

VILLAGE RADICALS AND PEASANT IMMIGRANTS:
THE SOCIAL ROOTS OF FACTIONALISM
AMONG UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA,
1896-1918

A Thesis
Presented To
The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
The University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

Orest T. Martynowych

1978

THE CANADIANIZATION OF THE UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANT

BY

OREST THOMAS MARTYNOWYCH

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

© 1978

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this dissertation, to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this dissertation and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this dissertation.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the dissertation nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many people who have helped me in a variety of ways.

The librarians and archivists of the Provincial Library and the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, the National Library and Public Archives of Canada, the United Church Archives at Victoria College, Toronto, and the Slavic Collection at the Elizabeth Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba, were always courteous and helpful. Likewise, the librarians at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok), Winnipeg, the Ukrainian National Home, Winnipeg, the Ukrainian Reading Association "Prosvita", Winnipeg, and the staff at Trident Press, Winnipeg, were always anxious to be of assistance.

Mr. Roman Malanchuk of the New York City Public Library, as well as Dr. Mykhailo Marunchak, the Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sawchuk, the late Rev. Ivan Robert Kovalevitch, and Mr. Mykola Zalozetsky, all of Winnipeg, were kind enough to provide me with source materials which I could not otherwise have obtained.

Professors J. E. Rea and O. W. Gerus jointly supervised the thesis, offered encouragement, and displayed extraordinary patience and endurance as they read and commented upon the various versions of the work. Dr. R. B. Klymasz was kind enough to read and comment upon that portion of the second chapter which deals with Ukrainian peasant immigrants.

The research for this study was facilitated, in part, by a Canada Council Special M.A. Scholarship during the 1973-1974 academic year, and by a travel grant from the J. W. Ewart Memorial Fund in the autumn of 1975.

Needless to say, I alone am responsible for any faults in this work.

