

THREE CASE STUDIES OF MUTUAL AID
IN THE UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY
OF WINNIPEG, 1900-1918

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

The University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Social Work

by

Maria N.B. Wasylkewycz

1987

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ABSTRACT

Between 1896 and 1914 an estimated 170,000 Ukrainians from the Austro-Hungarian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna streamed into Canada. Lured at first by the offer of the Canadian government of free homestead land of 160 acres, few of the Ukrainian immigrants had the financial resources to immediately start up a farming operation. Consequently, at least 80 per cent entered the work force for a brief period of time, and more than 20 per cent took up permanent residence in the urban centres. By 1905 the nature of Ukrainian immigration had changed. In place of the land-hungry peasant eager to work the soil came the immigrant labourer in search of the myriad employment opportunities available in Canada as a result of the rapid industrial expansion taking place after the turn of the century. As the portal to the prairies and the clearinghouse for Western labour, Winnipeg became home to the greatest number of Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants and the centre for many Ukrainian organizational efforts.

For the Ukrainian immigrants who chose to establish themselves in an urban-industrial setting, the transformation from peasant-farmer to industrial-labourer, and the relocation from a rural to an urban setting in an alien country, was fraught with difficulties. Not only were there nativist hostilities and assimilationist pressures to contend with, but there were the financial insecurities

inherent in a wage-centered money economy. Because of the lack of government social welfare programs and the animosity of unions as well as the host society towards Ukrainian labourers, Ukrainian immigrants were compelled to turn inward and look to traditional forms of mutual aid to assist them with their adjustment to the altered socio-economic circumstances they encountered in Canada.

This study examines some of the forms of mutual assistance and welfare provision in existence in Galicia prior to the start of the emigration movement. It focuses on the role of the family, the commune, voluntary artisan associations, Orthodox church brotherhoods, reading halls and enlightenment societies, and co-operative ventures. In the Canadian context it discusses three distinct modes of mutual aid employed by Ukrainian immigrants in Winnipeg - the reading halls, mutual benefit organizations and emergency relief committees. The Shevchenko and Prosvita Reading Halls and the Ukrainian National Home were the cases selected for discussion in the chapter on reading halls; the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association was focused on in the discourse on mutual benefit organizations; and the Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association of 1915 was analyzed in the section on relief committees.

To facilitate the adaptation to the new set of socio-economic circumstances and ethno-cultural milieu in Canada, Ukrainian immigrants re-established those

institutions which were effective in meeting contingencies in their homeland and which coincided with their needs in Canada. Where no appropriate traditional structures existed in Galicia, Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants were quick to borrow from their countrymen in the United States who had preceded them to an urban-industrial environment and had already resolved some of the issues of this transition. Many of the mutual aid organizations established by Ukrainians as well as other immigrant groups were the forerunners of later government social welfare programs.

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I am indebted to a number of people who assisted me during the course of my research and the writing of this thesis. To my advisor, Professor Len Kaminski, for his comments, critiques, and guidance throughout the entire process; to Professor Gerald Friesen also for his suggestions and comments, as well as the extension of his special expertise in the field of Western Canadian history; to Professor Dennis Bracken, for so kindly accepting a position on my committee and also offering me the benefit of his particular observations; to Mr. Ivan Parkasevych of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association, who allowed me access to the documents of the organization and also those of the Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association; to Dr. Stella Hryniuk for loaning me her personal copy of her dissertation as well as other useful materials; and to any other individuals whom I may have neglected to mention, but who have helped me along the way, I extend my sincere gratitude to all.

This thesis is dedicated to my husband, Roman, without whom this work surely would not been completed - who sat patiently night after night as I toiled over the research and the writing of this thesis; who lent me his special technical expertise in map-making and computer wizardry; who encouraged me to continue even when the

obstacles to completion seemed insurmountable at times; and above all else who stood by me, helped in any and every way in which he could, and who finally got to share my happiness at seeing the finished product.

This thesis is also dedicated to my grandfather, who supported me in my bid to continue with my studies, who shared the joy of my small victories and the sadness of the setbacks...how I wish you could have lived to see this day! "Didu, ia tebe nikoly ne zabudu...."

And finally to all those dear to me who never lost faith that one day this work would be completed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Between 1891 and 1914 an estimated 170,000 Ukrainian peasants from the Austro-Hungarian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna made their way to Canada. Although the bulk of the pre-1900 emigrants were agricultural settlers who were attracted by the offer of free lands and the possibility of economic betterment, well over 20 per cent remained in urban centres and at least 80 per cent were compelled to enter industrial employment for brief periods of time until sufficient capital was accumulated to enable them settle on the land permanently. By 1905 the face of the Ukrainian immigration movement had been transformed. In place of the farmer-colonist who arrived in Canada with wife and children in tow, eager to set down roots on the homestead as quickly as possible was the single young male industrial wage earner who had heeded the call of mining and railway interests for unskilled labour, and who preferred the higher wages of industrial employment and the amenities of the urban centre over agricultural settlement.

To the Ukrainian peasant, being a wage-earner was considered degrading for it spelled the end of self-sufficiency and a dependence on an external agent for one's livelihood. Even as late as the post-World War I period Ukrainians expressed the sentiment that farm life was

preferable to city living. In the city one could never quite achieve the degree of stability that was possible on the farmstead. There was a gnawing anxiety about employment, always having to be on the look-out for another job, and there was the persistent expense involved with every transaction - "you have to buy everything". "On the farm," according to one Ukrainian, "you have your own grain, your own livestock, your own garden, you have almost all your food and you have time to make your clothing, you don't have to buy everything. You can get along without money even. In the city you cannot do it; for everything you need you have to pay; if you have no money you have to starve."¹

Because being a labourer was not as appealing to the Ukrainian peasant as being the master of one's own farm enterprise, there was at first a resistance to the sweeping socio-economic changes that were so disruptive of the traditional peasant way of life. But "progress" could not be held in abeyance forever, and as the Ukrainian peasant's landholding diminished past the level of self-sufficiency, while the exactions of the money economy grew in urgency, economic necessity forced the peasant to seek and engage in paid labour. However, as the peasant began to participate in the work force, at first as a paid day labourer on the manorial estates, and eventually as a seasonal migrant worker in the more advanced countries of the

Austro-Hungarian Empire, he also began to aspire to a better life. For the peasant who could not foresee improvement in his own homeland in the coming years, permanent emigration became the means of preserving the remainder of his inheritance. By selling his land while it still had value the Ukrainian peasant was able to reinvest in what he hoped would be a more promising future in a new country. Hence as traces of the industrial revolution began to seep into Galicia and Bukovyna, peasants began to mobilize themselves.

By the turn of the century when Canada entered an era of unprecedented industrial expansion, and local labour supplies were inadequate to meet the chronic demand for unskilled labour, Ukrainian peasants had merged with the out-going tide of European labourers who like themselves were seeking overseas employment opportunities. In moving away from their rural agricultural origins Ukrainian immigrants were confronted by the need to adapt to a new economic order while still providing for their own well-being and that of their kin. The urban-industrial setting of the New World dictated that new solutions be found to satisfy the needs that had once been met traditionally in the rural peasant village. The organizations that Ukrainians established in Canada were intended to deal with the different aspects of adjustment to an urban-industrial and alien environment in a country where individualism and self-reliance were the watchwords and

where the family and the private market were still the first lines of defence against want.

The objective of this study is to examine the nature of mutual aid within the Ukrainian urban immigrant community of Winnipeg between the years 1900 and 1918 by focusing on three very distinct and different forms of mutual assistance employed by the immigrants during that period and by comparing them to the forms of mutual aid in existence in their homeland prior to their emigration. The three models selected for this study are the reading halls, the mutual benefit associations, and the relief committees. The cases selected for closer study are the Shevchenko Reading Hall, the Prosvita Reading and the National Home; the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association; and the Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association of 1915.

The choice of these three particular organizations, as well as the period and location selected for the study were contingent upon a number of interrelated factors. To begin with, the models elected for this study were chosen partially as a result of the availability of original societal records and newspapers documenting their activities and in part because they demonstrated a certain degree of continuity of certain styles of self-help in evidence in Galicia and Bukovyna prior to emigration.

Although reading halls have not, in the traditional sense been viewed as mutual benefit associations because

they did not play a direct role in the distribution of material benefit to their members, in Galicia and Bukovyna they were the main vehicles of the movement toward increased peasant literacy and mass public education, and the organizing instruments for the improvement of the economic well-being of the peasant. Village reading halls were usually the site of savings and loan societies, cooperative shops, and communal grain storage facilities. In Canada reading halls continued to play a part in meeting the educational and social needs of Ukrainian immigrants but because of the urban-industrial setting into which reading halls had been transplanted their focus increasingly became collective action of a political nature.

The St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association was the first-known Ukrainian mutual benefit organization in Canada. It was selected for this study specifically because it fit the customary standard of mutual benefit associations and because it represented the introduction of a new element into Ukrainian-Canadian society which to the knowledge of the writer did not exist at the level of the Galician village.

The Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association was organized in 1915 to deal with the crisis of widespread unemployment in the Ukrainian urban community during the time of the First World War. The decision to include this organization in the study was prompted by the discovery of

the similarities between the response to emergency situations in Galicia and Canada.

From the start of the Ukrainian immigration movement to Canada, Winnipeg assumed the lead as a major population centre of Ukrainians. Its strategic position as the funnel to the Prairies made it a natural dropping-off point for many west-bound immigrants, while its size, in comparison to other Western cities, raised it to the status of the dominant urban centre of the prairie region, and as such, the ideal recruitment centre for Western labour. The diversity of facilities and industry located in Winnipeg also served to attract large numbers of immigrant labourers, many of whom eventually settled there. Hence Winnipeg became home to the greatest body of Ukrainian immigrants and subsequently the spawning ground for numerous Ukrainian organizations.

Ukrainian immigration to Canada began in the 1890's and continued until 1914 when the outbreak of the First World War curtailed any further movement. But although the migration of Ukrainians to Canada began in the 1890's, it did not assume an urban, industrial character until after the turn of the century. And since the establishment of any organization was dependent on the presence of a sufficient membership, most of the organizations mentioned in this study did not come into being until after 1900, hence the 1900 starting date for the study. The cut-off date for this

study is 1918. By then the Ukrainian-Canadian community had already splintered into a plurality of religious and political factions each of which established its own distinct organizations.

Research Questions

Following are the research questions which this study proposes to deal with:

- 1) To what extent did the mutual aid activities in the homeland of the Ukrainian immigrants influence the nature of their mutual aid activity in Winnipeg? What models or patterns of mutual aid were perpetuated by the Ukrainian community of Winnipeg?
- 2) To what extent and in what manner did local conditions have a bearing on the nature of the mutual aid activities carried on by the Ukrainian immigrant community of Winnipeg?
- 3) What was the purpose of each of the organizations selected for the study? What was the nature and range of services provided by them to the Ukrainian community of Winnipeg? Were there any modifications in terms of degree, range, or nature of services offered over the course of

time delineated by the study?

Methodology

The main sources of information for the Canadian section of this study were the original documents of the organizations singled out for examination, the Ukrainian newspapers of that period, mainly Svoboda, Kanadiiskyi Farmer, and Kanadiiskyi Rusyn, as well as an assortment of calendars, almanacs, and commemorative yearbooks. For information pertaining to the mutual aid activities in Galicia the writer relied primarily on the Galician newspaper, Batkivshchyna which was available from the University of Toronto through the interlibrary loan department, historical monographs, and related theses and dissertations. Possibly two of the most fruitful sources of information on pre-emigration conditions in Galicia were the dissertations by Stella Hryniuk and John-Paul Himka. Hryniuk's study centered on the agricultural and socio-cultural development of the Ukrainian peasant population of five East Galician counties in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, while Himka's treatise focused on Polish and Ukrainian socialism in Austria 1867-1890. The bibliographies and footnotes in different theses and dissertations were another surprisingly rich source of information for this study.

For the inquiry into the activities of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association, the writer approached the Association representatives and was permitted access to the membership book, cash book, minute books and other private documents of the Association which were then used as a starting point for the analysis. Although records of meetings were available from the date of establishment of the Association in 1905, they were often too brief for the writer to be able to glean the necessary information solely from them. There were also gaps in information in the cash and membership books. In both cases the records for the first three years of operation were missing. To compensate for the lack of documents and generally to cross-check all the information gathered, the writer used the minute books as a base for the inquiry since they were the only original Association materials that covered the entire time delineated by the study, and then searched for newspaper accounts of Association activities to round out and support the research. Because Kanadiiskyi Farmer was the first, and for several years the only, Ukrainian-language paper to be published in Canada the writer relied quite heavily on its reports of Association functions during the years 1906-1910. By 1911, Kanadiiskyi Rusyn, a Winnipeg-based Ukrainian Catholic newspaper, had assumed the function of reporting regularly on the activities of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association while Kanadiiskyi Farmer had ceased.

Hence, after 1910 Kanadiiskyi Rusyn was used by the writer to verify and supplement information on the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association. For information on the occupational backgrounds of the Association members the writer referred, without much luck, to the Henderson's Directories for 1905-1908. It is assumed by the writer that because of the unfamiliarity with the English language on the part of the Ukrainian residents, and the inability of the Anglo-Saxon interviewers to transliterate the "strange-sounding" Slavic names, many Ukrainian immigrants were bypassed by the Directory. However, this obstacle was also overcome by the discovery of an Association scrapbook containing newspaper clippings of Association events, and obituaries of many of the founding members. Calculations as to the average age of new members were based on the assessment of membership fees which were scaled according to the age of the applicant and were entered next to the registrant's name in the membership book. Information on the benefits provided by the Association was derived directly from its constitution.

With regard to Ukrainian reading halls, the writer depended primarily on the accounts in Kanadiiskyi Farmer to gauge the level and direction of their activities in the early years, and on Kanadiiskyi Rusyn to examine the period from 1911-1918. Marunchak's books on the history of Ukrainians in Canada were a good source of general as well

as biographical information on Ukrainian reading halls and community leaders. However the information tended to be scattered throughout the different chapters, and indeed, throughout the variety of his publications, making its compilation in a comprehensible manner somewhat challenging. Marunchak's works were employed in the research on the Shevchenko Reading Hall, which was the first Ukrainian reading hall in Winnipeg. Minute books and other documents of the Prosvita Reading Hall were available at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre archives in Winnipeg, although the materials prior to 1913 had been destroyed. In this situation the writer relied on the reports of Kanadiiskyi Farmer and Kanadiiskyi Rusyn and on the information contained in the Prosvita Reading Hall's commemorative yearbook. The first-person accounts of reading hall activities contained in the Ukrainian National Home commemorative yearbook provided the writer with additional insight into the background of the different Ukrainian reading halls and their disputes over clerical versus secular control.

The Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association was a nation-wide emergency relief effort initiated by the Ukrainian Catholic community of Winnipeg to aid the families of unemployed Ukrainian workers during the time of the First World War. The writer had access to the Relief Association's ledger book which in most instances contained

not only the names and addresses of the relief recipients, but data as to their marital status, information on their citizenship, the number of family members, and the dates and nature of relief provided. The information contained in the ledger was compared to the reports submitted regularly by the Relief Association to Kanadiiskyi Rusyn. Curiously, the writer was unable to locate any descriptions of this association's activities in any of the other local Ukrainian newspapers. To verify the occupations of the relief recipients the writer referred to Henderson's Directory for 1915 and encountered much the same problem as when researching the backgrounds of the members of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association. However, because the addresses of the recipients were available to the writer, and the beginning section of Henderson's Directory was organized according to street names and numbers, the writer was then able to find the address of the recipient, locate the name of the resident, or a reasonable facsimile of the name, and proceed to the second section of the Directory to ascertain the occupation. This process was necessary because in all instances the names of the recipients were misspelled to such an extent as to make them barely recognizable. In a number of instances the writer noticed that Henderson's Directory simply listed "foreigners" as the residents of the building but provided no names. To determine the percentages of specific foodstuffs distributed

by the Relief Association to its recipients the writer simply counted the number of times that item was provided to each individual recipient based on the entries in the ledger book. Similarly to come up with the percentages in foodstuffs and money donated to the Association by the Ukrainian rural settlements the writer calculated each item donated by each rural area. There were some difficulties with this calculation because of the different quantities and "measures" of the donations, for instance, 4 chickens, 2 lbs. of butter, a small tub of lard, and the like. To get around this problem the writer simply counted each contribution by category regardless of the quantity, thus a donation of 2 chickens on February 4th followed by another donation of 5 chickens on February 11th simply translated into 2 donations of poultry. To determine the average length of time on relief the writer counted the number of days between each entry next to each recipients name and divided the figure by the number of recipients listed in the ledger. This figure was also difficult to calculate because the entries in the ledger did not necessarily follow in a clear sequence.

* * *

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. The first chapter which is the introduction to this study, outlines

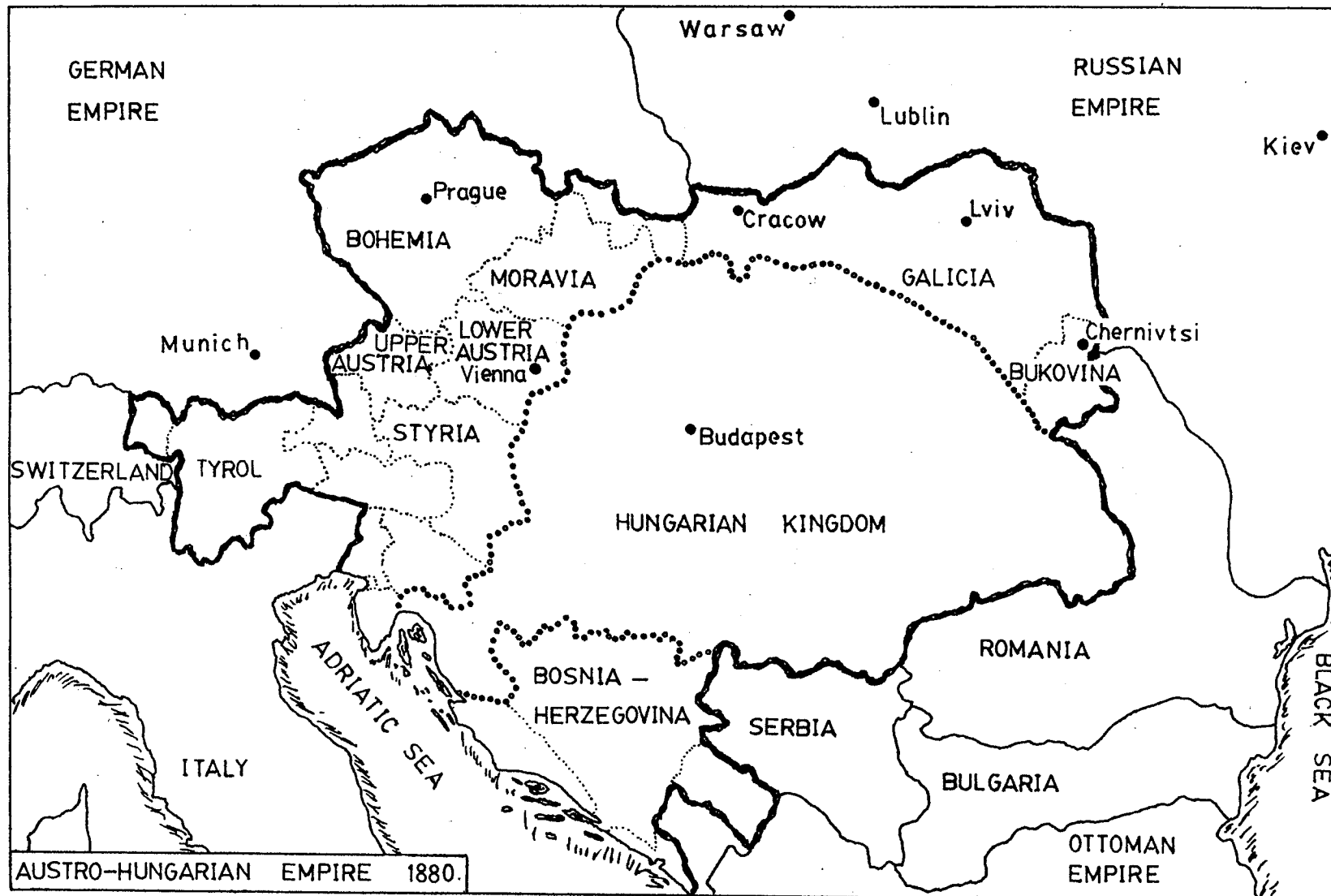
the research questions posed and provides an overview of the methodology and the source of data employed to answer the research questions. The second chapter focuses on the changing socio-economic and political conditions in Galicia which over time contributed to the decision to emigrate. Although the Austro-Hungarian province of Bukovyna was also the source of numerous Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants, Galicia being the larger of the two provinces, by virtue of its size contributed a greater number of immigrants. Therefore, this section tends to deal almost exclusively with the circumstances in Galicia. The third chapter has been devoted to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia, its history, and a discussion of the basis of its dominant position within Ukrainian society. In the fourth chapter the different forms of mutual aid in existence in Galicia prior to emigration are described. Greater attention has been paid to the Orthodox Church brotherhoods and to voluntary artisan associations because of their perceived relevance to the development of Ukrainian mutual aid associations in the United States as well as in Canada. The next chapter deals with the socio-economic conditions in Canada which were conducive to Ukrainian immigration. The role of the Sifton administration is reviewed as is the part played by Dr. Josef Oleskiw. The sixth chapter focuses on the Ukrainian reading halls in Winnipeg and their contribution to the adjustment of the Ukrainian immigrant to

an urban industrial setting. In the seventh chapter the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association is examined, its origins, activities and types of benefits it provided. The eighth chapter centers on the emergency relief efforts of the Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association. The final chapter is the conclusion, which attempts to pull together all the data and to answer the research questions stipulated in the introduction.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 1

1

cited in Stephen W. Mamchur, "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada: With Special Reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal", (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1934), pp. 134-135.



CHAPTER 2

Socio-Economic Conditions in Galicia Contributing to
Emigration

The majority of the pre-World War I Ukrainian immigrants to Canada were inhabitants of the westernmost region of Ukraine, Galicia and Bukovyna, considered to be among two of the most populous and ethnically heterogeneous territories within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. According to John-Paul Himka, between 1867 and 1918, Galicia, both in terms of its population and its land mass, constituted the largest crownland of Austria. In square kilometres alone, Galicia accounted for over a quarter of Austria's total area, while over a quarter of Austria's population in 1890 was situated within Galicia's borders.¹ In 1900, there were approximately three million Ukrainians in Galicia, 300,000 in Bukovyna, 400,000 in Carpatho-Ukraine (Subcarpathia), and another seventeen million in the Russian Empire.² Few Ukrainians from the latter two areas made their way to Canada prior to the First World War. Those from the sub-Carpathian region preferred to settle among their family and friends in the mining towns of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, while those from the Russian Empire chose to homestead the south Siberian soils.³

Aside from being among the most densely populated provinces in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Galicia and

Bukovyna were also the most diverse with regard to their ethnic compositions. Ukrainians who inhabited primarily the eastern section of Galicia, accounted for only 40 per cent of the entire population; Poles comprised another 40 per cent; Jews constituted 10 per cent; and a small minority of Germans and others contributed to an insignificant percentage. In Bukovyna the situation was very similar. Ukrainians, who tended to reside in the northern region of the province, constituted 40 per cent of all the populace; Romanians, instead of Poles, composed another 30 per cent; and Germans and Jews made up the balance.⁴ Economic and political power throughout the two provinces was wielded by the Polish and Rumanian aristocracies who owned the large manors and dominated the government. Jointly with the Germans and the Jews, the Poles and the Rumanians comprised about three-quarters of the population of the towns and cities. Ukrainians rarely contributed to more than 25 per cent of the urban population and in larger urban centres seldom did they exceed 15 per cent.⁵ At the conclusion of the Second World War both Galicia and Bukovyna were incorporated into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Eastern Galicia was divided into the Lviv, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk oblasts of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, northern Bukovyna into the Chernivtsi oblast. Western Galicia was integrated into a region south and east of Cracow in Poland, while southern Bukovyna became part of

6

the Suceava region in Rumania.

That the Ukrainians, were for centuries prior to the start of the immigration movement to Canada, a divided and subjugated people, belies the fact that Ukraine was once a very powerful and progressive nation with ties to almost all the royal houses of Europe. In order to understand more fully the conditions which prevailed in Galicia and Bukovyna at the time that immigration to Canada was initiated some background history on Ukraine is provided. Greater emphasis has been placed on the periods of Polish-Lithuanian and Austrian rule because it would appear that the most significant changes in terms of religion, the social structure of Ukrainian society and political and cultural ideology occurred during those eras. A separate chapter has been devoted to the history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its clergy, which in Galicia as well as in North America, occupied a very special position within Ukrainian society and was often instrumental in organizing some of the methods of mutual aid which will be discussed later.

Historically, the ancestral origins of the Ukrainian people can be traced to the medieval princely era of Kievan-Rus. Under the rulership of Volodymyr the Great (980-1015) and later Iaroslav the Wise (d. 1054), the Kievan state witnessed a brief but illustrious period of unification of its realm, "of political and economic

stabilization within the empire, of an increase in the authority of the Kievan ruler, and of a recognition of the state as a first-class power both within the framework of existing European powers and as a component part of medieval Christian Europe." ⁷ Thereafter, amid the repeated assaults of Tatars and other nomadic Mongol hordes, and the correspondingly ruinous princely disputes over territorial and succession rights, the Kievan dynasty began to crumble. The plunder of Kiev in 1169 by Prince Andrey Bogoliubsky of Suzdal set the course for a complete breach of dynastic, political, economic and cultural ties between Rus-Ukraine and Moscow, and directed them along divergent paths in their national development. ⁸ By the early thirteenth century, Kiev, the capital of Rus-Ukraine, was bereft of any political significance and the centre of national life had shifted westward to the Principality of Halych (Galicia). However, after a short time the Galician-Volynian state also lost its independence as Poland, Lithuania, and Hungary, grew in strength and vied for the possession of the Ukrainian territory. Near the end of the fourteenth century Galicia was seized by Poland, Volynia and Podillia by Lithuania, and Mukach by Hungary. ⁹

Conditions Under Polish-Lithuanian Rule

Initially the Lithuanian occupation of Ukrainian lands was benign in nature, resembling more a political union of states rather than a conquest. Ukrainian territories were guaranteed a measure of defense against the Tatars, and the existing administrative order was left unaltered because the Lithuanians had no fully established state structure of their own with which to supersede the prevailing government system in the incorporated lands. Further, the numerical dominance of the Ukrainian segment of the population, easily lent itself to the rapid assimilation of the Lithuanian element. Consequently, the Greek-Orthodox faith was embraced by the majority of the new Lithuanian sovereigns, Ukrainian was accepted as the language of the courts, and various aspects of Ukrainian military, administrative, financial and judicial organization were culled by the Lithuanian rulers.

By the end of the fourteenth century the presence of a common and aggressive foe, the Knights of the Livonian and Teutonic Orders, began to draw Lithuania and Poland into a state of closer cooperation, and compelled them to act in a united manner against this mutual threat. As Lithuania's political ties to Poland became strengthened through intermarriage, military alliance, and assorted treaties, Polish influence expanded. With the Union of Krevo in 1385,

Orthodoxy was exchanged for Catholicism by the Lithuanians, and the way left open for the introduction of a Polish administrative system into Galicia following the Union of Lublin in 1569.

The consolidation of Polish authority over former Ukrainian territories based on the Lublin settlement seemed to offer Ukraine a number of advantages as well as disadvantages. On the positive side, the unification of Ukrainian lands previously divided between Lithuania and Poland fortified the territory more thoroughly against Tatar invasion, while joint Polish-Ukrainian military endeavours provided a defence against foreign powers such as Turkey and Moscovy. In addition, integration into the Polish Crown paved the way for the penetration of Central European and Latin Christian cultural influences into Ukraine via Polish channels thus further dissipating the Byzantine qualities of Ukrainian society. As the spirit of the Renaissance and the Reformation infiltrated the Polish-held territories it rekindled a Ukrainian cultural revival which manifested itself in the establishment of printing presses and schools, the evolution of theological and secular learning, the genesis of a new "middle-Ukrainian" literature, and other distinctive accomplishments in the fields of architecture and fine arts.

Of course, there were also negative outgrowths relative to the union of Lithuania with Poland, not the

least of which was the loss of the traditional Ukrainian open class system and the crystallization of a rigid class structure. In the old Kievan state there were only about three social divisions within the population: the boyars, the townsmen, and the peasants. The boyars or "better people" as they were at times called, were the great landowners and rich merchants whose political and economic authority was dependent on the wealth accumulated from trade and the possession of vast tracts of fertile land. Over time the boyar class was displaced by a new rank in aristocracy constituted mainly of the more influential boyars and former reigning princes who had been dispossessed of their patrimonial domains. This new great nobility became part of the princely retinue and through inheritance held the top administrative posts of the state. As yet, the lines between the social classes were quite fluid, thus through "personal merit, wealth, and family connections... even 'the grand-sons of the clergy or of yeoman'...." could ascend to the ranks of the boyar class.¹² During Lithuanian rule, however, the class structure became ossified and admission from below was made impossible. Besides the landed aristocracy, a class of military nobility equivalent to the Polish szlachta, whose power also rested with their ownership of land, began to gain prominence and to rival the great magnates in political power. Although until the end of the fourteenth century, this middle strata of military

gentry was only in the process of evolving, their military support of the Lithuanian rulers won for them numerous concessions, which in turn greatly enhanced their social and political significance. Yet despite the growing political and economic importance of this new segment of elite and service orders of the Lithuanian realm vast differences not only in wealth and power, but in title and privilege, still remained. Viewed as the ideal due to its premise of egalitarianism of all nobility, adoption of the Polish szlachta model, was favoured by the Ukrainian and Lithuanian gentry. Hence in the struggle for the union with Poland which ensued, the lesser nobles who were already playing a very active role in the administration of the state, viewed promotion of the union as but another avenue for the furthering of their own political ambitions. In the wake of the union they had hoped to diminish the political influence of the grand nobility while simultaneously enhancing their own prestige, wealth, and status. The Union of Lublin in 1569 resulted not only in the merging of the two states of Poland and Lithuania but in the blending of their respective nobilities as well.

For the Ukrainian gentry, annexation by Poland, translated at first into the receipt of the same rights and benefits as enjoyed by the Polish nobility. Unfortunately, the increase in status was not without its price. The extension of equality of rights to the Orthodox-Ukrainian

gentry had been used as a lure for the acceptance of the Polish-Lithuanian merger. Thus the deed accomplished, it was not long before a reversal of policy occurred, reserving the right to full noble privilege for Catholics only. The Orthodox-Ukrainian gentry were then confronted with the choice of conversion to the Catholic faith and the attainment of absolute noble office, or adherence to Orthodoxy and a descent to the common masses. Increased contact between members of the Ukrainian and Polish elite only reinforced the attractions of the Polish aristocratic way of life and Baroque culture making the decision in favour of Catholicism that much easier. Within several generations the Ukrainian boyars found themselves absorbed into the Polish gentry, their Ukrainian religious and national distinctiveness nullified. The Catholic Counter-Reformation further facilitated the process by religiously and culturally integrating into the Roman Catholic and Polish body politic the highest stratum of the formerly Orthodox Ukrainian nobility. Those of the Galician aristocracy who had been opposed to the union with Poland readily found themselves the victims of more repressive measures. Dispossessed of their estates by the Polish crown, they either emigrated to other Ukrainian territories or became indistinguishable from the aggregate of the common populace.¹³ In this manner the Ukrainian nation was deprived of its traditional leading class.

With the rise in fortunes of the landed gentry the condition of the other strata of Ukrainian society deteriorated. Forming the great bulk of the Ukrainian populace were the free peasants who were an economically-independent class of small land-holders. In addition to the free peasants there existed several other categories of half-free peasants, who being devoid of their own land, resided on the estates of the landowners and for a share of the harvests were employed there as agricultural labourers. Old Ukrainian law had made allowances for peasant landownership, but with the transfer of Ukrainian territories to Polish authority, peasants began to experience a regression in their social and legal standing. Since "the Polish principle of leaving all the land in the hands of the privileged class of nobles with the king as the first landowner in the state"¹⁴ was clearly in contradiction to Ukrainian tradition, the free peasants found themselves transformed into soil-bound serfs, literally the possessions of the gentry, deprived of any personal freedoms or property rights. "The Seim of 1505 confirmed the new order by depriving the peasants of the land...enacting that they might not leave one landlord for another"... and placing them "under the exclusive jurisdiction of their landlords."¹⁵ Serfs were required to pay tribute in kind to their landowners and to provide free labour service on the estate for a specified number of days. With the increase in

population in Western Europe though, and the consequent growth in demand for food and agricultural raw materials, Poland began to participate quite extensively in foreign trade by means of grain exports. The labour provided by serfs kept costs to a minimum, while the enlargement of landholdings by the gentry, coupled with the increase in the serfs' customary service obligations from two days per week to 200 and then 300 annually, guaranteed continual profit. Hence it has been suggested that the emergence of capitalism in Western Europe was linked to the progressive servitude of the peasants in Galicia and to latifundium-manorial form of agriculture.¹⁶ Not until incorporation into the Austro-Hungarian Empire did enserfed peasants find some relief from their bondage.

Ukrainian townspeople also found their rights minimized under Polish-Lithuanian dominance. Commerce and industry were stifled by the gentry's unbridled exercise of privilege of duty-free imports and exports. Townsmen were prohibited from owning and cultivating their own land as well as from participating in political activity through representation in the Seim (Parliament). The right to municipal "self-government through a system of election and trade guilds" based on the German Magdeburg Law had been retained by the Polish kings. But Ukrainians of the Orthodox persuasion were excluded from the benefits of self-government because they were denied admission to guilds

and barred from municipal functions.¹⁷ At the time of King Casimir, even residence restrictions were enforced on the Ukrainian town population. Each Galician town or city had a specially-designated ghetto to which the Ukrainian segment of the population was confined.¹⁸ Thus the towns and the townsmen who had played such an integral role in the cultural revival of the sixteenth century had gradually lost much of their importance, displaced from industry, commerce, and trade by Germans, Poles, and others.

Conditions during Polish-Lithuanian sovereignty had become very harsh for Ukrainians. The progressive enserfment of the peasants, the ascendancy of the Uniate Church over the traditional Ukrainian Orthodox, and the increasing defections to Polish values, culture, language and religion from the ranks of the Ukrainian nobility contributed to a growing dissatisfaction. Opposition to Polish domination mounted as small groups of nobles and burghers who resented the assimilation of the Ukrainian aristocracy to the Polish culture and the Roman Catholic faith and the restrictions on their own freedoms, united into Orthodox church brotherhoods to present a powerful front against the continued effects of Polonization. Another source of resistance to Polish rule was the peasantry. Many peasants sought refuge from the servitude of forced labour by retreating south of the Dnieper rapids

to the Zaporozhian Sich, the centre of the free Cossack organization which had remained independent of the central and local authorities. There the disaffected elements converged into countless new Cossack divisions infused with the desire for retaliation for the imposition of serfdom and the resultant loss of liberties. Together with the older members of the Cossack Brotherhood, who were also chafing from the attempts of the Polish monarchs to curtail their activities, they joined in such exploits as plundering the estates of the aristocracy. In due course they came to be viewed by the mass of soil-bound peasants not only as "avengers of the Tatars" but as their "protectors against the Poles."¹⁹

When Bohdan Khmelnytsky came to power as hetman of the Cossack Zaporozhian Sich, Ukraine again for a short duration experienced independent statehood and recognition from its European counterparts. In alliance with the Crimean Tatars Khmelnytsky made successful incursions westward into Polish territory eventually liberating the city of Lviv. Following Khmelnytsky's death though, Poland and Russia, availing themselves of the opportunity afforded them by the internal strife among the Cossack leaders, drew up the Treaty of Andrussovo in 1667, and divided Ukraine between themselves, with the Dnieper River as the boundary. In due course, Poland too began to experience great internal dissension and could render only minimal resistance to

invading forces. Subsequently in 1772, 1793, and 1795 Russia, Prussia, and Austria partitioned the country. The first partition of Poland in 1772, resulted in Russia assuming control of all the Ukrainian lands under Polish rule, with the exception of Galicia, which became absorbed into the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Two years later, as a consequence of the Russo-Turkish war, Bukovyna was annexed by Austria. Because the Ukrainian lands south of the Carpathians were already within the Kingdom of Hungary, they continued to be part of the Hapsburg Empire. Thus throughout the nineteenth century and until 1917, the Ukrainian people found themselves dispersed between the large, multinational empires of the Romanovs and the Hapsburgs.

Hapsburg Rule - Peasant Emancipation

Both Galicia and Bukovyna came under Hapsburg rule in a seriously neglected economic, political, and cultural condition. The cumulative effects of the "anarchy in Poland," the internecine discord between the Polish magnates, "the Swedish war, the Russian occupation, and the ruin of foreign trade" all had contributed to a state of chaos and impoverishment. ²⁰ Furthermore, the heritage of prolonged statelessness and foreign administration had stimulated a profound evolution in the social structures of

the Ukrainian populace. After a series of unsuccessful Cossack-instigated rebellions aimed at reestablishing a Ukrainian state, the Ukrainian nobility had finally, by the seventeenth century, thoroughly succumbed to the effects of Polish cultural and religious assimilation. At the same time, in Bukovyna, the Ukrainian upper classes had become indistinct from the Rumanian elite. The Ukrainian town population also having lost ground early in the seventeenth century, never regained its former significance. Bereft of both a noble estate representative of their own nation, and a town population with political authority, the only vestiges of Ukrainian ethnicity remaining were the Uniate lower clergy and the peasants, and these too found themselves under very oppressive circumstances.

Hence given the deplorable social and economic conditions in their newly-annexed Ukrainian territories, the Austrian authorities singled out the rural population for special attention. However, because conditions of civic equality were not the intended goal of the government, any improvements which did take place were pretty well limited to maintaining the existing hierarchical social order. At the time that Ukrainian lands were incorporated into the Hapsburg empire the predominantly peasant population were still relegated to the position of serfs, who held lands in exchange for compulsory labor service on the manorial estates. In Galicia and Bukovyna this meant that Ukrainian

peasants continued to toil on the manor lands of their Polish or Rumanian masters, who persisted in demonstrating almost exclusive authority over them.

Under Austrian Empress Maria Theresa and later Joseph II legislation was enacted in an attempt to ameliorate the conditions of the peasantry. In 1779, two Austrian laws were passed which prohibited estate owners from appropriating traditionally peasant lands for purposes of enlarging their own landholdings, and which disallowed the subdivision of peasant lands held in usufruct.²¹ During Joseph II's reign the peasantry experienced an additional extension of rights. Apart from his stated intent in 1781 of "abolishing slavery and serfdom in his realm," the most important measures enacted by Joseph II in favour of the peasantry included, the granting of certain basic personal rights to serfs such as the right to marry without the master's permission, the right to apprentice their children or have them educated, the right to choose their location of work with the formal permission of the landlord, and the right to grievance and appeal against the decisions of the landowner to the organs of state administration.²² As a result of the various Josephinian decrees of 1781-1782 greater personal freedoms were extended to the peasants and limitations were placed on the amount of compulsory service exacted of them. Serfs were freed from "petty duties and taxation," and villages were organized into rural communes

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with elected officers. A further patent of April 2, 1787 proclaimed "that Galician agricultural land was to be divided into two legal categories, 'dominical' lands, which were...managed directly by the manor, and 'rustical' lands" which were held in usufruct by the peasants but which in essence were the property of the manor. After September 1, 1786, Austrian legislation stipulated that all the lands which the peasants used prior to that date were to be reserved for their hereditary use.

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Over the next number of years supplementary legislation was brought in to insure that the principle of primogeniture was upheld and that individual peasant landholdings were neither subdivided among their heirs nor consolidated into larger holdings. Most of Galicia's agrarian land-holding relationships were governed by these sorts of regulations until 1868, when the Galician Seim passed a law permitting the sub-division of land and removing restrictions on categories of ownership. The reforms instituted by the Austrian crown between 1772 and 1790, though somewhat limited in scope, had at least set the stage for later peasant emancipation. Unfortunately, due to the death of Joseph II, and the prolonged wars with France, a more conservative tenor was resumed, which made administrative practise more coincident with the interests of landowners, and which halted the progress of any further reforms for close to a century.

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In 1848 the old agricultural order was destroyed when a series of imperial decrees abolished the compulsory unremunerative peasants' labour on the manorial estates and proclaimed the peasants owners of the rustical lands which they had tended and from which they had drawn their sustenance throughout the centuries. The same determinants of size of peasant landholdings applied after the 1848 peasant emancipation proclamation as prior to it. Hence, some peasants received larger allotments than others, and those villagers who possessed no land, became landless labourers, working for others.

The land reform of 1848 had omitted any arrangements for the utilization of the "servitudes" - the forests, pastures and meadows used in common by the manorial estate and the peasants, with the expectation that an agreeable resolution as to their continued common use could be reached between the peasants and estate owners. But because of their traditional "control over the land in the region," as well as "their status and power," the estate owners gained possession of the woodlands and meadows, as well as "the best fields near the manor itself." Peasants were restricted from free access to the commons and were forced to pay cash or labour services for their use. To the landlords, consolidation of their holdings meant retention of the most productive lands nearest their manors. Peasant lands on the other hand remained fragmented in

different-sized segments and dispersed throughout a variety of locations. The distance of their lands from their homes often affected the peasants' agricultural activities and limited their productivity because of the time spent in travelling to and from their respective fields.²⁶

Almost half of all peasant holdings in Galicia after the official land reform of 1848, consisted of fewer than two hectares and the great majority of less than five, the minimum believed necessary to achieve self-sufficiency.²⁷ Indeed, peasant holdings ranging from five to ten hectares of land accounted for only 14.6 per cent of all holdings, while the bulk of the land was tied up in large manorial estates, including the property of such institutions as the Greek Catholic Church. Himka stated that although accounting for only 2 per cent of all holdings and over 40 per cent of the land area, the estates occupied half the land used for agriculture, husbandry, and forestry.²⁸

The situation in Bukovyna was even more serious. A full 16 per cent of the peasantry possessed no land, 42 per cent owned less than two hectares, and 25 per cent held title to less than three.²⁹

The breakup of the old system of landholding, and the enactment of a series of laws in 1868, had freed the peasant to divide his property among all surviving family members. But this method of subdivision, coupled with a high birth rate, only further diminished and fragmented the

already-small peasant holdings, rendering efficient operation difficult, and delaying agricultural modernization. As successive generations attempted to eke out a living on an ever-shrinking plot of land it was inevitable that some would eventually be edged off the land only to join the growing numbers of landless peasants seeking work for wages.

The very laws designed to release the peasant from his bondage to the landlord only served to secure him all the more closely to him. Because estate owners demanded compensation for their loss of land and free peasant labour the Austrian government imposed supplementary taxes on the peasants which were to be paid by them over the next number of years. Currency was then required by the peasant for the payment of the taxes for the indemnification to the landlords as well as for access to the commons in order for the peasant to be able to graze his cow, or gather kindling wood for a fire. And as the peasants' struggles for self-sufficiency were complicated by a progressively contracting plot of land and the escalating pressures of a money economy, the labour market inevitably became saturated, and peasants were forced back onto the landlords' estates to work for long hours at subsistence wages.

The pressing need for supplementary income "in a region which was 'cash-poor' and where many large owners suffered from cash-flow problems," contributed to the

creation of a "mixed economy...in which...the barter of goods and services operated parallel with a market economy where goods and services were bought and sold for currency."³⁰ Because increasingly, the income derived from the peasant agricultural enterprise, was insufficient to meet the family's needs, and because of the seasonal nature of agricultural work, many peasants who were also artisans and craftsmen as well as domestic industry workers, tended to supplement their incomes by engaging in these secondary occupations.³¹ More often than not, the main source of income outside of the work on one's land, was employment on the local estates.

The transition to a money economy which had been precipitated by the emancipation of the peasants also resulted in a substantial difference in the social relations between peasant and estate owner. Theoretically, under serfdom, the lord of the manor, had been responsible for the welfare of the peasant, particularly in times of crisis such as following a fire, or a crop failure. With the abolition of serfdom, though, all mutual obligations ceased, and peasants were compelled to borrow when they were in need, invariably at high interest rates. Those who defaulted on their loans were forced by the courts to auction part or all of their land.³²

By the end of the nineteenth century, economic development in the Austrian-occupied Ukrainian territories

still trailed behind and showed little hope for improvement. Factory industry in the region was almost non-existent. Yet the Austrian government appeared unmotivated to modify the situation preferring instead to keep Galicia and Bukovyna "as economic colonies - captive markets for Austrian manufactured goods"³³ from the more highly-industrialized regions of Bohemia or Vienna. Within the Austro-Hungarian economy, both Galicia and Bukovyna served as exporters of raw materials, agricultural products, and unskilled labour. Himka's research indicates that existing industries were either "extractive (oil, ozocerite, salt), intimately connected with forestry or agriculture (breweries, mills) or else were artisanal, craftsman-based."³⁴ In northern Bukovyna there was no industrial sector at the turn of the century, and forestry-related primary industry was only in its infancy in the south. In Galicia, industrial development had made relatively more headway. However, only 5.7 per cent of the Galician population as opposed to 36.7 per cent of the Austrian was engaged in industry.³⁵ Large scale urban growth had evaded the crownlands and the vacuum in native industry aggravated the conditions of surplus labour and the overpopulated rural areas. Since the lifting of restrictions on the subdivision of peasant lands, peasant plots became dwarfed and many peasants were finally reduced to a state of landlessness. The simultaneous removal of a ceiling on interest rates charged on loans made it

impossible for peasants to even consider the expansion or consolidation of their holdings.

Perhaps not as compelling as the economic circumstances but equally distressing was the political situation Ukrainians found themselves in toward the end of the century. Unlike the Poles in Galicia, whose sense of national identity, according to John-Paul Himka, was firmly rooted in "a history and tradition of statehood" and strengthened through persistent armed struggle for the restoration of the state, Ukrainians had only experienced brief periods of independent statehood and their sense of national consciousness had just begun to emerge in the middle of the last century.³⁶ Moreover, by the seventeenth century the Ukrainian nobility had either become indistinguishable from the Polish aristocracy or had merged with the common masses and could not provide the necessary political leadership for the Ukrainian people. The existing intelligentsia was also too ill-equipped through lack of vigour and unity to promote the Ukrainian national cause. And although the Austrian constitution offered Galicia's Ukrainians a much greater range of cultural and political freedoms than experienced by their conationals in Russia, Prussia or Hungary, "their lack of a noble estate and and an urban working class" nonetheless placed them at a political disadvantage to the Poles.³⁷ Thus, Galicia, though under Austrian rule was in fact under Polish administration.

