads, "*holovky*," would not fall off).

In his home, no one made *pysanky* because only homes with many girls produced them. The *pysanky* were boiled and given as gifts. He received some in the Old Country from girls as gifts. *Haivky* were experienced by Mike only in the Old Country, and though he recalled splashing on Easter Monday, it was not known to him in Canada either.

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

Mike was familiar with celebrating *Andreia* (girls told fortunes in the Old Country), *pomana* (a Bukovynian custom, not in Mike's tradition, but he himself was given a loaf/"*khlib*," and he prayed for the dead person as requested), *provody*, *parastas* ("*to vzhe sobi 'vorderuiut ekstra' pravyty parastas za pomershoho*"), and *praznyk* as kermis. He

identified *khram* as a service for the dead, and suggested that *tryzna* was a Bukovynian custom.

Mike considered saints' days to be holydays but he did not celebrate these holydays if there was important work to do ("*iak taka*).

e) The Human Life Cycle

Mike got married in court ("*ia sy zhenyv v korti*") in Edmonton. He resisted the negative attitude of those around him who said he should sanctify the marriage in church with a religious ceremony ("*to meni kazaly popravliety shliub*"). Mike first met his wife in Edmonton at a Christmas party. She was working in a cafe on Jasper Avenue in Edmonton, and she kept her betrothal secret because feared she would lose her job if she took time off, etc. There was no reception. The ceremony had witnesses in attendance, including a Greek who worked with Mike's wife.

In the Old Country, Mike served often as a groomsman who was expected to accompany the groom to invite guests and, at the reception, to look after guests. Mike related satisfactorily to perepii and popravyny; zavodyny was not practised in his village.

Mike was a *kum* in the Old Country (but not here), and he attended his first Canadian funeral at Prosperity where they sat up with the deceased all night, candles burned, and mirrors were not seen to have been reversed.

f) Get-Togethers for Work, Recreation and Culture

When he arrived in 1925, halls were in place at Boyle and at Redwater; these were used for weddings, socials and stage plays. Mike played the roles of a village elder ("*vit*") and a shepherd; in Edmonton he was engaged to play the role of Volodymyr the Great ("*mene zahaieruvaly*."). In his experience, fights did not occur at Boyle.

Vechernytsi took place here as follows: youth gathered in private homes to play cards, to read. Picnics were held only here (in the Old Country they were called "*zabava*"). They occurred after church service and featured ball playing, etc. Mike did not play ball because he was inexperienced and there was no opportunity on the homestead to pick up sports. Mike's sons did not play sports, but his grandson did; he had a tooth knocked out on one occasion, and a leg broken on another occasion. Mike advised his grandson to abandon sports since it was so injurious.

A work-bee (*toloka*) was held for Mike and others to help out with plastering the house or barn ("*lipyty khatu, stainiu*"); Mike helped transport the clay ("*ia pomahav vozyty hlynu*"). Mike did not relate to *klaka.*

g) The Supernatural

Mike did not seem to believe in revenants or supernatural entities. in the Old Country, he often had to frequent a place that was reportedly the haunt of a demon ("*did'ko*") but no such thing came his way.

Wax-pouring helped others, but it was not done for him. He once had the evil eye (in Alberta), and his wife cured him as follows: instead of live coals, she threw pieces of bread into the water ("*khlib lomaty i kydaty do vody*") while counting backwards from nine to one; there were three pourings of water and knife crosses. He drank of the water and washed his chest and forehead with some of it.

Mike's wife saw girls read tea in Edmonton. Although he dreamed every night, Mike did not interpret his dreams.

h) Other

For Mike, Petliura was a traitor; he describes his experiences in the army (circa 1918) in the Old Country as a prisoner of the Poles, and he said he knew many of the "*strilets ki*" army songs. He indicated that he, like others from *IAroslavs'kyi* district in the Old Country, was called a *hadai* because of his accent.

Mike's multicultural world included Poles, Slovaks, a few English, French (further off), and Indians (passed through). The English called Ukrainians at Boyle, Bohonks. There were once two Jewish storekeepers at Boyle but they sold out.

Mike's wife made pumpkin pies but he did not like pumpkin. They also raised turkeys — for sale and for themselves. Mike said that he had few, if any, good times. He was hurt by his Orthodox church parish (they failed to include Mike in their commemorative group photograph). Earlier, he had left the Catholic church because of the Catholics' politics. Mike felt that the priests ruined the harmony and goodwill that had been established already between Ukrainian, Pole, and Slovak at Boyle. Mike's own sons were a disappointment to him. "*Plastuny*" (Ukrainian boy scouts) reminded him of his old days in the Old Country.

After the interview, he philosophized and concluded, cynically, that only booze and food were a person's friends — not people ("*lysh baklia i perekuska — to pryiateli, ne liudy*").

4. ANNA MARTYNIAK

a) Biographical Data

Anna Martyniak (née *Kolodii*) was born on November 14, 1904 in *Korylytsi* village, *Peremyshliany* district. She arrived in Canada on December 13, 1928, and came (via Vegreville) to Kaleland where her husband was working (they had married in 1925 in the Old Country). Anna had no children. They acquired their first farm in 1929, fourteen or

fifteen miles west of Two Hills, in the Shalka district, towards Willingdon and "*Harry*" Hill. They farmed there for thirty-three years and in 1962 moved to the town of Manville. Anna had one year of schooling in the Old Country (it was war time and teachers were lacking in the village). She was of the Ukrainian Catholic faith.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

They celebrated Christmas here like they used to in the Old Country; twelve or more dishes were served ("*kil'ko hoden bulo*"). Because they had no children, they did not bother throwing the boiled wheat ("*v nas ne bulo ditei — ne bulo komu varyty, tai my ne kydaly*"). In the fall, Anna's husband tied up some of the wheat into a sheaf for Christmas, and this was placed in a corner; some hay was placed under the table. They did not spread straw (= "*didukh*") on the floor at Shalka as they used to in the Old Country (it was too bothersome since they had a small and simple two-room temporary dwelling and no children).

Anna seems to had a garbled or mixed-up idea regarding Pylypivka ("do Petra"), miasnytsi (before Christmas and before Easter Lent). She knew, however, that *pushchennia* marked the beginning of Lent ("*pist*") and she mentioned "*makoveia*" ("*druhyi toi pist ...do matki bozhoi*") when people fasted ("*liudy pisno ily*"), poppy seeds were crushed up in a big bowl ("*vzhe buv mak ...terly v velykii mystsi*") and "smeared" everything with crushed poppy seed ("*mastyly vs'o*") — including soup and potatoes. Anna gave a weepy, emotional response when asked why these things were done: "people believed in God and they knew that they had to fast and to pray for God to give them good crops, healthy children or healthy animals ("*CHomu tak robyly?" — "Bo liudy viryly v Boha i vony znaly sho vony maiut' postyty, molytysi aby Boh im dav shoby im sie rodylo, aby im buly ditochky zdorovi abo khudibka bula zdorova ...*").

Men came carolling to the house to raise funds for the farmers' union. At the Christmas Eve dinner, they had an extra setting (an empty plate, a spoon, a fork) should anyone come — but no one came. Also, like her mother and grandmother, Anna too left out the leftovers, with spoons, overnight for the deceased souls.

The New Year's *Malanka* was not part of in Anna's own tradition. However, at Shalka, on New Year's Eve, mummers did come over; these were men in the area who dressed up, and sang in return for fun, food and drink (they did not take money). In the morning, New Year's day, children (boys and girls) went to sow wheat (Anna recited their jingle); the children received ten cents for the whole bunch of them, and this they would divide amongst themselves.

On Epiphany Eve, they celebrated with foods that were identical to Christmas Eve. On Jordan day, they went to church in "*Harry*" Hill; after the priest blessed the water, they all got together in the church basement for a dinner (each brough some food from home). They brought some blessed water home in a quart jar; they drank some of it and sprinkled the house, the children drank some, they shared some with anyone (a neighbour) who didn't go, and kept the rest until the following year. Anna recalled that one year they didn't go to church on *Iordan* because the weather was bad; but to celebrate the holyday, she

simply added some of the previous year's blessed water to some fresh, regular water and drank some of this. Two weeks later, the priest informed her that the blessedness had expired in the old holy water ("*to z nei vyishlo to sviachene*") and he offered Anna some newly blessed water but she scolded the priest for his seeming inaccuracy.

c) Easter

Anna outlined the Biblical basis for willow Sunday ("*shutkova nedilia*"). Her husband was the priest's helper; two to three weeks earlier, he gathered willow branches, placed these in a pail of warm water (for the pussies to sprout), and took these to church for the entire congregation to take. After church, they hit one another with the willow (Anna recited the jingle) and took it home. When they baked the Easter "*paska*," they put the willow branch in the fire in the stove-oven.

The Easter foods were taken to church to be blessed on Saturday, at 4:00 p.m. (the priest had many parishes to cover). The blessed food would be kept until Easter Sunday, the next day; Anna's husband would leave the blessed food in the car overnight, and on Easter Sunday morning, he would come in the house with the food and announce "*KHrystos voskres*!" Sometimes there was no service to attend on Easter Sunday.

The Easter foods included garlic and "*halunky*" which Anna got from others (she did not make *pysanky*); in the Old Country, the boys smashed eggs with the girls for fun ("*kotskaly...na zbytky*").

Other elements associated with Easter were "*holubtsi*" (baked dough-birdies), "*perepichka*" (a small loaf of paska used as a preview-sample), and bell-ringing at the local Romanian church. She described the *haivky* that she saw only in the Old Country; here, the people came from all over, and some would ridicule the *haivky*. Anna reported on the custom of water splashing that occorred on Easter Monday and Easter Tuesday; she said she actually never saw these customs because she never was in town ("*ia v mistsi nihde ne bula*").

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

Anna related the Biblical basis for *Stritennia* and described how, "*na Andreia*," the girls amused themselves by trying to foretell whom they would marry ("*vorozhyly*"); for example, they would collect twigs or branches to represent each of their boyfriends, and see which one would sprout first after placed in water.

Anna identified *pomana* as a Bukovynian custom — one that was not in her tradition. Her husband, when queried by a Bukovynian regarding the Catholic belief in purgatory, answered that he thought that the Bukovynian belief in *pomana* was incomprehensible: if the soul went to hell, the *pomana* was useless, and if the soul went to heaven, the *pomana* was not required.

Anna noted that *provody* was a strong custom with the Bukovynians, who stress the food aspect of the custom. In Anna's tradition, the *provody* custom featured a small cemetery service ("*malen'kyi parastas*") and "*kolachi*," and fruit that was given to the priest and his

cantor. In the Old Country, there were three loaves on each grave. She noted that the English and the United Church people never had such cemetery customs ("*nikoly ne ishly na hrib*"). In addition to *parastas* (a service for a dead soul at the cemetery or in the church) and *tryzna* (= a funeral dinner or snack/"*perekuska*"), Anna described the festivity of a *khram* or kermis celebration ("*praznyk*") that could include fifty couples going to visit from house to house, all day long. She noted that there was no such excessive comeraderie in the Old Country ("*tak ne skhodyly*") where only a few were invited for dinner, and they did not go visiting from house to house. (In the Old Country, the *khram* at her parish was held on St. Nicholas day, and it was cold, she noted.)

For Anna, *vidpust* was not experienced in Alberta, and "*na Petra*" did not mean a special holyday.

Anna noted that for St. John's Day they bedecked the homes ("*pered Ivanom maily khaty*") with flowers in the thatch ("*pid dakh*") and saplings outside by the threshold. For Green Holydays at Shalka, Alberta, they did not bedeck the home because there was forest all around ("*nam ne tre bulo maity bo v nas buv navkruh lis*"), and, besides, she had lilac bushes planted on each side of the house which made further greenery superfluous and/or redundant ("*to vzhe buv mai!*").

It was the custom to serve no meat on Fridays. Also, work was not allowed on Sundays except during harvest.

Anna noted that the Bukovynians made their *kolach*-loaves smaller than the Galicians who made loaves ("*kolachi*") that were shaped differently (long, braided and double-layered).

e) Human Life Cycle

Anna agreed that there was much fighting here at weddings and other socials. In the Old Country, when a man drank everything away, his wife would be evicted with his children, and he would drown himself in the river; here in Canada, there was more money around to pay fines (for fighting, for making homebrew). In the Old Country, it was illegal to grow your own tobacco as well as to make homebrew.

With regard to Christenings, Anna noted that Galicians had a couple (a man and a woman) to act as godparents; if it was a girl, the man held her, and if it was a boy, the woman held him (they did not pass the child to the other person during the church ceremony).

The "*kuma*" provided the "*kryzhma*" and the *kum* gave money ("*skydaly hroshi*)". The Bukovynians, however, could had an indiscriminate number of godparents for the child, and each had a chance to hold the child.

With regard to funerals, Anna recalls the all-night vigils (two nights) and funeral songs. She recited the words for one song that was sung here in Alberta:

Kazhut liudy shcho ia vmru,
A ia shche khochu zhyty;
Kil'ko zhyvshy na sim sviti,
Vse tre povmyraty.

Lyshaietsy sriblo, zloto, dorohii shaty
Tiazhko zo soboiu na druhyi svit vziaty.

KHot' by vziavshy na sei svit,
Tamtoho ne treba,
SHtyry doshky, syzhen' zemli, spasenii z neba,
Bude hnyty...

No iak spustiat hrishne tilo u hlyboki doly,
I ne zhynut tvoi ochy nikoly, nikoly.

Nakryiut piskom ochy ne hlianut nikoly,
Budut hnyty rebra, boky, z holovoiu ruky,
A dusha pide bezsmertnaia na vichnii muky.

When visitors entered to pay their respects to the deceased, they would take a candle from a plate of grain, light the candle, say an "Our Father," blow out the candle and return it, sticking it into the grain. Mirrors in the house were covered or reversed because the mirror would otherwise distort ("*zerkalo skryvyt*"). Women lamented at funerals here as well as in the Old Country; Anna wailed in 1971 for her dead husband at the coffin in church ("*Nasho ty mene lyshyv kaliku ...*"). A funeral dinner was served after the burial, again in forty days, and again in a year's time; each time, *kutia* was served (it was thicker than the Christmas *kutia* and had candies, — jelly beans/"*khvasul'ky*" on top as a kind of garnish).

f) Get-Togethers for Work, Recreation and Culture

Picnics were held by ball clubs to raise funds in support of their activities. Besides attending picnics, Anna also participated in plays. Around 1932, she acted in a play about the famine in "Russia" in the Orthodox hall at *SHypentsi* (Anna had also acted in the "*CHytal' na*" hall in the Old Country before the Polish authorities forced it to close).

Anna identified three kinds of work-bees: *toloka*, *klaka* and "*vechernytsi*." The *toloka* was known to her only in the Old Country and had girls husking corn or braiding onions (an important cash crop), while the boys braided long braids ("*vinky*") of corn; the *klaka* occurred here as often as twice a week, and featured the womenfolk and girls who gathered to sew, to pluck feathers or to card wood; "*vechernytsi*" were also known to her to occur only in the Old Country and featured girls spinning wool while the boys dropped over to socialize.

g) The Supernatural

Anna was not sure about revenants, although she reported that her dead husband, just before he was buried, came back to bother her as she slept (his soul had not yet left the house, explained Anna). Anna had seen her sister's fright alleviated by the pouring of wax in the Old Country where clumps of flax ("l'on") were burned also; if the smoke went in

the direction of the door it meant death. Anna also had a folk healer in the Old Country cure her swelled-up nose, which she attributed to the evil eye. Anna never saw tea read, and she feared dreaming — especially foreboding things such as meat. She said she once had a dreambook ("*sonnyk*").

h) Other

Anna was knowledgeable regarding Taras Shevchenko.

At Shalka (but not in the Old Country), Anna made pies. She did not make pumpkin pies because she did not like pumpkin (no one made pies in the Old Country). At Shalka, she also raised turkeys for market and for her own table (in the Old Country, in her village, turkeys were not raised because they had to be fed ["*tut bulo chym hoduvaty*"] and, for this reason, geese were preferred because they grazed ["*vono sy paslo*"]).

Anna equated *hutsuly* with Bukovynians ("*inakshi ne znaiu*"); she could not identify *hadai*, and gypsies and Jews, for Anna, were known only in the Old Country. In her district ("*kolo nas*") there were no French — only Romanians, north of Shalka and west and north of the Willingdon area. (Anna's district was "*mala Shalka Marie*" and north of Shalka there was "big *Shalka Marie*"). Indians used to come by for food; Anna gave them potatoes (they conversed in English). There were also English people around.

For Anna, times were happy when they "made it" ("*iak my sie dorobyly*"), had a car and went for holidays to Banff, etc., in the 1940s.

5. BARBARA BABYCH

a) Biographical Data

Barbara ("*Varvara*") Babych (née *Sorobei*) was born on May 6, 1906 in *Bila* village, *CHortkiv* (*Ternopil'*) district in the Old Country. She came alone to Canada in 1930 to join her brother on a farm ten miles south of Vilna at Downing, Alberta. Her trip to Canada took eleven days by ship, and then three days by train to Edmonton. A year later, in November of 1931, she wed and had four children (one girl, three boys); two of the boys died in infancy and the third boy was deceased as well. She had no schooling (there was none available in the Old Country--"*bo ne bulo v kraiu*"). She and her husband farmed at Downing for thirty-three years. Although she was born a Catholic, she converted to Ukrainian Orthodoxy because her husband came from Bukovyna and was Orthodox.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

For Christmas, hay was spread under the table (i.e., "*did*") and on the table; this was burned outside the day after Christmas at the gates, and they jumped over the burning hay. Barbara's mother said that some old man once said that this was supposed to be done;

pagans used to go around the fire, but Christians were supposed to jump across the fire to form a cross.

A sheaf of wheat ("*baba*") was placed in the corner and kept until New Year's eve when the boys came to thrash the sheaf and winnow the grain from the sheaf ("*prykhodyly molodi khloptsi, — she i de divka/y ie — tai tu 'babu' na pidlohu tai molotiat tai zberut,,vyviiut, — a tam baklia, ie horivka ...*"), and find a bottle of whiskey in the sheaf! ("*ie horivka v 'baby', — bo to dlia nykh bulo*").

Barbara described the Christmas Eve dinner: first everyone sits at the table, all pray the "Our Father," the "*didukh*" was spread under the table for the children to crawl around in it and to cluck like hens, to call sheep, lambs and chicks with sounds that imitate these animals' own sounds. This was done so they multiply nicely in spring ("*kvokaiut — klychut vivtsi, klychut telieta, klychut kurietka pid stolom; klychysie aby velysie faino — iak mama postoit na vesni kvochku to sie dobre kureta vedut*"). For the meal, "*pshenychka*" was served first, then "*borshch*"--all non-animal, Ukrainian food ("*vs'o pisne — Ukrains'ka strava*"); father threw some "*pshenytsia*" up at the ceiling and the children caught it falling back down and ate it: the more you caught, the more good fortune you would have, and so they ate it because this was their luck ("*khto kil'ko zlapaie, to to ieho shchastia; tai to idiet bo to ikh shchastia*"). Leftovers were left out uncovered for the souls of the dead to come and eat.

Barbara went out carolling — by car; they sang "*Boh predvichnyi*," "*Nebo i zemlia*" and collected money to buy dishes and silver for the church kitchen (the ladies used to have to bring their own from home). Barbara recited the carollers' greeting. Some of the men carollers at Downing carried a nativity scene ("*vertep*") in a box that they kept covered in the sleigh, or a star with three small candles and revolving nativity scenes.

Pylypivka was the fasting period before Christmas.

Barbara recalled that in her tradition there was a Christmas tree in the Old Country as well as here in Canada; in the Old Country, they speared dried fruits onto sticks (pears, plums, figs) and stuck these into the tree ("*do ialynky zapykhaly*") along with nuts and "pyrizhky." In Canada, they decorated the tree in gold ("*a tut ialynku vzhe robyly*").

For New Year's there was the custom of threshing the Christmas sheaf (described above), *Malanka*, and sowing wheat from house to house ("*molotyly...malankuvaly...i siiaty khodyly po khatakh*").

Malanka was enacted on New Year's eve; the mummers' group would be composed of about four men dressed variously as an old lady, an old man, a Jew, a gypsy couple, a devil, a priest, a bride and groom, a fake belligerent "goat" with a pail — they milk the goat ("*kozu doiut*"). These characters engage themselves in a variety of mischievous fun and trickery: the old couple batter one another and look for things to steal in the house, the old man chases after the lady of the house or the girls living there; and the priest and bridal couple stage a mock wedding in the house. Barbara sang a fragment from a *Malanka* mummers' song:

Ivane, Ivanochko,
Pusty do khaty Malanochku (2)

Nasha Malanka gospodynia,
IAk isty zvaryt, tak i pomyie (2)

Nasha Malanka "Gristnom" plyla,
Bilyi fartukh fartushok zamochyla (2)

Povii vitre ia z Onuchy,
Vysushy fartukh iak v odnochy (?)

Povii vitre ia z zakhodu,

Malanka mummers were given food and drink, but no money. Barbara noted that the *Malanka* custom was nicer in town because they danced in the hall; the custom was still in practise at Vilna hall at the time of the interview, and Barbara named individuals whose training in the Old Country was reflected at these hall endeavours.

Both boys and girls went to sow wheat, but girls were refused entry (not received) unless a boy had already come to sow first. Barbara recited the appropriate verse of greeting. In Canada, the floor was not of clay ("*hlyna*") but a "*pidloha*" and the grain (oats, barley but mostly wheat) was scattered over this; the children received fritters ("*pampukhy, pyrizhky z slyvkamy*") and money — a penny, a nickle.

For Epiphany Eve, the second Holy Eve ("*druhyi sviatyi vechir*"), they had dinner and went carolling when the evening star appeared in the sky ("*khodyly pid vikno i shchedruvaly*"). Barbara sang some lines from an Epiphany carol:

Oi dobryi vecher, gospodarun'ku,
My v tebe, my v tebe,
Dai zhe zh ty, Bozhe,
SHCHastia, zdorovlie prozhyty
Prosyt' tie Hospod'na poradon'ku do Sebe.
Obitsiav tobi sto kip pshenytsi vrodyty —
Dai zhe zh...

Barbara recalled the tricks that some used to play on girl carollers in the Old Country at Epiphany.

For *Iordan*, they went with a procession ("*protsesiiu*") to bless the water. In the Old Country, this took place at the mill; here in Alberta they went to the river ("*do rivera*") or to a well ("*nora*") at Downing, or had the water blessed inside if the weather was very cold. At first, everyone had a drink of the blessed *Iordan* water and took some home to use for medicinal purposes as required: to cure a headache, you wiped the forehead with some of the blessed water ("*aby holova ne bolila*"). It was kept at home in the fridge or some cool place. If a child cried a great deal, some of the water in the mouth would help. Also, Barbara described how she followed her husband as he set out to seed in the field; with bread, salt and blessed water she went behind him and sprinkled the fields for God to bless their efforts ("*ia kropyla za svoim cholovikom, blahoslovyla by Boh pomih posiiaty, by*

Boh pomih vrodyty — vynosyt sil tai khlib tai sviachenu vodu, tai poblahoslovytsia by Boh pomih shchaslyvo...I tak my robyly, i tak Boh davav...na pole ifak shov...ie...").

c) Easter

On Willow Sunday, they hit one another with a blessed willow branch ("*loza*"). The blessed willow was kept to avert thunder or hail; it was taken outside, broken in two, and formed into a cross in the threshold ("*vporozi*"), even to turn back the wind, God willing ("*i Boh daie chasom zaverne viter*"). To dispose of unwanted blessed willow branches, they were burned.

The Easter foods were blessed at night, about 2:00 a.m., — after the Easter service on Sunday. They got home at 3:00 a.m. If the weather was tolerable, the menfolk would make a big fire outside while the women were attending to the service inside the church; after the service, the foods were blessed outside. Nowadays, the blessing occurs inside. The foods that Barbara brought to be blessed included heads of poppy; they were blessed so they would grow well ("aby faino ris").

In Barbara's tradition, some said that the simple ("*chysta*") "*halunky*" were more significant than the fancy pysanky ("*popysana*"). The pysanky were always cooked; some were given away as gifts for children who ate them; others were kept because of the pattern for future reference. The *halunky* were presented to boys by the girls and used in bumping contests. Doves ("*holubtsi*") and chicks ("*kurochky*") (as well as a more elaborate *baranchyk* in the Old Country) were baked for Easter to give to children. In the Old Country, poor people and beggars ("*didy*") received donations of baked "*perepichky*" with cheese.

The dancing of *haivky*, said Barbara, was not as strongly entrenched here ("*malo — ne duzhe*"); in Canada there were only women and small children — it was not like in the Old Country.

After Easter Sunday service, the church bells were rung unceasingly; a "*kalatalo*" was used instead of bells before Easter Sunday, on Saturday. On Easter Monday, the girls doused the men with water, said Barbara — they used a dipper; on Tuesday, the following day, the boys retaliated in kind.

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

For Barbara, St. John's Day, July 7th, was a big holyday with singing and socializing ("*v nas na Ivana, — bavylysia Ivana, robyly Ivana, spivaly...*"). Although she was no longer a maiden ("*divka*") at Downing, some of the St. John's customs and celebrations were experienced by her here as well. For example, on two occasions at Downing, when Barbara was still single, the women would celebrate St. John's ("*na Ivana*") would cut down a tree with "hands and legs" (the branches), decorate him ("*ioho*") nicely with a wreath and all kinds of foliage, dig him (the bedecked tree) into the ground, and sing around him ("*ioho faino vbraly v vino'k i...zakopaly...*"). Barbara sang some lines from the song:

Ivana Kupaila,
Ivanykha khlib sadzhyie
Ivan iei zavadzhyie,
Ivana Kupaila ...

Both men and women sang this song. Then they put *Ivan* (the tree) on the ground, broke him up slowly into pieces, they took the pieces home to their gardens where they placed the pieces among the cucumber plants to make the cucumbers come up very green. Later after dinner, they had a picnic at Bellis with races ("*perebihalysie...*"), and so on. Once Barbara had small children to care for, she did not participate in these customs. (Note that Barbara's husband was named "*Ivan*" [John]).

On the feast of the beheading of Saint John the Baptist ("*na holovsiky*"), it was a fast period ("*pist*"): no butter, only fruit was allowed. Barbara recalled how she was scolded by her mother for going to a dance on a fast-day in the Old Country.

Barbara identified with *miasnytsi*, *petrivka* (a period of five weeks before St. Peter's, with no dances, no weddings, and no meat Wednesdays and Fridays in the Old Country), and *pushchennia*, which was celebrated at Downing with dancing, foods ("*pyrohy*, *borshch*, *kachka*"), and music-making ("*na trubku — zatrun'kaie*") — they jumped around so that the hemp would grow large ("*tai skachut aby velyki konopli rosly*"). Barbara noted in this regard that since there were no weavers here to make linen out of the hemp, the *konopli* were grown for the oil that was extracted from them.

She was unfamiliar with *zahal'nytsia.*

With regard to *na Andreia*, Barbara identified *kolotka* as a term she heard pertaining to a game of blindman's buff that was played before the *Pylypivka* period of pre-Christmas fasting on St. Andrew's. She also described forms of divination that were practised at this time such as counting prunes in jars; or, to discover which girl of several will marry first, each girl fetched a mouthful of water from the creek ("*i nosiat pyskom vody z kriku*") which was used to make a batch of dough communally. From this dough, each girl formed her own small flatcakes, these flatcakes ("*palynychky*") were baked and placed on a low table; they called in a dog ("*pes*") and watch to see which of all the flatcakes he took first; the girl who made the flatcake that the dog took first would be the first to marry.

Barbara related *Stritennia* to the meeting of winter with summer (in January, she thought). She describes the *pomana*-event she had organized only recently in memory of a son and her husband; it featured a dinner, seventy-five loaves ("*kolachiv*") which she had ordered through a local bakery and two bowls of fruit; each guest had his/her own *kolach*, a candle, a piece of fruit (apple or candle) and a plastic bag to carry these items home. Barbara identified *provody* (which occurred after Easter at the cemetery), and *parastas* (enacted in church after the regular church service). She talked about *khram* as a Bukovynian custom originally — a kermis celebration that included inviting people over to eat after the church service. At Downing and at Kysylew, Alberta, the khram took place on St. Elias' Day (*na Illi*), while at Shandro the *khram* was held on the Feast of the Virgin Mary ("na

SHandrakh — na Bohorodytsiu"). The Bukovynians often invited their Catholic neighbours over to celebrate *khram*, and Barbara described how she helped a Bukovynian neighbour make the small style Bukovynian cabbage rolls for a *khram* celebration. Barbara conceded that in her tradition, *praznyk* was the same as *khram* ("*v nas praznyk robyly — to same*"). As an aside, Barbara noted that at the Orthodox church in Vilna, the ladies group baked Easter breads to raise funds and still used the outdoor oven by the church for this purpose.

Vidpust was associated with the Old Country only; here, for Barbara, the term meant getting away to travel for a holiday.

For Green Holydays, they bedecked the home with greenery, inside and outside with birch ("*bereza*") and "*liubystok.*". They also swept the yard (of chicken droppings) to make it nice and clean ("*aby chyste, faino*").

On Sundays, Barbara had to work and tend to her flocks of turkeys (400), chickens (300), and other animals. Hoeing in the garden was not allowed on Sundays; if necessary, work in the fields with harvest operations ("*shtokuvaty*") was tolerated. In the Old Country, they waited until midnight on Sundays to take advantage of the dew that made sheaving easier.

Barbara had heard the word *rusalka* but could not offer further identification.

e) Human Life Cycle

Barbara was married in Edmonton because the priest came around only once a month at Downing and because she needed to do some shopping. They rented space in a rooming house and because space was limited, only six people comprised the total bridal entourage; the young couple, a *bat'ko* that Barbara equated with *starosta* (it was Barbara's husband's brother), a "*matka*" (her brother's wife or "*bratova*"), one bridesmaid and one groomsman. They all shared the same room. The next day, the couple took their vows, had dinner, took pictures, and bought a second-hand bed, a lamp and kitchenware to take back with them to the farm. There was no other celebration (*vesillia*).

For her children, she selected three sets of godparents for each child, but different individuals for each christening. Barbara thought this was a good way to make up for the lack of family here ("*nai ia maiu znakomstvo bil'she..familii*"). A dinner followed the christening ("*isty bulo tre daty*") and included sour milk, a "bottle," bread, potatoes, cabbage rolls, chicken and stuffing.

For funerals, men made the coffin in the "*komora*" (pantry, granary) or the barn ("*stodolia*"); they lined it nicely and placed the coffin on a bench ("*faino zasteliut i postaviet ho na lavku*") to make a bier ("*katafel'ok*"). In the morning, when the priest was expected to arrive, all was made ready and dried herbs ("*zillia*") were placed on both sides of the head and spread beneath the body. Barbara related how in the summer, after Green Holydays, on Corpus Christi ("*sviato — na Bozhoho tila*"), they made wreaths of various herbs with cherries and tiny apples intertwined; these wreaths were taken to church

(throughout) to be blessed and taken home, dried, and stuffed into pillow cases for use exclusively at funerals, as outlined above.

During the all-night vigil with the body, the men played cards, the women talked, they drank tea and exchanged news ("*a stari hovorut za farmarku*"). Mirrors were reversed to avoid having visions later ("*kazhut sho bahato potomu sie pryvydzhuie*"). After the burial, a long, thin candle ("*stochok*") was lit, they lunched and waited until the candle died out.

Barbara once heard a woman lament for her brother, saying:

CHY tobi daly holochku,
CHy tobi daly gudzychok,/nytochku
["chy bude mav chym pryshyty tam"]
["chy bude mav so shtyry tsenty abys tam mav ....]

Barbara recalls that they used to throw coins (two or three pennies) into the open grave onto the coffin. A funeral dinner was served with "*kutia*" passed around in a single bowl ("*myska*") from which each helped him or herself. Additional memorial dinners were held again in forty days and in a year's time.

f) Get-Togethers for work, Recreation and Culture

At Downing, the women had *vechernytsi*; they knitted, spun, talked, and had tea or coffee. Bazaars were held in the school at Downing to raise funds for the church; these were like bingos, like a market too — there were games and items to buy.

Picnics did not occur in the Old Country, but Barbara described a game with balls and holes — perhaps something like golf — that they played in the Old Country. Here, they came by wagon ("*vozom*") with kids to picnics that featured races and ball games. Barbara named individuals who organized picnics.

When she first arrived in Downing, Barbara went to dances that were held in a granary on Mister *Veren'ka's* farm ("*do Veren'koi hali*"). Dances were held on Sundays, after vespers ("*vechirnia*"); people were expected to be home before sundown [but note the unusually long days in east central Alberta! —R.B.K.]. Girls and "moonshine" were the cause of fights that broke out on these occasions.

Soon after she arrived from the Old Country and before she was married, Barbara participated in several plays: "*(U)kradene shchastie*," "*Dokhtor Ripak*" and "*Syny zemli.*" Her husband-to-be helped her memorize her roles; while driving the cattle to a well on her brother's farm, she would learn her part while listening to him read aloud to her from the script. They toured the stage production to nearby centres such as Bellis and Vilna. Barbara notes that women attended these plays with their children; they had nowhere else to go.

Toloka and *klaka*, for Barbara, were synonymous. These work-bees were held to plaster homes; the clay was mixed, the men carried it with pitchforks, and the women did the plastering.

g) The Supernatural

Barbara recalled the case of her husband's sister-in-law who had to go to a man to have wax poured ("*strakh zlyvaty*") after she was frightened by a fake ghost whom she mistook for her deceased husband or son (she had lost three sons and her husband within five years). Barbara described as well how she was helped by wax-pouring when she was frightened by a stranger.

The symptoms of evil eye were vomiting, hurting head and dizziness; to cure this, you washed yourself in urine and told no one. Flattery from the eyes ("*z vochei*") could also cause children to scream endlessly; to alleviate this condition, the child had to be washed.

Barbara saw a lady read tea, and tried it too. They did this for fun.

She related how a recent dream that foresaw a death was fulfilled.

h) Other

Barbara described the differences between harvesting techniques in the Old Country ("*zhiely serpom*") and those that she found here ("*bander*," "*shtokuvaty*").

To celebrate her arrival from the Old Country and to welcome her when she arrived here, a surprise party was held in Barbara's honour ("*sopraiz parti sho ia pryikhala*"). Birthdays were not celebrated in the Old Country — some parents even forgot when the child was born.

Barbara had heard about Taras Shevchenko via an "embroidered book" of hers and her daughter who had brought her souvenirs from the Old Country.

At first, she did not bake pies because she had no lard (she had no pig to butcher when she married ("*ne bulo z choho: iak my pibralysia, my ne maly svyni zarizaty*"). First she made potato pancakes, later rhubarb pies and pumpkin pies. She raised three hundred to four hundred turkeys for market and for herself. Turkeys were not raised in large numbers in the Old Country because there was not enough feed for them ("*ne bulo chym hoduvaty*").

Barbara described how her brother put her to work in the fields when she arrived from the Old Country; she picked/tossed stones and stumps and roots ("*korinnia*") ahead onto the tractor driven by her brother. She liked planting flowers, but she noted that in the Old Country the frosts were not as severe as here and plants did not had to be brought indoors to survive the winter.

Barbara was happiest when she was single and had no children. She liked dances and acting in plays. Things were very happy in the Old Country for her after the war: before the war, she was a small young girl ("*divchyna malá*"), but after the war she was a lass ("*divka*").

COMMENTARY AND ANALYSIS

As seen in the preceding category devoted to "early arrivals," those who came to Alberta before 1914 tended to be under twenty years of age. The "latecomers" presented in this section, however,were all in their twenties when they arrived. Of the four females appearing in this category, three arrived alone, unmarried and in their early twenties; all three were married within a year of their arrival in Alberta.

The major difference between this group and the preceding group of informants was that the focus on hardships and poverty suffered by the early arrivals was almost totally absent in the account of these later arrivals. Almost all the latecomers show a strong appreciation for the more archaic forms of folkloric behavior that they, as young adults, left behind in the Old Country. The accounts show a preoccupation with integrating with a new environment that remained problematic, although supportive structures such as churches and halls were already in place (priests remained in short supply). Also evident was a heightened awareness of in-group differentiation (Orthodox/Catholic, Bukovynian/Galician) initiated by the interchange of regional Old Country features on the informal, latent, and covert levels of manifestation.

Antonia Basistiuk's repertoire of folk traditions reflect her Polish-Ukrainian background. *Malanka* and *pomana* were foreign to Antonia, who refers to these as Bukovynian customs. Along with the subsequent informant, Ewdokia Woytkiw, Antonia notes that the Old Country *haivky* did not occur in Alberta due to a lack of sufficient numbers of potential participants. Similarly, she remarks that a cross of ice was not constructed for the traditional *Iordan* ceremony because there was no one around to do this. Basistiuk's review was strong in the areas of spiritual and superstitious lore, as reflected in the manner in which she was able to link so many customs to Biblical antecents and in her allegiance to beliefs and practices associated with evil eye and dreamlore.

Ewdokia Woytkiw's higher level of education from the Old Country shows in the confident manner in which she explains the roots for certain Christmas and Easter customs. Her vocabulary includes a word like "*tradytsiia*" (= tradition) which in turn betrays her active links to the local hall culture. In Ewdokia's review, she notes the continuing obstacles posed by Alberta's harsh winters (making such customs as the house-to-house ritual sowing of grain at New Year's difficult to enact) and, at the end of her interview, she confesses that she never adjusted to farm life in Alberta. Interestingly, Ewdokia reports that carollers in her district collected funds to support the construction of a second church (in place of an earlier structure) — a sign that some measure of prosperity had arrived at last to cheer the Ukrainians in east central Alberta. She also remarks that because people had plenty of money, they were able to buy their way out of trouble and conflict with the law, — a situation that in the Old Country was often resolved by suicide.