ABSTRACT

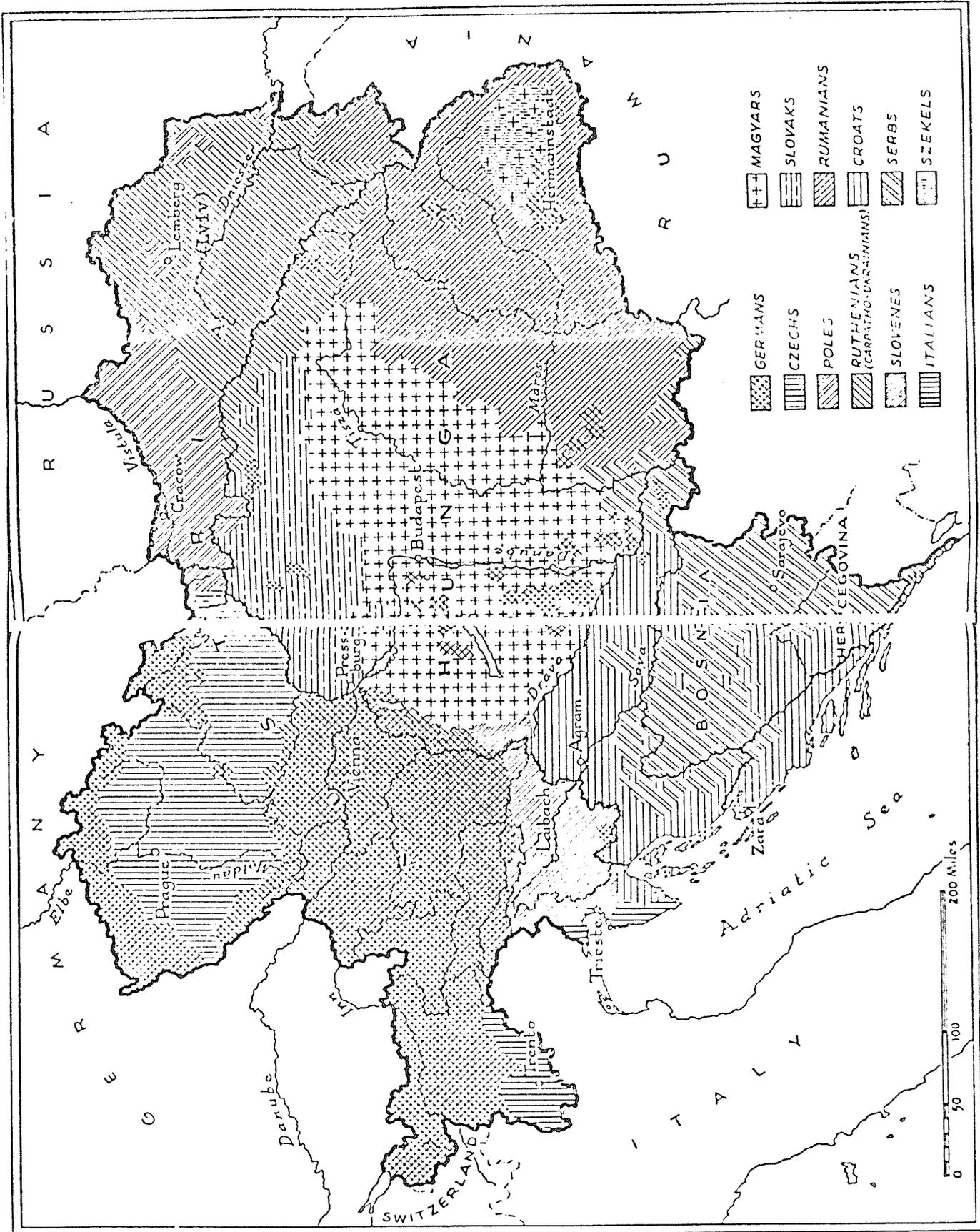
Between 1896 and 1918 the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada became divided into four mutually antagonistic camps. Although the Greek Catholic clergy, which had exercised religious, social and cultural hegemony over the majority of Ukrainian peasant immigrants in their homeland, managed to retain the allegiance of most settlers, its leadership was challenged from within the immigrant community and its authority undermined by Ukrainian advocates of protestant, socialist and nationalist orientations. The religious, political and ideological divisions, which emerged within the Ukrainian immigrant community, traced their origins to developments within the Ukrainian community in Galicia and Bukovina, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In the two Habsburg provinces, especially in Galicia, members of the Ukrainian Radical Party had challenged the hegemony of the Catholic clergy. In Canada divisions first appeared within the immigrant community when members of the village intelligentsia, who had been influenced by the Radical movement, attempted to establish the life of the Ukrainian peasant immigrant masses on enlightened and rational foundations. In an effort to modernize the peasant immigrants' traditional perceptions, values and behaviour patterns, and in order to facilitate their integration into Canadian society on terms of equality, members of the village intelligentsia advocated evangelical protestantism, socialist working class solidarity, and the cultivation of a sense of Ukrainian national identity. Changes in the social composition of the Ukrainian immigrant community, Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic efforts to subordinate the immigrants to clerical authority, and Anglo-Celtic efforts to "Canadianize" Ukrainian immigrants through the Protestant Churches and the Public Schools, exacerbated differences among advocates of protestantism, socialism and nationalism, and created an unbridgeable gulf between the three factions and the Catholic clergy. By 1918 the Ukrainian community in Canada was in a state of turmoil, as Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests, Ukrainian Presbyterian ministers, Ukrainian Communists, and advocates of Ukrainian nationalism, who had established the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, struggled to retain or to capture the allegiance of the immigrant masses. This turbulent state of affairs, further complicated by the emergence of new factions during the inter-war period, lasted until 1940, when it was partially and inconclusively resolved by the creation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. The thesis seeks to throw some light on the origins of these religious, political and ideological divisions which first emerged within the Ukrainian immigrant community between 1896 and 1918.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, POLITICAL ORGANIZATION



SOURCE: Robert A. Kann, THE MULTINATIONAL EMPIRE: NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL REFORM IN THE HABSBURG MONARCHY 1848-1918 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), I, 20-21.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, NATIONAL GROUPS: Only national groups representing more than 50 percent of the population in a given area are shown on map.



SOURCE: Robert A. Kann, THE MULTINATIONAL EMPIRE: NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL REFORM IN THE HABSBURG MONARCHY 1848-1918 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), I, 40-41.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: THE ROOTS OF UKRAINIAN RADICALISM IN GALICIA AND BUKOVYNA	10
Footnotes	53
CHAPTER TWO: THE ROOTS OF FACTIONALISM IN CANADA: PEASANT IMMIGRANTS AND THE VILLAGE INTELLIGENTSIA	61
Footnotes	110
CHAPTER THREE: "PRESERVING THE FAITH": THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE VILLAGE INTELLIGENTSIA	123
Footnotes	169
CHAPTER FOUR: "CANADIANIZING THE FOREIGNER": PRESBYTERIANS, THE PUBLIC SCHOOL AND THE VILLAGE INTELLIGENTSIA	178
Footnotes	224
CHAPTER FIVE: MOULDING "NEW MEN": THREE STRATEGIES FOR CULTURAL MODERNIZATION	234
Footnotes	279
CONCLUSION	285
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	296