Ukrainians were virtually cut off from positions of political influence and only through considerable effort attained even minor government posts. Polish and German were the official government languages while Ukrainian was relegated to a secondary status. Bukovyna's situation paralleled that of Galicia, in that the administration was essentially the domain of the Rumanian minority.

Towards the end of the century, peasants were compelled to seek an alternative means of livelihood beyond the confines of their village, and even beyond the boundaries of their country as neither employment on the manorial estates nor engagement in secondary occupations in the crafts could satisfy the dire need for additional income. Initially, seasonal agricultural work on the estates or in industry in Prussia and in other more developed countries had furnished a modicum of relief from economic pressures, but seasonal migrations could not be considered a permanent solution for its benefits were enjoyed by only a limited number of peasantry.

Nevertheless, these seasonal movements were significant, for they heightened the peasants' awareness of the world outside of their small villages, and sensitized them to the opportunities and options available to them abroad.

By the mid-1870's Ukrainians had moved even farther afield in search of employment, primarily to the anthracite coal mines, steel mills, and factories of the United States.

Most went as temporary migrant workers and not as settlers, although ultimately a great number returned and established permanent residence in the United States. Their experiences also augmented and broadened the world view of the peasant, but it was basically the funds forwarded to their homeland that had the greatest impact on their countrymen. The capital supplied to family members equipped them with the means to elevate their status in the village and if they chose, to follow in the path of other migrants.

In the 1880's, Ukrainian peasants were emigrating to Brazil and Argentina. Lured by the free transportation offered by the Brazilian government in its desire to secure cheap labour, and duped by tales of an unencumbered existence, Ukrainian peasants readily cut their ties to their homeland in hopes of attaining a better life in South America. What differentiated these emigrants from the others was their hunger for land, and the permanence of their relocation.

Emigration to Brazil ended tragically for the Ukrainian peasants. Their landholdings consisted of dense jungle growth and impenetrable rain forest. Ill-adapted to the oppressive heat and humidity many succumbed to disease. Still others became "enslaved" on the plantations of coffee growers.

Neither South America nor the United States seemed to satisfy completely the needs of the Ukrainian peasant.

Yet prior to the 1890's the vast expanse of Canadian prairie still lay untouched by and relatively unknown to Ukrainians. As other non-Ukrainian groups from Ukrainian districts in Galicia began to emigrate to Canada, and correspondence extolling the virtues of this new land to circulate, hopes for an improvement of peasant life once again began to surge. By 1895 two booklets thoroughly researched and authored by Dr. Joseph Oleskiw and published by the Prosvita and the Kachkovsky Enlightenment Societies were available to Ukrainian readers through village reading halls to inform them of the prospects of Canadian settlement. ³⁸ Thus as knowledge of the Canadian frontier became more accessible to the Ukrainian peasantry, and heightened expectations added to the sense of hopelessness about improvement in the homeland, emigration to Canada began to take on a greater appeal. Beginning with a handful of Ukrainian families from the Kaliush district persuaded to emigrate to Alberta by their former German neighbours, the migration to Canada developed momentum with each passing year. Principally the small-holding peasants, the 2 to 5 hectare holders, had led the emigration from Galicia ³⁹ and Bukovyna in the 1890's hoping to ensure a more economically-secure future for themselves and their families. By the 1900's thousands of other Ukrainian peasants had followed in their footsteps, touching off the first and the largest movement of

Ukrainians to Canada which ended temporarily with the outbreak of the First World War.

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The many years of foreign domination had left a deep and lasting imprint on the political, cultural, religious, and social structures of the Ukrainian nation. During Polish-Lithuanian rule Catholicism in the form of the Uniate Church had supplanted the Orthodox faith of the Ukrainians; a new social order had been introduced which had deprived the peasantry of personal and property rights, bound them to the soil, and obligated them to pay tribute in kind and to perform free labour services on the estates of the great nobles; the townspeople, who had played such a vital creative and organizational role in the life of the state, had been denied access to trade guilds and municipal offices, and together with the other limitations on their previously-held rights had lost their social significance; and finally, the Ukrainian nobility, having become assimilated by the Polish and Rumanian elements, forfeited their national and religious distinctiveness, and thus were incapable of providing a leadership role for the Ukrainian people. By the end of this period the Ukrainian nation had been reduced to but priest and peasant.

When Galicia and Bukovyna were incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian Empire some notable improvements occurred.

Under monarchs like Maria Theresa and Joseph II ameliorative legislation had been instituted to limit the amount of labour service exacted of serfs and to restore to them some of their freedoms. Actual abolition of serfdom did not take place until 1848, and was not accompanied by the liberty so anticipated by the peasants. Instead, the transition to a money economy, coupled with the elimination of restrictions on land divisions and inheritance, led to the shrinkage of self-sufficient peasant landholdings, and to the glutting of the labour market by a pool of surplus labour. And because industry was insufficiently developed to draw off the excess labour, and neither employment on the manorial estate nor the cottage craft industry could satiate the all-consuming need for supplemental income, emigration became the only alternative open to the peasant. Thus starting with seasonal migrations to more industrially-advanced countries, and progressing to a more permanent state of relocation, the Ukrainian peasant made his way to the Canadian prairies.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 2

1

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CHAPTER 3

The Role of the Ukrainian Church

To the mass of Ukrainian peasant immigrants, the church constituted one of the most fundamental elements of their society. The peasant, though not well versed in the "subtleties of eastern Christian theology",¹ nor predisposed to the challenging of church doctrine or authority, embraced religion as a facet of his day-to-day existence. The ritual and symbolism embodied by the church assuaged the peasant yearning for order and continuity, while its adherence to traditional customs and the old Slavic rite in the face of foreign domination elicited a high degree of loyalty from the peasant. The church, and in particular the Uniate or Greek Catholic church, was more than just the protector of national tradition. Aside from being the only enduring component of Ukrainian ethnicity throughout the many long years of alien rule, it emerged as an educational institution, the locus of community social life, the forefront for a new political consciousness, as well as the spawning ground for the evolution of various other socially significant Ukrainian organizations. It is little wonder then, that to the newly-arrived Ukrainian immigrants, establishing their church and procuring their own clergy in their adopted homeland of Canada was almost as basic a need as ensuring economic security for themselves.

Introduction of Christianity - the Establishment of the
Byzantine-Rite Church

Christianity was formally introduced into Ukraine in 988 A.D. when Grand Prince Volodymyr the Great (980-1015) adopted the Byzantine form of Christianity, designating Greek Orthodoxy as the official religion of the Kievan-Rus state.² At his proposal, the patriarch of Constantinople founded the first church and established a separate Metropolitan See at Kiev. Thereafter, Byzantine influence became evident in every sphere of political, social, and religious life. All the characteristics of the Byzantine church, "the rite, practices, theological beliefs, institutions, and architecture", as well as the Greek culture, were appropriated by the newly-organized church with the exception of the use of Old Church Slavonic in the liturgy and ceremonies.³ Indeed, so dependent was the new church on Constantinople that from its inception and for several decades afterwards Greeks dominated the office of Metropolitan of Kiev.⁴ As Byzantine qualities became reflected in the law, the state and social relations, and Byzantine influence penetrated every arena of Ukrainian life, Kiev became transformed into a centre rivalling Constantinople in grandeur, "power, and cultural leadership" whose authority over eastern Slavs extended for the consecutive two centuries.⁵

In 1054, a rift occurred between Rome and the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, which sundered the universal church into eastern and western fragments, and divided the leadership of the Christian world between Rome and Constantinople. Because the Kievan state had not played a direct role in the schism, and amicable relations with the pope and the Roman emperor had existed since the introduction of Christianity during the reign of Volodymyr the Great, the Kievan state had been able to preserve its ties with Rome and the Latin west, despite its subordination to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople and its close alignment with Byzantine Greek Orthodoxy.⁶ Poland, on the other hand, having been drawn into Rome's sphere of authority, became the bastion of Roman Catholicism.

By 1240 the Kievan-Rus state was in ruins. The recurrent onslaughts by the forces of Genghis Khan, and the seizure of the city of Kiev by Khan Batu culminated in a century and a half of Tatar occupation of the Kievan realm which effectively isolated it from the rest of Western Europe. The prevailing anarchy in the Ukrainian lands contributed to a transfer of the political power of the Ukrainian state to the relatively isolated northwest principalities of Galicia-Volynia. In the midst of the ruin and destruction the Kievan metropolitan was compelled to relocate himself to the Suzdal in the northern strongholds

of the Russian nation where he acceded to the protection of the Muscovite rulers.⁷ With the disintegration of the Kievan state and the shift in national life to Galicia all the dynastic, political, economic and cultural connections of the Ukrainian territories with the Russian princedoms were entirely broken and the national development of the Ukrainians and Muscovites proceeded along divergent lines.

Changes Under Polish-Lithuanian Rule - The Move Toward Catholicism

In the meanwhile, Lithuania, a new political power on the northwestern frontier of the Ukrainian territories, had begun to emerge, and had succeeded in expelling the Tatars from the areas along the Dnieper River. Expansion of Lithuanian dominion over Ukrainian territories did not at first pose a threat to the existing social order as Lithuanian princes readily converted to the Orthodox faith and the Orthodox church was permitted to exercise all of its usual rights and privileges. However, as both political circumstances and defensive strategies drew Lithuania into a closer military and dynastic association with Poland, Polish interests began to take precedence. The Union of Krewo, negotiated in 1385, was the formative step in the decline of the Orthodox Church in the Commonwealth. Stipulated in the agreement between Poland and Lithuania was the demand that

the ruler of Lithuania, Prince Jagiello, convert to the Roman Catholic faith as a precondition of his ascendancy to the Polish throne, and further, that he baptize all of his pagan subjects.⁸ Both conditions were met when Jagiello was christened at the time of his marriage to the Polish regent Jadwiga and subsequently proclaimed Roman Catholicism the state religion of Lithuania. New points added to the existing treaty, granting Lithuanian nobles of the Roman Catholic faith rights and privileges equivalent to those of the Polish nobility, hastened the abandonment of the Orthodox rite by the Lithuanian aristocracy in favour of the Roman Catholic. The Union of Lublin in 1569, marked the absorption of Lithuanian, and by the same accord, Ukrainian lands, into Poland, and the continued deterioration of political influence and social importance of the Orthodox church, as the new Polish government vigorously advanced its policy of Polonizing and Catholicizing its subjects, the Ukrainians.

Although relations between church and state had been favourable from the start of Lithuanian administration, pursuant to the Union of Krewo an erosion of Orthodox church powers had begun to take place. The nobility as well as wealthy merchant communities had by tradition in the Kievan, Galician, and Lithuanian eras, extended their patronage over monasteries and churches located within their domains. With the substantial monetary support provided by these

benefactors new church homes for the elderly, orphanages, and hospitals had been constructed. However, under Polish-Lithuanian rule the custom of patronage took on a new translation. Church institutions situated on the lands of local nobles came to be regarded by them as their personal property which could be disposed of in any other manner that suited them. Moreover, the authority to nominate bishops, which had been vested in the office of the Metropolitan of Kiev, was usurped by the Council of Nobles or various Lithuanian princes who, in turn, used their powers to assign the posts to secular men, most often Roman Catholics or their sympathisers, as remuneration for military or political service. The appointment, transfer or removal of priests and abbots by the nobility without prior consultation with the bishop, and the assignment of unqualified, uneducated and morally unsuitable persons to clerical positions became a common practice. The position of the Orthodox clergy, and especially the lower clergy, became so degraded and the standards for admission to the priesthood so inferior that no reputable person could be attracted to the vocation.

With the conquest of the Byzantine Empire by the Turks in 1453, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the ecclesiastical superior of Ukraine at that time, was thrown into complete disarray and became subject to the authority of its Moslem rulers. This event coupled with the

progressive intrusions by the Lithuanian-Polish leadership into the arena of traditional church authority accelerated the decay of the Orthodox Church. As politically-ambitious members of the Ukrainian nobility became increasingly assimilated into the Polish culture and Roman Catholic faith in the aftermath of the Jesuit-led Counter-Reformation, the Orthodox church was left to struggle on its own against the encroachment of Roman Catholicism. Only the advances made by Protestantism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth briefly forestalled the relentless drive towards conversion. Near the end of the sixteenth century, the notion of union of the Ukrainian Orthodox church with Rome was reborn.¹⁰ Apprehensive about the creation of a Russian patriarchate in 1589, and its implications to a Ukrainian Orthodox population under Polish Roman Catholic domination, the Polish ruling elite strongly favoured the union for the opportunity that it presented to consolidate Polish supremacy over Ukrainian lands. Various leading members of the Ukrainian aristocracy were also conditionally supportive of the union hoping that official recognition of the church would halt Polish repression and stem the disunity within the church organization.

Impetus for the union of the Orthodox church and Rome was provided by the aggressive Polish Jesuit, Peter Skarga, and the papal legate, Antonio Possevino. Based on their proposal, "the Latin credo was to be accepted in its

entirety, ... the Pope was to be recognized as the supreme head of the Church, the Byzantine rite was to be preserved, and existing Ukrainian bishops were to retain their titles and receive seats in the Polish senate on a basis equal with their Roman Catholic counterparts." ¹¹ This last point was particularly significant to Ukrainian bishops who were irritated by interference in internal church matters by the patriarch of Constantinople. Headed by the bishop of Lviv, Gedeon Balaban, the question of the union with Rome was raised at a clandestine meeting of several Ukrainian and Bielorussian bishops in Belz in 1590. As a consequence of their meeting a petition was forwarded to King Sigismund III professing their intent to recognize the Pope of Rome over the patriarch of Constantinople as their head, but also stipulating their desire for retention of the Orthodox rite and the existing church hierarchy. ¹² While the negotiations for incorporation of the churches were being carried on in stealth, a vigorous campaign promoting the union was being maintained throughout the land by the Jesuits. Secrecy on the part of the dissident Ukrainian bishops concerning the terms of the compact was an absolute necessity because of the demonstrated antagonism of the Ukrainian leading classes toward such a union. The Orthodox rite, in the case of Ukrainians, was an integral element of their national culture and identity, while Roman Catholicism implied

subservience to Polish national and political ideals and assimilation.

Toward the end of 1594, the Act of Union was drafted and addressed to the king and the papal nuncio in Cracow. Papal supremacy in matters of church dogma was to be recognized and the Gregorian calendar accepted subject to the following provisions: the religious rituals and ceremonies of the Orthodox church as well as its organizational structure were to be preserved (with the exception of the form of communion which would be at the Pope's discretion); the clergy of the Uniate church were to reserve the right to marry prior to ordination rather than be held to the vow of celibacy; former Orthodox bishops were to be insured of direct representation in the Polish senate and be free from all forms of taxation; and all Uniate Catholics were to be granted equal rights with Roman Catholics with regard to holding of state offices.¹³ In 1595, at the sacred convocation in Rome, Bishops Terletsky and Potii, on behalf of all the bishops of the Orthodox church, pledged allegiance to the Pope and the Catholic Church.¹⁴ Pope Clement VIII acknowledged their oaths and formally proclaimed the union in the bull "Magnus Dominus et laudabilis".

Immediate reaction to the union by the faithful and the clergy was extremely hostile. The bishops who had maneuvered the talks were anathematized for their deceit and

indicted for betraying their ancestral faith and their nationality. The fury unleashed by the public reached such crisis proportions that some of the original mediators of the pact were compelled to publicly repudiate their actions. Yet despite the fierce opposition of the Orthodox faithful, the Polish sovereign, at a council assembled in Brest-Litovsk, gave official sanction to the Uniate Church, decreeing it the only legitimate Ukrainian church.

Clearly the new Uniate Church was favoured by the Polish state. Before too long, repressive measures aimed at fortifying the position of the newly-established church were set into motion. With the endorsement of the government all recalcitrant Orthodox clergy regardless of their rank were rooted out and persecuted; Orthodox monasteries, printing offices, and schools confiscated and transferred to Uniate hands; and vacant bishoprics and other ecclesiastical offices filled with Uniate appointments. By the time this course of action had reached its peak the Orthodox church hierarchy was decimated, and the lower clergy had deserted their rite en masse for Catholicism hoping to enjoy greater personal and material advantage and freedom from
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persecution.

Orthodox resistance, seriously outweighed by the Uniate forces, might have been altogether annihilated had it not been instilled with a new life by the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks. During the Cossack regime the

fortunes of the Uniate Church were reversed as many of its buildings and properties were destroyed and its clergy evicted. For a short while many of the rights which had been denied the Orthodox were restored. But once Poland regained supremacy over the right bank of Ukraine a policy to exterminate the Orthodox church was once again enforced this time employing even more rigorous measures than previously. Since Orthodox church brotherhoods had been among the most zealous contributors to the Ukrainian religious and cultural revival and the most ardent opponents of the Uniate Church, they in particular suffered some of the harshest restraints on their activities. In consequence, legislation passed by the Seim in 1676, prohibited religious brotherhoods in Galicia from sustaining any bonds with the patriarch of Constantinople, thus rendering them completely dependent on the local Uniate bishops and robbing them of their former initiative. To suspend contact with co-religionists outside of the Polish realm, adherents to Orthodoxy were restricted under penalty of death from travelling abroad. And lastly, brotherhoods were divested of their own courts and all cases redirected to the Polish judicature. ¹⁶ By the middle of the eighteenth century the whole of western Ukraine had been made Uniate.

Militancy against the Uniate church had been borne of the suspicion that alliance of the Orthodox church with Rome was only an intermediate step in the progression toward

inevitable Latinization and finally complete Polonization. And perhaps it was this fear of assimilation which compelled the masses in Galicia to cling all-the-more tenaciously to the prerogative of the Eastern rite conceded them by the Pope and to strenuously renounce Roman Catholicism, despite their submission to the Union. Under the leadership of a competent Uniate church hierarchy, the Uniate or Greek Catholic church in Galicia grew in stature and after several generations established itself as a distinctly separate religious organization. The country clergy experienced a surge in their cultural level as the bishops instituted a more direct control over their dioceses. The Basilian Order of monks which had been established in 1604, modelling themselves on the Jesuit Order, became the vanguard of the Uniate movement. Their enthusiasm for establishing local Ukrainian-language schools and their use of Ukrainian in their publications helped to build a national consciousness. Thus in time the Galician population came to accept the Uniate church without any apprehensions and to view it as their national church.

The Uniate church, having been received by the Ukrainian populace, fared less well in another arena. Based on the terms of the Union of Brest-Litovsk, the status of the Uniate church was to have been equivalent to that of the Roman Catholic. In practice, however, these provisions were never realized. When it became apparent to the Polish

government that the Uniate Church would not allow itself to be utilized as an intermediate step in the process of complete Latinization, the church was swiftly relegated to a subordinate station and labelled the "peasants' church". Uniate clergy never attained equality with their Latin counterparts, and despite public avowals, the Uniate bishops never received permission to sit in the Polish Senate. Were it not for the fact that the Uniate Church was under the guardianship of the Congregation of Eastern Rites, presided over directly by the Pope, more serious officially-sanctioned means of suppressing the church would no doubt have been employed.

Hapsburg Rule - Bolstering the Position of the Ukrainian Church and Clergy

With the first partition of Poland in 1772, Galicia was incorporated into the Hapsburg Empire. Two years later, in 1774, Bukovyna was also annexed. For the Uniate clergy in Galicia, the years preceding Austrian administration had been particularly difficult as a result of the serious material and moral privation they had been subjected to. Wide disparities existed between the higher ranking Uniate clergy and the lower stations which were more intimately bound with the common people. The mass of secular country

clergy for the most part had become extremely impoverished and were poorly educated. In some instances they had even been coerced into labour service for the Polish landlords not unlike serfs.¹⁹

After extending its territorial boundaries eastward to include the provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna the Hapsburg monarchy viewed consolidation of its authority over the newly-annexed Ukrainian regions as its prime objective. However, building a base of support for Austrian administration was complicated by the diversity of regions now encompassed in its domain as well as their competing interests. To win the loyalty of its Galician subjects it became necessary to subdue all aspirations for the restoration of the Polish state while at the same time holding in abeyance Russian Orthodox incitements to Galicia for re-unification with the Russian state. Moreover, in the absence of an indigenous aristocratic ruling class the clergy wielded considerable influence, thus winning their support for the Austrian ministry was an imperative. Between 1772 and 1790, the Austrian government under the direction of its more "enlightened" rulers, Maria Theresa and Joseph II, undertook a series of reforms designed to ameliorate the legal and economic positions of the Uniate clergy, thereby reinstating equality between the Uniate church and clergy, and their Roman Catholic counterparts. To underscore its intent at redressing the issue of parity

between the "Greek" and "Roman" rites, the title "Greek Catholic" was officially coined by the Austrian government for the Uniate church. As a further illustration of its sincerity, the Hapsburg monarchy enacted legislation exempting Uniate priests from the performance of compulsory labour service for their landlords. Uniate parishes had their landholdings directed and systematized by the Austrian administration, and the clergy were permitted the collection of a variety of dues and services from their parishioners. In 1782 a "religious endowment" was created out of the revenues obtained from confiscated church and monastic properties formerly under Polish Roman Catholic auspices. The proceeds from this endowment fund were utilized to guarantee a modest income for the secular parish clergy and concomitantly to finance activities of the church councils which had been formed to support and further the administrative work of the Ukrainian Catholic bishops of Lviv and Peremyshl in their dioceses.

Raising the educational standards of the Uniate clergy through government-appointed funds was also part of the agenda of the Austrian government. Accordingly, a theological seminary, the "Barbareum", was established in Vienna alongside the Greek Catholic church of St. Barbara. This was followed by the construction in 1783 of a similar institution in Lviv, and in 1787 of yet a separate adjunct to the newly-founded university in Lviv, the "Studium

Ruthenum", which was created with a department of theological and philosophical studies employing the local Ukrainian dialect as the language of instruction. Bukovyna also benefitted from the founding of a theological seminary in 1827 which was in existence until 1875. The ultimate step in this program of reform was the elevation of the bishop of Lviv in 1808 to the rank of metropolitan.

By mid-nineteenth century the success of the measures implemented by the Austrian crown in raising the status of the Uniate clergy was obvious. In place of a once downtrodden, destitute, and ignorant clergy, there emerged a loyal, socially-distinct Ukrainian clerical elite who came to occupy one of the highest ranks of Ukrainian society. Economic security for the Greek Catholic clergy had been assured through the provision by the state of a residence, a sizable tract of arable land (ranging anywhere from 12.5 to 50 hectares) and forest, a modest government salary, fees for religious instruction in the village school, and donations or dues in cash or in kind from the parishioners for baptisms, marriages, and funerals. ²¹ The extension of educational opportunities had rendered the clergy the only educated body among Ukrainians, with the exception of the nobility, in the Hapsburg Empire, prior to the 1870's. And since Greek Catholic priests had reserved their right to marry prior to ordination, the benefits of financial independence and educational advancement were naturally

extended to their offspring. Consequently the source of the majority of the Ukrainian secular intelligentsia in Austria can be traced directly to Ukrainian clerical families whose descendants often entered the "free professions or the bureaucracy" or returned to the clerical fold.²² But aside from the material and scholastic advantage of the Greek Catholic clergy and their kinship ties with the secular intelligentsia, their authority and influence within Ukrainian society, was derived from yet one other source, their staunch adherence to the Eastern rite. Throughout the many years of foreign domination, and particularly Polish rule, the Eastern form of the Catholic faith had stood out as the one remaining element of Ukrainian ethno-cultural identity which had not been obliterated by assimilative pressures. In Austrian Galicia, it was the Eastern rite which differentiated the Ukrainians from their Polish Roman Catholic cohabitants. And it was the Greek Catholic clergy, who through their resolute observance of the Eastern rite, had won the loyalty and respect of the masses for their defence of Ukrainian ancestral religious traditions. From this perspective, it is easy to see how the Greek Catholic clergy in Galicia could have ascended to a position of political and social leadership within the Ukrainian society of the Hapsburg Empire.

The role of the Greek Catholic pastor in the preponderantly rural peasant society of Galicia was

singularly notable. For not only was the priest an educator and interpreter, a "spiritual father and counsellor to the peasant", the "unchallenged moral and intellectual authority" on the nature of society, the art of politics, and the benefits of religion, but he was also the "predecessor and physical progenitor of the secular intellectual",²³ and as such, a natural intermediary between the peasant masses and the urban intelligentsia, the central government, and the aristocracy.²⁴ And although in many respects a wide gulf existed between the Greek Catholic cleric and his peasant parishioners, increasingly toward the end of the century priests began to champion the rights of the peasantry and work toward their national and economic betterment.

* * *

Throughout Ukrainian history the church has held one of the most highly regarded positions within Ukrainian society. As a result of the introduction of the Byzantine form of Orthodoxy, the Kievan state rose in stature to become one of the most progressive, wealthy and culturally-advanced centres of the Christian world, second only to Constantinople. However, with the collapse of the Kievan-Rus dynasty, and the subsequent centuries of foreign domination, critical changes occurred within the religious

arena. Under Polish-Lithuanian rule, the Orthodox Church went into a decline. The authority and organization of the Orthodox Church were seriously undermined by the interference of the Polish-Lithuanian administration into the sphere of church appointments and disposition of properties, while the followers of the Orthodox faith were subject to all manner of discriminatory and repressive policies. Yet the Orthodox Church endured in the face of these adversities, and even experienced a revival when Orthodox church brotherhoods stood in opposition to the Jesuit drive towards Roman Catholicism. Eventually, as members of the Ukrainian leading class abandoned Orthodoxy for Roman Catholicism, the Orthodox faith was supplanted by the Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate), which was proclaimed as the new Ukrainian state religion. But again, once it was realized by the Polish crown, that the Uniate Church could not be used a tool in the assimilation of the Ukrainian populace, the Uniate Church was assigned a subservient status. When Galicia was incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was elevated to a position on par with the Roman Catholic. Through Austrian state intervention, the economic and cultural and educational levels of the clergy were amended and the Uniate Church was buttressed as a counterforce to the Polish aristocracy. In the end, the Ukrainian Catholic Church emerged as the symbol of a distinct

Ukrainian nationality, the bulwark of traditional Ukrainian religious custom and ritual, and the one surviving element of Ukrainian identity after centuries of foreign oppression. Much like the Orthodox Church that preceded it, the Ukrainian Catholic Church had succeeded in capturing the loyalty of the Ukrainian populace in Galicia and in furnishing a starting point for the cultural and national re-awakening that was to follow.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 3

1

Benjamin G. Smillie, ed., Visions of The New Jerusalem: Religious settlement on the prairies (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1983), p. 138.

2

According to N. Polonska-Vasylenko there is evidence to suggest "that Christianity had already penetrated the coastal regions of Ukraine"... "known in the Hellenistic times as Scythia" in the first century A.D. and that it likely spread from the cities on the Black Sea to the tribes living in the area of present-day Ukraine. By the "second century Christianity had established a foothold among them, especially those living in the Roman province of Dacia, which bordered on present-day Bukovyna."... "Christian missionary work among the people of Rus began around 867" and their efforts were rewarded with the creation of a diocese for Rus, Tmutorokan. At the same time that "Tmutorokan Rus was being drawn into the sphere of Byzantine Christianity, western Ukrainian lands"... were being influenced by "Slavic Christianity"... which had extended itself "from Greater Moravia in the 870's as a result of the activity of the Slavic apostles, Sts. Cyril and Methodius", and their followers. Thus, although the formal introduction of Christianity into the Kievan-Rus state did not take place until 988 A.D., one hundred years prior, "both Tmutorokan Rus in the east, and the Peremyshl area in the west were already Christianized and had their own hierarchies". cited in Volodymyr Kubijovyc, ed., Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, with a Foreword by E.J. Simmons, vol. II, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian National Association, 1971), pp. 132-134. For a wider history see Dmytro Doroshenko, Pravoslavna tserkva v mynulomu i suchasnomu zhytti ukrainskoho narodu (Berlin: R.B., 1940); Idem, Korotkyi narys istorii khrystianskoi tserkvy (Winnipeg: Vyd. spilka Ekleziia, 1949); M. Hrushevsky, Z istorii Ukrainy (Lviv: Naukove tov. im. Shevchenka, 1925); I. Nahaievsky, Katolytska tserkva v mynulomu i suchasnomu Ukrainy (Philadelphia: Vyd. Ameryka, 1925); and S. Tomashivsky, Istoriia tserkvy na Ukraini (Philadelphia: Vyd. Ameryka, 1932).

3

Paul Yuzyk, "Religious Life" in A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982), p. 143.

4

Yuzyk wrote that the first metropolitan bishop was either Leon or Michael, both Greeks, who were followed by Bulgarians, John and Alexius. The latter two were not canonically recognized by the patriarch. In 1037, the Kievan state received a canonical Greek metropolitan, Theopemptos, who was nominated by the Byzantine emperor and consecrated by the patriarch. See Kubijovyc, ed., Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, vol. II, pp. 136-139; Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981), pp. 8-9; Dmytro Doroshenko, A Survey of Ukrainian History, edited and updated by Oleh, H. Gerus (Winnipeg: Humeniuk Publication Foundation (Canada), 1975), p. 33.

5

Doroshenko, A Survey, pp. 33-34 and 59-64; Clarence A. Manning, The Story of The Ukraine (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947), pp. 9-11, and 33-35.

6

Yuzyk, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, p. 3; Kubijovyc, Ukraine, vol. II, pp. 140-141. "Even after the separation of the churches, ... relations were maintained between the state and church" ... of the Kievan realm "and the Church of Rome. Close ties existed between Kiev and Rome during the reign of Iziaslav Yaroslavych, "... to whom Pope Gregory VII granted the title of king. Iziaslav, in turn, sent a pallium for the tomb of the missionary of Catholicism in Poland, St. Wojciech-Adalbert." In addition, the Kievan princely dynasty had numerous links through marriage with the Catholic rulers of western Europe. Catholic monks often visited Kiev where they received generous assistance from the princes and boyars. Generally speaking, a great tolerance was demonstrated by the Kievan state toward Western Christianity and its Church.

7

Yuzyk, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, pp. 3-4; Manning, The Ukraine, p. 11; Doroshenko, A Survey, pp. 140-141; Kubijovyc, Ukraine, vol. II, p. 140.

8

Fr. Nicholas L. Chirovsky, An Introduction to Ukrainian History: The Lithuanian-Rus' Commonwealth, the Polish Domination and the Cossack-Hetman State, vol. II (New York: Philosophical Library, 1984), pp. 12-19; Doroshenko, A Survey, pp. 90-93. Also among the stipulations listed in the Union of Krewo were that Jagiello was assist with the recovery of German territories lost by

Poland and Lithuania, and was to surrender to the Polish crown all his Lithuanian, Bielorussian, and Ukrainian lands.

9

Paul Yuzyk, "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada" (M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1948), pp. 18-19; Doroshenko, A Survey, pp. 142-143; Chirovsky, The Lithuanian-Rus' Commonwealth, pp. 62-64; Kubijovic, Ukraine, pp. 146-147.

10

The idea of union with Rome had been contemplated at quite some length and in July, 1439 the Act of the Florentine Union was signed by metropolitan Isidore on behalf of the Ukrainian church. At the councils of Ferrara and Florence not only were "controversial dogmatic issues dividing East and West" settled, but "differences in ecclesiastic practices and administration on the basis of full equality of the churches of both rites under the leadership of the pope" were resolved. Unfortunately, the "Roman Catholic clergy in Poland and Lithuania did not recognize the Union because it was proclaimed by the council under the direction of Pope Eugene IV at a time when Poland recognized the Basel anti-pope Felix V." see Kubijovyc, Ukraine, vol II, pp. 144-146; Doroshenko, A Survey, pp. 152-153; Yuzyk, "History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic", pp. 16-18.

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Yuzyk, "History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic", p. 21.

12

Doroshenko, A Survey, pp. 154-155.

13

Ibid., p. 155.

14

Doroshenko, A Survey, pp. 154-156; Chirovsky, The Lithuanian-Rus' Commonwealth, pp. 68-71; Yuzyk, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, pp. 7-8; Manning, The Ukraine, pp. 53-56; Kubijovyc, Ukraine, vol. II, pp. 148-149.

15

Ibid., pp. 158-159; Chirovsky, The Lithuanian-Rus' Commonwealth, p. 97; Kubijovyc, Ukraine, vol. II, pp. 151-152.

- 16
Ibid., pp. 502-504; Manning, The Ukraine, pp. 122-124.
- 17
Kubijovyc, Ukraine, vol. II, p. 158; Yuzyk, "History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic", pp. 26-27; Doroshenko, A Survey, pp. 504-505.
- 18
Yuzyk, "History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic", pp. 28-29.
- 19
Doroshenko, A Survey, p. 547.
- 20
Ibid., pp. 547-548; Manning, The Ukraine, pp. 174-178; Kubijovyc, Ukraine, vol. II, pp. 185-186; Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia Under Austrian Rule" in Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia, Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn, eds. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 25.
- 21
cited in John-Paul Himka, "Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900" in Canadian Slavonic Papers, vol. XXI, no. 1, pp. 11-12.
- 22
Himka, "Priests and Peasants", p. 3.
- 23
Ibid., p. 5 and 10; Arthur J. May, The Hapsburg Monarchy 1867-1914 (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1951), p. 172.
- 24
Ibid., pp. 3-5.
- 25
Yuzyk, "Religious Life", p. 145.

CHAPTER 4

Ukrainian Mutual Aid in Galicia

The men were accustomed to give aid to each other, to lend or exchange as an expression of solidarity. After all, folk must live with each other. . . . So the peasants held together, lived together, together drew the stuff of life from an unwilling earth. Simple neighborliness, mutual assistance, were obligations inherent in the conditions of things, obligations which none could shirk without fear of cutting himself off from the whole. And that was the community, that the village - the capacity to do these things 1 together, the relationship that regulated all.

Among researchers of the genesis of mutual aid there appear to be two streams of thought. There are those who attribute the origins of mutual aid to the emergence of capitalism and socio-economic changes brought about by industrialization and urbanization, while others examine past traditions of association and primitive forms of socio-economic organization in order to find the source. 2 This chapter deals with some of the different forms of mutual aid employed by Ukrainians prior to the start of the immigration movement to Canada. It will focus on the role of the family, the commune and the state and will examine the traditional role of church brotherhoods, enlightenment societies and reading clubs, and voluntary artisan associations.

The Role of the Family

The most fundamental social and economic unit within the Ukrainian village was the family. It was the main provider of food, shelter and other basic needs and the "primary productive unit of society." Although based on the research of H. Muchin, the structure of the Ukrainian peasant family of East Galicia was in a state of flux by the turn of the century, the three-generation household was still very much in evidence even at the time of emigration.³ Muchin stated that until approximately the middle of the seventeenth century, the joint family structure consisting of a large patriarchal grouping tended to prevail. Settled in dwellings huddled closely together, several generations of direct kin, owned and worked their land jointly, corporately shared in the harvest, and were subject to the authority of the oldest competent male and female members of the family who were the delegators of all tasks and responsibilities. Everything except for clothing, lodgings, and small personal effects was possessed, worked, and used communally. Over the years, however, altered demographic and economic conditions had made this family pattern much less common, and by the twentieth century it had become virtually extinct. Prior to the start of emigration, the more typical Ukrainian peasant family was patrilocal consisting of a married son, his young offspring

and his parents all living under one roof.⁴

By the late 1870's, the primary source of income for the Ukrainian peasant family was still the family farmstead. Peasant families practiced a type of subsistence agriculture which was almost completely reliant on the work of the family members and which was intended solely to satisfy their survival needs rather than to accumulate a profit. Surpluses, when they occurred, were disposed of by "taking them to the market, selling them to local traders, or bartering them for required goods and services."⁵

With the transition to a money economy, and the associated need for supplemental income, the family agricultural enterprise could no longer be depended on to meet the needs of the family, and most family members found it necessary to seek additional employment outside of their own farmsteads. The most common form of employment for the peasant was as an agricultural day labourer on the manorial estates, or as a seasonal worker in the more industrialized Central European countries. Engagement in domestic, artisanal, or crafts-based industries also offered the peasant a means of increasing his income.

The Village Commune

Next in line to the family in terms of its social and economic significance was the commune or hromada. Blum has

described the hromada as "simultaneously an economic community, a fiscal community, a mutual-assistance community, a religious community, the defender of peace and order within its boundaries, and the guardian of the public and private morals of its residents." ⁶ The Ukrainian hromada of the late nineteenth century was ordinarily composed of several family clans which had united into a "corporate body to manage communal resources, direct the economic activities, and supervise the communal life of its residents." ⁷ Although kinship ties were more diffuse than in the family structure described earlier, loyalties to clan remained strong.

S. Hryniuk's findings indicate that prior to peasant emancipation in 1848, the peasant landholding practices in Galicia had been based on a "part pastoral-part graingrowing economy", which was concentrated around the functions of the hromada. Intrinsic to this particular landholding system was the communal, as opposed to individual, ownership of rustical lands. Thus "the village commune's land" was "comprised of all the constituent peasant allotments", which in turn, were differentiated in size "according to the number of labour days per week performed by the peasant for the manor," and "the number of draught animals" provided by the peasant. ⁸ The hromada played a very central role in the coordination of the farming activities of the peasants. Based on the decisions of the village elders and the

communal assembly, "times for plowing, sowing, harvesting, and haying" were determined. Decisions as to which "crops would be planted", when harvested land would be opened for pasturing, and even when and which land would undergo periodic repartition were left to the hromada.⁹ Active "participation in the village commune and in the conduct of its affairs was limited to those peasants who held land and were...subject to compulsory labour." Cotters, lodgers, servants, and other types of landless labourers were in this way excluded from the stewardship of the community.¹⁰ On the other hand, village priests as well as other members of the intelligentsia such as doctors, civil servants and teachers often played an influential part in the affairs of the hromada.

The communal landholding system endured in many parts of Galicia at least until 1848, mainly because of the resistance of villagers to state-induced change. However, in the face of persistent government-supported agricultural reforms, such as "the enclosures of open fields, splitting up of commonly-held lands, and consolidation of scattered holdings,"¹¹ and the escalating grain prices in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars, the communal landholding system disintegrated. With the introduction of an intensive agricultural system associated with the grain-growing economy the powers of the village commune was decidedly reduced.¹²

After the abolition of the corvee, the hromada elected council assumed a position as the lowest level of local political authority. In addition to its function as the regulator of all agricultural activity, the hromada council was responsible for "adjudicating disputes among its members,...for the maintenance of internal order and the enforcement of compliance with communal regulations" as well as for meeting specifically prescribed public responsibilities. Constables were usually appointed by the hromada council to execute the law and order functions required for the stability of the hromada. Such tasks as watching over the fields and the commons, apprehending trespassers, assessing fines against transgressors, ensuring that all the regulations surrounding the use of village resources were obeyed, and even such things as assuring that the Sabbath and other religious holidays were duly observed were within the bounds of the constables' duties. Amongst the other obligations the hromada council was charged with were such things as maintenance and repair of bridges and roadways, fire protection, upkeep of the church and rectory and support of the local cleric, and at times the operation

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of the elementary school.

The Hromada and Welfare Services

The hromada was also responsible for providing welfare services to its members. In times of misfortune such as fire or flood, the hromada council was to provide emergency relief, and assist with reconstruction activities. It was also required to look after "the indigent, the sick, and orphans" and at times "appoint guardians for minors."¹⁴ An article in Batkivshchyna in 1887, stated that one of the most important functions of the hromada councils and their constables was the overseeing of the village poor. Poverty was attributed by the writer to a variety of different causes, including lack of education, physical defects associated with aging, mental illness, and other disabilities, natural disasters, and finally disinclination toward work. The hromada councils were advised to remedy the situation by establishing more schools and paying closer attention to compulsory school attendance for children; by sending blind or deaf and dumb children to special institutions where they could be taught the necessary skills to make their own living and not become a burden on the communes; by providing for the aged and physically or mentally impaired only if their families were unable to do so; by continuing in their role in emergency relief provision; and by dealing more sternly with those who refused to find employment by sending them to workhouses.

According to Drage, parochial relief, which represented "a systematic and uniform" means of poor relief provision, came into effect in Austria-Hungary in 1783. Under this plan, "poor relief was administered by the priest of each parish" with assistance from the "elected guardians". All accounts of disbursements had to be published. Legislation in 1789, stipulated that entitlement to relief was conditional on ten years residence in a parish and that claimants who did not meet the residence requirement were to be conducted back to their place of birth for assistance. No further changes were made to the poor relief policies until 1863 when the law of domicile was introduced. Provincial laws spelled out the nature of the provision to be made, while the law of domicile regulated the general principles of poor relief. Thus if anyone was unable to secure the necessary means of subsistence from his family members, unions, guilds, or benefit funds to which he may have had a claim, he was entitled to assistance from the hromada, or failing that, from the district or the province to which he belonged. All applicants were required to submit their requests for aid in person. Hromada authorities were obliged to locate the hromada of settlement for each applicant from outside of their own, and were entitled to compensation from that hromada for any maintenance costs incurred by the applicant. Prior to the distribution of any assistance, it was essential to

demonstrate that the families of the applicants were unable to provide for them, and that the applicants had no legal claims on anyone else. The assistance provided by the hromada had to "consist of board and lodging, and in the case of illness, medical attendance and medicines." Mentally impaired individuals were to be maintained in public institutions; orphans were to be provided for and educated. The hromada was also responsible for the burial of all destitute persons.¹⁶

Drage stated that there were generally several sources of revenue for the poor relief fund, among them voluntary donations, prescribed taxes on voluntary sales, and "the poor's third of the property left by intestate secular priests." The different Austro-Hungarian provinces usually supplemented the fund with proceeds from game licences, and other means. In addition to poorhouses and poor relief, in parts of Galicia, there was a custom of assigning the provision of board and lodging for the poor, to each resident villager in fixed succession.¹⁷

The Hromada and Informal Aid

Although in its formal capacity, the hromada functioned as the lowest administrative unit of government in securing the needs of the villagers, on a more informal basis, Hryniuk's research indicates that commune members

also tended to assist each other with many of the more involved functions of village life. For instance, a "toloka" or work bee would often be called to aid families with the construction of their own homes, or to help with the erection of schools or churches. Nor was it uncommon according to Hryniuk, for villagers to share their farm implements or draught animals with one another, or to assist fellow villagers with other types of work such as slaughtering hogs, "hauling manure to the fields," or "husking corn" in exchange for other favours. ¹⁸ Thus a tradition of sharing and cooperation was evident in Ukrainian villages long before emigration became a reality.

The Hromada and Emergency Relief

Because information was somewhat scant in this area it was difficult to determine if Ukrainian hromada councils had any specific plans or procedures which they followed in times of crisis. However, based on the newspaper accounts in Batkivshchyna between 1886-1890, it would appear that the establishment of emergency relief committees to handle disaster situations was a fairly typical pattern of response. For example, in April, 1886 when a fire in the town of Stryi caused fairly extensive damage, and 6,000 people were left homeless, an emergency relief committee was immediately organized to collect and distribute aid to the

victims of the fire. The committee in Stryi was composed of the town elder, the parish priests, the mayor, and a number of prominent townspeople. To augment their work, both the imperial and provincial levels of government forwarded the committee financial aid, as did the city of Vienna, and the town of Drohobych. Other cities and towns sent assistance in the way of foodstuffs.¹⁹ By the end of April, it was reported that donations were being sent from all over the empire and that after consultations with Galician government officials a committee of 18 individuals was selected to distribute assistance to the fire victims and to initiate the reconstruction of the town.²⁰ In April, 1888, a number of smaller Ukrainian villages were destroyed by fire, and again appeals for aid were launched by the local priests on behalf of the destitute villagers through the newspaper. In the smaller villages, the clergy played quite a critical role, usually heading the relief efforts. In each case however, emergency committees consisting of clergy and villagers were established; appeals for assistance were published in the newspapers as well as being solicited locally from other villages and counties, or at times abroad; hromada councils had their assistance supplemented by the provincial or imperial levels of government depending on the extent of the damage and the need; and donations in cash as well as in clothing and foodstuffs were accepted and

distributed.²¹ When in 1889-90, droughts contributed to wide-spread crop failure and famine throughout most of Galicia, the same procedure of establishing emergency relief sub-committees at the village levels with a larger co-ordinating body in the city of Lviv, was repeated.²²

Traditional Mutual Aid Associations - Brotherhoods

Among the earliest and best known Ukrainian "mutual-aid" institutions were the Orthodox Church brotherhoods. These were organizations which were "semi-religious, semi-charitable" in character which came into prominence in Ukraine in the mid-fifteenth century in conjunction with the insurgence of the burgher class. Though it was believed that these types of fraternal associations dated back to a very primitive period in Ukrainian history, available evidence suggests that they were more likely derived from the medieval "bratchyny" which were established around the churches during the Princely era.²³

At first, brotherhoods were simply assemblies of the Orthodox faithful, who centered their activities around the parish church. They had neither a recognizable organizational structure nor did they conduct meetings on any regular basis.²⁴ Their memberships were initially comprised of townspeople, merchants, and craftsmen, and only

later, did they encompass Orthodox nobles and even
clergymen.²⁵ Although membership was open to all classes,
normally only married men were accepted into the
brotherhoods. Single men were restricted to the "junior"
chapters which served as training grounds for membership in
the brotherhood proper and which were subsequently absorbed
into the "senior" brotherhoods. By the late sixteenth
century, Ukrainian brotherhoods had assumed many of the
organizational features of Western medieval brotherhoods and
trade guilds. For instance, they maintained a "brotherhood
catalogue"; they dispatched a special "brotherhood insignia"
to announce their meetings; they levied fines in beeswax for
rule violations; and they held commemorative services in
honour of their deceased members and inscribed their names
on specially-designated church lists to be remembered at
requiem services.²⁶

As brotherhoods expanded in size and strength, their
activities became more structured. They held solemn
initiation ceremonies for new members which involved the
pledging of an oath to uphold the responsibilities inherent
in membership in the brotherhood. Meetings became more
frequent and more regular and included reports by the
administrative officers, and sanctions were imposed for
infractions against the rules of the brotherhood.²⁷

One of the oldest and most active brotherhoods was
the Lviv Brotherhood of the Assumption which was founded

around 1439. Its statute, articles, regulations, and procedures served as a model for the many other brotherhoods that were later established throughout the Ukrainian territories. Based on its constitution, new members were required to pay a prescribed initiation fee as well as set dues which were to be collected at each of the monthly meetings; all members, old and new, were entitled to a voice at the meetings and the disciplinary hearings; and the will of the majority was the deciding factor at elections and meetings. An outline for the conduct of election of new officers was also provided in the statutes. According to the widely-accepted statute of the Lviv Brotherhood of the Assumption, elections of new administrative officers were to take place on an annual basis and were to include the oral reports of the departing officers. Four administrative officials and their replacements were to be elected each year.