The account of Mike Fedec contains several features that distinguish it from the reviews of the other "latecomers." He settles down on the northern periphery of the hard core Ukrainian bloc settlement in east central Alberta, and his personal history as a member of the Ukrainian and Polish military forces in the Old Country shows him to be hard-nosed

individual, sensitive to the eruption of religious factionalism in his district, and quick to switch religious affiliations when he feels wronged. Mike himself never flung *kutia* to the ceiling at Christmas; there was no *Malanka* in his tradition, and his Canadian experience was void of the *haivky* which he said he remembered in the Old Country. Mike's active contacts with new, urban traditions are evident when he marries in an Edmonton City court office and participates in local stage productions at the hall. But he fails to shed his ties to the old ways: he accepts the Bukovynian custom of *pomana*, confesses to his belief in the magical efficacy of blessed willow branches, and admits that his wife cured him from the evil eye on at least one occasion. In general, however, life had been a disappointment for Mike: he concludes that a person's best friends were food and booze — not people.

Anna Martyniak, a Catholic Galician, describes her folk heritage in terms that frequently use the Bukovynian milieu in which she finds herself as a source for contrastive comparisons. For her, the Bukovynian kermis celebrations were excessive, and she appears to had been insulated by the Bukovynians from such events as Mundare's annual Catholic *vidpust*, of which she appears to be ignorant; Anna fears that the Bukovynians would only make fun of her Old Country *haivky* if they ever saw her perform them. Because she was childless, she had plenty of time to participate in the local stage activities at the hall and she finds that with no children there was no reason to maintain such Christmas customs as throwing *kutia* up at the ceiling or spreading straw on the floor. The paralysis extends to other aspects of Anna's tradition: if/when she was unable to attend the *Iordan* water-blessing ceremony at church, she simply extends her supply of holy water by adding fresh water to the old holy water already on hand. Anna's account reflects the special impact of the automobile on the manner in which folk tradition came to operate in later years; it meant, for example, that both the clergy and parishioners were more mobile and flexible. In Anna's review, the car even becomes a temporary holding-area for blessed foods at Easter. Anna's comment on the excessive nature of Bukovynian kermis celebrations in her district, noted above, were an indication that this particular custom, by 1982, had become an integral, fully developed and productive aspect of the Ukrainian-Bukovynian folklore complex in east central Alberta.

Barbara Babych's lack of formal schooling was possibly what helps make her account of Ukrainian folklore and folk traditions so vivid; she successfully weaves her details into a rich and unique tapestry of archaic and new, modern features. Like Anna Martyniak and, to a lesser extent, Mike Fedec, Barbara was drawn into the orbit of Bukovynian folklore: she drops her Catholic affiliation to marry an Orthodox Bukovynian. She was comfortable at Christmas with new elements such as Christmas trees, as well as with pre-Christian homeopathic magical practices; for her, the prophylactic powers of blessed water were real. Barbara's description of St. John's Day customs and celebrations take on an added, personal dimension since this was her husband's nameday. She notes how local Bukovynians often invited their Catholic, Galician neighbours to celebrate *khram* along with them. An out-going person, Barbara was neither cloistered nor bound by the strictures of her folk heritage. To meet her own needs, she learns to manipulate the tradition: she arranges to get married in Edmonton and uses the occasion to do some shopping in the City at the same time; she and others like her in the community break through old gender barriers and go Christmas carolling to raise money to buy new flatware

for the ladies' kitchen activities at church; and she admits to choosing more than enough godparents for her children in order to make up for the lack of Old Country family and relatives in Alberta.

C. THE CANADIAN-BORN

1. GEORGE PAWLUK

a) Biographical Data

George T. Pawluk was born in 1899; eight miles from present-day Willingdon (north of Whitford). His parents came from Bukovyna (*Zadubrivka* village, near *CHernivtsi*). They had ten children. George's father died "in that flu" in 1918. In 1921, George married Kate Staharuk from Pakan and they had two children (one daughter, one son). He farmed until 1946. He had worked as an auctioneer and had owned a hotel in Hairy Hill. At the time of the interview, he belonged to the Russian Greek Orthodox Church in Shandro and had a grade four education (there were no schools at first, and he did not begin his education until he was eight years old).

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

Wheat ("*pshenytsa*") was served first for Christmas Eve dinner, and there was straw under the tablecloth. There was always a tree, said George, and little gifts were distributed. They carolled at home (e.g., "*Boh predvichnyi*"), and carollers went from house to house. George attempted to recite the caroller's greetings, but his effort was blurred. Leftover food was left out on the table overnight for deceased members of the family ("*zvychaino hovoryly dushy prykhodia familii* and they eat").

For New Year's, they went about to sow wheat..."friend to friend" ("*na novyi rik rozkydaly pshenytsa*"), and the mummers went about with *Malanka* ("*shly malankuvaty...i malankuiut'*"). There were musicians and singers in the group, they carried a star, one fellow was dressed in ladies' clothing, and the group included a devil ("*chort...toi z rizhkamy chornyi*"). The mummers carried on with tricks and prankish behaviour.

For *Iordan*, they went on foot to the river at Shandro crossing about one mile from the church to bless the water; they cut a hole in the ice. On many such occasions, it was forty to fifty below zero, said George.

During the seven weeks of Lent ("*KHrystos sviatkuvav to*"), there were no meats, no fats, no dancing, and no weddings.

c) Easter

On Palm Sunday, you brought your own willow ("*shutka*") to church to be blessed, took it home, tucked it behind a holy picture ("*za vobraz*") and kept it until the following year. People hit one another with the willow branches over the head ("*po holovi*") and said a

jingle. The Easter eggs/"*pysanky*" were eaten and played with ("*tsokaly ta ily*"). Sometimes the priest was so busy that the service was held at midnight or at four o'clock in the morning; then they would come home tired and go to bed.

In the early days, *haivky* were played on Easter Sunday in the afternoon. George described one of these singing games about a beetle, and he sang three stanzas as follows:

Khodyv zhuk po zhukakh
IAk divchyna po rukakh.

Refrain: *Hrai zhuche hrai.*

Hrai zhuche do nedili,
Budut tobi sukni bili.

(Refrain.)

ZHuchen'ka moloden'ka
Na nii suknia zelen'ka.

(Refrain.)

George described the action that took place when the above was sung: about twelve youths participated; the boys held their hands to form a bridge over which a young girl, about seven years old, walked while the bridge moved around the outside of the church .

On Easter Monday, the boys splashed the girls ("*khloptsi idut do divchat polyvaty*").

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

Pomana was identified as an event that involved a church service, food and wine (served in the home or hall), and took place six weeks or forty days after someone died. *Provody* was "remembrance for the dear ones," said George; one brings a little food and "*kolach*" to put on the graves and to give to friends. "*KHram*" was identified as a party ("*zabava*"); in the early days, he said, "there was nothing, no show, no nothing," and friends arranged to meet and gather together; first, they went to church for a service, and then everyone (in the parish) invited friends to come over for a house party. Nowadays, George noted, people gather at the community hall instead of at private homes.

George identified Green Holydays with "*khram*," held to celebrate the greening of nature. He noted how homes were bedecked with green boughs.

On Sundays, there was no thrashing and no cutting of grain.

e) Human Life Cycle

Because boys were too shy to speak on their own behalf, matchmakers were used. When George got married, there were two matchmakers (his brother and his uncle). For attendants he had one *druzhba* (who supervised the tables and sittings) and one "*vatazhel*," the captain or leader of the groom's entourage who acted as the leading master of

ceremonies for the wedding. The wedding dances included polka, "*voloshka*" and "*toporivs'ka zahorba.*"

George served as godparent ("*kum*") many times. Sometimes there were many godparents; there could be two sets/couples; they passed the baby around while the priest did the blessing.

During the house funerals, stories were told to keep awake during the all-night vigils by the body of the deceased. Mirrors were reversed, and the reins of the harness on the horses pulling the funeral-coffin were twisted and reversed; George explained that this was done to divert bad things and to avoid further misfortune. After the funeral, a small lunch was served; a big dinner was held forty days later. In the old days, George noted, professional lady-wailers were hired at Whitford to lament at funerals.

f) Get-Togethers for Work and Recreation

Picnics were organized by the school district or by some political party that wanted to make speeches. These were usually held at the end of the week.

About 1925, the Ukrainian hall at Kahwin (eight miles away from his home) staged plays and concerts during which performers dressed "in a funny way." George liked to attend dances, and he agreed there were fights at these events: "If there's not a fight they say there wasn't a dance or wedding."

The work-bees ("*klaka*") were held "to help one another." No payment was expected. The bees were held to haul gravel, build barns, and plaster barns.

g) The Supernatural

Although he associates little with beliefs in revenants, George was a strong advocate of folk healers, who helped him on two occasions when he was a teenager and when doctors were unable to provide relief. In one case, he always kept spitting, and a lady-healer from across the river poured wax for him (George called her a "*voroshka*"). Another time, he had been unable to sleep for two months; a lady neighbour who lived close-by, just a mile away, specialized in helping children with sleeping problems. Her treatment was as follows ("*vona prymovyla meni*"): at the break of dawn, she took her broom outside, utterred ten words, and instructed George to go home and told him not to turn back/around.

George said that at one time the lady folk healers used to refer to doctors as butchers ("*riznyky*") and therefore people feared doctors. Doctor *Archie* (Archer) at Lamont told one of his patients to go to a healer ("*voroshka*") because she had no faith in him. George said that "if you believe, it was a great power."

No men, only females poured wax.

George never suffered from evil eye, so he never had to seek help in this regard. Usually, he said, a very nice lady or girl got sick from someone's eyes/look/glance.

George said the English did tea reading more than the Ukrainians; "Ukrainians used wax, they [i.e., the English] used tea."

Dreams sometimes were "true" said George. However, one had to understand and interpret the dream. When he was twenty-two or twenty-three years old, George dreamed about his unusually young-looking uncle; when he awoke, George learned that his uncle had "passed away." A dream could shock you into waking up if you were choking...to change positions in bed.

h) Other

When George visited Ukraine (in 1976), "we went to Shevchenko" [i.e. his grave]: it was a beautiful experience for George. He describes how he managed to visit his parents native village ("*selo*") and he lists the various countries in Europe that he visited.

There were quite a few Indians and half-breeds near Whitford, said George. They were friendly, good, mixed "with our people," and some spoke Ukrainian. There were English living around the lake. A few gypsies came by to beg. There were no French.

George said that since a law had been passed against discrimination, anyone using the term "Bohunk" could be charged.

2. FROSENA GELECH

a) Biographical Data

Frosina (Rosie) Gelech (née *Rogozha*) was born in 1901 in/at Wostok, Alberta. She had no schooling. Her parents came from the same village in Bukovyna as her husband. She had four brothers and four sisters. Frosena married Nick Gelech in 1917.

In a separate interview with her husband, Nick, it was revealed that the first six children born to Frosena all died in infancy. They were advised to change godparents and to select only those who asked to be godparents. Accordingly, they did this and the situation reversed itself: they had seven more children and all survived (five girls). Frosena belonged to the Russo-Greek Orthodox Church at Edwand at the time of the interview.

Frosen's talents as a singer were widely recognized; she was often asked to sing at weddings and even went to Edmonton around 1964 to perform her weddings songs in a play. Frosena did not, however, perform on stage at Edwand or elsewhere locally. She had a good memory and states that she was always able to learn songs quickly when she heard them ("*iak khtos' spivav to vona moia*").

b) Songs

(i) Funeral Lament. After some coaxing, Frosena sang a lament for her son, *Vasyl'ko*, who had died eight years earlier. She said that she sang this lament at home when her son had died. The lament had about eighteen lines and follows in Ukrainian:

Vasyl'ku, Vasyl'ku,
De ty,
De ty idesh,
Kuda ty sy zibrav?
Tvoia khatka duzhe malen'ka,
U tvoii khattsi vikna nema ani dverei,
Ty takyi synku studenyi,
Tobi duzhe tiazhko,
Vasyl'ku, Vasyl'ku,
Kuda ty idesh? (laughter ...)
Tvoia khata duzhe tisna,
Duzhe tiazhko prykydaiut tebe v mohylu, nakydaiut na tvoiu mohylu,
A ia posadiu na tvoiu mohylu kalynu,
Budut ptashky prylitaty, kalynochku isty,
Budut meni vid teby prynosyty visty.
Pryid', priyid', voz'my mene,
Bo ia vzhe ne hodna khodyty i ne hodna robyty,
Synku, mii synku...

/"*Bude vzhe vam!*" = "That's enough for you!"/, she said.

(ii) Wedding Songs. Frosena did know the term *vivat*, but she sang a song ("*Oi davai, davai*") that was sung when they came to fetch the bride ("*iak molodu zaberaiut*").

(iii) "*Hutsulka*" (casual dance ditties). This was a composite item composed of two main parts. Each part, in turn, constituted a string of casual dance ditties (*kolomyiky*), and the narrative motifs varied from courting motifs, to drinking-bravado and immigration, to Canada. The Canadian motif occurred in terminal position as follows in Ukrainian:

Poliubyly, poliubyly na velyku slavu,
Ty sy lyshysh v Tupurivtsykh a ia pidu dali.
Ty sa lyshysh va Tuporivtsykh v peredy vodyty,
A ia pidu do Kanady hroshi zarobyty.
Pryishov vzhe ia do Kanady hroshi dosta mnoho,
I iak ia vsadyv ia v kysheniu azh kyshenia pukla.
Ale ne zhal', ne zhal' meni sho kyshenia pukla,
Ale komari zily shyiu sho my shyia spukla (laughter).

(iv) Three Historical Songs. The first item ("*SHtyrynadtsietyi rochok smutnyi nastav*") described a soldier's farewell as he departs for war in 1914. The second historical song ("*Sydyt tsisar ia v kriseltse*") told in allegorical terms about war between France and Russia and about the fight for Bukovyna. This item was sung as a duet with Frosena's husband, Nick. The third historical song ("*Zadzvonyly kliuchy vnochy*") was a patriotic item about bloody fighting between Ukrainians and their historical foes, the Poles. This was sung by Nick who was joined by Frosena towards the end of the item. Nick mocked the song for its bloody battles ("*tse ne durne?!*" = isn't that stupid?!)

(v) Canada Cycle Fragment. This item ("*Kanado, Kanadochko*") was only two stanzas/four lines in length, but after she siang the fragment, Frosena offered additional words to fill out the song.

(vi) Two Ballads. One ballad ("*Mario, Mario, chy ie tvii pan doma?*") told about the plight of the song's heroine who was burned to death, tied to a tree. The second ballad ("*Ne dai mene moia mamka*") told of a maiden's marriage to a robber-villain who slays her brother.

c) Wax-pouring Incantation and Techniques

Frosena had poured wax often, and she demonstrated the techniques used. Either beeswax or white/"*bilyi*" wax could be used, said Frosena. Just before the ceremony, the client could say, "*IAk tsii sviatii zemli nicho ne shkodyt, by tak meni ne shkodylo*" (= Just as all kinds of people were able to work on the land and were not hurt, so be it with me). As the molten wax was poured, the following incantation was said by the practitioner, Frosena, in Ukrainian (composite text);

Ne sama i tia vyklykaiu,
Z mater Bozhiu vyklykaiu,
Z Bozhym dukhom vysylaiu/vyduvaiu
Na visk tebe vysylaiu.
Idy sobi na hory,
Idy sobi na mory,
Kaminnia lupai,
Berehy peresypai,
[slot for name] *chystoho/chystoiu lyshai*
IAk matyr na svit porodyla /narodyla.
Vid m.ne prymivka,
Vid Boha sviatoho lik.
Kosoiu budu tebe vykosiuvaty,
Nozh.m vyrubuvaty,
Na visk teb. vysylaty.
Vid m.ne prymivka,
Vid Boha sviatoho lik.

The above incantation was recited three times, as the molten wax was poured three times. The practitionar/Frosena studied and interpreted the resultant waxen shapes in the water. Then, with the water used, she washed the client on the legs, hands, face and chest. Frosena admitted that clients payed handsomely ("*shchei faino daiut!*") although she did not want or expect payment. Her husband indicated payments had been made in amounts of five, ten, and even twenty dollars.

d) Non-Productive Responses to Queries for Other Oral Genres

Frosena was unable to tell any stories/*baiky*. Also, she was unable to sing or recall lullabies, *shchedrivky*, *koliady* or *haivky*.

e) Three Casual Lyrical Songs

"*Ta shche kury ne pily*" told about a maiden's two suitors and was sung by Nick Gelech with Frosena in the background. The second item ("*Plyne kachur po Dunaiu*") was sung by Frosena alone; it was a composite item with two motifs. The first part was a lyrical wanderer's song; the second describes how a girl pines for her beloved. The third casual song ("*Syvyi koniu*") was sung by Frosena with her husband Nick in the background. It too was a composite item. The two main themes were: 'his beloved pines for him' and 'mother was apprised of daughter's sad fate in marriage.'

3. THE YOUZWYSHYN FAMILY: JACK, *MARIIA*, AND OREST.

JACK YOUZWYSHYN

a) Biographical Data

Jack/*Ivan, JAs'ko* Youzwyshyn (*IUzvyshyn*) was born on December 4, 1905 in Myrnam, Alberta. His parents came from *Kosiv* village, *CHortkiv* district in the Old Country. Jack had two brothers and seven sisters, he completed grade seven or eight. In 1925, he married *Mariia TSaruk*; they had five children (four girls) They farmed at Myrnam until 1966. At the time of the interview, Jack was Catholic. His wife said Jack's parents were of Polish origin and that they celebrated many events in the Polish/English style.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

For Christmas, a sheaf ("*did*") was placed in the corner, and straw was spread on the floor ("*didukh*") for the children and grandchildren to play and sleep in. Hay was spread under the tablecloth. *Kutia* was not flung up at the ceiling.

On Christmas Eve they sang carols at home, and on the next day, they went carolling house-to-house. Jack recited a caroller's greeting.

My pryishly do vas zakoliaduvaty
O rozhdestvi KHrystovim pisniu peredaty.
Anhely z neba nam to ozdoimyly,
SHo KHrysta v iaslakh v peleny vpovyly.
Tomu my vsi razom veselimsia
i Rizdvi nyz'ko poklonimsia.
A nam tak za prykrasnu novynu,
Prosymo daty nevelyku hostynu.

Proceeds from carolling were turned over to the church. There was no star, but later, carollers went about with a "*vertep*" that was like a nativity play with carollers in costumes. At first there was no Christmas tree; when he went to school in 1911, there was a tree at the Christmas concert.

Jack was not too well acquainted with *Malanka*; he never went, only the younger ones went — it was mostly a custom fostered by those from Sniatyn district in the Old Country ("*zi Sniatyns'koho povitu*"). On New Year's day in the morning, Jack recalled going to sow wheat, and he recited the jingle used on that occasion. They celebrated Epiphany Eve because Jack's mother said this holyday was more important than Christmas itself. They sang from carolling books ("*koliadnyky*") which included *shchedrivky*.

Blessed *Iordan* water was kept at home because this was a church tradition ("*tserkovna tradytsiia*"), said Jack. After *Iordan*, the priest came to bless the house. Jack identified *miasnytsi*, *pushchennia*, and he distinguished between three kinds of "*pist*": "*malyi*," "*velykyi*," and "*Pylypivka*."

c) Easter

On Palm Sunday, blessed willow ("*shutka*") was brought home and stuck behind a picture on the wall ("*zatykaly za obraz*"); it was kept until the following year and thrown out when a new Easter arrived. The foods were blessed outside (if weather permitted), on Easter Sunday after the church service. Jack's mother coloured eggs for Easter in solid colours like red. *Iahilky* did take place at Myrnam among the youth, on the farms ("*molod' bavylysia [v] iahilky...na farmakh*"). He did not recall egg bumping contests. On Easter Monday in the morning, there was a game of splashing one another ("*tse zabavka bula*").

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

Jack said that *pomana* was something he associated with people from the *Sniatyn* district ("sniatyns'koho povitu") of Ukraine. For *parastas*, the priest held a "*panakhyda*" at every grave, and this was followed by picnicing. Jack related *khram* to people from Bukovyna or Sniatyn; in Jack's tradition, this was called "*praznyk*" — like Easter Sunday ("*Velykden'*") was a big *praznyk* ("*velykyi praznyk*").

Jack attended Mundare's *vidpust* with his parents on Saints Peter and Paul day. Mundare was over fifty miles away from home, and they had to spend one day to get there. They travelled by horse ("*kin'my...vozamy*" and later "*demokratom*"). In those days, it was a three-day event for them: two days for travel, and one day in Mundare. Green holydays (= the descent of the holy spirit/"*iak Sviatyi Dukh ishov na apostoliv*") was nothing special for Jack; the evening before they went to the forest ("*v lis*") to fetch boughs. But sometimes, when Easter came early, it was difficult to find any leafy boughs or branches to bedeck the house.

Jack gave the customary greetings associated with Christmas, Easter, and everyday life.

e) Human Life Cycle

Jack did relate to matchmakers ("*starosty*"). He had two ushers ("*druzhby*") when he wed and wore a big beribboned corsage of flowers. There were usually two wedding celebrations, — sometimes a day apart, sometimes a week apart. In Jack's case, there was

first a wedding celebration at his place; the next day, there was one at his wife's place. People ate in the house and danced in the machine shed. There were Old Country musicians ("*starodavni muzykanty*"), and the dances included polka, "*sidemka*," and "*val'ts*." The presentation was mostly cash, although Jack recalled one couple receiving eight live chickens from womenfolk at the wedding. He told about an instance when two fellows ("*parubky*") who presented a dollar's worth of nickles and drank a beer after each nickle; they almost dropped from so much drink, said Jack.

At funerals, to alleviate the boredom of sitting up with the body all night, they played cards and so forth. Jack's mother said there used to be lamenters who were hired for funerals.

f) Get-Togethers for Work and Recreation

Picnics were held at schools and also at churches on Sundays, after the service. Stage productions were performed at Myrnam hall (built about 1920), and Jack himself took part in plays a couple of times.

Jack never called a work-bee for himself but he did help out others ("*na toloku khodyly*"). Once they helped out by supplying ploughs to plough up the prairie ("*odyn orav preru*"), and once his brother called a stone-picking bee ("*samyi ne mih sobi daty rady*") that included a keg of beer for refreshments.

Jack's happy times occurred when he was in his twenties. He attended dances. There were fights at dances but not to any great extent in Jack's home district ("*v nas tak ne duzhe*"); fights were more common in Two Hills and elsewhere ("*...to tam vzhe bil'she na Tu Hylz...*"). Fighting broke out at the slightest provocation or word; this was probably due to the homebrew ("*samohonka*").

g) The Supernatural

Jack did not subcribe to such matters: he fiound them stupid and uninteresting.

h) Other

Birthday and anniversary celebrations were not popular at first. Jack celebrated his 25th wedding anniversary in 1950 with a party.

Jack knew that Taras Shevchenko was the author of *Kobzar* and that he was a big poet ("*velykyi nash poet*").

Jack did not recall any old stories ("*baiky*") because he found them uninteresting.

Jack said there were a few French and English settlers in his district, and gypsies used to pass through. Jews had a store in Myrnam, but they left .

MARIIA YOUZWYSHYN

a) Biographical Data

Mariia Youzwyshyn (*IUzvyshyn*) (née *TSaruk*) was born in 1908 at Myrnam, Alberta on a farm. Her parents came from *TSyhany* village, *CHortkiv* district, in the Old Country. She was the eldest of seven children (four boys, three girls) and got as far as grade seven in school; her father needed *Mariia* to help out and to leave school as required ("*ia duzhe pratsiuvala...dvoma kin'ma*"). She wed in 1925 and had five children. She was Catholic at the time of the interview.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

Christmas was a very important event. They fasted, spread straw on the floor ("*didukh*") and hay on the table ("*stelyly tonen'ko sina pid tsyretov*"). After two days on the third day, before dawn the straw was burned outside in the yard; the parents made a cross of ashes on the ground, and the children jumped over this. The straw was burned because it would be a sin to had it scattered around. At first, there was no Christmas tree; but this changed when the two feasts were combined ("*potomu iak zluchaly vsi svieta do kupy*"). At the Christmas Eve dinner, there were candles, loaves ("*kolachi*"), and "*kutia*" (served first). In *Mariia*'s tradition, the *kutia* was not flung upward — the Orthodox did this because they had another system ("*pravoslavni...maly inakshu systemu*"). However, the *kutia* was left on the table overnight for deceased relatives to taste ("*kazaly, shcho mozhe v nochy khtos' pryide pokushaty kuti*").

Mariia did not go out to carol from house to house: houses were far apart, and one had to ride everywhere.

Mariia recalled that *Malanka* mummers came around; one of them was dressed as a devil, and everyone feared the devil who came carolling ("*aby chortyk ne pryishov*") because he would stick his hands into the oven ("*kukhnia*") and mess up the womenfolk with his soot-laden hands and fingers ("*zhinky mastyv*"). Later, certainly around 1925, they held a *Malanka* social at the hall ("*robyly taki pidpryiemstva...Malanka khodyla do narodnoho doma i tam huliala*"); there was drinking and music, and at midnight, the *Malanka* couple ("*para zamaskovani*") would arrive.

Sometimes, on New Year's' Day in the morning, adults would go to sow wheat at their neighbours'; usually, however, only children went to sow wheat at relatives.

Epiphany Eve was a special holyday ("*sviatkuvaly*"). There was a dinner and singing. Some went to sing the "*shchedrivky*" — especially if they were invited over for dinner.

Blessed *Iordan* water was kept at home in jars and containers for medicinal purposes. Also, it was used to sprinkle a newborn child, since there were no priests around for months on end.

Priests used to travel by sleigh to come and bless the homes.

Mariia defined *miasnytsi* and *pushchennia*; she thought that *Pylypivka* was a time for weddings but that there was not much of it nowadays.

c) Easter

A blessed willow branch ("*shutka*") was tucked behind a holy picture ("*vobraz*") and was not touched because it was blessed ("*sviachene*"). The blessing of the foods included shelled boiled eggs and "*halunky*." Eggs were always boiled and intended for eating; later to keep the *pysanky* as decor, they were raw/uncooked because cooked eggs cracked faster.

After church service on Easter Sunday, all went home for dinner, and then the younger people returned to church to sing church songs and play *hailky* ("*hailky bavytysia*").

On Easter Monday, whoever was first to get up from bed could splash everyone else in the house with water and the Easter greeting, "Christ was risen!" ("*KHrystos voskres!*").

Mariia did not relate to egg bumping contests.

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

Mariia recalled how, on St. Andrew's Day ("*na Andreia*") before the snow fell, the girls went outside to bang spoons on sticks or fences ("*plit*"); wherever a dog barked, there would be a wedding ("*de psy budut havkaty, tam bude vesillie...divchyna viddavatysia*").

Mariia did not relate to *pomana*. She defined *parastas* graveside services as featuring "*kolachi*" that, at one time, were all handed over to the priest to give to the sisters in Mundare to help feed the children that they cared for. More recently, the custom had been streamlined; the priest and cantor hold one service for all the dead at the cemetery, then those graves that families wish to be blessed separately were sprinkled accordingly. In *Mariia*'s tradition, eating at the graves did not occur — only the Bukovynians went that far. Instead, they could go to the hall for a snack or, as in most cases, go home and eat there.

Mariia identified *khram* as a Bukovynian thing; for her, the operative word was *praznyk*. She recalled the big *vidpust* at Mundare where food was served outside at tables ("*davaly isty na dvori...tak maly stoly*").

Mariia did not relate to *Ivana Kupala*.

For Green Holydays, *Mariia*'s mother went at dawn to fetch young green poplar boughs for her father to implant into holes by the house later that day. The house was bedecked inside, and everywhere you could smell the poplars ("*duzhe pakhlo*").

Sunday was a day of rest; one went to inspect the farm or to visit by democrat, buggy or wagon ("*demokratamy*, *bogov*, *vozom ikhaly*") and see their neighbours even though they lived a far distance away.

e) Human Life Cycle

Mariia clarified the schedule of events that constituted her wedding as follows:

Wednesday evening: the tree ("*derevtse*") was decorated, the wreaths of myrtle were prepared, musicians attended as well as close relatives and family ("*ia mala mirtovi zhyvi vinochky do shliubu vypleteni*");

Thursday (the wedding day): the groom arrived by democrat with his family entourage to fetch the bride and the decorated tree; the couple bowed to the bride's parents and then went to the groom's parents to bow before them also; they went to church for the ceremony ("*shliub*"); the bridal party went to the bride's home for dinner in two to three democrats (no musicians);

Sunday (the wedding celebration): ("*to na vozneseniie bulo...na zeleni svieta*"). The full wedding celebration ("*vesillie tsile*") took place at the home of the bride's parents in the evening. It went on until late into the night because guests arrived from distant places ("*zdaleka*"); few had cars then.

Monday: the whole event moved to the groom's place ("*pereishlo vs'o do molodoho*").

Courting included the services of a matchmaker ("*starosta*") who happened to be Jack's brother — her future brother-in-law. *Mariia* invited guests by letter ("*lystamy*"), but she recalled that a neighbour's girl went about in person to kneel and bow before those whom she wished to invite ("*khodyla...kliekala...vklonylasi*"). *Mariia* wore a white dress that had been purchased for the occasion ("*kuplenyi*"), a veil and she carried a bouquet of flowers. She and Jack went to Vermilion by wagon to get beer for the wedding and they bought rings at the same time. At first, there were no crowns in church; the couple brought their own from home — wreaths of myrtle ("*vinky z mirtu*"). At presentation, they received dollar bills and gifts of fifty cents in cash; she also received "*kolachi*," chickens ("*kury*") — handed over to her mother temporarily, and five other small gift-items. During the celebration, her wreath was replaced by a kerchief ("*chipchyk*"..."*moloda huliaie v chipchyku*").

Mariia described how the couple (first the bride, then the groom) bowed three times before both sets of parents (see above) who sat on a bench ("*lavka*") holding bread ("*khlib*"); then she kissed the bread.

Both wedding celebrations featured musicians (violin, drum, tsymbaly) and old dances. There was also a "*korovai*" at her wedding.

It was a large wedding; by 1925 there were many more people and neighbours than in the early years of settlement, explained Mariia.

Mariia was a godmother on five occasions. A godparent was obliged to witness the child's baptism and to replace a parent or otherwise help the godchild if need should arise.

When *Mariia* was three years old, her grandfather died at her parents' place, where he was living. Three neighbours came to make the coffin, using planks that were brought in from Manville. While the coffin was being prepared, a candle was lit and placed in the hands of the deceased. Wood chips and shavings were placed in the coffin, and some were used to make a pillow for the head of the deceased. The men washed the legs of the body in a bucket of water, while the body was propped up in a sitting position. A cross of black satin was nailed onto the cover of the coffin. Grandfather's bed was thrown out into the bushes where it remained untouched. Grandmother lamented, and there was a funeral dinner. Generally, another service was held forty days later — if there was a priest around to officiate.

f) Get-Togethers for Work and Recreation

The hall ("*narodnyi dim*") organized picnics which featured a band ("*banda hrala*"). The hall organization had its own musical director. There were also drills performed by girls ("*divchata maly vpravy*").

Women only participated in work-bees ("*toloka*") such as feather plucking; tea would be served. Those who came to perform the task would not know what it was that was required of them until they arrived.

g) The Supernatural

Mariia identified but did not ascribe to beliefs regarding revenants, wax-pouring or evil eye. However, she did try to guess the meaning of her dreams; for example, if she dreamed about someone about whom she had not been thinking otherwise — that person would come over. *Mariia* had never owned a dreambook.

h) Other

In the 1920s, birthdays were not celebrated.

From about 1928 into the 1930s, *Mariia* and her husband, Jack, sang in the choir and even toured with the choir to perform in other centres. They had an active musical director ("*dyrygent*") at the hall.

There were nice concerts in honour of Shevchenko with good singers.

Mariia learned to make pies from her mother...but not pumpkin pies. The latter were learned through school experiences.

Not much turkey meat was served. Pork was preferred for Christmas. Weddings had chicken, "*borshch z reber*" and head cheese ("*studenets*")...but no turkey.

For *Mariia*, the happy times at Myrnam before 1930 were the concerts and holydays ("*svieta*"); there was unity ("*iednist'*"), and everyone liked one another. Everyone looked forward to a "*svieto*," and all were very happy.*

OREST YOUZWISHEN

a) Biographical Data

Orest Youzwishen was born on August 3, 1931 at Myrnam, Alberta. He had four sisters and was raised on the farm at Myrnam. He finished grade eleven and took formal training in photography later. He wed in 1953, and they had four children (three girls). In 1959 he opened his photography business in Vegreville. At the time of the interview, he was Catholic and a leading figure in the local Ukrainian community, having served on the Board of Directors of the local annual "Pysanka Festival."

Both his parents were born in Canada and were interviewed separately (see above). Orest's father was born only four months after his parents arrived Alberta. The grandparents were born in Western Ukraine, possibly *CHernivtsiv*, thought Orest.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

Christmas in the early 1940s was celebrated at home on December 25th, with gifts and a tree. Orest recalled that his maternal grandmother, who lived three miles away, "always celebrated the other one" — on the 6th of January in order to have all the family over to her place; she had a little tree, hay spread under the tablecloth and on the floor under the table, a "*didukh*" in the corner, and candles. When Orest walked in, she gave him a "bag of goodies — 'Jap' oranges, peanuts, and candy" and another bag of "treats" when he left to go home.

Because the roads were impassable, they travelled by horse and sled and took short cuts across the fields. They left grandmother's place at 3:00 or 4:00 a.m. after considerable carolling and socializing with all the relatives. The horses knew the way home instinctively. Carollers came over to Orest's home on the 25th and 26th — not so much to grandmother's, said Orest. "Actually, Christmas was a one-month celebration — we celebrated both." Orest noted that a side-benefit of this was that one could go to visit on the first Christmas and receive guests (to reciprocate) on the second Christmas. Orest joined the church choir when he was fourteen or fifteen years old; on one occasion, twenty-three of them went carolling by a school bus and, by the time the last caroller entered the home, the carolling was finished. Orest noted that the carollers tried to cover those homes where it was known that many guests would be present. The carollers collected money for the church. They did not carry a star.

Orest did not relate to *Pylypivka*.

For New Year's, there was no *Malanka*. In the early morning, Orest went on horseback across the fields to his grandmother's to sow wheat; she gave him a dollar (most people gave a dime or so). His "sisters did not go so much."

Epiphany Eve was "part of that whole month of festive season." For *Iordan*, after church service, the priest came via sled to bless the house. Orest's parents did not keep blessed water at home, he said. He identified *pushchennia* as "a declared local church holiday" featuring a big meal and a party.

Other aspects of the Christmas season included gifts from his parents, Christmas concerts, practices, plays (with some of the songs and recitations in Ukrainian); although all the school teachers were Ukrainian [in origin], the pupils did not speak Ukrainian in class.

c) Easter

The church at Myrnam was out in the country and was a large parish. Sometimes it was not feasible to go by car, so they often had to go by wagon or democrat. The Easter foods were blessed either inside or outside the church, depending on the weather. *Pysanky* were both boiled and raw; if boiled, the dye would not always catch too well but a vinegar wash could help. Fancy *pysanky* were saved, mono-coloured eggs were eaten. Orest "did a little of *pysanky*." Games with eggs, splashing, and haivky did not occur.

Orest noted how the lighting was poor in the old days; the eyesight of the "old folks" was poor, and tools were primitive. The art of making *pysanky*, noted Orest, was making a comeback.

The big church bell was heard for miles around. Orest rang the bell when requested/permitted by the cantor ("*diak*") or elder ("*starshyi brat*"). The *kalatalo*, said Orest, was used during Easter.

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

Orest related poorly or not at all to *Andreia*, *pomana*, *vidpust*, or the blessing of vegetables or flowers. He related well with *parastas* ("special prayer for the deceased"), *khram* and *praznyk* ("that's usually when the bishop would come in" — featuring a mass, i.e.*obkhid*, dinner, speeches, ice cream and pop at the bell-tower for the 'kids'"), and Green Holydays.

Orest recalled that because his parents' home was on the main route to church, his father was often kept busy from six o'clock in the morning giving a half dozen haircuts to people passing by their home on their way to church (Orest's father was a self-made barber who had no shop and got no pay for his efforts). Orest also recalled how his parents had an "open invitation all the time...both of them would open their arms out...and always they

were very, very good hosts — they would take their shirts off their back to please somebody else."

Sometimes, meat was not served on Fridays; "heavy field work" was not allowed on Sundays since it was a day for relaxation and recreation (Orest said baseball on Sunday was all right). Visitors (mostly from town) came over every Sunday; Orest's mother would kill a couple of chickens, had homemade macaroni, made chicken soup, and served fresh cream and berries.

Soon after school finished for the summer break, Orest had to attend catechism classes for two weeks, leaving him with only a little free time outside his regular chores before the harvest began. The priest who came to teach catechism stayed at their place (there was no resident priest — the priest came once a month from Derwent). The first communion was an important event, and Orest had a photograph of his group. Orest knew the formal forms of greeting for Christmas and Easter; he suggested, as an everyday, casual form of greeting, — "*Halo, sho vy robyte?*" (= Hello, what were you doing?). Older people would say, "*Slava Isusu KHrystu!*"

They did not pray before every meal; prayer was said only on special religious holydays, when the priest or visitors came over for dinner after church.

e) The Human Life Cycle

Orest taught himself to play the banjo and accordion; he played these instruments for weddings. He identified *starosta* as a go-between ("to bring the couple together, to introduce the boy to the girl"), and he recalled when he was ten years old or so, his dad was asked to be a *starosta*. Nowadays, said Orest, the *starosta* was not used but is included only as one of the wedding entourage. When he wed, Orest had one *druzhba* or best man and they had a small wedding party. In connection with presentation, the health inspectors for the province were instrumental in stopping the apparently unsanitary practice of every wedding guest toasting the bride with a sip of wine (or other beverage) from the same glass ("*kylishok horivky*"). Orest associated *korovai* with girls gathering to plait a wreath for the bride.

At christenings, usually one (or two) couple(s) serves as the godparents. The rights of a godfather might have conflicted with the law, suggested Orest. It was more of a feeling to be *kum*, he said. Orest was unable to provide Ukrainian equivalents for "godfather" or "godmother." He did relate to *kryzhma*.