INTRODUCTION

During the three decades preceding 1920 over 170,000 Ukrainians immigrated to Canada. This, the first phase of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, was characterized by intense social, intellectual and religious turmoil within the immigrant community. As a result, by the end of the Great War, four mutually antagonistic factions were discernible among Ukrainians in Canada. Although the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy, which had exercised religious, social and political hegemony over the majority of Ukrainian immigrants in their homeland, managed to retain the allegiance of most settlers, its leadership had been challenged from within the immigrant community and its authority undermined by lay advocates of protestant, socialist and nationalist orientations. By 1918 exponents of each orientation had already attempted to, or were in the process of establishing, their own institutions, which were free of the Catholic clergy's control.

According to standard accounts of the period, dissension and the emergence of new orientations within the Ukrainian community, which challenged the hegemony of the Catholic clergy, were due to a growing sense of "freedom and independence" among immigrants who had "absorbed the spirit of Canadian democracy".* Needless to say, explanations of this sort fail to withstand scrutiny. They reveal more about the ideological assumptions which color the writings of the historians who

*Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History, (Toronto, 1953), and the same author's The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1958.

employ them, than they do about the historical processes involved. Consequently this thesis seeks to throw some light on the origins and development of factionalism within the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada during the period from 1896 to 1918. It will be argued that:

(1) New religious and political orientations within the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada, which challenged the hegemony of the Catholic clergy, were inspired by social conflict and intellectual ferment within the Ukrainian community in Galicia and Bukovyna, whence most of the immigrants emigrated.

(2) Protestant, socialist and nationalist orientations were articulated in Canada in an effort to rationalize or modernize the perceptions, beliefs and behaviour patterns of culturally neglected and economically exploited peasant immigrants — be it to facilitate their integration into Canadian society on terms of equality with other Canadians, or in order to mobilize them for the revolutionary transformation of that society.

(3) Attempts by the French-speaking Roman Catholic clergy and by the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy to subordinate the immigrants to their own authority, as well as attempts by representatives of the dominant Anglo-Celtic Protestant community to denationalize the immigrants and to control their political and socio-economic behaviour, exacerbated divisions within the immigrant community and led advocates of protestant, socialist and nationalist orientations to establish their own autonomous networks of cultural, educational, economic, political and religious institutions.

A few preliminary remarks are in order at the outset. First, it must be remembered that the Ukrainians who immigrated to Canada during the period under consideration were almost exclusively members of the peasant class. The vast majority emigrated from eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna, Ukrainian-populated regions in two of the most economically backward and underdeveloped provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In Galicia and Bukovyna, where 93 percent of the Ukrainian population was engaged in agriculture as land hungry peasant cultivators or landless agrarian laborers, and where almost 80 percent of the Ukrainian population was illiterate, Ukrainian peasants had

constituted an economically exploited, socially oppressed, culturally neglected, colonized people, preyed upon by foreign landowners, bureaucrats and merchants, and frequently patronized and humiliated by more privileged members of their own nationality. Yet, for many of these Ukrainian peasants, immigration to Canada did not prove to be a liberating experience. Recruited to satisfy the demand for agricultural settlers and cheap, malleable labor, they settled in blocs along the northern fringe of the Prairie frontier and were employed as frontier workers on railroad construction, in the mines and in the forests. There, they were expected to cultivate lands of marginal quality and to perform the type of menial and unremunerative labor which members of the dominant group eschewed. Moreover, they were isolated from modern sectors of Canadian society, from centres of political power and cultural life, and, they were often left without basic social services such as schools and medical facilities. Life continued to be no less hazardous and insecure than it had been in the Old World.

Under these circumstances a noticeable proportion of the peasant immigrants displayed perceptions, values and behaviour patterns, which threatened to impede their integration into Canadian society on terms of equality with its other members. These perceptions, values and behaviour patterns, it must be stressed, were not national traits, which were peculiar to Ukrainian peasants. Rather, they were attitudes which were peculiar to a socio-economic class — the peasantry. They were attitudes of the type noticed by cultural anthropologists in most peasant societies — the result of economic deprivation and cultural neglect. Thus, as long as peasant immigrants remained culturally isolated, at the mercy of the elements, and exposed to the constant threat of

illness and death, superstition and fatalism continued to flourish in Canada. Where lands of poor quality and economic scarcity complicated the immigrants' efforts to establish themselves, many continued to perceive their environment as one in which all the desired and necessary things in life were limited or in short supply. This in turn often bred suspicion, envy and mistrust, thereby encouraging economic individualism and inhibiting cooperation. Discrimination and humiliation by social superiors tended to fortify these attitudes and to inculcate feelings of inferiority and self-contempt. Only the realization that men could be conscious agents of change and progress would eradicate these lingering perceptions and behaviour patterns. Prior to 1920, however, in more than one district, progress was slow, and there was little evidence of man's ability to better his condition or to shape his own destiny.