The statutes of the Lviv Brotherhood of the Assumption did not limit themselves to directing the standards and procedures for meetings, membership, or elections, they also dictated the personal conduct of their members. Brotherhoods maintained internal discipline through moral and religious instruction of their members and through the operation of their own courts of justice. Less than exemplary behaviour was irreconcilable with the code of the brotherhood and therefore was negatively sanctioned

through the imposition of fines. Elected officials who were found guilty of wrongdoing were usually required to pay double or triple the normal penalty. In addition, the brotherhood statute underscored the obligation of the brotherhoods to look after their ill members, to provide interest-free loans from their treasuries to those whose incomes were insufficient, and generally to aid all the indigent and infirm.

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Brotherhoods gained historical recognition in the second half of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth centuries when Orthodox townsmen mobilized their available resources in defence of Ukrainian national and religious interests against the discriminatory policies of the Polish-Lithuanian regime. At the outset, brotherhoods confined their activities to the religious and charitable arenas. They tended to the physical needs of the churches by maintaining and cleaning them; by supplying them with wine, "candles, books and icons" for the services; by ensuring that special parish feast and holy days were observed in a ceremonious manner; and occasionally by subsidizing the churches directly from out of their brotherhood treasuries. Members of the brotherhoods also organized ritual dinners for their members, canvassed for financial donations, extended financial aid to widows and orphans of deceased members as well as to the indigent, the sick, and the imprisoned, and organized hospitals.

In addition to their efforts at regenerating and reorganizing the Orthodox Church, and providing monetary aid to the poor, brotherhoods were active in the field of health care. Brotherhood hospitals were known to have existed as early as 1522 in the city of Lviv, where during the sixteenth century there were at least five such hospitals in operation. Besides engaging the services of a qualified medical practitioner to treat the ill, brotherhoods added to their store of medical knowledge by collecting a large assortment of medical and pharmacological books for their libraries, and on occasion dispensing money to the needy for the purchase of medications. Brotherhood hospitals, were usually more than just treatment centres for the infirm, they served as homes for the aged, as well as shelters for the homeless and the invalid, and hostels for travellers. Theology students were commonly treated in brotherhood hospitals.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, brotherhoods began to expand their role to include work in the educational sphere. To preserve the Orthodox faith and Ukrainian ethnicity against the dual denationalizing influences of Protestantism and Jesuit-led Polish Roman Catholicism, they founded brotherhood schools, printing presses, and libraries.

The first brotherhood school was established in 1586 by the Lviv Brotherhood of the Assumption. In a short time

other brotherhood schools were founded throughout the towns of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth patterned on the school of the Lviv Assumption Brotherhood. There are several features of brotherhood schools which made them significant contributors to the field of education during that period in history. In the first instance, only lecturers who were deemed to have the acceptable pedagogical training and educational qualifications were employed to instruct the students, thus placing the level of education offered at the majority of brotherhood schools on par with the secondary schools of the Jesuits and the Protestants. Secondly, instruction in the brotherhood schools was not confined to students of any particular social strata. Impoverished students and orphans were admitted to the schools free of charge, and were provided with living quarters known as bursy which were supported by donations and funds from special foundations. Further, students were evaluated on their scholastic proficiency rather than on their aristocratic lineage. In this way brotherhood schools advanced the cause of education, and placed educational opportunity within reach of the widest possible range of the populace. Two of the most well-known schools were those of the Lviv and Kiev brotherhoods. Unfortunately by the end of the seventeenth century, brotherhood schools no longer were able to garner the support they had received previously. Faced with adverse political circumstances and repression,

their activities dwindled and never recovered their former vitality.³²

In the nineteenth century, brotherhoods were resurrected in the towns and villages of Galicia, this time in association with Ukrainian Catholic parishes under the supervision of the parish priests. Their activities had reverted back to assisting the local clergy in the running of the parish and no longer extended much beyond that.

Formal Education

Throughout the different periods of Ukrainian history the issue of education had been confronted from many different angles. From being the preserve solely of the nobility, educational opportunities had been gradually extended to include craftsmen and burghers and finally even the peasantry. The role of brotherhood schools has already been discussed; what follows is an examination of the role played in formal education by the state, and in popular education by enlightenment societies and reading clubs.

At the time that Galicia was absorbed into the Hapsburg realm, public schooling was at an abysmally low level. Public schools did not exist and the peasants, for the most part, were dependent for their instruction on the Greek Catholic clergy, whose own scholastic standards were still far from being satisfactory. During Austrian rule,

however, a course of action was initiated which was intended to make education accessible to the widest possible populace. In recognition of the instructional role played by the Greek Catholic clergy, a number of theological seminaries and institutions of higher learning were constructed to heighten and augment the academic levels of Uniate priests. Thereafter, the crown focused its attention on the peasantry and the development of elementary schools for the masses. To improve the education available to the lowest strata of society, various laws were enacted by the Austrian government between 1774 and 1874 to make schooling compulsory for those between the ages of 6 and 12, to increase the degree of competency of instructors, and to expand and diversify the number and types of instructional institutions throughout the countryside.

But even with the remedial actions taken by the Austrian authorities, numerous deficiencies in the educational system existed. The most serious of these failings was the unwillingness or inability to enforce compulsory school attendance, which in turn was related to the lack of schools in many communes. For although the law stipulated that there be a school within four kilometers of every population centre, the reluctance of communities to make the necessary arrangements, coupled with the disinclination of Galician authorities to enforce this requirement, seriously undermined the goals of the

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legislation. Another considerable obstacle to education in Galicia after 1880, was the influence of the Seim's Polish conservative majority over the policy-making of the Land School Council. Mirrored in the Polish conservative stance on elementary education were the interests of the landowning gentry which on the one hand enhanced the accessibility of elementary education, but on the other circumscribed instruction to the bounds of a one-class school. Since the intent of the education policy was the preservation of the existing social order, limitations on higher education for the peasantry needed to be enforced accordingly. Peasants were to be furnished with a minimum of schooling, their children provided with barely enough education to understand basic communications about government regulations, agriculture, and commerce, but advanced education was to be discouraged for fear that it would lead to a dissatisfaction with one's station in life and possibly to revolt. In this way the educational system was to be harnessed to maintain a steady supply of unskilled labour for the estates of the great landowners.

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Consequently, legislation passed by the Seim in 1885 allowed curricula and course materials for schools to vary according to the perceived differences in needs between town and village populations. Based on this sort of logic, village populations were blatantly discriminated against in terms of

the educational and vocational opportunities afforded them and were furnished with a much inferior standard of instruction compared to townspeople. The curricula of village schools was adjusted to be "socially appropriate" to the needs of a rural peasant population as interpreted by the Seim and the Land School Council, and village children in Galicia were to be educated only to a degree suitable to their position on the social scale. In contrast, town schools or Burgerschulen were to base their curricula on the need to prepare children for occupations in trade and industry.

Yet, regardless of these shortcomings, definite strides in the educational field were being made. For instance, official statistics indicate that in 1869 there were 2476 elementary schools in existence in Galicia (the majority being one-class models) and that the number of schools continued to climb so that by 1891 the total number of schools in Galicia had risen to 4149, demonstrating that a greater percentage of the population was being exposed at least in a minimal way to some of the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Furthermore, the increase in the number of schools with more than one teacher, and the diversification of course content, provides additional evidence of progress being made in the field. In accordance with the educational theory of that time, a growing number of courses were being offered in subjects such as

beekeeping, agriculture, domestic science, and horticulture in the village schools. To the rudimentary subjects of reading, writing and mathematics were added geography, history, natural sciences, and in some cases where the schools had modified their facilities, instruction in physics, chemistry, and drafting.³⁷ And finally, the advances being made in the promotion of public education in Galicia were aided and supplemented considerably by informal methods of literacy and information transmission through such voluntary organizations as the reading clubs, enlightenment societies, and the press.

Enlightenment Societies - Attempts at Informal Education

Prior to Austria's entry into the constitutional era in the 1860's, activity in the cultural-educational sphere in Galicia had been quite limited, mainly because of an assimilated and conservative intelligentsia whose apathy and disinterest with regard to educational matters proved an obstacle to progress. However, with improvements to formal education, the penetration of innovative ideas and modernizing influences, and increased interaction with Western cultural centres, new tendencies started to take hold. One of the earliest Ukrainian enlightenment societies to be established, was the Association of Galician Greek Catholic Priests, founded in Peremyshl in 1816 by

Metropolitan Levytsky and his associate, Ivan Mohylnytsky. Its main objective had been to promote education among the populace and the clergy through the provision of support for the establishment of parochial schools, and the publication of texts in the Ukrainian language on a variety of topics.³⁸ But because one of the greatest hindrances to mass education at that time was the issue of alphabet and language use in the literature, and no decision on the issue had yet been reached, the Association faltered in its attempt to achieve any significant results. "Church Slavonic, with its complex orthography", had by tradition held a monopoly over the printed word, but it had also become apparent to the advocates of the drive for mass education, including the lower clergy, that their efforts would only be rewarded if they used the "vernacular language, and a simpler, phonic orthography." The more powerful members of the church hierarchy disagreed, and stifled any further efforts at change.³⁹

While the language and alphabet controversy persisted until approximately 1875 when it was finally resolved that "a uniform spelling and grammar"... "with a phonic orthography" would be employed for the Ukrainian language, other attempts were being made to revive the question of culture and education. "In 1848, a "Congress of Scholars" convened by the Supreme Ruthenian Council in Lviv, established an enlightenment society, the

"Halytsko-ruska-Matytsia", " modelled on similar cultural-educational societies which had been in existence among other Slavic nations for some time. Its aim had been the extension of education to a much wider public body through "the publication of popular literature, the establishment of reading clubs, the founding of an agricultural association and the publication of a general reference work on agriculture, the publication of a history of Galicia in the vernacular, the preservation of Ukrainian monuments, and the translation of prayerbooks into the vernacular."⁴⁰ Unfortunately, this association too, failed to reach its appointed goals. In the first instance, publication of materials was impeded by an insufficient support from the membership for the use of the vernacular language, and secondly, the domination of the association by an older, reactionary party from within the society, led to the renunciation of the modernizing influences and to an eventual inertia. The reading club established by this association in Lviv called the Narodnyi Dim (National Home), and the periodical, Zoria Halytska, both fell sway to the conservative, predominantly Russophile tendencies of the association's leadership and became indifferent to the cause⁴¹ of mass education and culture.

About this time, the socio-political ideologies of Russophilism, Ukrainophilism, and later radicalism began to evolve and to compete for dominance among members of the

Ukrainian intelligentsia. Russophilism which has been described by Himka as "the national movement of those Galicians who identified themselves as part of the Russian nation"⁴² emerged among Galician Ukrainians during the 1850's, when the question of Ukrainian national identity following the 1848 revolutionary interval in Austria was still unresolved. Himka wrote that the revolution of 1848 had succeeded in distinguishing the Ukrainians as a nation separate from the Poles, but by the same token, had been remiss in providing Ukrainians with an unequivocal and conclusive definition of their own identity. Pointing to the commonalities in Ukrainian and Russian religious, cultural, and linguistic characteristics, there were scores of Galician Ukrainians who were adamant that they were in reality a fraction of the Russian nation. Moreover, their exhortations for a closer affiliation with tsarist Russia were supported both "materially as well as morally by the Russian government and other Slavophiles."⁴³ However, "foreign funding and Slavophile propaganda" were not in themselves responsible for the increasing orientation of Galician Ukrainians toward the Russian Empire. Having earlier demonstrated their loyalty to the Hapsburg dynasty, many of the older Ukrainian intelligentsia experienced a sense of bitter disappointment and betrayal when the Austrian government in the late 1860's transferred the administration of Eastern Galicia to Polish hands,

compelling Galician Ukrainians to seek redress of their grievances through another political power. Failure to achieve a type of territorial autonomy for Eastern Galicia through the partition of Galicia into two national regions, Ukrainian in the east, and Polish in the west, and the subsequent predominance of the Polish landed aristocracy over all of Galicia and its institutions (the entire social, economic, and educational policy was geared to the interests of the Polish ruling class) contributed to a profound sense of powerlessness and disillusionment with the Austrian monarchy on the part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Furthermore, the notion of the alliance of all Slavic peoples under the benevolent auspices of the Russian Empire, unity and identification with what was perceived to be a more highly-developed but related culture, literary language, and powerful state greatly appealed to a number of Galicia's Ukrainian clergy and intelligentsia, who hoped to compensate for the shortcomings of their own humble "plebeian culture, their lack of a state tradition, and their peasant vernacular" through submersion in the Russian nation.⁴⁴ As an influence in Ukrainian cultural and political life, Russophilism was a spent force in Galicia and Bukovyna by the mid-1880's.

Ukrainophilism as a national movement and a rival ideology to Russophilism, did not come to the fore until the 1860's, although the actual beginnings of Ukrainophile or

national populist tendencies in Galicia, like those of the Russophile, can be traced to the 1830's. Ukrainian national populists in Galicia had maintained close bonds with their countrymen in the Russian Empire, and in contrast to the Russophiles, held the conviction that they were one and the same nation, neither Russian nor Polish, though separated by political boundaries. Being essentially more democratic in character than their Russophile counterparts, the national populists believed that the future of the Ukrainian nation was inextricably linked to the fate of the common people. Thus from the time of Austria's adoption of a constitution in 1867 the national populists preferred to concentrate their efforts on "drawing the peasantry into the cultural and political life of the nation", relying on the organized strength of their own people, rather than placing their faith in the intervention of a tyrannical foreign power - Russia. Drawing their inspiration from the works of the writers of Dnieper Ukraine, primarily the populist ideals expressed in Shevchenko's poetry, and looking to the recent past at the literary contributions of the patriotic Galician clerical intelligentsia represented by Markiian Shashkevych, Iakiv Holovatskyi and Ivan Vahylevych, known as the "Ruska Triitsia", the national populists forwarded and eventually achieved recognition of the peasant vernacular as the basis for a literary language.

Initially, national populism was a democratic and secular movement which sought to revitalize the cultural-educational life of Ukrainians in Galicia. Its evolution into a dynamic political force was hastened by the support it received from the younger generation of Galician Ukrainians, preponderantly high school and university students, among them theology students, who organized semisecret societies known as "hromady"⁴⁶ in order to promote cultural activities among their members. The first "hromada" was organized in Lviv approximately 1863, followed by the establishment of similar circles in the secondary schools in Ternopil, Stanyslaviv, Sambir, and Berazhany.⁴⁷

Influenced in part also by the modern social, and national-political concepts espoused by the radical Ukrainophile political theorist, Mykhailo Drahomanov, who castigated the branch of Galician national populists whose interests were limited only to "propagating the peasant's language and engaging in ethnographic research", a number of younger Ukrainophiles felt compelled to "take up the cause of the peasant's social interests."⁴⁸ However, in their bid to construct a popular mass movement, the secular, largely urban-based intelligentsia were unable on their own to influence the peasantry and were compelled to enlist the assistance of "the one Ruthenian class in the countryside with sufficient education and material independence to

assume leadership of the national movement in the villages themselves: the clergy." ⁴⁹ Therefore in order to win favour with the clergy whose intervention was required in the process of garnering political support from the peasantry, it became necessary for the Ukrainophiles to renounce the anticlericalism subscribed to earlier by the movement and to subdue some of its more democratic principles. As the members of the clergy became involved in the village-oriented program of the national populists, Galician Ukrainophilism took on a decidedly clerical cast, muting much of the radical democracy of its origins. ⁵⁰ Ultimately, Ukrainophilism overtook Russophilism and became the dominant national movement in Galicia.

In the 1880's, two other social movements, radicalism and social democracy, developed. Though basing themselves on the principles of national populism, their agenda had proceeded a step beyond the cultural matters concerning national populists, to issues of "socio-economic liberation." Radicalism, according to Himka, was a non-Marxist expression of agrarian socialism, with an overt anti-clerical bias. One of its first spokesmen was Mykhailo Drahomanov. The radical party increasingly took issue with the national populists for having forfeited their democratic nonconformist tenets in exchange for clerical support. In contrast, social democracy, was "Marxist in orientation" and

sought to build a base of support among the Ukrainian industrial proletariat. "In the 1890's it was the first political group to call for the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state."⁵¹

Austria's new constitution, which provided for increased freedom of association, assembly, and the press, had acted as a catalyst in 1868 for a number of secular young intellectuals in Lviv to found a popular educational society entitled Prosvita (Enlightenment). The stated intent of Prosvita had been the dissemination of education among the Ukrainian people of Galicia through the publication and distribution of inexpensive booklets and through the establishment of a network of village reading clubs. At first, because of its prohibitive membership fees, and its focus on scholarly ethnographic research, membership was low. But with modifications to its statutes and a subsequent revision of its goals, membership fees were reduced, and in a short while the anticipated expansion in membership occurred.⁵²

Particular attention was paid by Prosvita to the needs of its rural membership for practical knowledge. Thus among its brochures and pamphlets were such titles as "Horned Cattle", "Flax and Hemp", "Facts about the Soil", "Small Domestic Fowl", "Practical Education for a Peasant Farmer" and others. Later publications included Dr. Oleskiw's "About Free Lands" on immigration to Canada,

"Gardens, Orchards and Dairying" and J. Nevestiuk's "How to
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 Care for the Sick".

Marketing and distribution of Prosvita literature was carried out by whatever means were available to the Lviv executive and its affiliate branches. Between 1875 and 1877, however, Prosvita had ninety-one distribution agents in seventy-five localities, forty of whom were priests, nine of which were associations (in which priests likely played a key role), and twenty-four of whom were predominantly urban-based merchants, and booksellers. 54 Prosvita continued to supply free copies of its publications to army, hospital, prison, and other libraries, and to church brotherhoods as well as to newly-enrolled village reading halls.

Rivalling the work of Prosvita, was the Russophile enlightenment society of Mykhailo Kachkovsky founded in 1874. Similar to the goals of Prosvita, the Kachkovsky Society sought to improve the level of literacy and promote the economic well-being of Galicia's Ukrainian peasantry. It also elected an agenda based on "the promotion of lectures, reading clubs, grain-storage facilities and increased educational opportunities." 55 Each month it published inexpensive educational booklets, almanacs, histories, and agricultural pamphlets. The Kachkovsky Society had forty-six distribution agents in 1876, twenty-two of whom were priests, and twenty-four of whom

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were associations.

Hryniuk concluded that competition between the Prosvita and Kachkovsky Enlightenment Societies turned out to be a boon in the long run for the peasantry. As a result of the contest between the two associations, "more materials were published", and greater "efforts were made to reach out to the villages." Many reading clubs profitted from their dual membership by receiving books and pamphlets from both societies.

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Village Reading Clubs

At the village level the primary medium for the transmission of information and literacy was the reading club. Owing primarily to the commitment and work of the clergy, traditional village institutions such as the church, began to be supplemented in the late 1860's and early 1870's by a plethora of new organizations, among them temperance societies, brotherhoods and sisterhoods, schools, choirs, theatrical troupes, reading halls, cooperative stores, communal granaries, and volunteer fire brigades, and so on.

From only two Prosvita reading halls in 1868-74, the numbers grew to 461 in 1886, and 2,048 in 1908. By the outbreak of the First World War, Prosvita had 77 branches, 36.4 thousand members in its central organization, 2944 reading halls, 2,664 libraries, and 197,000 reading hall

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members in Galicia. Furthermore, 75 per cent of all centres populated by Ukrainians, boasted a reading hall, and 20 per cent of the adult male population availed itself of Prosvita's facilities. And finally by 1914, Prosvita had published nearly 1.5 million books and 120 booklets for the peasants in over 120,000 copies.⁶⁰

Two types of reading clubs existed in Galicia - independent unaffiliated with either the Prosvita or Kachkovsky Enlightenment Societies, and member clubs of the two major societies. As their name implies, reading clubs involved public readings by literate individuals to assemblies of the unlettered. Meetings of the reading club membership took place punctually every Sunday and holiday "in buildings specifically designated for this purpose, ... sometimes in private homes, school buildings, or even cemeteries."⁶¹ And even though statistics reveal that in 1890 illiteracy was still very high among the Ukrainian peasantry, "a kind of ersatz-literacy was being introduced into Ukrainian villages as a result of the public readings by literate individuals."⁶²

The most salient feature of reading hall activity was still reading by literate individuals to the unlearned, followed by some dialogue on the reading. But in addition to this there was usually considerable informal discussion about news events and information on activities in other villages. The advantages of the reading club to the

Ukrainian peasant were numerous. The public readings from popular subscription newspapers or booklets by a handful of literate peasants augmented the work of formal educational institutions, providing at least a piecemeal substitute for literacy, introducing the Ukrainian villager to a diversity of subjects ranging from political ideology to international current events and the law. Besides becoming acquainted in this manner with the tenets of Russophilism, national populism, and radicalism, the peasants were also provided with advice and instruction on how to vote, given practical information on improved agricultural techniques and products, and even made aware of immigration to Canada. Usually, too the cultural activities of the reading clubs expanded into areas beyond the printed word so that as well as having access to the reading hall's library, there were other group activities such as amateur drama circle performances, choral singing, and playing in the reading hall band that an enthusiastic peasant was welcome to be a part of. The Prosvita and Kachkovsky societies would frequently send guest lecturers to the reading halls to speak to the members on pertinent topics, or the reading clubs would host an evening of verse and song. And because neither the Prosvita nor the Kachkovsky enlightenment societies confined their activities strictly to the cultural-educational arenas, encouraging their member reading clubs to establish cooperative stores, savings and

loan societies, and communal granaries, the benefits of membership were often enhanced by the addition of these facilities to the reading halls.

The Cooperative Movement - Savings and Loans Societies,
Communal Granaries, Cooperative Stores

By the turn of the century, both the Prosvita and the Kachkovsky Enlightenment Societies had expanded the scope of their activities to beyond the purely cultural-educational sphere. Aside from their general goal of improving the literacy rate of Galicia's Ukrainian peasantry, they strived to upgrade their socio-economic well-being through the establishment of agricultural and commercial cooperatives, community warehouses, savings and loan societies, and communal grain storage facilities. What made their venture into the socio-economic field particularly timely, was the growing burden of debt experienced by the Ukrainian peasant following the abolition of serfdom and the removal by legislation in 1868 of all restraints on interest levels and division of real property. In the wake of the 1868 legislation, usury became rampant, and dwarfing, fragmentation, or complete loss of peasant land holdings commonplace. Annual interest rates charged on private loans to peasants ranged from 25 to 500 per cent, although generally, rates of between 52 and 104 per cent annually or

one or two kreuzers weekly for every gulden borrowed were the norm. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century there were over 2,400 court-ordered land auctions of peasant land, and by the mid-1890's almost a third of these auctions paid for loans of less than 100 crowns.⁶³ The growing debt load on the peasant and the progressive erosion of his landholdings gave cause to the populist-oriented enlightenment societies to attempt to remedy the situation.

Savings and loans societies were among the first cooperative ventures engaged in by Ukrainians and were also among the first steps taken by Ukrainian peasants in the direction of self-help. During the latter half of the nineteenth century individual credit cooperatives began to make their appearance in Galicia. Originally given impetus by the clergy in the 1870's, the first credit cooperatives, according to Vytanovych, were organized as self-help fraternal loan associations by the communes and parishes. Their progress was slow, however, until the unforeseen collapse of several major banking and credit institutions in the 1880's, namely the "Bank Rustikalnyi" (Rustical Bank) and the "Obshchoe Rolnycho-Kredytnoe Zavedenie", which wreaked financial havoc with many of its peasant creditors and seriously undermined their trust in large financial organizations. Following the establishment of a model cooperative Vira (Faith), in Peremyshl in 1894 by Dr. Theophil Kormosh, credit unions developed much more quickly,

with a number of credit cooperatives based on this model subsequently being founded in the larger urban centres. The first association of credit cooperatives, the Kraiovyi Soiuz Kreditovyi (Land Credit Union), came into being in 1898 and soon "developed into the main financial institution and organizational centre for all cooperatives."⁶⁴

There were two chief prototypes for the loan or credit societies which took root in Galicia, which were based on systems first organized in Germany by Schulze-Delitzsch and Raffeisen. The Schulze-Delitzsch system, on which Dr. Kormosh's model cooperative was patterned, was designed to accommodate workmen from all industries, and to operate purely on business principles by granting credit for short terms, and requiring monthly contributions. Alternately, the Raffeisen societies were intended for the benefit of agriculturalists only. The Raffeisen models had a religious foundation; each society was familiar with its individual members, and credit was extended for longer periods than by the rival system.⁶⁵ The Galician loan societies on the Schulze-Delitzsch system increased from 54 in 1874 to 196 in 1889, their membership rising from 13,496 to 132,196 in the same period.⁶⁶ The Raffeisen type of loan societies were more prevalent in the Galician Ukrainian villages. By 1900 there were 63 credit and loan societies styled on the Raffeisen model; in 1901 the number had risen to 111, and by 1907 to 668 with 134,932

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members. Prior to World War I, "credit and loan societies were among the strongest units of the Ukrainian cooperative movement in Galicia." ⁶⁸ By extending longer-term loans at low-interest rates to Ukrainian peasants, credit unions were able to curtail usury and enable the rural population to acquire land from partitioned estates, buy good quality seed, agricultural machinery and implements and even finance their passage to Canada, the United States or Germany for seasonal employment.

Communal grain storage facilities were not a new phenomenon to the Ukrainian villagers of Galicia. Indeed, the practice of voluntarily pooling grain in communal granaries during times of abundant harvests as security against times of scarcity or failed crops had been an age-old custom of Ukrainian peasants. In 1784, the Austrian monarch, in observing the advantage of such a practice to the villagers, ordered the peasant tradition to be formalized. Following his decree, a rule book was to be compiled; communal grain storage facilities were to be organized under government supervision throughout the countryside; and to supplement the actual storage facilities, there was to be a monetary fund based on income collected from the fines levied on the manors and from other sources. ⁶⁹ Although by the 1880's the monetary fund that had augmented the communal grain storage facilities had been

liquidated, communal granaries persisted and were evident in the Galician villages even on the advent of the twentieth century. To a large degree the revival and perpetuation of communal grain storage facilities in the Ukrainian Galician villages was attributable to the encouragement received from the enlightenment societies. Increasingly they came to be associated with the reading clubs. The primary purpose of village grain pools was to provide the poorer villagers with seed grain in order to be able to sow their fields and then repay the "loan" at harvest time. Communal grain storage was also intended to serve as a type of "insurance" against the ravages of drought, fires, crop failures, or other disasters.

One other manifestation of the cooperative movement in the Ukrainian villages of Galicia was the establishment of cooperative stores which like the communal grain storage facilities were situated on the premises of the reading clubs. The intent of these stores or consumer cooperatives was to purchase wholesale goods in bulk (at discount if they were members of Prosvita) from the main consumer cooperative store, "Narodna Torhivlia", and then to sell them to the peasant farmers at "fair" prices.

The cooperative movement in Galicia, indeed in all of Ukraine, assumed extraordinary importance because of the political circumstances that Ukrainians found themselves in towards the end of the century. Cooperation became "a means

of social and economic self-defence" for a nation of peasants and small-town folks confronted with the growing strength of the foreign elements in their cities, industries, and commerce. Moreover, it allowed the Ukrainians to stand in competition with these forces by organizing themselves in the rural areas and in agriculture, where their real strength lay.⁷⁰

Voluntary Artisan Associations

Himka wrote that voluntary artisan associations came into prominence in Galicia after 1860, when all existing trade guilds in the Hapsburg Empire were annulled, and the Galician market was threatened with the "increasing domination of Viennese and Bohemian factory imports." The need for some form of voluntary "institutional framework" to fill the void left by the eradication of guilds and to protect native industry was keenly felt, particularly since it was widely-held that the elimination of guilds had undermined artisanal production and left it vulnerable with regard to the competition provided from factories.

Based on Himka's research, by the early 1870's, at least fifteen voluntary artisan associations had come to life in Lviv in place of guilds, and most smaller towns could claim at least one such association. Unlike guilds,

membership in artisan associations was voluntary and encompassed artisans of all trades.

The first Ukrainian artisan association to be founded, and to serve as the prototype for other such Ukrainian associations which came into being in the 1870's, was Pobratym (Blood brother), established in 1872 in Lviv. Shortly afterward it was succeeded by Pomich (Aid) established in Pidhaitsi in 1873; Nadiia (Hope) in Zbarazh in 1874; Poruka (Surety) in Pomorianny in 1875; Tovarystvo Mischanske (Society of Burghers) in Skalat in 1875; and Ruskii Tsvit (Ruthenian Bloom) in Hlyniany in 1875.⁷¹

The goals and statutes of the Ukrainian voluntary artisan associations did not differ very much from those of other associations in Galicia. Based on the statutes of Pobratym which were fairly characteristic, the stated objective of these associations was "the education and material assistance of its members through the establishment of a library for members' use; the arrangement of lectures and evening entertainment; the location of employment for unemployed members; and the provision of loans and subsidies for members."⁷² In essence the volunteer artisan associations attempted to shore up and enhance the fortunes of Galicia's craftsmen against the incursions of foreign capital. The association site often served in the capacity of a meeting hall where members could collect to do some reading, play pool, or discuss matters of local interest.

The loan extension function of the association dispensed with the need for application for funds to the local money lender thus circumventing usury and possible ruin.

"In 1873, Pobratym had 74 members and in 1874 only 70."⁷³ In contrast the rural-based Ukrainian artisan associations had more success in recruiting their members. For example, the membership of Pomich in Pidhaitsi consisted of about 50 individuals in mid-1874, while of Nadiia in Zbarazh 51.⁷⁴ Further, all "five Ukrainian artisan associations with the exception of Pobratym, were located in semi-agricultural towns with populations under 7,500"; no urban centre outside of Lviv could claim a single Ukrainian artisan association.⁷⁵

Since the artisans themselves did not have the financial resources to support their own association through the collection of their dues, a special category of honorary membership was established to provide the financial backing so necessary to the organization. Though honorary donors could hold office in the association they were not permitted loans from the association treasury. A large part of Pobratym's honorary membership and administration consisted of educators, government civil servants, lawyers, and merchants.⁷⁶ Quite the opposite trend was demonstrated by the rural artisan associations whose honorary membership and administration were dominated

by ecclesiastics and whose revenues were derived primarily from the collection of membership dues.⁷⁷ Nor were the rural-based associations as fortunate as Pobratym in terms of donations of books from the Prosvita Enlightenment Society for their libraries. Finally, because of the preponderance of clergy in the rural artisan associations, the character of these organizations took on a peculiarly clerical colouring as opposed to Pobratym which remained⁷⁸ secular.

None of the Ukrainian artisan associations survived beyond a few years. Pobratym, failing to attract and retain a sizable membership, dissolved voluntarily in 1875, while the others too had disappeared by 1878.⁷⁹

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What has been described in this chapter are some of the ways in which Ukrainian peasants tried to meet the contingencies of life in the village through reliance on family as well as on more formal associations. Although this account is by no means all-inclusive, it does touch on the kinds of traditions of mutual assistance that were prevalent in the villages, and the types of organizations which historically helped to shape the outlook of the Ukrainian peasant on the issue of mutual aid.

Orthodox church brotherhoods were by far the most comprehensive of all organizations in terms of the types of assistance they provided. Not only did they play an instrumental role in the reorganization and reanimation of the Orthodox Church in Galicia, but they assumed leadership in the fields of education and health care through their establishment of schools and hospitals, and they provided material assistance to widows and orphans and the indigent in general. Family, on the other hand, followed by the commune, remained the peasant's first lines of defense against want. The hromada was charged with an overwhelming number of responsibilities which included provisions for the social and financial welfare of the community.

Enlightenment societies and their affiliate reading halls brought a new social and political consciousness to the villages. Through their press organs and the distribution of booklets they helped broaden the base of popular education, by increasing the amount of knowledge available to the peasant. They put the peasant in touch with the latest agricultural innovations and techniques, made him aware of recent political events, and linked him to the rest of the world around him. The cooperative movement which was connected to the enlightenment societies' attempts at improving the economic conditions of the peasantry became for the peasant an avenue of combat against usury and the loss of his land. The voluntary artisan associations,

though none of them lasted for any significant period of time, also attempted to meet the needs of their membership through a program of socio-cultural and economic aid. Throughout most of these organizations, the Ukrainian clergy assumed a leading role.

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The "hromady" discussed in this section are not the village communes mentioned earlier in the chapter. Young Ukrainian populists chose the term "hromada" for their semi-secret societies to depict the qualities of intimacy and community that existed in the village structure as they applied to their own organizations.

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CHAPTER 5

Canadian Socio-Economic Conditions Conducive to
Immigration

In 1848 peasant emancipation was proclaimed throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and a new economic order ushered in. Extinguished were the reciprocal obligations of peasant-serf and lord of manor, and eroded in the ensuing decades was the age-old peasant self-sufficiency. As the exactions of a money economy began to intrude upon and recast the peasant way of life, economically-motivated peasant movement at first on a short-term seasonal-basis, and then on a protracted annual-basis became a reality. Ultimately permanent settlement consummated the process. While our knowledge of the incentives for so massive a population mobilization may never be complete, we may at least speculate as to the relative weight of the "push and pull" factors in existence in the homeland of the immigrant as well as abroad. The preceding chapters have already provided a survey of the socio-economic and political circumstances in the Austro-Hungarian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna previous to the immigration of Ukrainians to Canada. This section will discuss the conditions in Canada which provided an inducement to immigration for Ukrainians. The role of Sifton and the Laurier government will be considered, and

the growth of Winnipeg as the marrow of Ukrainian-Canadian urban settlement will be focused on. Because this study centers on the Ukrainian urban community and the Ukrainian industrial labourer, a deliberate emphasis on the aspects of industrial development in Canada and the increase in the size of the Ukrainian industrial proletariat has been made.

By the mid-nineteenth century the indispensability of agriculture to the economic fortunes of Central Canada had become evident. Not only had the volume of agricultural settlement on the upper St. Lawrence expanded beyond imagination in the first half of the century but wheat production had escalated to a level where it comprised a staple Canadian export. In immigration and agricultural settlement a related commercial motive to agricultural expansion had been discovered. Migration and settlement by their very nature were reliant on the facilities of transportation and accommodation as well as on the acquisition of simple and affordable capital equipment. After all, newcomers needed to be transported, clothed, housed, fed, and furnished with the necessary tools and implements to get on with the task of establishment on the land. Capital creation therefore, offered the means of servicing the needs of the settlers while simultaneously increasing the general prosperity of the region, and providing a handsome return to investors.¹ It is little wonder then that immigration and the continuous extension of

the agricultural frontier held such significance for eastern commercial interests.

In the 1860's eastern Canadian expansionists were faced with a dilemma. The British government's abrogation of imperial preference in the 1840's coupled with the suspension of the Reciprocity Treaty by the United States in 1866 had seriously undermined the strength of Canada's trade position compelling Central Canadian industrial and commercial interests to seek out and develop new domestic markets for their activities. Among the best agricultural lands along the lower Great Lakes peninsula were already occupied and in production, and the surplus farming population unable to secure suitable land, had started draining off to the United States where arable land of superior quality could still be obtained at minimal expense. Moreover Canada's construction of railways and canals through which Canada had hoped to retain or skim off some of the American migrant traffic and commerce had failed to keep pace with the fevered pitch of American development. In the unabated competition for European immigrants with Australia, Argentina and Brazil, and particularly the United States Canada had made little headway. Not only were immigrants not being attracted directly to Canada, but for most settlers, Canada was merely a stopover en route to their real destinations in the United States. Delays in the construction of Canadian transportation facilities

compounded the seriousness of the situation because financial interests in Canada were unable to draw off any of the agricultural trade of the advancing American frontier and in turn the Canadian economy had no stimulus for regeneration. The heavy "investments in transportation, service industries and...the manufacturing enterprise in the St. Lawrence River Valley" dictated that there be "ready and undisputed access" to a progressive agricultural frontier regardless of whether it be foreign or domestic. Yet Canadian activity in the United States had become increasingly constricted, while endeavours to reconstitute a Canadian agricultural hinterland in Central Canada had proven fruitless.² Annexation of the North-West through Confederation seemed the most plausible solution given the economic and political considerations of the time and the most-recent findings on the agriculturally-compatible soil and temperatures on the prairies. Through accession of the lands to the west a new Canadian agricultural zone could be established which would satisfy several important functions. Foremost, union with Canada would guarantee that any potential gains from the region would accrue exclusively to Central Canadian interests thereby conferring considerable material benefit upon a variety of people. To eastern investors the West represented a unique and profitable opportunity for the creation of an enlarged trade network. Mass settlement of the territory would facilitate the

conversion of the West both into a supplier of raw materials for eastern Canadian and international markets, as well as a consumer of central Canadian manufactured goods.

Furthermore, incorporation would provide a means of stemming the continued outward flow of migration to the United States while ensuring a suitable area for relocation of the excess Canadian farming population. Similarly, it was believed that through the fusion of the all the western territories with Canada, American expansionist aspirations of Manifest Destiny would be obstructed and the threat of American encroachment into Rupertsland from the newly-constituted Territory of Minnesota contained.³

In 1870 title to the North West Territories had been transferred from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Canadian government and the province of Manitoba, the first in the West, had been fashioned. At the same time a major step had been taken in the assertion of the federal government's claims to the western territories in the face of American competition and annexationist pressures. To further underscore its intent at establishing an economically-viable transcontinental nation, and to reproduce the kind of commercial and economic prosperity experienced by Ontario during the first half of the century and the United States in the continuous expansion of its westward settlement, the Canadian government adopted what was known as the "national policy", a program whose central features consisted of the

completion of a transcontinental railway, formation of the North West Mounted Police, negotiation of Indian treaties, imposition of tariffs, ratification of freight rate agreements, and most importantly stipulation of a land⁴ settlement policy.

By 1885 construction of the transcontinental railway had been concluded and Canada had been provided not only with a vital pulseline to its interior but with a vehicle for maintaining the flow of trade patterns along an east-west direction. All the other elements of Macdonald's design had fallen into place with the exception of settlement of the country's vast and sparsely inhabited western expanses, a goal which for many years following Confederation eluded the ambitions of Canadian politicians.

For approximately the next thirty years after Confederation the most notable feature of Canada's immigration policy seemed to be its laissez-faire approach to the chore of enticing new colonists. It had been reasoned at first that if government intervention in immigration matters was restricted to a moderate boost in promotional activity primarily in Britain, an agreement for partial compensation of the immigrant's transportation costs, and the provision of inexpensive but suitable farmland, the outcome would be a regular stream of immigrants into the underdeveloped areas. The logic of the plan appeared to be flawless. Just when Canada had huge

tracts of vacant land to be homesteaded, other countries were experiencing difficulties with rural overpopulation requiring relocation. However, despite the seeming infallibility of such a calculation, and the reliance on proven methods of immigration promotion such as "immigration pamphlets, recruiting offices, assisted passages and free tours for delegates of various communities",⁵ the results of these government efforts proved futile. Canada experienced only a modest growth in its population through the immigration of farmers and farm laborers from Britain and the United States, with smaller numbers from western and northern Europe. Indeed, more citizens were lost through emigration to the United States during this period than were gained in Canada through immigration. Between 1880 and 1891, it was estimated that more than a million Canadians and immigrants, equivalent to one-fifth of the total dominion population, exited the country to seek greater opportunity in the United States. Emigration exceeded immigration by 205,000 in the 1880's while in the 1890's the net loss amounted to 181,000.⁶

Even Canada's first Immigration Act of 1869, when teamed with the offer of free lands could not lure prospective settlers away from the more attractive sub-humid lands of the eastern American plains. The main characteristic of Canada's first Immigration Act had been its virtual lack of restrictions on or exclusions of those

entering Canada. Settlers entering from the United States could cross the border without being examined while immigrants coming from overseas had only to meet two criteria: first, that they have sufficient financial resources to cover transportation costs to their destinations in Canada; and, secondly, that if ill or physically disabled, they have family members capable of providing for them. In 1872 the Act was supplemented by a third condition. The government was granted the authority to prohibit the landing of any "criminal or other vicious class of immigrants". Several years later in 1879 an Order-in-Council excluded paupers and destitute immigrants. And in 1885, coincident with the completion of the transcontinental railway, the federal government, in surrendering to pressure from British Columbia, imposed a head tax of \$50 in order "to restrict and regulate Chinese immigration." By 1896, entry to Canada was proscribed to only three classes of individuals: the diseased; the criminal or vicious; and those likely to become public charges. And even those restricted from admission could gain entry without too much difficulty if they went about it correctly. Not until 1906 was a clause legislated permitting the government to deport new immigrants.

As the century was nearing its end conditions both abroad and locally combined to produce the circumstances conducive to immigration to Canada. The Canadian economy

was beginning to lift itself from the depression that had plagued it since 1873 with only brief periods of respite. Advancements in "industrialization and urbanization both in Europe and in North America"... "created new markets" and in turn stimulated an increased demand and "higher prices for western Canadian farm products",⁷ and in particular for wheat, while the greater efficiency of railway and ocean shipping contributed to a decline in wheat transport costs.⁸ Perhaps of even greater significance to the rate of prairie settlement were the exhaustion of the much-preferred American sub-humid lands which effectively sealed off the American agricultural frontier to new farmer-settlers, and the development and increasing employment of dryland farming techniques which helped minimize some of the risks associated with farming on the largely semi-arid land of the prairies.⁹ Of equal note were the scientific breakthroughs in the production and processing of wheat, and the "resumption of international circulation of labour and capital" in the wake of the world-wide depression, coupled with "a shift in relative real wages in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom."¹⁰ By the time that Clifford Sifton was appointed Minister of the Interior in 1896 world economic circumstances were clearly in his favour.

Sifton's Role in Ukrainian Immigration

Sifton, as the minister responsible for settlement and immigration, was convinced of the need for massive agricultural immigration in order to achieve a high level of Canadian prosperity. "Development of primary resources was the key; industry and commerce would follow naturally and did not need to be stoked by immigration." According to the newly-appointed Minister of the Interior, government had a key role to play in directing the country towards economic expansion and progress and out of the stagnation that had beset it since the mid-1890's. Sifton believed that Canadian prosperity was contingent on a system of prudent "tariff manipulation, the continued development and expansion of an all-Canadian transportation infrastructure, and of singular importance, on the active promotion of agricultural immigration and settlement."¹¹ Sifton's remarkable administrative and organizational abilities employed at a time when world conditions favoured immigration to Canada, helped to revitalize an ineffectual and stagnating immigration branch, increasing the volume of immigration to the prairies and winning for him a reputation as a nation-builder.

At the time that Sifton assumed office an "open door" immigration policy was still in effect in Canada and there was little inclination by either the ruling Liberal party or

others to alter the prevalent legislation. Sifton, however was able to transform both the quantity and the substance of immigration without recourse to formal legal barriers simply by discouraging those deemed unsuitable to the task of pioneer farming on the Canadian prairies while actively recruiting those considered desirable. In this manner Sifton established within the existing legal framework favoured by Laurier and the Liberal party as approximate a policy of selective immigration as was possible at the¹² time.

There were several principles or underlying beliefs on which Sifton based and by which he directed his immigration efforts. Above all was his conviction that the future of the Canadian economy was incumbent on the capabilities of the West and that the development of the prairies was therefore a prerequisite to national prosperity. Correlated with this view on the regeneration of the Canadian economy was Sifton's belief in the necessity of "the expansion of the domestic market and domestic production through agricultural immigration and¹³ settlement." Sifton, like most of his contemporaries believed that "the agricultural life was the very foundation¹⁴ of a stable, progressive society." Thus it followed that the only "good" immigrant was an agricultural immigrant or one who was likely to become an independent prairie farmer, able and willing to withstand the rigours of frontier life

on the prairies. Possibly the clearest short statement summarizing Sifton's philosophies on Canadian immigration policy comes from a memorandum to the Prime Minister dated April 15, 1901 a portion of which reads... "Our desire is to promote the immigration of farmers and farm labourers. We have not been disposed to exclude foreigners of any nationality who seemed likely to become successful agriculturalists...." ¹⁵ Further in the same memo Sifton voices another of his convictions with respect to immigration:

...It is admitted that additions to the population of our cities and towns by immigration [are] undesirable from every standpoint and such additions do not in any way whatever contribute to the object which is constantly kept in view by the Government of Canada in encouraging immigration for the development of natural resources and the increase of ¹⁶ production of wealth from these resources....

Sifton was acutely aware of the issue of unemployment and the other cumulative social and economic dislocations suffered as a consequence of the rapid industrialization of Canadian and American towns and cities. So it comes as little surprise that Sifton's measure of the value of an immigrant was grounded in one's apparent agricultural competency. In Sifton's opinion Jews, Orientals, Blacks, Italians as well as most southern Europeans and in particular English city-dwellers were not possessed of the appropriate "racial" characteristics which would incline

them to endure and overcome the hardships of prairie farming. Failing to succeed in agriculture they would inevitably drift back into the cities and contribute to the growing urban problems.¹⁷ According to Sifton, the West had no use for workmen from the cities and towns, who were, he claimed, "the most helpless people in the world when they are placed on the prairie and left to shift for themselves."¹⁸ Furthermore, he believed that English urban immigrants would only induce labour unrest and hinder the agricultural progress of the West:

...We do not want mechanics from the Clyde - riotous, turbulent, and with an insatiable appetite for whisky. We do not want artisans from the southern towns of England who know absolutely nothing about farming...It takes two generations to convert a town-bred population to an agricultural one... Canada has no time for that operation. 19
We do not have two generations to spare....

The government in Sifton's view had no need to extend itself to encourage industrial labourers as "they would come anyway or be brought in by businessmen when required, and inevitably there would be thousands who failed as farmers and would be drawn to unskilled or semi-skilled labouring jobs" in the urban centres. "The problem was that there usually seemed to be too many of this class."²⁰ Instead, by concentrating on the immigration of farmers, farm workers and domestic servants while discouraging all others Sifton

hoped to avoid swelling the ranks of the urban population and in this way to minimize any anticipated social problems.