Orest's first participated in a funeral when he was six or seven years old; it was a house-funeral and he recalled seeing people wash his uncle's body on the bed, the coffin built of planks, the vigil with the body, the talking, the candles (in black stands or candleholders), and the dinner after burial. A memorial dinner was held forty days later.

f) Get-Togethers for Work, Recreation and Culture

Bazaars featuring bingo and the sale of crafts were held to raise money for the church. The town sponsored sports day picnics. Orest played baseball but his dad thought baseball was "a waste of valuable time." Orest recalls how he had to run home (a distance of two and a half miles) to do his chores, and then back for another ball game or hockey practice (he skated and played hockey on an outdoor rink). He attended dances; the music was provided by an accordion, banjo, violin, drums, and guitar, and the dances included polka, old-time waltz, fox-trot, two-step, heel and toe, and schotisse. The hall was for meetings, and three-act plays in Ukrainian. Orest performed in high school plays but not in Ukrainian plays. The town had its own thirty-piece band; the instruments were stored in the hall, but they eventually disappeared one by one. Myrnam also had an agricultural fair or "field day"; Orest received a prize for his 4H project. Orest identified *toloka* as a work-bee to help a neighbour or friend; for example, he and ten to fifteen people helped pick rocks on newly-ploughed prairie at his uncle's place, and the uncle provided a keg of beer. Orest did not relate to *klaka.*

Orest noted that the era of fights came to an end during his time. It seemed that earlier a fight could break out for almost no reason — a wrong word could trigger an altercation. Later, "anyone that picked up a fight did not necessarily end up being a hero" (like before); Orest suggested that "respectability for other people" was a cause for the demise of fighting.

g) The Supernatural

Orest had heard the word, *zabobony*, but he did not know what it meant. Similarly, he was not sure about evil eye. He had heard stories about revenants, but his folks did not believe too much in that. Although wax was never poured for him, Orest knew that this was "to get that evil spirit out." When he was eleven years old, a screaming child was cured by Mrs. Senuga who lived two miles away; the image of an airplane showed in the wax — it was obviously a war training plane from Vermilion that had scared the child. Some ladies read tea at Myrnam. Orest related a striking experience about a déja vu that he connected with a dream; he was ten or eleven yearts old, and was so frightened that he had only told his wife about this experience.

h) Other

Orest's mother did make pies, but not many of pumpkin. His grandmother raised turkeys to sell, and geese, chickens and ducks for herself. His mother planted flowers, but "*baba* had everything": she grew poppies all over — even between the rows of potatoes but she could not afford to buy perennials every year like they do nowadays.

Although illegal, homebrew could be obtained. Orest recalled how his parents sent him with two dollars and an empty bottle to grandmother's hired hand, who was making it in a special shack. Homebrew was mixed with purchased liquor to make it go further. Grandmother liked wine and sherry. They made beer at home but it became cheaper to buy beer, so they stopped brewing at home.

Orest's multicultural world at Myrnam included Bukovynians (north of Myrnam), a "little" *hutsuly*, *hadai* and Poles, a couple of Germans and Jews (in town, in stores), very few French and English, and transitory Indians who, as Orest recalls, were "brushing" nearby, hung ducks up for two days, plucked and roasted them, and offered Orest some, but he refused. Orest's dad said that "Bohonk" referred to Ukrainians; since 95% of the population at Myrnam was Ukrainian, Orest was not called this at Myrnam.

Orest's father was "a great patriot," headstrong and always involved, Orest said. He told about a "big strike in the thirties" spearheaded by local Communists. There were Communist halls north of Myrnam in Musidora, and at Lakes Eliza, Geneva and Bellevue. The farmers refused to sell to the government; they went on strike and rioted at Myrnam. Orest's dad saw the so-called "truth" of the strike as a sham, a lie, dishonest deceit. The instigators wanted to lynch and hang Orest's dad. Eleven members of the R.C.M.P. were sent in to settle the matter.

Harvest time was a happy time for Orest,; he recalled the smell of harvest, the fresh-cut stubble, the noise of the "thrashing machine", and the hay racks on the fields. He dreaded winter because he had to walk to school. Orest praised the old teachers for their taking time to make Christmas concerts, to teach and play ball, to act as umpire, and to give music lessons (mandolin, violin, singing). This kind of personal contact was important, said Orest.

Finally, Orest recalled that his grandfather Youzwishen (at 82 years of age) never believed that the combine would ever replace the old ways; he always felt that the stooking method was right and the only method.

4. MIKE WYNNYCHUK AND WILLIAM WYNN: BROTHERS.

MIKE WYNNYCHUK

a) Biographical Data

Mike (*Mykhailo*) Wynnychuk was born on September 28, 1908 at Raith, later Royal Park, Alberta, which was between Mundare and Vegreville. His parents came from *Kniazhe* village (*Kniazhs'koho*), *Sniatyn* district, in the Old Country. His father had two sons by his first wife in the Old Country and six children (five boys) by his second wife. Mike grew up on a homestead twenty-eight miles from Vermilion at Derwent. In 1924 he/they moved onto another farm only ten miles from Vermilion. He married in 1928, stayed with his parents another three years and had four children (three sons). In 1930, Mike took his own farm (two miles north and five miles west) and continued farming until 1979. He attended school from 1915 to 1923 and finished the fifth grade. At the time of the interview, he was Ukrainian Orthodox and belonged to the old Slawa church ("*stara Slava tserkva*") four miles north and three miles west of Derwent.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

They celebrated Christmas like in the Old Country with hay under the table ("*didukh*"), and green hay on the table under the covering ("*tsareta*"). The hay was removed on January 10th and fed to the livestock. At dinner, "*kutia*" was served first and thrown up at the ceiling — his father, his mother and he did it. They prayed before and after the dinner. Some leftovers were left out until midnight. Mike went out carolling once; they carolled to raise money for the church.

Pylypivka was a period of fasting from November 27th to Christmas; *miasnytsi* was a time for weddings and dances, and *pushchennia* was the last day before Lent and was celebrated in private homes with drink and music-making (violin and tsymbaly).

On New Year's day, January 14th, they woke up in the morning and thanked God for waking them from sleep; father went "sowing" in the house with some wheat or other grain kernels for God to bless them with much bread ("*aby Boh blahoslovyv mnoho khlibom*"). They (the boys) did not go from house to house to sow wheat. Also, *Malanka* was not practised.

On Epiphany Eve, January 18th, they carolled and sang "*shchedrivky*." On Jordan day, they made a party ("*zabava*") with dancing and drinking (? kermis). They blessed water in church, if there was a priest to officiate; they took blessed water home and drank some of it — 'it never harmed anyone, it never helped, it was a tradition' ("*sviachena voda nikomu ne poshkodyla vypyty...nichoho ne pomohlo...taka bula tradytsiia*").

c) Easter

Willow Sunday ("*bychkova nedilia*") was a day for getting together to exchange news and tell stories. The Easter foods were blessed on Easter Sunday, in the morning after service; if there were many people, the blessing of foods would take place outside.

Mike made *pysanky*; these were blessed and eaten. The nicest ones were kept and stored in a cool place. Mike also mentioned "*halun*" or alum, a chalk-like substance used to help the dye take or hold longer to the egg's surface. Mike also recalled that he participated in *haivky* by the church (in the Myrnam district) around 2:00 or 3:00 in the afternoon on Easter Sunday. (It was not far to church; after the Easter service in the morning, they went home and returned in the afternoon.) The girls and boys joined hands in a circle and walked round ("*taka zabava bula*"). They also bumped eggs together. Sometimes, for fun, they would try to smash eggs on their heads as a jest. If the egg ("*pysanka*") was soft-boiled, it could break and soil that person's clothing.

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

Stritennia took place three days after "*Tr'okh sviatykh*," and *Makoveia* on August 14th (not a special holyday; some were busy with hay-making and other harvest operations).

e) Human Life Cycle

When Mike wed, he first went to his bride's place to bring her home to his place (she lived thirty miles away). "*Zavodyny*" was enacted on the Saturday before the wedding, at Mike's parents' place, complete with singing, musicians and dancing; the bridesmaids dressed the wedding tree and made wreaths for the bride. The following day, they went to Vermilion for the wedding vows. The entourage included a *matka* (an aunt on his mother's side) and a *bat'ko* (the brother-in-law of Mike's mother-in-law). They then went to Mike's parents' farm, where there was a large oven that was useful for the preparation of food for the wedding. A second reception at the bride's place did not take place because she lived too far away and because most of her family was still in the Old Country.

The wedding reception included the presentation of cash gifts (earlier there were wedding gifts of loaves or "*kolachi*" and/or a chicken), and the *perepii* or toast and yelling of "*Vivat!*" by the groomsmen as the drink from half-drunk glasses of liquor was flung over the shoulders ("*poza plechi*"), — an Old Country custom ("*to bula taka vstanova z staroho kraiu*"). There was also a round "*kolach*" loaf with the wedding tree stuck into the middle of it; the tree was often a spruce, about three feet tall, and decorated with ribbons (see above re: "*zavodyny*"). A follow-up celebration, "*popravyny*," was held the following week or even a week after the "*vesillia.*"

At Christenings, the godfather ("*kum*") held the godchild during the church service; each godparent had a chance to hold the child. Only one couple, mixed, served as godparents for a child, and the spouses of the couple (not married to one another) were also called "*kumy.*"

When someone died, neighbours came to wash and dress the body (women would prepare the body of a female) and they avoided heating the room where the body lay. Visitors arrived in the evening, and they tried to sit up with the body until midnight or 1:00 a.m. Mike never noted covered mirrors, and *kutia* was not served at the funeral meal. He recalled the lament ("*velykyi zhal'*") of a bereaved mother whose son had died in an accident, and he was quite knowledgable about "*pomana za pomershykh.*"

f) Get-Togethers for Work, Recreation and Culture

Mike identified *vechernytsi* (he said that they occurred mostly in the Old Country to get together and sing), *bazar* (usually at churches — "*velykyi zizd liudei*"), picnics, and *toloka* (a work-bee held to help someone out with harvest, haying, garden work — they did not have one in his family but his dad went). Mike did not relate to the term *klaka.*

There was no hall in Mike's district, but there was one at Derwent (Myrnam) about 1919 or 1923, over a store on the second floor; it was here that plays and dances were held. The plays featured scenes from the Old Country and recitations; people paid an admission fee to get in. There was no drink provided at dances but some brought their own; fights broke out over girls. Bingos had only been organized in the area for about twenty years, said Mike.

g) The Supernatural

Mike denigrated superstitious beliefs and behaviour. Revenants and evil eye, for example, were not possible, not credible ("*to ne ie mozhlyvo i ne pravdyvo*"). It was also a sin ("*hrikh*") to believe in things like wax-pouring. It was not worthwhile to interpret dreams, said Mike.

h) Other

Mike never had a birthday party. Some people would celebrate the saint day (e.g., *Vasyliia*) of/for/with a friend as a surprise; these were usually older men. Mike had forgotten the old stories but he knew about Taras Shevchenko ("*to buv velykyi poetyr...*") and he identified *L'viv* as a big city in Europe. He recalled the flu epidemic: if a person stayed indoors for ten to twelve days, s/he would survive; if the person went out during the first period of forty-eight hours, she/he would die because of the air ("*vozdukh zabyvav*").

Mike related to the following groupings: Bukovynians, gypsies (seen at the fair in Vermilion), Jews (in stores), French (farmers), Germans, English and native Indians. "Bohonk" was a slur used by English bums, said Mike.

Mike's mother did not make any pies; his wife did make pies, but not pumpkin pies. They raised turkeys for their own table.

For Mike, the happy times were the events that occurred outdoors, and included all holydays and spring, Easter, Green Holydays, and Christmas; these pleased Mike and brought him joy, he said.

WILLIAM WYNN.

a) Biographical Data

William ("*Vasyl'*") Wynn (Wynnychuk) was born in 1911 at Myrnam and grew up south of Myrnam on his dad's homestead. He lived with his parents on the farm until 1957. He was a bachelor ("*ne mih zhinky zdybaty*") and because of his handicap (he was unable to walk for three years) he had only a grade two level schooling. Like his brother, Mike (interviewed earlier), William too was Ukrainian Orthodox at the time of the interview.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

Christmas was celebrated with hay on and under the table, and a "*didukh*" in the corner. When he went out to carol for the church, they used a book of carols as an aid. The "*pshenytsia*" was served first and father threw some of this up. Leftovers remained out for a while.

Although William had heard about many of the other customs and celebrations associated with winter, he was unable to expand satisfactorily in any one instance.

c) Easter

William related with willow Sunday and stated that he was not successful at making *pysanky*. He recalled that they would play bumping games with the eggs ("*chokalysy*") — they were thrown (rolled), then peeled and eaten ("*kydaly a vidtak lupyly i ily*").

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

William related with *parastas* (a service), *praznyk* (a dance/ "*zabava*"), Green Holydays (green boughs were brought home from the woods and "planted" in front and around the house). It was a sin ("*hrikh*") to work on Sundays.

e) Human Life Cycle

William did not relate to *starosta*, *korovai*, or *perepichky*. Invitations to weddings were extended via mail and in person. When he was a groomsman ("*druzhba*"), his duty was to bring around the beer and whisky ("*maie roznosyty pyvo, horivku*") and to officiate at the toasts ("*iak chastuiut*") and en route to the church, and to keep the ring for the groom. Weddings were begun by a "*zavodyny*" celebration; *popravyny* took place after the wedding celebration and it was especially held to honour those who helped out at the wedding celebration ("*taki hosti sho pomahaly, varyly, ...kukharky, druzhby, ...to vony zhe sobi zabavlielysy*"). The wedding bread ("*kolach*") was made of two layers of braided dough, a triple braid below and a double braid on top. For weddings, they stuck in a tree ("*derevtse*") in the middle; at Easter, they stuck in a candle.

William reported that he was a godfather on one occasion and that, at funerals, the burial took place on the third day with mirrors covered in the house; a dinner followed (no *kutia* was served).

f) Get-Togethers for Work, Recreation and Culture

William did not relate to *klaka* and had heard the term *verchernytsi*. He identified with *toloka* (a work-bee to help a sick person with ploughing or spinning) and had attended or seen the following: a parade (at Vermilion), concerts and plays (at Slawa hall), dances at the hall (music provided by violin and tsymbaly), bazaars (all kinds of things on sale) and school picnics organized by the teacher at Slawa school (featuring baseball and football).

g) The Supernatural

William described his positive experiences with a folk healer, an elderly lady ("*stara Kurochka*") who lived nine miles east of Slawa hall. She poured molten lead ("*olyvo*") and prescribed fish to help him recover. William had heard about revenants and evil eye, he had seen tea reading, and he had failed in his efforts to interpret the reading of his dreams.

h) Other

William could not recall when he first celebrated his birthday with a party; he had forgotten the old stories. He could not identify *L'viv* and he could only say that Taras Shevchenko

was a man ("*buv cholovik*"). He described his boyhood years as a sick person and how his uncle accidentally struck William's foot with an axe while they were chopping wood together (it healed later). For William, the happy times were associated with the growing season for grain — June, July ("*iak zbizhzhiv vzhe zachynaie, riedky take-vorosty*").

COMMENTARY AND ANALYSIS

The seven repertoires summarized above had, in addition to the Canadian-born status of their respective carriers, other common characteristics. Except for Frosena Gelech, each informant reflects a high degree of eclecticism that draws on the new environment as well as the Old Country tradition which, in every case, had become removed, unseen and not experienced in situ; whatever was retained from the old heritage appears to be of an ornamental nature, an external and symbolic extract (such as *pysanky*, ritual foods, Christmas tree) that focusses on the formalities of act and object rather than meaning and context. These were the beginnings of processes that were entrenched and crystallized in later years and reached their apogee after World War Two.

George Pawluk was the oldest Canadian-born informent interviewed for this report. He was bilingual but spoke better in English than in his natal tongue, Ukrainian, — a result of his business contacts in later life. The eclectic nature of his tradition was of variously origins: although foreign to his Orthodox Bukovynian background, George's Christmas customs include a tree and the exchange of gifts, and his Easter traditions feature such Galician borrowings as *haivky* and Easter Monday splashing. His account was dry and somewhat colourless, suggesting perhaps that for George the old ways had petrified and receded from their earlier place of importance in everyday life. At the same time, however, his account reflects a positive approach to practices and beliefs associated with Old Country folk medicine. A special and unique moment in George's life was his heritage-pilgrimage to Ukraine in 1976; a conscious and powerful reaffirmation of ethnic roots, the trip did little, however, to rekindle the old customs and rituals of early pioneer days in Alberta.

Like George Pawluk, Frosena too was Bukovynian and Orthodox. However,her repertoire of folk traditions had retained a much higher degree of fidelity to the old ways. She spoke only in Ukrainian; her local reputation as a talented singer of Old Country folksongs was confirmed by the several song-items that she records in the course of the interview. A special highlight in this regard was the lament for her deceased son which was delivered in the traditional recitative style. Equally rare in the field of Ukrainian Canadian folklore was Frosena's incantation spoken in free verse. The Canada-motif that appears in her dance ditty is an indication that, for Frosena, the folksong tradition constituted a productive form of expression fully responsive to new situations and new events. The absence of *haivky* and songs from the traditional winter folksong cycle could be explained, in the first case, by the fact that *haivky* do not normally occur as part of the traditional Bukovynian ritual folklore complex; the second exclusion was linked to Frosena's admission that she never participated in house-to-house carolling activities. In a separate interview with her husband, Nick (born in Bukovyna), Frosena interjected freely with added details that help verify her strong ties to the traditions of the past, a closeness

that was reinforced, at least partially, by Nick's own traditional Old Country Bukovynian background.

The accounts of Jack Youzwyshyn, his wife *Mariia*, and their son Orest, shed light on the nature of family traditions. Jack was factual, straightforward, and thoroughly bilingual. His repertoire was streamlined and purged of dysfunctional features: the Christmas *kutia* was not flung up at the ceiling; carols were sung with the help of printed booklets instead of from memory; and Jack negates the efficacy of the old magical helpers (such as blessed *Iordan* water and blessed willow branches) as part and parcel of the useless superstitious beliefs and behaviour. He appears to enjoy happy moments that bring people together (such as work-bees that tend to become beer parties), including a trip to Mundare's annual *vidpust* event.

Jack's wife, Mariia, was three years younger than Jack. She spoke only in Ukrainian for the interview. Her account was longer and included more details and several insights as well. She was unable to identify some Bukovynian customs (such as *pomana*) but, on the other hand, recognizes the customs of eating on graves as a Bukovynian tradition. *Mariia* was more attuned than her husband Jack to the magic powers of blessed *Iordan* water, and she showed a kind of blind reverence for any blessed object even though it had no use whatsoever in her repertoire. On the other hand, 1ike Jack, she did not subscribe to spurious or superstitious practices and beliefs — those not formally approved by her church and religious upbringing. Changes in the folk tradition could be detected in the total lack of age or gender specificity regarding Easter Monday splashing customs: anyone, regardless of age or sex, was subject to victimization. It was also noteworthy that *Mariia* described her wedding in 1925 as larger than most; there were more people and more neighbours by then, she said. In addition to a population increase, it was also likely that the avent of the automobile and better roads made inter-settlement travel easier. *Mariia's* review also portrays the development of the hall into a community centre, an institution with a programs serving a wider segment of the local population. The hall's further elaboration includes a concert band, Shevchenko concerts and activities that cater to married adults as well as unmarried youth.

Orest, the son of Jack and Mariia, was also the youngest informant interviewed for this report. He spoke only in English during the interview; he had more formal schooling than either of his parents; he had changed the spelling of his surname from Youzwyshyn to Youzwishen. Orest enjoyed extra-curricular activities such a playing in a band and performing (in English) high school plays, but his father disapproved of his interest in baseball and other sports. Orest's distance from the Old Country tradition could be measured when he inaccurately described his grandparents' origins to Bukovyna, when he makes weak or incorrect statements and identifications for certain customs and traditions, and when he relied on the precision of exact calendar dates to indicate that he celebrated Christmas on December 25th. The ethnicization of calendaric customs seems to emerge when Orest described his grandmother's Christmas celebration on January 6th although it was likely that the splintering of family groupings among Ukrainians in east central Alberta reinforced the extension of Christmas and other winter celebrations to permit the required amount of visiting and hosting to obtain. While Christmas had become a month-long

celebration, Orest's Easter traditions were reduced to *pysanky* and the blessing of food; the *haivky*, identified by both his parents, do not appear in Orest's repertoire of folk customs. Although some facets of his tradition appear to be slipping, his account shows an attachment to superstition that was stronger than that of his parents. Population increase and its impact on tradition, noted earlier by his mother in connection with her wedding, shows up again as a factor in Orest's description of a school bus full of carollers.

Religious training, conducted earlier within the home, had been formalized and packaged into summer catechism classes climaxed by a first communion event. For Orest, the old-timers' form of everyday greeting ("Glory to Jesus Christ!") had become, in English translation, "Hello, what were you doing?" Politics and bureaucrats add a new dimension to the complexity of Ukrainian folkways: provincial health inspectors attempt to discourage the unsanitary practice at local Ukrainian weddings of guests using one and the same glass to toast the bridal couple at presentation time. The creeping influence of "respectability," according to Orest, had helped to reduce the number of fights at dances and weddings. Orest did not complain of pioneering hardships, and he looked back on his early boyhood experiences on the farm at Myrnam with fondness bordering on romanticism. Heroics were reserved by Orest for his portrayal of his father's activities within the community.

Mike Wynnychuk, like Orest Youzwishen, was also prone to a time-management approach to his calendar. His repertoire of folk customs was as eclectic and blurred as those of other Canadian-born informants. Mike downplays supernatural phenomena and tolerates traditional practices as long as they're safe (blessed *Iordan* water never helped anyone but, said Mike, neither did it harm anyone). Mike's parents had several sons but no daughters; he appears to had made up for the gender vacuum by trying his hand at Easter egg ornamentation, a craft traditionally reserved for female members of the family. His observations on *haivky* at Myrnam confirm Jack and Mariia Youzwyshyns' testimony in this regard. Like Jack, Mike shows a liking for those customs that feature get-togethers and good times.

Mike's younger brother, William, had a weak repertoire of traditional folkways but a rich inventory of hall-related activities. He had abbreviated his name to a make it more acceptable, spoke English as well as Ukrainian (his older brother Mike, gave his interview in Ukrainian only) and, like Jack Youzwyshyn, he relied on a printed collection of carols as a memory aid. William too had tried his hand at making pysanky. Due to a prolonged illness, he showed a positive and stronger attachment to traditional practices associated with folk medicine.*

CHAPTER VI:

FOLKLORE AND OTHER, NON-FARMING PURSUITS

A. BLACKSMITH'S WIFE

1. MARY KREKLYWICH

a) Biographical Data

Mary ("*Mariia*") Kreklywich ("*Kreklyvyts*") (née *Topol'nyts'kyi*) was born on October 14, 1899 or 1900 — the feast of St. Mary the Protectress ("*na Pokrovi*"), in *Kysyliv* village, *Kitsman*, *CHernovets*, Bukovyna, in the Old Country. At about four or five years of age, she came to Canada with her parents, three older sisters and one older brother; they settled at Andrew. Mary's parents had six more children in Canada. She had no schooling because there was no school until after she was married and the mother of one son.

Figure 5: Mary Kreklywich in Vilna, 1984.

She married at eighteen years of age and moved to her father-in-law's near Vegreville with her husband for two years and then to their own homestead on the other side of the river ("*za riverom*"), six miles from Vilna. When the railway track was built and they laid plans for the town, Mary and her husband moved into town where her husband established himself as a successful blacksmith ("*koval'*"). Mary's husband was also a Bukovynian, like she. Mary was initially of the Ukrainian Orthodox faith but she belonged to the Pentecostal church at the time of the interview.

b) Winter Customs and celebrations

Christmas was celebrated in the Old Country manner ("*po-kraiovomu*"), but sometimes there was no priest to officiate due to the distances. Christmas was preceded by a fast period of six weeks ("*Pylypivka*") during which no weddings could be held ("*ne viddavatysia, ne zhenytysia ne mozhna bulo*"). For seven weeks after Christmas ("*miasnytsi*" and "*pushchennia*"), weddings and dances could take place — but there was no one around! ("*ne bulo komu*"). A sheaf of wheat ("*snipok pshenytsi*") was placed on a bench in the corner, hay was placed in a box ("*v baksynku*") or container (to avoid wanton scattering) and put under the table, and some hay was spread on the table under the tablecloth. Before the Christmas Eve dinner, they prayed; "*pshenytsa*" was served first (but not thrown). On the day after "*Ivana*" (= the day after *Iordan*), the hay was removed

and burned outside. Older people went carolling but she did not go because there were no roads in the winter, and because of the long distances between farmsteads.

On Epiphany Eve, a second Christmas dinner was served. On *Iordan*, jars and bottles of water were blessed in church; if no church service was available, they simply took water from the well and brought it into the house. The blessed water was tasted because it was holy ("*kushaly bo to sviate*"). Earlier, due to the lack of priests, no priest came to bless the home.

c) Easter

If there was no church or priest on willow Sunday, they brought the willow directly into the house to put on the table ("*to shutku Boh sotvoryv*"); the blessed willow was kept behind holy pictures and disposed, later, by burning.

Sometimes, due to the lack of a priest, the Easter foods were not blessed; and if there was no Easter Sunday service, they would just get up from bed in the morning, pray and eat.

Mary described how she baked round "*perepichky*" with cheese for Easter and *pysanky* which were cooked and eaten or given away as gifts. Baked dough-birdies became a part of her ritual only recently; *haivky* were not . On Easter Monday, the boys splashed the girls, and on Tuesday, the girls splashed the boys. Mary noted that when/since there were few people, the tendency was to forget the old ways (*"...iak ne bulo bahato liudei — zabuly za vs'o*").

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

Mary related well to *pomana* (occurs after Christmas, anytime), *provody*, *parastas*, Green Holydays and *khram*. She recalled that "*na IUriia*," they dug up grassy clumps of sod ("*kopaly kytsychky z hlyna — trava faina...*"). These were placed by the gates, and by the doors to the house. When she moved to town (Vilna) where her husband set up shop as a blacksmith, she no longer dug up sod, as above. "*Stritennia*" was observed in the fall before Christmas and marked the meeting of winter with summer ("*stritylasia zyma z litom*").

e) Human Life Cycle

Mary's future husband came alone on foot along distance to ask for her hand; he had no matchmaker. They had one small reception at her parents' place; it was a small house and there was no dancing. "Why search for musicians if the house was so small?" asked Mary. At presentation, the guests gave nickels and quarters. After the reception they went to her husband's parents' place for supper only, the same day.

Mary wore her own Old Country shirt ("*kraiovu sorochku mala*"). She had embroidered it herself. She did not had flowers to hold in her hand, but wore a wreath of fowers intertwined with periwinkle on her head.

On Saturday evening (the eve of the wedding), women came over to make the bridal wreath for Mary ("*splyly vinok*"). The next morning, two ladies came to put it on her head. After the supper at the in-law's, this was removed, and a kerchief was tied on instead to show that Mary had now become a mature "old" woman ("*ia bula baba tody*"). The wedding loaves ("*kolachi*") were cut up ("*porubaly*") and the pieces were distributed among the wedding guests to eat. Mary identified both *zavodyny* and *popravyny* satisfactorily.

When she married, Mary often served as a godmother because of the car: people used her and her husband as a taxi service ("*nas braly u kumy zavshy bo bulo chym povesty — garchyna bula*"). Usually one couple only served as godparents; later there were more.

The old funerals featured homemade coffins, vigils by the body, and tea for the neighbours. The all-night vigil was especially appreciated by newly bereaved widows who were too frightened to sleep alone while the deceased spouse was lying in the house. At first, there were no/few candles because they could not be purchased easily; in later years, burning candles were thrust into a pail of grain and made to stand in the grain. Burials sometimes took place without a priest; once the telephones came in, they were more able to contact a priest to come and officiate.

Mary demonstrated a lament with a few lines:

Oi cholovichku mii, sho ia budu robyty
SHo ty vzhe vmer,
A ty idesh a ia de podiiusie...
SHo ia budu robyty sho ty meni ne kazav
SHo ty sy zaberesh i lyshysh mene z dit'my,
Tak ia budu oplakuvaty svoi dny doky zhyttia bude ....

The deceased can't respond to this, Mary noted cynically. Some threw money (five cents) into the grave. A dinner was held at the house either before the body was transported to the cemetery, or after the burial. Many bodies were dressed in Old Country clothes; Mary too purchased an embroidered shirt to be buried in.

f) Get-Togethers for Work, Recreation and Culture

Mary related positively to *klaka* (not *toloka*), and concerts at her children's school. She identified *vechernytsi* as an evening social, bazar (things were sold), dances (she said she didn't like going to these), and plays (she did not attend because it was too far and the children were too small).

g) The Supernatural

Mary related negatively to all forms of superstitious behaviour; she had heard of them all but, she said, she did not believe in it.

h) Other

Birthday celebrations did not occur; she had heard about Taras Shevchenko but knew nothing about him. During the flu epidemic, Mary's husband used to visit the sick on his bicycle and bring tea. Mary's multi-ethnic mosaic includes Bukovynians like her, a Pole that talked Ukrainian, and an old Jew in Vilna that also spoke Ukrainian.

For Mary, socializing and company provided the most happy times ("*iak vyishly mezhy liudy*").

B. STORE-KEEPER AND PART-TIME MUSICIAN

2. BENNIE CHEKERDA

a) Biographical Data

Bennie ("*Bron'ko*, *Bronislaw*") Chekerda was Polish, he said. He was born in 1906 in *IAroslav* village, *Radymno* district in Austria-Poland. He arrived in Canada in 1912 with his mother and five children (including Bennie) to join Bennie's father in Bruderheim. Bennie's parents were bilingual (Ukrainian/Polish). The father acquired a homestead six miles east of Redwater, and they lived there to 1949. In 1930, Bennie wed a Ukrainian (he thinks she was Canadian-born), and they had three children (two boys). The children spoke Ukrainian. Bennie had four years of schooling at Martin Centre School, and he beloned to the Roman Catholic church, St. Joseph's, at Radway. Bennie used to had his own orchestra; he played violin, drum, tsymbaly, and mouth organ. He had suffered three strokes by the time of the interview.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

Christmas was celebrated on December 25th. For Christmas Eve dinner there was hay under the table, and a sheaf ("*snip*," "*didukh*") in the corner: these were removed two weeks later and fed to the livestock (horses and cows). They had a "*kolach*" and "*pshenytsia*" which dad threw up at the ceiling "for a better crop next year." There was a Christmas tree every year ("*smereka mala buty*"); no matter how cold it was, they went to the forest to get a tree. Polish and Ukrainian carollers performed in the neighbourhood; if it was too cold, they did not carry a star. Bennie too went carolling to collect funds for the "kostel" at Radway. In 1942, they collected $800.00 for St. Joseph's Roman Catholic church. Bennie recited the caroller's greeting in Polish. Bennie recalled that leftovers from Christmas Eve dinner were left out on the table, but he did not know why.

For Epiphany, "the Poles had three kings (*tr'okh kroliv*) and the Ukrainians had *shchedryi vechir*." For Epiphany Eve, there was *Malanka* ("*na shchedryi vechir malankuvaly*"), and Bennie went to sow wheat for five cents. At this time, the priest came to purify, bless the house — to chase out any unclean forces ("*nechysta syla — vyslaty z khaty*"). At first,

there was no priest to do this, and Bennie's father used chalk to draw crosses over doorways. On Jordan day, January 19th, they went to the North Saskatchewan River (only nine miles from Redwater) to have the priest bless water. There was a cross of ice and people took the blessed water home to drink. Bennie told an anecdote about the specialness of the blessed water: once, when they ran their general store (1949 to 1972) in Redwater, all the bottles of pop froze in the store — but the blessed water, which they had there also, did not freeze. Blessed water was kept "for thunder" (the water was sprinkled in the house), and "for illness." Bennie related well to pushchennia (Bennie played for these occasions that preceded thirty days of Lent); there were two kinds of *miasnytsi*: cold ones and warm ones ("*zymni...i tepli*"). The former occurred in the winter before Lent, and the latter was in the summer.

c) Easter

Bennie gave the Biblical origins for Palm Sunday, the Polish version for willow Sunday among Ukrainians. They hit one another with willow branches ("*lozy*"), and took them home. The branches were thrown out or burned when they dried up. Bennie's sisters and mother made *pysanky* — not he. These were kept as souvenirs or given away as gifts. Wooden ones were sent to the Old Country, and they used boiled eggs for bumping contests. Haivky were played near the Radway church, and Bennie described the games the youth played and how they scored. On Easter Monday, the girls splashed the boys and vice versa. The *kalatalo* was used instead of bells to mark the death of Jesus.

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

Bennie related to and described *parastas*, *khram* (based on two house parties in 1917 and 1920 — they did not occur every year), *vidpust* (on August 15th at the shrine-grotto at Skaro, Alberta, which Bennie helped to build), *na Petra i Pavla* (a special day at Redwater church with a picnic, games and food outside), Green holydays (maily, visited, and memorials/"*spomyny buly*"). Work was not permitted on Sundays.

e) The Human Life Cycle

Bennie got married at Radway. He did use a matchmaker for a go-between. There was only one reception (at her place) with a dance platform encircled with poplars ("*osyky dovkola*"). Bennie said he had a full entourage ("*vs'o bulo*"). At presentation they received one dollar bills and many gifts (cups, kettle). There was no *korovai*; instead, they had an ordinary loaf of bread ("*khlib*").

Bennie was a *kum* more than twenty times. At weddings, the *kum* could be asked "to do something" or help out.

For funerals, Bennie helped make coffins which had black cloth nailed onto the top. The priest would officiate in the house ("*parastas*"); there was no all-night vigil, and mirrors were not reversed; there was a small lunch ("*perekuska*") after the burial. Some women did lament.

f) Get-Togethers for Work, Recreation and Culture

Bennie attended church picnics where they played ball and horse-shoes. Bennie himself liked to play ball; he was a catcher, and his father did not object to his interest in sports. Bennie also skated and played ice hockey. He also performed in plays at Radway and Opal, he played the role of a Jew in 1936 or 1937, and attended concerts and dances (sometimes they used a record player) at the school. The *toloka* was a work-bee organized to help plaster a house ("*polipyty khatu*"). Bennie did not relate to *klaka*.

g) The Supernatural

Bennie described how a woman-healer ("*baba*") poured wax on a willow branch (in bud) placed on water to cure some illnesses. Bennie's son had a rash when he was one and a half years old that went away after they brought a woman over (a house-call) to pour wax. Bennie also told of a man who knew how to throw off the evil eye ("*cholovik znaie vroky skydaty*) and cured a horse that had got sick from someone's flattering looks. Bennie saw how the man utterred an incantation, sprinkled the horse — and in a couple of minutes the horse was cured and went off as before. In the mid-1920s, Bennie had his tea read in Edmonton in a cafe; he paid a dollar to had his fortune told, and "she was right." The lady talked in Ukrainian, Polish and English, Bennie said. Bennie still had a "dream teller" ("*son*-teller" or "*sonnyk*") in English to interpret his dreams and look for signs of luck. Everyone used to have such a book, said Bennie.

h) Other

Bennie had his first birthday party after he was married. He did not relate to *L'viv* but he had heard a little about Taras Shevchenko who "was a good person sometime ago in the Old Country; he gets the people to know him, he used to run the country, but he gets too old so he had to give it to somebody else...*zaishla na liudy khmara — bol'shevyky*, he died...*velykyi poet...duzhe znav hraty na mandolinu...znav dobre hovoryty*... ."

Bennie said that both his mother and his wife grew flowers, baked pies and raised turkeys. With regard to the flu epidemic of 1918 ("*zaishla fliu na liudei*"), Bennie did not get sick although others did. Bennie brought strong whisky from his Russian friend, Mitrofan, to sick friends and this caused the flu to leave them. One priest advised some people to ignore the quarantine and to go out, but they perished just as soon as they went outside.

Bennie said that he was happiest when he got married, had a young wife and went all over.

i) A Musical Addendum

Bennie was a self-taught violinist. He played four tunes, Polish and Ukrainian (a song tune, a wedding tune, Krakowiak dance tune, and another dance tune), on his violin at the end of the interview. He also sang three stanzas of a popular song in Ukrainian ("*Zapriahaite khloptsi koni*") that he heard at a concert.

C. STORE-KEEPER AND PAYER

3. ANNIE SHYDLOWSKI

a) Biographical Data

Annie (*Anna*) Shydlowski (née *Sawchuk*) was born in 1907 at Chipman, Alberta. Her mother came from *Rusiv* village, *Sniatyn* district, and her father from *Koniushkiv* village, *Brody* district — both in the Old Country. They had four children (two boys). When her dad got a job at the C.N. Shops in Edmonton, Annie moved there; from the ages of five to sixteen, she lived in Edmonton, attended Catholic schools and finished grade twelve. She wed in 1923; her husband was born in *Bridok* village, *CHernivtsi* district in the Old Country, and they had three children (two boys). "It was a mixed marriage": she was Greek Catholic and he was Orthodox. In 1929, they moved to Egremont where they stayed for thirty-five years: he farmed and she worked in their general store and as a payer (for twenty-two years) for the Alberta Wheat Pool in the office of the grain elevator.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

Twelve dishes were served for Christmas Eve dinner, including "*kutia*" (boiled wheat with honey and poppy seed). There was always a tree ("for the children") at her parents' place, and small gifts were exchanged. There was no hay and no straw ("we were in the city — we didn't bother with that"). Annie herself never went carolling; carollers did visit their home and received money for the church. Her mother left leftovers on the table overnight for the dead parents, but Annie didn't do this ("I didn't had nobody dead then").

For New Year's, Annie's uncles at Chipman used to get dressed up in odd clothes and go mumming for *Malanka*; young boys went about to sow wheat; they got a quarter or so, and Annie recited the usual jingle the boys would recite.

For Epiphany Eve at Chipman, carollers sang outside the window. At this time of the season, the priest came around to bless the house (so there'd be no evil spirits, sickness, etc.).

They would drink blessed *Iordan* water and keep it for medicinal purposes. It was never thrown out.

During *miasnytsi*, marriages, socials and dances were popular; young couples/people gathered in private homes (there were no halls at first) to dance to live music (Annie's uncle played in an orchestra). For *pushchennia* the congregation gathered for a wedding-like celebration with lots of food and dancing. This occurred in Edmonton and in Egremont, too.

c) Easter

On willow Sunday, the boys hit one another with blessed willow; the blessed branches were kept and put around holy pictures.