Second, it is important to realize that leadership within the immigrant community throughout the period from 1896 to 1918 was provided almost exclusively by members of the village intelligentsia. Although the social structure in Galicia and Bukovyna had been traditional — composed of aristocrats, burghers and peasants — the aristocrats and burghers had been, as a rule, foreigners. Ukrainian society had consisted of peasants, priests, and a very small middle class composed of teachers, lawyers and petty bureaucrats. While isolated clergymen and some members of the middle class had encouraged and assisted land hungry peasants to immigrate to Canada, very few representatives of these social strata accompanied the peasant immigrants on the long trek to the new world. In the absence of representatives of these two strata, especially in the almost total absence of the clergy,

leadership was assumed by the village intelligentsia. This stratum of rural Ukrainian society was comprised of literate, fairly articulate peasants — or their offspring — who had at least some education. Usually members of the village intelligentsia were village school teachers or petty government officials. In Canada a large proportion would become bilingual school teachers. Above all, members of the village intelligentsia were distinguished from other villagers by their interest in controversial political, social and religious issues, and by the fact that they were free of the cultural fetters imposed on the individual in traditional peasant societies. They realized that men could shape their own destiny. Conscientious members of the village intelligentsia displayed a concern with society at large and were anxious to work on its behalf. They hoped to "enlighten and elevate" their economically exploited and culturally neglected countrymen. In fact this sense of social consciousness and moral commitment, rather than education or social origin, was understood to be the mark of a true intelligent.

Those members of the village intelligentsia who articulated protestant, socialist and nationalist orientations in Canada derived their inspiration from the Ukrainian Radical movement. Attempts to transform Ukrainian peasants into self-reliant, enlightened and active agents of their own social emancipation and national liberation had been initiated by exponents of Radicalism in Galicia and Bukovyna late in the nineteenth century. Because the higher clergy in Galicia (Greek Catholic) and in Bukovyna (Greek Orthodox) acted as the instrument of foreign ruling classes, while most members of the lower clergy remained indifferent to the plight of the peasantry, the Radicals articulated a

social and political orientation based on anti-clerical, socialist and populist principles. Drawing their recruits from the ranks of alienated young intellectuals and politically conscious peasants, the Radicals embraced liberal free-thinkers, democratic nationalists and social democrats. By 1900 the movement had given birth to three Ukrainian political parties. In addition to the militantly anti-clerical Radical Party, Social Democratic and National Democratic parties had been founded by former Radicals. All three continued to oppose the hegemony of the Catholic clergy.

In Canada members of the village intelligentsia continued to keep in touch with the Radical movement in Galicia, and attempted — in their own way — to put its principles into practice. They endeavoured to "enlighten and elevate" their exploited and neglected countrymen. The persistence of obsolete attitudes among some of the peasant immigrants, social differentiation among the immigrants and the intelligentsia, and the confrontation between members of the intelligentsia and representatives of the Old and the New World, resulted in the articulation of three different orientations — protestant, socialist and nationalist. Thus, advocates of protestantism, the first orientation to emerge from within the ranks of the intelligentsia, believed that conversion to protestantism would foster self-reliance and self-esteem among peasant immigrants by dispensing with clerical tutelage and by minimizing social distinctions between laity and clergy. Similarly, by inveighing against moral lapses rather than against the failure to comply with customary observances, protestantism would root out superstition and instill virtues such as charity, honesty, sobriety and self-mastery, thereby encouraging cooperation and conscious

self-improvement. Advocates of socialism, who feared that the immigrants' fatalism, self-abnegation and deference to authority facilitated their exploitation, sought to foster conscious opposition to capitalist exploitation by encouraging working class solidarity. The emergence of the socialist orientation reflected the growing number of Ukrainian frontier and urban laborers in Canada. Advocates of nationalism believed that the cultivation of Ukrainian national identity, pride and solidarity, would instill a sense of personal self-respect and human dignity among their demoralized countrymen. A sense of Ukrainian national solidarity, they assumed, could overcome the peasant immigrants' traditional individualism and suspiciousness, their inability or unwillingness to cooperate with one another. The nationalists' moderate program, which stressed bilingual education, reflected the very high proportion of teachers in the nationalist camp, and appealed primarily to those settlers who were materially comfortable enough to ignore socialist appeals for social upheaval, yet resentful at efforts by representatives of the Anglo-Celtic community to enforce cultural homogeneity.