Sifton's stance toward recruitment of new immigrants unlike that of his predecessors was single-minded, aggressive and pragmatic. Lectures, slide shows, attendance at fairs, mobile exhibits, printed material in several languages with which to inundate the rural districts of the United States, Great Britain, and Europe, an expanded network of immigration offices, "finder's fees" paid to travel agents, and encouragement of ethnic block settlements were all heavily utilized to try to induce immigration to the Canadian prairies. Every possible avenue available to the department was enlisted "to extol the virtues of western Canada", including a complete "exploitation of the available media"... "tours of the West for American and British journalists who agreed to write about their impressions; and insertion of advertisements in suitable newspapers in those countries."²¹

Because Canada considered itself "essentially a British nation" and a constant stream of British settlers was imperative to the preservation of the British character and institutions of Canada, the bulk of promotional activity and expenditure continued to be directed toward Britain. However, due to the determination of the Laurier government to expand Canada's Western agricultural frontiers, and the renewal of general international prosperity at the turn of

the century, the Dominion government was left with few "desirable" British immigrants from which to choose. Of those who did opt to come to Canada "the majority were not suited to prairie farming, although there appeared to be an unlimited supply of unskilled or semi-skilled labourers." An improvement in economic circumstances giving rise to increased job opportunities and higher wages had effectively curtailed the emigration of farmer-colonists from the rural areas of northern England and Scotland. Consequently from 1897 to 1900 British immigration remained fairly steady at around ten or eleven thousand arriving annually.²²

Sifton's second and slightly more successful area of endeavour was in the United States where recruitment efforts were targetted at former Canadians as well as American farmers. Americans were regarded as ideal settlers because they were familiar with western farming practices, and they possessed the necessary capital and goods to ensure a successful start in Canada. Equally significant was their "racial" or "ethnic" compatibility which would pose no obstacles to assimilation. When Sifton assumed control of the Department of the Interior "there were six agents in the U.S.A.: one at Chicago, for English-speaking people; a Scandinavian agent; and four working among expatriate French Canadians." Sifton resituated the main immigration headquarters to St. Paul where he believed it would be much more useful, and in a short time put his staff to work in

"Michigan, Minnesota, Kansas, and the Dakotas." ²³ Sifton established numerous other offices, "expanded the service, and introduced a new system of commissions." As the numbers of United States immigrants increased from 2,400 in 1897 to nearly 12,000 in 1899 and between 40,000 and 50,000 annually in the years 1902-05 it was obvious that recruitment efforts ²⁴ were producing the desired results.

Sifton's efforts at encouraging continental European immigration were fraught with a different set of complexities. The areas along the northern and western fringes of continental Europe had already been fairly well exploited in terms of immigration promotion and were yielding fewer and fewer prospects, while in practically every country from which Sifton hoped to attract immigrants suited to prairie farming, there were laws inhibiting emigration. Most European governments were either inimical to emigration promotion or prohibited it altogether. Yet there remained in eastern and central Europe a veritable storehouse of potential agricultural productivity which needed only to be channelled in the appropriate direction. In 1899, to circumvent the obstacles to emigration, the Canadian Government concluded a secret pact with a select group of German steamship agents entitled the North Atlantic Trading Company which was to promote Canadian immigration in those countries where it was politically unfeasible for the

Canadian government to do so openly. Under the agreement, bonuses of \$5.00 were to be paid by the Canadian Government to the company recruiters for each adult agricultural immigrant diverted away from the United States or South America to Canada. Further, the provisions of the contract with the North Atlantic Trading Company outlined that the Canadian government "was to pay a higher per capita bonus than previously; to regard anyone twelve years of age or over, rather than eighteen as adult, for purposes of the bonus; and to contribute five hundred pounds sterling annually toward the expense of promotional literature." Non-agricultural immigrants would not merit the payment of a bonus. Subsequently recruiters for the company would ensure the Canadian government of a steady flow of agriculturally-proficient settlers of modest means, possessing minimum cash reserves of one hundred dollars upon arrival. The agreement only applied to immigrants from specific countries, namely: Russia (and most likely Finland), Germany, Austria, Romania, Switzerland, northern Italy, Holland, Belgium, and France.

Thus with propitious international circumstances working in his favour and a restructured immigration department utilizing every means within its disposal to secure skilled agricultural settlers Sifton was able to turn the tide of central and eastern European migration toward Canada and subsequently transform the history of the

Canadian West. Along with the other peasants beginning to stream into Canada were Ukrainians - the "stalwart peasants in sheepskin coats". By the time the North Atlantic Trading Company was dismantled in 1906 thousands of Ukrainian peasant farmers had been rerouted to western Canada and their establishment on the land served to attract many more of their kin and countrymen to the prairies. Even with the termination of the bonus system the immigration of Ukrainians could not be stifled as the movement had taken on a life of its own.

The Role of Dr. Josef Oleskiw

Although Sifton has been credited with opening the doors of the prairies to Ukrainian immigrants, no less significant was the part played by Dr. Josef Oleskiw, a professor of agriculture at the Lviv Teachers' Seminary and prior to that a lecturer at the Agricultural College in Dubliany. In 1895, Oleskiw contacted the Department of the Interior to enquire about the possibilities of Ukrainian settlement in Western Canada. Cognizant of the mounting socio-economic pressures in Galicia and Bukovyna and the inauspicious consequences of Ukrainian immigration to Brazil, Oleskiw hoped to utilize his agricultural expertise and his influence as a member of the populist-oriented intelligentsia to guide the surplus Ukrainian rural

population to a country where abundant agricultural opportunities still existed.²⁶ By overseeing the emigration movement to Canada Oleskiw wanted to ensure that land prices in western Ukraine would not tumble in response to the mass departures, which accordingly would adversely affect the amount of capital available to the prospective settlers. He also desired to have his immigrants adequately prepared to eschew exploitation by an assortment of officials and ticket agents, to be fairly knowledgeable about the Canadian socio-economic milieu, and be willing to work cooperatively in their new Canadian homeland.²⁷ Towards these ends Oleskiw authored several widely-distributed informative booklets advocating emigration to the Canadian prairies and providing an array of data on the Canadian government, the climate and environment, "off-farm" employment opportunities, locations of homesteads, and the like; through the Department of the Interior he arranged for an extensive tour of the lands available for settlement in order to get a first-hand knowledge of the region; he wrote to the Canadian government demanding numerous concessions for the Ukrainian immigrants; and he personally counselled, screened and "selected" some of the first groups of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada.²⁸ Although Oleskiw's intentions had been to direct select groups of knowledgeable and financially-secure Ukrainian peasants to the Canadian prairies, the Canadian government was skeptical of his

motives, and was therefore unwilling to allow him full responsibility for Ukrainian immigration operations. For another four years he continued to organize and advise parties of prospective immigrants, hindered by his own lack of time and financial resources. As his health deteriorated in 1900 his activities in Ukrainian immigration diminished and finally ceased. The movement of Ukrainian peasants however had already picked up momentum. Encouraged by steamship agents and correspondence from earlier settlers, by the turn of the century Ukrainian immigration had assumed monumental proportions and could no longer be restrained.

Modifications to the Agricultural Character of Ukrainian Migrants

On the brink of the twentieth century Canada found herself in the throes of an hitherto unparalleled economic expansion. The western Canadian wheat economy was on an ascent fuelled by a growing demand for wheat products, and a simultaneous increase in world wheat prices. Greater efficiency in rail and trans-oceanic transportation contributed to a decline in wheat shipping costs, while advances in agricultural technology and beneficial weather generated larger yields, and in turn greater revenues for prairie farmers.

Reductions in the trans-Atlantic steamship rates for steerage passengers and additional discounts on rail transportation to the interior removed some of the financial impediments to immigration encountered by intending settlers³⁰ thereby facilitating increased overseas migration.

Immigration and agricultural settlement proceeded at an astounding rate as newcomers inflated the number of homestead entries during the decade between 1897 and 1906 to 174,291, or nearly triple the combined total recorded over the previous twenty-two years.³¹ And as the agricultural staple-producing population of the prairies expanded, not only was a market for eastern manufactured goods created but a reserve of unskilled labour as well.

Settlement of the West bolstered the construction of new railway facilities which in turn sustained the progression of settlement. Annulment of the C.P.R.'s monopoly clause opened the road to competition from the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Railways and culminated in the parallel construction of two new transcontinental railways as well as countless branch and feeder lines. In 1904 alone the Canadian Northern "graded 550 miles and laid 413 miles of steel", while in comparison, "the C.P.R. opened 197 miles for traffic and graded 75 miles."³²

Triggered by the frenzy in railway construction, other building activity, and real estate booms followed in succession.

The resource industry also expanded at an equally swift pace as Canada embarked on a new phase of mineral, timber and pulpwood exploitation. Despite their phenomenal growth rate, the primary industries were outdistanced by industrial development all across Canada. In contrast to agricultural and mining capital which rose by 140 and 100 per cent respectively between 1903 and 1913, manufacturing capital went up 150 per cent in the same period. Further, over the same time manufacturing doubled in output, transportation activities tripled, and general merchandising and banking increased their productivity by 200 per cent.³³ According to Donald Avery "between 1896 and 1914, railway mileage doubled, mining production tripled and wheat production increased tenfold"³⁴ in Canada. The intensity and multiformity of activity being conducted on the prairies, especially in railroad construction, gave rise to an insatiable demand for unskilled labour which could not be satisfied through existing immigration legislation. Industry demanded a constant flux of cheap ethnically-heterogeneous labour that could be utilized and discarded as labour conditions dictated. Moreover, a glut of unskilled immigrant labour would aid in maintaining labour costs at a minimum, while ethnic diversity would pose a degree of difficulty to unionizing efforts.³⁵ Consequently, after Sifton's resignation in 1905, among the most critical determinants of immigration policy prior to

the First World War were the pressures exerted on the Dominion administrations by Anglo-Canadian spokesmen for the labour-intensive resource and transportation industries. Ostensibly Canadian immigration endeavours continued to be directed toward securing farmer-colonists for the West, but after 1905 single males in search of employment rather than land began to form the plurality of the Ukrainian migration. Accordingly, the percentage of unskilled labourers entering the country between 1907 and 1914 rose from 31 to 43 per cent while the percentage of agriculturalists during the same period declined from 38 to 28 per cent.³⁶

The most acceptable immigrants from every standpoint particularly during Frank Oliver's tenure as minister of the Interior, continued to be British citizens, although they did not fit the Canadian industrialists' model of tractable labourers. In the first instance, they would not suffer either the low wages or the deplorable working conditions that so often accompanied employment for the railways or in the mines, and in the second, they were all too well acquainted with unions and the use of the English-language press to call public attention to their grievances, which in the long run would prove both embarrassing and irksome to Central Canadian commercial interests. Orientals, on the other hand, were considered to be unrivalled workers, but the virulent anti-Asiatic feelings in evidence throughout

Canada, especially in British Columbia, compelled the government out of political expediency to enact restrictive and discriminatory legislation against this immigrant group.³⁷ Southern Europeans were also a good source of unsophisticated labour, but they too were rejected because of existing prejudicial ethnic stereotypes as well as their predisposition to joining the ranks of the permanent urban proletariat. After 1905, a compromise was reached between the Department of the Interior and eastern expansionists making central and east Europeans, among them Ukrainians, the most eligible candidates for the labour market in Canada.

From the standpoint of the government the Ukrainians were acceptable as labourers only because their employment in industry was of a casual or part-time nature and usually the prelude to permanent agricultural settlement. This meant that because they lacked the necessary capital to establish a farming operation immediately upon arrival, they could be steered into railway work or other labour-intensive industries, and afterward directed back toward farming. The fact that they were unskilled and sufficiently impoverished to accept the types of wages and working conditions that other nationalities would unhesitatingly have rejected, and further that their lack of familiarity with the English language would have complicated the task of unionizing them, made them an appealing choice for industrialists. Their one

liability as viewed by industry was the seasonal nature of their employment which was centred around the agricultural grain-growing cycle and was thus considered to be disruptive to the labour market.

After 1900 it had become clear that a large percentage of impoverished farmers and farm workers recruited by the federal government were not becoming full-time agriculturalists and that neither seasonal employment in farm labour nor subsistence agriculture were sufficient to sustain them in their farming operations. Work in mining, harvesting, lumbering, or railroad construction which had been put forth as a temporary solution for the cash-poor Ukrainian farmer, had instead assumed the character for many Ukrainian immigrants of permanent full-time employment. In the fiscal year 1901-02, 25.5 per cent of Ukrainian immigrants entered occupations other than farming; in 1902-3 the percentage had increased to 36.7 and in 1903-04 had reached 40 per cent. Furthermore, out of a total of 78,899 Ukrainian males arriving at Canadian ports between 1905 and 1914, only 32,834 listed their occupations as farmer or farm labourer, 44,029 stating they were general labourers. The new trend in greater urbanization and participation in the industrial labour force was also reflected in the destinations of Ukrainian immigrants between 1904 and 1919. Unlike earlier immigrants almost all of whom were destined for the prairies

prior to 1904, only 55.3 per cent reported the West as their destination after that date.⁴⁰ And finally, the change in the sex distribution of Ukrainian immigrants also served as an indicator of the emerging Ukrainian-Canadian proletariat. The previous familial nature of the Ukrainian immigration movement had been overtaken after 1901 by the increased proportion of husbands who had preceded their wives, and of single males and females.

By 1900 Winnipeg was in the midst of a rapid transition from a relatively small, compact and ethnically homogeneous city to a large, sprawling and cosmopolitan metropolis. Based on such factors as the railway, the grain and wholesale trades, and a modest number of manufacturing and financial activities Winnipeg was able to secure for itself a position as the leading city of the prairies.⁴¹ Immigration, which accounted for over seventy per cent of the city's population increase in the years prior to the First World War, had inflated Winnipeg's population from a mere 42,000 in 1901 to an astounding 150,000 by 1913 and had catapulted Winnipeg to the rank of third largest Canadian urban centre.⁴² Unlike the previous Anglo-Ontarian migration which had early set its British stamp on Winnipeg society and its institutions, the new immigration to Winnipeg was composed equally of British and foreign elements. While other Canadian cities were also inundated by a massive volume of foreign immigrants, based on

Artibise's findings Winnipeg absorbed the greatest number, from the most diverse sources and in the shortest space of time. As a result "the percentage of foreign-born in Winnipeg leaped from just under 38 per cent to over 55 per cent between 1901 and 1911, an increase of over 60,000." Moreover, "by 1911 no other city had as high a proportion of European-born residents," "...the highest percentage of Slavs and Jews," coupled with "one of the lowest proportions of British of any Canadian city."⁴³ Exact figures as to the number of Ukrainians choosing Winnipeg as their home are difficult to obtain because of the confusion over ethnic nomenclature, but it had been calculated that in 1901 immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Russian, Poland, Galicia and Bukovyna (many of whom were Ukrainians) numbered 2,741 or 17.4 per cent of the total 15,989 foreign-born. By 1911 the figure had increased to 18,673 or 24.55 per cent of the 76,068 immigrants in Winnipeg.⁴⁴

The first decade of the twentieth century witnessed a significantly higher proportion of Ukrainian labourers who had begun to gravitate towards Winnipeg. Its strategic location as the portal to the prairies, and its larger size in relation to other western urban centres made it an ideal choice as a "central clearing house for Western labour" and "the main repository of entrepreneurial capacity, skilled and unskilled labour."⁴⁵ And because Winnipeg had become the locus for all industrial, financial, and marketing

activity in Western Canada the chances for employment offered there made it a mecca for Ukrainian immigrant job-seekers. Private employment agencies frequently played a critical role in determining the work assigned to Ukrainian immigrants. Situated in shacks near the C.P.R. station, they tended to serve the interests of farmers, railway and building contractors, bush camp operators, and manufacturers, by accepting their requests for labour and then recruiting the needed workers from among the throngs of newly-arrived immigrants or seasonal workers.⁴⁶

Railway construction and mining were two of the most common forms of employment of Ukrainian male immigrants, and prior to 1905 constituted for them an antecedent to agricultural settlement.⁴⁷ With the passage of time, the number of Ukrainian immigrants diverted away from their plans for farm establishment had escalated. A small but stable Ukrainian urban community had taken root in Winnipeg. For some Ukrainian immigrants their choice of permanent residence in Winnipeg had simply been due to the availability of steady and more remunerative employment than on railways or in mines, and their preference for the amenities offered by a large city, while for others, it constituted the abandonment of their dream and the failure to obtain the necessary capital for farming.

Until approximately 1920 Ukrainian urban unskilled labourers had been characterized by Charles H. Young as

fitting into one of three categories: resident labourers;
seasonal labourers; and female labourers.⁴⁸

Resident labourers were regularly-employed urban-industrial workers, the majority of whom occupied positions as yard-men for the railways, sugar-refinery workers, and general labourers in mills, foundries, and meat-packing houses. Their wages were usually higher than those of seasonal employees and they tended to be the backbone of the Ukrainian urban community. In Winnipeg, the predominance of resident labourers lent the Ukrainian residential neighbourhood an air of stability.

The category of seasonal labourers, on the other hand, was composed almost exclusively of single young males who contributed to the "floating population" of Winnipeg. Although they tended to make Winnipeg their basic domicile, they were transient much of the time in search of work. Many of them were employed in railway or road construction, or at times in mining, and primarily at the lowest levels, as railroad navvies, underground miners and miners' helpers. At the end of the season, usually in September, they would trek back to Winnipeg, hoping to acquire casual employment to tide them over the slack winter season. Some managed to get by until the spring by shovelling snow, splitting wood, washing dishes, stoking furnaces, and delivering coal and wood.

The third type of Ukrainian urban unskilled labourer identified by Young was the female worker. Most employees in this class were young, single women who were employed as domestic servants and restaurant help, with a few also occupied in the food-processing industry. Although fewer in number than the former, there was also a small number of married women with families, who assumed positions as housekeepers in urban centres. Between 1905 and 1914, 32.8 per cent of Ukrainian women entering Canada stated their occupation as female domestic, and 20.9 per cent claimed general labour as their form of employment - a notable deviation from those arriving earlier.

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Between 1891 and 1914 thousands of Ukrainian immigrants entered Canada in pursuit of an improved economic status. Drawn at first by the offer of free lands and the chance to maintain and upgrade their position as peasant farmers, the nature of the initial Ukrainian migration was familial and agriculturally-oriented. However, because settling on the land entailed a large cash outlay and few Ukrainian immigrants had the financial resources to immediately start up a farming operation the great majority entered industrial employment on a seasonal or part-time basis until they were able to accumulate the required

capital to establish themselves permanently on the land. Coincident with the marked improvement in the international economy towards the end of the nineteenth century, Canada entered a boom stage in industrial and urban development. Continuous shortages in the Canadian domestic labour market resulted in high wages, and in turn persistent demands from industrialists for the increased importation of cheap immigrant labour. Dominion authorities though paying lip-service to the recruitment of agricultural settlers, were committed to the expansion of railways and Canadian industry, thus they did not intervene to prohibit the entry of thousands of central and eastern Europeans who came to Canada mainly in search of industrial employment. After 1905 Ukrainian immigration to Canada took on a distinctly urban-industrial character which was noted for the predominance of single males and females as opposed to families. This group of migrants was enticed primarily by the multitude of employment opportunities available in Canada, in lumber camps, mines, on railways, and in the cities of Central and Western Canada. Further, not only was the variety of available work a magnet for Ukrainian immigrants but so were the wages. Although by local standards the wages offered to Ukrainian immigrants were considered low, to Ukrainians they were at least a partial improvement over the depressed and cash-poor conditions in existence in their homeland. With the numerous work

opportunities available to Ukrainians in Canada, immigrants were able to clear their debts in the Old Country, set aside some money to assist their dependents in Europe, and aspire to an increase in their social status when and if they returned to their homeland with their savings. The earlier emigration to America had already demonstrated what a difference the circulation of American money in the Galician villages could make.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 5

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Kenneth H. Norrie, "The National Policy and the Rate of Prairie Settlement: A Review," in The Prairie West: Historical Readings, eds., R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer (Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1985), pp. 237-256.

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Friesen, The Canadian Prairies, p. 250; Kenneth H. Norrie, "The Rate of Settlement of the Canadian Prairies, 1870-1911," Journal of Economic History XXXV no. 2 (June, 1975): 410-27 cited in Gerald Friesen, "Recent Historical Writing on the Prairie West," in The Prairie West: Historical Readings, eds., R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer (Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1985), p. 9.

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Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration," pp. 282 and 299; Mabel F. Timlin, "Canada's Immigration Policy, 1896-1910," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science XXVI (November, 1960), p. 519.

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Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration," p. 295.

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Clifford Sifton, "The Immigrants Canada Wants," Maclean's Magazine, April 1, 1922, p. 16; PAC, Sifton Papers, vol. 240, pp. 200-201, Sifton to Caleb P. Simpson, December 24, 1900; Debates, 1898, col 6829, June 2, 1898.

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Sifton, "The Immigrants," pp. 16 and 33.

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Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration," p. 301.

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Hall, Clifford Sifton, pp. 258 and 289.

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cited in Hall, Clifford Sifton, p. 260.

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Sessional Papers, 1897, #13, pt. IV, pp. 47-63,
cited in Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration," p. 289.

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cited in Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration,"
pp. 289-290.

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Timlin, "Canada's Immigration Policy," pp. 520-522;
Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration," pp. 290-291.

26

Vladimir J. Kaye (Kysilewsky) and Frances Swyripa,
"Settlement and Colonization," in A Heritage in Transition:
Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, ed., Manoly
R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982), p. 38.

27

see Vladimir J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in
Canada 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the
Settlement of the Canadian Northwest, with a Foreword by
George W. Simpson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for
the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964).

28

Among the concessions requested by Dr. Oleskiw from
the Dominion government were assistance with the
organization of farm cooperatives which would aid Ukrainian
peasant-farmers with the purchase of seed, agricultural
implements, foodstuffs, and so on. He also proposed
homesteader loans of up to \$400 at an interest rate not
exceeding 6%, and that the farm co-op be allowed to make
homestead entries on behalf of the immigrants prior to their
arrival. Further he suggested that the farm co-op be
allowed to plough ten acres in preparation for the arrival
of each immigrant family in order to give them a head start
in their farming once they arrived on their homesteads.
Oleskiw asked that the government erect simple buildings at
a cost not in excess of \$100 on each settler's allotted piece
of land previous to their arrival. The recovery of the
costs could be made at the time of the immigrant's coming or
applied as a mortgage on the homestead. Oleskiw also
requested that the Canadian government provide a Ukrainian
Catholic priest with a modest stipend until the Ukrainian
settlers could themselves support him.

29

Bellan, Winnipeg First Century, p. 59.

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Ibid., p. 64.

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Ibid., p. 65.

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R.H. Coats, "Immigration Program of Canada," in Population Problems in the United States and Canada, ed., Louis I. Dublin (Boston: n.p. 1926), p. 178 cited in Jaroslav Petryshyn, Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians 1891-1914 (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1985), p. 143.

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O.J. Firestone, Canada's Economic Development, 1867-1953 (London: n.p., 1958), p. 65 cited in Donald Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners" European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1979), p. 16.

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Donald Avery, "Continental European immigrant workers in Canada 1896-1919: from 'stalwart peasants' to radical proletariat," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology XII no. 1, (1975), p. 54; A. Ross McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement 1899-1919 (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 9.

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see Chee Chiu Clement Ng, "The Chinese Benevolent Association of Vancouver 1885-1923, A Response to Local Conditions" (M.S.W. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1986).

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Donald H. Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Alien Question 1896-1919: The Anglo-Canadian Perspective" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1973), p. 213 cited in Petryshyn, Peasants in the Promised Land, p. 146.

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Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Occupational and Economic Development," in A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, ed., Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1982), p. 66.

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Ibid.

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Bellan, Winnipeg First Century, pp. 71-82; Friesen, The Canadian Prairies, pp. 274-280.

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Alan Artibise, Winnipeg: An Illustrated History (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co. and National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, 1977), p. 44.

43

Ibid., pp. 44-46.

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cited in Petryshyn, Peasants in the Promised Land, p. 124.

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Bellan, Winnipeg First Century, p. 77.

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Ibid., pp. 77-78.

47

Avery, "Continental European immigrant," pp. 56-57.

48

Charles Young, The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation, (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1931), pp. 113-129.

49

cited in Petryshyn, Peasants in the Promised Land, p. 150.

CHAPTER 6

Ukrainian Reading Halls in Winnipeg

Among the very first manifestations of Ukrainian community activity in Canada, aside from the establishment of churches, were the reading halls (chytalni) and other cultural-educational organizations such as the national homes (narodni domy). The church still remained the primary and most comprehensible form of organization transplanted by the immigrants from the Old World to the new, the locus of community social life, and the spawning ground for a host of other organizations, but the reading hall (chytalnia) could also lay claim to a conspicuous position within Ukrainian society. In Winnipeg, as elsewhere in Canada, the history of the Ukrainian reading clubs and other types of cultural-instructional organizations such as the national homes was as much an account of the splintering of the Ukrainian immigrant community into religious, political, and ideological factions as it was a record of an immigrant group's metamorphosis in its struggle for recognition and acceptance by a host society. The seeds of divisiveness, which ultimately fractured the Ukrainian-Canadian community into competing ideological camps, had been implanted even prior to the immigrants' arrival in Canada by such socio-political movements as national populism, radicalism, and social democracy, derivatives of the widespread

intellectual and social ferment of pre-twentieth century Galicia and Bukovyna. Freed of the political and social constraints of the Old Country they found fertile new ground in which to flourish in Canada. While the collision of old and established orientations with those fostered by the spirit of Canadian democracy was one contributor to the multitude and variety of Ukrainian cultural-educational associations, the reaction of the Canadian receiving society to the injection of so massive a foreign element proved an equally powerful stimulant. This chapter will focus on the events which precipitated the emergence of Ukrainian reading halls in Winnipeg, concentrating mainly on the institutions which arose out of the religious and nationalist streams, as well as outlining the evolution of their activities through time, and the importance of these organizations to the Ukrainian immigrant community.

The reading halls and other major cultural-instructional organizations that sprang up in Winnipeg and throughout the rest of Canada before the first World War were both a phenomenon of the new and alien environment encountered by Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, and the reproduction of institutions already in existence in Galicia and Bukovyna prior to the commencement of emigration. In the Canadian milieu they were representative of the contest between the need for continuity of established and familiar organizational structures and the

desire and urgency to adapt to the demands of a new setting.

Myrna Kostash in describing national homes wrote:

The national hall was not a Canadian organization in the sense that "Canadian" still meant "Anglo-Saxon". But it was profoundly Canadian in that it was an indigenous and popular institution created by Ukrainian-Canadians to fulfill needs made explicit by the experience of living as a "bohunk" in Canadian society. It was a meeting hall, a dance hall, a concert hall; it was a forum for political meetings, debates and lectures, and community business; inside it were organized plays, Ukrainian language classes and libraries. It did, in fact, organize practically the entire social and cultural life and a large part of the political life of the Ukrainian-Canadians. And to the extent this life was carried on in the Ukrainian language, set to Ukrainian folk music, dramatized through plays set in the old country and coordinated by Ukrainian-speaking teachers and priests, it was indeed antagonistic to the assimilationist pressures of the outside world. And when it was called the Taras Shevchenko or Ivan Franko National Hall, it overtly advertised itself as an institution dedicated to inculcating national (that is, Ukrainian) pride in a people whose dignity had been seriously shaken by the political, cultural and ¹ economic forces of Anglo-Canadian majority rule....

In the year that Manitoba entered into Confederation its population consisted of only about 12,000 souls apportioned more or less evenly between French-speaking ² Catholics and English Protestants. During the 1870's and 1880's, however, a flood of Central Canadian and British immigrants into the region, permanently tipped the balance in the original mix of English, French, and Indian-Metis inhabitants, in favour of the British-Ontario Protestant settlers, laying the foundation for a Manitoba recreated in the image of Ontario. The new Anglo-Protestant majority,

who equated Canadian identity solely with British-Protestantism, and assumed that English hegemony in the Prairies was the irrefutable legacy of English Canada, lost no time in setting its stamp on all the major institutions within the province and indeed throughout the West. Anglo-Protestantism became entrenched as the norm by which all newcomers to the province were to be judged. And although the "British" charter group was by no means homogeneous in character, varying in terms of class, religious, political, and regional distinctions, it was united nonetheless by "common language, and British heritage."³ Moreover, members of the Anglo-Protestant elite had come of age "in a period when the British Empire was in its ascendancy." Of the British-Ontarians who dominated the prairies Howard Palmer wrote:

They gloried in the exploits of the British Empire and believed in loyalty to God, King, and country. They had been taught to believe that the Anglo-Saxon peoples and British principles of government were the apex of both biological evolution and human achievement and they believed that Canada's greatness was due in large part to its Anglo-Saxon heritage....⁴

Supported in their convictions of Anglo-Saxon superiority by the pseudo-scientific underpinnings of social Darwinism, Manitoba's British-Ontarian Protestant elite believed that "the Anglo-Saxon race had achieved its dominant position through a process of natural selection of

the fittest." ⁵ Given an intellectual climate in which the myth of the supremacy of the northern race and civilization and other cultural endowments of British imperialism of the 1880's and 1890's prevailed, it was difficult to come to terms simultaneously with Canada's economic need to develop the West, and the relative desirability or undesirability of specific ethnic groups as immigrants. The natural choice of most pre-1896 Prairie residents was to people the West with those most like themselves, that is those of Anglo-Saxon Protestant stock. But seeing that the realization of that ideal was not within their means it then became necessary to prioritize the admissibility of certain groups of immigrants. The degree to which an immigrant conformed to the "white" Anglo-Protestant standard also determined his acceptability and the measure of social, economic, and political "equality" accorded him in Canada. Based on this formula for appraising potential immigrants, Germans, Icelanders, and Scandinavians, who were considered integral components of the nordic or the kindred teutonic race, and who bore a close religious and cultural affinity to the British, were classed as among the very best foreigners. To them were ascribed such virtues as "self-reliance, initiative, individualism, and hardiness," ⁶ while central and eastern Europeans, including Ukrainians, were ranked near the bottom of the ethnic pecking order.

Initially, the Anglo-Protestant charter group displayed only a minimal concern about the effects of immigration, smug in their assurance that the superior Anglo-Saxon race would dominate and that all immigrants would quickly be assimilated into the mainstream. Negative ethnic stereotypes remained submerged for the most part, only to surface with alarming vehemence in the late 1890's with the arrival of thousands of land-hungry central and east Europeans. Between 1897 and 1900 central and east Europeans comprised nearly one-third of Canada's immigration, and by 1911 they constituted nearly 15 per cent of the prairie population.⁷ Ukrainians, or Galicians as they were referred to at that time, consistently outnumbered the combined totals of British and American immigrants at Winnipeg in the years from 1897 to 1899, the rate of attrition between the ports and Winnipeg being highest among British immigrants. In the first half of 1900, of the approximately 5,141 British immigrants who arrived at Canadian ports, only 2,119 reached Manitoba's capital.⁸

Urban centres, which were the traditional strongholds of middle-class Anglo-Protestant populations demonstrated the most virulent outbursts of nativism towards central and east European newcomers. In Winnipeg, metropolis to the vast prairie hinterland, the British-Protestant founding group, watched with alarm as the population statistics revealed the percentage of foreign-born in the city had

climbed to an incredible level and had threatened to overtake that of the native and British-born. Further, by 1911, Winnipeg had become home to the greatest number of Slavs and Jews, and "the highest proportion of European-born residents" coupled with "the lowest British population of all the Canadian cities."⁹

Ukrainians, possibly because they were the most conspicuous and numerically the most concentrated east European group to arrive in western Canada, with an estimated influx of 170,000 land-hungry peasants between 1896 and 1914, were also the east European group most often the object of racist invective. The sheer magnitude of the Ukrainian immigration movement to the Prairies was sufficient to evoke British anxiety about race suicide, and the destruction of the high standards and noble traditions of Anglo-Saxon civilization among some members of the Anglo-Protestant elite. An article by W.S. Wallace in the Canadian Magazine (February 1908) was particularly reflective of this attitude:

...The native-born population, in the struggle to keep up appearances in the face of the increasing competition, fails to propagate itself, commits race suicide, in short; whereas the immigrant population, being inferior, and having no appearances to keep up, propagates itself like the fish of the sea....

Coincident with this view was the appeal to the Canadian government for the adoption of an exclusionary or restrictive immigration policy towards Ukrainians.

There were other causes for concern as well, about the suitability of Ukrainian immigrants whose merit as "tillers of the soil" hardly qualified them as desirable settlers in the eyes of many westerners. The majority of Ukrainian immigrants were poorly-schooled peasants, who arrived at Canadian ports filthy, undernourished, with meagre cash reserves, and in some cases contaminated with serious infectious diseases which were contracted in the course of their journey. Their condition upon arrival - a consequence of "the atrocious conditions they endured while migrating",¹¹ prompted a public uneasiness not only about the likelihood of their reliance on charitable institutions, but also about the personal safety of the indigenous Canadian population from contagion. Moreover, the fact that the plurality of Ukrainian newcomers were Catholics, that they tended to segregate themselves in foreign enclaves throughout the Prairies, and most importantly that they were loathe to relinquish their own language and traditions in favour of British-Protestant cultural uniformity, only augmented the antagonism already sensed by the host society. Mounting prejudice portrayed the Ukrainian immigrants as "drinkers, disease-carriers, wife-beaters," criminals, peasants without an appreciation of democratic institutions

and generally possessed of an array of moral and social defects.¹² They were denounced and villified as part of Sifton's roundup of "European freaks and hoboes", "a menagerie", as "ignorant and vicious foreign scum", and as "physical and moral degenerates not fit to be classed as white men."¹³ Of the Ukrainians in Winnipeg's infamous North End George Chipman commented:

The children of foreigners are usually considered to be more criminally inclined than their parents. Possibly modern ideas when led by mediaeval customs and tradition develop too rapidly in the wrong direction. They are the unfortunate product of a civilisation that is a thousand years behind the Canadian... They have not the Canadian regard for life, liberty and sanitary surroundings¹⁴ and have to be regulated accordingly....

An article in the Winnipeg Telegram in 1901 was also fairly characteristic of the welcome extended the Ukrainian immigrants by Winnipeg's Anglo-Ontarian community:

There are few people who will affirm that Slavonic immigrants are desirable settlers, or that they are welcomed by the white people of Western Canada. Those whose ignorance is impenetrable, whose customs are repulsive, whose civilization is primitive, and whose character and morals are justly condemned, are surely not the class of immigrants which the country's paid immigration agents should seek to attract. Better by far to keep our land for the children, and children's children, of Canadians, than to fill up the country with the scum of Europe....¹⁵

The outright hostility of western Canada's Anglo-Ontarian dominant group towards Ukrainians was

exacerbated in the pre-World War I years by reform movements such as prohibition, the social gospel, and women's rights which were "dedicated to the task of righting social ills and building a truly Christian Canada".¹⁶ Led primarily by urban middle-class Anglo-Protestants, who perceived central and east European immigrants as obstacles to the advanced society they aspired to, the movements proposed an assortment of solutions for achieving their goals, foremost among them, programs of education and assimilation through the mediums of church and school. Older working-class neighbourhoods such as Winnipeg's North End, which accommodated a predominantly foreign populace became specially-designated projects of missionary zeal. They were considered by social reformers as urban slums seething in violence, crime, prostitution, political corruption and family dissolution, and their immigrant residents as much more susceptible to vice and iniquity than the remainder of the populace. One Methodist Missionary Society explained in 1910, "Our objective on behalf of European foreigners should be to assist in making them English-speaking Christian citizens who are clean, educated, and loyal to the Dominion and to Greater Britain."¹⁷

In Winnipeg, where by 1899, the Anglo-Protestant core had had at least a full generation to secure a dominant position for itself, and where the British-Protestant tradition was as firmly rooted as elsewhere in Canada,

"cultural pluralism was not even contemplated,"¹⁸ much less accepted. Cultural-linguistic minority groups such as Ukrainians, who struggled to maintain their own national identities rather than acquiescing to Anglo-Protestant cultural uniformity were considered subversive to the integrity of the "Canadian" nation and a threat to existing ideals and assumptions. Relegated to a subordinate socio-economic and political status in relation to Canada's charter group, surrounded by a totally foreign and frequently antagonistic environment bent on assimilation, confronted with a diversity of religious denominations each vying for control, and lacking in the traditional community leadership provided by the clergy, it is little wonder that the Ukrainian immigrant community turned to familiar structures that they could relate to and that had meaning to them - shelters of a sort, where they could be taught to adapt to a new language, customs and laws within the context of their own traditional cultural identity - reading halls and national homes. C.H. Young commented:

It is inevitable that...the Ukrainian immigrant on his arrival should join those of his own kith and kin of like tradition, and with them, form groups and institutions. This he is bound to do, for without such associations he would be a lone individual in an alien land, conspicuously foreign in the language he speaks and the clothes he wears, without the means of communication necessary to obtain the most meagre information and, therefore, hopelessly

handicapped for participation 19
in any form of activity in our society....

The reading halls and national homes provided a "welcoming, familiar and equalizing environment for a population beleaguered by the hostility and abuses of the Anglo-Canadian establishment... "Out there" among the Anglos you were just another dumb bohunk. Inside the ethnic association you were a comrade, a sister, maybe even a big shot." ²⁰ Thus in breaking down the sense of alienation experienced by Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants, in bolstering and enhancing a feeling of pride in one's national heritage, and in raising low educational standards, the reading halls and national homes performed a very valuable function in the Ukrainian immigrant community.

Establishment of the First Ukrainian Reading Hall in Winnipeg - the Shevchenko Reading Hall

The first phase of Ukrainian immigration to Canada which began in the 1890's, was notable for its almost complete lack of clergy who had either been refused permission to emigrate or had opted not to accompany their faithful to North America. A Vatican decree of 1894 had barred the entrance of married Catholic clergy to the North and South American continents, and since the majority of Ukrainian Catholic priests were married, this edict

automatically disallowed their emigration. Existing evidence suggests though, that a good number of Ukrainian clerics were in an established position in Galicia and consequently the New World had little to offer them.²¹ The priest, as had been pointed out earlier, had been regarded by the Ukrainian peasant as the foremost authority in spiritual and intellectual matters. In the Ukrainian villages, clergymen had most often been the driving and indispensable force behind the installation of a string of clubs, organizations, and services. Due to this void in traditional clerical leadership Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants had no choice but to delegate the task of organizing the Ukrainian community to the better-educated peasants among them, usually those who subscribed to populist and radical orientations, and who were often unwilling to subordinate themselves to clerical authority.

A number of immigrants who came to Canada prior to 1905, among them those nominated by Dr. Oleskiw as guides for his select groups of Ukrainian immigrants, Genyk, Bodrug, and Negrych, to name a few, were usually members of the intelligentsia, and radicals from the Kolomyia or Sniatyn districts of eastern Galicia where the radical party had originated and become anchored. The radical party platform, its anti-clericalism and above all, its open expression of faith in the Ukrainian nation's ability to consciously better itself, appealed to this group, and even

after arriving in Canada, many of these individuals still "subscribed to radical party organs, read, discussed and distributed pamphlets authored by Drahomanov," Franko or Pavlyk, "and assumed leading positions in the Ukrainian immigrant community."²²

Although accounts are very sketchy, it would appear that the first informally-structured Ukrainian reading club in Winnipeg was established in approximately 1899, at the private residence of Kyrylo Genyk on the initiative of Genyk and several of his associates. Marunchak lists the founders of this first reading hall as Sava Chernetskyi, Kyrylo Genyk, Theodor Stefanyk, Ivan Kuts, Yurko Panischak, Ivan Barskyi, and others.²³ Panischak and Barskyi were both mentioned in Dr. Oleskiw's booklet O emigratsii, which was published in 1895. In it, Oleskiw stated that "around ten Ukrainian families from the village of Nebyliw had arrived and settled in Winnipeg several years back," and having established themselves financially, were prepared to accept enquiries from new arrivals in order to assist them. Panischak was described as having arrived virtually penniless in 1892, but by 1895, having \$120 to his credit in the bank, and being the owner of a house worth \$200, as well as a cow. By 1893, he had established himself in his own business, operating a haberdashery on Higgins Avenue opposite the C.P.R. station. Ivan Barskyi, on the other hand, had arrived in Winnipeg in 1895, and already had \$70

in savings in the bank. ²⁴ Sava Chernetskyi arrived in Winnipeg in July, 1899 and remained there until 1900. He had completed his first year of teacher training at the seminary in Lviv, and had displayed an aptitude for languages. However he did not conclude his instruction and returned to his native village where he spent the next six years. While in Winnipeg, he was a tireless contributor of poetry, and satirical tales depicting the lives of Ukrainian pioneers to Svoboda and other Ukrainian

²⁵ newspapers. Stefanyk emigrated to Canada in 1898, and between 1901 and 1904 worked as a machinist for the C.P.R. Prior to 1907 he was named president of the International Association of Engineers local ²⁶ 122. Genyk, who on Dr. Oleskiw's recommendation had been appointed a Federal immigration officer and official translator for Winnipeg in 1897, had served as a guide and advisor for the second group of Dr. Oleskiw's immigrants to Canada. He had completed his secondary school education, had qualified as a teacher and a civil servant in Galicia, and was proficient in several European languages. However, because of his connections with Ivan Franko and other notables within the radical party, he was unable to secure a government post in Galicia and after running a cooperative general store in Yabloniw ²⁷ for a short time decided to emigrate to Canada. His two associates, Ivan Bodrug and Ivan Negrych, were school

teachers from his home village of Bereziw-Nyzhnyi near Kolomyia, and had also acted as interpreters and directors for the parties of immigrants sent to Canada by Dr. Oleskiw. Both Negrych and Bodrug had taken theological training at Manitoba College in 1898 and had been the originators of the Independent Greek Church, a curious blend of Orthodox Ukrainian form and Protestant teachings with sponsorship from the Presbyterian Church. At first Bodrug and Negrych taught school in the Ukrainian colonies, Negrych in "Trembowla" school in Valley River, Manitoba, and Bodrug in "Kosiw" school in Dauphin. Bodrug was appointed one of the first school organizers in Saskatchewan in 1903 and remained a minister of the Presbyterian Church subsequent to the dissolution of the Independent Greek Church in 1912-1913. In 1903, Negrych became the editor of Kanadiiskyi Farmer (Canadian Farmer), the first Ukrainian newspaper published in Canada. ²⁸ It was basically this trio of Genyk, Bodrug, and Negrych that formed the nucleus of a new Ukrainian-Canadian radical intelligentsia.

Referring to this first informal reading club as the Mizhnarodna Chytalnia (Multi-National Reading Hall), Marunchak stated that on Sundays or on workday evenings the more socially-conscious constituents of Winnipeg's Ukrainian immigrant society would assemble on the second floor of Genyk's residence to discuss events of public interest and debate the means of organizing the rapidly expanding

Ukrainian community. Although there are only fleeting references to the activities of the Mizhnarodna Chytalnia, it would appear that its meetings did not take place on a regularly-scheduled or formal basis at the same locale. On occasion, meetings would be held at the offices of the Winnipeg Immigration Reception Home where Genyk was employed.²⁹ Immigrants of all ages, students as well as adults, without a view to their religious or political leanings, were invited to become members of this association, although given the background of some of its founders it can be assumed that its program had a decidedly radical political colouring. The Mizhnarodna Chytalnia, as it has been dubbed by Marunchak, was also officially known as the Chytalnia im. Shevchenka (Shevchenko Reading Hall). It was, as Marunchak had implied by his title, multi-national, for its membership was not confined to those of Ukrainian origin. However, because so little is actually known about the activities of this first urban Ukrainian reading hall, it is difficult to determine to what extent non-Ukrainian immigrants participated in the meetings or other activities held there. Further, it seems, that at least in its early years, activities were fairly unstructured and limited to small group discussions or meetings, rather than the staging of elaborate theatrical productions or other cultural-educational functions, mainly because Winnipeg's Ukrainians were still too few in number

and because of the transient nature of employment of many of its members. Reverend Polyvka, an itinerant Ukrainian Catholic priest and initiator of the first Ukrainian Catholic church in Winnipeg, mentioned the Mizhnarodna Chytalnia in a letter to Archbishop Langevin dated November 3, 1899:

"Glory be to Jesus,

"Your Excellency!

"I have stayed in Winnipeg for a week and have visited all the faithful of the Greek Catholic rite. I have talked with the people and have found out about many things...There are here in Winnipeg people, who tenaciously promote socialism and radicalism, and because these people are "leaders" of this community, have a very good command of the Ukrainian language and are at the same time Ukrainians, the people converge around them. One man has a "hall" and every day after work our people assemble at his place...In the radical newspapers we read, that in a short while a library will be opened with books that, will promote radicalism....

"Your faithful servant and son,

"Rev. Damaskyn Polyvka" 30
"missionary for the faithful of the Greek rite"

In 1902, the Mizhnarodna Chytalnia began to falter. Sava Chernetskyi, one of its original co-founders had left Winnipeg for New York to assume a position as co-editor of the Ukrainian-American newspaper Svoboda, while Genyk's frequent absences from Winnipeg, which were the result of

his work for the Immigration Department, compounded the difficulties of the Chytalnia by leaving it without the stable leadership that it required to continue with its functions.

By November 29, 1903 though, the Mizhnarodna Chytalnia seemed to have rallied. An article in Kanadiiskyi Farmer dated December 17, 1903, stated that the reading hall had held its second monthly meeting on December 6th and that its membership at that time consisted of 30 people. Thus, having regrouped and formally publicized itself as the Shevchenko Reading Hall, Marunchak indicated that its members decided to schedule a general meeting for the end of September, 1903 to discuss the construction of a Narodnyi Dim (National Home) in Winnipeg. Notices-invitations for the meeting were printed by The Voice and then distributed by Toma Tomashevskyi who later became the editor of several different newspapers in Edmonton and Vancouver. Genyk, who was well acquainted with the Ukrainian settlers in Stuartburn, Dominion City, Gimli, and other locales, had provided their mailing addresses for this purpose. He also managed to secure space in "Albert Hall" on Main Street for the assembly.

Almost 250 people from Winnipeg and the surrounding vicinity were in attendance at the meeting which was chaired by Hryhorii Osadchuk. The main speaker, Dmytro Solianych, a recent immigrant from Galicia, a competent orator, former

organizer of village Sich (athletic and volunteer fire-fighting) societies, and later co-publisher and co-owner with T. Tomashevskiy of a number of Ukrainian newspapers, had gained the unanimous approval of the participants for the proposed project. A committee composed of the following individuals was struck to proceed with the plan for the Narodnyi Dim: Hryhorii Osadchuk, head; Dmytro Prokopiuk, substitute-head; Toma Tomashevskiy, secretary-treasurer; Dmytro Solianych, main organizer; and Vasyl Tantsovyi, director. Regrettably, before the committee had even had an opportunity to develop a strategy both Osadchuk and Prokopiuk returned to their home villages in Galicia, Solianych left for work in the coal mines at Lethbridge, Tantsovyi received employment in the lumber industry in Ontario, leaving only Tomashevskiy to carry on with the scheme of the committee. In due course, Tomashevskiy also departed Winnipeg for Lethbridge. Thus arrangements for a Narodnyi Dim in Winnipeg had to be put
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aside temporarily.