It was considered a sin to bless the Easter foods on Good Friday. As a result, the foods were blessed at Chipman on the Wednesday or Thursday before Easter Sunday or "even on Sunday." In any case, the blessed foods could not be eaten until Easter Sunday itself arrived. The Easter breads included baked dough-birdies and the special "*kolach*"-like Easter bread, "*perepichka.*" *Pysanky* were exchanged: a girl would give one to her best boyfriend, and grandmother would give them to her grandchildren or close relatives. The plain coloured eggs (red, yellow) were used for bumping contests and eaten.

The young people in Edmonton (outside St. Joseph's) and at Egremont (at both the Orthodox and Catholic churches) participated in *haivky* (singing and dancing) and invited friends to come over. Annie's mother said that this also happened at Chipman.

On one Easter Monday, when she was in high school, Annie was splashed; she didn't like it because she had to change her clothes. Annie did not relate to *kalatalo* but she recalled church bells ringing in Edmonton, Egremont and Chipman on Easter Sunday.

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

Stritennia took place after *Iordan* — the second Christmas with its holy supper ("*Sviata Vechera*") and church service. The old people said that *Stritennia* occurred when summer mets with winter.

Annie's mother said that *Andreia* was like Halloween; masks were worn at Chipman and the boys disguised themselves as girls and vice versa.

For Annie, *pomana* was an event (a mass or prayers were ordered, they went to the grave and blessed the grave), *provody* was celebrated on the graves after Easter, and *parastas* featured many "*kolachi*" that were placed on the graves and given to those who attend the memorial mass. *Vidpust* was a big gathering with many people from different places with the bishop, priests and a feast.

Annie identified *khram* as a kermis; *Ivana* was celebrated by the Orthodox at Egremont.

Na Petra was celebrated at Mundare. When she was six or seven years old, Annie went to Mundare from Chipman to attend; she recalled the big outdoor mass, many people, five or six priests and no cars ("horse and buggy days"). Her father went because he wished to meet with friends and relatives. When she was fifteen years old, Annie went again (from Edmonton) and she remarks that it was better: "had cars — more civilized" and the people were dressed better (earlier the men were especially poorly dressed, said Annie).

Green Holydays was celebrated after seeding time, after the farm work was done. Annie's mother (not Annie) bedecked the home, inside and out, with poplar branches. This was a time for many weddings and parties in the houses and in the halls.

Sunday was for rest and prayer (no work). People visited and dressed a little neater — clean shirt, clean clothes. On the other days they didn't change that much.

Father followed his parents' example and abstained from meat on Wednesdays and Fridays.

Sviato Bozhoho Tila was celebrated usually in the fall; flowers and vegetables were blessed at this time.

Annie did not relate to *rusalka*, *zahal'nytsia* or *tryzna* ("something at church"). *Iuriia* did not mean anything special.

e) The Human Life Cycle

When she married in 1923, Annie wore a store-bought white dress; instead of periwinkle or myrtle, she had live roses as part of her wedding outfit. She had two bridesmaids, one *matka*, one *bat'ko* and one *svashka*; the *matka* and *bat'ko* held the gold crowns during the wedding ceremony in church. Because she was not legally of age when she married (she was only sixteen), Annie's "mother had to sign" for her. There was no matchmaker (her mother did have a *starosta*), no *zavodyny*, and no wreathmaking ceremony.

There was one reception in the hall, and guests were invited "by invitation." Photos were taken after the church ceremony. The reception featured live musicians (violin, piano, saxophone, drum) who played the waltz, polkas, and fox-trots. There was a wedding cake with white icing made by a cook. Presentation was mostly cash, and Annie thought that *perepii* was a stupid custom because clothing got splashed with wine.

Besides christenings, Annie also recalled funerals that occurred when there were no undertakers. Her dad helped make coffins; the coffin was lined with "kindlings of wood for the pillow" and a little sheet. Neighbours took turns sitting up with the body, and the candles had to be watched and changed regularly to avoid having them burn out and cause a fire. When her uncle died, her aunt covered the mirror: she feared that she may see two — the dead one and another in the mirror. The funeral dinner did not include *kutia*. After forty days and again in a year's time, a memorial mass was said, and small *kolachi* with candles were given to those who attended.

f) Get-Togethers for Work, Recreation and Culture

Annie recalled her father saying that long ago young boys used to gather for *vechernytsi* at a girl's place. Church bazaars were held in Chipman, Edmonton and Egremont, and summer church picnics took place on Sundays; the high school in Edmonton had picnics too.

At Chipman there was no hall until later. Egremont had three halls: Orthodox, Catholic and community. The Orthodox and Catholic halls featured plays, weddings and gatherings for different holydays. Annie attended plays and many concerts and sang in the choir in Edmonton. She had a role in one play, "*Oi ne khody Hrytsiu na vechernytsi.*"

At Chipman, a *toloka* was held to plaster someone's house with clay and mud over logs, inside and out. Annie's aunt was a very good plasterer and she used to help others to plaster. No payment was expected — there was no cash around. Annie said that a *klaka* was a church sale of "stuff" with proceeds to go to the church.

g) The Supernatural

Annie did not have strong associations with superstitious behaviour. In Edmonton, when her eight or nine year old sister was frightened by a dog and could not sleep, a lady came over, said a prayer... . The treatment helped and, said Annie, "it left her." Tea reading was available in cafes in Edmonton. Because she was so busy in business in Egremont, she was too tired to remember any of her dreams to interpret them.

h) Other

The was no ice-skating at Chipman. Annie's first birthday party took place at home in Edmonton when she was ten years old. She recalled how the nearby cemetery in Edmonton was covered with fresh wreaths during the flu epidemic of 1918, and how she brought one of the wreaths home and was scolded by her mother.

When they lived in Edmonton, her mother liked to grow flowers in the garden. In Chipman, however, she had little time for flowers. She grew mostly vegetables and helped dad in the fields with haying, and so on. Annie said she too was too busy with the business to putter; she grew only vegetables.

Annie's mother baked pies, but not pumpkin pies. Annie herself preferred to bake apple and raisin pies. Her parents raised chickens but no turkeys.

Annie said she was happiest when she was young, had a husband and her children with her.

D. A BUDDING MERCHANT

4. ALEC MANDRUK

a) Biographical Data

Alec Mandruk was born on July 29, 1913 in the town of Vegreville. His parents came from *CHernovets'* in the Old Country; his mother was from the village of *Shelynets*, his father was from the village of *Berhomet*. As a young boy, Alec lived on a homestead north of Beauvallon for about five years. He returned to Vegreville when he was ten years of age (i.e., about 1923). Alec's parents had ten children (five boys). Although Alec knew no English until he was ten years old, he excelled in high school which he followed with nine years of study in commerce and accountancy — much of this via correspondence. For

over forty-six years he worked as a grocer in Vegreville where he became a leading member of the business community. Alec wed in 1935 to Anne Yuckin (*IUkhyn*); they had a son who died in a car accident on July 15, 1950. Alec played many musical instruments and played in an orchestra to earn pocket money for over five years as a young fellow. At the time of the interview, he was an active member of the local Ukrainian Greek Orthodox parish and had volunteered his services in support of many local projects within and outside the Ukrainian community. Alec and his wife travelled to Europe on four occasions in the 1970s (not to Ukraine).

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

Alec recalled that Christmas "was really quite sparce" and that his mother prepared the foods, including dried mushrooms and poppy seeds. Some hay was spread on the table under the tablecloth; hay or straw or a sheaf was put under the table. *Kutia* ("boiled wheat") was served first, and father tossed a little spoon of it up to the ceiling; Alec guessed that this was done for future prosperity.

Carollers did the rounds in Vegreville town, but not "up North" where people were very poor. The homesteads "were almost all filled" and there was no mobility: if you were too poor to had a horse or a "cutter," you would had to walk. When Alec was a young boy, there was no sowing of the wheat for New Year's. For Alec, the Christmas tree tradition was expereince for the first time in Vegreville in 1932 or 1933. For the Christmas dinner, "my mother always set a spare chair and a spare plate...in case somebody walked in she would had room and a plate to feed them." Leftovers were left out overnight, but Alec did not know why.

Alec did not relate to Epiphany Eve or *Iordan* customs because there were no priests, no people ("*ne bulo komu*"). He could not identify *miasnytsi*, but he defined *pushchennia* as the last day before Lent begins, an event marked by a supper at home, or in recent times, in community halls. Alec backtracked and recalled that the blessed *Iordan* water was brought home in a jar from church and that mother sprinkled the house with it. Because they did not get their own Orthodox church until 1934, they went to the Greek Catholic Church instead to get the holy water.

c) Easter

Lent was strictly observed. The blessed willow of Palm Sunday was used to hit one another with, along with a jingle. When it bloomed and died, it was thrown out; or, when it sprouted, it was planted and transplanted outside so it would grow to be a tree.

The (Orthodox) churches were few and far apart. It was too far to go to get an Orthodox minister to bless Easter food: it was fifty miles to Vilna or Ispas, if you wanted to go. For this reason, Alec and his parents did not go to church for Easter until some years later. However, even if they did not get to church, mother still baked a *paska*, boiled eggs and prepared a pork roast; father would say a prayer and bless the food. Alec's mother made *pysanky* to give to godchildren ("*nakhresnyky*") or they were kept and allowed to dry up.

Mother's first egg each Easter season was "the Holy Cross *pysanka*:...an egg decorated with the Holy Cross."

Alec did not have *haivky* in his tradition (although he defined these as spring dances). He had seen egg bumping as well as eight to ten "teenagers" — older boys and girls from different homesteads — who got together at a neighbour's yard and splashed one another with water. Alec was too young at the time and could not participate.

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

Alec identified *parastas* as the religious service associated with *provody* ("*maly malen'kyi parastas*"); after the *parastas* service, *pomana* in the form of a *kolach*, an orange, and a candle was received from "an elderly lady" as *pomana* for her deceased husband; "you take it home and eat it." It seems that Alec and/or his wife received but did not distribute *pomana*. The graveside ceremonial used to last for hours because the officiating priest would celebrate a *parastas* at each and every grave. Things move faster now, and Alec described how the graveside ceremonial had been streamlined in recent years. Eating at/on the gravesites still occured at the country churches...but not in town/Vegreville.

Alec did not know the words *tryzna* or *vidpust*.

"*Khram*" was defined as a kermis ("*patron imeny tserkvy*") that included a service in church ("*khramovu sluzhbu*"), a dinner in the hall ("*khramovyi obid*"), and the recognition of older parishioners. For Alec, *khram* was unknown on the farms; for him, the first *khram* was experienced in 1934 in Vegreville.

For Alec, Green Holydays celebrated the greening of nature — the grass, the trees. Alec's father would fetch two willow saplings ("*dvi lozi*") and tie them just outside the entrance to the house ("*vkhodni vorota*").

If/when necessary ("*iak treba*"), work was allowed on Sunday to take advantage of good weather at harvest time. There was no guilt about this, but one could go to confession ("*spovid'*") to confess that he worked on Sunday, said Alec.

Alec identified the traditional everyday and Easter greetings, but he failed to correctly identify the traditional Christmas greeting in Ukrainian.

e) Human Life Cycle

Alec married in Edmonton in 1935; there was no wedding, simply a license. They were too poor for anything elaborate since this was the "bottom of the Depression." Three weeks later, his wife's family, north of Innisfree, had a dinner for them: "just dinner and a visit," a few presents, no music. There were no showers or stag parties in the old days. Alec defined *starosta* as the groom's father who serves as a matchmaker. (Alec never used one.)

Alec outlined the *druzhba's* obligations (he was a *druzhba* for the first time in 1934): "you stood in," made arrangements for presentation, and gave some money to your bridesmaid ("*drushka*").

Since 1939, Alec had served as godfather on many occasions. He outlined the obligations of a godparent: if the parents die, the godfather assumes responsibility for looking after the child until it reaches eighteen years of age. Alec did this for a godson whose father was killed, and he cited another case as well.

When Alec's sister died in 1922 of burns (she was only six and a half years old), there was no priest to officiate when they brought her home from Vegreville hospital; Alec's father's cousin simply read "the *panakhyda*" over the grave. In 1919, during the "Spanish flu" (influenza epidemic), his dad reported that at Hairy Hill burials took place without priests immediately so that germs would not spread.

His sister's body was dressed in a white dress at his mother's insistence; there was one mirror in the house — in the kitchen, that his mother put away. Female friends and neighbours came to take turns sitting up with the body for two nights. There was no funeral dinner. Alec's mother did some lamenting.

f) Get-Togethers for Work and recreation

Alec didi not experience picnics until the late 1920s. The National Hall ("*Instytut Tarasa Shevchenka*") and the Labour Temple in Vegreville had active drama groups; there would be a play staged once a month at the National Hall in the mid-1920s in Vegreville. One play was entitled "*Taras Bul'ba*"; there were also many "musicals" and concerts. On one occasion, Alec performed in an English play (a parody on two policemen) when he was with the band: they would stage a play, and then hold a dance.

Films were brought in by Trifon Fedoruk who screened them in the Vimy Theatre and elsewhere in Vegreville from about 1927 to 1929. Soon, the plays were phased out.

Alec associated *toloka* with volunteers who clean the church cemetery, or tear feathers, or card wool. In 1958, Alec was a part of a *toloka* that built a new National Hall to replace the old one.

g) The Supernatural

When it was windy, Alec's dad used to say that someone had hung himself ("*khtos' des' zavishyvsia*").

Alec had secondhand knowledge of wax-pouring and evil eye.

h) Other

Celebrations associated with birthdays and so on never took place in the early years; these were taken from the English, said Alec.

Alec described in some detail his association with Jewish businessmen in Vegreville from 1935 to 1942, they were "shrewd but not honest." They used to own most of Main Street, said Alec. He described how Indians made purchases piecemeal, and how, in 1942, a "Ukrainian" was hired as a teacher for the first time in the Town of Vegreville school system (it was "hard to crack").

Alec's mother never made pumpkin pie. His mother used to prepare buckwheat *kasha* mixed with fresh "pigweed" (*natyna*). The old timers liked to raise turkeys for ready cash, and, as for beef, Ukrainian farmers in the 1920s "did dress an older calf" after they had established some livestock.

Alec related that he "craved" education as a youngster, but because school was five miles from home and too far to walk it was his mother's decision that they move to Vegreville for further schooling.

i) Dreamlore and Cow Dung

Shortly before his sister died, Alec's mother reported that she had dreamt a terrible dream ("*strashnyi son*"): there were three dogs digging under the foundation of the house. It meant that someone was going to die ("*maie buty smert* ").

When Alec was a young boy, he suffered from water blisters the size of walnuts on his feet. Alec's mother's relative once came over; she lived nine miles east. She advised Alec's mother to apply cow dung. It went away, healed, and Alec had no blisters ever since.

E. SCHOOL TEACHER

5. MICHAEL TOMYN

a) Biographical Data

Michael/*Mykhailo* Harry/*Hryts'* Tomyn was born at Plain Lake, Alberta (near Two Hills) on April 18, 1915. His father came from the village of *Skoviatyn*, *Borshchiv* district in the Old Country; his mother came from the village of *Berlyn*, *Brody* district. They had six children (three boys). Michael's family left Plain Lake in 1924 and moved to Vegreville where, for two years, his father ran a livery barn. The Canadian Pacific Railroad was scheduled to run through in 1928 and Michael's father foresaw that the livery business was no longer as important in Vegreville. In 1925, they returned to the same farm at Plain Lake.

On October 30, 1937, Michael wed Georgina Melnyk, interviewed separately (see below); they had five children (three boys). Michael taught school in Plain Lake (from 1925 to 1934); he left the farm at Plain Lake in 1934 to teach in Two Hills High School. He

received a Bachelor's Degree in Education in 1961 from the University of Alberta. Prior to retirement in 1980, he was active in the teaching profession (Plain Lake, Two Hills, north of Innisfree, Royal Park, Mundare, Lavoy, Vegreville) and in local politics as the Mayor of Mundare (1949-1951) and as a federal candidate in 1945 for the C.C.F. in the Vegreville electoral district. He had been directly involved in work on several local history books (for Vegreville, Mundare, Brosseau-Duvernay ("*Dewerny*"); the one for Two Hills was in progress at the time of the interview.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

For Christmas Eve at Plain Lake, they had the "traditional twelve dishes" including "jellied fish." The *kutia* was not thrown at the ceiling. After the meal, visitors came over, and they socialized and played cards. Starting Christmas day, visiting went on for three days. His grandparents scattered hay on the floor; the children participated in "a peanuts scramble" — these were local, farm hazelnuts. Michael's parents, however, did not do this; they only placed hay on the table, under the tablecloth.

During the Depression, around1931 or 1932, Christmas school concerts were held at Plain Lake in the hall; these concerts included "*sviatyi Nykolai.*" No gifts were distributed on the farm; Michael experienced his first Santa in 1936 (at a Christmas concert at Myroslawna Hall north of Innisfree) when he was a teacher, his first Christmas tree in 1948 in Mundare, and his first *Malanka* pageant about 1970.

On New Year's day, "we small fry" (boys) went to sow wheat." Michael went alone — not in a group: "made the money all by myself, for myself."

About two to three weeks after *Iordan*, the priest came around to bless the houses; "he had a big territory to cover" and "this depended on the weather."

c) Easter

Blessed willow branches were brought home from church and "put behind the *obraz.*"

Michael distinguished between two kinds of Easter eggs: "*pysanka*" and "*krysanka*" (a single dye). After Easter Sunday service, "they rang the church bell to no end...all day...off and on...anytime...and the day after... ." (Bells were also rung to announce funerals.) No *haivky* were practised; they played ball, rang the bell, and visited.

d) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

"*Parastas*" at Plain Lake, Vegreville, Innisfree and Kiew occurred as follows:

(1) church service from 10:30 a.m. to noon,
(2) lunch,
(3) graveyard services at 1:00 p.m.

Kolachi and oranges, placed on a cloth on the grave, were wrapped up and taken home. In earlier years, these were given to the priest to take home by the wagonload/carload.

Michael identified "*khram*" as a "big celebration" around Hairy Hill and Willingdon, where the Bukovynians lived...not in our country."

"*Praznyk*" was defined as "a big church celebration" that usually occurred on a saint's day. The event includes mass, food, and a stage program with speeches. "*Vidpust*" was a "*praznyk*" or a "big religious day" that was held for spiritual uplift ("you get a wonderful feeling by having attended"). Michael attended Mundare's *vidpust*...he was the mayor.

Green Holydays was celebrated after Easter during Pentecost; the church was bedecked with green trees and boughs; at home, "a little alley...passageway" of two to three trees on running in two parralel rows for three or four feet led up to the entrance of the home.

Michael never worked on Sunday...he would feel guilty if he did.

At Easter the greeting was "*KHrystos voskres*!", answered by "*Diisno voskres*."

e) Human Life Cycle

Michael did not use a matchmaker ("did it by myself"). He was married in Mundare; from there they travelled to Vegreville to pose for photographs in a picture studio; and then they went to the wedding reception in his wife's territory at Myroslawa Hall, north of Innisfree. There was just one reception ("*vesillia*") and Michael had two ushers ("*druzhby*.").

Michael liked being a godparent ("*kum*"). He said that the pledge/obligation was not taken very seriously; the main point was "to go around and call each other *kum*...it shows...a very close warm relationship." Michael liked and enjoyed that; he wished he had more "*kum*'s."

If/when someone died at Plain Lake, they reported the death to Michael's uncle who was the secretary-treasurer of the municipality and in charge of vital statistics. (Similarly, births would be reported to him as well.) Then, they would get in touch with the president of the church and the priest. There were no undertakers; men prepared the bodies of males; women prepared the bodies of ladies. There would be twenty to thirty people in the house, filling two rooms; the cantor read the "*saltyr*" all night, and some stood, others sat. Candles were always burning, one on each side of the coffin. There was much lamenting in the old days, "to sort of make us cry." After the burial, there was a lunch or dinner, and drinks too. Forty days later, another mass or church service would take place.

f) Get-Togethers for Work, Recreation and Culture

There were many picnics at Plain Lake. These always were held on Sunday afternoon and featured races, ball games, and confectionery booths. Michael played ball too. These were organized by the parish or a recreational/baseball club.

Plays were staged in the hall at Plain Lake in the 1930s. Michael acted, too. A dance ensued after the play, lasting from 10:30 p.m. to 2:00 or 3:00 a.m. Local musicians played for the dance. Michael related how he paid ten cents to see a man shot on one occasion; in

the spring of 1934, a group of players came from a neighbouring hall to perform in the Plain Lake hall. One of the actors was accidentally shot to death because the gun was improperly loaded with gun powder (the "blank" shell was loaded with powder to make a big bang. It was too strong, however).

School concerts took place in the hall because the school was too small. The school concerts included Ukrainian items as well; these "were permitted" only due to public demand. Michael confirmed that students were punished/strapped for speaking Ukrainian in school; he himself did not punish others when he taught, but Michael himself was strapped twice for this.

Fighting often broke out at dances and weddings. For example, there was quite a fight between the Catholics and the Labour side at Plain Lake in 1933. Michael's mother told him that two of their neighbours fought at a wedding over a fence line, and one was knifed by the other. At Wostok, Musidora and north of Innisfree, there were strong fighting groups; some of these were family clans composed of, say, five brothers and their neighbour's boys: "they thought they were pretty tough and they went out looking for trouble." Michael reported that fights still broke out as late as 1945; the last one that he recalled took place at a political meeting.

Michael identified the kinds of work-bees that occurred (feather-plucking, wood sawing, helping a sick neighbour to "put in" [seed] or to harvest a crop). Michael himself attended these *toloka*.

g) The Supernatural

Michael did not relate to revenants, "tea reading or dreamlore." He associated wax-pouring with witchcraft and efforts to get rid of a sickness. He himself once took a female member of his family (suffering a nervous breakdown situation) to a lady who poured wax; she poured the wax, and chanted. The treatment helped, he said.

The evil eye was a kind of spell, said Michael; it was not acknowledged in his family and he did not believe in it. It was an excuse for something happening, said Michael (for example, a despised person was falsely blamed for the death of a cow).

h) Other

Valentine's Day was celebrated at school. Birthday celebrations did occur at Plain Lake, but Michael's first birthday party was held when he was sixty years old. Similarly, wedding anniversaries (25th, 50th, 60th) were also celebrated at Plain Lake.

Michael revealed that his background was Galician and that his wife was a "*hadai*": their speech was a little different (they say, for instance, "*tera*" instead of "*tut*"). Plain Lake was a country point and therefore no Jews resided there (Jews were storekeepers and only in business in Two Hills, Vegreville and Lavoy). In 1923, Michael "got a scar from running away from Indians because Mother used the Indians as a threat-figure," to make her children stay in the house while she went looking for cows on unoccupied land; she

warned them, saying the Indian would catch them if they left the house ("*iak vy vyidete z khaty, to vas yndyian zlapaie*" ("*chykaiut*"). His mother described the Indians; later, he tore his leg against barbed wire fencing trying to escape from innocent Indians who, he feared, were about to catch him.

At Plain Lake, there were no French (they were ten to twelve miles further north at Brousseau and Duvernay). There were few English at Plain Lake. One man, Mr. Dennis, about 1911 or 1912, set up a steam engine for a flour mill and lumber mill; it also served to run equipment for harvesting and thrashing crops. Mr. Dennis also ran a store and sold staples such as coal oil, etc. The term "Bohunk" was used a great deal in the 1920s to refer to Ukrainians, said Michael.

At Plain Lake, everyone followed the "old style" calendar except for the Polish families, who "kept December 25th." When Mundare changed to the "new style" calendar, there were some initial problems that segregated the Catholics from the Orthodox, said Michael.

Michael's mother did not prepare pumpkin pies (his wife did), or turkey (turkeys were considered a nuisance bird that roosted on wagons, wells, and created a mess all over), or *kasha* (cornmeal was prepared by his mother). Michael's wife prepared *kasha.*

For Michael, the happy times at Plain Lake were picnics, sports days, dances, and visiting with his grandparents. (School did not offer as much fun or happiness for him.)

After the interview, he recalled the "*perepii*" at wedding presentations: they stood in line, then took a shot-glass of whisky, drank up a part of it (as a toast to the bridal couple) and flung the rest over the shoulder.

F. TEACHER'S WIFE

6. GEORGINA TOMYN

a) Biographical Data

Georgina Tomyn (née *Melnyk*) was sixty-five years old at the time of the interview, and was born at Innisfree (Del Norte), Alberta. She thinks her parents came from *Postych* village in Galicia. Her parents were "*hadai*," and they had ten children (seven girls). In 1937, she married Michael H. Tomyn (see separate interview with him, above), and never returned to the farm. They had five children (three boys). She lived with her husband at teacherages at Myroslawna (north of Innisfree.), Kolomea (Royal Park), Mundare (for three years) and Vegreville. She completed the tenth grade at Myroslawna, and she was Ukrainian Greek Catholic.

b) Winter Customs and Celebrations

Christmas was celebrated according to the "old style" calendar. Before Christmas, there was a period of fasting. They looked forward to Christmas because of the variety of food

they would had; the twelve dishes on Christmas Eve were a highlight and included fish soup, jellied fish, mushrooms, and cabbage soup. "*Kutia*" was served first, after father said a prayer. Also, each child had some wine. The *kutia* was not tossed at the ceiling. There was no hay or straw on the floor, no tree, no sheaf, no gifts, and no leftovers for the deceased.

The *Malanka* pageant was not part of Georgina's tradition — the Bukovynians had this custom at Hairy Hill and Willingdon, said Georgina. People did come over to sow wheat and "chant" something, but Georgina did not do this, and she did not recall her brothers or sisters doing this.

It was cold at *Malanka* time, and it would be necessary to have a horse and cutter to get around.

On Epiphany Eve, her mother sang a "*shchedrivka*," and they went to church a mile and a half away from home for the blessing of the water on *Iordan*.. They kept the holy water, replacing the old with new, from year to year. Once, when a bad cloud approached and hail threatened, Georgina's mother blessed the house with the water. Georgina defined "*miasnytsi*" as a fast and *pushchennia* as a dance/celebration held at Myroslawna hall before the Easter Lent.

c) Activities at Myroslawna Hall

The hall stood across from the school. (Georgina remembers the hall being there all the time.) The hall's activities included concerts and Ukrainian dance instruction. When she was nine years old, Georgina and her older sister (eighteen years old) took Ukrainian dance lessons, performed with, and for, others and toured with concerts to other nearby centres.

d) Easter

There was no church service for willow Sunday because there was no priest available. They considered themselves lucky to have a priest one week later on Easter Sunday. The priest would arrive a day or two before Easter Sunday, stay at private homes and hear confessions. The Easter foods were blessed on Sunday morning before the church service. The ceremony could take place outdoors or in the church, depending on the weather. There were no baskets to carry the food; they used metal bowls lined with nice white cloths. The *paska* was finished with a braid decoration; eggs were coloured using the wax-resist method, but not too ornately or "fancy." After church, they had a dinner at home; her married sisters, who lived nearby, came over with their children.

Georgina had a vague recollection of *haivky* and she recalled boys making noise with the "*kalatalo*" and fire crackers for the sake of amusement on Easter Sunday afternoon. Milk or eggs were not eaten on Good Friday.

e) Various Other Religious Customs and Celebrations

Services at the local church were held at least three times a year. Christmas, Easter, and possibly kermis or "*praznyk*." The church was known and identified as the "church at range [*rench*] ten" in the Myroslawna district; in the Buchach district, the church was known as the "range [*rench*] eleven church."

Georgina identified *parastas na hrobakh* but did not think that her family brought food to the cemetery as others did. "*Na Petra*" was identified as "Mundare St. Peter's and Pauls;" her parents took time to travel to Mundare to attend; they went by democrat (later, by car) and brought back "nice, fancy candy" for the children who all stayed behind at home.

Before Green Sunday, dad brought in "green trees" for the house; one was made to stand up in the house — perhaps it was tied to a bedpost, suggested Georgina. Trees were also placed outside the church, at the entryway by the steps.

Meat was not eaten on Fridays, perhaps to recall Good Friday. No work was permitted Sundays; people were not allowed to use scissors, to iron clothes or "do anything that could be done on an ordinary day." Sunday was reserved for relaxation and visiting, preparations (food) were done the day before in case visitors dropped over; no one was invited — "you kind of expected company."

Georgina was familiar with ritualized forms of verbal greetings at Christmas, Easter, and other times.

In the summer, there were sisters (nuns) who taught catechism. Besides this, religion was taught at home and through sermons at church — that's all, said Georgina. "Strict fatherly advice was your catechism."

f) Human Life Cycle

When Georgina wed in 1937, there was no shower, no special wreath-making ceremony and no matchmaker. She wore a modern wedding dress (purchased), a veil (no periwinkle), and held a bouquet of crepe-paper flowers supplied temporarily by the photographer in his studio for the formal wedding pictures. She had two maids, he had two ushers. Invitations were extended verbally. The wedding reception was held at Myroslawna Hall and the musicians were their neighbours. There was one sitting for dinner, dancing and presentation (no one threw drink over the shoulder at her wedding, but the custom was followed elsewhere, said Georgina). They received mostly gifts: silver (that she still had and hated to polish) and enough towels to last ten years (the small town shops offered little scope for variety).

Georgina had served as godmother. The obligations of godparents were to care for the child's welfare, if/when necessary, and for the child's religious and spiritual upbringing. One couple served as godparents for the child. The term "*kuma*" was one that made

Georgina feel close and special to her "*kumy*". "*Matka*" did not obtain in her tradition, said Georgina.

When a member of the parish died, they rang the bell in the church belfry. At first, there were no telephones to spread the news. When Georgina's mother died in 1939, someone was called in to embalm the body at home ("*zabal'symuvaly*"), to drain the blood so the body would keep well (early September was still warm). [Georgina also recalled a young girl's funeral; the family was poor and the body rested on a cloth over straw on the floor (there was no coffin).] A full course dinner was served after her mother's burial; funeral dinners included liquor and Georgina felt this was odd and not proper because someone would have too much. She was glad that the custom of serving liquor at funeral dinners died down. Another dinner was held in forty days; if the priest could not attend, they simply "mentioned...remembered the person solemnly on that day."

g) Get-Togethers for Work, Recreation and Culture

Picnics, dances and stage activities took place at Myroslawna Hall, sometimes in conjunction with school activities (the school and hall were near one another). A picnic was held once a year on a Sunday in a big meadow at Myroslawna Hall; it was organized by a hall committee. There was a confectionery booth, and ice cream was brought in from town as a special treat. Other communities also held annual picnics, and in the course of the summer one could attend several picnics. After the picnic was over, a dance with musicians was held the same day in the evening in the hall. Georgina never saw a fight, but she heard her brothers talk about it.

At the age of nine or ten years of age (i.e. 1924 or 1925), Georgina was an active member of the hall's Ukrainian dance group; they toured to perform at nearby centres ("trips" to "Stubno-Leshniw," and "Sich-Kolomea"). The school had hired a Ukrainian couple; "Mrs. Babiuk" had a portable organ. In school they learned English songs; after school, the teachers taught the Ukrainian language. The teachers ran the cultural activities at the hall as well (plays, choral activities). Georgina recalled that Alec Gregorovich was one of the teachers. About 95% of the school concerts were conducted in the Ukrainian language, said Georgina. Besides the school plays, there were Ukrainian plays for adults (older youth) — "this was real entertainment then!" Georgina enjoyed listening to the singing of the four-part choir more than the plays as a passive onlooker, but she was an active and enthusiastic Ukrainian dancer. About twenty-five students took lessons in dancing; the dance costume was simple (gingham skirt), with no trim, only some embroidery.

There was no ice skating around; no one had skates ("you were lucky to afford shoes"). At Innisfree, there was no fair, no parade, she knew about work-bees but she never attended one, and there were none held at home.

h) The supernatural

Georgina was not a superstitious person. She recalled how some people used to scare children by telling frightening stories about ghosts and so forth. This was not done in her family. At home they had a dreambook, and some tried to interpret their dreams. Georgina

identified the sandman as something she learned at school. There was no "*voroshka*" in their district.

i) Other

At home, there were no birthday parties or other such celebrations (they could not get around, said Georgina). She identified Taras Shevchenko as "a Ukrainian poet and prophet, so to speak."

For a long time, Georgina did not know what "Bukovynian" meant; it sounded like a negative thing. She eventually found that it meant that the person came from a different province (in the Old Country). They had a funny dialect. Georgina identified herself as a "*hadai*"; the language of *hadai* was different — they use "*i*" a lot. At Innisfree, Jews ran the local general store; there were lots of English, and Indians passed through. The Indians came to the house and asked for bread; Georgina's family gave them bread to the Indians because they were poorer. The term "Bohunk" was used at Innisfree.

Her parents did not bake pumpkin pies nor did they raise or eat turkeys. The only meats were chicken, pork, and beef.

Georgina liked going to school a great deal. Because she came from a large family, her father could not afford to help her further her education, she said.*

G. BASILIAN PRIEST

7. BERNARD DRIBNENKY

a) Biographical Data

Father Bernard Dribnenky was sixty-seven years of age at the time of the interview. He was born in Circle, Montana. His parents had come from the district of *Borshchiv* in Galicia, his father had come from the village of *Volkovets*, his mother from the village of *Vil'kavets*. In 1925, he came with his parents to Mundare, Alberta, and in 1931 he joined the Basilian order. He served as pastor in Vegreville from 1979.

b) Early Ukrainian Settlers and Basilian Missionaries to/in East central Alberta

The early Basilian missionaries were a breed apart. According to Father Dribnenky, three missionaries came in the fall of 1892. The church was not used to missionary work abroad, and this was why it took a little while for the church to recognize the need for its services in Canada. Besides this, emigration was not legal in some areas of Ukraine, and some peasants were arrested for spreading the idea of learning.

The first settlers arrived in the area in 1891; they suffered "excruciating pain" because there was no priest to baptize or to bury them. It was a period of prolonged "nostalgia" and they

hungered for the old religious experiences which they had left behind. In some areas, there were no priests for twenty years.

The first priests held services in private homes (windows and doors were sometimes removed to enable those outside to hear and see better). These itinerant missionaries made month-long circuits and "lived out of the valise."

Father Filas was the leader of this first group of Basilian missionaries. They built a home for themselves and then a larger building for a school. Filas had to learn about dealing with bank managers and taking out loans to support his efforts.

Father *Kryzhanowski* came a couple of years later; he organized a church for Mundare and always had a loaf of bread in his valise whenever he travelled — probably because of some bad experience, thought Father Dribnenky.

c) "*Vidpust*"

This was a pilgrimage; it involved absolution, confession and the sacraments. Mundare became the centre because of the Basilian headquarters and monastery there; people went there to baptize and to fetch priests for funerals. (It was an on-call situation.)

There were early failures. The first *vidpust* was organized for the fall — October, "*Pokrova*," a major holyday. There was no town yet, and everything was to take place at the Basilian farm. However, they did not take stock of the weather in Alberta which was not the same as in Ukraine. It snowed, they were unprepared, and people (who had arrived with their families by wagon) had to bunk overnite outside because there were no buildings to house them. Therefore, the date for the *vidpust* was changed to June (Saints Peter and Paul Day).

The scenario for a *vidpust* was a programmed "build-up" that offered six hours of religious experience. The schedule was something as follows:

day one: (began in the evening) — repentance, confession, absolution.

1. vespers
2. all night vigil ("*vsenoshne*") — a three-hour service; confessions were heard, and a sermon was given

day two: (began in the morning)

3. matins (1 hour)
4. divine liturgy, holy communion.
5. sermon (one and a half hours)

d) Christmas Traditions

After sundown (about 4:00 p.m.), father came in from doing chores with a bundle of hay; the hay was spread under the dining room table, mother threw a handful of nuts into the pile of hay and the children dove in to search for them. All this was done before the dinner began. *Kutia* was served first but not flung up at the ceiling because his family did not keep bees.

e) Syncretism and Dualism

The early church christianized many pagan customs (e.g., "*kutia*") that were not necessarily evil. In French Canada, the early missionaries failed to do this.

f) The Early pioneers and Their Descendants

The generation of the pioneers were "very decent"; their sons were more rowdy, their grandsons were "going off the handle." The pioneers were close to nature and to God. Theirs was a different outlook: rain was not something that spoiled the weekend. When Dribnenky was a boy, he dropped a slice of bread; his mother told him to pick it up and kiss it because it was God's gift ("*bo to ie dar Bozhyi*"). Today, a kid buys a sandwich, takes one bite, said "yuk" and throws it in the garbage, he said.

Dribnenky related birthday celebrations to the self-importance of the individual, and today's "self-development" fad. This sometimes leads to selfishness and to children acting as adults and adults acting as children, he felt. In the old days, "moms were moms, dads were dads, and kids were kids."

g) Holy Water

Dribnenky outlined the special importance of water as "a gift of the creator; the necessities of life were declared a gift of God by blessing. "It was the [Christian] faith that matters here." The supposed supernatural power of holy water was a form of "insurance" and "an act of great faith in God's providence."

h) The Blessing of Candles

On the holyday of the presentation of the Lord at the temple ("*Stritennia*") candles were blessed and used (lit) to protect the home from thunderbolt ("*hromovytsia*").

i) The Dead

In the eyes of the church, the deceased remain members of the parish even after death. (Everywhere else, the dead cease to be members.) In accordance with the "gospel of death," dead members of the church were still with us. During the liturgical year, this was emphasized twice:

> (1) every Friday during Lent ("*sorokousty*"), during the "penitential cycle" we ask God to forgive our sins and the sins of those who had died in our families;
>
> (2) when Eastertide comes, we reunite ourselves at the graves and sing the hymn of great faith, "Christ was risen! ..."

Through the Resurrection of Christ, the church reunites members of the family, past and present ..."we were also with them."

Togetherness with the dead was "exercised" the most important event in daily life: eating a meal. This was the reason for "*parastasy*," "*tryzna*" and "*pomana.*"

Dribnenky had seen laments and referred to the hiring of professional lamenters. In some cases, he said, there had to be hired lamentation, especially "if there was not enough family to provide that."

j) Green Holydays

The theological name for this was "Descent of the Holy Spirit" or "*zislannia sviatuho dukha.*" Dribnenky offered his personal explanation for "green holydays." Life was the product of the Holy Spirit; the lowest but most abundant form of life in this world was the plant (grass, leaves) — green plants, then, were seen as the product or working of the Holy Spirit. "Some wise holy father of the church" coined this as "green holydays."

k) Fridays, Sundays, and the Calendar

Sunday was a day of rest for psychological and physical purposes; this was a necessity, to avoid breakdown, and for our well-being. It was also a Christian need "to live with Christ"; Sunday was thus a Lord's day celebration to "celebrate our communion with the risen Lord...that was the Eucharist." Threatening people with mortal sins did not operate in this regard.