Third, throughout the period under consideration, in addition to debating the merits of their own orientations, members of the village intelligentsia were also engaged in a struggle with the French-speaking Roman Catholic and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy on the one hand, and with Anglo-Celtic Protestant advocates of Canadianization on the other hand. Unlike those representatives of the village intelligentsia who hoped to "enlighten and elevate" the immigrants by rationalizing and modernizing their perceptions, values and behaviour patterns, members of the Catholic clergy were, as a rule, prepared to subordinate

everything to the task of preserving the immigrants' allegiance to the Catholic Church, while proponents of Canadianization sought to denationalize the immigrants and to control their political and socio-economic behaviour in accordance with their own interests. This confrontation with the Catholic clergy and with advocates of Canadianization not only raised hostilities between the intelligentsia and these two groups to a fever pitch, it also exacerbated divisions within the ranks of the intelligentsia and culminated in efforts by protestants, socialists and nationalists to establish their own autonomous institutions, thereby formalizing the disintegration of the Ukrainian immigrant community. Thus, in response to efforts by the French-speaking Roman Catholic clergy to subordinate Ukrainian immigrants to its own authority, advocates of the protestant orientation established the Independent Greek Church with assistance from the Presbyterian Church of Canada. When, more than a decade later, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy continued to pursue an authoritarian and narrowly denominational course, advocates of the nationalist orientation — who were cognizant of Presbyterian efforts to use the Independent Greek Church for their own ends and wary of stepped up efforts to denationalize the immigrants through the agency of the Public School — established the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. Although the Ukrainian Social Democratic Federation was established primarily in response to socio-economic injustices and inequalities, members of the Federation and of its successor, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, consistently criticized Catholic clericalism and denounced "English chauvinism".

Finally, a word about the parameters of this thesis. It focuses

on the village intelligentsia, specifically on the emergence of the three different orientations among members of the group, and on their strategies for helping their culturally neglected and economically underprivileged countrymen. Consequently I have delimited the thesis chronologically by the years 1896 to 1918 — the former signifying the year that the first members of the village intelligentsia began to arrive in Canada, the latter signifying the year divisions within the Ukrainian immigrant community were finalized. Although there are serious gaps in documentation, a study of the intelligentsia nevertheless remains the most feasible approach to an understanding of the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada during the first two decades of the century and provides the key to understanding subsequent developments. Most of the newspapers, almanacs and memoirs published during the period, or relevant to it, served as organs of the various factions and reflected their concerns and objectives. They also provide fleeting glimpses of life among the immigrant masses. By the same token, it must be remembered that our knowledge of the quality of daily life and personal relations among these peasant immigrant masses during this period remains very unsatisfactory. A formidable amount of research will have to be done if this much neglected but crucial dimension of the immigrant experience is to be understood. Consequently, those parts of the thesis which deal with some of the perceptions, values and behaviour patterns observed among peasant immigrants in districts where economic scarcity continued to prevail, should by no stretch of the imagination be regarded as a comprehensive sketch of Ukrainian peasant immigrant culture. They simply indicate the kind of perceptions and behaviour patterns — bred by centuries of oppression and deprivation — which stirred the village intelligentsia into action.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ROOTS OF UKRAINIAN RADICALISM IN GALICIA AND BUKOVYNA

The origins of ideological factionalism within the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada, during the period from 1896 to 1918, may be traced to developments within the Ukrainian community in the Habsburg Empire prior to the turn of the century. Throughout the nineteenth century, Ukrainians in the Habsburg Empire constituted an economically exploited, socially oppressed, culturally neglected and nationally colonized people. As a result of centuries of rule by foreign conquerors, the Ukrainian population consisted of two social classes; a numerically small, relatively privileged clergy, and an oppressed and exploited peasantry which constituted over 90 percent of the Ukrainian population. A secular intelligentsia, members of which were concentrated in the bureaucratic, legal and teaching professions, began to emerge only in the last quarter of the century and did not assume leadership within the community until just before the turn of the century. Since the higher clergy acted as an instrument of the foreign ruling classes and most members of the lower clergy remained indifferent to the plight of the peasantry, a radical orientation which challenged clerical hegemony was articulated by a small group of young intellectuals. The result was the formation, in 1890, of the Radical Party. By the turn of the century the Radical Party and its two offspring, the National Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party, were struggling to transform the Ukrainian peasantry into enlightened,