Undaunted by this setback, the Shevchenko Reading Hall held its first concert on May 1, 1904, in honour of the famous Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko. The program for the evening consisted of a lecture by Genyk on Shevchenko's early years as a serf and the persecution that he endured at the hands of the authorities, followed by several vocals performed by the male chorus, recitals of poetry, and a

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violin solo. The Shevchenko Reading Hall's youth wing, the Kruzhok Rusko-Ukrainskoi Molodizhy (Circle of Ruthenian-Ukrainian Youth), continued with the cultural work of the reading hall under the guidance of Ivan Antoniuk, a secondary school student from Kolomyia, who resided in Genyk's home. On May 14, 1904, the play "Argonauts", under the direction of Joseph Kosoway, was staged at Genyk's private residence. The following day the membership of Shevchenko Reading Hall determined they would establish a library, Ukrainsku Narodnu Biblioteku im. Ivana Franka (the Ivan Franko Ukrainian National Library), and launched a national appeal for donations of books and cash towards this cause.

Because of its overwhelmingly radical orientation, the Shevchenko Reading Hall tended to focus more readily on worker's concerns and to propagate socialist philosophies via literature, lectures, meetings and concerts. Its program though, had a much wider scope than just labour concerns. The membership of the Shevchenko Reading Hall displayed a keen interest in socio-economic issues, cultural-educational activities, Ukrainian and Canadian political affairs, literature, philosophy and sociology, and even the rare time religious concerns. As early as December, 1903, it had been resolved by the membership of the Shevchenko Reading Hall, which by this time had reached

40 in number, that the matter of education for Ukrainian immigrants needed much closer attention. They proposed to organize a teacher's seminary where young men could learn the English language and in turn instruct the children of Ukrainian homesteaders. ³⁵ Though it is difficult to tell the extent to which the membership pursued the issue, it is a little more than coincidental, that in 1904 a Ukrainian teacher-training course was initiated at Manitoba College, and that Ivan Bodrug, one of the leading personalities within the reading hall, was one of the Ukrainian-language instructors for the program. In 1904, the Shevchenko Reading Hall hosted a national convention of the Independent Greek Church, where in addition to religious matters, the question of Ukrainian language instruction in Canadian schools was once more debated. Following the discussion, a delegation composed of three members of the reading hall, Genyk, Panischak, and Stefanyk, and two representatives of the Independent Greek Church, Negrych and Bodrug, approached the Manitoba government in order to negotiate a guarantee for the right to Ukrainian language education for the Ukrainian community. The year previous, Genyk and his two companions, Negrych and Bodrug, with the financial backing of the federal Liberal Party, established the first Ukrainian-language newspaper in Canada, Kanadiiskyi Farmer.

The pursuit of civic-political rights for Ukrainians was also a field of involvement for the Shevchenko Reading

Hall. In 1904, the membership placed an ad in Kanadiiskyi Farmer urging all Ukrainians with three or more years of Canadian residence to apply to the Reading Hall during the day or evening of March 5th to have their Canadian citizenship papers drawn up and thus be entitled to the franchise in the next elections.

In 1906, the Shevchenko Reading Hall and the Ivan Franko Ukrainian National Library, which had accumulated a collection of 450 volumes and 10 subscription periodicals over the last two years, were relocated to Iastremskyi Hall on the south-east corner of Stella Avenue and McGregor Street. Assuming prominent positions within the reading hall during this period were: Vasyl Holowatskyi as its head, Theodore Stefanyk, Iaroslav Arsenych, Apolinarii Novak, Taras Ferley, Dmytro Rarahowskyi, K. Karchmaryk and others. Novak had come to Canada in 1901 and had worked as a general labourer in railway and construction work until he became the editor of Kanadiiskyi Farmer in 1909. He had been active in the youth wing of the Shevchenko Reading Hall, and in 1908 had been a member of the "Ruthenian Liberal Club". Novak was an avid writer and commentator on Ukrainian-Canadian life, and in particular the social injustices experienced by Ukrainian labourers. During his term of employment with Kanadiiskyi Farmer (1909-1912), he founded the first Ukrainian mail order book store, which requisitioned books from publishing centres in Ukraine and

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advertised their sale through the newspaper. Ferley had emigrated to Canada in 1902 but had left almost immediately for Hayward, California where a handful of idealistic young Ukrainian socialists had established an experimental commune entitled the "Ukrainian Brotherhood". With the failure of the commune Ferley returned to Winnipeg in 1906 and was employed as an instructor of Ukrainian literature at the Ruthenian Teacher's School from 1907-1910. In 1907 he was nominated to the executive of the Ukrainian Teacher's Association, which had been established that same year. Among others, Ferley had been instrumental in getting the nationalist-oriented paper, Ukrainskyi Holos, launched in 1910. For many years he served on its Board of Directors and personally assisted with its management. 39
Arsenych had worked briefly as a typesetter for the short-lived Conservative-funded newspaper, Slovo in 1904. He was also one of the first graduates of the Ruthenian Teacher's School and co-founder of Ukrainskyi Holos. After teaching for a few years in the Dauphin area, Arsenych returned to University to study law. 40
Little is known about Holowatskyi, except that he, like the others, had come into contact with the Radical Party prior to his departure from Galicia and that he had been one of the initiators of Chervonyi Prapor, the first socialist Ukrainian paper to be published in Canada. He had been active in the Ukrainian

cell of the Socialist Party of Canada, and had worked as an organizer for the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party in eastern Canada subsequent to its break from the Socialist Party.⁴¹ All the above were residents of Winnipeg's North End, although it is obvious from their descriptions that despite their common membership in the Shevchenko Reading Hall, disparities in terms of educational qualifications, occupational backgrounds, and political affiliations existed between them.

The year 1906 was a signal year for the Shevchenko Reading Hall. There was growing evidence of divergence in political orientation and priority within the membership which gave rise to the formation of several distinct splinter groups each pursuing their activities along lines consistent with their adopted ideologies. In October of 1906, it would appear that the Shevchenko Reading Hall experienced its first rift, when the Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka (Shevchenko Educational Association) emerged. The newly-established offshoot, instituted by Ferley and Panischak, continued to maintain a relatively cooperative relationship with the Shevchenko Reading Hall, at least for a time. Following the purchase of quarters on Manitoba Avenue and Powers Street, the neophyte organization became situated there and by the end of November, was joined by the Shevchenko Reading Hall. The founding of the Shevchenko Educational Association seemed to have been the decisive

step in the demise of the Shevchenko Reading Hall, for subsequent to its relocation, announcements of its activities ceased to appear and by the end of 1907 there was no further mention of this organization.

The Shevchenko Educational Association, however, continued with its activities, dividing its time between cultural-educational events such as the staging of theatrical productions and concerts, and the convening of public meetings to arouse awareness around labour concerns. Just prior to its severance from the Shevchenko Reading Hall an assembly was called to examine a means of improving working conditions for labourers. The meeting which was also attended by a number of eminent social-revolutionaries from Russia, was adjourned with the singing of a series of Ukrainian and international revolutionary tunes. On November 3, 1906 the Shevchenko Educational Association sponsored another such "labour" meeting, this time to discuss the plight of urban workers.

Because quite a few members of the Shevchenko Educational Association were also influential figures within the Ruthenian Teacher's Training School, there tended to be a close collaboration between these two bodies in matters of cultural as well as political concern to Ukrainians. For instance, from the end of 1906, when the Shevchenko Educational Association located itself at its new premises, to the end of 1907, at least nine plays and one concert were

staged by the Shevchenko Educational Association jointly with the students from the Ruthenian Teacher's Training School and the Ukraïnska Vilnodumna Federatsiia (Ukrainian Free Thought Federation). Two massive public meetings were also called between the end of 1906 and the start of 1908. At one, cash donations in aid of Ukrainian students in Galicia were solicited from the attendants, and it was resolved to petition the Austrian government for the establishment of a Ukrainian University in Lviv. The other, was a pre-election meeting sponsored by the Ukrainian division of the Socialist Party of Canada, which focused on the need for increased cooperation between consumers and producers, and the issue of the shortage of Ukrainian biligual teachers.⁴³ In July of the same year, the first Ukrainian teacher's convention was held at the residence of the Shevchenko Educational Association.

Besides its cultural and political agenda, the Shevchenko Educational Association had an educational component which involved language instruction for illiterates, use of their library facilities, and regularly-slated lectures on a variety of topics. At the end of April 1907, the Shevchenko Educational Association, commenced its evening school for Ukrainian-English language instruction. Ukrainian language education was to be provided free of charge on Mondays and Wednesdays, but a one-dollar monthly fee was to be imposed for English

language classes which were scheduled for Monday, Wednesday, and Friday nights. From a newspaper account in August of the same year, it would appear that the English-language instruction was not successful due to the paucity of registrants, however, in October of 1907, another attempt was made to initiate night classes for English-language education. In September, 1907, the Shevchenko Educational Association embarked on a lecture series which was to take place every Sunday afternoon free of charge to anyone interested in attending. The lecture titles included "How the world revolted", and "Who are we?".⁴⁴

In 1907, the Ukrainiska Vilnodumna Federatsiia (Ukrainian Free Thought Federation) came into being. Yet another faction within the Shevchenko Educational Association, it too was situated on the premises of the Shevchenko Educational Association. A separate set of statutes had been developed by the membership of the Ukrainian Free Thought Federation and a fee schedule of \$1 for membership and 25 cents monthly for dues had been accepted. According to one newspaper account, membership in this new organization was not limited to Winnipeg residents, but rather was open to anyone living in Canada. The prime objective of the new organization appeared to be the publication and dissemination of socialist literature.⁴⁵

In the same year that the Ukrainian Free Thought Federation was instituted, the fledgeling Ukrainian branch of the

Socialist Party of Canada established its headquarters at the locale of the Shevchenko Educational Association and began to publish its own organ, Chervonyi Prapor (Red Banner).

By 1908-09, irreconcilable differences had arisen between leading members of the Shevchenko Educational Association and the Ukrainian division of the Socialist Party of Canada. The dispute which centred on "tactics, membership in the Shevchenko Educational Association and proprietorship of the shared premises" pitted Taras Ferley against Pavlo Krat. Unlike Krat, Ferley opposed the extension of a voice in matters pertaining to the Shevchenko Educational Association, whose membership included non-socialists, to non-Ukrainian members of the Ukrainian affiliate of the Socialist Party of Canada. To complicate matters, the Shevchenko Educational Association had by November, 1908 run into difficulties in meeting the payments on its new residence. In order to retain its locale, it called a meeting with representatives of the Chytalnia Prosvity (Prosvita Reading Hall) and the Ukrainian branch of the Socialist Party of Canada to work out a plan for partnership in the administration of the building and the renaming of the building to Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Dim (Ukrainian National Home). Nothing much came of the discussion though, and as the deadlock between the two opposing groups persisted, the breach within the Shevchenko

Educational Association ultimately resulted in the collapse of the Shevchenko Educational Association. The more radical socialistically-inclined members, including Stechyshyn and Vasyl Holowatskyi, allied themselves with Krat, while the more temperate "nationalists", mostly students and graduates of the Ruthenian Teacher's Training School lined up behind Ferley. When the two dissident camps split, the socialist group inherited the building and carried on with its activities.⁴⁶

The events which took place within the Shevchenko Reading Hall and later the Shevchenko Educational Association were testimony to the growing strength of the competing ideologies of nationalism and socialism within the membership. As these ideologies became better articulated and more pronounced, the tenuous coalition that had existed between the rival groups crumbled, and the leadership for each contending doctrine set about building a base of support for their cause from among the former membership of the Shevchenko Educational Association. While the socialist camp held that the the only way in which to improve the future of the Ukrainian labourer was through a process of politicization, to make him conscious of the manner in which he was being exploited and to work towards altering the existing social order, the nationalists on the other hand, had a shorter-term objective which can best be summarized in

this excerpt from an article in Kanadiiskyi Farmer dated August, 1907:

...Everything would be fine they say if only there weren't those extremists, who give our people instead of an education, instead of enlightenment, that, which is not useful to them, that to which, so to speak, they have not yet matured. Extremist red socialism [instilled] with a Russian revolutionary spirit permeates the atmosphere of the "Shevchenko Educational Association"...About our national movement, about our history, about our future there is little or no discussion, in its place Marx's, Bakunin's, and other utopians are put forth as the only "heroes" of the working people...The Association should set aside for the time being all kinds of atheism, socialism, communism and other isms...and get on with teaching our people that which they cannot do without in this Canadian land, [that] which is necessary to alleviate their struggle for a piece of bread - teach them to read and write even if in English, familiarize them with the laws and peculiarities of this country, awaken in them an inclination and fondness for work, in one word, become closer to their 47 indispensable needs within the Canadian land....

Thus although the Shevchenko Reading Hall and later the Shevchenko Educational Association did try to provide the Ukrainian immigrant community of Winnipeg with a diverse program of cultural, educational, as well as political activities to assist with the adaptation to the new Canadian homeland, the conflicts over the perceived needs of that community eventually tore the membership of the Association apart. Neither the nationalist group, nor the socialist group, however, discontinued their activities with the dissolution of the Shevchenko Educational Association. The socialists went on to form a Ukrainian cell of the Socialist

Party of Canada, later the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats, while the nationalists continued with their campaign for a National Home, a goal which was finally attained in 1916.

Chytalnia Prosvity - the Prosvita Reading Hall

Unlike the Shevchenko Reading Hall which had been founded on non-sectarian principles, the Chytalnia Prosvity (Prosvita Reading Hall) was a church-based organization very much like the traditional Ukrainian reading hall of the Galician village. Its formal establishment had been contingent upon the arrival of clergy in Winnipeg, who assumed leadership positions within the organization, determined the parameters of its activities, and eventually vied with the forces of secularism for the balance of power over the membership. Because of its ties to the church, it is necessary to explore the background of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Winnipeg in order to understand the dynamics of the Prosvita Reading Hall more fully. Therefore what is presented is an overview of the conflicts between Ukrainian and Roman Catholics in the United States, an account of the establishment of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Winnipeg, and a review of the founding of the reading hall, its program, and activities.

The early years of Winnipeg's Ukrainian immigrant community were particularly difficult because not only did Ukrainians have the antagonism of their Anglo-Protestant host society to contend with, but they also had to sort their way through a tremendous amount of religious turmoil as different religious denominations, among them Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox, and Presbyterian-Methodist, competed for influence and control over this new immigrant group. To complicate matters, the culmination of the religious conflicts between Ukrainian Catholics and Roman Catholics in the United States also had had far-reaching and serious repercussions for Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants.

Ukrainian immigration to the United States had preceded the movement to Canada by about twenty years, and had been directed toward industrial rather than agricultural development in America. The majority of Ukrainian immigrants settled in the coal and iron mining and other more-highly industrialized areas of the eastern seaboard and midwestern regions of the United States. At first, the new immigrants availed themselves of the services of the existing Latin-rite churches and fraternal orders of their European neighbours, the Slovaks, Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, and others who had headed the immigration movement from central and eastern Europe to the United States. ⁴⁸ The Ukrainians were still too few in number, lacking in appropriate leadership, and unfamiliar with the English

language to be able to initiate and support their own organizations. Nonetheless, their attachment to their own Byzantine-rite church, and their traditional ways of worship precluded their full integration into the other European organizations, motivating them instead to channel their material resources into the founding of their own churches, the securing their own clergy, and the establishment of their own organizations. Thus when the Ukrainian immigrant population in Pennsylvania, one of the first regions to be settled by Ukrainians, had expanded enough to undertake the task of organizing a parish, they entreated the ecclesiastical authorities in Galicia for Ukrainian Catholic clergy. This proved to be the starting point for the ensuing conflicts between Ukrainian and Roman Catholics in the United States.

The friction which had originated with the arrival in December, 1884 of Reverend Ivan Voliansky, the first married Ukrainian missionary pastor in the United States, had been aggravated by his determined rejection of the authority of the local Roman Catholic archbishop, and had peaked in the 1890's with the appearance of a handful of radically-oriented young priests. Not only did the "priest radicals" perpetuate the practice begun by Voliansky of incorporating parish property with lay boards of trustees in place of signing over the titles to the Latin-rite bishops, but they openly voiced their opposition to the Roman

Catholic hierarchy's attempts to impose its authority over the Ukrainian Eastern-rite Church, viewing such actions as deliberate endeavours to erode the national integrity of the Ukrainian community.⁴⁹ Moreover, the direction taken by the Roman Catholic hierarchy toward eradicating any ethnic pluralism within the immigrant Catholic church replacing it instead with "Americanism", "a complete ritual and linguistic uniformity," also roused the ire of the Ukrainian immigrant community.⁵⁰ From the perspective of the Latin-rite hierarchy and clergy, who were completely ignorant of the Byzantine rite and its traditional entitlement to a married clergy, and who were unaccustomed to the prospect of dual episcopal jurisdiction, the situation with the Ukrainian Catholic immigrants undermined their own authority. Accordingly, their petitions to the Vatican requesting an immediate recall to Europe of all married clergy, and exclusive jurisdiction over Ukrainian Catholic priests by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, resulted in the issuance of four decrees by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. The first edict in 1890, directed Ukrainian Catholic bishops in Galicia and Transcarpathia to prohibit the emigration of married clergy to North America; the second in 1892, restricted clerical jurisdiction in the United States to celibate pastors; the third, placed all Ukrainian Catholic priests under the exclusive authority of Roman Catholic bishops; and the

fourth, in 1897 allowed Ukrainian Catholics in North America to follow and convert to the Latin rite, and mandated that dioceses populated by Ukrainians have a specially-designated celibate Ukrainian Catholic priest, or in the absence of a qualified Ukrainian Catholic cleric a Roman Catholic priest, to oversee the functions of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy and laity.⁵¹

By 1900, the situation seemed out of hand. The arrival earlier, of numerous Ukrainian Catholic priests from Transcarpathia and Galicia each working quite independently of the other, and resistant to the Roman Catholic administration had contributed to a state of internal bickering and chaos. At the same time, the activities of the populist-oriented young priests in America, and the publicization of the escalating and unresolvable tensions by the Ukrainian-American newspaper, Svoboda, had led to the assembly of "priest-radicals" and secular delegates from fifteen Ukrainian Catholic parishes in the United States, and had terminated in the establishment of the Society of Ruthenian Church Congregations in the United States and Canada presided over by a committee of three priests and three laymen. The stated objectives of the Society had been to "obtain good priests, to see to it that in every parish there be order, schools, choirs, reading rooms, and that the poorer chapels obtain the services of a priest at least from

time to time, etc." ⁵² At a second convention in Harrisburg in 1902, the radical priests called for the resumption of the sixteenth and seventeenth century traditions of the Orthodox Church brotherhoods whereby the local clergy and the people themselves would elect their bishops. Further, they called for the rescission of all the previous edicts of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith with respect to Ukrainian Catholics in the United States, and autonomy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church from Roman Catholic jurisdiction. And in association with this last proposal they called for the appointment of a Ukrainian Catholic bishop who would answer directly to the Pope rather than to the Sacred Congregation. ⁵³ One zealous young priest and editor of Svoboda, even called for secession from the union with Rome. The unswerving commitment of some of the clergy to the principles of democratization of the church structure and greater lay control resulted in their excommunication and numerous battles over church property.

Needless to say, the conflicts, the subsequent decrees of the Vatican which were prescribed for all of North America, and the campaign for increased secularization of the church and freedom from Roman Catholic dominance over Ukrainian Catholic affairs, had spilled over into Canada. Though the western Canadian Roman Catholic hierarchy was somewhat more sympathetic to the needs of Ukrainian

immigrants than its American complement, it too failed to make the distinction between religious and national aspirations. And it too refused to acknowledge the traditional rights of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy, having been granted jurisdiction over Ukrainian Catholics in Canada via the Sacred Congregation's 1894 decree, it attempted to exercise its authority by demanding the incorporation of Ukrainian Catholic church property under the control of Roman Catholic bishops. Thus against this background construction of the first Ukrainian Catholic church in Winnipeg was begun.

In 1899, Bishop Langevin, realizing that there was a rapidly expanding Catholic population from Austria-Hungary situated mainly in Winnipeg's North End, and availing itself of the services of the Immaculate Conception Roman Catholic Church on Austin Street, initiated procedures for the construction of the Holy Ghost Roman Catholic Church on Selkirk Avenue, with the hope that it would function as a centre for all western Canadian Catholic colonies. To minister to the spiritual needs of the newly-established parish, Langevin appointed Reverend Albert Kuliawy, a Polish Roman Catholic priest of the Oblate order who had studied
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theology in Ottawa. All would have gone well had Langevin only comprehended and fully appreciated the distinctions between the Eastern Ukrainian Catholic and the Western Roman Catholic rites, and had he been aware of the myriad

differences between Ukrainians and Poles, particularly their long-standing animosities. Unfortunately, in his endeavours above all else to retain the immigrants' loyalties to the Catholic church he also destined his plan to failure.

At first, the Winnipeg Ukrainian Catholic congregation, which consisted only of about 150 families, observed their religious services in the basement of the partially-constructed Holy Ghost Roman Catholic Church. Their religious needs were served by Reverend Damaskyn Polyvka, a Ukrainian Catholic priest who had arrived in Winnipeg in October, 1899. Shortly after his appearance disagreements between the Ukrainian Catholics and Polish Roman Catholics began to surface. The Ukrainian parishioners who believed that they constituted the bulk of the congregation, were concerned that mostly their donations were being employed to cover the costs of a church that they could not identify with and that was alien and unaccommodating to them. Further, they feared that once the construction debt on the church was cleared and their contributions no longer necessary, they too would no longer be welcome and the church would become the possession of the Roman Catholic congregation. In addition, they were alarmed at what they perceived to be overt and persistent attempts at "latinization" and "Polonization" of the Ukrainian Catholic faithful by the Polish Roman Catholic clergy. 55

Yet despite the many irritants, the decision to break away

and establish a separate Ukrainian Catholic parish was not reached until November, 1899 following an incident in which Father Polyvka's repeated requests to have construction work halted temporarily during his celebration of the Divine Liturgy were blatantly disregarded by Father Kuliawy. On the day following the confrontation, a delegation of indignant Ukrainian parishioners consulted with Reverend Polyvka, and with the support and encouragement of their pastor started the search for a suitable building site for their own church.

Their first choice had been the former Dufferin School on Park Street, which in the original plan of the congregation, was to house a chapel, a priest's residence, a library and a school. The parishioners had even made preliminary arrangements with an instructor to attend several days a week to teach their children. Delays in securing permission from Langevin to proceed with the purchase, however, compelled the Ukrainian Catholics to abandon their initial plan and instead to purchase three vacant lots on the north-east corner of Stella Avenue and McGregor Street at a cost of \$450.

When Archbishop Langevin discovered that the Ukrainians had advanced with the construction of their own church regardless of his suggestion for deferral, he summoned Reverend Polyvka and withdrew from him his jurisdiction to work among the Ukrainians of Winnipeg.

Thus, stripped of his clerical responsibilities, Father Polyvka returned to the United States at the end of 1899. Following these events, a small portion of the Ukrainian membership requested reinstatement at the Holy Ghost Roman Catholic Church, while the remaining members launched a fund drive to get on with the construction of their new church.⁵⁷ By the spring of 1901, the first Ukrainian Catholic Church of St. Nicholas was completed, and subsequent to the numerous entreaties by its executive to the bishops in Galicia and through the Ukrainian-American newspaper, Svoboda for clergy, Father Zaklynsky was dispatched from America to assume temporary responsibility for the congregation.

The dismissal of Reverend Polyvka by Archbishop Langevin had done little to win favour with the Ukrainian Catholics of Winnipeg and if anything, had increased the tenacity with which they held on to their independence. Influenced by the inflammatory articles against subjection to a Roman Catholic hierarchy appearing in Svoboda, and the widely-publicized clashes between Ukrainian Catholics and Roman Catholics in the United States, a section of the congregation of the St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church stubbornly opposed any attempts by Langevin to incorporate their church property with the Roman Catholic church and to assert "Latin" jurisdiction.

Langevin, though, was loathe to abandon his goal of consolidating a strong base of Catholicism in the West. Foremost to him, had been the preservation of the Catholic faith and the obstruction of incursions by other sects into Roman Catholic domain. Moreover, having long been embroiled with the government over the issue of bilingual education, in the recent Catholic immigration from central and eastern Europe he at last saw some hope of triumphing over an increasingly secular and Protestant society. Yet the question of Ukrainian-Canadian Catholics was more complex than merely an issue of faith, being related to their ethnic identity and culture. Unaccompanied by their own clergy in their emigration to Canada, ministered to by itinerant Ukrainian Catholic priests from the United States, most of whom returned in a short time to America leaving the Ukrainian-Canadian settlers with a void in spiritual leadership, and deprived by the Vatican decrees of the 1890's of the married clergy that they had been accustomed to, an increasing number of Ukrainian immigrants had turned to other, non-Catholic denominations for guidance. At first Langevin prevailed upon the Ukrainians to respect the authority of the Roman Catholic Church and to demonstrate their obedience to him as their religious leader. Failing that he attempted to remedy the situation by submitting requests for German and Polish-speaking priests of the Oblate Order to work with the burgeoning Ukrainian-Canadian

population, and in 1898, he petitioned the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan of Galicia, Count Andrei Sheptycky, to send Ukrainian celibate clergy to Canada. But, because Byzantine-rite priests had retained the right to marriage prior to ordination, the number of Ukrainian celibate priests available for missionary work was small, comprised of either monks or widowers. Finally, Langevin's answer was to form a "unique" corps of missionary clergy, composed of foreign secular priests from the Redemptorist Order. To this end, several Belgian Redemptorists underwent a conversion to the Eastern-rite, and began to assume responsibility for continuing the Catholic mission among the Ukrainians.⁵⁸ However, the Ukrainian immigrants rejected these converts to their rite and their dissatisfaction with the Roman Catholic Church mounted.

Once it became obvious that despite the best efforts of the Roman Catholic clergy, Ukrainians would not succumb to Roman Catholic supervision, and further that religious dissension was on the rise throughout all the dioceses, Father Lacombe, Archbishop Langevin's personal emissary, was sent off to Rome, Vienna, and Lviv, with another request to secure missionary priests. In his meeting with Metropolitan Sheptycky, Lacombe detailed Roman Catholic concerns about the Ukrainian-Canadian community, and Sheptycky responded by sending his secretary Reverend Zholdak in 1901 to evaluate the Ukrainian-Canadian situation. Zholdak's report came

back: send three Basilians, twelve secular priests, and
⁵⁹
 several nuns.

In 1902, the first contingent of Ukrainian ecclesiastics consisting of three Basilian monastic priests, one monk, and four sisters departed from Galicia for Canada. Their destination was Alberta. Between 1903 and 1904 four more Basilians, Reverends Hura, Kryzhanovsky, Fylypiw, and
⁶⁰
 Tymochko arrived in Canada. Although the Basilians were supported in their mission not only by their religious order in Galicia, but by the Metropolitan of Lviv, nonetheless because they were assisted by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese, they were poorly received by the Ukrainian community. Initially, the coming of the Basilians caused a stir in the Ukrainian Catholic parishes, and added to the number of "dissenters". Rumours circulated that due to the cooperation of the Basilians with the Roman Catholic hierarchy their real goal was the "latinization" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. And because, in Galicia "latinization" was synonymous with assimilation and domination by Poles, the Basilians were viewed with great wariness. Furthermore, in 1882 the Basilian Order, had under the guidance of the Jesuits, undergone a series of reforms which aligned it more closely with Roman Catholicism - another factor which did not augur well in favour of the Basilians. And finally most Ukrainian-Canadian settlers

were simply not familiar with any Ukrainian Catholic monastic orders such as that of St. Basil the Great, as the overwhelming majority of their clergy were secular and married.⁶¹ Therefore the task before the Basilians was even more complicated.

In Winnipeg, which had become a bulwark of Ukrainian Catholic independence, and where the greatest number of Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants was concentrated, the parishioners of the newly-constructed Ukrainian-Catholic church had followed through with the procedures to have their parish incorporated in 1902, under a separate charter, entitled "The Congregation of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church of St. Nicholas in Winnipeg, Province of Manitoba." The ownership of the first church was registered with a group of elected trustees. To defeat the divisive elements within the Winnipeg Ukrainian Catholic community, Langevin enlisted the aid of the recently-arrived Basilians, and with their cooperation isolated within the parish a sufficient number of allies to generate the core for a new parish which he intended to finance.⁶² In 1905, under the supervision of Archbishop Langevin, a new and larger church was erected just opposite the original older church of the same name and incorporated under a charter entitled "The Congregation of Greek Ruthenian Catholics United to Rome". On December 19, 1904, following the consecration of the new St. Nicholas church, the executive of the old church relinquished its

contract to Father Hura. By 1906, however, a dispute between the executive of the new church and a few of the founders of the older church culminated in a decision by the congregation of the old church to reclaim their contract from Father Hura.⁶³ The task accomplished, the parishioners resolved to hire their own clergy and proceeded to negotiate with the ministry in the United States. In 1907, the older church was renamed the Independent Ruthenian Church of Sts. Vladimir and Olga. Its parishioners continued to seek out and hire their own pastors until the appointment of the first Ukrainian-Canadian bishop, Nicetas Budka in 1912. Each "rival" church group also proceeded to develop its own organizations, and activities centred around the church.

Meanwhile, around the spring of 1904, the Chyतालnia Prosvity (Prosvita Reading Hall) was given an official start by Reverend Matthew Hura, one of the Basilian priests sent by Metropolitan Sheptycky to Canada. Based on the accounts of some of its pioneer members, the Prosvita Reading Hall had actually operated in a very informal manner since 1903, with small groups of people congregating in private homes to stage plays, sing Ukrainian songs, or just to discuss issues of common concern.⁶⁴ However, with Reverend Hura's arrival in Winnipeg, the Chyतालnia began to assume a slightly more organized form.

Much like the Shevchenko Reading Hall, in its early years, the Prosvita Reading Hall functioned as a common

meeting place primarily for members of the new St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church. With the exception of three or four plays staged by the membership in 1905 and 1906, the activities of the Prosvita Reading Hall during its inaugural years were generally quite low-key, consisting mainly of quiet conversation and reading of "approved" newspapers or journals on Sunday afternoons or weekday evenings. The Prosvita Reading Hall kept a small library which through its ties to the Prosvita Enlightenment Society in Galicia enabled it to stock its shelves with books and newspapers imported from Ukraine along with other "acceptable" reading materials. Reverend Hura took the lead on the executive and basically set the pace and the direction of the reading hall activities.

During the first twenty years of its existence membership growth in the Prosvita Reading Hall was slow. Ten years after its inception, the Prosvita Reading Hall still only claimed 70 members. Within the next decade however, the figure rose to 190 members, then to 215 between 1923 and 1933, and finally 243 when the Prosvita Reading Hall was at the peak of its activities during the 1930's.

As had been the case with the Shevchenko Reading Hall, the Prosvita Reading Hall had difficulty in securing a locale which it could claim as its headquarters. In 1905, Father Hura negotiated the purchase of a building formerly

known as Hetinger Hall on the corner of Selkirk Avenue and McGregor Street which he hoped to convert into a National Home and a private parochial Ukrainian-language school. The Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate, who had just arrived in Winnipeg that year, were engaged by Reverend Hura to provide instruction to the increasing numbers of Ukrainian children in the city. A short time earlier the Shevchenko Reading Hall, which by this time boasted several hundred members, had utilized the same premises for its activities. Having outgrown its first headquarters at Genyk's private home, the membership of the Shevchenko Reading Hall had instigated procedures for the purchase of the former Hetinger Hall. However, as a result of conflicts between its members, it became impossible to secure the necessary funds to follow through with the purchase, and the Shevchenko Reading Hall relocated instead to a building on the corner of Manitoba Avenue and Powers Street. By default Father Hura was able to acquire the structure and for a year thereafter it served as both a parochial Ukrainian-language school and centre for the Prosvita Reading Hall. But due to the delapidated state of the building, neither the school nor the reading hall could be situated there beyond a year, and in 1906 both returned to the basement of the new St. Nicholas Church. ⁶⁶

The Basilians exerted a strong effort to maintain clerical authority over the Prosvita Reading Hall. Membership was restricted to Ukrainian Catholics; attempts

were made to supervise reading hall meetings which were normally announced by the parish priests during Sunday services; and library material underwent close scrutiny prior to its placement in the library for membership use. Such rigid clerical hegemony was the source of considerable dissatisfaction among the membership and contributed to numerous heated debates throughout the years as to the nature of the organization: was it clerical or was it secular, the members asked?

Similar to most other reading clubs, the Prosvita Reading Hall was a marginal institution, "its roots in the soil of the Ukraine but its structure and content increasingly modified in their adaptation to the new situations, arising out of the transition from the old world to the new."⁶⁷ For the Prosvita Reading Hall, progress and conformity to a Canadian setting translated into a secularization and distancing from direct church involvement. Therefore it comes as little surprise that rather early in its history there were already oppositional undercurrents developing within the membership which called for greater autonomy from the church, and a curbing of clerical influence over reading hall decisions and activities. In contrast, clerical actions were aimed at the restoration of their traditional positions of power and influence. Whereas in the old country the prestige of the

clerical office was derived in part from the educational and financial qualifications of the clergy relative to the majority of the peasant population, in Canada the situation was different. The clergy were still accorded a measure of respect as befitted any representative of the church, but they no longer exercised complete and unquestioned authority as they had done previously. Furthermore, in Canada the clergy were no longer the recipients of a government salary, a residence, or any of the other benefits of their office, and instead were dependent on their parishioners for their support. Unfortunately the frustration of the clergy over their inability to regain their former status only increased the friction between them and the membership. And while on the surface it may appear that the membership who were intolerant of the balance of power wielded by the clergy were responsible for the schisms experienced by the reading hall, on closer examination it becomes apparent that the intolerance was a mutual experience and that the actions of the clergy were as much a contributing factor to the rifts within the reading hall as the impetuosity or dissatisfaction of the membership.

Because it was imperative for the Catholic Church to retain its command over its followers, and to do so by restraining outside influences and incursions made by the Protestant or other denominations into Catholic domain, all Prosvita Reading Hall literature, newspapers, magazines,

proposed lectures and plays were subjected to an intense screening process to ensure that no controversial or subversive material found its way into the hands of the membership. The reading hall library had its newspapers limited to those periodicals which had successfully passed clerical inspection. Newspapers such as Svoboda, which for a time was the only Ukrainian-language newspaper in North America, were banned from the reading hall because of the liberal religious opinions expressed by its editorial staff and its stance against the Roman Catholic hierarchy.
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When Reverend Hura left Winnipeg for Edmonton in 1906 his duties at the Prosvita Reading Hall were to be assigned to Reverend Strotsky who was to carry on the work of the reading hall by giving public readings. But because so many reading hall activities revolved around, and were dependent on the parish priest, and Reverend Strotsky had been unable to fulfill his commitment because of his transfer to Saskatchewan, the reading hall lapsed into a dormant state. In 1907 the leadership of the Prosvita Reading Hall was assumed by Reverend Fylypiw and once again rivalries between the clerics and the membership developed.

The priests were unrelenting in their endeavours to exert control over the reading hall, whereas the membership, though attempting to appease the clergy, increasingly drew away and demonstrated its ability to act independently.

Several incidents related to this struggle were recorded in the reading hall minute books and the newspapers of that era. For example, Father Hura had been emphatic in his censure of organizations such as the Canadian Ruthenian National Association, which were grounded on progressive, non-denominational principles and which did not pay deference to clerical authority. Considering such organizations to be irreligious and schismatic he proclaimed... "Without me...without God!"⁶⁹ Reverend Fylypiw had insisted that all reading hall meetings be scheduled between 3:00 and 6:00 p.m. on Sundays so that he would be able to attend and observe the activities. A number of years later, there was renewed friction when the membership refused to comply with the pastor's demands that certain individuals who had fallen into disfavour with the clergy, such as Professor Turula, a former priest and Prosvita Reading Hall choir director in 1925, or Dr. Mandryka, a reading hall lecturer in 1934 and an adherent of the Orthodox faith, be barred from the reading hall. The membership had by that time advanced to a level where it no longer felt intimidated by the clergy, and in both cases expressed votes of confidence in the abilities of the two men.⁷⁰ Coincident with the rising tide of opposition to clerical influence within the Prosvita Reading Hall were the pastoral acts of "retaliation" against the membership which included ecclesiastical condemnation of the reading hall and

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refusal of invitations to attend its functions in 1918. Only in the aftermath was it realized that the measures employed by the clergy to stifle the rising tide of secularism and to extend and maintain clerical authority over the reading hall tended to undercut the church's influence rather than reinforce it. Moreover, it contributed to the departure from the reading hall of many of the more active members who could not reconcile themselves to the overwhelming array of restrictions. Their response to the "contest of wills" was to remove themselves from the sphere of the church-based organization and resume their activities in newly-established institutions which were based on non-denominational, nationalist principles. One such organization was the *Ukraiinskyi Narodnyi Dim* (Ukrainian National Home).

The first available records of Prosvita Reading Hall which were dated September, 1913 state that the constitution of the reading hall was ratified in 1910. Its purpose as outlined by the constitution was the provision of "assistance of a moral and educational" nature and the exercise of "temperance, honesty and respectability in order to serve as an example to others and to assist the needy." In addition, the constitution stipulated that the aim of the Prosvita Reading Hall was "to organize lectures, concerts, plays, and a variety of other forms of group entertainment;

to spend one's time in worthwhile activity and be a good, industrious and energetic member of the society, as well as to serve as a model of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian nation." The main obligation of the Prosvita Reading Hall was to assist the enlightenment societies and their affiliates in the Old Country. According to the constitution only Ukrainians of the Ukrainian-Catholic faith, who were over the age of 16, and who were members of the St. Nicholas parish were
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accepted as members.

Aside from the difficulties of balancing secular and clerical influences within the reading hall, one of the more pressing needs of the membership of the Prosvita Reading Hall was locating a residence that it could claim as its permanent headquarters. Mainly because the Prosvita Reading Hall did not immediately occupy such a locale, its beginning years were spent in transition from one temporary site to another. Within the space of fifteen years the reading hall had been transferred to at least 10 different locations, and not until 1921, when the membership constructed its own
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building, was it able to acquire some stability.

Until about 1910, the Prosvita Reading Hall was not a very active organization. There appeared to be an amateur theatrical troupe at the reading hall at its inception, but short of the three plays and one operetta that were staged by the group in 1905 and 1906, it displayed no further activity until 1911 when the membership officially organized

itself under the title of the Maria Zankovetska Drama Circle. From that point on, the activities of the amateur actor's group began to pick up. "Urliopnyk", directed by Nykola Hladky, was actually the first play staged by the Prosvita Reading Hall in the basement of the new St. Nicholas Church on November 15, 1905. This was succeeded by "Zapomorochedna", "Amerykanskyi Shliakhtych" and "Svekrukha" which were staged at Hetinger Hall also in 1905, and the operetta, "Natalka Poltavka" presented in 1906.⁷⁴

From 1907 to about 1910 or 1911 the agenda of the reading hall was sporadic, characterized by short, frenzied bouts of activity followed by prolonged lulls. In 1907, and again in 1908, it appeared that attempts were made to reorganize and regenerate the Prosvita Reading Hall under secular leadership. At a meeting called for May 6, 1907, the reading hall membership elected Toma Iastremsky, a local businessman and Conservative Party organizer, as their new head, and went on to discuss the need for an evening school and a National Home.⁷⁵ However, after this one brief meeting in 1907, there were no further accounts of Prosvita Reading Hall activity until close to a year later, when once more an assembly of the reading hall membership was convened. This time a committee was elected to prepare a draft of the constitution and by-laws for the reading hall and present it at the next meeting. According to the report in Kanadiiskyi Farmer the initiators of the reorganizational

meeting were even prepared to rename the Prosvita Reading Hall in order to imbue it with a different sort of character. But when it came to the actual "founding" meeting on March 15, 1908, the membership of the Prosvita Reading Hall rejected the idea of establishing a "new" reading hall, preferring instead to revive the old. The proposed statutes were accepted by the membership, and an executive consisting entirely of the laity was elected. In place of Iastremsky, Zygmunt Bachynsky was elected chairman, Julian Slobodian, vice-chairman, V. Rudko, treasurer, and V. Kupchynsky, secretary.⁷⁶ Based on the first official constitution, the goal of the Prosvita Reading Hall was "education and enlightenment through the arrangement of public readings and popular lectures, the organization of choirs and drama groups, and the staging of concerts, plays, and other forms of entertainment." The Prosvita Reading Hall had also undertaken as its objective, the establishment of English-language classes and a course for illiterates. 49 members were registered at the meeting.⁷⁷

By March, 1908 a weekly lecture series had been instituted at the Prosvita Reading Hall. Lecture titles included "Heavenly bodies", "Misfortune and how to remedy it", "Is national independence possible for us, Ukrainians?", "World humour", "About electricity and magnetism", and a two-part presentation on "The history of

Canada". Lectures were slated for 4 p.m. every Sunday afternoon, and as can be seen, both topics as well as speakers varied, although all lecturers were selected from among the membership.⁷⁸ The library facilities of the Prosvita Reading Hall also continued to be available to the membership with library hours extending from 8 p.m. every week night except Wednesday and from 4 p.m. every Sunday. During part of this time the Prosvita Reading Hall was located at 214 Dufferin, which also was the residence of the Ruthenian Liberal Club. Within four months though, the reading hall had returned to Iastremsky Hall.

Under the secular leadership of 1908, the Prosvita Reading Hall seemed to blossom into a flurry of activity, experiencing one of its busiest seasons since its founding. Not only was there a weekly lecture presentation, but there were well-attended public meetings focusing on political events in Galicia; there was a raffle followed by a dance; there were debates on such themes as "Should Canada be independent, or remain as is?", "Should women have the right to vote?", "Whose life is more secure, a farmer's or a labourer's?" and "Resolved that the church is committed to the promotion of education-enlightenment".⁷⁹ Also notable during this time was the steady increase in membership, from 46 at the reorganizing meeting in March, 1908 to 117 by May of the same year.⁸⁰ It appeared too, that all restrictions on reading materials in the library had been lifted and that

the use of the library given greater encouragement. By the end of 1908 though, activity in the Prosvita Reading Hall had begun to revert back to a sluggish pace and it seems that in 1909 there were only three or four events slated. In 1911, the Prosvita Reading Hall was once again under the clerical leadership of Reverend Fylypiw.

With the official formation of the Maria Zankovetska Drama Circle in 1911, theatrical productions became common fare at the Prosvita Reading Hall. Each passing year resulted in more numerous and more complicated productions, which in turn provided the reading hall with additional financial resources and the drama group with the necessary confidence to continue. Encouraged by the successes of their earlier performances, the young members of the Maria Zankovetska Drama Circle threw themselves zealously into further rehearsals and the preparation of even more complex and elaborate plays. At this point however, differences arose between the members of the Drama Circle and the parish priest. Father Fylypiw, had requested that the actors limit their practices to Sunday afternoons only, as due to their overenthusiasm they had begun to extend their rehearsals into the late hours of every week night. The pastor claimed that the group had become overwhelmed by their activities, and that their daily rehearsals late into the night at the convent school were not only disrupting the convent and school schedules but were transforming the parochial school

into a theatre. Further, he implied that the stage and immoral activities were correlates, and that he would not permit such corruption to affect the nuns who resided there. The Maria Zankovetska Drama Circle, disheartened by what they perceived as yet another clerical obstruction, decided in 1913 to part company with the Prosvita Reading Hall and take up residence at Iastremsky Hall, though not without first initiating legal action for recovery from the Prosvita Reading Hall of the proceeds derived from their theatrical productions. On the Sunday following their encounter with Reverend Fylypiw, members of the Drama Circle refused to sing in the choir during the service. They had interpreted the cleric's actions to mean that they were unwelcome at the reading hall and as such were also banished from the Church. In court the group claimed that the money collected from their performances had only been in the safekeeping of the treasurer of the Prosvita Reading Hall and that it had not been intended for the general use of the membership. When the court ruled in favour of the Drama Circle, and the reading hall was ordered to pay a restitution of \$91.35, some very bitter feelings were aroused. On their departure, the Maria Zankovetska Drama Circle membership had also taken with them the entire collection of over 400 library books from the reading hall, which they believed were purchased with funds resulting solely from their members' efforts. New books to restore the library had to be imported again

from Ukraine by the reading hall membership.

After this first major falling out, the Maria Zankovetska Drama Circle, situated its activities temporarily at Iastremskyi Hall on McGregor Street, and then located itself at the private home of one of its members.

The Prosvita Reading Hall though somewhat shaken by the unforeseen departure of its theatrical troupe and the subsequent legal action taken against it, continued with its meetings, alternating their location between the St. Nicholas School on Flora Avenue and the private home of Ivan Zubachek, on Stella Avenue. In due course another amateur actor's group was organized and the Prosvita Reading Hall was able to continue with its stage presentations as it had done earlier. Functions within the reading hall once more became diversified, focusing on contemporary Canadian issues as well as keeping track of events in the old homeland. In May, 1914, a committee was struck to solicit donations for famine victims in Galicia. A total of \$80 was collected and forwarded through the periodical Ruslan to Galicia. In June of the same year, members of the Prosvita Reading Hall, accompanied by other Ukrainian organizations, took part in a procession to honour the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of the national poet, Taras Shevchenko. The event was marred, however, by the appearance of members of the

theatrical troupes, Boyan and the Maria Zankovetska Drama Circle, who disrupted the solemnity of the occasion by throwing eggs and shouting obscenities at the marchers. The names of the culprits singled out in this affair were penned in red ink for posterity in the minute books of the Prosvita Reading Hall.⁸² By June 1916, an expansion in membership and the steady accumulation of new library books, necessitated a relocation from the cramped quarters on Stella Avenue to Iastremsky Hall, which was rented for a fee of \$15 monthly.