The early Christian cycle consisted of Advent, Christmas, "*Bohoiavleniia*" (very important), Lent, Great Lent, Good Friday, and the Resurrection. But this extended approach was not good enough, and a weekly cycle (a miniature liturgical calendar) was devised: Friday became a weekly Good Friday with fasting, and Sunday became Easter Sunday.

l) Language and Liturgy

Because the "old" church language became irrelevant, only bell ringing had a meaning. There was a lack of true communication, and church-going became mechanical. Dribnenky outlined the etymological origins of the word "liturgy" and commented on the "low level" of Christian celebration that related to the four senses only:

(1) "*kadylo*" (to smell [incense]),
(2) "*kropyvo*" (to feel [sprinkled blessed water]),
(3) "*dzvony*" (to hear[bells]), and
(4) "*poklony*" (to do [to bow]).

m) The Hall

Churches were built first, but the larger parish communities also wanted places for social get-togethers (such as weddings, semi-political gatherings, speeches, Taras Shevchenko concerts). The halls appeared in the 1920s and lasted about fifty years.

n) The Supernatural and Superstitions

Revenants were usually caused by defective rafters, chimneys and loose shingles. But "it was very difficult to define the limits of the power of the human soul." Perhaps some people were gifted in a psychiatric way or were prone to "mental telepathy." These were the workings of the human soul. For example, fifty years ago there was a farmer in the area who was able to set crushed bones. "He must have had a fine touch in his fingers...a gift." In this regard, an old Ukrainian missionary priest once advised Dribnenky: "if they pray 'Our Father', leave them alone."

Dreamlore, astrology, horoscopes and fortune-telling were just for play and amusement but could, in some cases, prove to be damaging and dangerous if taken too seriously.

o) Between Christmas and Easter

Regarding *miasnytsi*, *pushchennia* (a mardi gras, they "kicked up their heels") and *pist* (= forty days of Lent), the Lenten period was intended to serve as a time to prepare oneself through more intensive religious life, to grow in faith, to celebrate Easter: the stronger the faith, the more joy was experienced...a renewal. Later, it became focussed on fasting as a physical thing, and the Church established the law that it was a mortal sin to eat meat.

p) The Old and New Calendars

In the mid- or late 1930s, the Catholic churches in Mundare and Vegreville switched to the "new" calendar. The reaction to calendar change was due to the historical antagonism between Ukrainians and Poles; the new calendar was seen as a Polish calendar, and if you subscribed to the new calendar you became a Pole, a renegade, a traitor, a turncoat.

Subsequent generations began to focus on or celebrate Christmas simply as "*Sviata Vechera.*"

q) Other

In the 1920s and 1930s first holy communion was celebrated as a "regimented" event.

Ukrainians were called "bohunks" and "mash-eaters" because they were unable to communicate with others (Swedes, English) in work and contact situations such as the railroad work-gangs.

The Ukrainian experience in Canada shows that something was gained, and something was lost. Analysis and study was required to determine what was lost, and what was gained.

The Ukrainians in Vegreville were "splintered" from the very beginning.

Dauphin's Ukrainian festival had got the attention of the entire community of Dauphin; even Dauphin's mayor wore a Ukrainian shirt. Vegreville's festival was a more ghetto celebration with one Ukrainian faction in authority while others remain cool.

COMMENTARY AND ANALYSIS

In general, the gradual entry of individual members of the Ukrainian community into urban, non-farming careers and professions brought many of the old traditional folkways into conflict with new lifestyles, new needs and different approaches. The subsequent process of adaptation widened the tradition's base of operations to include new settings and situations and added a deeper, conscious dimension to customs that were usually taken for granted.

Mary Kreklywich, who spoke Ukrainian only, shows a straightforward retention of the classic old ways in most of her account. The isolation of early days, the lack of educational opportunities, and the shortage of priests were among the external details that had shaped and influenced her personal repertoire of folk traditions. The gradual penetration of urban ways and modern means of communication takes place nonetheless and influences Mary's traditions accordingly: when she and her blacksmith-husband move to town the customs associated with *IUriia* were dropped immediately. Because they were among the very first to own a car in their community, Mary and her husband were immensely popular, and they were pressed into service as preferred godparents whose newfound mobility could be exploited for taxi purposes by the entire Christening entourage. The advent of the telephone enabled people to summon priests directly (instead of by personal messenger) when, for instance, a priest was required to officiate at a funeral.

Bennie Chekerda's account reflects a strongly Ukrainianized repertoire of Polish folk traditions which retain their Polishness almost exclusively in the winter cycle of customs and traditions. His experiences as a versatile instrumentalist, orchestra leader and, in later years, as the owner of a general store do not obliterate Old Country customs and beliefs which filter through and live on: after all, did he not see for himself how the store's supply of bottled pop froze while a bottle of blessed water remained intact? In many ways, then, Bennie's repertoire of folk traditions represents an amalgam that remains rooted in the old while he builds contacts to the outside, urban environment through his mobility as a musician and store-keeper.

In contrast to both Mary Kreklywich and Bennie Chekerda, Annie Shedlowski was Canadian-born and spoke mainly in English. Her personal mix of old and new was further complicated by her "mixed marriage" (to an Orthodox Bukovynian), her extended contacts with urban settings, and by the impact of nearby Edmonton. There, Annie received her elementary and high school education, she had her first birthday party, they didn't "bother" with hay or straw at Christmas, they saw the reading of tea leaves in cafes, and there was more leisure time for raising flowers in the garden outside the house. Some of the old customs were distasteful: Anne disliked the traditional Easter Monday splashing of girls because it meant that she had to change her clothes. She recalls two separate visits to Mundare's *vidpust*; in Annie's opinion: the second *vidpust* (in 1922) was more civilized because people had cars and dressed less shabbily.

In later life, Annie's work in the family's general store and as a payer for the Alberta Wheat Pool forced her to take short cuts. For Green Holidays, the house was not bedecked with green boughs, and food was not left out for the deceased after Christmas dinner. In general, Annie's reperioire of Ukrainian folk customs had been purged of certain archaic elements but streamlined in keeping with the new opportunities provided by the local network of hall activities in which the was an active participant.

Although he knew only Ukrainian until the age of ten, Alec Mandruk spoke English better than Ukrainian during the interview. His repertoire of folk traditions had followed the contours of his personal efforts to better himself and take advantage of as many educational and other opportunities as possible. There were gaps in his account: he could not identify *miasnytsi* and, in spite of his Bukovynian origins he did not distribute *pomana*. These breaks with tradition were unexpected but traceable to Alec's abrupt break with the poverty, backwardness and isolation of the farm life he had experienced as a young boy. Alec's marriage in Edmonton at the height of the Depression was a simple event: only a license was required. His active participation in community life included a variety of hall activities; especially interesting was the stage-play-and-dance combination in which Alec participated as actor and member of a dance band. He reports on the screening of movies in Vegreville in the late 1920s, on others' superstitions regarding dreamlore, and on the efficacy of cow dung for blisters on his feet. On the whole, however Alec did not openly subscribe to superstitious behaviour and beliefs.

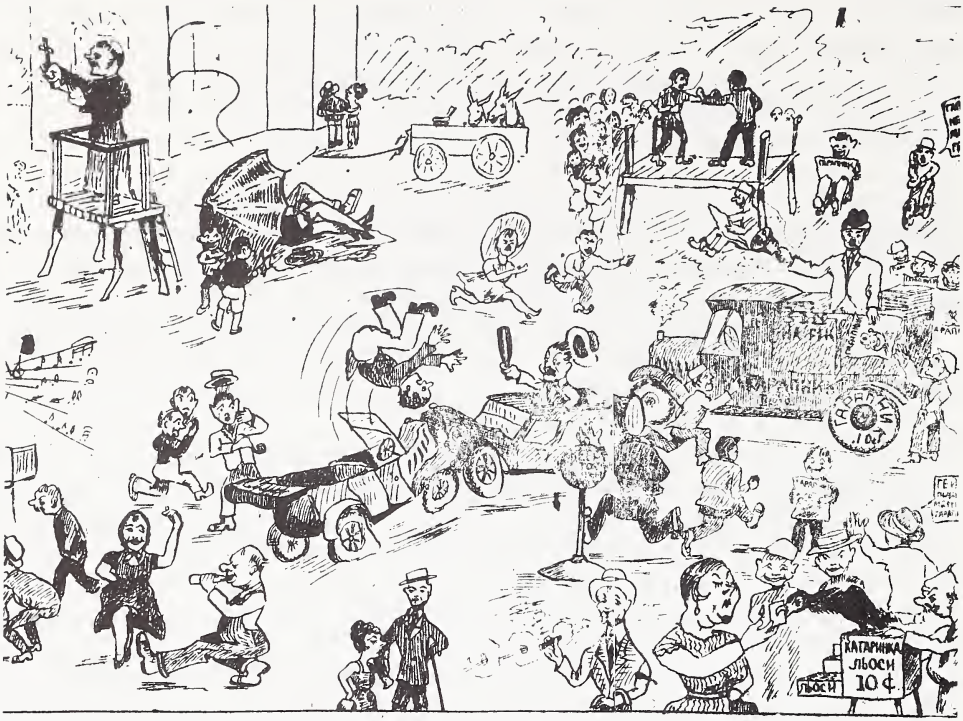
Michael Tomyn's enterprising character seems to had been inherited from his father. Michael uses his traditions to further himself in a personal, individual manner: as a boy, he insists on sowing grain alone and without others on New Year's Day to keep all the proceeds for himself; the same independence is demonstrated later when he refuses the services of a matchmaker and he sets out to propose marriage alone ("I did it by myself"). Michael's career was most varied and wholly devoted to the region where he was born and raised. As a teacher, a local historian, a leading figure in local politics, and a respected and well-known member of his community, Michael Tomyn had moved his folk traditions out of the old rural ghetto and into the domain of public life. The Christmas celebrations, it was true, no longer tolerate the flinging of *kutia* up at the ceiling, and straw was not spread over the floor; the celebrations were, however, extended out of the home and into the larger

community to include Christmas concerts at school with a Santa and a tree. The blessed willow branch had symbolic value only — its magical qualities were no longer remembered or subscribed to; the traditional *haivky* that once prevailed on Easter Sunday were replaced by ball games. The onslaught of bureaucratization, noted earlier by Orest Youzwishen in connection with wedding toasts, was also detected in Michael's account of pre-funeral arrangements.

The growing professionalism of local stage productional was reflected Tomyn's account of one actor who was accidentally shot to death while performing in a play; and how fights that once broke out among youths over girlfriends now break out over religious and political issues within the the Ukrainian community. These and other signs of the Ukrainian community's seeming maturity include Tomyn's own reluctance to subscribe to the old beliefs concerning "witchcraft" while he admits to one case in his family that was helped by the traditional folk-healing practice of wax-pouring.

In a separate interview, Michael's wife, Georgina confirms some of her husband's recollections: Christmas was purged of flinging *kutia* at the ceiling, of hay and straw strewn over the floor, of sheaves, and of leftovers for the deceased. Instead, Georgina's focus on Christmas traditions emphasizes the "variety of food" and the novelty of serving wine to every child in the family. She appears to had grown up in a kind of isolated home environment: she never attended a work-bee and did not know what Bukovynian meant until later in life. The isolation appears to had led to insulation, and then, to alienation from the old ways reinforced further by the kind of "civilization" and "respectability" noted earlier by some of Georgina's contemporaries (e.g.Orest Youzwishen and Annie Shydlowski). In a similar vein, Georgina voices her approval of the tendency at funerals to eliminate liquor as a customary feature of funeral dinners.

Georgina's account was especially revealing for the emphasis on organized hall activities that were devoted, for example, to Ukrainian dance lessons, concerts and tours to other centres nearby — a wealth of cultural activities that appear to a had more than compensated for any gaps or vacuum in her repertoire created by her abandonment of old customs and traditions. In this connection, Georgina applauds the great contribution to the hall activities made by early local teachers in the area. It was intereating to note that in spite of the many years that separate her youth from those of the first Ukrainian settlers in east central Alberta, the shortage of priests had been only partly alleviated; secondary or minor religious events such as willow Sunday and memorial services for the deceased sometimes go by without religious consecration. The creeping onslaught of dysfunctional materialism was reflected in Georgina's account of the wedding gifts that she received; instead of the usual cash, she received silver plates and vessels that she still owns and hates to polish. Along with the four other informants in this category who were born in the New World, Georgina's account was rendered in English only and underlines the immense impact of improved and prolonged educational opportunities on the individual repertoires of folk custom and belief, resulting in blurs, shifts, substitutes and other compensatory phenomena.



ПРАЗНИК В МОНДЕР, АЛБЕРТА.

Figures 6 and 7: Two views of Mundare's annual *vidpust* on July 12th (Saints Peter and Paul Day).

Bernard Dribnenky's review was especially important for the insights that it provides concerning early Basilian activities in east central Alberta, such as Mundare's annual *vidpust* event. His personal observations concerning the differences between the old and new generations were also noteworthy and, for the most part, ethnographically valid. He notes the superficiality of Christianity in the lives of many Ukrainians who, according to Dribnenky, had reduced their religiosity to the primeval levels of the four senses which he formulates in terms of a churchly jingle ("*Kadylo - kropyvo, Dzvony - poklony*" [= Incense- water, Bells - bowing]). Dribnenky's sophistication shows through in his remarkable tolerance for superstitious behaviour as well as in his historically sweeping theological approaches to the folk customs and celebrations of Ukrainians in general ("something was gained, and something was lost"). His account reflects a thoroughly churchified folklore complex — one that had subdued but not obliterated the pre-Christian, pagan elements inherited from the past.

PART THREE:

THE FOLKLORE COMPLEX AS MOSAIC

Continuity does not rule out fresh approaches to fresh situations.
Dean Rusk, *Time*, Dec. 6, 1963.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FOLKLORISTIC IMPLICATIONS OF DISLOCATION

The transfer of the Old Country folklore complex to east central Alberta marked an unparalleled moment of stress for the folk tradition and its carriers. It constituted a breach that jeopardized the continuity of that tradition in a crucial and unprecedeted manner. This situation was especially evident during the initial period of settlement with its total absence of any of the old environmental systems and structures — social, physical, spiritual — that had been supportive of folkloric behaviour as it existed in the Old Country.

Figure 8: A pioneer Ukrainian wedding in east central Alberta, around 1920.

The initial trauma of dislocation and the subsequent period of fragmentation hit hardest at village folk customs and family ritual. Insurmountable geographical barriers and distances divided family members from one another. The Old Country village get-togethers and evening entertainments never took root in the new Canadian environment; indeed, the word for "village" in Ukrainian, *selo*, and the word *vechernytsi* (meaning "evening parties") represent experiences that were never duplicated in Canada.[1] Outside and away from its native context in the Old Country, the early Ukrainian folkloric tradition in east central Alberta found that it was unattuned to the comparatively harsh climatic conditions on the prairies, to non-traditional settlement patterns, to isolation, and to the absence (initially at least) of churches, cemeteries, village priests, and so on.[2] Moveover, what outsiders saw as solid Ukrainian colonies and block settlements was in reality composed of settlers representing different village traditions, each with its own variants, its own preferences,

quirks and predilections. Some shared the same traditions; but others didn't. Accordingly, this situation signaled the immediate breakdown (but not total collapse or eclipse) of various customs and rituals associated with the seasonal calendar as well as the human life cycle. For example, the traditional outdoor Easter singing-games (*haivky*) that required predictable spring weather, a church site and a healthy mix of young, unmarried girls and boys, never really took root in Alberta; similarly, the rich tradition of funeral lamentation could not operate without experienced and professional wailers and related props such as the priest, the cemetery, and the church. Finally, the leisure of Old Country harvest festivals could never be re-established in an environment where notoriously vicissitudinous weather patterns make autumn an anxious and often frantic season for the grain farmer. For the early Ukrainian pioneer immigrant in east central Alberta, it became quickly and painfully apparent that his/her Old Country calendar was not dependable in Canada.[3]

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER VII.
THE FOLKLORISTIC IMPLICATIONS OF DISLOCATION

1 The word *selo* was never used in Canada as a designation for a Ukrainian settlement or community until, of course, well after World War Two, when concerted efforts were made to reconstruct, imitate, stage and revive old world village experiences in the form of outdoor museums and summer workshops or camp activities. In Ukraine, the *vechernytsi* often served as sexual initiation events for youths of both genders (see, in this regard, "Folklore de l'Ukraine," *Kryptadia*, vol. 5 (Darmstadt: J. G. Blaschke Verlag, n.d.), pp. 2-6.

2 See Martynowych, *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement.*, pp. 51-87, and Part One of this report.

3 See Part One of this report. Illia Kiriak, in his novel, *Sons of the Soil* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959), pp. 120-121, describes the shock of a first exposure to winter in Alberta and the unreliability of Old Country feast days as seasonal markers.

CHAPTER VIII:

COMPENSATORY MECHANISMS AND SHIFTS

The impact of dislocation, outlined above, failed to obliterate *in toto* the Ukrainian folklore complex which contained in-built mechanisms that allowed for adaptation, change and, ultimately, continuity. Maintenance of the Ukrainian folklore tradition in east central Alberta required the introduction of compensatory devices that could help fill the vacuum caused by dislocation.

A. Reinterpretation.

The folksong repertoire, for example, focussed anew on the old songs of departure, farewell, and hardship; these were reinterpreted to take on new dimensions of meaning since they related so well and fittingly to the new Canadian experience. Reinforced in this way, many Old Country songs were given a new lease on life. For instance, songs of wanderings (*mandruvannia*) and those that featured the word *chuzhyna* (meaning a strange or foreign place) and its associated concepts were easily integrated into the emergent Canada cycle of Ukrainian folksong items; Old Country village songs that bemoaned the departure of recruits into the Austrian military mirrored all too readily the departure of young men for Canada; and wedding songs that bewailed the plight of young brides fated to leave the comforts of a parental hearth for the uncertainties of a different and sometimes hostile household took on an ambiguity that remained, nonetheless, especially poignant and meaningful in the new Canadian environment.[1]

B. Privatization.

As noted earlier, the absence of the Old Country village community had a profound impact on the development of Ukrainian folklore in east central Alberta. Especially revealing in this regard, for example, is the fact that all Alberta informants for this study who had emigrated to Canada prior to World War I indicated that the act of learning and singing songs had been essentially a group activity back in the Old Country. One informant from Vegreville, for instance, described how in her village it was not unusual for two hundred(!) or so workers, girls and boys to sing together as they hoed the land for the local village gentry. Other occasions in the Old Country that reportedly were conducive to the sharing of folklore were work-bees, evening parties, military marches and, of course, weddings. Some of these occasions took place as well in Alberta, where working on railway construction for the Canadian Pacific Railway was reportedly just as conducive for productive music-making, folksinging, story-telling and so forth.

Nonetheless, opportunities in Alberta for group sharing and the communal production of folklore were severely limited. As a result, during the early years of Ukrainian pioneer settlement in east central Alberta, Ukrainian folklore was largely a privately maintained, non-shared phenomenon. Via its transformation from a social/shared to a private/non-

shared phenomenon, Ukrainian folklore's field of operations in east central Alberta became so contracted that it tended to be a personal individualized item ("*iak khto khoche*") rather than a public, collective form of expression.

In the course of this process, certain song-types and/or genres, for example, emerged as being more productive than others. On the whole, lyrical and narrative song-items (including here lullabies and funeral laments) relating to personalized expressions of love and death survived in good form until after World War I when the proliferation of halls and organized community activities paved the way for a return to group music-making within the Ukrainian community in east central Alberta.

This process of privatization mirrored the parallel creation of a new identity: "the private individual," and is reflected in at least one of the structures on the site of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village — the "Hawreliak House" with its six(!), separate bedrooms. Similarly, one informant interviewed for this report noted how the initial practice of eating from communal bowls and dishes on the graves at *provody* was later changed in favour of separate plates for each individual. Many of the old non-shared traditional beliefs and practices lingered on as personal habit or custom; many continued to avoid work on Sundays, for example, and some informants reported household restrictions on such activities as slicing bread, preparing foods, and using scissors! In general, the connecting links between isolation and privatization also made it easy for some to break away from the old folkways. In some instances, this led to a degree of conscious permissiveness and egocentrism focussing on individual variation and choices vis-á-vis the folk tradition and its norms and practices. The movement in favour of calendaric birthday celebrations (rather than the old saint's name day celebrations) is a reflection of this new emphasis as it occurred before 1930 in the research area. The shift in focus carried with it a certain shift in values as well. Changing Christmas traditions, as documented among Ukrainians in east central Alberta offer further indications of the new focus on the individual:

> the *didukh* - reverence for ancestors to promote survival
> the Christmas tree - vegetation as symbol of beauty to be admired for its own sake
> the Christmas gift - a personal, individual acquisition.

As suggested above, Ukrainian folklore data from east central Alberta reflect a monumental shift in the world view and a fundamental realignment of the basics of Ukrainian folkloric phenomena as they obtained in Alberta before 1930. In effect, the new world environment became a covert battleground marked by individuals diverging from traditional norms and patterns with the help of a host culture that made it respectable to change religions (not just through marriage), to seize hold of one's own fate, and, if necessary, break away. The growth of technology (including the advent of the automobile) played an enormous role in this process, and the impact on tradition has been irreversible. The following excerpt from *The Vegreville Observer* regarding the evils of traditional filial obedience among Alberta's early "Ruthenians" illustrates the kind of outside pressures encountered by the community and its folkways:

> "H.D. reports on the disappearance of a Rutherian girl 17 or 18 years of age from her home. He feels that she has run away because of parents

> who take away all her earnings and are ready to give her in marriage to the highest bidder. He feels that teachers should give courses on filial disobedience, and the rights and privileges of citizens in this free country, to senior pupils in their schools."[2]

In general, the Ukrainian community's move away from the concerns of a technologically backward agrarian culture to those of a modern urban collective introduced the elements of self sufficiency and self-interest. The old feelings of vulnerability were overshadowed by an assumption that the individual is free to take hold of his own destiny in a pragmatic, materialistic and mechanistic manner. Weed control to birth control — nature had begun to bend.

C. Consolidation.

The trauma of dislocation and the subsequent hiatus suffered by the folk tradition paved the way for a reconsideration and re-evaluation of the entire spectrum of Ukrainian folk customs and beliefs that was brought to Canada. The syncretic blends and relationships that had evolved over a period of centuries and that prevailed in Old Country villages could hardly operate among early Ukrainian settlers in east central Alberta without some adjustment to the new environment. There was a need for the folklore complex to meet the challenge of a new situation, to start afresh and, where necessary, to allow for change, innovation and divergence.

In this regard, it is interesting to note how, for instance, the initial co-existence of house-to-house Christmas carolling and mummering practices associated with *Malanka* came to be consolidated in favour of Christmas carolling. On the covert level, carolling gained in popularity since it allowed for the same courting function performed by *Malanka*, and it did so without all the extra fuss and bother of costuming, role-playing, props, and so forth. From the pragmatic point of view, *Malanka* and her entourage of old world personages were all out of sync, so to speak, with the new world, and the custom seemed only to underline the backwardness of old world traditions. Moreover, on the covert level, house-to-house Christmas carolling was universally sanctioned by the early Ukrainian farm community as a method of collecting much needed funds to build the first churches and attract clergy. The community's requirements along with the encouragement of church officials heightened the importance of Christmas carolling as an approved mixed activity open to both genders. (*Malanka* and her entourage were always composed of males only.) House-to-house carollers were looked upon as fund-raisers whose songs were delivered to collect monies as well as to praise the Holy Nativity and glorify the new-born King, while courting activities previously associated with *Malanka* mummery were now joined to Christmas carolling. This crucial shift of emphasis within the winter cycle of folk customs demonstrates the ability of Ukrainian traditions to respond to, and meet, the needs of the early Ukrainian pioneer comnunity in east central Alberta in a manner that was meaningful, familiar and immediately supportive.

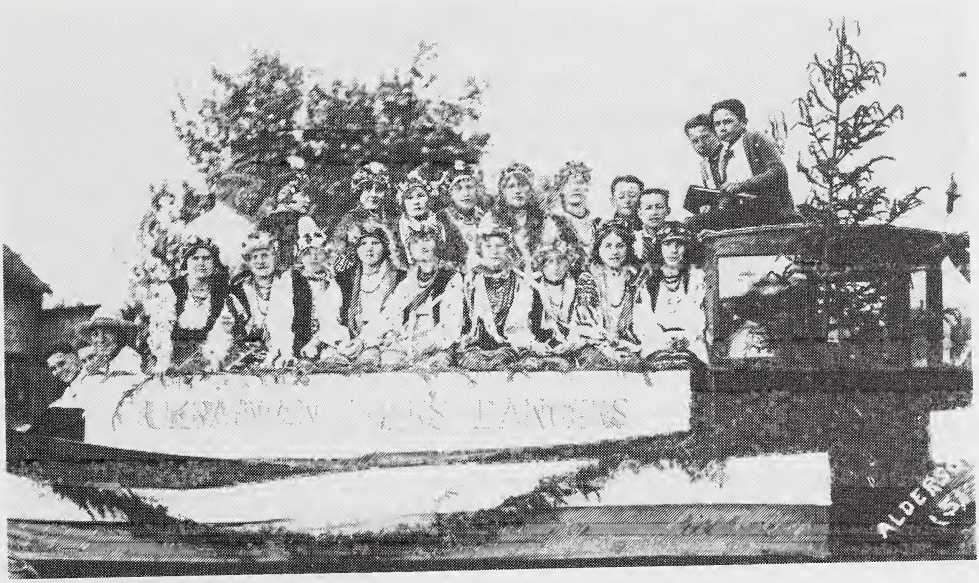
Instances of consolidation, fusion and contraction were part of other ritual cycles as well and in other ways. Wedding celebrations, for example, tended to shrink in duration from the extended three-day period to one-day events; some parishes delayed the blessing of

willow branches by a week to coincide with the blessing of the Easter foods on Easter Sunday and the presence of a priest. On an other level of observation, some of the gender boundaries associated with traditional folk customs began to blur and disappear: work-bees, Christmas carolling, the New Year's ritual sowing of grain, the Easter *haivky* and the Easter Monday splashing rituals no longer operated in accordance with the old strict division of the sexes.

D. Regenerative phenomena (revivals).

Regenerative folkloric phenomena among Ukrainians in east central Alberta by 1930 pivoted around three institutions that constituted a triumvirate of public interests and concerns in the consciousness of the local settlements and districts: the church, the hall, and the school. By 1930, each of these institutions was represented by its own physical facility and its own specialized personnel such a clergy, community leaders and teachers. Individually and in concert, this triumvirate succeeded in developing programs that effectively erased the early period of trauma and isolation; these produced a network of activities that initiated a period of bonding, promoted inter-district ties and relations, and served to weld together a wide variety of disparate elements to form a larger community of regional interests, traits and concerns. Annual parish celebrations in the form of kermis events (*khram, praznyk*) were especially productive techniques in this regard. The universal popularity of Mundare's annual pilgrimage-celebration, *vidpust*, held on July 12th in honour of Saints Peter and Paul (the patron saints of the Mundare's Ukrainian Catholic church) is a prime example of how the tradition served to meet the community's need to rally together.

The local community hall (*narodnyi dim, prosvita, robitnychyi dim*) fostered activities that helped heal the rupture of cultural ties with the Old Country and used revivalist techniques to maintain an interest in Ukrainian traditions. Stage activities, highly folkloric in content, were especially popular since they required communal efforts and dramatized in a living way the heritage of the past. The revival took the shape of formalized amateur ensembles — organized drama circles, choral and dancing groups. These had a shiny, urban veneer that differed radically from authentic village folk production. It became the trend for example, for the community's singing collective to be represented by a choral group that met regularly to train with a conductor for the purpose of rehearsing pre-selected arrangements of musical items. The rehearsals prepared them for a staged, public performance before a passive audience that would assemble to hear the music on some pre-arranged date and at a pre-arranged time in a community hall, a church basement, or church prayer. The formalities of pre-selection, rehearsing, staging and performing were well established in the research area by the 1930s and mark the beginnings of the Ukrainian community's growing awareness of and general appreciation for its musical folk heritage as a national art. Many of the stage productions (plays, concerts) toured to nearby and adjacent districts to perform for neighbouring settlements in their local halls. These tours reinforced the bonding that was already obtaining on an informal, casual level.



Figures 9 and 10: After World War One, the local stage became a productive vehicle for the re-enactment of Old Country lore and tradition. The upper photo shows a Vegreville group on parade in 1927; the lower photo is dated 1919 and shows a drama group active in Vegreville.

E. Substitution and other.

Secular activities that took place in the community halls often overlapped with those organized at the local schools, where Christmas concerts and other events were organized for the benefit of parents and members of the larger community as well as for the school pupils themselves. One such generally open event was the school picnic that obtained in warm weather and featured such attractions as ice cream, "pop," races and prizes. Picnics along with hall dances functioned to fill in the gap created by the absence of non-ritual casual events like the traditional evening parties, *vechernytsi*, that in the Old Country were instrumental in bringing together village youth of both genders for the initiation of sexual behaviour.[3] One informant recalled that she had attended many picnics in her youth in east central Alberta and underlined this covert function of picnics, saying that there was no other occasion for the youth to gather ("*Nu, dezh maly ity liudy? To musily...khloptsi i divchata des' skhodytysie!*").

Substitution as a compensatory device also obtained in other aspects of the folklore complex. The North American predilection for Christmas trees came to replace the Old Country custom of a sheaf of grain (*snip*) in the corner, straw on the floor and hay under the tablecloth. Similarly, if the home was surrounded by wooded bush or garden shrubs, the habit of bedecking the house with boughs of fresh foliage for Green Holydays was considered redundant.

Some customs were plainly dropped and not revived. The eclipse of superstitious behaviour made meaningless the custom of protecting the home from the deeds of malevolent witches (by sticking twigs into clumps of sod and placing these outside doorways on St. George's day [*IUriia*]); and a new sense of urban propriety came to snub and disparage the traditional flinging of boiled wheat (*kutia*) at the ceiling at Christmas dinner or the indiscriminate tossing up of drink and liquor when toasting the bridal couple (*perepii*) at weddings.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER VIII.
COMPENSATORY MECHANISMS AND SHIFTS

1 For more in this regard, see Robert B. Klymasz, "The Role of Folk Music, *Continuity and Chnage* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies/Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, in press).

2 From I. Goresky's summary of H.D.'s report in The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada (Edmonton: Editorial Committee, 1970), p. 173. The items appeared on page 1 of The Vegreville Observer for March 14, 1917.

3 In this regard, see "Folklore de l'Ukraine," (note no. 19, above).

CHAPTER IX:

DIVERSITY WITHIN THE COMPLEX

As discussed above, dislocation of the folk tradition introduced a series of compensatory phenomena. These processes combined with the formative factors analyzed in Part One of this report and the different layers of folkloric experience formulated in Part Two to develop a complex of folk rituals, customs and beliefs that featured a wide and striking variance. This variability defies attempts at generalization: the construct does not lend itself to depiction in all-inclusive, undifferentiated, monolithic terms. Uniformity and homogeneity are atypical for Ukrainian folklore in east central Alberta before 1930, except for a limited number of universal constants such as Christmas and Easter celebrations. Some of the more significant variables that shaped this complex before 1930 are presented below.

A. Variations influenced by time period.

It can be generally ascertained that by 1930 the Ukrainian folklore complex in east central Alberta was firmly implanted. To arrive at this point, the complex had absorbed the folkloric experiences of "early arrivals, latecomers and the Canadian-born" and had survived three stages in its development in the new, Canadian environment: initial trauma (e.g., with no cemeteries there could be no *provody*), restoration of the Old Country folklore heritage (not without some radical changes), and, finally, a sorting-out period of adjustment. These stages were modified by the pressures of several important socio-economic external forces (such as the war effort, the flu epidemic of 1918, economic Depression, on-going immigration, and various modern technological advances that included automobiles, telephones and electrification). From the vantage point of the 1980s, it is evident that from the folkloristic point of view, the Ukrainian tradition in east central Alberta was still in a state of considerable flux in 1930 and that total accomodation, streamlining and consolidation had not been achieved.

B. Variations influenced by settlement district.

By 1930, the Ukrainian settlement of east central Alberta had developed in a manner that suggested a horizontal spread of settlement determined initially by the North Saskatchewan River, reinforced later by the two railroad lines that cut through the area and confirmed later by the main highway that now connects Vermilion on the eastern edge of the study area with Edmonton on the western edge. Within this horizontal spread, there had evolved two layers of rural settlement composed of Catholic Ukrainians (or "Galicians") as the concave southern layer, and Orthodox Bukovynians as the northern upper central wedge sandwiched by "Galicians" on either side. These two layers constituted the two main traditional spheres of folkloric influence in the area that interacted vigorously with one another in various ways (see below under "Variations influenced by regional origin in Ukraine").

Figure 11: A Galician Wedding, Western Ukraine, about 1875.

Data from locales on the northern peripheries of the study area show instances of polarization that did not obtain in the central core area of the region's Ukrainian folk tradition, as outlined above. Folklore in these outlying area reflected either a conscious, rigid conservatism or, on the other hand, a high degree of divergence from the norms of folkloric behaviour that were maintained inside the core area.

Also, from the spatial point of view, evidence accumulated in the course of the 1984 field research seems to show that the dynamics of variation were highly dependent upon and are traceable to the impact of three geographical spheres of influence: Mundare, Vegreville, and the sizeable rural layer/wedge of Orthodox farmer-settlers. Both Mundare and Vegreville worked as magnets that attracted favourable attention (each for somewhat different reasons) and radiated their influence outwardly. The Orthodox Bukovynian wedge was largely denigrated by outsiders (including "Galician" Ukrainians), and served more to repell than to attract favourable comment or attention. These three spheres of influence overlapped occasionally but they remained geographically distinct kernel or core entities. The interplay and criss-crossing of several binary phenomena are reflected in these spheres as outlined in the tentative comparative tabulation given below:

	Vegreville	Mundare	Orthodox
GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS	town	hamlet/village	rural
	secular	religious	religious
	centralized services, non-denominational, impersonal	focus on Basilian monastery, and annual pilgrimage (*vidpust*)	no single geographical focus in the study area
	mainstream Anglo-Canada	Catholic with weakened focus on Old Country regions/ districts of origin	strong focus on Bukovynian differentiation and loyalties
NATURE OF FOLKLORE	highly encoded in printed word	oral transmission with some print; fluid and fluctuating	mostly oral transmission; archaic, retentive

As suggested by the above tabulation of selected formative features, the Ukrainian folklore complex in east central Alberta before 1930 was largely a three-dimensional construct composed of contrastive geographical spheres whose forces were both complementary and divisive. As of 1930, this study area had not developed a transitional belt or buffer zone of "mixed" phenomena — an indication that the formation of Bukovynian and Galician rural enclaves in the study area was still "in process" (only two generations of Ukrainians are covered by the research time frame), and that continuing migration into/out of and within the study area had not, by 1930, obliterated the formation of distinct enclaves of variant (Bukovynian and Galician) folk traditions.

In addition to the above three spheres of influence, it is also important to note that the proximity of Edmonton to Ukrainians living in the western districts of the study area (around Lamont, for example) offered several amenities (psychological and other) that were not as accessible to communities further east. Some couples, for example, travelled to Edmonton to take their wedding vows before civil authorities and do some shopping before returning home to their district for the traditional wedding celebrations. — all on the same day!

C. Variations influenced by regional origin in Ukraine.

The dislocation, fragmentation and instability that characterized the area's immigrant population was aggravated by a confrontation of variant folk traditions with origins in the Old Country. Several Galician-born informants who were interviewed for this report indicated that they had never been exposed to Bukovynian folkways until they arrived in Alberta.

The situation occasionally turned tense and exploded with sporadic outbursts and public displays of male animosity. Fighting that took place at social gatherings such as weddings and dances was dissipated in later years by a growing interest in sports activities introduced to Ukrainian youths by their new, non-traditional environment and, concomitantly, by a

need to tolerate and recognize the co-existance of variant traditions within the area. With toleration came a degree of conscious permissiveness regarding individual variation and personal choices vis-á-vis the folk tradition and its norms and practices.

	Bukovynian Variant	Galician Variant
i General characteristics:	conservative, retentive, interiorly focussed	liberal, accomodative, exteriorly focussed
ii Religious orientation:	Orthodox (east)	Catholic (west)
iii Nature of belief system:	superstitious	pragmatic
iv Major seasonal focus:	winter	spring
v Major human life cycle focus:	death (funerals-termination)	marriage (weddings-continuity)
vi Gender orientation:2	female principle	male principle dominates
vii Structure:	well-defined and interconnected	blurred with weak network

As suggested earlier, regional variation was dominated by a distinct Bukovynian-Galician dichotomy that is not only reflected in the data but recognized and articulated by the informants themselves.[1] In effect, then, east central Alberta's Ukrainian folklore complex by 1930 developed a dualistic profile composed of two variant bodies of folkloric elements that were both complementary as well as contrastive in relation to one another. This dichotomy can be viewed in terms of the above ideal tabulation of selected features and aspects:

In the above tabulation, the Bukovynian variant of the Ukrainian folklore complex in the study area shows the retention of a more archaic stratum of folk custom and belief; this general conservatism later functioned to distinguish and differentiate the Bukovynians as a special ethnic entity. A prime visible sign of this differentiation was/is the complex of ritual and belief that surrounds the Bukovynian customs of *pomana* and *provody* with their focus on the past and ancestors. Numerically outnumbered by a seemingly threatening sea of "Galicians," the Bukovynian aspect of the total Ukrainian folklore complex in the study area shows the fostering of differentiation to heighten separateness as a qualitative phenomenon that serves to earn recognition and respect (although not necessarily admiration).

The Galician aspect of the complex leans toward an on-going and somewhat indiscriminate eclecticism that appears oblivious to the values of the past unless these are supportive of current needs and objectives. The conscious and emotional ties to regional traditions, so prevalent among the Bukovynians, fail to operate with the "Galicians" who easily question, blur and drop their traditions as required.