The year 1917, witnessed the purchase of an organ for the Prosvita Reading Hall and the regrouping of a mixed choir. In May, a brass band was assembled, with each musician contributing the sum of \$10 for the purchase of the instruments, and Reverend Fylypiw donating \$30 and a trumpet. In recognition of Reverend Fylypiw's guidance and continued efforts on behalf of the Prosvita Reading Hall its membership held a concert in his honour in May. Also in May, one of the members, N. Halas, gave a lecture on Canadian history. By June, the band which was conducted by Nykolai Dziombryk, a cantor, made its premiere performance during Sunday mass. Later the same day the membership hosted a lecture on the topic of tuberculosis presented by the young Ukrainian physician, Dr. Pazdrii. On July 14th, the Prosvita Reading Hall staged a concert in the Queen's Theatre at which its brass band performed. And at the end

of July the membership organized a picnic. In the fall it was resolved to conduct a series of "Literary Evenings" so that books of a popular or educational character as well as outstanding literary works by local individuals could be read to the public. The year was adjourned with the presentation of a "Literary Evening" at which poems were recited, a public reading took place, and a debate was held on the theme "Who has a happier life, a married man, or a bachelor?"

In the succeeding year, 1918, the brass band, which had never been a financially solvent entity, incurred a number of debts which made it imperative to appeal to the membership for a subsidy to ensure its continued existence. The newly-organized theatrical troupe presented an 11-act play entitled "Ubiinyk", and discord over the relationship between the church and the reading hall recurred. After seventeen members were identified as the source of the discontent a "tribunal" was established to determine whether their memberships should be revoked. Lengthy and heated deliberations took place in which accusations were countered with a defence of actions and a similar level of reproach. The matter was ultimately resolved without any loss of
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members.

With some semblance of harmony restored, the reading hall sponsored a dinner at which Father Fylypiw as the guest of honour gave a speech on the benefits of working together

cooperatively. The next day the Prosvita Reading Hall organized a "Literary Evening" the main highlight of which was a debate on whether it was better to raise one's children in the city or on the farm.

In May of 1918, discussions were undertaken with regard to the dispatching of a "protest delegation" to Ottawa, to discuss with Federal Government representatives the simultaneous loss of franchise by Ukrainian-Canadian citizens and the compulsory enlistment of Ukrainian youth into the army. Three individuals were selected to head the delegation: Theodore Stefanyk, Iaroslav Arsenych, and Matthew Popowych.

During and after the war, questions were raised as to the status of Ukraine and its independence as a nation. Members of the Prosvita Reading Hall deliberated as to whether or not they should send representatives of the Ukrainian community to present the case for an independent Ukraine at the Paris Peace Talks. Ultimately they forwarded a cash donation to the National Home to defray the costs of the delegation which had been nominated by that organization.

In February, 1918 the Prosvita Reading Hall fell victim to nativistic outbursts when Canadian soldiers, veterans of the European war, decided to vent their anger at those perceived by them as Germans or Austrians, by damaging their cultural establishments. Unfortunately, Ukrainians,

because of their Austro-Hungarian origins, were classified in this category. The minutes of February 8, 1918 note that the meeting slated for that day was cancelled because of vandalism on their premises. A great deal of damage was sustained as a result of this incident. Objects were defaced and broken, and instruments stolen. No criminal charges were ever laid, and the Prosvita Reading Hall was never compensated for its losses which totalled \$1,500.⁸⁴

As a result of the wholesale destruction to the premises of the Prosvita Reading Hall, it was moved at the successive general meeting to liquidate the brass band and to forward the assets in aid of an orphanage. This motion was not adopted and the band struggled on until March, 1919 when it broke off from the Prosvita Reading Hall, and under the directorship of N. Halas, continued to function independently. The General Strike of 1919 curtailed the work of the reading hall until the autumn of that year, when an evening school for illiterate adults, headed by Mr. Kindzersky was started up.

In 1920, a "Children's Group" was established at the reading hall for children 10 to 16 years of age who wanted to borrow books from the reading hall library. Ten girls and nine boys were registered by the time Father Fylypiw launched a protest that the group would entice the youth away from school and their studies. Reverend Fylypiw's argument however, was overruled by the membership, because

it was believed that the Prosvita Reading Hall had a responsibility to raise its youth in a true Ukrainian spirit and to inculcate in it the desire to remain in, and contribute to the work of the Ukrainian community. As the Children's Group expanded in size it staged two plays. The Ukrainian language school which had been in existence for the past three months progressed in its instruction of Ukrainian reading and writing to children. By October, 1920, the Prosvita Reading Hall had branched out in its field of work. It boasted an evening school for illiterate adults, a "ridna shkola" Ukrainian-language school for children, an amateur theatrical troupe, a choir, a library, a children's group, a youth section, a women's group, and an orchestra. The Women's Group had been established in 1917 to encourage the use of the Ukrainian language and to foster an appreciation for Ukrainian folk arts.

Although ties to their old homeland remained strong, in the coming years subtle changes had begun to creep into the programs and activities of the Prosvita Reading Hall endowing them with a distinctly Canadian flavour. In addition to lectures by learned speakers on the history, language, current political situation, and literature of Ukraine, there were baseball teams organized for the youth, and press committees formed to keep the Canadian public apprised of events in the Ukrainian community. By the 1920's concerts no longer consisted of solely Ukrainian

musical pieces, but were interspersed with British songs and classical music. "God Save the King" and "O Canada" took their place alongside the Ukrainian national anthem at the commencement or adjournment of events.

Perhaps one of the greatest disappointments of the Prosvita Reading Hall throughout its formative years was the minimal participation and lack of serious regard for its work by those considered to be members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. By far the largest portion of the reading hall membership was comprised of working-class individuals, manual labourers who contributed their time, effort, and money towards making the reading hall functions a success. It is noted rather poignantly in several references throughout the reading hall minute books, that when dinners or other events were scheduled "no members of the intelligentsia were present."⁸⁵

Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Dim - The Ukrainian National Home

One other group which was established in Winnipeg partially as a result of the opposition to clerical hegemony over reading hall activities and partially because of the desire to continue the nationally-oriented work initiated by earlier reading halls, was the Ukrainian National Home, a type of Ukrainian community centre whose functions were not much different from those of the Prosvita Reading Hall.

Like the Prosvita Reading Hall, the National Home also housed a library, a "ridna shkola" Ukrainian-language school, three different amateur drama groups, a "bursa" student hostel named in honour of Adam Kotsko, and a mixed choir, among other things.

The underlying assumption of its nationalist founders was that in Canada Ukrainians would have to organize themselves along national rather than denominational lines. "Cultivation of a Ukrainian national identity, pride"...in one's national heritage, "and solidarity" with one's countrymen were the hallmark of the nationalist point of view. Moreover, it was believed by the nationalist group that "by forging stronger bonds among the immigrants, Ukrainian-Canadian awareness of common socio-economic needs and cultural interests would be heightened, and the necessity of cooperation and collective action realized."⁸⁶ It was this ideology which took hold and became the driving force behind the establishment of the Ukrainian National Home.

Talks regarding the need for an institution unfettered by religious or political association had resumed back in 1910, when Hetinger Hall was under consideration as a possible location for this type of organization. Earlier attempts by Reverend Hura, the Shevchenko Reading Hall and the Shevchenko Educational Association to found a National Home had ended in failure. The "Zaporizhkska Sich"

Association, which had been formed in 1910, for the purpose of drawing attention to issues of Ukrainian-Canadian concern through a series of educational lectures, and engagement in provincial and civic policy matters, had started the drive for funds for a National Home and a "bursa" student hostel which was to be situated there. The bursa was to provide free or nominally priced board and lodging and an "enriched" Ukrainian environment for out-of-town Ukrainian students attending institutions of higher learning. A special committee consisting of eleven individuals, among them Taras Ferley, Vasyl Kudryk, and Theodore Stefanyk, were selected to head the campaign. As money was donated it was to be deposited in the bank, and the names of donors published in the Ukrainian newspaper, Ukrainskyi Holos. A separate "bursa" fund entitled Fond Narodnoii Prosvity v Kanadi (Fund for National Education in Canada) was also established. ⁸⁷

On September 25, 1910 a meeting was called by the "Zaporizhska Sich" associaton at the Sts. Vladimir and Olga parochial school to elect a committee to draft the constitution of the National Home and to locate an appropriate site. The first membership of the National Home was enrolled at this time. Although endeavours to collect the funds for a National Home had been set in motion, it appeared that other matters of greater priority persistently delayed the successful achievement of this goal. It had also become obvious to the campaign organizers that the

Ukrainian community was not endowed with an overabundance of financial resources and that no matter how worthy the cause, money was not always readily available. By 1912, however, a draft of the constitution of the National Home had been completed, and a meeting was called at Iastremsky Hall to begin a collection for the new building.

Just previous to the initiation of the campaign for the establishment of a National Home, the ranks of the Shevchenko Educational Association had been decimated by internal strife. The more nationalistically-minded individuals displayed an intolerance to the "international" colouring that the left-leaning sector had taken on. The mixed membership of Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, and Jews in the Shevchenko Educational Association could only concentrate on the common issues of class interest rather than the question of Ukrainian nationalism or later Ukrainian independence. For this reason the nationalist camp split off from the Shevchenko Educational Association and became involved in a running rhetorical battle with the socialist group via their related press organs over the "appropriate" ideological foundation for the Ukrainian-Canadian community. The nationalist group took up the cause of a Ukrainian National Home. There were still several amateur theatrical troupes that were part of the Shevchenko Educational Association in 1912. However, their retention of membership in this progressively left-wing

Association was not due to their political affinity with the group but rather to their love of the stage and their desire to continue acting. Thus when the Shevchenko Educational Association began to splinter, its Russian members left the organization to join the Russian Club, a portion of its Ukrainian amateur theatrical troupe membership reorganized themselves into the Vynnychenko Drama Club, and the balance aligned themselves with the Vidrodgenia Acting Group, which later changed its name to Boyan and enrolled in the Ukrainian National Home.

In 1913, the National Home was incorporated and \$10 shares were sold to groups and individuals wishing to buy a membership. Two parcels of land with buildings situated on them were purchased on Selkirk Avenue. The larger one was leased to the Maria Zankovetska Drama Circle, while the smaller employed as revenue property and rented out to a family. Initially it had been planned that the National Home would be located at one of these sites and blue prints for an appropriate structure were drawn up. The original plans called for a spacious accommodation with a theatre hall of 600-person seating capacity. There were also to be smaller meeting rooms and a reading room situated in the building. The drama groups, Boyan, the Maria Zankovetska Drama Circle, and the Ivan Kotliarevsky Drama Group, which contributed proceeds from their stage presentations toward the National Home, enlisted as members of the organization

in 1922. At first these groups located themselves wherever they could manage the rent, and staged their plays at the Queen's Theatre on Selkirk Avenue, the Grand Opera House on Main Street and Jarvis Avenue, and the Royal Theatre, on Main Street opposite Selkirk Avenue. Each group had grown
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to between 100 to 250 members.

It did not take long for the National Home campaign committee to realize that adequate funds for the grandiose structure they had envisioned would not be forthcoming, and by 1915 it was decided instead to purchase another building which might meet the needs of the membership. The Khlopan Block on the corner of Burrows and McGregor Street was selected. It proved to be an ideal spot. Located in the heart of Winnipeg's North End, in the midst of the densely concentrated Ukrainian population, it was easily accessed via a direct bus route. Moreover, it was just opposite Strathcona School's playgrounds where children attending programs at the National Home could also play. Its upper storey could be converted into a Ukrainian student hostel, the larger space downstairs could be utilized for meetings, and the store situated at the front of the building could be created into a Co-op Trading Company by the membership through the exclusive sale of shares in the business to Ukrainians. On September 24, 1916, after undergoing extensive redecorating and renovation, the Ukrainian National Home was officially proclaimed open.

The activities of the National Home differed very little from those of other reading halls, with the exception that the focus was strictly nationalistic and non-sectarian. To that end there were stipulations within its constitution in Articles 3, 4, and 8, which declared that all Ukrainians, regardless of their religious or political outlooks, might become members; that the property and assets of the National Home would never pass under the jurisdiction of any political party or religious sect; and that only laymen might be elected to the Executive positions within National Home.⁸⁹

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Each of the Ukrainian reading halls described in this chapter had had its own agenda, be it political, religious, or nationalist which gave direction and definition to its activities. The first reading hall to be organized in Winnipeg had been the Shevchenko Reading Hall. Its ideological base had been a curious blend of socialism moderated by an admixture of nationalism. As the reading hall evolved, its functions betrayed the contest for domination between these two component philosophies. In the case of the Shevchenko Reading Hall, as the balance of power weighed in favour of the socialist faction, the activities within the reading hall took on an increasingly

internationalist political flavour and were geared more frequently toward raising the political consciousness of the Ukrainian labourer. The next reading hall to emerge was the Prosvita Reading Hall which was a church-based organization, styled in the tradition of the Galician village reading hall. Because of this reading hall's affiliation with the church, it faced a different sort of challenge than its forerunner, the Shevchenko Reading Hall. While the Shevchenko Reading Hall membership battled over questions of nationalism versus socialism, the Prosvita Reading Hall membership vied with the clergy over the issue of secularism and the limits of pastoral authority over their organization. The final association depicted was the National Home, which was a hybrid of all the disaffected elements from within the former Shevchenko and Prosvita Reading Halls. It adopted a purely Ukrainian nationalist ideology which screened out fractious religious and political currents. However, despite the contrasts in religious and socio-political outlooks of the different reading halls, their mission was identical, for they each in their own manner attempted to foster a love for the Ukrainian national and cultural heritage, while facilitating the process of the transition from the former to the adopted homeland.

All the Ukrainian reading halls had a cultural and entertainment component which usually consisted of resident

mixed choirs, amateur theatrical troupes, Ukrainian native dance groups and at times bands or orchestras which not only furnished the reading halls with additional revenues from their performances but also continued to nurture and sustain in the membership an affection for the different Ukrainian art forms as represented in the music, the dance, and the theatre. In addition each reading hall also had its library facilities which generally stocked reading materials from Canada and Galicia, and on occasion from the United States. The educational program of each reading hall varied with the particular ideology embraced by the membership but in many cases included English and Ukrainian-language classes for illiterates, debates, and lectures on a diversity of topics ranging from health care, to world revolution. Adult education played a prominent role in the reading halls. In most cases reading halls were a factor in the political socialization process of the Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants. By calling public meetings to identify and focus on the concerns of the Ukrainian community, whether related to issues in Canada such as the shortage of bilingual school teachers or the exploitation of Ukrainian immigrant labourers, or to events in Galicia like the demonstrations and arrests of Ukrainian University students in Lviv, they assisted in building a sense of group solidarity and contributed to an increase in group self-esteem through the demonstrated success of collective action. The general

assemblies, representations to government bodies, marches and processions and official protests by reading hall members augmented the process of politicization of the Ukrainian immigrant by increasing his awareness of his socio-economic circumstances while simultaneously impressing on the dominant Anglo-Protestant community the reality of the Ukrainian presence in Canada. Thus although the Ukrainian reading halls served in a sense as the conservators of the Ukrainian national heritage, and as "psychic shelters" for the wretched whose only worth in the society was calculated according to the dollars saved and the profits made by employers, their contribution to the Ukrainian-Canadian community in easing the accommodation to the prevailing "Canadian" culture was invaluable.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 6

1

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2

J.E. Rea, "The Roots of Prairie Society" in Prairie Perspectives 1, ed., David P. Gagan (Toronto: n.p., 1970), p. 47.

3

Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982), pp. 13 and 23; Alan Artibise, Winnipeg: An Illustrated History (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company and National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, 1977), p. 42.

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Ibid., p. 23.

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James S. Woodsworth, Strangers within our gates: Or Coming Canadians with an introduction by Marilyn Barber (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1909; reprint ed., 1972), p. xiv.

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Ibid.

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Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice, p. 27.

8

cited in D.J. Hall, Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon 1861-1900, vol. 1 (Vancouver and London: University of British Columbia Press, 1981), p. 262.

9

Artibise, Winnipeg, pp. 44-46.

10

cited in Woodsworth, Strangers within our gates, p. xvi.

11

Hall, Clifford Sifton, p. 264. Hall stated that Ukrainian immigrants "were often misled and relieved of their funds by unscrupulous agents in Europe, herded on to overcrowded vessels with poor food and little health care.

Small wonder that they disembarked at Halifax and other ports in shocking condition."

12

Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice, pp. 38-39; George Fisher Chipman, "Winnipeg: The Melting Pot", The Canadian Magazine, XXXIII, 1909, pp. 409-416.

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Charles H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1931), p. 131.

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Kostash, All of Baba's Children, p. 155.

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Stella Hryniuk and Roman Yereniuk, "Building the New Jerusalem on the prairies: The Ukrainian Experience" in Visions of the New Jerusalem: Religious settlement on the prairies, ed., Benjamin G. Smillie (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1983), pp. 143-144.

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Michael H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg and Ottawa: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), p. 163.

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Vladimir J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest, with a Foreword by George W. Simpson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964), p. 29; Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians, p. 236; Peter Krawchuk, Ukraiintsi v Istorii Vinnipeha (Toronto: Vydavnyche Tovarystvo "Kobzar", 1974), p. 40.

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Iuvyleina Knyha Parokhii Sv. O. Nykolaia u Vinnipehu, 1905-1955 (Winnipeg: Parish of St. Nicholas, 1955), pp. 26-27.

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Krawchuk, Ukraiintsi v Istorii, p. 39.
- 33
Marunchak, V Zustrichi, pp. 50-52; Krawchuk, Ukraiintsi v Istorii, p. 44.
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Krawchuk, Ukraiintsi v Istorii, p. 44.
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Ibid., p. 39.
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Ibid., p. 39; Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians, p. 163.
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cited in Procko, Ukrainian Catholics, pp. 12-13; see also Iulian Bachynsky, Ukrainska Immigratsiia v Ziedynenykh Derzhavakh (Lviv: the author and Oleksander Harasevych, 1914), pp. 295-300; Ivan Konstankevych and Antin Bonchevsky, Unia v Amerytsi: Vidpovid Andreievi hr. Sheptyckomy (New York: n.p., 1902).

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Procko, Ukrainian Catholics, pp. 12-14; Bachynsky, Ukrainska Immigratsiia, pp. 298-304; Kubijovyc, Ukraine, vol. II, pp. 1110-1111; Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981), pp. 40-43.

54

Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements, p. 222.

55

Iuvileina Knyha Parokhii Sv. O. Nykolaia, pp. 27 and 32. In his correspondence with Archbishop Langevin, Reverend Polyvka outlined some of the difficulties the Ukrainian-Catholic parishioners and he himself were facing at Holy Ghost Roman Catholic Church. For instance, Father Polyvka wrote that Reverend Kuliawy forbade the Ukrainian parishioners from making their own collection at church; he married a woman of the Ukrainian-Catholic rite to a Roman Catholic and told her that she would have to convert to the Latin-rite, although by canonical law this was not permitted; the Ukrainian parishioners had had their liturgical services ridiculed by the Roman Catholic parishioners as being too long and too ritualistic; the Ukrainian parishioners had also been advised by the Roman Catholics that once their church was completed they would no longer be needed, and further had been told by Reverend Kuliawy during his sermon that they would never be permitted to construct their own church; and finally no effort was made to modify the interior of the church, the altar, the sacristy, etc. to accommodate the different requirements of the Ukrainian Catholics.

56

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57

Paul Yuzyk, "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada" (M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1948), p. 55.

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M. I. Mandryka, Pivstolittia Pratsi Ukrainskoho Tovarystva Chytalni Prosvity u Vinnipeg: Narys Istorii Tovarystva za roky 1905-1955 (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Reading Association, 1958), pp. 9-10 and 169-171.

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M. Karabut, ed., Pidsumky Nashoi Pratsi: Statystychna Knyha Religiinykh, Kulturno-Prosvitnykh i Zapomohovykh Organizatsiy mista Vinnipeg ta okolyts (Winnipeg: "Narodne Hospodarstvo" for Tsentralnyi Prosvitno-Ekonomichnyi Komitet, n.d.), p. 27.

66

Mandryka, Pivstolittia Pratsi, pp. 10 and 15.

67

Young, The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study, pp. 131-132.

68

cited in Orest T. Martynowych, "Village Radicals and Peasant Immigrants: The Social Roots of Factionalism Among Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada, 1896-1918" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), pp. 128 and 132.

69

Kanadiiskyi Farmer, June 10, 1907, p. 2.

70

Mandryka, Pivstolittia Pratsi, pp. 20-21, 36-37 and 82-83.

71

Ibid.

72

Ibid., pp. 12-13.

73

The Prosvita Reading Hall started out in the "old" abandoned St. Nicholas Church and then was transferred to Hetinger Hall on the corner of Selkirk Avenue and McGregor Street where it remained for a year. It was then re-situated in the basement of the "new" St. Nicholas

Church, and the parochial day school. In 1907 and 1908, it was situated at Iastremsky Hall on the corner of Stella Avenue and McGregor Street, as well as at the headquarters of the Ruthenian Liberal Club at 214 Dufferin Avenue, before returning again to Iastremsky Hall. For a while, the Prosvita Reading Hall was located at the private residence of Ivan Zubachek at 621 Stella Avenue. It then went back to Iastremsky Hall and from there to rented premises at 671 Dufferin Avenue. Finally, in 1921 it acquired some stability when the members constructed their own building on the corner of Flora Avenue and McKenzie Street.

74

Mandryka, Pivstolittia Pratsi, p. 10; Marunchak, Studii do Istorii, vol.II, pp. 353 and 354.

75

Kanadiiskyi Farmer, May 10, 1907, p. 1.

76

Kanadiiskyi Farmer, March 13, 1908, p. 1, March 20, 1908, p. 2. The full executive consisted of Zygmunt Bachynsky, a Presbyterian Church minister and president of the Ruthenian Liberal Club, as chairman; Iulian Slobodian as vice-chairman; V. Rudko as treasurer; V. Chornenky as substitute-treasurer; V. Kupchynsky as secretary; I. Sharovsky as substitute-secretary; R. Dudar as librarian; A. Slipchenko as substitute-librarian; V. Pyniansky as financial secretary; and A. Karakotiuk as substitute-financial secretary. In addition a control commission of the following was elected: T. Iastremsky, T. Stefanyk, and T.M. Hladyk.

77

Kanadiiskyi Farmer, March 13, 1908, p. 1.

78

Kanadiiskyi Farmer, March 27, 1908, p. 3, April 3, 1908, p. 1, May 15, 1908, p. 2, July 3, 1908, p. 1, August 14, 1908, p. 1, and August 21, 1908, p. 2.

79

Kanadiiskyi Farmer, May 8, 1908, p. 2, September 4, 1908, p. 1, April 16, 1909, May 21, 1909, p.1, December 22, 1909, p. 1.

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Ibid., May 15, 1908, p. 2.

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Propamiatna Knyha Ukrainiskoho Narodnoho, pp. 250-252, and
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Mandryka, Pivstolittia Pratsi pp. 16-17, and 88-89.
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Ibid., p. 37.
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Orest T. Martynowych, "Village Radicals and Peasant
Immigrants: The Social Roots of Factionalism Among
Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada, 1896-1918" (M.A. thesis,
University of Manitoba, 1978), p. 265.
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Propamiatna Knyha Ukrainiskoho Narodnoho,
pp. 123-131.
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Propamiatna Knyha Ukrainiskoho Narodnoho,
pp. 124-125.
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Ibid., pp. 125-129.

CHAPTER 7

The St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association:
A Ukrainian-Canadian Alternative to Unemployment Insurance
and
Workmen's Compensation

After the turn of the century a definite shift toward urbanization and increased participation in the industrial work force had become perceptible in the Ukrainian immigrant population. No longer the agricultural settlers recruited during the Sifton era to push forward the Western agricultural frontier, Ukrainian immigrants had responded to the inordinate job prospects associated with the booms in lumber, railway construction, and mining by joining in the sweeping trans-Atlantic movement of job-hungry European labourers. By 1905 occupation in an industrial setting had become a conscious choice over farming for a multitude of Ukrainian migrants, and Winnipeg as the entranceway to the Prairies, and the prime recruitment centre for Western Canadian labour, had become the focal point of most Ukrainian organizational efforts. The Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian reading hall had been the first organizations to make their appearance in Winnipeg at the beginning of the twentieth century. By September of 1905 the institutions of church and the reading hall had been supplemented by the emergence of the first Ukrainian

workingmen's organization, the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association. This chapter will present an overview of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association, the nature of the organization, its executive and membership, and the benefits derived by its members. Also highlighted in this section will be the role played by Ukrainian-American immigration in the formation of the first Ukrainian-Canadian mutual benefit association.

For the Ukrainian peasant, loss of land constituted the ultimate misfortune. Land was the fundamental index of individual and family status, the pivot of an intricate set of socio-economic relationships and an integral component of the network of peasant family and village. Land was in fact considered the "only natural productive good in society." Therefore to lose one's land and become a paid labourer was opprobrious to the Ukrainian peasant, for it implied a capitulation of freedom, the loss of exclusivity, and above all else personal failure.¹

The cancellation of the corvee in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1848, had wrought widespread changes to the Ukrainian village economy which seriously challenged the traditional values of the peasant society. The inequitable land distribution following peasant emancipation, the disruption of the self-sufficient peasant household, the intensifying urgency for ready cash, the gradual inflation of birth rates and a corresponding

decrease in mortality levels were all indicators of a much broader socio-economic transformation based on industrial growth that was overtaking the entire European continent. At the individual level of the Ukrainian peasant the continent-wide changes encompassed by the industrial revolution translated into increasing pressures on a niggardly and shrinking allocation of land and an inability of the underdeveloped local industry to provide employment for the unexpected surge of job-seekers. As European investment prompted overseas development a mass exodus of the rural population to the "new world" ensued.²

Improvements in rail and ocean transportation in the late nineteenth century made it possible for European workers to seek out jobs in North America on an unprecedented scale.³

Emigration, as already indicated in an earlier chapter, then became for Ukrainian peasants, a means of avoiding a loss of status in the village due to forfeiture of one's land.

Seasonal or temporary work-related migration was acceptable to the peasant because it entailed only a transitory descent to the level of a wage-earner without the related loss of one's land. Further, it offered and kept alive the hope of preserving and even supplementing one's small holding thereby ensuring a modest inheritance for one's son and in turn the continuity of the family.⁴ Seasonal and temporary migrations however did much more for the Ukrainian peasant. By making him aware of the possibilities for rapid economic

advancement inherent in emigration they contributed to a sense of discontent with existing conditions and a search for a long-term solution to the imbalance between peasant desires for economic improvement and a deficient economy that simply could not keep pace. The eventual outgrowth of the peasant inquietude was the abandonment of the homeland, Galicia and Bukovyna, for countries considered to hold greater promise. Such was the case with the Ukrainian emigration to Canada.

Until the post-war period Ukrainian immigration to Canada consisted almost exclusively of peasant stock, people with very limited schooling, few marketable skills, and for centuries virtually rooted in the soil. Few could be classified as other than farmers or unskilled workers. Their sojourn into industrial employment necessitated by their impecuniousness soon assumed a quality of permanence as jobs in industry remained plentiful while good homestead lands grew scarce. Between 1905 and 1914, wherever labour-intensive industries flourished, Ukrainians had located themselves.

Ukrainian immigrants who entered the ranks of the industrial proletariat were without exception confined to the nethermost rungs of the Canadian industrial ladder. The precariousness of their financial positions and the lack of otherwise feasible alternatives compelled them to endure employment circumstances which were normally unacceptable to

native Canadian or British workers. "Crowded,"... unsanitary, and primitive "living conditions in the ethnic ghettos of the large urban centres and single-enterprise communities," hazardous and unregulated industrial practices as well as irregular wages were typical of the economic and social exploitation that Ukrainian labourers were subject to.⁵ Further, not only were poor wages and intolerable working conditions an issue, but in mining and railway construction work where a large proportion of the Ukrainian industrial labourers were concentrated, a blatant disregard for safety measures by managers as well as the enforcement of regulations by government compounded the already high worker death and injury rates.⁶

Because Ukrainian immigrant labourers feared any interruption to their wages they tended initially to avoid involvement in strikes or other union activities. Consequently it was possible for unscrupulous employers to utilize them against organized labour as "scabs" and strike-breakers. On the other hand, few attempts were made by established unions to include the ethnic proletariat in their membership. Prairie trade unionists were resentful of federal immigration programs which they believed were "designed to serve the demands of a capitalist labour market." With each trainload of southern and eastern European immigrants that arrived in the West they saw the job market grow overstocked and their bargaining power

diminished. One union leader warned the government that by injecting into the Canadian work force "hordes of half-civilized people who can live on...a crust and an onion" they were setting the grounds for the destruction of trade unions.⁷ The Winnipeg trades council apprehensive about the large numbers of eastern Europeans in the city, issued a formal protest to the Prime Minister claiming that immigrants, who were "accustomed to a mode of life which enables them to work cheaply," represented "unfair and dangerous competition... [for] the Canadian workman."⁸ George F. Chipman summarized the views of organized labour vis à vis the entry of numerous Ukrainian unskilled labourers into the labour market in this manner:

...Practically all of them are labourers, and they don't get to the front rank rapidly. On account of their ability to live cheaply, they militate against the wages of natives. The more of them there are to reduce the price of labour the greater becomes⁹ the tendency to Anglo-Saxon race suicide....

Thus, that section of the work force most desperately in need of advocacy and protection, the unskilled labourers, was almost totally neglected by the unions. Nativist hostility, an inability to comprehend or empathise with the financial vulnerability of the Ukrainian immigrant labourer, and the belief that the Ukrainian urban-industrial worker was undermining the efforts of organized labour in advancing workmen's wages and improving their employment conditions

all merged as grounds for exclusion of Ukrainian workers from the mainstream of organized labour. For their part, Ukrainian urban industrial workers were left to their own devices in dealing with the vagaries of the labour market and unsatisfactory employment conditions.

Ukrainians, like other general labourers, headed for urban centres where employment prospects were better and more numerous and more diverse. Although exact figures are not available it has been estimated that in the prairie provinces alone, well over 20 per cent of Ukrainians became permanent residents of the cities.¹⁰ The largest pocket of Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants was concentrated in the cramped, and squalid ethnic quarters of Winnipeg's North End, the West's most notorious working class district. The C.P.R. facilities which were the dominant feature of the district and the industries and factories which were situated within close range contributed to the general sense of "mean and dirty clutter" and "howling chaos" that was the North End.¹¹ By the late 1890's and onwards the speedy development of a stock of cheap housing and the proximity to the work place had attracted a large volume of Ukrainian and other foreign workers to the region. Overcrowded tenements and small frame cottages; lack of proper plumbing and sanitary installations; unpaved, muddy and noxious-smelling streets; and poor lighting were only a small measure of what

the inhabitants of the North End had to contend with.¹²
Less than half of the residences in the north end were
connected to the city's water system. Epidemics of typhoid
were common. Infant mortality rates were among the highest
in the city.¹³

For the Ukrainian immigrant labourers, obtaining
employment and ensuring for themselves some small measure of
personal economic stability was their main concern. The
route to financial security, however, was not an easy one,
particularly in an urban setting. In the first instance,
rents in Winnipeg as in other rapidly-expanding industrial
centres, were in excess of what the immigrant families could
afford to pay, while less expensive housing was scarcely
available. The average house rental in Winnipeg was \$20 a
month.¹⁴ Consequently, many Ukrainian immigrant families
were compelled to share their dwellings with others in the
same predicament. Residences housing three or more
Ukrainian immigrant families were not uncommon. Steep
rental rates were not the only obstacle to solvency. A 1913
study conducted by J.S. Woodsworth determined that a minimum
annual income of \$1200 was needed in order to maintain a
normal standard of living in Winnipeg. Yet, the majority of
working-class families, Woodsworth maintained, among them
those of Ukrainian immigrants, received less than \$500-\$600
a year in pay, or half of what his study had calculated was

15
normally necessary. In fact, it has been demonstrated that Western workers were not the beneficiaries of the economic boom that had been precipitated by mass agricultural settlement on the prairies. Conversely "the nature and dimension of the immigration movement to Canada" contributed to a situation in which Western labourers experienced no increase in their standard of living and between 1900 and 1920 actually witnessed a decline in their real wages.
16

Mutual Benefit Associations - England's Friendly Societies

Of all the organizations established in Canada by Ukrainians to assist newly-arrived immigrants through the difficulties of adjustment and integration into a new society none played as vital a role in the life of the Ukrainian urban industrial worker as the mutual benefit society. Not only did the society provide Ukrainian workers with monetary assistance in times of wage interruption due to illness or injury, as well as cover funeral costs and death benefit payments to family members, but in the case of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association it also offered a range of cultural and social activities in addition to ensuring the attendance of other society members at the funeral services for the deceased.

The mutual benefit organization as typified by the friendly society in England, was established primarily in response to the socio-economic upheavals inherent in the transformation of a rural-agrarian population into an industrialized urban society, to provide voluntary mutual insurance against various forms of economic insecurity. "Originally, the friendly societies were small groups of people - small enough for them to be able to know and trust each other - who met regularly for "good fellowship", and who contributed voluntarily to a common fund for the relief and maintenance of their sick, infirm and aged members, and of the widows and children of deceased members."¹⁷ By 1800 a considerable number of such societies had already evolved in England, "not only providing good fellowship and facilities for insurance against loss of income through sickness or death of the breadwinner, but catering also for other economic needs which could be satisfied in this way, in particular the desire to avoid a pauper funeral...."¹⁸

Although, "the Industrial Revolution, urban and rural insecurity, and the insufficiency or misdirection of the Elizabethan Poor Law"¹⁹ had precipitated the emergence of mutual benefit organizations known as friendly societies in England, a parallel combination of circumstances did not prevail in Galicia or Bukovyna. The industrial revolution which had swept over England between 1780 and 1830 propelling it into the position of most economically

advanced nation in the world during the nineteenth century, had barely touched the Austro-Hungarian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna. Industry in Galicia and Bukovyna was still at a negligible level of development, encompassing only a fraction of the Ukrainian population by the end of the nineteenth century. Similarly, the advance of urbanization was barely perceptible. Large demographic shifts in population from countryside to city with a corresponding expansion of urban centres had failed to materialize. Peasant emancipation in Galicia and Bukovyna in 1848 had also exacted its toll. The Ukrainian population remained a predominantly rural, agrarian, peasant society in which the obligation to provide for the most basic needs of its members was incumbent upon the family group and the hromada. The continued subdivision, shrinkage and eventual loss of peasant landholdings; the overpopulation of the countryside; the lack of capital, industry and markets; and most importantly - the inability of fledgeling native industry or urban centres to absorb the resultant surplus labour, induced seasonal and finally mass emigration as a solution to the difficulties of transition to a capitalist economy and at the same time precluded the formation of mutual benefit associations comparable to the friendly societies of England. Instead the mutual aid activities of the Ukrainian population proceeded in the direction of cooperative ventures such as land banks, agricultural consumer's

cooperatives, communal grain storage facilities, savings and loans societies and similar enterprises in correspondence with the needs of an agriculturally-oriented populace. Thus when the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association was established in Winnipeg on September 11, 1905, with the possible exception of the traditional sixteenth century Orthodox Church brotherhoods or the voluntary artisan associations which had developed in the latter half of the nineteenth century to replace guilds, there were few formal models in Galicia or Bukovyna on which the Association could pattern itself.

While a mutual benefit organization such as the friendly society of England was incongruous within the context of the Ukrainian experience in Galicia and Bukovyna, large-scale overseas emigration and the transplantation of the Ukrainian peasant into an urban-industrial environment, as was the case with the emigration to the United States, gave the mutual benefit organization a much higher profile in the Ukrainian immigrant community. By the 1890's a number of Ukrainian mutual benefit organizations had been organized in the United States, and Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants were able to gain from the experiences of their American counterparts by implementing the structure and functions of one of the first Ukrainian-American fraternal organizations as a prototype for their own St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association in Winnipeg.

The Influence of the Ukrainian-American Emigration

Ukrainian emigration to America had preceded the movement to Canada by approximately twenty years. Similar to the post-1900 movement to Canada which demonstrated a shift away from agricultural settlement towards participation in the urban work force, Ukrainian emigration to the United States had from its inception been industry-targetted, and for the most part urban or small town-centred. Incited by an array of publicity about the prospects for economic advancement in the United States and the scab-labour recruitment campaigns of the Pennsylvania anthracite mining companies, the exodus of Ukrainians from the Transcarpathia and then the Lemkivshchyna regions (the mountainous border districts of western Galicia) did not assume a significant dimension until the late 1870's.²⁰ The movement which was comprised initially of single individuals and heads of households had been intended to be temporary. The majority of the movement's constituents were unskilled migrant labourers in search of financially-rewarding employment through which they could effect an elevation in their social status when they returned to their homelands. However, as the receipt of considerable sums of money forwarded by relatives in the United States began to affect the populace, entire families exited the territory and by the 1880's a number of Ukrainian communities had evolved in

the eastern and midwestern sections of the United States, mainly around the coal and iron mining regions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and West Virginia, and the highly-industrialized manufacturing centres of New York, New Jersey and the eastern seaboard states.²¹ Much like their Canadian countrymen who had joined the industrial labour market, Ukrainian male immigrants in the United States were engaged as unskilled labourers in the coal and iron mines, in steel and lumber mills, railroad companies, and factories while the female immigrants usually entered domestic service, or were employed as waitresses, chambermaids, or in the textile mills.

The Establishment of the First American Mutual Benefit Organizations

From the onset of the immigration movement the church was the dominant force in moulding Ukrainian community life abroad, and even with the appearance of secular organizations it continued to exert a strong influence over the social, cultural, and charitable activities of the Ukrainian community. The arrival of Reverend Ivan Voliansky, the first Ukrainian Catholic missionary pastor to the United States, in December 1884, marked the starting point of Ukrainian-American organizational activity.

Voliansky's stay in America was very brief, spanning only four and one-half years before his recall to Galicia, but within that interval he accomplished a great deal for the Ukrainian immigrant community by laying the foundation for numerous organizations. One of the most serious obstacles encountered by Voliansky in carrying out his work was the dogged opposition of the Roman Catholic clergy and hierarchy who were ignorant of the Byzantine rite and the retention by the clergy of the right to marry, and who were bent on eradicating any ethnic pluralism within the immigrant Catholic church and replacing it with "Americanism" - a complete ritual and linguistic uniformity.²² Despite the misunderstandings with the Latin-rite hierarchy, and their refusal to grant him jurisdiction to carry out his pastoral duties, Reverend Voliansky managed to visit all of the major Ukrainian settlements from New York to Minnesota and Colorado, and succeeded in organizing congregations throughout Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Minnesota, building no less than seven churches in the different localities.²³

Reverend Voliansky's pioneering endeavours in the socio-economic sphere of Ukrainian immigrant life were equally impressive. "To inform, educate and unite Ukrainian immigrants he began publishing the bi-weekly Ukrainian newspaper, Ameryka" on August 15, 1886. At his Shenandoah parish with the support of his wife he organized the first

mixed choir; the first reading hall; and the first Ukrainian evening school in America. As the scope of his activities widened Voliansky encouraged additional clerics and better-educated laymen, mostly students, to join him in his work. With the aid of several newly-arrived Ukrainian students, he established and operated a number of cooperative general stores throughout Pennsylvania for the benefit of Ukrainian labourers and their families. To improve relations and ease the tensions between Ukrainian and Irish miners, Voliansky, another Ukrainian Catholic priest named Liakhovych, and a student, Simenovych, joined and worked with the Knights of Labor, a secret organization of miners and labourers. Voliansky also devoted considerable space in his newspaper Ameryka to a discussion of the problems faced by the Irish under British domination. During the 1887-88 coal strike riots in Shenandoah, Reverend Volianskyi was the only local Catholic priest to openly sympathise with and actively lend support to the striking Slavic mine workers. ²⁴ Finally, in addition to all his other accomplishments, Reverend Voliansky was also the founder of the first Ukrainian fraternal organization in America, the St. Nicholas Brotherhood, established at his parish in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania in January, 1885. Within two years there were seven other brotherhoods which merged in November, 1887 into the Spoluchennia Bratstv Ruskykh (the Union of Ruthenian

Brotherhoods), a kind of umbrella organization for the existing Ukrainian fraternal associations. At the completion of its second operating year 14 fraternal organizations had affiliated with it.²⁵

The Union of Ruthenian Brotherhoods was notable not only because it was the first and only Ukrainian organization of its kind in North America at the time but because its statutes and operating procedures formed the basis on which subsequent Ukrainian organizations of this ilk functioned. Following are a few of the main highlights of its statute: the head office of the Union was to remain in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania; in the event of illness each member was to receive assistance from his local brotherhood based on the rates designated in the statutes of each individual brotherhood, and in the event of death the brotherhood was obligated to cover the costs of the member's funeral; family members of the deceased were to be paid a death benefit payment amounting to \$500 from the general treasury of the Union; the death benefit payment was to be derived through monthly collections of \$1 per member from all the affiliated brotherhoods which would then be channelled back to the Head Office of the Union; in the event of a shortage of funds after all death benefits had been paid out for the month, the Head Office was to divide up the difference equally between the brotherhoods and apply a surcharge in order to pay the remaining death benefits to

family members; similarly, if after paying the obligatory death benefits a surplus remained then the Head Office accordingly was to lower the monthly dues for the next month; upon the death of a member's wife the sum of \$100 was to be paid to the member, but following the death of the member the family's entitlement was to be reduced to \$400; complete disability entitled a member to a lump sum payment of \$500; partial disability was to be compensated through a rate determined separately on each occasion by a special committee assembled for that purpose.

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Shortly after Reverend Voliansky's recall to Galicia in 1889, the Union of Ruthenian Brotherhoods was dissolved and many of its members, mainly those from the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine, joined Slovak societies. By 1890 there were ten new priests working among the Ukrainian immigrants and with their arrival numerous ideological, political, territorial, and personal differences surfaced which rent asunder existing organizations and gave impetus to an assortment of new ones. Though a discussion of all the opposing views will not be undertaken, a description of the factions within the Ukrainian-American community and the allied organizations will be presented.

The immigrants from western Galicia, namely those from the Lemkivshchyna region whose entry into the United States commenced in the late 1870's, and those from eastern

Galicia who emigrated in the 1890's, were segregated primarily into two camps: Ukrainophile, and Russophile. On the other hand, the immigrants from Transcarpathia were fractured into three groups: the pro-Hungarian Magyarophile, the Russophile, and the Ukrainophile. The first organization to result from the union of Galician immigrants from the Lemkivshchyna region with those from Transcarpathia was the Soiedineniie Greko-Kaftolitsetskikh Russkikh Bratstv (the Greek Catholic Union) which was established in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania in February, 1892. Its attendant press organ was the Amerikansky Russky Viestnik (Greek Catholic Union Messenger). By 1903 several rifts had occurred within the Greek Catholic Union giving rise to at least three distinct subgroups and their associated organizations. In the aftermath of persistent financial misappropriations and ideological conflicts the majority of the Galician membership led by Reverend Ivan Konstankevych had divorced itself from the mainly Transcarpathian Magyarophile-dominated Greek Catholic Union and had established its own fraternal federation, one with a decidedly Ukrainian nationalist character. The Ruskyi Narodnyi Soiuz (the Ruthenian National Association) founded in Shamokin, Pennsylvania on February 22, 1894 by four Ukrainian Catholic Galician priests was the result of the first breach within the Greek Catholic Union. On May 30, 1894 the newspaper Svoboda (Liberty) was established in

Jersey City to officially represent the views of the Ruthenian National Association. Two other schisms within the Greek Catholic Union followed. In 1900 a splinter group with strong Russophile tendencies detached itself from the Greek Catholic Union and formed an association known as the Obshchestvo Rus'kykh Bratstv (Society of Russian Brotherhoods) and in 1903 yet another faction split off and established Sobraniie (the Assembly of Greek Catholic Religious Brotherhoods). In sum, by 1903 there were at least four major mutual benefit "umbrella" organizations in operation in the United States with numerous small affiliate brotherhoods.²⁷

Next to the church, fraternal associations played a key role in the cultural and civic life of Ukrainian Americans and for many years remained the nucleus of Ukrainian community life and political expression. The benefits of the fraternal association to the Ukrainian immigrant were obvious. Having abandoned his ties to the soil and hence to his means of subsistence the Ukrainian immigrant labourer had only one commodity, his physical endurance, to exchange in order to subsist. If his labour-power was diminished in any way as a consequence of illness or injury, the repercussions could prove to be disastrous. Reliance on the family for assistance was impossible, because in many instances the family was dependent on the breadwinner and because few households had

the resources to take care of their own. Unions offered no assistance either as most were hostile towards the immigrant labourers who were undermining their positions and wages, and therefore made no effort to organize the unskilled masses. Employers also rarely, if ever offered any compensation to injured workers, while legal recourse in pursuit of compensation for injuries sustained as a result of employment conditions was too costly a course for the labourer to follow. Finally, if state relief provisions existed, they were usually inadequate and amplified the risk of deportation for an immigrant worker who had become a public charge. Thus collective action through the pooling of common resources seemed to be the most viable response to the situation.

The Founding of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association

When the first Ukrainian Catholic Church of St. Nicholas was constructed in Winnipeg in 1899 there were already over a hundred Ukrainian Catholic families residing in the city, and with the steady influx of Ukrainian immigrants to the Prairies the percentage entering the industrial labour market was rising annually. Increasingly the situation of Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants was becoming analogous to that of their countrymen in the United States. The arrival of a resident clergy of the Basilian order in

1903, and the subsequent relocation of the St. Nicholas parish in 1904 to new and expanded quarters just opposite the site of the original church of the same name, set into motion a series of organizational activities in which the church attempted to take the lead as the marshalling point for most social and cultural functions within the Ukrainian immigrant community. Under clerical leadership a reading hall was assembled at the church; a Ukrainian-language evening school established; a day school was conducted by the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate; attempts were made to start up a Ukrainian National Home; the St. Barbara women's association, and a drama group were organized; and ultimately the Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas was founded.

Just one year prior to the establishment of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association one of its initiators, Volodymyr Karpets, had emigrated with his sister and brother-in-law, Maria and Mykola Hladky, from the United States to Winnipeg, where he had rented his accommodation from the Basilians. Having lived in Buffalo, New York over the past four years and having been an active member of the St. Nicholas Fraternal Benefit Association in America, an affiliate of the Ruthenian National Association, Karpets was well acquainted with the work, the goals, and above all, the benefits of membership in a fraternal association. Further, having secured his residence from the Basilian clergy, he

was afforded an almost daily opportunity for discussion with Reverend Matthew Hura, pastor of St. Nicholas Church, about the possibilities of establishing a fraternal organization for Ukrainians in Winnipeg patterned on the American Ruthenian National Association. Whether Reverend Hura's initial hesitation with regard to the proposal was due to the fact that the Ruthenian National Association though founded by four Ukrainian Catholic Galician priests had maintained a staunchly non-denominational nationalist character, or whether the active participation in it by a group of "priest-radicals" who were openly opposed to the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States and who called for the full autonomy for the Ukrainian Catholic Church, had made Reverend Hura apprehensive, is not known. However, based on an account provided by Mykola Hladky, one of its co-founders, nearly a full year lapsed between the time he first approached Reverend Hura with the suggestion for a fraternal organization and the time when Reverend Hura acceded to his request to call a meeting of the parishioners.

The long-awaited founding meeting was finally scheduled for Sunday, September 11, 1905 immediately following the church services. Although written accounts vary as to the number of parishioners in attendance at the meeting which was presided over by Reverend Hura, they do however, indicate that subsequent to Mykola Hladky's

presentation on the intent of the meeting and his overview of the activities, and benefits of membership in the Ruthenian National Association, 37 individuals registered and paid for membership.²⁸

Simultaneous with the establishment of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association was the founding of the first Canadian branch of the Ruthenian National Association which quite logically was named the Kanadiiskyi Ruskyi Narodnyi Soiuz (Canadian Ruthenian National Association hereafter the K.R.N.S.). The establishment of two separate but associated organizations mirrored the Ukrainian American organizational structure in which individual fraternal orders though maintaining their own executive, were affiliated with a larger administrative co-ordinating body, such as the Ruthenian National Association. As a result of the formation of two separate yet conjoint organizational structures and the maintenance of two separate treasuries, a division of responsibilities for benefit payments, membership fees, and monthly dues also occurred. Membership fees in the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association were assessed according to age and ranged from 75 cents for members 16 to 25 years of age, to \$1.50 for individuals between the ages of 35 and 45. Monthly dues were set at 25 cents. Fees for membership in the K.R.N.S. were based on a flat rate of \$1, while monthly dues were 50 cents. The division of responsibilities for benefit payments resulted

in the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association assuming liability for compensation during illness or injury, and the K.R.N.S. providing death benefit coverage.

Although it is difficult to gauge the level of activity of the K.R.N.S. because of the destruction of most of its records, from the limited sources available it would appear that by 1909 a decision had been reached by its administrators to disband the organization and to allow instead the St. Nicholas Brotherhood to appropriate the function of death benefit payments. Subsequent to this decision, in 1909 the organization discontinued its collection of monthly dues from the membership.

From its inception the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association was a hybrid of nationalism, clericalism and secularism. The statutes of the Association which were originally drawn up by Reverend Hura in 1905 and then reworked by a lay committee of the membership outlined the goals of the Association as follows: a) "material and moral assistance in the event of illness or death of a member b) aiding and caring for one's own church, community parochial school for children and adults, arranging lectures, entertainment, plays, in one word, striving for all that is beneficial in developing good Ruthenians and Canadian citizens out of the members." A strong clerical tenor was evident throughout the early statutes which placed a definite emphasis on the virtues of honesty, marital

fideliity, and especially sobriety as being the qualities most desired in its membership. Similarly commission of a punishable legal offence, marital faithlessness, and drunkenness warranted expulsion from the Association and an immediate forfeiture of benefits. Upon dissolution of the Association two-thirds of the Association's assets were to be forwarded to the local Ukrainian Catholic Church and one-third to a designated nationally-oriented cause such as the Ukrainian National Home.

While it is true that the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association maintained close ties with the Ukrainian Catholic Church and that the Association demonstrated a definite clerical agenda, it is also true that the membership struggled to maintain a more equitable balance of influences within the association by focusing on aspects of Ukrainian culture and nationalism and by promoting various Ukrainian causes both at home and abroad. The effort to moderate the clerical qualities of the Association was evident in the constitution which gave equal weight to nationalist as well as religious goals of the Association. Both in its original form and in its later revised version, the constitution of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association stressed the importance of raising the national consciousness of the membership and instilling in it a feeling of pride in its Ukrainian heritage through the arrangement of lectures, meetings, the establishment of

reading halls, community centres, and newspapers. To this end many of the Association's members held membership and served in various administrative capacities in the Prosvita Reading Hall and its associated drama group, and in other Ukrainian organizations such as the Ukrainian National Home. As well as being active in other Ukrainian organizations members of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association often collaborated with other organizations in the planning of specific events which were of significance to the entire Ukrainian community such as the founding of the first National Home or the commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of the nationally-renowned Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko. Additionally, the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association was one of the first Ukrainian organizations to establish an evening school for English and Ukrainian language instruction for illiterates in October, 1906. From out of a fee of \$1.50 monthly for members, and \$2.00 monthly for non-members, the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association hoped to finance the payments for an instructor, as well for the heat and light for the school premises.

Sustaining and strengthening the bonds with their old homeland through regular correspondence and through monetary contributions to different Ukrainian nationalist causes was an equally important goal of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association. The Association's minutes dated September 15,

1912 stipulate that \$40 was donated to the Sokil Batko (Falcon Father) athletic-gymnastic society as a contribution towards the purchase of its own stadium in Lviv, and that another \$45 was forwarded via the Galician newspaper Dilo to the Ridna Shkola (Native School) in Lviv, an organization whose aims were to preserve the Ukrainian content in public schools and to develop private institutions of Ukrainian instruction. In 1913 when all of Ukraine was celebrating the 40th anniversary of Ukrainian writer, publicist, and political and civic leader, Ivan Franko's literary work the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association held a benefit concert in Franko's honor and forwarded the entire proceeds along with the funds from an earlier collection to Dr. Franko in Lviv.

There is little doubt that the American-Ukrainian experiences which had laid the foundation for the existence of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association and had helped to shape it, were also responsible, at least in part, for the Association's schizophrenic stance towards the Church. The well-publicized conflicts between the "priest-radicals" and the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the ensuing edicts of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the campaign for increased democratization of the church structure and the autonomy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church had spilled over into Canada, where in Winnipeg a cell of opposition to Roman Catholic

authority had formed around the first Ukrainian Catholic Church established there. The parishioners of the St. Nicholas Church (the bulk of whom became members of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association) had registered their church property with a lay board of trustees contrary to the demands of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, but consistent with the behaviour of their American countrymen. When Archbishop Langevin, in hope of quelling the movement for independence, constructed a new and larger Ukrainian Catholic church just opposite the first one, the executive of the old church surrendered its contract to the Basilians, and for a very brief while there was peace. Shortly thereafter, as a result of the differences between the membership of the new church and the executive of the old, the congregation of the old church reclaimed its contract from Reverend Hura and returning to their abandoned church structure resolved to hire its own clergy. Because most of the members of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association were also parishioners and executive of the old church whose membership had decided to employ their own clergy, there are entries in the Association's ledger books which indicate that the Association contributed to the travel expenses of at least one of the clerics from Galicia who assumed temporary responsibility for the parish. There were also signs of increased tensions between the Basilian priests who had acceded to Roman Catholic supervision and the executive of

the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association in evidence in the newspaper articles of that era. The executive of the Association and the K.R.N.S. had wanted their organizations to be organized on a purely nationalist ideology just as their model, the Ruthenian National Association, was in the United States. Membership in the Association would then be open to any Ukrainians regardless of religious affiliation and would stand a better chance of rapid expansion.

However, this move was opposed by the Basilian clergy who condemned the Association as heretical and as progressing towards "godlessness."³⁰ By the time that a Ukrainian Catholic bishop was appointed to Canada in 1912, the K.R.N.S. had been liquidated and the Association had resumed the practice of registering only Ukrainian Catholics as members. Until that time, however, the membership lists indicate that the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association had recruited a following of diverse background, with the possible exception of those of strong socialist conviction.

Association Meetings

The Association meetings were classified by the statutes as falling into one of three categories: general, annual, and emergency, and attendance at meetings was enforced through a series of fines spelled out in the constitution. Because at the time of its founding the main

concern of the executive had been the expansion of the membership, in its first month of operation the Association held its meetings on a twice-weekly basis, hoping to recruit as many new members in that interval as possible. By October, 1905 general meetings were taking place only once a month usually on a Sunday, and by 1917 at the request of the membership, only quarter-yearly. In 1918 the Association returned to its former practice of holding monthly general meetings.

The chronicles for the early years of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association provide very little detail about the manner in which the general meetings were conducted. However, it would appear that the execution of functions such as the registration of new members, the collection of monthly dues, and the payment of sick benefits was a requisite practice at each meeting even during the formative years of the Association. Based on the statutes the following manner of conducting general meetings was to be observed: the chairman was to open the meeting with a prayer, and afterwards read the minutes from the previous meeting; new members were to be registered; monthly dues and payments on loans were to be collected; a comparison of the monies collected at the meeting was to be made with the amount recorded in the ledger books, and in the event of a shortfall the executive members responsible for collecting the monies and recording the amounts in the account books

were to make up the difference; motions and amendments were to be forwarded; payment of weekly benefits to sick members was to be made; decisions reached at the meeting were to be recorded in the minutes; and finally, the chairman was to adjourn the meeting with a prayer. Although the minutes from the formative years of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association are fairly sketchy on this point, it is likely that meetings were directed in a fairly loose style without great concern for formal parliamentary procedure, and that only with the growth in the size of the membership and increased experience through involvement with other organizations, was there an effort to conform more closely to conventional rules of order.

As with general meetings, the reports of the first annual meetings are also lacking in particulars, though according to the statutes of the Association, they were to be held in September and elections of new executive officers were to take place during these meetings. The minutes indicate that between 1905 and 1918 annual meetings did not take place every September as directed by the statutes, but rather varied between a September date and a January date. Election of new administrative officers however, did take place at the annual meetings at which each of the previous year's executive members provided verbal, if not written, accounts of their work and a full financial report was issued. Initially, voting for executive officers was

conducted by a show of hands but in 1907 it would appear that the practice of casting a secret ballot was introduced at the annual meeting and this method of electing officers was maintained in the following years.

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After the appointment of a Canadian Ukrainian Catholic bishop in 1912, the annual meetings of the Association were observed with considerable flair and ceremony. The program of the annual meeting which usually comprised a full day's worth of activity would commence in the morning with the celebration by the bishop of a requiem mass for the deceased members of the Association. Attendance at the service by the membership, who were to be outfitted in their official Association badges and carrying the Association banner, was compulsory. Church services were then followed by a common dinner for the members at which there would be speeches made by the bishop, executive members and other special guests, interspersed with entertainment by a local choir or musical group, and sometimes a raffle or a collection for some "worthy" cause. The annual meetings were also usually accompanied by a recruitment drive for new members. During the annual meetings new members would be enrolled free of charge or at half the membership fee.

Regular monthly meetings were of great importance to the Association. Not only were monthly dues collected, new members registered, and sickness and death benefits paid

out, but new policy which would later be incorporated into the constitution was also discussed and determined at the general meetings. The statutes guaranteed new members the right to make motions, to debate, to vote for a new executive, and generally to participate in the decision-making process of the Association from the time of their enrollment. Thus general meetings served as forums for policy-making within the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association. Novel situations were presented to the membership for debate, solutions were offered in the form of motions from the floor, the membership would take an open vote on the different motions, and the precedent set would usually become embodied in the constitution of the Association. Ironically, to ensure a democratic process attendance at meetings was ruled compulsory, and enforced through a series of fines. Because executive members were expected to set the standard for the rest of the membership, they were penalized more heavily for non-attendance than ordinary members. Fines for general members ranged from 25 cents for missing one meeting to \$1 for missing three consecutive meetings or the annual meeting. In contrast, all executive members with the exception of the doorman, were to be charged \$1 for their absence from meetings. In order to be exempted from paying a fine a member had to show just cause for non-attendance, such as illness or employment outside of the city. There is no evidence to suggest

however, that the above sanctions were ever applied to either members or administrative officers for their absence from Association functions.

Executive Functions

In its first year of operation the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association elected a rather large slate of administrative officers. As the membership grew in succeeding years the slate was correspondingly augmented. Although at the founding meeting only 37 individuals enrolled as members, 12 were elected to executive positions. Heading the Association as its chairman for the first year was Reverend Hura. Other administrative posts included a vice-chairman, a secretary, vice-secretary, a secretary for the K.R.N.S., a treasurer, a vice-treasurer, two auditors, two overseers of the sick, and a captain to lead the Association membership during public processions or demonstrations. By 1906 two other positions had been added to the administrative slate, a flag-bearer, who was to carry the Association's official banner during parades or other special ceremonies, and two substitutes for the standard-bearer. In 1907 the list of officers was supplemented by the addition of one more overseer for the sick and a doorman whose duty was to bar the entrance of

strangers during meetings and to discourage members from leaving the meeting hall without the chairman's permission.

Aside from the office of treasurer, one of the most critical positions within the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association was that of overseer of the sick. Prior to the Association contracting for the services of a doctor in 1912, the overseers of the sick were the only individuals empowered to assess the request for sick benefits, and determine the applicant's eligibility for assistance from the Association. Accordingly, members claiming assistance due to illness or injury, were required by the statutes to notify the overseers of their illness in writing or through another member immediately. In turn, the overseers of the sick were to make a minimum of two visits to the home of the applicant, and to note the exact nature of the illness or injury and its date of onset. They were also to provide full reports on all the petitions for sick benefits as well as their appraisals regarding the validity of the claims at each of the general meetings where the entire membership could then participate in an evaluation of the merits of the claim and could either affirm or refute the applicant's entitlement to benefits. Because the collective estimate of the membership coupled with the evaluations of the overseers served as another avenue for screening and regulating the payment of claims, full attendance at meetings became one means of ensuring that the system functioned as intended.

At the time of the establishment of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association in 1905 there were only two overseers of the sick serving a membership of less than one hundred, but by 1913 the number of overseers had mushroomed to 10, and the Association had divided up their responsibilities according to the districts most densely populated by Ukrainians. For instance in 1913, the area north from McGregor Street to Main Street was serviced by two overseers; from McGregor to McPhillips Streets by four; east to the river by two; and beyond the tracks by two. In addition to the overseers of the sick a committee of three individuals was charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the overseers of the sick were fulfilling their duties as prescribed. Over the years the number of overseer positions varied between five and ten, as did the number on the committee mandated to supervise them. In 1916 two women were selected to deal exclusively with female claimants. The district boundaries for the overseers of the sick also varied from year to year as the Association experimented with different methods of work distribution to try to make the system work more efficiently.

In 1911 the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association selected a committee of three individuals to search out a qualified physician who would agree to provide his services to the Association for one year at an agreed-upon sum. Although nothing further was mentioned in this regard in the

minutes, one year later in 1912 it appears that an arrangement was made with a Dr. Kalichman. According to the terms of the agreement Dr. Kalichman was to be paid a total of \$1 per member annually in advance, by quarterly installments. His services to members were to be provided at a reduced rate although members would still be required to pay for his medical attention. To ensure that a member would receive a fee reduction, the Association was to provide Dr. Kalichman with an updated membership list, and members requiring medical care were to bring their membership booklets with them as verification whenever they visited the physician. The records of the Association do not indicate the length of time the agreement with Dr. Kalichman was actually in effect, but in 1915 with the arrival in Winnipeg of a young Ukrainian doctor from Chicago a new contract was negotiated. Just as with Dr. Kalichman, the Association agreed to pay Dr. Pazdrii 25 cents per member quarter-yearly out of its account and then to recover the expense by holding a draw or staging a theatrical production. Claimants for sick benefits besides notifying the overseers of the sick, were to receive from Dr. Pazdrii, a certificate verifying their illness and the length of time they would be entitled to sick benefits. Further, Dr. Pazdrii was required to examine all new applicants for membership to the Association, to determine their health status and whether or not there were any risks or

impediments to eligibility for enrollment. Those considered to be poor risks were denied membership. The first recorded incident of denial of membership to someone considered a poor risk occurred in 1915, the year the agreement with Dr. Pazdrii came into effect. By 1916 the number had increased to 6 and by 1917 to 11. In 1918 there seemed to be only 2 such rejections.

Sickness and Death Benefits

While the Association's secondary goals have already been discussed at some length, a study such as this would be deficient if it did not examine the prime objective of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association, which was to provide material mutual aid in cases of illness, injury, or death. As had been mentioned earlier, when the Association was founded, the intent of its initiators had been to duplicate the structure of Ukrainian-American fraternal benefit organizations, which though operating as separate entities, were affiliated with and regulated by a larger, umbrella organization such as the Ruthenian National Association in the United States. Rather than enlisting with the American organization, the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association established the Kanadiiskyi Ruskyi Narodnyi Soiuz (Canadian Ruthenian National Association) simultaneous to the founding of its only affiliate fraternal

order. The St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association, as already mentioned, assumed payment of sick benefits and the K.R.N.S. of death benefits. From 1905 to 1914 for a membership fee ranging from 75 cents to \$1.50 and monthly dues of 25 cents, a member after six months was entitled to sick benefit payments from the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association of \$2.50 a week for a period of up to 26 weeks providing that all the other regulations had been adhered to. Sick benefits were calculated at a rate of 42 cents a day based on a six-day week. In the first full week of illness or injury, a member of the Association was only entitled to a benefit of \$2 with an extra 42 cents per day added for each day past a week that the illness or injury persisted. For illness or injury lasting less than a week there was no payment of benefits. In the event of an illness or injury which endured beyond the allotted 26-week period, benefits were reduced to \$1 weekly until the expiry of the year at which time there was no further eligibility for benefits. Besides the right to financial benefits from the Association, a single member who had fallen ill or had become injured and who had no one to look after him was entitled by the constitution to be fully cared for by members of the Association during the course of his illness or injury. With the payment of a \$1 membership and monthly dues of 50 cents for himself and 25 cents for his wife, the family of a deceased male member of the K.R.N.S. was

entitled to a \$100 lump sum death benefit payment, or in the case of the death of the member's wife, a \$50 death benefit payment. Funeral costs of up to \$75 were covered by the Brotherhood. Furthermore, members of the Association were obligated according to the statutes to be in attendance at the funeral services of their deceased compatriots, each wearing their official Brotherhood insignia. Absenteeism at funerals was punishable by the imposition of fines ranging from \$1 to \$3 depending on the circumstances.

In 1914, almost five years after the Association had appropriated the function of death benefit payments from the defunct K.R.N.S., the constitution was revised and as a consequence the membership fee scale was altered, monthly dues were raised, and the payment of sickness and death benefits was also modified. Entrance fees to the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association were restructured according to age as follows: individuals 16 to 25 years of age were charged \$1; individuals between 25 and 30 years of age, \$1.50; individuals between 30 and 35 years of age, \$2.00; individuals 35 to 40 years of age, \$2.50; and individuals between 40 and 45 years of age, \$3.50. On Labour Day, the designated anniversary date of the Association, new members were to be accepted at one-half the usual fee. Monthly dues in 1914 were increased from 25 to 50 cents, while sick benefit payments were raised from \$2.50 to \$5 weekly. Illness or injury which lasted for a full

year was accorded a different treatment. The infirm member was to receive the full sick benefit payment of \$5 for the first three months of his illness, followed by a reduction in benefits to \$2.50 in the next three months of illness, which was to be pared down to \$2 for the consecutive six months until the end of the year. At the end of the year the ailing member was to retain his right to membership in the Association and to death benefits, but was restricted for a year from making any further claims for sick benefits. Mortuary benefits had also undergone a change under the new constitution and were to be calculated according to the duration of membership in the Association. Thus membership of between 6 months and one year entitled one only to the payment of \$75 for funeral costs; from 1 to 2 years of membership entitled one to a \$100 death benefit and \$75 for funeral costs; from 2 to 4 years of membership entitled one to \$150 plus \$75 funeral payment; from 4 to 6 years of membership, \$200 death benefit plus the standard \$75 funeral coverage; from 6 to 8 years of membership, \$250 and \$75 for funeral costs; from 8 to 10 years of membership, \$300 as well as \$75 for funeral coverage. While the death benefit payments were withdrawn from the Association treasury, the \$75 for funeral expenses was to be provided through an imposition of a levy apportioned equally among the membership.

The collection of benefits by claimants was not always an easy matter. Not only did the applicant have to meet the very specific conditions outlined by the statutes, such as the immediate notification of the overseer in order not to miss out on any benefits, but he had to submit his claim to public scrutiny at the general meetings. Further, if he defaulted on the payment of his monthly dues for longer than five months, or if his illness or injury was a consequence of his less than exemplary lifestyle including intemperance, belligerence, sexual promiscuity, engagement in a common law union, or commission of a crime such as theft or homicide, or even if the claimant was observed by other members at a place of entertainment or work during the time of his claim he would not only face disqualification of his claim but cancellation of his membership in the Association as well. By the same token, there was a degree of flexibility built into the system. For instance if the general membership recommended and accepted through their votes that benefits be extended for a specified period to members whose benefits had expired due to an inordinately lengthy illness, then the Association would continue to pay those members benefits. The minute books indicate that quite often the general membership was called on to consider the cases of members not yet eligible for benefits or whose benefit period had expired, and in the majority of such

cases the members voted in favour of assisting or continuing to aid the applicant.

The first ever payment of sick benefits by the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association occurred on May 20, 1906, just eight months after its establishment. The claim was for one week of illness and amounted to \$2.50. Another application for benefits did not take place until August of the same year when two payments were made, one for seven consecutive weeks of illness totalling \$17.50 and the other for one week of infirmity for \$2.50. The first death benefit payment took place on December 17, 1911 after the K.R.N.S. had suspended its operations. The beneficiary received a \$50 death benefit payment subsequent to the death of his wife and an additional \$75 to cover funeral expenses which was later recouped through a levy on the membership. The average number of claims per year for a 12-year period from 1905 to 1918 (excluding 1906 to 1907 for which no figures were available) was 27.33. The average payment per claim over the same period was \$18.12, and the average annual payment in claims amounted to \$495.35. The year in which the greatest number of claims was registered was 1918 with a total of 97 payments amounting to \$2,628.03 in sickness and death benefits being made. In 1918 the greatest number of death benefit payments were issued. Conversely the low claim year was 1910 with only 2 recorded applications for sick benefits and a total of \$5 paid out.

Association Fund-Raising Activities

Operating on a financially-secure foundation had been one of the aims of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association, but in its early years when the size of the membership was still small it was difficult to establish sufficient reserve funds solely on the basis of initiation fees and monthly dues. Therefore in conjunction with fund-raising functions such as concerts, plays, lotteries, and raffles, the Association ventured into the business of money-lending and the sale of firewood. At the October 15, 1905 meeting the membership had voted unanimously to utilize the money from the treasuries of the Association and the K.R.N.S. to purchase firewood which it would then sell for a profit of 50 cents a cord channelling the money back into the treasuries. The annual financial report of 1906 indicated that the risk the Association had taken with the sale of firewood had paid off to the tune of \$66. Fund-raising through concerts, plays, draws and similar activities proved also to be successful but less profitable than the sale of fuel wood, accounting for only \$26 in profit. The least remunerative of all its enterprises and one which later caused the most grief was money-lending. Although there is no information in the Association's records as to the rate of interest charged on loans, nor on the amounts of money loaned to members, based on the 1906

year-end financial report the return came to just \$10. Moreover, errors and laxness in bookkeeping, negligence in the repayment of loans, and Associational inertia compounded the difficulties. As early as 1908 references were made in the minutes to the need for a more stringent system of financial management and accounting. Accordingly, the membership voted in February of that year that any monies collected by the treasurer on behalf of the Association or the K.R.N.S. should be deposited in the bank immediately and that any financial transactions of the organization be carried out only through the bank. These decisions were succeeded in April, 1908 by the distribution for the first time of sick benefit payments via cheques rather than in cash. In 1910 the matter of defaulted loans once again came to the fore and this time the membership nominated one of its members, T. Stefanyk, to execute the collection of the debts. By 1911 the Association had consulted a lawyer regarding the dilemma it faced with its debtors. The threat of legal action compelled some of the delinquent parties to bargain with the Association for repayment of debts through equal monthly or quarter-yearly installments. In June of 1911, the Association reinforced its commitment towards fiscal accountability by providing the membership with monthly financial statements at the general meetings. By September of the same year they had resolved not to extend any further loans to anyone, and to have all future

treasurers bonded. For a short while the issue seemed to have died down. But the lull had been deceptive, and the matter of the outstanding accounts continued to plague the Association throughout 1914 to 1916 with the Association threatening court action against the persons who had incurred the debts. The renewal of the constitution in 1914 reaffirmed the intent of the membership to exercise greater control over its treasury. It stipulated that the treasurer of the Association not be authorized to handle more than \$10 in cash and that he be a literate and honest man, the owner of an estate equal in value to that of the Association, and bonded at the expense of the Association to the amount of \$1,000. Finally in 1916, legal opinion put the matter of the defaulted loans to rest when the Association was informed that legal intervention in the collection of the monies owed to the K.R.N.S. would be impossible due to the dissolution of the organization a number of years ago and that only with the collection of the monies owed to the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association would the membership stand any chance of success. The Association's endeavours at recovering loans which had fallen into arrears showed minimal gain.

Nature of Membership of the Association

A survey of the origins of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association enables the reader to predict the nature of its membership. Its roots within the Ukrainian Catholic Church dictated that membership be restricted to Ukrainian Catholics, while its emulation of the structure of the American Ruthenian National Association translated into a limitation of membership to those between the ages of 16 and 45. The question of women's entitlement to membership in either of these organizations cannot be answered due to conflicting information on this point. The American model for the K.R.N.S. and the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association did allow for women's membership right from its inception, but due to the lack of membership records for the first three years of operation, it is not possible to confirm whether the Canadian organizations followed the lead of the American. There is further confusion on this point also because a photograph in Kanadiiskyi Farmer of the first convention of the membership just one year after the founding of the Association and the K.R.N.S. clearly indicates that of the 43 members present at least 8 were women.³² According to one unconfirmed source, the women members of the K.R.N.S. had formed their own chapter within the organization called the "Viddil Chlenkyn Bratstva Zapomohovoho Presviatoii Divy Marii Neustaiuchoii Pomochi".

(Division of Female Members of the Fraternal Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Perpetual Help) which had its own administration and conducted its meetings and financial affairs separate from the Association. ³³ However, after the splintering of the Ukrainian Catholic Church into factions supportive of and opposed to Roman Catholic jurisdiction, the women's chapter was liquidated and eventually women were accepted as members of the Association.

Although membership lists were not available until after 1908, it would appear that there was some discrepancy between the number of members which the minute book indicates were enrolled between 1905 and 1908 and the number of individuals listed in the membership book. Calculations based on the transcripts of meetings would indicate that by January, 1908 the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association had a membership of 119 individuals. However, the membership book contains only 65 entries for the year, 3 of which were wives of members and one of which was the parish priest. The following year, 1909, is even more perplexing, indicating a drop in the number of registered members to 35. By 1910, the number of members had risen to 69, and the number of women, all of whom it seems were wives of members had gone up to 9. Further increases in membership were demonstrated from 1911 through to 1918, with a corresponding increase in the female constituency of the Association. The greatest leap in membership occurred in 1912 when the

Association cancelled its initiation fees during its Labour Day anniversary celebration. A continuation of the practice of reducing the membership fee by one-half in subsequent years brought equally good results. By 1916, 168 new members were enrolled, increasing the total membership in that year to 420. Similarly, in 1917, 173 members were added to the rolls, bringing the size of the membership up to 570. By 1918, 153 new members enlisted, again increasing the total membership to 653.

The St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association was a workingman's organization. Not only did the choice of Labour Day as the designated anniversary date of the Association underscore this fact, but a random survey of the membership demonstrated that the majority could be categorized as male resident (urban) labourers employed by the C.P.R. or C.N.R. in the capacity of carmen, moulder's helpers, maintenance men, section foremen and in similar positions. A number of the men also worked as general labourers for the City, or in foundries, cement plants, and meat-packing houses. By the time the Association received its Provincial charter in 1915 some of its members had progressed into the trades as painters, printers, carpenters, builders, and moulders. Provisions in the constitution which required that members leaving the city for employment pay their dues for two months in advance and other such stipulations, suggest that a number of migrant

labourers also held membership in the Association. However it is difficult to determine just what proportion of the membership they constituted. In 1915 the Association had 195 active members of whom 28.72 per cent were new. The average age of a new male member in 1915 was 31 and of a new female member 26. The bulk of new members between 1910 and 1915 fell into the 25 to 35 year old class, with the next largest category being the 16 to 25 year range. In 1910, 50 per cent of the total membership was comprised of individuals between 25 and 35 years of age, while 77.5 per cent of the new membership that year fell into that age group. In 1911, individuals between the age of 25 and 35 constituted 24.1 per cent of the total membership and 51.2 per cent of the new members. By 1914 those between the ages of 25 and 35 composed 13.4 per cent of the total membership and 40.8 per cent of the new.

Based on the 1914 constitution of the Association, to be a member, one needed to be of "unquestionable character", "sober", and certified as healthy by a doctor's certificate. Furthermore, one had to be sponsored into the Association by two other members who had known the applicant for at least six months and who could "vouch" that the applicant was of sound health, temperate, honorable, and not anti-religious. The new applicant was put on "trial" for thirty days. If during that time 15 members filed a petition against acceptance of the applicant, their complaint would be

investigated and if warranted, the applicant would be rejected and all fees refunded.

Needless to say, the benefits provided by the Association were not overly-generous, but in an age where security of income was non-existent the Association led the way in offering the Ukrainian immigrant at least some small measure of economic protection. Similar to the friendly societies of England, the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association operated on democratic principles where mutual aid involved "the transfer of income from the fortunate to the unfortunate among people of the same social class and whose normal standard of living was similar." Also much like England's friendly societies, the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association "did not cater to the needs of the very poor." The "normal earnings of its members needed to be high enough and regular enough for them to maintain their subscriptions and take part in the social activities" of the Association, and yet "the members" of the Association "were living near enough to the poverty line to be potential claimants for poor-relief."

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On March 9, 1915 the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association was registered in the province of Manitoba under the provisions of the Charitable Associations Act and in

1930 received its Dominion charter. Though its formative years were unstable and marred by financial reverses due to inexperienced management, and the contest between religious and nationalist ideologies, nonetheless, the Association survived the crises of its early years, fulfilled its mandate of providing "health and welfare" services to its members, and eventually evolved into a private fraternal insurance agency. Its differences with the Catholic Church and the desires of its members for religious autonomy were reconciled with the nomination of the first Canadian Ukrainian Catholic bishop in 1912. Afterwards, as noted throughout its records, it appeared to have "come back into the fold" with a renewed religious zeal. Its Ukrainian-Canadian nationalist principles were not abandoned in the process, however, and the Association continued to involve itself in areas which affected Ukrainians in Canada as well as in Galicia. The establishment of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association was the result of the confrontation between the Ukrainian peasant immigrant and a rapidly-industrializing host country. It was neither a response to a crisis situation, nor a temporary palliative, but rather an aspect of the immigrant's adaptive experience. It is assumed that the founders of the Association had enough foresight to be aware that the involvement of Ukrainian immigrants in the urban-industrial work force was not simply a passing trend but rather an indication of the

direction of the future, and from that standpoint they considered the Association a permanent fixture of the Ukrainian community.

The St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association was the first Ukrainian mutual benefit organization to be founded in Canada. It was a voluntary organization whose purposes extended beyond the provision of financial assistance in times of illness or death, to the arena of social and cultural activity. Over the consecutive years, the Association was able to grow in strength, sort out its priorities in terms of nationalist versus religious sentiments, and continue to function until the present. By the 1920's it had been joined by a handful of other Ukrainian fraternal benefit associations, many of them founded on non-denominational nationalist principles.

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CHAPTER 8

Relief: A Study in Crisis Management by the Ukrainian
Catholic Community of Winnipeg

On February 7, 1915, in the midst of the endemic unemployment that had plagued the Ukrainian community of Winnipeg for the last two years the Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association emerged. Given its impetus by the Ukrainian Catholic church, over the course of its existence it provided aid to several hundred families and single unemployed individuals. What follows is an exploration of the factors which it is believed contributed to the high rate of unemployment within the Ukrainian-Canadian community and an analysis of the functions of the Canadian-Ruthenian Relief Association as a response to the problem of unemployment.

Economic Effects of the Recession

By August 1914 the optimism that had accompanied the preceding Laurier boom years had all but faded as Great Britain declared war on Germany and Canada headed into a second straight year of severe economic recession. To the prairie provinces who had ridden the crest of the rapid economic expansion during the prewar years, the outbreak of successive wars in the Balkans in 1912 and 1913 and the

ensuing economic stringency spelled a calamitous end to their earlier years of almost uninterrupted prosperity. As the spectre of a major world conflict loomed over western Europe, the London and Continental money markets began to mirror the escalating political tensions. Interest rates started to soar in the London money market, and in 1913, the general price level, including prices of Canadian exports began to plummet. Foreign, and in particular, British capital which had fuelled western Canadian economic activity suddenly was drastically reduced. Canada's overinvestment in a capital goods industry - the result of an overly ambitious estimation of the rate of development in western Canada, was only one source of criticism by British financiers, who by the end of 1913, were predicting mass unemployment for Canada. The dwindling ratios of foreign investment impacted on all levels of Canadian government and finally halted the rate of expansion in the West.

Nowhere were the effects of the recession and the Great War more alarming than in Western Canada where virtually the entire Prairie urban economy was shut down. By 1912 land values had already started on a descent as local money lenders tightened their credit in response to the restrictions on foreign capital. Due to difficulties in securing mortgage loans construction activities ceased resulting in a corresponding reduction in sales of hardware

and building supplies. Businesses of all kinds were caught in the financial squeeze which by August, 1913 had precipitated the closure of a number of construction, mining and lumber camps.¹ In Winnipeg the effects of the financial austerity were manifested both in terms of "a reduced volume of construction in the hinterland" and a consequent "reduction in the demand for goods and services which the local economy supplied."² For the most part, only "those industries, merchandising and service establishments which supplied the varied needs of the ailing construction sector" went into an absolute decline. "The slackened pace of construction in the West, particularly in 1914, reduced the demand for building materials, camp equipment and work clothing which were manufactured in the city or distributed by local wholesalers. The reduced haulage of building materials brought a sharp reduction in transportation activity, and the Canadian Pacific and Canadian Northern Railways reduced their shop staffs and weekly working time early in the year."³ In contrast to other industries, railway construction projects based on previously allocated funds continued throughout 1913 with over 2,250 miles of new track put into operation during the year.⁴ By 1914, however, large-scale railway construction, the "main prop" of the Western Wheat economy, had also terminated. After years of easily-negotiated loans both the Grand Trunk

Pacific and the Canadian Northern railways "found investors unwilling to purchase their securities at any discount" which in turn prevented completion of earlier surveyed⁵ branch and feeder lines. Only the Western farmer managed to escape the consequences of the recession. "The crop of 1913 was the largest on record, and farmers received a higher price per bushel than in either of the previous two⁶ years."

Western urban centres who had "mistakenly wagered⁷ their futures on an impossible rate of growth" were far more seriously affected by the economic decline than the rural hinterlands. As all the railways began to constrict their labour force, and industries such as merchandising and service establishments which were closely aligned with the flagging construction sector also went into a slump the list of unemployed from every segment of the western economy grew lengthier. Unskilled labour was hardest hit, but even skilled workers were experiencing difficulties. Desperate to secure employment, by the summer of 1913, thousands of unemployed workers, among them Ukrainians, began to congregate in the Prairie cities. Harvest work provided a brief respite from the congestion in Winnipeg but when the harvesting was completed many of the labourers flocked back to the city where they swelled the already huge pool of surplus labour and where they grew increasingly restless. On November 27, 1913 a demonstration of unemployed took

place in Winnipeg. A crowd consisting mostly of British mechanics and urban labourers rallied in Market Square and demanded that the civic administration initiate relief work.⁸ Organized labour laid the blame for the high unemployment in Western Canada on the federal government's immigration policies.

The start of World War I in August of 1914 crushed any remaining hope for economic recovery on the Prairies as the persistence of financial constraints forced additional cuts in staff, reduction in hours, and lowered wages by business. Unemployment had reached a critical stage. Because Winnipeg was the main clearinghouse for Western labour many of those discharged from their jobs either remained in or gravitated toward Winnipeg. "According to one estimate there were twelve thousand jobless men in the city in July 1915, of whom five thousand were non-residents."⁹ The seriousness of the unemployment problem was brought home by the fact that a return of spring-like weather did little to reduce the number of jobless in the city. Mass demonstrations of unemployed composed mainly of non-unionized "foreigners" occurred in Winnipeg throughout 1915. On April 19, 1915 a mob of approximately 5000 at Market Square proclaimed that it represented people who were not "enemies" and demanded "bread and work".¹⁰ The following day the provincial government faced a crowd of 3000. A deputation claiming to

represent some 12,000 unemployed in Winnipeg headed by a young Ukrainian, Wasyl Kolisnyk, met with Premier Roblin and asked for the subsidization of transportation to farm work. Earlier in the day the Premier had met with a group of skilled British tradesmen, who, unable to locate employment and uninterested in homesteading, had petitioned him for assistance in returning to England.¹¹ On April 22, 1915 a multitude of unemployed immigrant labourers from Winnipeg's North End, numbering in the thousands, began a march to the provincial buildings. Again they declared that they were not enemies of Canada and repeated their earlier request for assistance in securing farm employment. Despite meeting with a deputation from the group, Premier Roblin would not commit his government to any initiative on their behalf.¹² In desperation, on May 14th hundreds of unemployed "foreigners", including Ukrainians, set out on a trek towards the United States where they hoped to find employment. Once they reached the American border, about 200 of them were apprehended by the authorities and placed in Canadian internment camps.

For Ukrainian immigrant labourers the recession and war years were a time of crisis. Because Ukrainians embodied the bulk of the unskilled labour force in the mining, railway, construction and other industries most directly effected by the downturn in the Western Canadian economy, they experienced one of the highest rates of

unemployment during that period. Moreover, the advent of the Great War had reignited a smouldering prewar Anglo-Canadian nativist hostility towards Ukrainians which was exhibited both in official government policy as well as in public behaviour. John Herd Thompson stated that "the Ukrainians were not the victims of any sort of public re-evaluation, for they had never enjoyed public favour in the first place."¹³ And as one English visitor to the Prairies commented in 1914... "to a Westerner, a Galician workman was little better than the despised Chinaman."¹⁴ Public outbursts of nativism directed against Ukrainians most often included dismissal from work on "patriotic" grounds and replacement by Anglo-Canadians, verbal abuse, and even at times physical assault by aggressive patriots or veterans.¹⁵ If a Ukrainian was fortunate enough to have retained work during those troubled times he was reproached for usurping employment to which English Canadians or British immigrants believed they were rightly entitled, and for compelling the "British born...to apply to charitable institutions to support their families." However, "if unemployed," as a great many Ukrainians at that time were, "he hazarded incarceration in one of the internment camps established by the federal government in October, 1914."¹⁶ The findings of Desmond Morton and J.A. Boudreau indicate that "the primary motivation for the policy of internment was the widespread unemployment among immigrant workmen

during the winter of 1914-15" rather than the fear of
subversive activity among enemy aliens.¹⁷

What further complicated the situation of Ukrainian labourers during the war was the series of proclamations and orders in council directed against immigrants from non-allied countries. One of the first acts of the federal government upon Canada's entry into the First World War was the assignment of enemy alien status to all unnaturalized immigrants from the countries of the Central Powers, the largest single group in this category consisting of Ukrainians. Thus discharge of Ukrainians from employment based on a misguided patriotism as well as on Anglo-Canadian prejudice became legitimized. Passage of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act made the procedures for obtaining naturalization certificates considerably more stringent for immigrants of other than French or British origin. The five year residence requirement outlined in the new act delayed the acquisition of citizenship by Ukrainians and simultaneously staved off for an extra two years their right to the franchise as well as their right to final title on their homestead land. The legislation of August 15, 1914 "declared all subjects of enemy countries liable to arrest and detention, especially if they attempted to leave the country." With the declaration of the War Measures Act the government confirmed its right to "media censorship; arrest, detention and deportation; and the appropriation, control

and disposal of enemy alien property." By late October, growing unemployment among enemy aliens and a corresponding fear of alien unrest prompted additional restrictive measures by the government. All enemy aliens were ordered to register at the offices of specially-appointed civilian registrars within one month of their opening and on a monthly basis thereafter. The failure to comply or the opinion that one constituted a national security risk automatically resulted in internment.¹⁸ Finally, in 1917, the War-time Elections Act was introduced by the Borden government. It "disenfranchised enemy-alien immigrants naturalized since 1902 and gave the vote to close female relatives of soldiers serving overseas."¹⁹ Thus during the war, not only Ukrainian labourers, but Ukrainians in general, were subjected to continued Anglo-Canadian prejudice in the shape of government policy.

Urban-based Ukrainian labourers soon discovered that they had only their countrymen to turn to when they were in need because "it was already apparent that municipal taxpayers, who normally bore the cost of meagre local welfare arrangement, would refuse to feed the country's enemies."²⁰ Some of Winnipeg's councillors also expressed the view that "enemy alien unemployed deserved neither sympathy nor assistance from any British subject."²¹ Of the various programs aimed at easing the problems of

unemployment and destitution at the onset of the recession and during the early years of the war, the Associated Charities, the Patriotic Fund, the city-inaugurated quarry operations and sewer work, and others, none purported to provide relief to foreigners who comprised the largest portion of the unskilled labour force, and therefore also the majority of the unemployed. Goeres stated that nine thousand workers were estimated to be out of work in Winnipeg in January, 1915, four thousand of whom were unskilled Germans or Austrians. Yet, nearly all the unemployed who obtained work or assistance were either Canadians or British immigrants, or to a lesser degree West European immigrants.²² Moreover, the assertion by J.H.T. Falk, General Secretary of the Associated Charities, that "the Slav homeless (and family) destitute was unknown" seemed to echo popular opinion that "these Austrians...can live on very little."²³ It appeared that the manner in which Ukrainians were able to eke out a living on a miserable wage prior to the war led the public to conclude that, although their meagre resources would be spread more thinly between them, they would still manage to get by when times were tough. The cruellest irony in this whole scenario was that Ukrainian communities, rural and urban, had been regularly and successfully canvassed on behalf of the Patriotic Fund, the Red Cross, and Victory Loans, and Ukrainians had contributed substantial sums towards all

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three of these causes. But when Ukrainians were themselves in need because of joblessness neither the Patriotic Fund nor the Red Cross nor any other established charity deemed them worthy of receipt of any assistance.

Establishment of the Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association

In 1915, just when unemployment was at its peak in the Ukrainian community of Winnipeg, the Ukrainian Catholic Church became involved in the provision of relief to the families of the unemployed. Through the Ukrainian Catholic paper, Kanadiiskyi Rusyn, Reverend Dr. A. Redkevych, Vicar General of the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop, Nicetas Budka, outlined the Church's plan for providing assistance to families made destitute due to joblessness. The article by Reverend Redkevych dated January 13, 1915, revealed that a Central Relief Committee which would work cooperatively with local parish committees in distributing aid to impoverished families, had already been organized in Winnipeg. It went on to say that at a recent meeting of the "Social Service Circle" all the Ukrainian Catholic clergy had agreed to travel throughout their assigned colonies during the month of January and collect donations for the destitute Ukrainian families in Canada. Six priests who would be responsible for this undertaking in Manitoba were named. Several other important points were made in the article. First of all, it

stated that the greatest number of unemployed in Canada were located in urban centres and that in the larger Canadian cities local public committees had been organized to assist the families of the unemployed. Thus it was demonstrated that the Church was aware of both the extent of the problem within urban centres as well as of organized efforts by local authorities and charities to ease it. Further because of the awareness that unemployment was primarily confined to the urban centres, and because of the magnitude of the problem within the Ukrainian-Canadian population, the Church disclosed its intention to establish Ukrainian relief committees in all the Canadian cities. These Ukrainian relief committees would then work in conjunction with the local public relief organizations in helping Ukrainian families who were in need. The final two points made in the article were that the main thrust of the appeal for funds or donations "in kind" would be directed toward Ukrainian farmers and that a full account of all donations would appear in Kanadiiskyi Rusyn. The Church was conscious that farmers had fared better financially during the recession than urban-based industrial workers and for this reason could probably be counted on to provide some assistance. In fact, it has been shown that for a variety of reasons Ukrainian farmers had prospered even more than other Prairie farmers during the war.

From its inception it was obvious that the Ukrainian Catholic Church had designed a plan for assisting impoverished Ukrainian families that had been well thought out and well-organized. The Ukrainian Catholic newspaper, Kanadiiskyi Rusyn, would be utilized to the maximum in soliciting for contributions to the committee, and in maintaining a regular public record of all receipts and disbursements. The targetted population of this massive relief effort would be Ukrainian families who were in want as a result of unemployment. Aside from the Ukrainian Catholic press, the clergy would also serve as canvassers for donations. Contributions were not to be limited to cash; foodstuffs or other goods would be equally acceptable. In time, Ukrainian relief committees much like the one in Winnipeg, would be established in other Canadian cities. Meanwhile the present relief committee would work alongside the local parish committees in providing assistance.

Just two weeks after its initial announcement, the Winnipeg relief committee presented a second report. A group of six individuals consisting of two priests, Reverend Dr. Redkevych, Vicar General of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and Reverend Olenchuk, pastor of Sts. Vladimir and Olga church; and four lay persons, two men and two women who were active in a number of Ukrainian organizations besides the parish, submitted the statement to the press on behalf of the committee. Their account indicated that a storage

space for farm contributions had been secured by the relief committee and that a core of volunteers had been recruited to help in distributing the assistance and in identifying Ukrainian families who were in need. Donations were to be addressed to 115 McGregor Street, Ruthenian Parish. At year end it was disclosed in the annual report that the Sts. Vladimir and Olga church hall had been provided rent-free as a warehouse for the farm products donated to the Relief Association. The parish home was also volunteered without cost to be used as an administrative office for the distribution of assistance. As a final note, it was added that although the committee was, for the most part, dependent on the contributions of Ukrainian farmers, efforts to obtain donations from urban residents were being carried on in the city as well.