D. Variations influenced by denominational membership.

As mentioned earlier, a major dichotomy that permeates the Ukrainian folklore complex in east central Alberta is posed by the transfer to Alberta of the Old Country distinction between Catholic and Orthodox churches. This is a major distinctive feature that pervades not only Ukrainian folklore but the whole of Slavic folklore.[2] The Orthodox part of the tradition is generally recognized in the scholarship as being particularly rich and archaic; the Catholic part had been, over the centuries, more effectively purged or "cleansed" of pagan survival. As suggested earlier, this religious situation in Western Ukraine was reinforced by parallel, co-relating and well-defined regional and ethnic boundaries that coincided with the religious lines of demarcation. This pattern was transferred to east central Alberta where, interestingly, a geographical reversal took place in regard to the relative positioning of the two spheres: the Bukovynian-Orthodox zone switched places with the "Galician"/Catholic zone, so that the former zone developed north of the Catholic zone in east central Alberta (instead of south of it, as in the Old Country). The resultant geographical reversal placed the conservative Orthodox Bukovynian tradition in a central dominant position of influence that promoted the infiltration of surrounding pockets of Galician-Catholic tradition with such strikingly original Bukovynian customs as *Malanka* and *pomana*.

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1 Several informants identified themselves and/or others as "*hadai*" whose dialect seemed peculiar. For more in this regard, see Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj, "Hadaivs'kyi hovir," *Ukrains'ki visti,* , no. 16 (Edmonton, 1949).

2 See Robert B. Klymasz, "Male and Female Principles as Structure in the Ritual Foodways of Ukrainians in Canada," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* (in press).

3 For more in this regard, see the entry on "Slavic Folklore" by Svatava Pirkova Jakobson in Maria Leach, ed., *Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Myth and Legend* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1950), pp. 1019-1025.

CHAPTER X:

FROM PEASANT TO IMMIGRANT FOLKLORE

As shown in the foregoing chapters, the anatomy of Ukrainian folklore in east central Alberta before 1930 reflects a dynamic state of flux replete with the various tensions that accompanied the reverberating shocks caused by migration, transfer, and change. Isolation, population density and climate were some of the variables that altered the complex of rituals, customs and beliefs in subtle but far-reaching ways. These changes, however minor, had indelible and fundamental repercussions for the future development of the complex in east central Alberta.

Perhaps the most important single factor to have influenced the development of Ukrainian folk traditions in east central Alberta before 1930 was the zero factor: an environmental vacuum caused by the absence of various support systems that in the Old Country had served to nurture and maintain Ukrainian folkways in its native habitat. The subsequent construction of such supportive institutions as the church, the school and the hall did much to regenerate and revive the folk heritage but not without the changes in form, content and function outlined earlier. Foremost among these changes was the sharp division between religious and secular aspects of the folk tradition — a division that furthered a growing emphasis on ethnicity as the main concern of Ukrainian folklore in east central Alberta in the second half of the twentieth century.

In general, then, the Ukrainian folklore complex of that period (from the 1890s to the 1930s) shows the transformation of Old Country peasant lore to its variant in the new world, immigrant folklore. The "ideal" tabulation of selected traits found on the following page serves to underscore the nature of this transformation in terms of seven sets of contrastive features:

1.Functions
2. Carriers
3. Milieux
4. Religious Aspects
5. Secular Aspects
6. Temporal Orientation
7. General Structure.

In spite of massive pressures and trauma, the complex of old folkways lingered on in a kind of holding pattern, as it were. In 1930, for example, Ukrainians in east central Alberta still relied on folklore to placate their ancestors and assorted elements of nature and supernatural entities. In effect, however, the retention of such archaic features served to act as a breather — a transitional stage for the subsequent development of the folklore complex into a remarkably potent and productive mechanism geared to fostering the Ukrainian community's sense of ethnic pride and identification.[1] There is, then, no doubt that the popular manifestations of Ukrainian ethnicity in Alberta today owe much to their ties with

humbler but no less vibrant antecedents as found among Ukrainians in east central Alberta before 1930.

	Ukrainian Peasant Folklore in East Central Alberta ca.1894	Ukrainian Immigrant Folklore in East Central Alberta ca. 1930
1. Functions:	to cope with and control the environment through prognostication and other techniques	for entertainment and as a leisure, recreational activity
2. Carriers:	basically monolingual but illiterate Ukrainian speakers; exclusively devoted to farming pursuits	some basic education and some knowledge of English
3. Milieux	pioneering farm and rural community; subsistence agriculture; focus on the home	town and country; surplus productivity; focus on institutions outside the home: hall, school, church
4. Religious aspects:	blend of Christian and pre-Christian, pagan elements; overt group activities suspended due to lack of churches and priests	group activities fully developed; pagan, superstitious beliefs and behaviour denigrated
5. Secular aspects:	almost no separation between religious and secular aspects	religious lore separated from secular concerns; germination of macaronic phenomena
6. Temporal Orientation	focus on the cyclic flow of four seasons	focus on calendaric time: months and dates
7. General structure:	group oriented but fragmented; conservative, retentive, introversive; strong ties with Old Country antecedents; variation based on Old Country regional destinctions	folk heritage recalled but not always practised; laissez faire approach with focus on the individual through privatization; realignment of components; experimental; growing compartmentalization of folkloric activities; variation based on denominational distinctions

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CHAPTER X.
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1 For further elaboration of this folkloric phenomenon, see Robert B. Klymasz, "From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore: A Canadian View of Process and Transition," *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 10 (1973), 131-139.

APPENDIX A :

QUESTIONNARIE

FOR GENERAL FOLKLORE STUDY OF EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA FOR THE PERIOD ca. 1890-1930

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The present questionnaire was developed for the particular task of investigating the specifics and nature of Ukrainian folk customs and traditions in east central Alberta as they existed before the 1930s. It is a loosely structured, "working" document and reflects the line of questioning used by this writer in the course of on-site field investigations undertaken in May and June of 1984. Over one hundred informants were interviewed using this questionnaire and, because of the time-frame adopted for the research, almost every informant was retired or semi-retired — a factor that forms one of the study's underlying methodological approaches.

To help formulate the parameters of stability and change and to chart the process from "old" to "new", the questionnaire begins with a focus on traditional Ukrainian customs, beliefs and celebrations (such as those associated with Christmas and Easter) and then explores a wide range of non-Ukrainian subjects (such as baseball and pumpkin pie). The latter, quite obviously, have been used as markers to help determine the impact of traditionally non-Ukrainian customs on the Ukrainian Old Country complex as found in east central Alberta. Other markers are more conservative (eg. "Identify Taras Shevchenko") and are used to help measure and evaluate the extent of Old Country Ukrainian retentions in the study area.

In its present format, the questionnaire requires about one hour and a half to cover all the topics with an average informant. (The ability to speak both Ukrainian and English is an essential requirement in order to obtain maximum results). To suit other purposes, the questionnaire can also serve as a suggestive outline; it can be readily adapted and/or simplified to meet the needs of related studies and educational activities. In this regard, it is likely that teachers and local history enthusiasts will find the questionnaire of special interest.

As mentioned earlier, this questionnaire is a working document: new topics can be easily introduced into the presentation as required using the decimal system of organization used here as a guide for the interpolation of new detail into the questionnaire's structural frame-work. In this way, the present work allows for future refinement and topic expansion by subsequent field researchers.

PART ONE
THE INFORMANT

Date of interview:
Place of interview:

1. Name (give Canadianized and
   Ukrainian versions where different):
   Maiden name:
2. Current address:.....Telephone no.:.....
3. Date of birth (or age):.....
4. Place of birth:.....

IF BORN IN OLD COUNTRY, proceed to section A, questions 5 to 7
IF BORN IN CANADA, proceed to section B, questions 8 to 10

Section A

5. Date/year of arrival in Canada:
6. Did informant arrive alone or with others?
   (Specify no. of brothers/sisters, if applicable.)
   How many brothers/sisters born later in Canada?
7. Where did informant/they settle upon arrival in Canada (eg. on farm, homestead near Willingdon)? Is this where informant spent most of his/her early years in Canada? (Clarify as requred.)

Section B

8. Where in the Old Country did parents come from (village, district, etc.)?
9. How many children did parents have (specify no. of boys/girls)?
10. "Did you spend most of your youth/early years at/near your place of birth?"

11. Schooling: how long did informant attend school?
12. Religious affiliation(s):
13. When did informant marry?

    Name of spouse:

    Where was spouse born?

    Religion of spouse:
14. Did informant farm? Where? How long? No. of offspring (specify no. of boys/girls):
15. Retirement (when did informant stop farming/working?):
16. How long has informant lived at present address?
17. Informant's present state of health:
18. Reminder: at the end of your interview, take photograph of informant and have informant sign permission-waiver form (if applicable).

PART TWO
THE TOPICS

A. CALENDARIC CUSTOMS AND CELEBRATIONS

1. THE WINTER HOLIDAY SEASON
   1.1 Christmas (*Rizdvo*) ("How did you celebrate Christmas in the old days?")
      1.11 Date celebrated (old/new calendars)
      1.12 Pre-Christmas fasting (*pylypivka*): how long? what foods prohibited?
      1.13 Christmas eve supper (*sviata vechera*)
         1.131 when does the meal begin?
         1.132 number of dishes prepared (why precisely that many?); no animal fats? Why?
         1.133 which dish is eaten first?
            1.1331 is *kutia* thrown up to ceiling? by whom? why?
         1.134 after supper, is the table cleared of everything? If not, why?
      1.14 Was there a Christmas tree (*derevtse*)?
      1.15 Were gifts exchanged?
      1.16 Was hay and/or straw brought into the house?
         1.161 what was done with it?
         1.162 how long was it kept in the house?
         1.163 how was it disposed of?
      1.17 How did people greet one another at Christmas?
      1.18 Identify and explain: *didukh, snip*
   1.2 Carolling ("Did you go carolling? If not, why?")
      1.21 Who went carolling (older people? boys only?)?
      1.22 Identify one of the carols; sing one if possible.
      1.23 How were carollers hosted?
      1.24 If they took money, what did they do with it?
      1.25 Did the carollers carry a star/*vertep*/*szopka*? If yes, describe.
      1.26 What means of transportation did carollers use?
      1.27 Identify and explain: *vinshuvannia*
      1.28 How many days would carollers go about the district?
   1.3 New Year's (*na Vasyliia*)
      1.31 Mummery: *Malanka* ("Did you go from house to house with *Malanka*?")
         1.311 When did *Malanka* festivities take place?
         1.312 How did they dress/look? What did they do outside/inside the house? How were they treated?
         1.313 Did men/boys only take part in the group?
         1.314 Why did they bother to do all that? What was the point?
         1.315 Did they take money? What did they do with it?
      1.32 Sowing the wheat (*siiaty khodyty*) ("Did you go siiaty when you were young?")
         1.321 Did older people go *siiaty*? Why?
         1.322 What time of day did this take place?
         1.323 Describe what the person did and said.
   1.4 Epiphany
      1.41 Identify and explain: *shchedryi vechir*/*druhe rizdvo*

1.5 The Feast of Jordan (*Iordan/Ardan*) ("Did you go to church on the Feast of Jordan?")

1.51 Where did they bless the water (outside/inside)?
1.52 Did you/others take some blessed water home? What did you do with it? How long did you keep it? For what purpose was it kept? How was it disposed of if/when necessary?

1.6 Did the priest come to bless the house? Why was this done?
1.7 Identify and explain: *miasnytsi, zahalnytsia*

2. THE EASTER SEASON

2.1 Identify and explain: *pushchennia, velykyi pist, kalatalo*
2.2 Palm Sunday (*lozova/shutkova/verbova nedilia*)

2.21 Did you bring your own pussy willows to church or did others provide them?
2.22 What did you do with blessed pussy willows?
2.23 Did people hit one another with the willows? Did they say a jingle?
2.24 How was the blessed willow kept?
2.25 How long was it kept?
2.26 Why was it kept?
2.27 How did this holyday originate?

2.3 Easter Sunday

2.31 Where did you go to attend Easter service?
2.32 When did the church service take place (Saturday? midnight?)
2.33 Did you take *paska* to be blessed?" (*pasku sviatyty*)

2.331 What else did you take to be blessed?
2.332 Was the food basket blessed after or before the service?

2.34 Did you ever make *pysanky*?

2.341 Identify and expalin: *krashanka, halunka*
2.342 Did you take *pysanky* to be blessed?
2.343 What was done with the blessed *pysanky* (eaten, kept, given away, played with)?

2.3431 Identify and explain: *tsokaty*

2.35 What did people do the rest of the day on Easter Sunday?

2.351 Identify and explain: *haivky*

2.36 How did people greet one another at Easter?

2.4 The Deceased

2.41 Identify and explain: *provody/na hrobakh, tryzna, na/za pomanu*

3. OTHER CALENDARIC CUSTOMS AND CELEBRATIONS

3.1 Identify and expalin: *khram/praznyk, vidpust*

3.11 "Did you ever go to Mundare *na vidpust*? If yes, describe what took place."

3.2 Identify and explain: *zeleni sviata* ("green holydays")

3.21 Identify and explain: *maity*
3.22 Why was this done?

3.3 Identify and explain the following:

3.31 *stritennia*
3.32 *na Mykolaia*
3.33 *na Andreia*
3.34 *na Makoveia*
3.35 *na Ivana (Ivan Kupalo)*
3.36 *na Iuriia*
3.37 others (*petrivka*)

3.4 "Did you ever take flowers or garden produce to church to be blessed — in the old days? If yes, when on the calendar did this take place?"
3.5 "Were you allowed to eat meat on Fridays and/or Wednesdays? Why not?"
3.6 Were you allowed to work in the fields/house on Sundays?

B. NON-CALENDARIC CUSTOMS AND CELEBRATIONS

4. How did people greet one another at other times of the year (when it wasn't Christmas or Easter)? (eg. *Slava Bohu*!...)

5. THE WEDDING COMPLEX ("Tell us about when you got married.") Note informant's choice of vocabulary (eg. *shliub braty, vinchannia, pidbratysia, vyity zamuzh, zhenytysia*, and others)

5.1 Identify and explain: *starosta* ("Did you have one?")
5.2 Was there a gathering to make wreaths? Who? When? Where? What were the wreaths made from (paper/plastic/live flowers)?

5.21 Identify and explain: *barvinok, mirta*

5.3 How were people invited to the wedding? (*zaproshennia*)

5.31 How many were invited to your wedding?

5.4 The church ceremony

5.41 Where and when did you get married?

5.411 How was the bride dressed?

5.4111 Did she carry a bouquet of flowers?

5.42 Did the bridal couple arrive together or separately at the church?
5.43 What happened after the church ceremony?

5.431 Was there a photographer?

5.5 The entourage: dramatis personae

5.51 Identify and explain:

5.511 *drushka* (did you have one or more?)
5.512 *druzhba* (was there one or more?)
5.513 *matka*
5.514 *batko*
5.515 *svashka*
5.516 *svakha*
5.517 *svityvka*
5.518 others

5.6 The reception (*vesillia*)

5.61 Was there more than one reception? (explain)
5.62 Where was the reception held?
5.63 Were there musicians? What instruments were played?
5.64 Where did everyone dance? (inside, outdoors, in granary, on platform, on grass)?

5.641 Name some of the dances

5.65 Was there singing? Can you remember one of the wedding songs?

5.651 Identify and explain: *vivat*

5.66 Were wedding guests received in any special way when they arrived?
5.67 What kinds of foods and drink were offered?
5.68 Was there a *korovai/kolach/derevtse*? Describe them.

5.681 Who made these?
5.682 How were they disposed of?

5.69 Identify and explain: *zavodyny, na perepii/ darovannia, popravyny*
5.70 What kinds of gifts were there? (money, objects, live chickens?)
5.71 Was a kerchief tied on the bride's head?

5.7111 Identify and explain: *chipchyk*

5.72 Was there a lot of fighting at weddings in the old days?

6. CHRISTENINGS (*khrestyny* ("Were you ever a godfather/godmother or a *kum/kuma*?")

6.1 How many godparents were chosen per child?
6.2 What were/are a godparents' obligations?
6.3 What did the child call his godparents in Ukrainian?
6.4 Identify and explain: *kryzhma*

6.41 Who would get it?
6.42 What would be done with it afterwards?

7. FUNERALS (pokhoron) ("Do you remember the first funeral you attended? How did people manage in those days when someone died?")

7.1 Preparation of body (cleaning, washing, dressing)

7.11 Was any special clothing like old country embroidered shirts used to dress the corpse?

7.2 Who made the coffin?
7.3 Were any objects placed in the coffin with the deceased?
7.4 Where did the deceased lie? For how long before burial? Were burning candles mandatory?
7.5 How long did people stay up with the body? Why? What did they do?
7.6 Were mirrors covered over or turned to the walls? Were clocks/watches stopped? Why?
7.7 Was there a lunch or dinner served? Before or after the burial? Was *kutia* served?
7.8 Do you recall any funeral without a priest in attendance? Why was there no priest?
7.9 Do you recall women wailing/lamenting (*holosyty, zavodyty shchoby prypovidaty*)?
7.10 How soon after the funeral would there be a commemorative feast in memory of the deceased? (in forty days? in a year?)

C. PASTIMES

8. Identify and explain: *vechernytsi*

9. PICNICS ("Did you ever attend a picnic?")

9.1 Who organized picnics?

9.2 When and where were they held?
9.3 What did they do there?

10. SPORTS

10.1 Did you play baseball/hockey?
10.2 Did your parents play baseball or other sports?
10.3 How did your father/mother feel about baseball?
10.4 Did you ever go skating?

11. DANCES (*zabava, khodyty na muzyky*) ("Did you like going to dances when you were younger?")

11.1 Where were they held? (homes, schools, halls)
11.2 Name the dances and instruments played

11.21 Did/do you play a musical instrument?

11.3 Was there food and drink?
11.4 "Did the boys fight a lot at dances? Why?"

12. THE COMMUNITY HALL (*Halia*)

12.1 Was there a hall in your district? Do you remember it always being there? Who built it? Did the hall belong to the church?
12.2 What did they do there?
12.3 Did you go there to see concerts or plays (*predstavlennia*)? How much did you pay to get in?
12.4 Did you ever perform?

12.41 What did you play (what roles, names of plays, musical instruments)?
12.42 Who conducted/directed?
12.43 Did the group travel to other halls to perform?

12.5 Identify and explain: *bazar*
12.6 Did you/they play bingo in the old days?

13. Do you remember going to exhibitions, fairs, parades? Where? What years did you first attend/see them?

14. Did you play card games? Can you name any of the ones you used to play? Who did you play with? Where?

15. WORK-BEES

15.1 Identify and explain: *khodyty na/klykaty na/robyty toloku/klaku*
15.2 Did you ever go to one?
15.3 Did you ever have one at your place?
15.4 Did people help one another at harvest time (*zhnyva*)?

16. Media

16.1 Did your parents own a radio? a record player? a camera?

D. SOME OTHER CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS

17. BIRTHDAYS ("When was the first time you had a birthday party? Did your parents ever make you a birthday party when you were young? */Koly vam v pershyi raz zrobyly bordei?*")

    17.1 Identify and explain: *den imenyny*

        17.12 "Did you ever have a celebration on your *den imenyny*?"
        17.13 "Is this the same as *den urodzhennia*?"

18. When did the following first enter into your experience?

    18.1 Anniversaries
    18.2 Thanksgiving Day
    18.3 Santa Claus
    18.4 St. Valentine's Day
    18.5 Holy First Communion
    18.6 Other

19. FOODWAYS

    19.1 Did your mother bake pumpkin pies? Did you/your wife?
    19.2 Did your parents raise turkeys (*iendyky/trukhy*)? If yes, this for home consumption or for selling?
    19.3 How did they keep food cool in hot weather in the old days without electricity or refrigeration?

20. FLOWERS

    20.1 Did your mother/parents like to plant/grow flowers around the house and in the garden? Did you? If yes, why bother (since they take up so much time and effort)?

E. THE SUPERNATURAL AND SPIRITUAL WORLD

21. SPIRITS of any kind ("*Chy vy koly chuly aby iakas dusha khodyla, iakas bida, zlyi dukh, dyiavol, satana, chort*?" If yes, explain and describe.

22. PRAYER/*molytva* ("Does prayer help people?")

    22.1 Did your parents pray before/after meals (*iak sidaly isty*)? When retiring for the night or going to bed?

23. Where does a person go when they die?

24. TEA LEAVES ("*Chy vy koly bachyly iak, abo chy vam koly khtos chytav/vorozhyv na harbati?*") Where? Tell us about it.

25. Have you ever tried to interpret your dreams?

    25.1 Identify and explain: *sonnyk*
    25.2 Did your parents/you have one?

26. Identify and explain:

    26.1 *vorozhka, vorozhbyt*
    26.2 *rusalka*
    26.3 *opyr*
    26.4 the sandman

F. FOLK MEDICINE

27. Identify and explain: "Have you heard about pouring wax as being helpful?" (*visk/olyvo/strakh zlyvaty*)

    27.1 Did you have this done for yourself? For someone else? Was it helpful? Did it work?

28. EVIL EYE: identify and explain: *uroky/vroky, iak khtos koho vriche*

    28.1 What remedy is there if stricken?

29. Any other home treatments for illnesses from the old days?

30. "Did your parents keep aspirin around the house?"

G. SOCIO-HISTORICAL

31. Do you recall anything about the flu epidemic of 1981-1919? Did anyone die in your family?

32. What other ethnic groups lived in your district? (Romanians, Bukovynians, Hutsuls, English, Hadai, Swedes, Germans, Indians, Jews, Poles, gypsies, Slovaks, Chinese, other)

    32.1 Identify and explain: Bohunk

33. Identify and explain:

    33.1 Taras Shevchenko
    33.2 Poltava
    33.3 *bandura*

H. FINAL WRAP-UP QUESTION

34. "What were the happiest times for you in the old days? (*Koly vam bulo naiveselishe, naimylishe*?)"

APPENDIX B:

LIST OF INFORMANTS

APPENDIX B: LIST OF INFORMANTS

NAME	YEAR OF BIRTH	BIRTHPLACE	YEAR OF ARRIVAL	INTERVIEW LOCATION
Andruchow, Emily	1910	Edmonton, Alberta	N/A	Lamont
Atamanchuk, Nancy	1907	north of Mundare, Alberta	N/A	Mundare
Babych, Barbara	1906	Bila, CHortkiv, Ternopil'	1930	Vilna
Baranyk, Tillie	1905	Horodyshche, Berezhany	1914	Vermilion
Basistiuk, Antoniia	1898	Koshykivka, CHortkiv	1924	Mundare
Baxandall, Ida	1908	Westlock, Alberta	N/A	Vegreville
Benio, Theodore	1899	Vyslok-Velykyi, Sanok, Lemkivshchyna	1928	Vilna
Bidyk, John	1907	Mundare, Alberta	N/A	Andrew
Bilyk, Tom	1892	Hadynkivtsi, Husiatyn	1907	Myrnam
Charuk, Mary	1892	Boudury, Brody, Brody, Austria	1910	Vegreville
Chekerda, Bennie	1906	IAroslav, Radymno	1912	Redwater
Chilibeck, Maria	1895	Volshkivtsi, Sniatyn	1912	Vegreville
Demchuk, William	1900	Mamaivtsi-Novi, Bukovyna	1924	Vegreville
Dinwoodie, Lorena	1899	GladeSprings, Virginia, U.S.A.	1919	Vegreville
Dribnenky, Bernard	1903	SHCHebyntsi, Kitsman', Bukovyna	1923	Vegreville
Eliuk, Vera	1903	SHCHebyntsi, Kitsman', Bukovyna	1923	Vegreville
Elkow, John	1910	Nizir district, east of Two Hills, Alberta	N/A	TwoHills
Ewoniak, Bill	1915	Shandro, Alberta	N/A	Vilna
Fedec, Mike	1901	Liubyni, IAvoriv, Austria	1925	Redwater
Fedoruk, Mary	1905	Borivsti, Bukovyna	1911	Willingdon
Gawryluk, Helena	1902	Kysyliv, north of Andrew, Alberta	N/A	Andrew
Gelech, Frosena	1901	Wostok, Alberta	N/A	SmokyLake
Gelech, Nick	1893	Toporovtsy, CHernovets', Bukovyna	1910	SmokyLake
Green, Anna	1907	near Camrose, Alberta	N/A	Vermilion
Gursky, John	1907	Libau, Manitoba	(1934)	Mundare
Homeiuk, Michalina	1898	Probizhne, Husiatyn, Austria	1901	Redwater
Hotsman, Annie	1893	Bukovyna	1898	Andrew
Jaremco, Mary	1899	Vyshytychy, Peremyshl'	1902	Vermilion
Johson, Celina	1899	Sherbrooke, P.Q.	(1906)	Vegreville
Kachuk, Kost	1898	Boian, CHernovets', Bukovyna, Austria	1905	Willingdon
Kachuk, Mary	1904	Wostok, Alberta	N/A	Willingdon
Kinnie, Anne	1920	Vegreville(Town), Alberta	N/A	Vegreville

NAME	YEAR OF BIRTH	BIRTHPLACE	YEAR OF ARRIVAL	INTERVIEW LOCATION
Kit, Mary	1893	Kal'nykiv, Mostyis'ka IAroslav-Peremyshl'	1911	Vegreville
Kostash, Metro	1892	Tulova, Sniatyn, Galicia	1911	Vegreville
Kreklywich, Mary	1900	Kysyliv, Kitsman, CHernovets, Bukovyna	1904	Vilna
Krywiak, Tessie	1902	Dalieva, Drohobich	1912	Myrnam
Kunyk, Stefan	1908	Bila, CHortkiv	1926	St.Paul
Kutash, Teres	1908	Kitsman	1910	TwoHills
Letawsky, Kaisian	1900	BeaverCreek/Lamont, Alberta	N/A	Lamont
Lewak, John	1905	Skaro/Bruderheim, Alberta	N/A	Lamont
Lisiewich, Rose	1902	Butsiv, Peremyshl'	1928	Vegreville
Lupul, Vasylyna	1903	Sady-Gura, Bukovyna	1909	St.Paul
Makowecki, John	1910	Cookville district, north of Redwater, Alberta	N/A	Redwater
Mandruk, Alec	1913	Vegreville(town), Alberta	N/A	Vegreville
Martyniak, Anna	1904	Korylytsi-Peremyshliany	1928	TwoHills
Marusiak, Maria	1909	Winnipeg, Manitoba	?	Vegreville
Mayko, Agnes	1905	BeaverHillLake/Borshchiv	N/A	Mundare
Mayowski, Katyryna	1908	Potochyska, Horodenka	1926	Vegreville
Melnyk, Annie	1905	Elderena, Alberta	N/A	Lamont
Melnyk, Magdalena	1897	Borivrsi, Bukovyna	1907	SmokyLake
Mihalcean, Maria	1901	Whitford, Alberta	N/A	Vegreville
Moroziuk, Rosie	1898	Bouduryn, Brody	1902	Vegreville
Nowak, Harry	1908	Pakan/SmokyLake, Alberta	N/A	Vegreville
Nowak, John	1906	Smoky Lake, Alberta	N/A	Vegreville
Orlecki, Katherine	1891	Toporivtsi, CHernovets, Bukovyna	1901	TwoHills
Orshinsky, Dorothy	1914	Sniatyn/Andrew, Alberta	N/A	Fenwick, Ont
Orshinsky, Peter	1934	St.Catharines, Ont.	?	Fenwick, Ont
Osinchuk, Annie	1906	Winnipeg, Manitoba	(1906)	Vegreville
Osinchuk, Joe	1930	Sanlac, Sask.	(1931)	Vegreville
Palahniuk, Catherine	1902	Shandro, Alberta	N/A	Vegreville
Pawluk, George	1899	north of Whitford, Alberta	N/A	Willingdon
Pearson, Jennie	1911	Rivnia-Kavush, Austria	1925	St.Paul
Pelech, Steve	1911	Stry, Alberta	N/A	Vilna
Pelensky, Alex	1907	Komarno, Horodens'kyi	1908	Lamont

NAME	YEAR OF BIRTH	BIRTHPLACE	YEAR OF ARRIVAL	INTERVIEW LOCATION
Popowich, Fred	1896	Mamivtsi, CHernovets, Austria	1913	TwoHills
Prockiw, Katie	1900	Voitovychi, Brody	1925	Myrnam
Pysmenny, Joseph	1895	Kosiv, CHortkiv	1909	Redwater
Ratzoy, Wasylena	1910	Pakan, Alberta	N/A	St.Paul
Remin, Esther	1901	St.Francis, Kansas, U.S.A.	1907	Vegreville
Remin, Rudolph	1904	Bessarabia	(1914)	Vegreville
Ropchom, Mary	1910	Molodiia, Romania	1924	Andrew
Rybak, Mary	1907	Mamaivtsi, CHernivtsi, Bukovyna	1910	SmokyLake
Sadownyk, Lena	1903	Mundare, Alberta	N/A	Mundare
Samoil, Nancy	1893	Zvyniech, CHortkiv	1911	Vegreville
Sawchuk, Elizabeth	1899	Luzhany, Kitsman, Bukovyna	1902	Vegreville
Semanuik, Nancy	1913	Old Wostok, Alberta	N/A	Lamont
Shavchook, Mike	1908	Mundare district, Alberta	N/A	Vegreville
Shydlowski, Annie	1912	Chipman, Alberta	N/A	Vilna
Shymko, Sandra	1898	Boryvets, Sniatyn	1902	Willingdon
Sokorinski, Ignace	1903	Buzhanka, Volyn'	1929	SmokyLake
Stelmaschuk, Mary	1898	Mamaivtsi, CHernevets, Bukovyna	1913	Vegreville
Strembitski, Mary	1904	near Hilliard, Alberta	N/A	Mundare
Tchir, Anna	1899	Denesiv, Ternopil'	1910	Vegreville
Tomas, Doris	1902	Cralets, Sniatyn, Galicia	1914	Vegreville
Tomashewsky, Mary	1904	near Mundare, Alberta	N/A	Mundare
Tomyn, Georgina	1919	Innisfree, Alberta	N/A	Vegreville
Tomyn, MichaelH.	1915	Plain Lake, Alberta	N/A	Vegreville
Tymchyshyn, Barbara	1902	Bila, CHortkiv	1923	Mundare
Urichuk, Mary	1897	Luzhany, Kitsman, Bukovyna	1925	Willingdon
Werezuk, Domka	1904	TwoHills, Alberta	N/A	Vegreville
Woychyshen, Dora	1903	Zviniach, CHortkiv	1913	Mundare
Woychyshen, Jessie	1897	Bila, CHortkiv, Galicia	1914	Mundare
Woytkiw, Ewdokia	1901	Volchkivtsi, Sniatyn	1924	Myrnam
Wynn, William	1911	Myrnam, Alberta	N/A	Vermilion
Wynnychuk, Mike	1908	Royal Park, Alberta	N/A	Vermilion
Yakimchuk, Bill	1904	Hairy Hill, Alberta	N/A	Willingdon

NAME	YEAR OF BIRTH	BIRTHPLACE	YEAR OF ARRIVAL	INTERVIEW LOCATION
Youzwishen, Orest	1931	Myrnam, Alberta	N/A	Vegreville
Youzwyshyn, Jack	1905	Myrnam, Alberta	N/A	Vegreville
Youzwyshyn, Mariia	1908	Myrnam, Alberta	N/A	Vegreville
Yurkiw, Pearl	1898	Liubyni, IAvoriv, Austria	1909	Redwater
Zaozirny, Annie	1903	Warwick/New Kiew, Alberta	N/A	Vegreville
Zaparyniuk, John	1910	Volskovtsi, Sniatyn	1912	Myrnam
Zebrek, Wasilie	1896	Kysyliv, Austria	1901	Andrew
Zwarich, Annie	1902	Unishkiv, Brody	1904	Vegreville

APPENDIX C:

GLOSSARY

APPENDIX C: GLOSSARY

ABOUT THE GLOSSARY

The present glossary constitutes, for the most part, a list of relevant terminology documented in the course of field investigations conducted in east central Alberta in the summer of 1984. It is not an exhaustive guide to Ukrainian folklore. Instead, an effort has been made to record the basic features as well as to reflect some of the variation that characterizes the Ukrainian folklore complex in the given research area before 1930.

Each entry-item shows an attempt to reproduce the phonetic sound and grammatical form for each word as originally articulated, even though these features often depart from established norms for literary Ukrainian. In the case of those entry-items that, according to the field materials, exist as Bukovynian phenomena only, these are marked as such. Other terms, designations, and attendant contextual phenomena can be assumed to be all-"Galician" or known generally by all immigrants from Western Ukraine (including Bukovyna) before 1930 (although this does not by extension necessarily mean that the given folkloric phenomenon was evenly distributed or practiced throughout Western Ukraine).

All calendar dates are given according to the old, Julian calendar. Asterisks (*) are placed after words and expressions that appear as separate entries elsewhere in the present glossary.

Finally, English loanwords have been separated to form special listing at the end of the glossary as an addendum. In this regard, two other listings published earlier are of interest here for comparative purposes: "Slovnychok kanadyzmiv" [= A Little Dictionary of Canadianisms"] in J.B. Rudnyc'kyj, *Materiialy do ukrains 'kokanadiis'koi fol'klorystyky i diialektolohii* [= "Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore and Dialectological Texts"], Volume 1 (Winnipeg, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1956), pp. xv-xyi; and "English Words and Expressions Found in Texts," in Robert B. Klymasz, *An Introduction to the Ukrainian-Canadian Immigrant Folksong Cycle* (Ottawa, National Museums of Canada, 1970), pp. 105-106.

afrídy - Africans, dark-skinned people, native Indians ("*chorníshi iak náshi liúdy*").

akátsiia - acacia (re *máity**).

Andréi, na Andréia - Andrew, on Saint Andrew's Day, celebrated November 30, during *Pylýpivka**; a time for courting and for girls to divine their future husbands.

bába - granny, old woman, grandmother; 1. - name of special, delicate Easter ritual bread that is blessed by priest; 2. - name given to *snip** at Christmas; 3. - name of lady who pours was/*visk** to cure illness; 4. - character in stage play.

báika - story.

baikýbalákaty - to tell stories.

Baltázar - Balthazar (see *Káspyr*).

barvínok - periwinkle; used for bride's wedding wreath and, sometimes, to adorn groom's hat.

bás'ka - see *lozá shútka*.

bátiushka - (Bukovynian, Orthodox) priest.

bát'ko - father; 1. - ritual, surrogate or fictive father at wedding; 2. - master of ceremonies at wedding celebration; 3. - a godparent/*kum**.

báz'ka - catkin ("*narvút baz'ók*"); see *shútka*.

bdzhóly - bees; it is believed they will swarm in bunches if the *pshenýtsia** sticks to the ceiling at *sviatá vechéra**.

béchka - pussy willow (see *shútka*).

beshéga - a swelling on the side of the face by the ear, cured by wax-pouring (*visk zlyváty**).

bib - broad beans served at *sviatá vechéra**.

biblíinychka - a woman who ascribes to the Biblical teachings of a fundamentalist Christian religion.

bidá - misfortune, foretold by gust of wind or a bird hitting the window.

Boh - God.

"Boh predvíchnyi" - "God Eternal": popular religious Christmas carol.

bóhantsi - buns, given to young carolling children on Epiphany Eve (*shchédryi véchir**) or New Year's.

Bohoiavlénnia - feast of the Epiphany (see *Iordán*, and *shchédryi véchir*).

Bohoródytse - feast of the Virgin Mary.

bohs'ok - (Bukovynian) the catkin from a blessed *shútka** swallowed whole to avoid tonsilitis and other illnesses.

boiáry - groomsmen (see *druzhba*).

bolóto - mud; in dream means bad luck.

borshch - traditional beet soup; 1. - served at *sviatá vechéra**; 2. - permitted as a Lenten dish.

Bóshka - goddess (re sapling placed outside the home for *zeléni sviáta**).

Bózhe tílo, na Bózhoho tíla - Corpus Christu, church holyday.

bróshka - broach, worn to detract/divert evil eye.

bréndza - (Bukovynian) - a homemade white cheese, blessed with other foods by priest at Easter.

budz - (Bukovynian) - see *bréndza*.

búket - a bouquet of flowers held by bride.

bukovýntsi - Bukovynians, people from Bukovyna in Western Ukraine or of Bukovynian descent and background.

búkva - any letter of the alphabet; a blessed piece of chalk/*kréida** is used to inscribe certain letters over the doorway at New Year's.

bukvár - primer, reader (with picture of Taras Shevchenko).

cháry - witchcraft, spells, charms, magic.

chasnýk, chesnók - garlic; placed under the table cloth of *sviatá vechéra** and used with whisky to fight the influenza epidemic in 1918.

chípchyk - see *fustýna, pokrývalo, zakrýta*.

chipiro - (Bukovynian) used to carry food to church at Easter for the traditional blessing of the Easter foods ceremony.

chókalysi - see *kótsaty*.

chort - devil (see also *sataná*).

chuzhí - non-relatives, foreigners, strangers (for opposite designation, see *rídni*).

chytál'nia - reading-hall organized and built to serve as an educational and cultural centre for the community.

daróvannia - presentation of gifts of money (usually) at the wedding celebration.

darúnok - gift (re wedding presentation/*daróvannia**).

daruváty - to present a gift to the bridal couple at the wedding celebration.

derevtsé - small tree; 1. - a Christmas tree ("*rizdviáne*"); 2. - a ceremonial, decorated wedding tree ("*vesíl'ne*").

derevýshche - coffin.

diak - male church cantor; 1. - accompanies the priest and participates in all regular liturgies and religious ceremonies, including all those associated with the cult of ancestors and the dead (such as *próvody**, *parastás**, funeral services and vigils); 2. - serves as a substitute for the priest at funeral when latter is unavailable.

did, dído - old man, grandfather; the word is used to designate any of the following: 1. - the ceremonial sheaf of grain (*snip**) at Christmas Eve; 2. - the burning *snip** after Christmas (see *magúlia*); 3. - one of the mummers in a *Malánka** group at New Year's; 4. - a person who pours wax/*visk** for healing purposes; 5. - a character in a stage play; 6. - hay under / on table at *sviatá vechéra**.

díd'ko - devil.

didúkh - see *did* (1. and 6.).

do skhid sóntsia - before sun-up, before dawn (an important time for magical occurrences).

drúhi sviéta - see *shchédryi véchir*.

drúhyi sviatýi véchir - see *shchédryi véchir*.

drúshka - bride's female attendant, bridesmaid.

drúzhba - bridegroom's male attendant at wedding.

dushá - the soul; 1. - person's soul walks about for forty days after person dies; 2. - prayers and *pomána** offered for the repose of the souls of the dead; 3. - deceased husband returns in the form of an invisible soul to haunt his living wife.

dýka rúzha - wild rose (see *liubýstok, máity, zeléni sviáta*).

dzvinýtsia - bell-tower; also name of Easter singing-game (*haívka**) in the old country.

dzigárok - watch, clock (stopped at/for funeral: "*dzigárok zapérty, abý ne ishóv todý*").