The care that went into the planning and organizing of the Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association, as it ultimately came to be called, was further revealed in the report of February 24, 1915. It stated that prior to the formation of the Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association, Reverend Dr. Redkevych, as the spokesman for the Ukrainian Catholic Church, had met in a lengthy conference with officials of the Civic Relief Bureau. The contents of that meeting were not disclosed, nor were there any records of it available. However, shortly after conferring with civic officials and coming to terms with them, a founding meeting

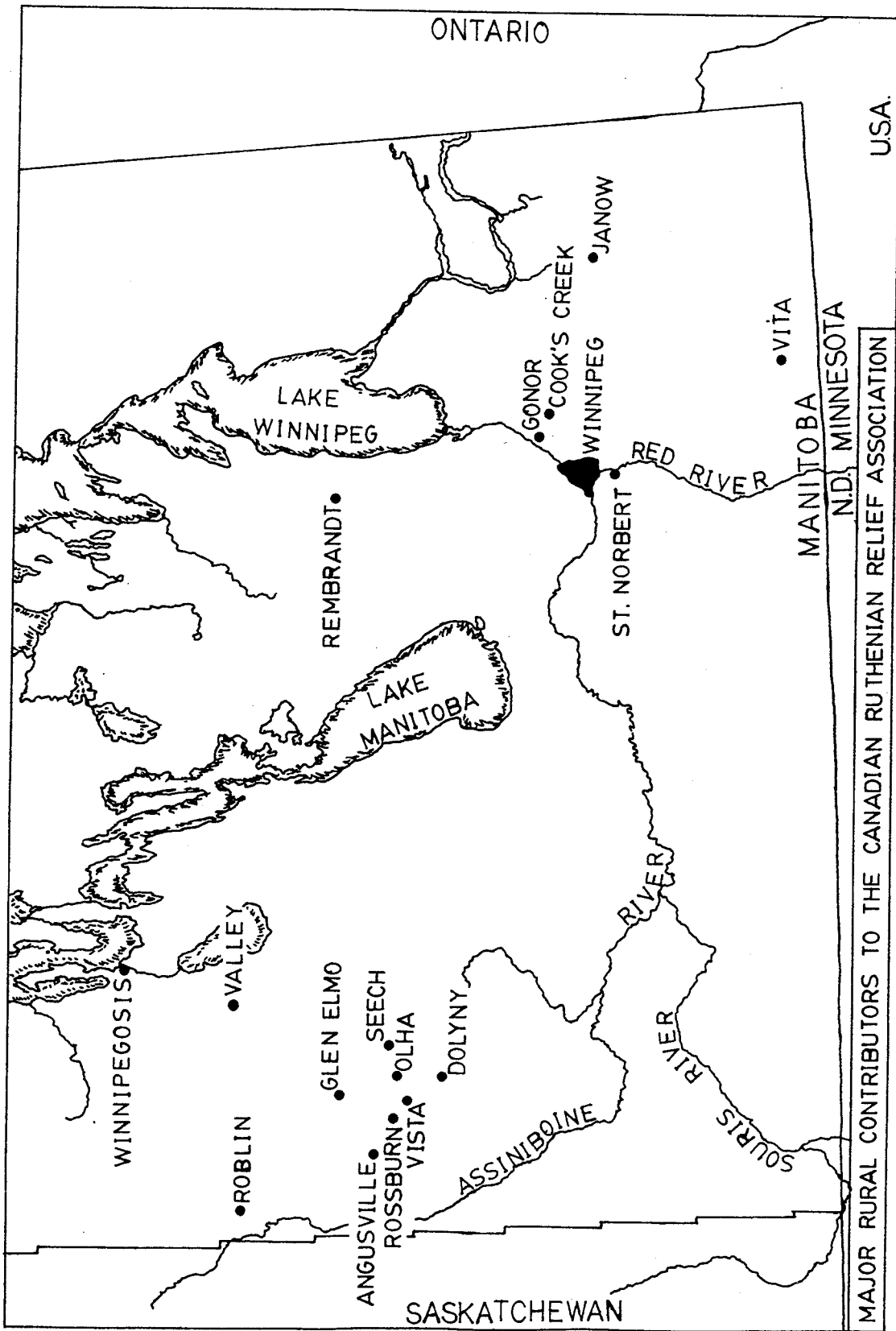
for the Ukrainian relief committee was announced for February 7, 1915 at the Sts. Vladimir and Olga church hall. An account of that meeting states that the church hall was filled to capacity and that the overwhelming attendance was taken as a measure of the Ukrainian community's concern about the problem of unemployment. At the inaugural meeting a group of 12 individuals was selected to oversee the work of the Relief Association. The administrative committee was composed of representatives of both the clergy and the laity. Prominent clerical members of the committee were Reverend Dr. Redkevych, spokesman for Bishop Budka; Reverend Olenchuk, parish priest at Sts. Vladimir and Olga church; and Reverend Fylypiw, pastor of St. Nicholas church. The latter two represented two of the original and largest Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Winnipeg's North End. The remainder of what appeared to be an all-male committee consisted of parishioners and prominent members of the Ukrainian community. Notable were such names as Mykola Hladky, one of the co-founders of the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association in Winnipeg and an active member of numerous other Ukrainian organizations; Theodore Stefanyk, a former Manitoba government school organizer, one of the original members of the first Ukrainian reading hall in Winnipeg, the first Ukrainian City alderman to be elected in 1911; and Toma Iastremsky, an established Ukrainian businessman, founder of the Ruthenian Conservative Club. It

appears as well, that besides the all-male administrative committee, a group consisting of 6 married women, some of them wives of the administrative committee members, and 3 single women were chosen to assist the administrative committee with their work of petitioning for donations and dispensing aid to the "truly needy". From among the previously-mentioned committees yet another delegation of 3 women and 4 men, were then assigned the task of soliciting donations in Winnipeg, door-to-door.²⁶ From the time the "collectors" were selected on February 7, 1915 to the time the report of the committee appeared in Kanadiiskyi Rusyn on February 24, 1915, \$98.71 had been collected.

Very shortly after the establishment of the Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association (hereafter referred to as the Relief Association) donations in cash and foodstuffs began to come in. Winnipegosis was the first Ukrainian rural community to respond to the Relief Association's January appeal by contributing 895 fish. By March 3, 1915 the rural communities of Rossburn, Sich, Olha, Janow, Vista, and Cook's Creek had also responded with financial and material aid. Throughout the rest of March and April other Ukrainian settlements continued to add to the list of contributors.²⁷ Topping the list of donations was poultry which made up 27.8 per cent of all contributions, followed by salt pork at 14.8 per cent; meat at 14.8 per cent; bread at 11.5 per cent; cheese at 8.2 per cent; and butter at 4.9 per cent.²⁸ The

five largest contributors of foodstuffs were Dolyny at 36 separate donations; then Angusville at 33 contributions; followed by Olha at 29; Sich at 23; and Glen Elmo at 17. The largest cash donors from among the Ukrainian rural settlements were Sich at \$23.15; Dolyny at \$20.90; Glen Elmo at \$17.25; and Angusville and Olha both at \$13.50 a piece.²⁹ (see map on following page)

The Relief Association's appeal for funds to assist the families of unemployed Ukrainian-Canadian laborers was answered by the United States and other provinces as well. In Philadelphia, a large benefit concert was arranged under the patronage of the Ukrainian-American bishop Soter Ortynski and the Austro-Hungarian and German consulates. One half of the proceeds from the concert were designated for Ukrainian relief purposes in Canada, the other half were assigned to German-Canadian relief committees. As a result of this effort \$500 was forwarded to the Relief Association in Winnipeg. American Ukrainians continued to subsidize the Relief Association's efforts, with a total of \$1518 in funds from the United States constituting 85 per cent of all donations. Aside from the funds collected from the United States, the provinces of Saskatchewan, Quebec, and Ontario also forwarded varying amounts.³⁰ In addition to the monies received from canvassing the Ukrainian rural settlements, and the large cash input by American Ukrainians, funding



MAJOR RURAL CONTRIBUTORS TO THE CANADIAN RUTHENIAN RELIEF ASSOCIATION

sources for the Relief Association's work included subsidies by the Ukrainian Catholic bishop Budka and door-to-door soliciting for funds in Winnipeg. Total cash receipts from the time the Relief Association was established in February 1915, to the time it was dissolved in August, 1916 amounted to \$1788.26.

On February 24, 1915 the Relief Association reported that it had already dispensed aid to over 100 Winnipeg-based Ukrainian families. The single assistance provided to the families consisted of foodstuffs such as bread, rice, flour, and milk, and dry goods such as linen and soap. By March 17, 1915, the Relief Association claimed to have assisted a total of 137 families since its inception, 63 of them on a steady basis. The return of seasonal weather did nothing to ease the number of unemployed. In May, 1915 there were 260 families and single individuals in Winnipeg receiving aid from the Relief Association, 150 of the families on a regularly-appointed schedule, the others at intervals. The Relief Association estimated that it had disbursed assistance to a total of 800 individuals, once all family members and single individuals were accounted for. Although the Relief Association's ledger book lists 327 recipients, its February, 1916 statement indicates that only 317 families and single individuals were provided with relief. Further, of the 317 recipients which the Relief Association claimed to have assisted to the end of January,

1916, 27 had been assisted on a second occasion, and 1 had been assisted on a third. Therefore it would appear that the Relief Association provided assistance to only 285 Winnipeg families, if its 3 out-of-town recipients are not included in the calculation. It would also appear that 20 of the recipients had been referred to the Associated Charities and the civic Unemployment Department but despite the referral continued to receive aid from the Relief Association. The approximate average number of days on assistance, not including those clients who received a single disbursement, came to 41.43 or about 1.38 months.

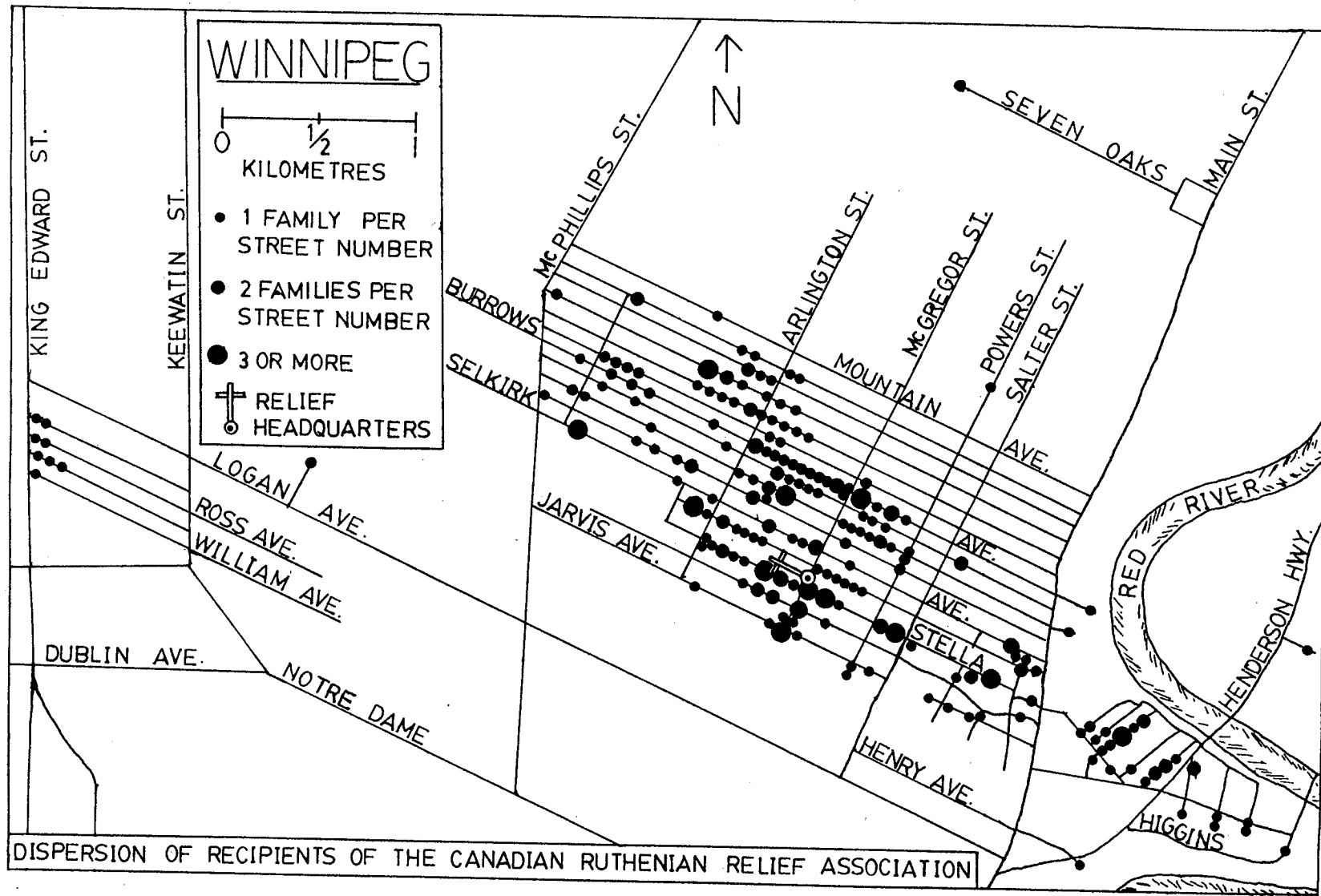
From its inception the Relief Association set out as its mandate the provision of assistance to Ukrainian families who were in need due to unemployment. Relief assistance to single individuals or childless couples was to be provided only under very exceptional circumstances such as illness. However, despite the fact that family assistance remained a priority the Relief Association seemed to have relaxed its earlier rule and extended help to single individuals and childless couples as well. Of the total number of Winnipeg recipients whose marital status was listed 19.8 per cent were married and 8.3 per cent were single. Therefore there were at least twice as many married applicants as there were single. 8.8 per cent of the applicants did not indicate a marital status although it can be estimated that the greater part were married. All the

recipients were unskilled labourers either employed by the C.P.R., the city, or in other types of industry. Aside from the policy of family priority for assistance, there did not appear to be any other stipulations for receipt of aid, even though the Ukrainian Catholic church was in control of the program. There is no clear indication as to what criteria were employed by the Relief Association to determine need and to screen out "unsuitable" applicants.

Winnipeg's North End was the home of the unemployed. Clustered within a 15-block radius were over 74 per cent of the Relief Association's clients. ³¹ Burrows Avenue alone housed over 11.5 per cent of all the Relief Association's recipients. Stella Avenue was the next most densely client-populated street, accounting for 10.6 per cent of the applicants. This was followed by Manitoba and Flora Avenues with 6.9 per cent and 7.3 per cent of all recipients, respectively. Magnus Avenue accounted for 5.5 per cent of the clients; Aberdeen Avenue for 5.4 per cent; and Selkirk Avenue for 3.1 per cent. The remainder of the 15 most densely client-populated streets simply lay in between those named and to the north ending at College Avenue. Many of the recipients within the 15-block radius shared their accommodations with others in similar circumstances. Stella Avenue had the greatest number of shared accommodations. Out of a total of 18 residences, 50 per cent had more than one relief recipient living in them. The 18 Stella Avenue

residences mentioned, alone accounted for over 78 people, if taking into consideration all family members. (see map on next page)

In terms of its disbursements, the Relief Association actually provided very little in the way of financial assistance to its clients. Its ledger book, while noting the amount of rent being paid on the recipients' accommodations, gives no indication of rent payments being included in the assistance provided to applicants. Instead, the funds collected by the Relief Association were used to purchase supplemental foodstuffs that were distributed among the needy families while the balance of the monies were distributed among relief committees in other Canadian cities as part of their start-up costs. Of the various perishable goods provided by the Relief Association to its clients, sugar constituted 15.50 per cent of all disbursements; milk 15.26 per cent; rice 13.79 per cent; flour 10.77 per cent; oats 10.17 per cent; bread 10.07 per cent; cornmeal 4.9 per cent; tea 4.5 per cent; meat 3.8 per cent; cheese 2.41 per cent; and potatoes 1.71 per cent. ³² The Relief Association stated in its annual report that by year end it had spent \$900.13 on its Winnipeg relief operation. In addition to this, \$400 was divided up between the other Ukrainian-Canadian relief committees, with Edmonton and Regina each receiving \$100, Toronto receiving \$75, Fort William getting another \$75, and Calgary being sent \$50.



The highest expenditures of the Relief Association were not incurred during the winter months, but rather during the months of May and June, 1915 when \$305.48 and \$396.72 were spent respectively. ³³ The average monthly expenditure by the Relief Association was \$75.01.

True to its original intent the Winnipeg-based Relief Association via its network of clergy had organized at least four other Ukrainian relief committees in several Canadian cities by June, 1915. Although each Ukrainian-Canadian relief committee that had been established outside of Winnipeg had adapted itself and its structure according to the prevailing unemployment conditions in that locale, it seems that the Winnipeg-based Relief Association remained the prime instigator and the model for other such urban Ukrainian-Canadian relief efforts.

It appears that the relief committee in Montreal actually preceded the one in Winnipeg by about half a year, being formed there in September, 1914. Known as the Austro-Hungarian Philanthropical Committee and recognized by the federal authorities, it was subsidized financially by donations from the general public, and by monthly installments from the Austrian general consulate in Buffalo, New York. While the statement from the Montreal relief committee indicated that there were over 2000 unemployed Ukrainians in Montreal, 1800 single individuals and 200 families, the Montreal relief committee's main concern

seemed to be the families. For seven months the Austro-Hungarian Philanthropical Committee operated a free soup kitchen for the single unemployed. But beginning in January, 1915, however, the federal government through the mediation of the American general consul, Mr. Bradley, assumed responsibility for assisting 150 Ukrainian families. Supplemental financial aid provided by the Austro-Hungarian Philanthropical Committee enabled the local priest to dispense relief assistance to an additional number of families under his care.

In Toronto the situation was similar but the number of unemployed reported was substantially lower. Reverend Boyarchuk who headed the relief efforts in Toronto had notified the Winnipeg-based Relief Association that there were only 350 unemployed, 32 of whom were families. Primarily through his efforts and at his own expense, a free soup kitchen was opened to feed the single unemployed. Approximately 148 single unemployed were assisted in this manner. In addition, monthly rental payments of \$6 each were paid for 6 of the 44 families under his care. The costs of the relief effort in Toronto were born almost exclusively by the local pastor, although \$208.45 was provided to him by the former Austrian consul and \$75 was forwarded by the Winnipeg Relief Association.

The next to report to the Winnipeg Relief Association were Fort William-Port Arthur and Regina. Fort William-Port

Arthur's statement indicated that there were 2300 unemployed Ukrainians in that locality, 430 being families. The local cleric was engaged in organizing a relief committee but by May, 1915 there was as yet no committee. To assist him with his work the Winnipeg Relief Association transferred \$75 to the Fort William-Port Arthur relief account.

In Regina Mr. Romaniuk, a school inspector, had taken the initiative in organizing a relief committee. Based on his calculations there were approximately 300 single unemployed in Regina, and another 200 families of unemployed. By June, 1915 there were operative relief committees in both Regina and Edmonton and the Winnipeg Relief Association had disbursed \$100 to each of them to help offset some of their costs.

In August of 1915 the unemployment situation among Ukrainian laborers in Winnipeg seemed to have improved somewhat. The Winnipeg Relief Association communicated that \$79.65 had been spent for special allowances and for fares for harvesting work. Further it stated that because many of its recipients had either left for agricultural work or had located employment in the city, expenditures had been very low for the month. By the spring of 1916 employment prospects for Ukrainian workers had brightened considerably as the "increased need for labour overrode the practice of exclusion on the basis of nationality." ³⁴ "The war-induced expansion of the prairie agriculture" coupled with "the

heavy enlistment" from the Western Canadian provinces contributed to "a strong demand for agricultural labour." ³⁵ With the improvement in the employment situation and the consequent decline in requests for assistance the work of the Winnipeg Relief Association had begun to taper off gradually and by August, 1916, exactly one and a half years after its official establishment it was disbanded.

* * *

The Winnipeg-centred Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association was a good example of the manner in which the Ukrainian community could successfully adapt a traditional method of mutual aid to deal with the problem of unemployment in an urban Canadian setting. It had already been demonstrated in an earlier chapter that the formation and use of committees for the collection and distribution of aid in answer to emergency situations was common practice in Galicia in the late 1880's and 1890's. Therefore the founding of the Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association as a means of coping with the destitution resulting from unemployment was not a novel means of approaching the problem, despite the change in setting from rural-agricultural to urban-industrial. Moreover, not only was the committee approach to crisis management not unique

to the situation, but neither was the committee structure. Just as in Galicia in the 1890's where the clergy participated in a very major way in organizing and presiding over committees, the clergy continued to play a leading role in initiating the relief activity in Canada. Perhaps the only thing which differentiated the Ukrainian-Canadian response to a perceived crisis situation from the Galician was the ambition and the scale of the entire project. Whereas in Galicia emergency committees were usually confined to smaller towns or villages, the relief effort in Canada was dispersed throughout the nation. And despite the fact that only a limited number of Ukrainian unemployed were assisted, the Ukrainian Catholic church in Canada had proved through its well-organized, time-contained, and focused plan of action that it was possible to successfully transplant and employ a traditional crisis-oriented style of self-help in a Canadian situation.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 8

- 1
Michael R. Goeres, "Disorder, Dependency and Fiscal Responsibility: Unemployment Relief in Winnipeg, 1907-1942" (M.A. thesis University of Manitoba, 1981), pp. 21-22.
- 2
Ruben Bellan, Winnipeg First Century: An Economic History (Winnipeg: Queenston House, 1978), p. 122.
- 3
Ibid., pp. 122-123.
- 4
Ibid., p. 122.
- 5
Ibid., p. 130; John Herd Thompson, The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1978), pp. 14-16 and 47-48.
- 6
Bellan, Winnipeg First Century, pp. 121-122; For a contrasting opinion on how Western Canadian grain farmers actually fared in the years prior to and during World War I see Thompson, The Harvests of War, pp. 13-14, and 59-72.
- 7
Thompson, The Harvests of War, p. 14.
- 8
The Voice, November 28, 1913, p. 1 cited in Goeres, "Disorder, Dependency", p. 24.
- 9
Bellan, Winnipeg First Century, p. 135.
- 10
O.T. Martynowych, "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada; 1900-1918", Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies, 1, no. 1, Fall 1976, pp. 32-33.
- 11
Manitoba Free Press, April 20, 1915, p. 14.
- 12
Winnipeg Evening Tribune, April 20, 1915, p. 2; Manitoba Free Press, April 21, 1915, p. 1.

13

Thompson, The Harvests of War, p. 77.

14

E.B. Mitchell, In Western Canada before the War, London, 1915, p. 11, cited in Thompson, The Harvests of War, p. 77.

15

Thompson, The Harvests of War, pp. 78-79.

16

The Voice, January 15, 1915, cited in John Herd Thompson, "The Enemy Alien and the Canadian General Election of 1917", in Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War, eds., F. Swyripa and J.H. Thompson, (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983), p. 29.

17

D. Morton, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations in Canada during the First World War", Canadian Historical Review, 55, no. 1, (March, 1974) pp. 36-38 and 43; J.A. Boudreau, "Western Canada's 'Enemy Aliens' in World War One", Alberta Historical Review, 12, no. 1, (Winter, 1964), pp. 2-3; see also Peter Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada", in Loyalties in Conflict Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War, eds., F. Swyripa and J.H. Thompson (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983), pp. 1-24. Boudreau stated that of the 80,000 enemy aliens registered only "8,579 males were actually interned along with 81 women and 156 children who voluntarily accompanied them." And Melnycky found that the majority of the nearly 6,000 interned Austro-Hungarian nationals were in fact Ukrainians. "Only 1,192 Germans from within Canada were interned as opposed to 5,954 Austro-Hungarians... Further, only 2,321 of the internees ...were considered bona fide prisoners of war." Western internment stations included Fort Garry in Winnipeg; the Exhibition Buildings in Brandon and Lethbridge; the Parks Building at Banff; tents at Castle, Alberta, and railway cars at Munson and Eaton, Alberta. In quoting from a report in Kanadiiskyi Rusyn, Melnycky states that "at the peak of its holding capacity in late 1915, the internment camp at Brandon held between 800 and 1,000 Ukrainian internees along with smaller numbers of aliens of other nationalities."

18

Melnycky, "The Internment", pp. 2-6. Melnycky states that among the reasons for Ukrainian internment listed in the Internment Operations files were:

"contraventions of the wartime regulations such, as refusing or failing to register, breaking parole, destroying registration cards, travelling without permission, registering under a false name, writing to relatives in Austria, and status as a reservist." Included, however, were less clear reasons for internment such as, "acting in a 'very suspicious manner' or 'showing a general tendency toward sedition', 'using seditious' or 'intemperate' language, being found hiding and destitute in a freight car, or being generally 'unreliable', 'of shiftless character' and 'undesirable'."

19

John Herd Thompson, "The Enemy Alien and the Canadian General Election of 1917", in Loyalties in Conflict Ukrainians During the Great War, eds. F. Swyripa and J.H. Thompson (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983), pp. 31-34; see also Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta, (Toronto; McClelland & Stewart, 1982), pp. 47-50.

20

Morton, "Sir William Otter", p. 37.

21

Manitoba Free Press, April 20, 1914, p. 21, cited in Goeres, "Disorder, Dependency", p. 41.

22

Goeres, "Disorder, Dependency", p. 38.

23

D.L.L., vol. 3134, file 151, H.S. Hood to T.W. Crothers, February 2 1915; Dominions Royal Commission, Evidence 1916, cited in Goeres, "Disorder, Dependency", p.39; Arthur Meighen Papers, Public Archives of Canada, 105995, Arthur Meighen to Prime Minister Borden, 4 Sept. 1914 cited in Donald Avery, "Continental European immigrant workers in Canada 1896-1919: from "stalwart peasants" to radical proletariat," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, vol. XII (1975), p. 59

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Thompson, The Harvests of War, p. 78; Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainian Image: Loyal Citizen or Disloyal Alien," in Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War, eds., Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983), pp. 53-58.

25

Andrij Makuch, "Ukrainian Canadians and the Wartime Economy", in Loyalties in Conflict Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War, eds. F. Swyripa and J.H. Thompson, (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983), pp. 72-73; Thompson, The Harvests of War pp. 85-87. Among the reasons cited by Makuch that Ukrainian farmers had fared better than other Canadian farmers during the war were that "they were less mechanized, more reliant on family over hired labour and more self-sufficient than the average Canadian farm. These factors reduced operating costs for Ukrainian farmers thereby increasing their real profits. Moreover, because of the tendency toward mixed agriculture and the reluctance to speculate in cash crops sudden losses due to market shifts were avoided. Because most Ukrainian farms were located in the parkland belt adequate moisture during partial drought conditions also ensured a decent crop. Finally, Ukrainians were often able to work their own farms as well as hire themselves out during harvesting season, thus contributing an additional source of income to their operations."

26

Kanadiiskyi Rusyn, February 24, 1915, p. 3. The complete list of all committee members is as follows: Rev. Dr. Redkevych, Rev. Olenchuk, Rev. Fylypiw, Mr. Martsiniw, Mr. Yastremsky, Mr. Hladky, Mr. Stefanyk, Mr. H. Bodnar, Mr. Feshchyn, Mr. Hawryliuk, Mr. Zharowsky, Mr. Zawidowsky, Mr. Sikoma, Mr. Guretsky, Mr. Krasitsky, Mr. Ozhyyowsky, Mr. Woronchak, Mr. Paruk, Mr. Gayowsky, Mr. Ruzhytsky, Mr. Grub, Mr. Groshko, Mr. Orlowsky. Of the married women, the following were on the sub-committee: Mrs. Hladky, Mrs. Yastremsky, Mrs. Stefanyk, Mrs. Kolodrubsky, Mrs. Stonowsky, Mrs. Ksionzhyk. The following single women were on the sub-committee: Miss Anastasia Pura, Miss Maria Lutsyk, and Miss Maria Vintoniak. The "collectors" for door-to-door canvassing for funds in Winnipeg were: Mr. Mykhailo Sikoma, Mr. Yurii Ozhyyowsky, Mr. Myroslav Krasitsky, Mr. Groshko, Miss Maria Lutsyk, Miss Anastasia Pura, and Miss Maria Vintoniak.

27

Kanadiiskyi Rusyn, February 10, 1915, p. 10, March 3, 1915, p. 8, and March 17, 1915, p. 6. The following rural Manitoba Ukrainian settlements responded with donations to the Relief Association: Winnipegosis; Gonor; Roblin; Cook's Creek; Rossburn; Sich; Olha; Janow; Vista; Valiv; Dolyny; Glen Elmo; Angusville; St. Norbert; Vita; Rembrandt; and Kreuzberg.

28

Not taking into consideration cash donations, the following food products were contributed to the Relief Association: chickens; salt pork; meat; cheese; bread; butter; flour; eggs; oats; groats; ham; cabbage; potatoes; peas; rabbit meat; turkeys; fish; ducks; salt; garlic; lard; fat; and kovbasa.

29

Not all the Ukrainian rural settlements sent in cash donations. Following is a list of the rural settlements which did and the amounts forwarded: Cook's Creek \$2; Rossburn \$2.75; Sich \$23.15; Olha \$13.50; Valiv \$10; Dolyny \$20.90; Glen Elmo \$17.25; Angusville \$13.50; St. Norbert \$6.25; and Vita \$2.25.

30

Cash donations from Montreal and LeTuc Quebec amounted to \$23; from Brombury, Keld, Arran, Holiar and Lanigan Saskatchewan \$10.50; and from Berlin and Schreiber Ontario \$3.

31

The 15 most densely client-populated streets in order of highest density to lowest density are as follows: Burrows Avenue with over 22 recipients and over 85 people including all family members; Stella Avenue with over 18 recipients and over 78 people including all family members; Manitoba Avenue with over 14 recipients and a total of over 51 people; Flora Avenue with over 13 recipients and over 54 people in total; Magnus Avenue with over 12 recipients and over 41 people in total; Aberdeen Avenue with over 10 recipients and over 40 people in total; Selkirk Avenue with over 9 recipients and over 23 people in total; Pritchard, Jarvis, and Redwood Avenues with over 7 recipients each and over 18, 19, and 26 people in total respectively; Alfred, Dufferin, and Grove Avenues and Powers Street with over 6 recipients each and over 21, 20, 35, and 16 people in total respectively; and College Avenue with over 5 recipients and over 21 people in total.

32

Following is a complete list of the Relief Association's provisions in order of the frequency in which they were provided to recipients: sugar 15.50 per cent; milk 15.25 per cent; rice 13.79 per cent; flour 10.77 per cent; oats 10.17 per cent; bread 10.07 per cent; cornmeal 4.9 per cent; tea 4.50 per cent; meat 3.08 per cent; cheese 2.4 per cent; potatoes 1.71 per cent; fish 1.19 per cent; sardines 1.03 per cent; herring .86 per cent; eggs .82 per cent; chickens .74 per cent; groats .70 per cent; prunes .62

per cent; rabbit meat .52 per cent; butter .34 per cent; cabbage .22 per cent; moose meat .22 per cent; peas .20 per cent; sausage .16 per cent; soap .06 per cent; 10 yds. of linen .04 per cent; salt .04 per cent; corn flakes .02 per cent; pork .02 per cent; shoes .02 per cent; socks .02 per cent; sweaters .02 per cent.

33

Kanadiiskyi Rusyn, May 19, 1915, p. 5, June 30, 1915 p. 4, and February 2, 1916 p. 8. In part the high expenditures for the months of May and June, 1915 can be accounted for by the transfer of \$400 in total from the Winnipeg Relief Association to relief committees in Toronto, Edmonton, Fort William, Regina and Calgary.

34

Makuch, "Ukrainian Canadians and the Wartime Economy", p. 74.

35

Thompson, "The Enemy Alien", p. 29.

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters have provided a discourse on what were believed to have been the causes of the mass migration of Ukrainians to Canada, the role of the church in Ukrainian-Galician society, the different forms of Ukrainian mutual assistance in Galicia, particularly at the village level, and finally the three distinct models of mutual aid in the Ukrainian immigrant community of Winnipeg. What now follows is a summary of the findings of this study.

Mutual aid activity within an ethnic immigrant community was not an anomaly. Indeed, collective action on the part of disparate immigrant groups faced with the common problem of adjustment to an urban-industrial setting was a necessity in an era which placed a high premium on self-reliance, individualism, and free enterprise, and which viewed government intervention of any sort as an infringement on the rights and liberties of individuals. Bodnar, in discussing the interrelatedness between the rise of capitalism and world-wide immigration, made reference to the fact that "immigrant adjustment to capitalism...was ultimately a product of a dynamic between the expanding economic and cultural imperatives of capitalism and the life strategies of ordinary people."¹ Further he added, that in an urban-industrial economy, kinship networks and communal assistance were no longer sufficient to answer the needs of

the immigrant. Given the limited development of urban social services in the host society and the hostility of most labour unions toward immigrants, immigrant communities had little choice but to turn inward to organize the kinds of programs and services that would satisfy their needs while confronting the unpredictability of the industrial economy. Accordingly, immigrants reverted to traditional forms of mutual assistance which had been established in their homelands to cope with the progression to a money economy and looked to the small groups of intellectuals and skilled workmen within their community for leadership.²

Barton makes a similar point about the tradition of cooperation inherent in the peasant experience of the immigrants. Barton asserted that in the urban setting of the New World, the voluntary associations that had once been based on the household, the church and the community assumed much more specialized functions as the patterns of social relations became more complex. Nonetheless, voluntary associations helped to set the parameters of a social order for newcomers to a city, they provided immigrants with a "tangible organizational reality" with which they could identify and proclaim their unity with a people, and they served as the vehicles for the accomodation of heterogeneous groups to an urban context.³

Neither Bodnar's nor Barton's conclusions, however, coincide entirely with the results of this particular study of Ukrainian mutual aid activity in

Winnipeg between 1900 and 1918. For although it is true that Ukrainian immigrants turned to traditional forms of self-help already established in their villages or towns prior to emigration, it is also notable that these particular patterns of mutual aid had come into existence in a pre-industrial society. Reading halls, for instance, first made their appearance in Ukrainian villages in the late 1860's and early 1870's about fifteen to twenty years subsequent to the abolition of serfdom, but at a point in time when industry was still at a negligible level of development in Galicia. There is also documentation to show that emergency relief committees were functioning in the villages in the 1880's and perhaps even earlier. Mutual benefit associations such as those developed by Ukrainians in the United States and later in Canada appeared to be the one exception, for they did not exist in the predominantly agrarian setting from which most of the Ukrainian settlers migrated. However, if one were to search far enough in the past for a model for the types of Ukrainian fraternal benefit associations established in the United States and later in Canada, one would inevitably be struck by their similarity to the Orthodox Church brotherhoods of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Further, while the period up to 1918 saw the Ukrainian immigrant community of Winnipeg relying selectively on pre-existent forms of mutual aid transplanted from Galicia, we can speculate that in the

following years Ukrainians were beginning to move outside of their own organizations in search of answers to the problems inherent in industrial capitalism. The 1919 Winnipeg General Strike is but one example of the merging of the common interests of a diversity of ethnic groups, including Ukrainians.

In returning then to the first point about mutual aid in the Ukrainian immigrant community, John C. Lehr's⁴ research, though dealing with a rural agricultural setting, underscores the continued dependence on traditional Galician modes of self-help. Lehr's investigation of the process and pattern of Ukrainian rural settlement in western Canada up to 1914 indicated that one of the prime considerations in Ukrainian immigrant land selection was not the quality of the land but rather the proximity to relatives and friends. In interviews with surviving settlers from the Stuartburn and Star-Vegreville regions Lehr heard the same reasons for choice of land repeated time and again - "they...wanted to be with friends, - to help out in hard times and stick together...."⁵ Because of the intensity of their desire to secure a familiar socio-cultural and religious milieu, Ukrainians, in essence, regenerated in miniature entire sections of their former homeland within their block settlements. At the same time, Lehr discovered that although ethnic block settlements were undesirable from the standpoint of rapid assimilation, the Dominion government

was not entirely averse to them because of the financial and administrative advantages they afforded. Ethnically homogeneous block settlements, it was revealed, provided more easily for the social and religious needs of the immigrants and simultaneously registered fewer incidents of crises or destitution calling for government⁶ intervention. To carry this analysis one step further, encouragement of Ukrainian immigration to Canada then proved to be a sound investment on the part of the Dominion government. Ukrainians could be used to develop some of the more marginally-productive agricultural lands, or be directed into the industrial work force to feed industry's persistent demands for cheap, unskilled labour, and because they had a tradition of looking after their own, the government would be spared the expense of providing them with assistance. Thus by promoting the immigration of groups that would not to be a long-term financial burden upon the country the Government was able to retain public favour and to keep within the bounds of the prevailing⁷ social values of that period.

The issue of ethnicity and the formation of mutual aid organizations within the Ukrainian immigrant community of Winnipeg is also worthy of consideration. Ethnicity is an amorphous term which implies such things as a common ancestral origin, the sharing of common cultural attributes via socialization, and the existence of a double group

boundary from within and without maintained by feelings of we-they and intergroup relations.⁸ According to Hirabayashi and Saram, "ethnic sentiments provide for group cohesion, pride in one's ancestry, the psychological health of individuals and varieties of partial integration in the wider system."⁹ Further they state that although "culturally-based organizations enhance group solidarity they can also provide a forum for the exercise of political pressure."¹⁰ In the Canadian historical context ethnicity has been tantamount to minority group or peripheral status in situations of power relations.¹¹ Fernando and Dahlie, stress that ethnicity has been utilized to either gain or maintain power and economic advantage and cite the case of the Canadian Anglo-Protestant charter group. They contend that the British immigrants who were clearly in a favoured position recognized the economic advantage of utilizing their familiar English group identity to enhance their own status and to give themselves a competitive edge over other European and Asian immigrants in the labour market. Ukrainians, on the other hand, who had little to offer in the way of special skills, were considered by the native Canadian population to be among the least desirable of immigrants. To counter their relative lack of power and the low status they were accorded in Canadian society, mutual aid organizations like the reading halls became important

tools for the political expression of the needs of the Ukrainian collectivity.

Reading halls had been the first Ukrainian organizations to emerge in Winnipeg. By promoting mass popular education and attempting to improve the literacy rate of the peasants, reading halls had served as extensions of the public school system in Austria-Hungary. Through the reading halls peasants were made aware of the various political ideologies and current world events, were introduced to improved agricultural techniques, and were made conscious of the potentials of emigration. Educational opportunities had been quite limited in the Galician village, however education was highly valued by the peasants for not only did it guarantee a degree of social mobility but it offered one a measure of protection against exploitation. In addition to the expanded educational advantages offered by reading halls, peasant-members of reading halls usually enjoyed the benefits of such attached facilities as the savings and loan societies, the communal granary, and the village co-operative store. In the Canadian setting reading halls continued in their educational functions, with most initiating evening classes in English and Ukrainian language instruction to meet the needs of Ukrainian immigrants within the new environment. Fees for the courses had intentionally been set at a rate that an ordinary labourer could afford and instructors were

often selected from among the younger and better-schooled members. The educational component of the reading halls, however, had assumed another critical dimension within the Canadian setting. Reading halls had become politicizing agents of the immigrants, explaining to them and increasing their understanding of the governmental decision-making process in Canada, and consolidating them into a power lobby in defence of their own interests such as Ukrainian-language instruction in public schools. That is not to say that reading halls did not play a part in the political process in Galicia, for they did, but within the democratic Canadian milieu they were able to expand this aspect of their activity to a much greater degree. Thus protests, petitions, deputations, and marches, became almost as important a form of activity as the social and cultural events which had always been an integral part of the reading hall's program. Moreover, in Canada reading halls continued to cultivate national consciousness and pride in one's ethnic heritage which in turn helped to decrease the degree of isolation experienced in an unfamiliar and often hostile environment while simultaneously fostering a sense of belonging in the community. At a time when Ukrainians were valued only in terms of the level of their productivity, viewed as culturally and "racially" inferior to Anglo-Saxons, it was critical for them to have institutions they were familiar with, which could restore in them their

sense of dignity, equality, and national pride. Reading halls were such organizations. By focusing on events in the homeland of the immigrants or on perceived injustices in the adopted Canadian homeland reading halls were often able to overcome the religious and political differences that divided the Ukrainian community, instilling in it instead a feeling of group solidarity and a desire for collective action. Ukrainian reading halls virtually straddled two continents in terms of the concentration of their activities.

The St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association was the first Ukrainian fraternal benefit association to come into existence in Canada. It had been modelled on the non-denominational, nationalist Ukrainian-American mutual benefit organization, the Ruthenian National Association. Ukrainian emigration to the United States had predated the movement to Canada by about 20 years and had been directed toward filling the demands of American industry. Therefore many of the problems of adjustment to an urban-industrial society confronted by Ukrainian immigrants in Canada just after the turn of the century had already been faced and resolved by their American counterparts.

In an urban wage-centred money economy such as in the United States or Canada the labourer had fallen "victim to an institutionalized insecurity." It was possible for him to improve his standard of living because his attainment of

goods and services was dependent on the possession of money acquired through employment. However, because the industrial worker was not always in control of the circumstances which dictated the level of his participation in the work force he was in a much more economically-precarious position, subject to a variety of risks that might remove him at any time from the labour market or diminish his capacity as a wage-earner. And while "his wage flow might be interrupted his material needs and financial obligations remained constant." ¹³ Thus mutual benefit associations became a means of sharing or redistributing the risks and the costs from the individual to the collectivity.

In an era when any form of government relief was viewed as contributing to dependency, and when civic relief was guided by such principles as "less eligibility", the "work test", and residency requirements, the benefits offered by the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association demonstrated the initial steps in a privately-administered scheme of social security. Previous to 1908, civic relief efforts in Winnipeg had been founded on the policy, according to Gertrude Childs, of providing for "only the barest necessities of life, in the form of food and fuel, and refusing all relief if the wage-earner of the family was considered unworthy. No assistance was even considered for

an able-bodied single person." ¹⁴ So in one sense the benefits offered by the St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit Association were "advanced" in comparison to the existing welfare provisions as they were offered to sick and injured workers without any sort of test for eligibility other than notification of the overseers or later the Association physician. Unfortunately, the benefits provided by the Association were confined to only a small segment of the Ukrainian population, and were often inadequate, limited in their duration, and calculated on individual benefit rather than adjusted to the family size.

The Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association was another example of the transplantation of a Galician response in emergency situations to the Canadian environment. Just as emergency relief committees had been formed in Galicia to deal with the devastating effects of fires and floods or other crises conditions, the Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association had been established to deal with the rampant unemployment faced by Ukrainian families during the war. The Canadian Ruthenian Relief Association represented a residual model of social welfare in that it only came into being in response to a crisis situation which could not be dealt with by the family, it existed only for the duration of the crisis conditions, and it provided only the minimum of assistance in the way of food disbursement, primarily on a

one-time rather than on a continuing basis. Although the recipients of the Relief Association were to be families of unemployed only, there was enough flexibility in the organization to accomodate single unemployed, something which the civic relief department was extremely reluctant to do.

* * *

What this study had hoped to demonstrate is that the Ukrainian immigrant community of Winnipeg was both dynamic and resourceful in meeting the challenges posed by the new socio-economic order in Canada. The Ukrainian community approached its adaptation to the urban-industrial setting in a pragmatic way by taking what it could from its past, blending it with the experiences of its American countrymen, and coming up with organizations that answered its particular needs for health care, welfare and education at that specific time. Were the mutual aid programs initiated by the Ukrainian immigrant community progressive for that period? Perhaps not, but it is significant nonetheless that many of the mutual aid activities of the different ethnic groups in Canada preceded and were the forerunners of government-adopted social welfare programs such as unemployment insurance, workman's compensation, medicare, and the like.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 9

1

John Bodnar, The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1985), p. 207.

2

Ibid., p. 121.

3

Josef J. Barton, Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians, and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 64.

4

see John Campbell Lehr, "The Process and Pattern of Ukrainian Rural Settlement in Western Canada, 1891-1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978).

5

quoted in Lehr, "The Process and Pattern", pp. 261-262.

6

Ibid., pp. 174-175 and 170-171.

7

D.J. Hall in Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon 1861-1900 wrote that "the department of the interior probably did less to help the Galicians than any other immigrant group. There were constant charges in the press and from opposition politicians that the government was spending great sums in subsidizing the continental immigration. In fact, prior to the formation of the North Atlantic Trading Company late in 1899, the government was only paying the standard bonus to shipping agents and supervising the immigrants from the ocean ports to their lands. Once on the land, the immigrant was expected to make it on his own. Assistance to relieve destitution was given only grudgingly, if at all, and was made a lien on the settler's property. Indeed, on occasion the department was wilfully determined not to see the most abject poverty among the Galicians. Sifton opposed in principle any form of assisted settlement: "Once a man is taken hold of by Government and treated as a ward he seems to acquire the sentiments of a pauper, and forever after will not stand on his own feet or try to help himself." And in "Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy" Hall stated that

"Sifton's policies were neither unusually humanitarian nor compassionate. Instead they stressed individualism and practicality. The immigration service was a business, and the immigrant a long-term investment for Canada... Above all, they must be hardy agriculturalists. They must be capable of surviving on their own, not merely to minimize government costs, but to foster in them a sense of independence, of attachment to their land and to the country, to instill in them the idea of progress and individual achievement." Sifton was quoted by Hall as saying, "I have never known anybody that was materially assisted by the Government to amount to anything."

8

Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Definitions of Ethnicity," Ethnicity, 1, (1974), pp. 111-124.

9

Gordon Hirabayashi and P.A. Saram, "Some Issues Regarding Ethnic Relations Research", in Visible Minorities and Multiculturalism: Asians in Canada, eds., Victor K. Ujimoto and Gordon Hirabayashi (Toronto: Butterworths, 1980), p. 383.

10

Ibid.

11

Joseph Manyoni, "Ethnics and Non-Ethnics: Facts and Fads in the Study of Intergroup Relations," in Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education, vol. 8 (Regina: Canadian Plains Centre, 1978), p. 39.

12

"In the immigrant community, at least, fraternalism often did perform an important social function. The conditions of immigrant life in the early twentieth century minimized, for a time, the inherent conflict between bureaucratic rationalization and small-group association. Organized along religious and ethnic lines, fraternal institutions served as a mediator between the individual immigrant and the incomprehensible, often alien, society which surrounded him. Like his church, they provided him with a measure of identity, worth, and security. Nowhere, perhaps, was the fraternal order more prominent in the immigrant's life than in isolated mining and mill towns where few social and recreational alternatives existed. The anthracite coal communities of eastern Pennsylvania, for example, were pervaded by a 'plethora of orders of all sorts.' In a detailed survey of working-class life in Homestead, a steel town, known as the Pittsburgh Survey

conducted by Margaret F. Byington around the turn of the century it was discovered that "using a sample of ninety family budgets...the majority of men paid lodge dues and that fraternal association was especially important in the lives of Slavic families." See Ray Lubove, "Economic Security and Social Conflict: The Early Twentieth Century," pt. 1, Journal of Social History, 1 (Fall, 1967-68), p. 84.

13

Ray Lubove, "Economic Security and Social Conflict: The Early Twentieth Century," pt. 2, Journal of Social History, 1 (Fall, 1967-68), p. 339.

14

Gertrude Childs, "History of Relief Work in Winnipeg," Social Welfare (February, 1927), p. 363.

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