Éroi - King Herod (see *Malánka**).

finá - goddaughter.

fíra - wagon ("*fíramy prýikhaly na píknik** = they came to the picnic by means of wagons).

fustýna - kerchief, tied onto newlywed bride to signify her change in status from maiden to married woman.

gázda - (from Polish) - see *hospódar*.

gospódar - see *hospódar*.

gospodýnia - see *hospodýnia*.

grúshpan - a substitute for *barvínok**, gathered from under the snow, with red berries.

gvávtaty - to scream in outrage and desperation (see *holosýty*).

hadáty, hadaí - to speak the Hadai dialect, those who speak the Hadai dialect ("*nas nazyvály hadaí*"; "*ia ne hovóru a hadáiu*").

Haívka, haivký - Easter singing-games, organized by/for unmarried youth and held on Easter Sunday after church services; not part of the Bukovynian folk heritage.

halunký - see *holunký*.

halychány - Galicians.

harmóniia - musical instrument: mouth organ (used at pioneer house dances), harmonica, accordion.

hóla - literally, "naked"; used as name for a particular popular game of cards.

Holhófta - Golgotha; re Ukrainian Catholic grotto at Mundare, Alberta.

holosýty - to lament at funerals in the old county, to eulogize.

Holovsíky, na Holovsíky - feast of the beheading of John the Baptist.

holúbka - name of popular dance.

hólubtsi - literally, "little doves"; also, 1. - cabbage rolls prepared for *sviatá vechéra**; 2.- edible, baked dough birdies made for Easter; 3. - dough birds as decor on/for wedding bread.

holunký - monocoloured Easter eggs (usually red).

horíkhamy - nuts, peanuts flung at bridal coupe ("*horíkhamy kydály iak do kháty ishlý*").

horívka - whisky, used with garlic to fight off the influenza epidemic in 1918.

hospódar - the man of the house; 1.- receives carollers and mummers; 2. - one of the mummers in a *Malánka** group at New Year's.

hospodýnia - the lady of the house; receives carollers and mummers.

hostýtysia - to make oneself at home, to party ("*starí hostýlysia v kháti*" = the elders partied in the house).

hrad - hail, averted by blessed *shútka**.

hráty - to play, re *haivký** ("*v kráiu hráiut try dny kólo tsérkvy*" = in the old country they play for three days by the church).

hrikh - sin, re eating meat on Fridays and Wednesdays ("*popý kazály to Khrikh*").

hromáds'ka tsérkva - a communal church, a church that is owned and managed by the local church congregation.

hromovýtsia - candle blessed at *strítennia** used to ward off thunderbolt.

huragán - hurricane, averted by blessed *shútka**.

hutsúlka - name of popular dance; a ditty.

hvozdýky - Sweet William flowers, used as decor for *tríitsia** on Jordan Day.

iáitsia - eggs, rolled over body to cure illness ("*odná zhínka kachála iáitsia*").

ialýnka - Christmas tree ("*tut vzhe ialýnku robýly*").

iebýstok - plant used for decor at *zeléni sviáta**.

Íllia, "na Íllia" - Saint Elias Day, July 20; a popular *khram** celebration among Bukovynians and Romanians.

imenýny - person's nameday; feast day of one's patron saint.

Iordán - Jordan Day, feast of the Epiphany, January 19; water is blessed by priest on this day.

IÚrii, "na IÚriia" - St. George's Day, April 23; clumps of earth/*kytsky*" are placed by the doorway; should not work on this day because horse will die ("*kazály ne robýty nits kín'ma bo zhýne koniá*").

Ivan, "na Ivána" - Saint John's Day, July 7; cucumbers planted on this Day will be extra long; the sun bathes in the river on this day; a popular day for a *khram** or *práznyk**; a day for divination and prognostication: a girl whose wreath floats away (when thrown onto flowing river water) will get married; but if the wreath gets caught or stuck by the river bank, there will be no marriage for her.

kalátalo - wooden clatterer used instead of regular church bells at church services prior to Easter liturgy on Easter Sunday.

kalýna - cranberry tree or bush; used as decor for *tríitsia**.

kantýchka - book of Christmas carols (see *koliadnýk*).

kápani - literally, "dropped upon"; re Easter eggs decorated with splashes or drops of colour; see also *dots** [English].

Káspyr - tsar Casper; one of the three tsars (*Kaspýr**, *Máikhyl**, and *Baltázar**) whose initial letters (that is, "KMB") are marked over doorways at New Year's with blessed chalk/*kréida**.

katafél'ok - funeral bier.

kaválky - pieces, plays staged in hall ("*takí kaválky prestavliáiut*").

kernýtsia - well; 1. - old holy *Iordan* * water poured into well to make room for a new batch; 2. - holy picture/*óbraz** found miraculously in well in old country.

khlib - bread; re two loaves of bread presented to priest as payment for *parastás** service and a third loaf for the cantor/*diak** who accompanies him; see also *mid*.

khram - 1. - church (*tsérkva*); 2. - Orthodox and Bukovynian kermis; annual parish feast day celebration held on the day of the church's consecration; see also *práznyk*.

khrésna máma - godmother.

khrest - cross; 1. - marked over doorway with blessed chalk/ *kréida** on New Year's; 2. - a cross of ice on Jordan Day/*Iordán**; 3. - a cross marked on a beam in the home with a *tríitsia** on Jordan Day; 4. - a cross of dough on the Easter *páska**; 5. - cross on a black ribbon for deceased woman's neck at her funeral.

khrin - horse radish, brought to church to be blessed at/for Easter by the priest.

"KHrystós

voskrés!" - Christ is risen! (1. - Easter greeting; 2. - triumphal hymn sung in church during Easter Sunday liturgy).

khrystýny - christening.

khudobýna - farm animals, fed with leftovers from *sviatá vechéra* at Christmas.

kiptáryk - sleeveless fur jacket.

"kítka i mysh" - cat and mouse (name of Easter singing-game/*haívka** in the old country).

kíts'kalysy - see *kótsaty*.

kláka (Bukovynian) - see *toloká*.

klócha, klóchchia - ball of hemp, burned as part of healing technique (see *visk zlyváty*).

kolách - ceremonial, braided bread; 1. - used as a wedding ritual bread; 2. - as *pomána**; 3. - as form of payment to priest and cantor/*diak** for funeral/*parastás** service.

koliadá - 1. - Christmas religious carol; 2. - payment for carolling ("*nam dály koliadú*" = they gave us *koliadá*); 3. - the second day of Christmas.

koliadnýk - a Christmas caroller; a book of carols.

koliaduváty - to sing carols.

koliedánnia - see *koliadá* (nos. 1. and 2.).

kolomýika - name of popular dance; a ditty.

kolótka - see *púshchennia*.

kólyky - posts, stakes; on Saint Andrew's Eve ("*na Andréia*"*) girls use posts to divine the features of their future husbands.

konópli - hemp ("*do konópli pity*" = to go crazy).

konúfrii - plant used as decor for *zeléni sviáta**.

koróva - cow; if seen in dream, a cow means someone will die soon.

korovái - wedding cake/bread/loaf.

kóst'ol (Polish) - Polish and/or Roman Catholic church.

kótsaty (Bukovynian) - to bump eggs as a contest and game on Easter Monday.

kótskaty - see *kótsaty*.

kotý - cats; screaming, biting cats seen in a dream are a bad omen and foretell of dissension between/among kin and/or relatives.

kovbasá - garlic sausage, taken to church and blessed by priest at/for Easter.

kóvdra - a feather quilt (a popular wedding gift from a mother to her daughter).

kovérets (Bukovynian) - handwoven rug used: 1. - on bench under coffin at funerals; 2. - as floor carpet in church; 3. - as a wedding gift.

kóvtaty - see *kótsaty*.

kozá - goat, taken along by carollers or *Malánka** mummers from house to house in the old country.

krachkámy - re *zeléni sviáta** : "*obtykály khátu krachkámy*".

krai - the old country ("*u kráiu*" = in the old country).

krakowiák - (Polish) name of popular dance.

krashanký - solid-coloured Easter eggs (see *holunký*).

kréida - chalk, blessed by priest at New Year's (see *Káspyr*).

kríza - The Depression.

kropýty - to sprinkle, as with blessed/holy water (see *sviachéna vodá*).

krósna - weaver's loom.

krývyi tánets - literally, "crooked dance": name of Easter singing game/*haívka** in the old country.

krýzhma - chrisom; piece of cloth supplied by godparents for their godchild's christening.

ks'ondz (Polish) - priest (see also *fáder* [English], *pip, sviashchényk*).

kúcheri - curls (re curls of dough on the Easter *páska**).

kudlkudákaty - see *kvókaty*.

kudýnka - see *bróshka*.

kuké - see *kutiá*.

kúfer - chest, trunk; a bride's wedding chest.

kum, kumá - male and female godparents, respectively; 1.-same godparents can serve later as the *bát'ko** and *mátka** when their godchild marries; 2.- honoured at Christmas Eve supper/*sviatá vechéra*. .

Kupálo - see *Iván*.

kúry - hens (received as wedding gifts).

kurnýk - chicken coop (sprinkled with holy water on New Year's Day).

kutiá - boiled wheat/*pshenýtsia** usually mixed with honey and crushed poppy seeds and served for *sviatá vechéra**, on Epiphany Eve/*shchédryi véchir**, and at funerals (Bukovynian).

kvókaty, kvok-kvok - cluck-cluck sound of laying hen articulated by children scrambling for peanuts and candy in *síno** under Christmas table.

kyryléisa - kyrie eleison, sung by head of household on Jordan day after church upon blessing the home with newly blessed water.

kytský - squarish clumps of earth or sod, dug up and placed by the threshold and elsewhere on St. George's Day (*na IÚriia**), sometimes with a willow branch/*lozá** stuck into the clump to ward off evil spirits.

ládan - incense, at Christmas dinner table (see *sviatá vechéra*).

léndyr - (Romanian) lamp carried by *Malánka** mummers.

liámpa - lamp, oil lamp, kept burning all night at Christmas Eve.

líchtar - lantern carried by carollers.

lírnyk - a *Malánka** mummer dressed as a hurdy-gurdy player (*Malánka** summer).

liubýstok - lovage or sweetheart plant, used as decor for *zeléni sviáta** (leaves used to make crosses in the house).

liústro - mirror, covered over in the home of the deceased person as a funeral custom.

líter - see *búkva*.

l'on - flax, clumps of flax burned as folk healing technique.

lozá - see *shútka*.

lozová nedília - see *shutková nedília*.

lýpa - linden tree; used in the old country to decorate/*maíty** the home with boughs and greenery for Green Holydays (*zeléni sviáta**).

magúlia - a doughy lump made of burned straw mixed with mud to simulate a human head referred to as "*did*"* (see *did*, 2.).

Máikhyl - Michael; see *Káspyr*.

maíty - to adorn with green boughs and branches for *zeléni sviáta** ("*maíty khátu*" = to decorate the home with green branches).

mak - poppy, crushed poppy seed served with boiled wheat and honey as *kutiá** at *sviatá vechéra**; see also *Makovéi*.

Makovéi - feast of Maccabaeus, August 1; a church holyday that can include the blessing of poppies and garden produce; see also *Preobrazéniie**.

maláі - a simple mush eaten at Lent.

Malánka - female personal name; the leading figure in the group of New Year's mummers who is always a man dressed as an old women.

malýi pist - literally, "little/small fast"; see *Pylýpivka.*

marúna - wild camomile (plant), used for *zeléni sviáta** to spread about the house ("*stelýly*") and to gild/*zlotýty** the windows.

mashýna - "*iak mashýna bulá...*": itinerant harvesting/threshing crew with machine; a memorable event or occasion.

máslo - butter, blessed along with other food items by priest at/for Easter.

mátka - mother; an older female person who serves as a candle holder during the wedding ceremony; see also *kumá.*

merléts - body of deceased person at funeral.

miasnýtsi - period of time before Easter Lent when it is permitted to eat meat, to dance and hold weddings.

miasopúsnyi týzhden' - the week of Shrovetide; the first week of Lent.

mid - honey, served with boiled wheat/*pshenýtsia** at Christmas Eve supper and at *próvody**; presented by *mátka** with *khlib** at latter's *vesíllia**.

mirt - myrtle (plant), used to make bride's wedding wreath.

mísiia - mission; a special mini-series of prayer services held in a Ukrainian Catholic church, often led by a visiting priest.

mitólka - broom used to shape a *magúlia**.

molodá, molodýi - bride and groom, respectively.

molodánchyk - (Bukovynian) an Easter singing-game or song (see *haívka*).

molýtva - prayer, said by folk healer during wax pouring (see *visk zlyváty*); see also *pátsier* and *prymívka.*

muzýka - musician ("*zaklýkaty sobí muzýku*" = to arrange for musicians to come over).

myruváty - to anoint the forehead; done by priest on *shutková nedília* when/after blessed willow branches are distributed to parishioners.

na hrobákh - literally, "on the graves"; re annual custom of visiting the graves soon after Easter; see also *parastás, próvody.*

nakhrésnyky - godchildren.

nanáshka - god mother (see also *mátka, kumá*).

naródnyi dim - people's home; a community hall and secular organization that organized picnics and various other social, cultural and educational activites (see also *prosvíta*).

nash - our, our own kind (by extension: Ukrainian) ("*to násha kháta, bo vzhe bílana, sínom naktrýto . . .*" = that's our kind of Ukrainian house, because it's whitewashed and covered with hay. . .).

navróchuvaty - to bewitch, cast a spell (see *uróky*).

nazyvátysia - to be called by a first name ("*nazyvávsia Vasýl'*" = his first name was Vasýl'); see also *pysátysia*.

nechýste - an unclean, evil force or entity, exorcised by priest in the new year.

nedília - Sunday, a holy day and weekly day of rest.

norá - spring (see *polónka*).

obíd - a luncheon, prepared for funerals and other traditional events.

obkhíd - procession around church as art of kermis church service.

oblývanyi ponedílok - literally, "drenched Monday"; re custom of splashing one another with water on Easter Monday.

óbraz - picture; often a holy picture or icon hanging on the wall of a home, a church or a hall; see also *píkcher* (English).

obzhínky - ceremonial harvest celebration sometimes associated with *toloká*.

ogoródnyk - name of popular dance.

olíi - homemade edible vegetable oil, used for eating and cooking instead of animal fats during certain meatless periods of the church calendar year; see *pist, Pylýpivka*.

ólyvo - lead, used in molten state for folk healing (see *visk zlyváty*).

osýka - aspen-tree, poplar; used to adorn/*maíty** the home and church for *zeléni sviáta**.

pádkatysia - to lament (see *holosýty*).

pamianýk - booklet of deceased relatives.

parastás - church service for the dead.

páska - a special Easter bread, blessed by the priest and sometimes distributed as *pomána** or brought to *parastás** service as payment for the priest and the cantor (see also *khlib*).

patrón - guardian angel.

patróna - celebration in honour of one's patron saint day ("*táto robýv sobí takýi malén'kyi patróna*").

pátsier -(from Latin via Polish) - prayer; 1. - at Christmas, in memory of grandfather ("*móvyty pátsier za dída .. .*"); 2. - said by folk healer (see *visk zlyváty*); see also *molýtva*.

pecherýtsi - a certain kind of mushroom, served at *sviatá vechéra**.

perepichký - Bukovynian Easter bread with a cheese topping and cut like a pie; see also *páska*.

perepíi - wedding feast and celebration that includes the act of drinking a toast to the health of the newlyweds and presenting them with a gift at the same time (see *darúnok, daróvannia*).

perepyváty - see *perepíi*.

perévéslo - a band of twisted *solóma** or *síno** used to gird fruit trees in orchard in the old country as a form of protection.

pérshi sviéta - see *Rizdvó*.

pes - dog, used in prognostication custom *na Andréia**.

Petrívka - fasting period of 2 weeks before the feast of Saints Peter and Paul.

Petró, "na Pétra" - Peter, Saints Peter and Paul Day, July 12; day of annual pilgrimage/*vídpust** held in Mundare, Alberta under the auspices of the Basilian Fathers (Ukrainian Catholic).

pibrátysia - to get married ("*my pibrálysia i do Kanády...*").

pidlóha - wooden platform, flooring (for wedding dance outdoors).

piésty - to spin thread (at *toloká**).

pievký klásty - to place leeches on the body (as a healing technique).

pip - priest (see also *sviashchényk*).

pisná stráva - a meatless menu (re *sviatá vechéra**).

pisné - see *pisná stráva*.

pist - Lent, fast.

pitý v tanéts - to go into a dance, to go dancing.

pizdá - 'cunt', coitus as payment for healing session ("*kotrá durná dála pizdý za to*").

platók - tablecloth (*síno** placed under tablecloth for *sviatá vechéra*).

pláchka - female wailer, often hired for funerals ("*pláchku naimály*").

platýna - piece of linen (used to cover mirror in house where deceased lies awaiting burial).

pliesáty - to sing and dance (re *Malánka** mumming activities).

po Velýtsy - (Bukovynian) after *Velýkden'*.

podruzhýtysia - see *pibrátysia.*

pódushka - pillow, cushion (used by bride and/or her mother to sit on as a place of honour during various moments in the wedding ritual).

pókhoron - funeral.

pokhrésnyk - godchild, godson.

Pokróva, na Pokróvu - church feast of St. Mary the Protectress, October 1.

pokryválo - ceremonial cover/kerchief for bride's head.

pól'ka - name of popular dance.

polónka - hole through ice on the surface of a river (or other body of fresh water) where priest blesses water on Jordan Day/*Iordán** ("*na rývere* zrobýly polónku*").

poloténtse - a piece of linen used to wrap the body of an infant child in preparation for funeral and burial.

polotnó - see *krýzhma.*

polývanyi ponedílok - see *oblývanyi ponedílok.*

pomána - Bukovynian and Romanian custom: ceremonial presentation of certain food items (sometimes along with a candle) in memory of one or more deceased persons for whom and on whose behalf the recipient is asked or expected to pray ("*daváty pománu, daváty na/za pománu*" = to give *pomána*, to give as *pomána*); suitable occasions for the distribution of *pomána* – gift items include funerals and commemorative dinners in memory of the dead, cemetery services such as *próvody**, and after the blessing of garden produce on August 19 ("*Preobrazéniie*"*); occasionally, clothing of deceased person is distributed as *pomána*; can also have an extended meaning to designate a commemorative event which honours the memory of the deceased with a church service and funeral/commemorative dinner.

pomérshyi - the deceased (male); see also *merléts.*

pómynky - see *sorokovýna.*

poprávyny - second day of wedding celebrations and merry-making.

poshtý - postal districts.

póstyty - to fast (see *pist*).

pozlítka - gold leaf used by Bukovynians to adorn bride's wreath (see *zlotýty*) and dough-birds on wedding bread.

práznyk - holyday; kermis; feast day in honour of patron saint of church (see also *khram*).

"Preobrazéniie" [sic: *Preobrazhénnia*]- feast of the Transfiguration, August 19; highlight is priest's blessing of garden produce brought to church by parishioners.

propíi - see *perepíi*.

Prosvíta - literally: "enlightenment"; name given to local community hall and/or organization (see *naródnyi dim*).

providná nedília - see *próvody*.

próvody - Bukovynian, Orthodox custom: annual post-Easter religious procession onto and service at cemetery in memory of the dead.

prúttia - branches, twigs (see *maíty*).

prútyk, prútyky - branches, twigs: stuck into *korovái**; of willow and forked used to stir water and flip over wax-image re *visk zlyváty**.

prymívka, prymóvka - incantation, verbal magic formula.

prypovidáty - see *holosýty*.

prypovidnýk - evangelical preacher.

psaltýr, psaltýra - Psalter; read at all-night vigil with the body of the deceased prior to funeral service and burial.

pshenýtsia - boiled wheat served with crushed poppy seed and honey as a ceremonial food at Christmas Eve supper (*sviatá vechéra**); also served by Bukovynians at funeral dinners and other events as commemorative food item (see *pomána, kutiá*).

ptashký - little birds made of dough; see holubtsi (2.) *púshchennie* - last day before Lent and occasion for merry-making; "*z miásom*" (with meat) and "*bíle*" (without meat).

púshchennia

Pylýpivka - religious period of fasting before Christmas, beginning November 27; Advent (see *pist*).

pyrizhký - baked buns, sometimes with fillings, served at *sviatá vechéra** (see also *pyrohý*, 2.).

pyrohý - 1. - boiled dumplings with fillings (cheese, potatoe, cabbage, prunes) served at Christmas Eve supper (*sviatá vechéra**) and other times; 2. - baked, round buns, brought to picnics.

pysanký - ornamented eggs, blessed by priest at/for Easter; 1. - used as commemorative food item (*pomána**); 2.- given by girls to boys in return for dousing on Easter Monday (*oblývanyi ponedílok**); 3. - see also *kótsaty*.

pysáty -to "write" (i.e. decorate or ornament) eggs for Easter (see *pysanký*).

pysátysia - call by surname ("*pysávsia Dánchuk*" = his surname was Danchuk); see also *nazyvátysia*.

ríklie - (Bukovynian) woman's jumper with floral pattern, worn on bride's wedding day.

rídni - one's relatives and close friends (see *chuzhí* for opposite).

Rizdvó - Christmas, the Nativity of Christ, Christmas Day.

rokovýna - commemoration of deceased one year after death.

rózha, rúzha - erysipelas ("*mení sie výkynulo tu rózha na nózi*").

rushnychók - a towel; 1. - presented as wedding gift; 2. - placed around the bride's neck by female wedding guest at *perepíi**.

rýba - fish; if available, served as one of twelve dishes for the Christmas Eve supper (*sviatá vechéra**).

ryháty - to vomit (due to evil eye/*uróky**).

samohónka - homebrew.

sataná - devil, Satan (see also *chort*).

shchedrivký - carols, usually of a secular nature, sung on Epiphany Eve (*shchédryi véchir**).

shchédryi véchir - bountiful eve, Epiphany Eve, January 18 ("*na shchédryi véchir, péred Iordanóm, shchedruvály*" = on Epiphany Eve, before Jordan, they would sing *shchedrívky**).

shliub bráty - to take wedding vows, to get married in the church.

shópa - shed (where Jesus was born).

shópka - a portable Christmas Nativity scene with miniature figures carried from house to house by carollers.

shpytliár - granary (used for dances); see also *gryînari* (English).

shútka - willow branch; 1. - blessed in church on Palm Sunday (*shutková nedília**), distributed to entire congregation and used symbolically to thrash friends and realtives after the services; 2. - implanted into clumps of earth on Saint George's Day (*na IÚriia**); 3. - blessed willow branch tucked behind picture/*óbraz** ("*za óbraz klály*" = they would place it behind a picture); 4. - blessed willow branch thrown outside before on-coming hail-cloud to avert hail damage to crops.

shutková nedília - Palm Sunday.

sidémka - name of dance.

síiaty - to sow; re young children (usually boys only) who go from house to house early New Year's Day and "sow" (i.e. scatter) uncooked kernels of wheat (or other grain) while delivering a short ritualized greeting in return for a small gift of money.

sil' - salt; 1. - poured over Christmas Eve leftovers and given to livestock to eat; 2. - one of food items blessed by priest for Easter; 3. - blessed salt sprinkled over other Easter food items that remain unblessed due to lack of priest at Easter time.

síno - hay, placed under dinner table and, sometimes, under table cloth for Christmas Eve supper (*sviatá vechéra**).

sivách - sower: "*sivachí prykhodýly*" (see *síiaty*).

skórtse (Bukovynian) - wall hanging (see *kovérets*).

skúbaty píry - to pluck feathers (re feather-bee).

skupók - a group, team (of threshers at harvest time).

slyvký - prunes (re dried prunes served at Christmas Eve supper as stewed fruit or in *pyrohý**).

smeréka - fir tree (used as a wedding *derevtsé** and as Christmas tree/*ialýnka**).

snip - sheaf of grain (wheat or rye), brought into the home for Christmas Eve supper (*sviatá vechéra**), placed in a corner of the room (see *did*, no. 1) and later fed to livestock or cattle.

sokýra - axe (placed under supper table on Christmas Eve to chase the devil away).

solóma - straw; 1. - strewn about under the supper table on Christmas Eve and burned outside later; 2.-burned as part of a remedy for evil eye/*uróky**.

solonýna - pork fat or meat (brought to church and blessed along with other foods by priest at Easter).

sónnyk - dream-book used to interpret dreams.

sopílka - flute (played by *Malánka** mummer).

sorokoústy - penitenital cycle of church services before Lent.

sorokovýna - commemoration of deceased forty days after death.

Soshestvéniie - descent of the Holy Spirit (see *zeléni sviáta*): *Sviatóho Dúkha "iak sviatýi dukh ziishóv na apóstoliv"*.

Spása, na Spása - church feast of the Transfiguration (August 6th); *pomána** distributed at this time.

spásivka - Lent of the Assumption, in August.

spovidáty -to confess ("*sviashchényk nas spovidáv na sviéta* = the priest confessed us for the holydays).

stáinia - stable (blessed with holy water on New Year's).

staroshchína - older woman who serves as a matron of honour for the bride.

stárosta - 1. - male matchmaker who represents a male suitor; 2. - as a master of ceremonies at the wedding who blesses the *korovái** with a sign of the cross and leads the bridal couple to their placed at the wedding table.

staryi krai - the old country (see *krai*).

Stefána - the second day of Christmas, Stefan day (the first martyr stoned to death for Christ's faith).

stóchok

(Bukovynian) - a specially made funeral candle that is as long as the body of the deceased; it is lit after burial at the funeral dinner, and no one leaves until the candle burns itself out.

strakh - fear, fright, alarm (an affliction commonly alleviated by wax pouring/*visk zlyváty**).

Strítennia - feast of Christ's presentation at the Temple, February 15; the day when summer meets up with winter ("*stricháiesy líto z zymóv*").

stritén's'ka vodá - before dawn on *Strítennia** water is drawn thrice from well and kept in bottle to cure sickness or headache.

stúkaty - see *kótsaty*.

stúpa - a mill or other mechanism used to pound or crush grains (used to pound uncooked wheat kernels for *kutiá**).

subóta - Sabbatarianism ("*ia do subóty prystála*").

sváshka - female relative of bridegroom who serves as his attendant in his entourage.

svátaty - to act as matchmaker ("*ia shov svátaty svoiú zhínku*" = I went to woo my wife); see *stárosta* .

sviachéna vodá - holy, blessed, consecrated water (used for protection against illness, devastation and evil by drinking some and/or sprinkling some where/as required).

sviashchényk - priest; see also *fáder* (English), *pip*, *ks'óndz* (Polish).

sviatá vechéra - the holy Christmas Eve supper, January 6.

sviatí - the saints (come to sample leftover foods after *sviatá vechéra**).

sviatkuváty - to celebrate, to honour a feast day or holyday with appropriate ceremony and/or by refraining from ordinary labour ("*try dny sviatkuvály*" = they celebrated for three days).

sviatóho Dúkha, na sviatóho Dúkha - feast of the Holy Spirit (see *zeléni sviáta*).

sviatýi Iósyf - Saint Joseph, husband of the Virgin Mary, Mother of Jesus Christ.

sviatýi Mykolái - Saint Nicholas; feast of Saint Nicholas, December 19.

sviatýi véchir - holy Christmas Eve.

sviatýty - to consecrate, bless, sanctify; 1. - "*sviatýty pásku**" = to bless the Easter *páska** and other foods at/for Easter; 2. - water in well blessed at *zeléni sviáta**; chalk/*kréida** blessed at New Year's; 4. - water blessed on Jordan Day/*Iordán* (see also *shútka*, *sviachéna vodá*).

svíchka - candle; 1. - when someone dies, burning candle left on table with water for three evenings for the spirit of the deceased person; 2. - candle left burning all night by coffin during vigil with deceased person before funeral and burial (see also *stóchok*); 3. - see *svitýlka*; 4. - distributed along with food items as *pomána**.

sviéto (plural, sviéta) - holyday, feast day.

svitýlka - female relative of bridegroom who holds a candle during the church wedding ceremony (Bukovynian custom).

sydíty - to sit, stay; to remain settled in a certain place ("*my tam sydíly try róky*" = we settled down there in that place for three years).

syklýny - urine, piss; washing self with own urine as cure for evil eye/*uróky**.

syropúsnyi týzhden - "cheese week", the second week of Lent.

syrotá krúhla - an orphan with both parents deceased.

táitra - (Bukovynian) - handwoven carrying bas, often used at Easter to carry foods to church for blessing or at *próvody** to carry *pomána**.

tatárs'ke zíllia - "Tatar herb," strewn on floor to *maíty** the home for *zeléni sviáta**.

táto - biological father only; see also *bát'ko*.

tiahár - burden (mental, psychological illness as burden).

tóka (Romanian) - see *kalátalo*.

toloká - work-bee, collective labour ("*zrobýty/ity na tóloku*" = to make/go to a work-bee).

trepétak - aspen, trembling poplar (re branches used to adorn/*maíty** the eaves of a thatched roof for *zeléni sviáta**).

tríitsia - three-pronged branch with a candle attached, used at Jordan Day ceremony (see *Iordán, polónka*).

tr'okh sviatýkh - feast of the three saints, February 12.

trúmlo, trúnvlo - coffin.

trýzna - a funeral or commemorative meal eaten at the grave.

tsap - goat (as member of *Malánka* mummers entourage).

tsar - tsar (see *Káspyr*).

tsél'ta - tent (used for wedding celebration).

tsent - cent, penny (given to children for carolling on Epiphany Eve/*shchédryi véchir**).

tsérkva - church (see *kóst'ol*).

tsókatysia - see *kótsaty*.

tsybér - large washtub or basin (used as a container for water that is blessed by priest on Jordan Day/*Iordán*).

tsymbály - dulcimer-type musical instrument used at casual dances and wedding parties.

tsyréta/tsaréta - oil cloth table cover (see *síno*).

u nás - according to our way, our tradition, our way of doing things.

uróky - evil eye, spell, charm, enchantment.

Vasýlii, Vasýliia, Vasýliie - Basil, St. Basil's day, New Year's.

vasýl'ok - basil, used as decor for *trŭtsia**, as window decor for *zeléni sviáta**, and as a splasher on *oblývanyi ponedílok**.

vechernýtsi - casual evening get-togethers, frequently as work-bees.

vechírnia - vespers.

vél'on - veil (as part of bride wedding apparel).

Velýkden' - Easter, Easter Sunday.

velykódna spóvid' - the Easter confession of sins before a priest.

velýkyi pist - the Easter Lent, seven weeks long in duration.

Velýtsy, po Velýtsy - Easter, after Easter / *Velýkden'**.

verbá - willow (re branches used to adorn/*maíty** the eaves of a thatched roof for *zeléni sviáta**); see also *shútka*.

vereténo - spindle (used by women at work-bee/*toloká**).

verký - catkins.

vertép - a Nativity play or miniature nativity scene (see *shópka*).

vesíllia - wedding party, wedding feast, wedding celebration.

viddátysia - to get married (of female); see also *zhenýtysia*.

víd'ma - witch.

vidpráva - church service, liturgy.

vídpust - a pilgrimage for the forgiveness of sins; associated with the annual religious observances held in Mundare, Alberta on July 12 (see *Petro*) under the auspices of the auspices of the Basilian Fathers (Ukrainian Catholic).

vinchuváty - to recite a Christmas greeting after singing a carol for someone.

vinkoplétyny - a party at which a wreath is made for the bride (and sometimes for the groom's hat as well), shortly before the wedding.

víno - dowry.

vinók - 1.- bride's wedding wreath made of *mirt** or *barvínok**; 2. - garland tied onto nameday celebrant (see *imenýny*).

vishchún - soothsayer (epithet for Taras Shevchenko).

vishuváty - to predict, foretell ("*vishúi sho ia khóchu znáty*").

visk zlyváty - to pour molten wax into cold water (in order to divine source of affliction from the resultant shape of the wax, thereby eliminating the affliction itself).

vívat - (from Latin via Polish) yelled out as an exclamation to the "Life" of the bridal couple during *perepíi**.

vlyvátysia - to douse oneself (re Easter Monday custom, *oblývanyi ponedílok**).

vodá - water (see *sviachéna vodá*, *svíchka*, and *stritén's'ka vodá*).

vohón' skydáty - to toss out fire (see *vúhlia skydáty*).

volóshka - a female Wallachian; name of popular dance and/or dance melody.

vorozhbýk - male soothsayer.

vorózhka - female fortune-teller and reader of tea leaves and palms.

"vorychkámy bylysia" - "they fought with singletrees" (re fellows that got into rough fights at social events and weddings).

voznesénniia - Ascension Day, the fortieth day after Easter Sunday, inclusive.

vsenóshne - an all-night vigil or church service.

vúhlia skydáty - to toss out burning coals to alleviate *uróky**.

vúhlyk - hot coal/ember used in healing technique (burning of object and smoke to dissipate *strakh**).

vúiko - uncle, name used by godchild for male god parent.

zabobóny - superstitions ("*takí durní zabobóny*").

zahál'nytsia - any period in the church calendar that has no food restrictions.

zakrýta - covered over; re bride that is given a kerchief to wear on her head as a sign of the loss of her maidenhood ("*voná vzhe ie zakrýta, voná vzhe ne ie dívka*" = she is now covered, she is no longer a girl); see *fustýna*.

zamáiuvaty stríkhu - to adorn the thatched roof of a home with branches for Green Holydays (*zeléni sviáta**); see also *maíty*.

zarúchennia - a wedding engagement.

zasiváty - see *síiaty*.

zavódyny - pre-wedding day celebrations.

zeléni sviáta - Green Holydays, May 23.

zhenýkh - suitor, bridgegroom.

zhenýtysia - to take a wife, to get married (of males only); see *viddátysia.*

zhínka - woman; "*do takói zhínky*" : going to a certain woman who knows *visk zlyváty**.

zlotýty - to gild; 1. - house windows gilded with *marúna** for Green Holydays/*zeléni sviáta**; 2. - among Bukovynians, wedding wreaths and wedding bread dough-birds gilded with goldleaf/*pozlítka** (see *vinkoplétyny*).

zlyi dukh - evil spirit; see also *chort, sataná..*

zlyváty strakh - to pour off fright (see *visk zlyváty*).

zmei - serpent, killed by St. George (see *na IÚriia*); *kytsky** commemorate and honour St. George because he killed the serpent ("*vin zméiu zabýv*") (Bukovynian).

zvizdá - star; 1. - a caroller's star; 2. - name of star motif for *pysanky**.

* * * * * * * * *

ADDENDUM : ENGLISH LOANWORDS.

ais krim - ice cream/sold at picnics.

andiiány - native Indians.

anyvérseri - anniversary.

april' - April ("*zhenývsia v aprília*").

árandzhys - oranges (brought for *parastás** service; see also *pomána.*

bainderuváty - to bind, mow with a binder or binders.

báksa - box; re 1. - Christmas carollers who collect a box full of wheat: "*Tai nakolektúiut' dóbru báksu pshenýtsiu*"; 2. - a box for grain on seeding machine where the seed is sprinkled with holy water (*sviachéna vodá**) just prior to seeding; 3. - "*nochuvály na báksi*" = they spent the night in the waggon box; 4. - as coffin ("*báksu zbýly tai búla trúnva*").

baksýna - small box; hay placed in box under table for Christmas Eve dinner (see *síno**).

bála - ball, baseball ("*bálu hráty*", "*ne búlo mení do bály*").

bálka - see *bála.*

banch - see *bonch.*

bans - buns; re *pomána** : "*ia speklá takí kolachí ábo takí bans....*".

bátlia - bottle (as container for blessed Jordan water); "*tróshky vodý pokúshaiem sviachénoi z bátli*").

beg - bag, used to carry grain by *sivách** for *sŭaty* custom ("*...u takú bégu*").

béskyt - basket, the Easter basket ("*klály sobí v béskyt*").

bóhonk - Bohonk, pejorative slur.

bóiliar - boiler-bot, used to hold water during/for Jordan water-blessing ceremony.

bóisy - boys.

bóla - see *bála.*

bom - bum.

bonch - bunch; re 1. - "*bonch*" of carollers; 2. - re bees that swarm in bunches ("*bónchom*")(see *bdzhóly*); 3. - re fights ("*berút banch i bonchúiutsia i bŷlysia*").

bórztyi pártyi - birthday party.

brok - broke ("*buv brok dóvshyi chas*").

brýkfest - breakfast (prepared for team/*skupók** of harvesters).

bŷisbal - baseball.

bŷrtdei - birthday (see *bórztyi pártyi*).

bŷsyky - biscuits (for sowers; see *sivách, sŭaty*).

chap - chop, feed for livestock (poured onto table cloth after Christmas Eve dinner/*sviatá vechéra**, mixed with leftovers and fed to farm animals individually.

chyindzh - change, small coins (re: *sŭaty**; "*davály chyindzh*").

dánsy - dances.

demokrátom - by Democrat (vehicle).

densuváty - to dance.

dénsy - see *dánsy.*

désky - desks at school concert ("*liúdy posidáiutsy v désky", "sydiét v déskakh*").

dífrens - difference (re *pist**: "*vid kolý ia zhonátyi to dúzhe velýkyi dífrens*"); see also *dýfrens.*

dots - dots (see *kápani*) as motifs for *pysankŷ**.

dres - dress (re bride's wite wedding dress: "*molodŷi kupaváv molodŭ dres*").

drim - dream ("*tak sho ia iakŷis' bed drim mála*").

drom - drum ("*voná hrála na drom*" = she played on the drum).

drúgshtor - drug store.

dýfrens - difference ("*tu v Kanádi dýfrens, a v kráiu dýfrens*"); see also *dífrens*.

dýner - dinner; at Mundare's *vídpust** "*na Petrá i Pavlá... davály dýner...*".

dýper - dipper (used in Easter Monday splashing).

dzhómper - jumper, woman's item of clothing; "*kraiovýi dzhómper*" worn by bride.

dzhulái - July ("*sviéto Ivána na sémoho dzhuláia*").

ékstra - extra (see *vorderuváty*).

fáder - reverend father, priest (see also *ks'ondz, pip, sviashchényk*).

fain - fine (to pay a fine for working on Sunday).

faks trat - fox trot.

fárma - farm.

farmárka - the business of farming ("*to farmárka búla*").

fliu, flu - flux, influenza (re flu epidemic of 1918: "*zaishlá fliu na liudéi*").

fon, fóni - fun, amusement (as presented by *Malánka** mummers, or on stage as a humorous play, and at other events such as *Andréia** ("*takí fóni pokázuvaly*" = they were showing certain funny things).

frend, fréndy - friend, driends: "*frend do frénda*"; "*táto i máma zaklýchut svoí fréndy*"; "*ia mav gud fréndy to ia brav piat' [kumív]*".

frut - fruit; 1. - blessed at *Makovei**; 2. - distributed as *pomána**; 3. - stewed and served for *sviatá vechéra**.

fyr - fair, at Vermilion ("*na fýri*").

fyr kovt - fur coat (used synonymously with Ukrainian *kozhúkh*); see also *óverkovt* (English) and *kóvtyk* (English).

gal'ón - a gallon (of holy water: "*gal'ón sviachénoi vodý*").

garchýna - car.

gavn - wedding gown.

geimz - games (at Easter - "*geimz bávylysie*").

gles - glass: "*gles médu*" at *próvody**; "*gles vodý*" - glass of water placed on window sill for the spirit of the deceased to drink.

gramofón - gramophone.

gryínari - granary ("*po gryínarakh*" = in granaries); see *shpytliár*.

gúberman - government (gave 10 acres for a local cemetery).

hália - hall, community centre.

"hil-tov" - "heel-toe" (name of popular dance).

hómsted - homestead.

iard - yard: "*na iárdi*" = in the yard; "*svoiú iárdu pokropýv*".

Íglyky - Egg Lake (place name).

Ístyr - Easter ("*postýly azh do Ístyru*").

kaféi - cafe ("*v cháinii kaféiu*" = in a Chinese cafe).

kaind - kind ("*shist' káindiv tykh zymovýkh kvítiv*").

kaiutý - coyotes (reason for not going carolling from house to house: "*ia boiálasia kaiutív*").

kal'váriia - calvary.

katuváv - to cut down, shorten ("*slúzhbu vin vzhe katuváv*").

kéndy - candy for *sivách*.

kenuváty - to can, to do canning, to preserve produce ("*IE takí liúdy, sho ne kénut frut** . . ." there are such people that refuse to can fruit . . .").

kényky - cans, flowers planted in cans ("*u kénykakh*").

klab - club (that organized picnics).

kolúiut' - they call (to come to a picnic).

kóntri - country, district ("*ia výdiv tam na svoíi kóntri*").

kópyk - cup.

kórnar - corner ("*u kórnar snip**" = *snip** is in the corner).

kort - court ("*ia sy zhenýv v kórti*").

kóvtyk - a little coat (see also *fyr kovt, óverkovt*).

Kráislyr - Chrysler (automobile).

krik - creek ("*z moíkh sliz by kríky zrobýv*") = you could make creeks from my tears).

krim - cream-coloured (dress).

krísmys, krísmus, krýsmys - Christmas: "*do krísmysu*"; "*ukraínskii krísmus*"; "*to sviatkúiut krýsmys, a potómu kázhut shchédryi véchir**".

kvóder - quarter; a quarter of a section of land, 160 acres ("*kvóder zemlí posíialy*" = they seeded a quarter section of land); a coin given to *sivach** ("*po kvódrovy*").

kyk - cake ("*pékly bábu* tak iak kyk*" = they baked the *bába** just like they would a cake).

lain - line, the line-road ("*láinov khodýly píshky*" = they walked on foot along the line-road).

lainuváty - to line up, to align ("*ia ikh zlainúiu tai zróbliu fáinu písniu*").

lak, lok - luck; re *sivách** : "*divchiéta ne máiut' ityí — to ie bed lok; khlópets máie ityí — to détsa gud lak*".

leik - lake (cross made from ice on lake for outdoor Epiphany service).

lider - leader; Taras Shevchenko: "*takýi ukraínets, velýkyi líder ukraínskyi*".

ligal - legal (marriage vows taken in *kort** are legal).

liúmbyr - lumber used to make coffin.

lógzy, lóksy - logs (hall was built of logs /"*z lógziv*").

lonch - lunch ("*daiút' lonch*").

magósyky - moccasins.

méipol - maple (re *maíty, zeléni sviáta**).

mesk - mask, as used by *Malánka* mummers ("*kladút mesk*").

múnshain - moonshine ("*múnshain pýly*").

nort - north ("*na nort*").

oráit - all right ("*tak iak by iakýi víter z méne zvíiav i oráit*").

óverkovt - overcoat (informant equates with *siriák* in the old country); see also *fyr kovt, kóvtyk*.

pai - pie(s) ("*ne robýly páiv*").

pap - pop, soft drink ("*prodavály pap na píknik*" = they would sell pop at the picnic).

párti - party: 1. - re birthday party ("*robýv sobí párti*"); 2. - re *khram** (= "*takýi párti*").

partnéry - partners (re groom's wedding attendants); see *boiáry, drúzhba*.

pat - pot used for Epiphany service; water blessed inside church in a big pot ("*na velýkyi pat*"); see also *bóiliar*.

péilo - pail ("*vin mav péilo vodý*" = he had a pail of water).

peréid - parade (in Vegreville).

píilo - see *péilo*.

píkcher - picture ("*ia výdila Shevchénka na píkcher*" = I saw a picture of Shevchenko); see also *óbraz*.

píknik - picnic, held at graves (see *parastás, pomána, próvody*).

polísman, polítsman - policeman (enforced the Lord's Day Act).

potritúiut - to treat (re householders who treat/host *Malánka** mummers).

prezénty, pryzénta - presents, gifts (re Christmas gifts); see *darúnok*.

pýchyr - baseball pitcher ("*ia buv pýchyr*").

rédio - radio ("*chérez rédio chúla robýly Andréia**").

reinch - range ("*vós'myi reinch*").

reis - race at picnic ("*ishlý v reis*").

rench - range ("*na sémim rénchi*"); see also *reinch*.

rógy - rugs (informant does not permit *sivách* to sow grain in order to protect the rugs ("*rógy v kháti*").

ríver - river ("*za ríver*", "*za ríverom*" - on the other/north side of the North Saskatchewan River).

rum - room ("*Sviatýi Iósyf* ne mih distáty rúma perenochuváty*" = St. Joseph could not find a room to spend the night; "*v odním rúmi merléts lezhávy*" = in one room the body of the deceased was lying); "*posvitýv rúmy*" = he blessed the rooms (with holy water); "*v tim velýkim rúmi závshy huliály*" = they always danced in that big room.

rýdio - see *rádio*.

shandár - gendarme (character in stage play).

shéiki - shaky, symptom of illness ("*níby shéiki vs'o*") requiring wax pouring/*visk zlyváty**.

shek - shack (re vendors' booths at *vídpust** in Mundare, Alberta).

shíty - sheets (re Bukovynians who spread sheets or tablecloths on graves at *próvody**).

shovz - shows in hall ("*pokázuvaly shovz*").

shtórnyk - store-keeper.

"Si-Pi-Ár" - "C.P.R.;" acronym for "Canadian Pacific Railroad"; re the acquisition of C.P.R. land for farming ("*my vziély si-pi-áru bo vzhe hómstedu ne búlo*" = we took C.P.R. land because homesteads were no longer available).

sink - sink, "*do sínka*" - old holy water poured down the kitchen sink.

skachmány - Scotchmen.

sóper - supper (re *sviatá vechéra**).

sopráiz - see *supráiz.*

sóri-sóri - sorry, sorry (informant's apology for error).

spend - spend, pass the time away ("*tak véchyr spendúiut*").

stail - style ("*na staryí stail*" = in the old style, re Christmas).

stýdi - steady, steadily (re *imenýny**: "*máma i táto sviatkuvály stýdi*"); "*ia slabuváv stýdi*".

styidzh - the stage (in the hall).

supráiz - surprise (re surprise party or work-bee/*kláka**).

sútyk - suit (worn by bridgegroom - "*fáinyi sútyk*").

téibolklas - tablescloth (re *sviatá vechéra**: "*zastelýly téibolklasom stil*"); see *tsyréta.*

tú-step, tú-steps - Two step, two steps: a popular dance.

véding keik - wedding cake (see also *kolách, korovái, kyk*).

vórderuvaty - to order (re *parastás**- "*to vzhe sobí vorderúiut ékstra* za pomérshoho*").

zahaieruváty - to hire ("*zahaieruvály mené*" = they hired/engaged me [to play a part in a stage play]).

zaraportuváty - to report to the authorities or police (that so-and-so was working on Sunday).

ziuzuváty - to use up (holy/blessed water kept until all used up — "*dóky ne ziuzúietsia*").

NEOLOGISMS AND OTHER TERMS.

perógies - from *pyrohý* ("those perogies").

sándman - "he's the one who throws sand in your eyes and puts you to sleep".

són-teller - a blend meaning dreambook (*son* = dream).

Rukráinian - a blend: Ruthenian + Ukrainian.

APPENDIX D:

MAPS

Maps showing the distribution of selected folk customs, beliefs, and rituals as they were practised among Ukrainians in East Central Alberta before 1930.

MAP 1

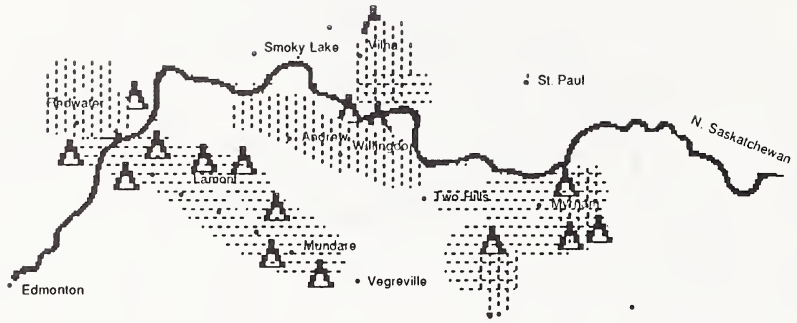
WINTER CYCLE: PREVALENCE OF FLINGING KUTIA AT SVIAT VECHIR

Somewhat practised, but not by everyone

Rarely practised beyond this zone

Note: Kutia was served throughout the study area prior to 1930

MAP 2



WINTER CYCLE: PREVALENCE OF PLANT LIFE AT SVIAT VECHIR (DIDUKH, SNIP/SHEAF, CHRISTMAS TREE)

Didukh

snip/sheaf

mixed (didukh or snip/sheaf)

Δ Christmas tree — ialynka, derevtse

Note: People placed hay and or straw on/under the table and/or on the floor before 1930

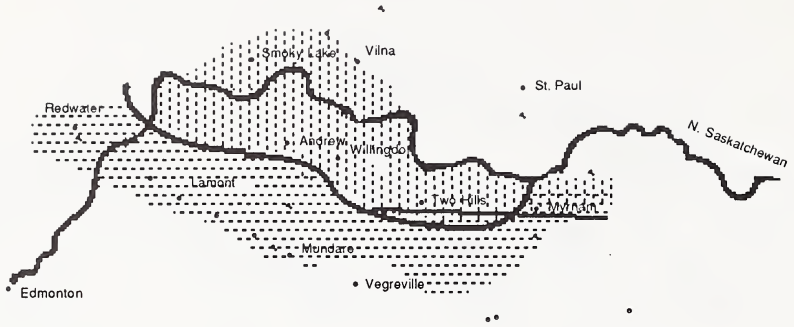
MAP 3

WINTER CYCLE: SVIAT VECHIR — CHILDREN PLAYING IN THE HAY/STRAW UNDER THE DINNER TABLE

- children under the table at Christmas Eve
- behave like laying hens in hay/straw
- search for candies and/or peanuts in hay/straw
- sleep or play in the hay/straw

Note: See Map 2

MAP 4



WINTER CYCLE:
NEW YEAR'S CUSTOMS;
MALANKA AND RITUAL SOWING
— BEFORE 1930

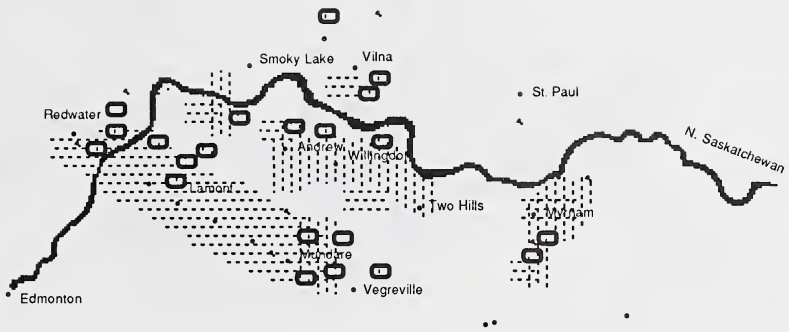
Malanka occurred frequently

Malanka seldom occurred

indecisive

Note: the ritual sowing of grain (siiaty) occurred throughout the study area at New Year's before 1930.

MAP 5



EASTER CYCLE: FUN AND GAMES — BEFORE 1930

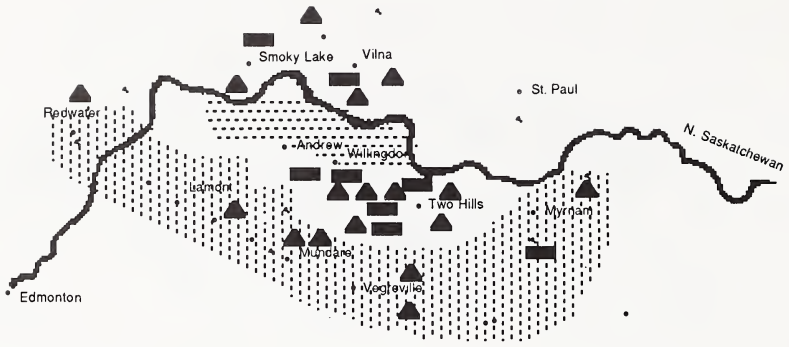
Haivky (Easter singing-games)

Egg bumping games and contests ("kotsaty")

Easter Monday (and Tuesday) dousing customs ("oblyvanyi ponedilok")

Note: the ritual sowing of grain (siiaty) occurred throughout the study area at New Year's before 1930.

MAP 6



CULT OF ANCESTORS:
COMMEMORATIVE
— BEFORE 1930

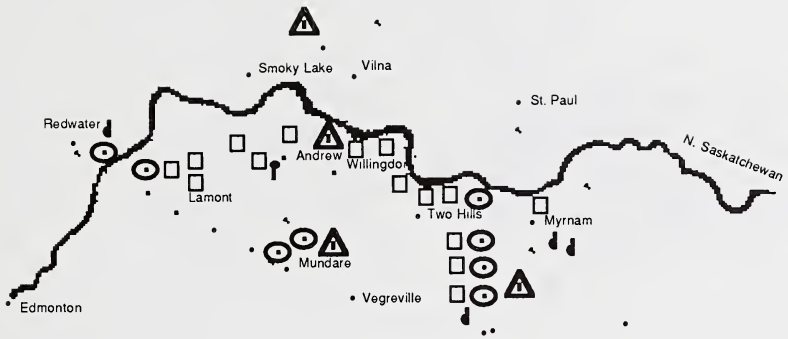
"parastas," "parastasy"

"pomana"

"provody"

any/all of the above (mixed and indecisive)

MAP 7



BLESSED OBJECTS WITH MAGICAL POWERS — BEFORE 1930

□ blessed willow (loza, shutka) averts threatening storm/hail/thunder, fed to livestock, or used to fire oven when baking Easter paska

⊙ Jordan (Iordan) water kept to avert storm, hail or thunder

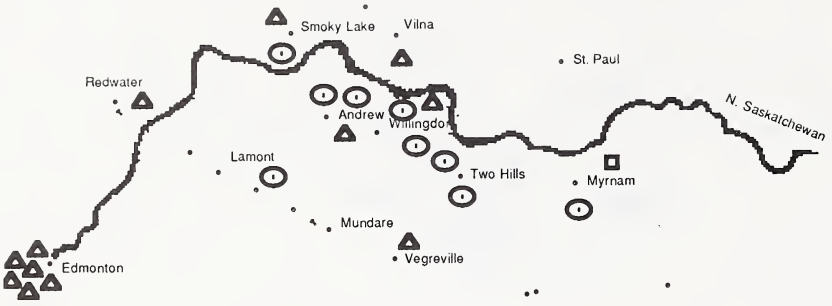
△ Jordan water sprinkled on seeds or flowers in garden

♩ Jordan watewr sprinkled on or fed to newborn child

𝄍 Jordan water sprinkled on deceased person

NOTE: The blessing of willows (on the Sunday before Easter Sunday) and the blessing of Iordan water for/on the Feast of the Epiphany occurred throughout the study area beforee 1930.

MAP 8



ACTS OF DIVINATION (FORTUNETELLING) — BEFORE 1930

⊙ Customs associated with St. Andrew's Eve ("Andreiia")

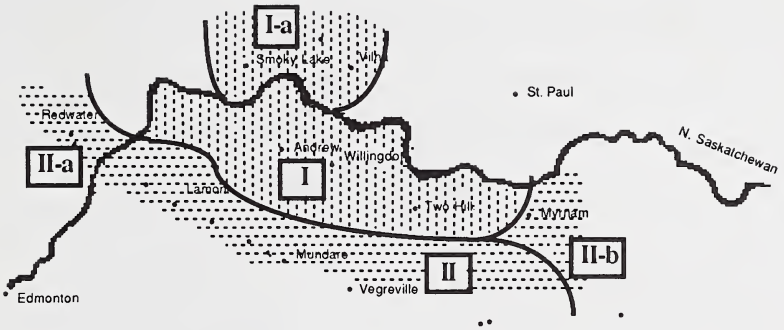
△ tea reading

□ playing cards

NOTE: See also map 1 ("kutia").
In addition to the above, it should be noted that wax pouring ("visk zlyvaty") and related techniques of folk healing occurred throughout the study area before 1930.

NOTE: The blessing of willows (on the Sunday before Easter Sunday) and the blessing of Iordan water for/on the Feast of the Epiphany occurred throughout the study area beforee 1930.

MAP 9



GENERAL OVERVIEW: ZONE SYSTEMS AND SUBSYSTEMS FOR UKRAINIAN FOLK CUSTOMS, BELIEFS AND RITUALS IN EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA BEFORE 1930

north central zone system, dominated by Bukovynian variant traditions

northern sub-system

south central zone system, dominated by Galician variant traditions

south western subsystem

south eastern subsystem

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Inzhyiev'kri, Iu. F. et al. *Relihiini sviata pravoslav'ia* [= The Religious Holy Days of Orthodoxy]. Kiev: Vyd-vo politychnoi lit-ry Ukrainy, 1981. 78 p.

Anti-religious pamphlets such as this are published frequently In the Soviet Ukraine and are intended for mass circulation.

Kucharek, Casimir. *The Byzantine-Slav Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: Its Origin and Evolution.* Allendale, N.J.: Alleluia Press, 1971. 836 p.

Mansikka, V.J. *Die Religion der Oststlaven.* [= Folklore Fellows Communications No. 43 (1922). Reprinted In 1967. 408 p.

"Nashi tserkovni obriady i zvychai ta bohosluzhby" [= Our Church Rituals, Customs and Services]. A series of brief installments that appeared In the Ukrainian Orthodox periodicals *Nasha kul'tura* (Winnipeg), 1951-1953, and *Vira i kul'tura* (Winnipeg), 1953-1963.

Petrov, V. "Peredkhrystyians 'ki relihiino-svitohliadovi elementy" [= Pre-Christian Religious Worldview Elements], In *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva*, I, Munich, 1949, pp. 244-249.

Rhenbottom, D.B. "The Saint's Feast and Shopska Crna Goran Social Structure." *Man* (N.S.), 11 (1976), 18-34.

Zelenin, D.K. "Istolkovanie perezhitochnykh religioznykh obriadov" [= The Interpretation of Surviving Religious Rituals]. *Sovetskaia etnografiia*, 5(1934), 3-16.

UKRAINIAN FOLKWAYS IN EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA

3.1 General

Bandera, Mark Jaroslav. "The *tsymbaly* Maker and His Craft: A Dynamic Musical Tradition In East Central Alberta." M.A. Thesis: University of Alberta, 1985.

The Executive Committee. *Atlas of Alberta*. Edmonton: Government of Alberta and University of Alberta, 1969. Especially map nos. 56 ("Predominant Ethnic Origin, 1961") and no. 58 ("Ethnic Origin").

Goresky Collection. Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton.

Hiritsch, Basil. "The Development of Ukrainian Theatre and Its Role In Canada." M.A. Thesis, University of Montreal, 1961. Especially, chapter 5: "The Theatre In the Cultural Life of Ukrainians In Canada," pp. 8-107.

The work is written In Ukrainian.

"Kanadskie rusiny" [= Canadian Ruthenians]. *Kievskaia starina* (Kiev), 9(1899), 107=110.

Kaye, Vladimir J. *Early Ukrainian Settlements In Canada 1895-1900. Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role In the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964.

Keywan, Zonia. *Greater Than Kings: Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement In Canada*. Photographs by Martin Coles. Montreal: Harvest House, 1977. 165 p.

Much of the materials in this book derive from the Ukrainian experience In Alberta.

Klymasz, Robert B. *A Bibliography of Ukrainian Folklore In Canada, 1902-64*. Ottawa, National Museum of canada, 1969, 53 p.

_____ _____. "From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore : A Canadian View of Process and transition." *Journal of the Folklore Institute*. 10 (1973): 131:139.

_____ _____. "Ukrainian Folklore In Canada: An Immigrant Complex In Transition." Doctoral Dissertation, Indiana University, 1970. 324 p.

_____ _____. "Male and Female Principles as Structure In the Ritual Foodways of Ukrainians In Canada." *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*. (In press.)

MacGregor, James G. *Vilni Zemli: Free Lands - The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta*. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1969. 274 p.

Plaviuk, Volodymyr S. *Prypovidky - abo - ukrains'ko-narodnia filosofiia* [= Proverbs - or - Ukrainian Folk Philosophy]. Edmonton: the Author, 1946. 352 p.

Royick, Alexander. "Ukrainian Settlements In Alberta." *Canadian Slavonic Paper*, 10 (1968):3, 278-297.

Royick, Alexander and Zenon S. Pohorecky. "Ethno-Linguistic Overview of Ukrainian-Speaking Communities In the Province of Alberta, Canada." *Napao: A Saskatchewan Anthropology Journal*, 1:2 (November 1968), 2-27.

Rudnyc'kyj, J.B. *Materiialy do ukrains'ko-kanadiis'koi folkl'orystyky i diialektolohii* [= Materials In Ukrainian Canadian Folkloristics and Dialectology]. 4 vols. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1956-1963.

3.2 Works of Immediate Relevance

Bilash, Radomir Borislaw. "The Colonial Development of East Central Alberta and its Effect on Ukrainian Immigrant Settlement to 1930." M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba Anthropology Dept., 1983. 185 p.

Lesoway, Marie. "The Pylypow House: A Narrative History." Edmonton: Alberta Culture. May, 1982. Lacks pagination.

This is a contract report filed with the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, Historic Sites, Alberta Culture, Edmonton. Of special interest is chapter 6: "Calendar Holidays and the Seasonal Cycle."

Martynovych, Orest T. "The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement In East Central Alberta 1890-1930: A History" (unpublished contract report). Edmonton: Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, Historic Sites Services, Alberta Culture, 1984. 326+71 p.

Maryn, Sonia. The Chernochan Machine Shed. Ukrainian Farm Practices In East Central Alberta. Occasional Paper No. 13 Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historic Sites Service, 1985. 206 p.

3.3 Newspaper Sources

Harapnyk [= The Whip]. Edmonton, 1921-1922, 1930-1932.

Many humorous accounts of incidents In the east central region of Alberta are documented here. Comical song texts and caricatures help throw light on the less formal aspects of life In the Ukrainian community In the 1920's and 1930's.

Novyny [= The News]. Edmonton, 1913-1919.

In spite of its serious nature, this newspaper included accounts of various festive occasions; for example, a report on carolling activities in Mundare is found in the issue for January 31, 1919, p.6.

Vegreville Observer.

References to Ukrainian weddings, dances, christenings and stage plays are found In a guide to Ukrainian references found in the *Vegreville Observer* from 1907 to 1921. The guide was published In J.M. Lazarenko, ed., *The Ukrainian Pioneers In Alberta Canada.* Edmonton, 1970, pp. 124-191.

3.4 Personal Accounts, Memoirs

Czumer, William A. *Recollections about the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers In Canada.* Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1981.

Note his account of "The First Ukrainian Carollers In Alberta," p. 53.

d'Easum Basil. "A Galician Wedding." *Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature*, 13 (1899), 83-84.

Dmytriv, Nestor. *Kanadiis'ka Rus': Podorozhni spomyny* [= Canadian Rus': Recollections of a Journey]. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1972 (1897). 56 p.

Elston, Miriam. "A Greek Eastern Service." *Onward* (April 22, 1916), 131.

Elston, Miriam. "A Russian Wedding In Alberta." *East and West*, (March 18, 1916), 93.

Kostash, Myrna. *All of Baba's Children.* Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977. 414 p.

The work includes a wealth of incidental references to folk medicine, festive school celebrations, church celebrations, and hall activities.

Kravchuk, Petro, compiler. *Zhinochi doli* [= Fates of Women]. Toronto: Kobzar, 1973. 503 p.

One of the personal experiences stories describes cultural activities at the leftist Ukrainian hall In Vegreville.

Kurelek, William. *Someone with Me: The Autobiography of William Kurelek.* First Edition. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1973. 523 p.

Of speical interest is Kurelek's first chapter, "Childhood", describing his early years near Willingdon with references to all-day parties, funerals and Easter In the region.

Methodist Church. *Missionary Bulletin* (1913-1914) and *Missionary Outlook* (1902-1924).

Both periodicals include first hand reports on missionary activities among Ukrainians In east central Alberta.

Nimchuk, Ivan. *Pochatky orhanizatsiinoho zhyttia kanadiis'kykh ukraintsiv: Spomyny albertiis'koho pionera* The Beginnings of Organized Life of Canadian ukrainians: memoirs of an Alberta Pioneer]. Edmonton, 1952. 30 p.

For references to Easter, cemetery ritual and carolling In the Edna district, see pp. 7-8, 11-12, 20-21.

Piniuta, Harry. *Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers 1891-1914.* Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978. 225 p.

See especially pages 50, 83 and 140.

Potrebenko, Helen. *No Streets of Gold: A Social History of Ukrainians In Alberta.* Vancouver: New Star Books, 1977. 311 p. For "arranged" marriages, see pp. 171-172.

3.5 Belles Lettres

Iasenchuck, Iosyf. *Kanadyisky kobzar* [The Canadian Bard]. Edmonton: Ukrainska Knyharnia [sic], 1918. 64 p.

> Mainly a collection of poems, the work also includes a Christmas play, "Vyflyiems'ka nich" [The Night of Bethlehem], pp. 56-63.

Kryiiak, Illia. *Syny zemli* [= Sons of the Soil]. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1973 (1939-1945).

> An abridged English translation of this major novel In three volumes of pioneer Ukrainian life In Alberta was published In Toronto by Ryerson Press In 1959 (303 p. with "Glossary of Ukrainian Words" on p. 303).

Muchin, Halyna. "The Evolution of the Ukrainian Family and Its Portrayal In Ilia Kyrak's Novel Sons of the Soil." M.A. Thesis. University of Manitoba Slavic Studies Dept., 1978. 147 p. In Ukrainian.

> See especially chapter 4: "Rodyna i relihiia" [= The Family and Religion], pp. 49 - 70.

Paush, Stefaniia. *Nauchka: Narysy z pioners'koho zhyttia. opovidannia, narysy.* Added title page in English: "The Lesson: Short Stories of Ukrainian Pioneer Life In Alberta, Travelogue." Edmonton: The Author, 1967. 72 p.

Slobodian, Sophie. *The Glistening Furrow.* Edmonton: Reidmore Books, 1983. 235 p.

> An ethnographical fictional account of a Ukrainian family settling In, from its pioneering beginnings to the 1960's. The author arrived In Canada at 6 years of age and attended school In Mundare. The following are depicted In the work: Christmas Eve (pp. 78-80.), school concert (pp.91-92), Easter (pp. 94-96), wedding (pp. 128-132), harvest social (p. 205), feather bee (p. 209), and so forth.

3.6 Oral Literature

Kinash, M. *Koliady tserkovni. Koliadky, shcdedrivky, i zhelania* [= Church Carols ... and Greetings]. Philadelphia: Orphanage Book Store, 1923. 160 p.

> This is a popular collection that has been reprinted and that possibly could have been used In Alberta as a songbook during the Christmas season.

Tarnawsky, Irene. "Folksongs of the Ukrainian Winter Cycle. Submitted to Sandra Thomson, Ukr. 499-A-1." Unpublished student collection, University of Alberta Slavic Dept. No date, no pagination.

> The collection has an index, texts (In Ukrainian) and music. The data indicates that out of 9 informants, 4 hail from east central Alberta.

3.7 Commemorative Works

3.71 Local histories

Bennett, Mary, ed. *Reflections: A History of Elk Point and District*. Elk Point: Elk Point and District Historical Society, 1977. 457 p.

Brown, Harriet C., ed. *Beaver Tales: History of Ryley & District*. Ryley: Ladies' Auxiliary Royal Canadian Legion, Ryley Branch No. 192, 1978. 331. p.

Carlsson, Elisabeth and Irene Stanton , eds. *Lamont and Districts: Along Victoria Trail*. Edmonton: Lamont and District Historian, 1978. 402\p.

Charuk, Myrtle, ed. *The History of Willington 1928-1978*. St. Paul: St. Paul Journal, 1978. 116 p.

Hardin, Samuel H. *A History of Greater Vegreville*. 1968, 253 p. (Mimeographed.)

Hedley, Ralph. *East of the Beaver Hills: A History of Lamont, Its People and Their Achievements, 1892-1955*. (1955), 76 p. Mimeographed.

Hrynchuk, Audrey and Jean Klufas, eds. & comps. *Memories: Redwater and District*. Calgary, 1972. 227 p.

Hurt, Leslie, J. *The Victoria Settlement 1862-1922*. Occasional Paper no. 7. Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historical Resources, 1979. 242 p.

Laycock, Mae. *Bridges of Friendship*. 1974, 48 p. This work focuses on Drumheller, Lamont, Pakan, Smoky Lake, Victoria, And Vilna.

Maruschak, Pauline, Comp. *A Glimpse into the Past: Hay Lakes and District*. 1972, 62 p.

Pride In Progress. Chipman - St. Michael - Star and Districts. Chipman: Alberta Rose Historical Society, 1982.

> An award-winning work, it includes a glossary of terms (p.x), and descriptive material about feather bees (p.50), fairs and parades (p.71), sections on "Our Spiritual Life" (section 5), "Traditions and Customs" (Section 9), "Sports and Recreation: Musicians" (section 12), and numerous photos showing, for example, pilgrims, first communion, weddings, Ukrainian dancing, funerals and so forth (pp. 193, 195 and passim).

Waskatenau School. A Century of Progress: A Historical Study of the Waskatenau, Smoky Lake, Waspite, Bellis, Vilna and Spedden School Communities, Waskatenau 1967-1967. Edmonton: The Country of Smoky Lake No. 13, 1968, approx. 264 p.

3.72 Church

Basilian Monastery. *In Tribute to the Basilian Pioneers, 1902-1963. Svitlii pam'iati Vasiliian pioneriv.* Mundare, 1963, 120 p.

Glendon, Alta. Ukrainian Greek Catholic Parish. *Pamiatka z posviachennia parokhial'noi rezydencii v Glendoni, Alta., 1945.* Edmonton, 1945. 41 p.

Lamont United Church: A Historical Sketch 1892-1956. ca. 1956. 20 p (non numbered).

Popowich, Claudia Helen. *To Serve ;is to Love: The Canadian Story of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate.* Toronto: Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, 1971. xv, 355 p.

> See page 128 for reference to annual pilgrimages In Mundare.

Propam'iatna knyha 00. Vasyliian u Kanadi: 50 lit na sluzhbi Bohovi i narodovi (1902-1952) [= Commemorative Book on the Basilian Fathers In Canada: 50 Years of Service to God and People (1902-1952)]. Toronto: Vyd-vo 00. Vasyliian, 1953.

> For a statement on their approach to mission work and recollection services (misiia), see pp. 164-168. Activities of the Basilians In the Mundare area are described on pp. 168, 231-291.

Propamiatna Knyha: Z nahody zolotoho iuvieiu poselennia ukrains'koho narodu v Kanadi, 1981 - 50 - 1941. Ulozhena ukrains'kymy katolyts'kymy sviashchennykamy [= Commemorative Book: On the Occasion of the Golden Anniversary of the Settlement of Ukrainian People In Canada, 1891 - 50 - 1941. Compiled by Ukrainian Catholic priests]. Yorkton: Holos Spasytelia, 1941. 338 p. (With 550 photos, itemized).

> See especially pp. 267-312, and note photos showing Mundare pilgrimage (*vidpust*) scene In 1914, and mounted cavalcades preparing to welcome the bishop (sometimes with musical instruments).

St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Parish. *Parafii Sv. Mykolaia, Seint Maikel, Alberta, 1975. 75the Anniversary: Ukrainian Catholic Parish of St. Nicholas, St. Michael, Alberta, 1975.* St. Michael, 1975, 17 p.

Tserkva Sv. Verkhovnykh Apostoliv Petra i Pavla, Mundare, Alberta. *Monder uchora i s'ohodni: Iz pryvodu blahoslovennia novoi tserkvy . . ., Monder, Alberta - 29 chervnia, 1969* [title= Mundare Yesterday and Today: On the Occasion of the Blessing of the New Church . . ., Mundare, Alberta - June 29, 1969]. Toronto: Basilian Press, 1969. 232 p.

> Includes information on parish activities over the years.

3.73 Other

Kovbel', Semen, compiler. *Propamiatna knyha ukrains'koho narodn'oho domu u Vynpehu* [= Commemorative Book of the Ukrainian People's Home In Winnipeg]. Winnipeg: UND, 1949. 863 p. Of special interest for traditions In east central Alberta are pp. 480-481, 484, 544-546, 561.

Toma, Michael G. *Never Far from Eagle Tail Hill: A Brief History of the Romanian Pioneers Who Settled In East-Central Alberta at the Turn of the twentieth Century.* Edmonton: the Author, 1985? vii+166p.

Ukrains'kyi katolyts'ky soiuz [= Ukrainian Catholic Union]. *Propamiatna Knyha: Ukrains'kyi narodnyi dim (1906-1965)* [= Commemorative Book: The Ukrainian People's Home (1906-1965)]. [Edmonton, 1965] 544 p.

Documents activities of Mundare choir and dancers, pp. 118-123, 271.

NOTE: Descriptive detail regarding the contents of many of the items listed In the preceding section under 3.7 ("Commemorative works") is found In the following work: Joanna Krotki, *Local Histories of Alberta: An Annotated Bibliography*, Edmonton: Division of East European Studies, University of Alberta, 1980.

Historic Sites And Archives Service

Occasional Papers

1. Ukrainian Vernacular Architecture in Alberta. By John Lehr. pp. 43, 1976.
2. Archaeological Investigations: Fort Victoria, 1974. By Timothy C. Losey, et al. pp. 342, 1977.
3. Archaeological Investigations: Fort Victoria, 1975. By Timothy C. Losey, et al. pp. 235, 1977.
4. Archaeological Investigations: Writing-on-Stone N.W.M.P. Post. By Gary Adams, et al. pp. 356, 1977.
5. A History of Writing-on-Stone N.W.M.P. Post. By Leslie J. Hurt. pp. 242, 1979.
6. The Overlord of the Little Prairie: Report on Charles Plavin and His Homestead. By Jane McCracken. pp. 194, 1979.
7. The Victoria Settlement: 1862-1922. By Leslie J. Hurt. pp.242,1979.
8. A Gentlemen of Strathcona: Alexander Cameron Rutherford. By Douglas R. Babcock. pp. 203, 1980.
9. Stephan G. Stephansson: The Poet of the Rocky Mountains. By Jane W. McCracken. pp. 264, 1982.
10. The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History. By Orest T. Martynowych, pp. 421, 1985.
11. Ukrainian Dug-Out Dwellings in East Central Alberta. By Andriy Nahachewsky, pp. 286, 1985.
12. The Chernochan Machine Shed: A Land Use and Structural History. By Sonia Maryn. pp. 211, 1985.
13. The Chernochan Machine Shed: Ukrainian Farm Practices in East Central Alberta. By Sonia Maryn. pp. 211, 1985.
14. The Grekul House: A Land Use and Structural History. By Demjan Hohol'. pp. 202, 1985.
15. Geographical Naming in Western British North America: 1780-1820. By Randolph Freeman. pp. 97, 1985.
16. Out of the Peasant Mold: A Structural History of the M. Hawreliak Home in Shandro, Alberta. By Marie Lesoway. pp. 166, 1989.
17. Commerce in the Country: A Structural History of the Luzan Grocery Store. By Cathy Chorniawy, pp. 130, 1989.
18. Shelter, Feed, and Dray: A Structural History of The Radway Livery Barn. By Peter Melnycky, pp. 80, 1989.
19. Hlus' Church: A Narrative History of the Ukrainian Catholic Church at Buczacz, Alberta. By Andrij Makuch. pp. 140, 1989.
20. Galicia and Bukovina: A Research Handbook About Western Ukraine, Late 19th - 20th Centuries. By John-Paul Himka. pp. 215, 1990.
21. Sviéto: Celebrating Ukrainian-Canadian Ritual in East Central Alberta Through the Generations By. Robert B. Klymasz. Edited by Radomir B. Bilash. pp. 255, 1992